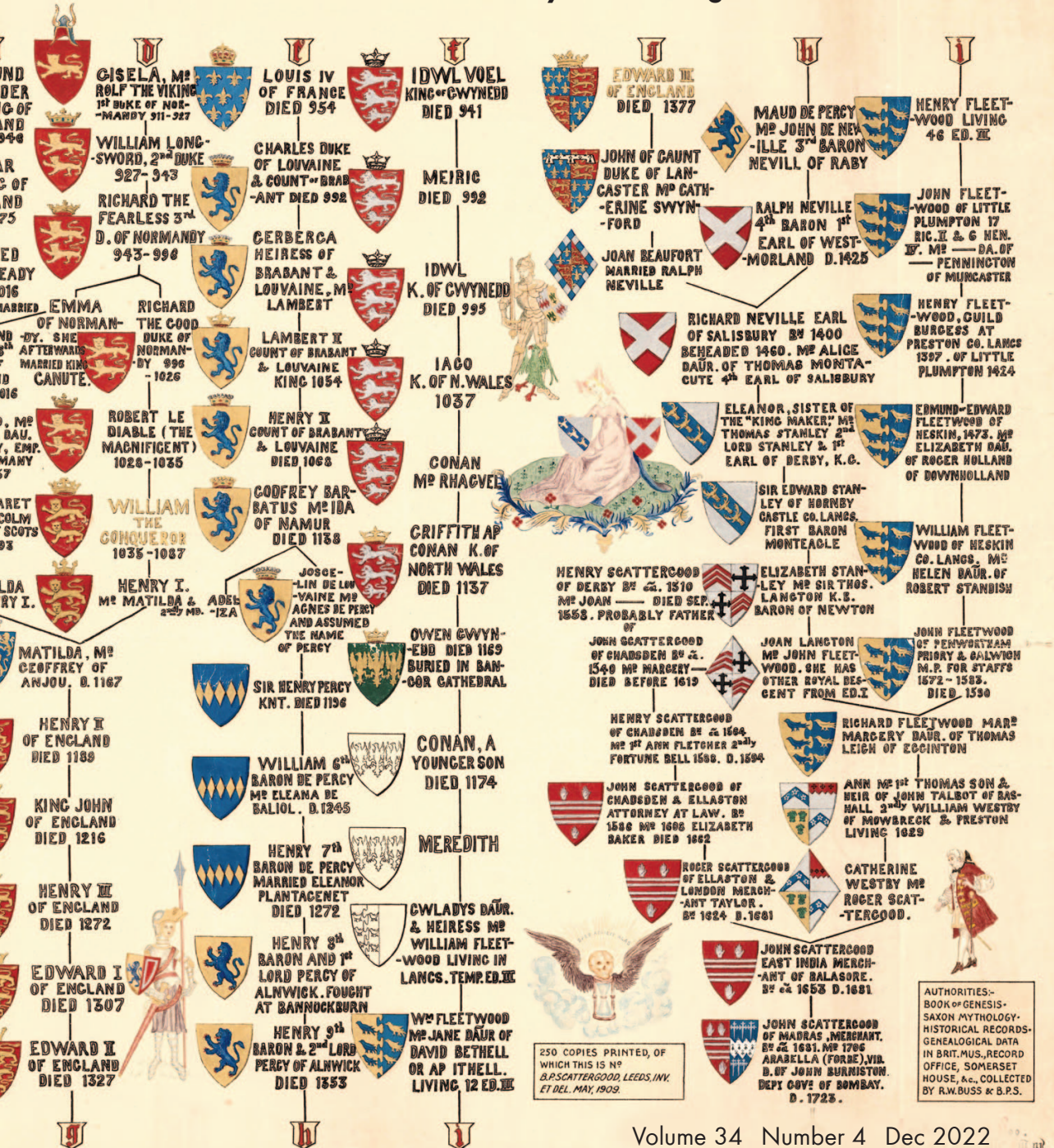


GENEALOGISTS' MAGAZINE

Journal of the Society of Genealogists



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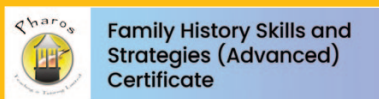
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SOCIETY OF GENEALOGISTS

Founded 1911

A MESSAGE FROM THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE

It's with the utmost pleasure that I am able to announce that the long wait is over! At our third attempt, the Society has secured and purchased premises which will be our new home, library and archive. I know it has been a long time coming, but we have had to ensure that we get the best value for our money, as a charity, and that the building meets our criteria for the preservation of our precious collections, for space for our courses and events and for housing our staff and volunteers. The new building is Unit 2, 40 Wharf Road, London N1 7GS, within five to seven minutes' walk of Old Street and Angel, Islington tubes, in London, just fifteen minutes away from Charterhouse Buildings and very convenient for Paddington, Kings Cross, Euston and adjacent hotels. It's a very different and modern building, with a new lift (!) and two floors. We now have the wonderful task of designing the interior, ensuring it is a pleasant and welcoming space for staff, members, learners and researchers. This process will take several months, and so we are hoping to welcome members back before the summer and we are planning a number of launch events to entice you to visit us.

This is just the first exciting step we are announcing, as we reveal more of the transformation that Society staff have been working extremely hard to bring you for the last year. Before 2022 is out, we hope that you will see more of the new collections system, which will revolutionise the search and results screens and which will run alongside our old systems, so that you continue to have access to everything, as we clean the data. As we do so, we want to pay a huge tribute to all our volunteers, without whom, none of this would have been possible! The new online search and catalogues will showcase the hard work carried out on indexes and indexing, as well as all the other content volunteers have produced over the years. We are looking forward to our volunteers testing the new systems and providing us with their extremely valuable feedback.

All of this work to renew and refresh the organisation has come at a financial cost and we have not put prices up over the past two years as planned, for very obvious reasons. As 2023 sees the revitalised Society opening its doors again, we will also be reviewing our membership package, to ensure that you get the best value and also that the Society's expenditure on membership benefits is appropriate. With a new building, new online searches and catalogues, and an online archive catalogue for the first time, we are confident that the family history, local history and genealogy communities will make new discoveries with us in the New Year. We are excited about sharing the changes with you and can't wait for you to visit us, online or in person. Here's to a 2023, full of research and wonderful discoveries.

Dr Wanda Wyporska, FRHistS, FRSA
Chief Executive



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GENEALOGISTS' MAGAZINE



Volume 34 Number 4 Dec 2022 Editor: Michael J. Gandy, BA, FSG

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Cover picture: *Scattergood pedigree*, May 1909. One of the many lovely images from the Society's pedigree roll collection we are currently digitising on our TreeSearch™.

The Society of Genealogists does not necessarily agree with, support or promote any opinion or representation by contributors to *Genealogists' Magazine*. Please note that some terminology that appears in this publication is the language of the time and is used in the historical context.

Spotlight on the Society of Genealogists Digital Collections:

Online genealogy resources for members to use at home

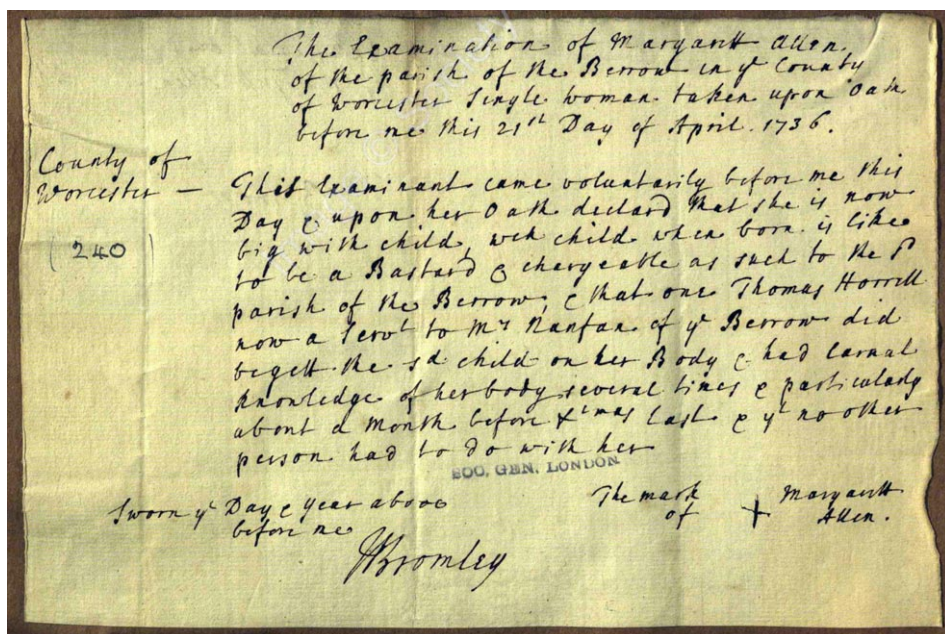
EVIDENCES: MISCELLANEOUS WILLS ABSTRACTS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

Else Churchill

As part of the project to digitise some of the many unique unpublished copies and abstracts of probate documents in the library, our volunteers set about looking at the 15 manuscript volumes housed on the wills shelves in the upper library entitled *Evidences: Miscellaneous London will abstracts from before 1500 to 1838*. Compiled by Percival Boyd (of marriage index fame) and others, the volume were thought essentially to be scrap books of cuttings and abstracts of documents; mostly relating to wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC) and other London Church Courts. The evidences were roughly arranged chronologically in volumes marked 'before 1500' or '1700-1749' etc. and each volume was separately indexed.

In 2017 all the volumes were scanned, indexed and made available online to members as part of the wills section on the SoG data online in the members area on the SoG website.

Digitisation of these volumes shows that they contain *more* than London wills. While undoubtedly there are handwritten notes and extracts of probate documents from various courts around the country, we have discovered the volumes also include some original 18th century documents such as ale house licences, bastardy examinations, court statements, inquisitions post mortem, and settlement examinations and certificates largely relating to parishes on the Worcestershire/Gloucestershire borders.



Allen evidences (ref: GE611-12-0170)

County of
Worcester.

The Examination of Charles Whittell,
Perrin's maker taken upon oath before
me this 22^d Day of August 1734. touching
the place of his last legal Settlement

(230)

This Examinant saith that his father Christopher
Whittell was a settled Inhabitant in the Parishes
of St Martins in the Fields Westminster, that this
Examinant was bound an Apprentice by Indenture
to his father & served his time to him in y^e said
Parish of St Martins in the Fields, that this Exami-
nant after that to wit about 5 years ago ren-
ted a House of eleven pounds a year in Thame
street in the parish of St Bennet Paul Wharf
in y^e City of London wch he took for a year
& having been desired by his father to come

BRITISH MUSEUM
1931

1734-5
County of
Worcester.

The Examination of Mary Smith
of the Parish of Eldersfield in the
County of Worcester Widdow taken
upon oath before me this 19th Day
of February 1734.

(231)

This Examinant came voluntarily before
me the day above mentioned & upon her
oath declared that she is now big with
child, that such child when born is
like to be a Bastard & chargeable as
such to y^e Parish of Eldersfield &
that John Lawrence late servant to
Anthony Bond of the said Parish Husband-
man did begitt the said child & that
no other person is father thereof.

Sworn before me

SOO. GEN. LONDON

W. Bromley

The mark of Mary Smith -

County of
Worcester.

(241)

The Examination of Margaret Arnold now
at the Berrow in y^e County of Worcester Widow
taken upon oath before me this 3^d Day of
May 1736 touching y^e place of her last le-
gal Settlement.

This Examinant saith that this is the Widow
of John Arnold, who dyed about two years
agoe in y^e p^rish of y^e Berrow by whom
she had 4 children all now living the eldest
being about the age of seven years & y^e
second about 3 y^e of other two small. That she
has often in her Husband's life time heard
him say his Settlement was at Lye in y^e
County of Gloster for y^t he served an Appren-
ticeship then & that she has now by her
now produced by w^{ch} it appears y^t y^e John
Arnold was in y^e year 1717 bound Apprentice
to one Edmund Fookes of the p^rish of
Lye Cordwainer - This Examinant fur-
ther saith that after her intermarriage with
the s^d Arnold she does not know if her Hus-
band ever did any thing to gain a Settlement
in any other place.

800. GEN. LONDON

Sworn the Day & Year
above - before me

W Bromley

Margaret Arnold

June 3^d 1736.

Edmund Clark
sworn Constable of Haunton

Thomas Wood Eldersfield.

800. GEN. LONDON

(242)

Evidences: Miscellaneous London & other courts will abstracts & documents

+ Record details

Evidences index

- Data table details

Transcribed by Pat Loveridge

Entry from Evidences index

Image no.	171
Volume	12
Surname	Arnold
Forenames	Margarett
Status	Widow
Place	Berrow
County	WOR
Will/ Admon	Settlement Exam.
Court	Worcester J.P. Bromley
Probate	1736
Notes	Widow of John Arnold who died about 2 years ago in pish of Berrow by whom she has 4 children. His settlement was at Lye GLS where he served apprenticeship bound to Edmund Fookes of Lye cordwainer. She does not know if he gained settlement elsewhere.
Source	1700-1749 Vol I
View image	 View Image

Arnold text

Under the old Poor laws a JP could examine a woman who was pregnant with or who had borne an illegitimate child to make her name the father who could then be made to provide financial support for his child. These documents can be extremely useful if the father's name is not recorded in the parish register as we can see here that Mary Smith names John Lawrence as the father of her unborn child.

Under the provisions of the Act of Settlement of 1662 a person was only entitled to poor law relief from their parish of settlement. This might, for example, be where they worked or rented property of sufficient value or where they were born or apprenticed. A woman would take her husband's parish of settlement. Any argument or enquiries about which parish was the place of settlement and had ultimate responsibility were examined before the Justices of the Peace and hence one usually finds records of such settlement examinations in the Quarter Sessions or in the parish chest.

Several of the settlement examinations found in the evidence volumes record examinations made around 1740; sworn before a JP called Bromley.

Further research is needed, but I believe he is possibly William Bromley 1685-1756 who according to the History of Parliament Website and the Visitation of Worcestershire was made Freeman of Worcester in 1729, became the recorder Tewkesbury 1735 and had served as MP for Tewkesbury 1710-13. Presumably the documents came from his personal papers and one would need to check with the local archives to see if they are also recorded in the formal Quarter Sessions records.

A Settlement examinations can be remarkably informative as is shown in this document relating to the examination of the widow Mary Arnold which tells us her husband had died in Berrow in Worcestershire leaving her with four children, but she had heard him say he was settled in Lye in Gloucestershire where he had served as an apprentice. His indenture dated 1717 was brought forward as evidence of this.

Some of these documents bear a stamp or the mark of the British Record Society (now Association) a body which acts as a clearing house for arranging the care of historical documents, often when

solicitors come to clear their offices of unwanted deeds and documents. They are dated 1931 suggesting the documents were transferred to the SoG shortly after that date. The original books are held in the Society's library (accession GE611).

For many years we believed the volume to contain what is written on their cover and that they related to London wills. We realise now that digitisation has added value to this collection by identifying the unique and precious documents contained within that just might help overcome someone's genealogical brick wall. You never know just what you might find in the Society of Genealogists

remarkable library and of course, more and more is going online for our members.

While the full records of digitised books, documents and collections in SoG Data online are available exclusively for our members - non-members may make a free search to see if the names they are interested in appear indexed in the records. Just to peek.

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THE FOLVILLES OF ASHBY FOLVILLE IN LEICESTERSHIRE

David J. Lewis

Introduction

In the heart of England lie the Leicestershire villages of Ashby Folville, Gaddesby and Rearsby (see Figure 1) in which, like many villages along the River Wreake and its tributaries, the *-by* suffix attests to early Danish settlement. The Folville family held the manor of Ashby Folville (which included nearby Newbold - now deserted - with possessions in Gaddesby) along with a manor at Teigh in the adjacent county of Rutland - approximately 11 miles (as the crow flies) east of Ashby Folville - whilst a cadet family branch held a manor at Rearsby with holdings in Shoby and Saxelby. The Folvilles also originally held land at Ashby Parva in Leicestershire, some 20 miles distant, which may explain why they appended their name to Ashby Folville.

This article not only focuses on the family who held the manor of Ashby Folville, but crucially strives to correct the various errors in previously published Folville pedigrees which, having stood unchallenged for more than a century, are widely accepted as accurate. The pedigrees in question were compiled by J. Nichols, W. A. Copinger and G. Farnham and are included in the Appendix.¹

The 12th century Folvilles

The family emanated from *Folleville* in the Picardie region of France some 60 miles north of Paris and came to England with the conqueror. According to Nichols, Fulk de Folville held the manor of Ashby in 1137 which passed to his son, Maroye, and in turn to his eldest son, Eustace.²

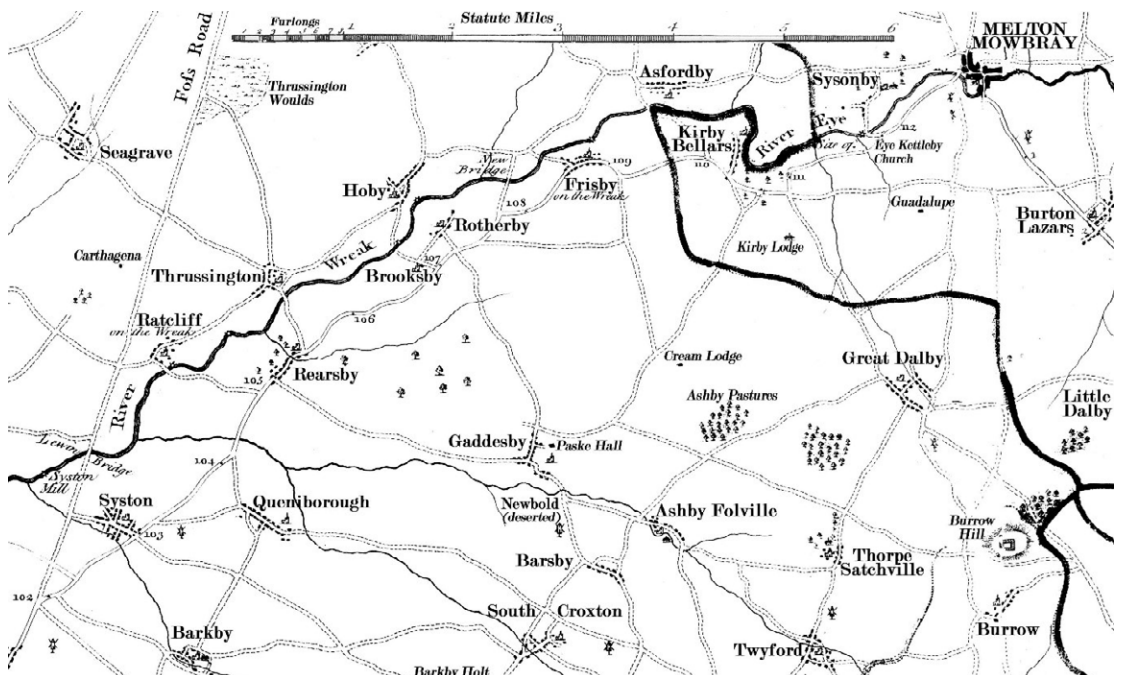


Figure 1 - The relevant part of Leicestershire based on John Prior's 1777 map.

This is supported by a grant (contained in a cartulary drawn up by the Woodfords who later succeeded to the manor of Ashby Folville) made by Maroye (with the consent of Eustace) of three acres of meadowland in *Walda de Torpe* (Thorpe Satchville) to his younger son John.³ Although undated, witnesses to the grant date the charter to the late 12th century. In 1175, Sir Walter de Folville, son and heir of Eustace, held two carucates of land in Ashby Parva by knight's service and eventually inherited the manor from his father.⁴

Nichols states Walter had two sons, William and Maroye, and a daughter, Emma, who married Sir Ralph Belers of Eye Kettleby.⁵ Both Walter and his eldest son appear in the *Curia Regis Rolls* of 1199, by which time William de Folville held the manor when he confirmed a virgate of land in Ashby Folville to the nuns at Eton (witnessed by his father), which the prioress then alienated to William in return for annual payments of five shillings.⁶ The land was originally granted to Nuneaton priory shortly after 1154 by Robert, son of Osmund, who at the time held it from Fulk de Folville.⁷ Thus far, the account given by Nichols appears to be reliable, although he omits to mention Geoffrey (Walter's brother) and Ralph (brother of William, Maroye and Emma).⁸ It was Ralph and his descendants who held the manor at Rearsby. See Figure 2.

The 13th century Folvilles

By 1210, William de Folville held $\frac{3}{4}$ of a knight's fee in both Teigh and Ashby Folville from the Earl of Leicester,⁹ but these became forfeit when he was

imprisoned for siding against King John in the first Barons' War (1215-1217).¹⁰ His freedom and restoration of lands were subsequently secured upon payment of 30 marks on the condition he marry the daughter of Eustace de Es,¹¹ and soon afterwards he was appointed to serve as a justice at the Leicestershire assize court.¹² William also served as keeper of the king's escheats and was a collector of taxes,¹³ and when Henry III's sister married the Roman emperor Frederick II in 1237, he was levied four marks for two knights' fees held of the honour of Huntingdon in Ashby Folville and Newbold Folville.¹⁴

A year later, William (as patron) presented his son, John, as the priest to the church at Teigh,¹⁵ and soon afterwards, a charter confirms his eldest son Eustace succeeded to the manor as, 'for the salvation of his soul and the souls of his ancestors and his heirs', he reconfirmed to Nuneaton priory the five shillings in rent due from the virgate of land in Ashby Folville previously granted by his father.¹⁶ Another of William's sons is identified in a quitclaim in which Henry de St Mauro confirmed to Fulk de Folville a virgate of land in Ashby previously held from his father.¹⁷ Upon the marriage of his daughter, Margery, to Richard de Flixthorpe, Eustace granted them $12\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land in Ashby Folville along with the services of 11 bondsmen, one of whom was Ralph Capron, who plays a deadly role soon to be related.¹⁸

During the second Barons' War (1264-1267) Eustace sided with Simon de Montfort against Henry III and participated in the battle of Evesham

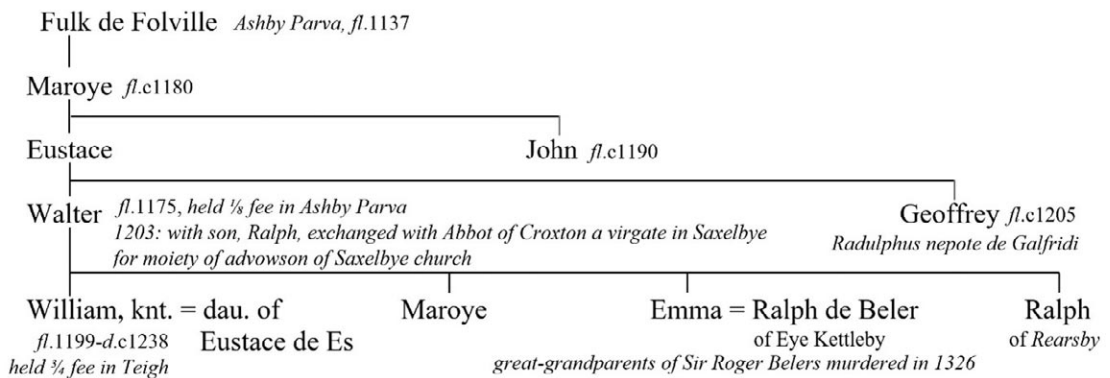


Figure 2 - 12th century Folvilles

and the defence of Kenilworth castle. Once again Folville lands became forfeit but later restored to Eustace in 1267 upon his agreement to stand firm by the *Dictum of Kenilworth* (issued by the king to offer repentant rebels terms for reconciliation) which required him to compound for his estate to the value of five years rent.¹⁹ Undoubtedly, this created hard times for Eustace who probably took it out on those around him and this may have prompted his murder in his chamber at Ashby Folville during the closing minutes of Saturday, 24 November 1274.²⁰ Eustace's death triggered several claims and counter-claims on the estate. The guardians of Robert, the son (then in his minority) of Richard de Flixthorpe and Margery, set in motion an assize of *mort d'ancestor* to secure Robert's right to inherit the lands given to his father upon his marriage.²¹ Eustace's widow, Juliana, entered pleas against John, son of Eustace, Geoffrey, Robert, William, Geoffrey, son of William, and Alice, daughter of Eustace, demanding entitlement to a third part of the estate in dower.²² The following year, Alice, the daughter of William (the eldest son of the murdered Eustace who died *vita patris*), entered a plea against her uncle claiming she had been disseised of the manor of Ashby. Eustace countered that having taken seisin of the manor immediately after his father's death, Alice could not plead disseisin as she never had it in the first place. Being underage, Alice argued that as the daughter and heiress of the eldest son, Robert de Brus (from whom her grandfather held the manor by knight's service) took the manor into his hands as her guardian, but the jury found in favour of the uncle. Eustace also brought a plea of disseisin against Alice for the lands in Teigh previously held by his father of the honour of Leicester. However, Alice countered (mentioning

Joan, the wife of her late father) that she entered the property in Teigh exactly a week after her grandfather's demise and this time the jury found for Alice.²³ Given that the murdered Eustace's eldest son predeceased him, the appearance of the name William in the pleas (confirmed through scrutiny of the manuscript image) raises the question as to whether he was a younger brother of the deceased eldest sibling. In 1277 John de Folville brought a plea against his widowed mother, Juliana, accusing her of instigating the murder at the hand of Ralph Capron (the bondsman mentioned earlier) who plunged a *scian* - a small Irish knife - into the heart of his victim.²⁴

Whilst Eustace entered upon the manor following his father's death, his tenure was short-lived as in a covenant dated 1283 John de Folville (Eustace's younger brother) paid 20 shillings to William Merflete and Alice, his wife, and a year later the same couple acknowledged a messuage and virgate of land in Ashby Folville to be the right of John and his heirs to be held of the chief lords forever.²⁵ Alice is undoubtedly the daughter of the late William by his wife Joan. That same year, John de Folville reconfirmed the five shillings in rent to the priory of Nuneaton previously granted by his grandfather and afterwards acknowledged by his father.²⁶

Five years into the new century, John de Folville granted Sir William de Overton three acres of meadow in Teigh which his sister, Amy (the widow of Sir Geoffrey de Milton), held during her widowhood.²⁷ Before her death in 1303, Amy married Alexander Lucas with whom she had a daughter named Joan.²⁸ This slight incursion into the following century permits us to complete the 13th century Folville pedigree given in Figure 3.

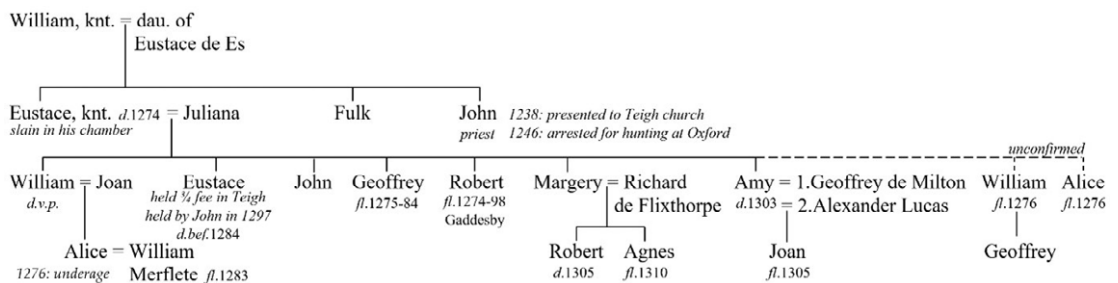


Figure 3 - The 13th century Folvilles

The flaws in previously published pedigrees

John de Folville (son of Eustace and Juliana) died in the first half of 1310.²⁹ His inquisition post-mortem records he held *in capite* two knights' fees in Ashby of the honour of Huntingdon, a capital messuage, and in demesne 80 acres of arable land, ten acres of meadow and various parcels of pasture.³⁰ In the manor were three free tenants, four cottagers and various villeins who collectively farmed eight virgates of land. John, his son and heir, was aged 23 years on 25 November 1309 (most probably his birthday), dating his birth to 1286. By a fine dated 8 June 1310, the escheator was ordered to deliver seisin to John of the lands and tenements excepting the part (usually a third) remaining to Alice, his mother, in dower during her widowhood.³¹

At this point, confusion manifests itself in the aforementioned published pedigrees regarding the succession of the manor after John de Folville died in 1310. The key to resolving the various discrepancies lies in a Latin charter dated 10 August 1343 at Ashby Folville of which a translation of the salient first part now follows.³²

Know all men present and future that I, John de Folville, lord of Ashby Folville, knight, have given, granted, and by this, my present charter, confirmed to Master William de Keythorpe, parson of the church of Ashby, my manor of Teigh with appurtenances and also all lands and tenements which Dame Alice de Folville, my mother, held in dower after the death of Sir Eustace de Folville, my father, with appurtenances in Ashby Folville and Newbold and also the advowson of the church to have and to hold to the same William and his heirs from the chief lords of that fee forever by service thenceforth owed and customary...

So who were Sir Eustace and Dame Alice, the parents of John de Folville lord of Ashby Folville? Eustace certainly cannot be the sole heir of the deceased John as purported by Nichols in his pedigree as we know his son and heir was called John. Copinger records Eustace and Alice to be the parents of the deceased John which is obviously wrong. He also records another Eustace as the late John's second son who succeeds to the manor after his older brother (the 1310 heir) died without issue. However, given that the elder brother was born in

1286, it is highly improbable that Eustace's son was of sufficient age to become lord of Ashby Folville in 1316 (see next paragraph) given that less than 30 years separate the two events! Today, Farnham's account (in which he asserts Mabel's spouse was the 1310 heir) is adopted by many as the *de facto* Folville pedigree. However, this cannot be the case given that the 1343 charter confirms that John was the son of Eustace and Alice and not John who died in 1310. Like Copinger, Farnham also includes another Eustace as John's younger sibling, but he does not show him succeeding to the manor. Perhaps John and Eustace were aliases for the same person; Copinger suggests as much when he writes 'Sir Eustace alias John Folville' against the one who married Alice. But in his pedigree, Eustace alias John is succeeded by three generations of Johns before we get to one living in 1343! Furthermore, from the pleas brought by Juliana following her husband's murder, John and Eustace are both named as sons of the late Eustace, which precludes the possibility of the two names being used as an alias. Therefore, I present the only reasonable solution to resolve this long-standing conundrum. The following scenario not only conforms to the evidence but also fits the timeline of events.

Following the murder of Eustace in his chamber, his eldest living son, Eustace, entered upon the manor and it was he who married Alice. However, he died circa 1283 leaving his widow with several children all still in their minority. Alice also being underage when her grandfather was slain, lends credibility to this theory. Thus, the next eldest brother, John (whose wife was also called Alice), entered upon the manor which was later inherited by his son and namesake in 1310. However, the son and heir probably died without issue and his cousin John - the son of Eustace and Alice - now being of full age obtained the manor through his right of primogeniture and it was he who in 1314 married Mabel, the daughter of Sir Geoffrey de la Mare, and subsequently settled the manor of Ashby Folville on himself and his wife - with the help of John de Sutton of Lincoln (Mabel's uncle) - whilst retaining possessions in Teigh previously held in dower by Alice, his mother, and it was this John de Folville who later affixed his seal to the 1343 charter.³³

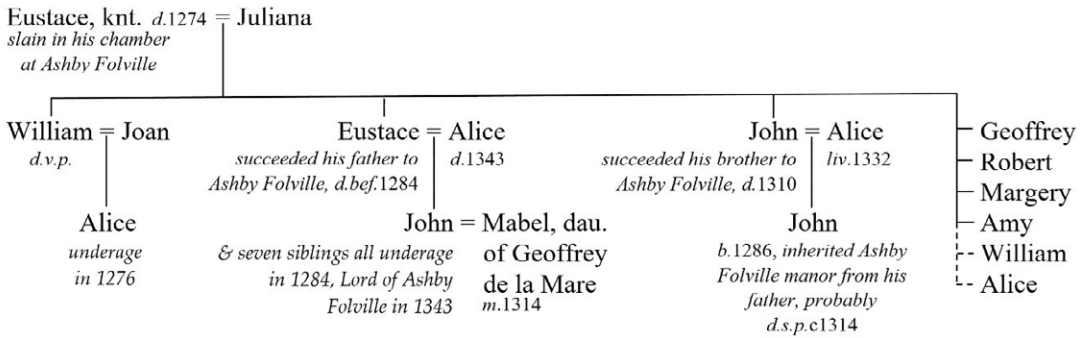


Figure 4 - The resolved Folville Pedigree

The lawless Folville generation

As the eldest son, the income and privileges that came with being lord of the manor provided great benefit to John and Mabel, but without such inheritance, his younger brothers chose to create their wealth through criminal means.³⁴ When Sir Roger Belers (a baron of the exchequer) was murdered in 1326, orders were issued to arrest the brothers Eustace, Robert, Walter and Richard de Folville (parson of Teigh church) - along with others - indicted for his death.³⁵ An order was also made to arrest their younger brother, Thomas, for aiding and abetting their escape from England. A further brother, Lawrence, is also identified in an assize roll, the Folvilles having burgled the manor of John Hamelyn at Wymondham in 1327.³⁶

Although John, the eldest brother and lord of Ashby Folville, appears absolved of any involvement in the wrongdoings of his siblings, Henry de Bello Campo did make a complaint in 1331 that John, Eustace, Robert and Walter (and others) seized ten horses, six oxen and 40 sheep from him at *La Neweton* worth 40 marks.³⁷ Some six months later, Eustace was

attacked at his home at Teigh by Robert de Colville (a keeper of the peace) and his followers. Having broken down his door and assaulted him in his chamber, Eustace raised a hue and cry and arrows were let loose killing one of Colville's men. Eustace's archer was later fatally felled with a sword blow to the head.³⁸ Despite all the accusations, arrest warrants, et al., the Folvilles were never brought to account in the courts for their crimes. As adversaries of the much despised Despenser regime, they received multiple pardons from the newly enthroned Edward III in return for military service either in France or Scotland. However, in 1340, Robert de Colville was tasked with detaining Richard de Folville (the parson of Teigh church) and delivering him to the Tower of London.³⁹ Upon Colville's arrival in Teigh, Richard and his followers took refuge within his church, shooting down arrows killing one of the attackers and wounding others. Richard was eventually, and unceremoniously, dragged from his sanctuary by Colville and his men and summarily beheaded in the street.⁴⁰ Three years later, on a mandate from the pope, the Bishop of Lincoln ordered Robert de Colville and his accomplices to atone for killing the priest by going

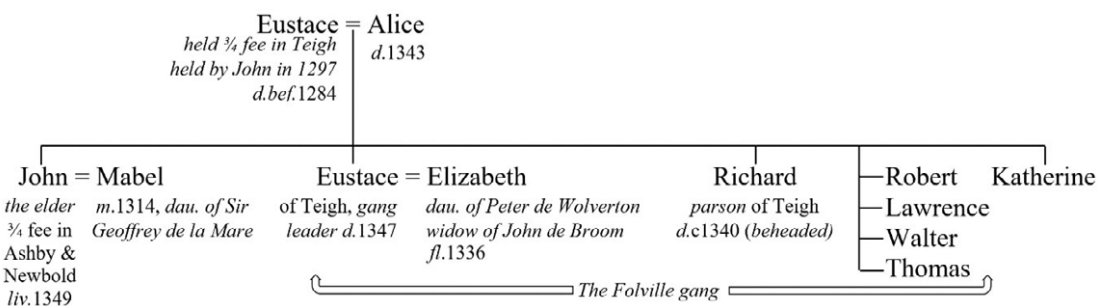


Figure 5 - The lawless Folville generation

barefoot and naked (except for their breeches), each with a rod in hand and halters around their necks, to all the principal churches of the district to be beaten with their rods whilst reciting a psalm. Between 1327 and 1336, the errant Eustace, leader of the Folville gang, married the widowed Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Peter de Wolverton, and he died in 1347. The lawless generation - the issue of Sir Eustace and Dame Alice de Folville - is charted in Figure 5.

The late 14th century Folvilles

As Edward III once more went to war with France in 1346, Sir John de Folville, lord of Ashby, was probably too aged to partake. Instead, he enfeoffed his eldest son, John (the younger), and sent him in his place.⁴¹ Also, Geoffrey and Henry joined their older brother in the retinue of the Earl of Warwick. According to the Woodfords, John the younger 'weddid an olde ancient lady of Yorke Schyre' and died without issue.⁴² Joan (the old lady) was the widow of John Bernack and she died in 1361,⁴³ whilst John outlived her by some years.⁴⁴ John's younger brother Geoffrey had a daughter called Mabel by

Elizabeth (the daughter of Sir John Tilney whom he married in 1363⁴⁵), and another brother, Christopher, by his wife Margaret, had a daughter named Elizabeth who married Sir Hugh Browe of Cheshire. One more brother (Matthew) is also mentioned in the Woodford cartulary, as are four sisters.⁴⁶

The Woodfords write at great length how Margaret (Christopher's then widow) moved back into the manor house, where she was previously a servant before her marriage, as she was 'mykel cherysshyd' with John the younger. They continue to say that when John died, Margaret kept his death secret for three days whilst she set about making false deeds to enable her daughter, Elizabeth, to inherit the manor rather than Mabel, the daughter of the then-deceased Geoffrey, the second oldest brother. Whether there is any truth in the Woodford's account is debatable, but it is clear that the manor of Ashby Folville eventually fell to Sir John Woodford through his marriage to Mabel, the daughter and heiress of Geoffrey and Isabel de Folville. Having resolved the various issues, Figure 6 presents the complete revised Folville pedigree.

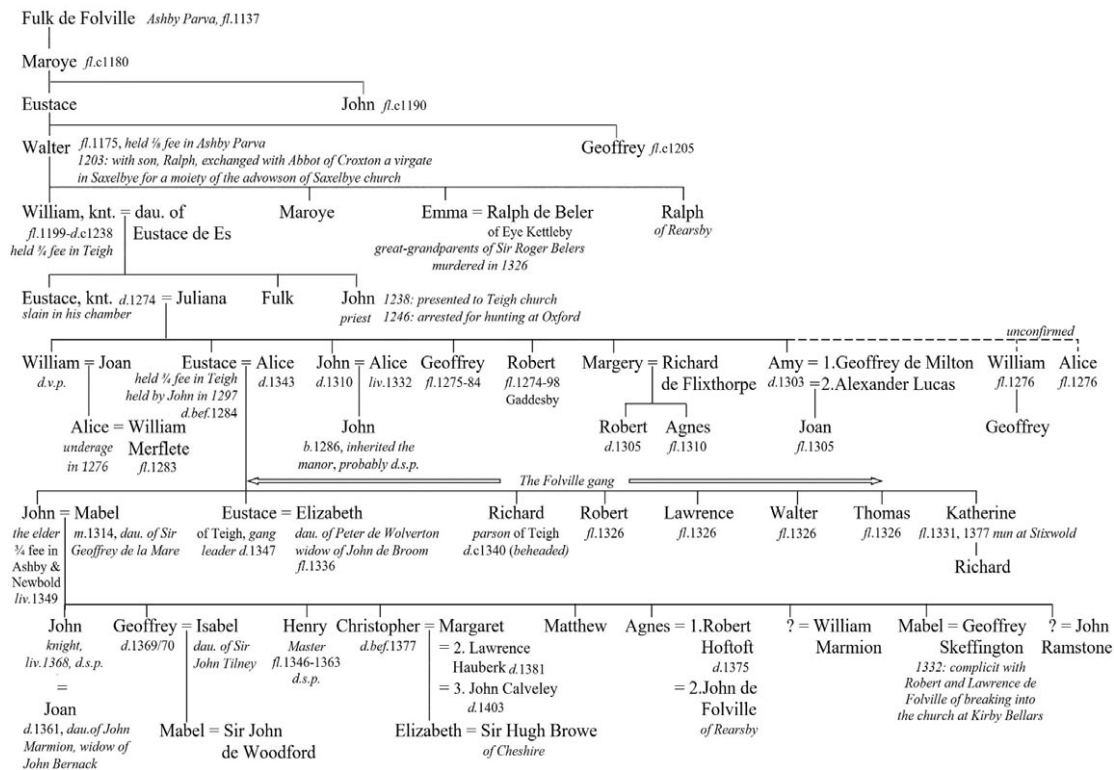


Figure 6 - The complete revised Folville pedigree

Appendix

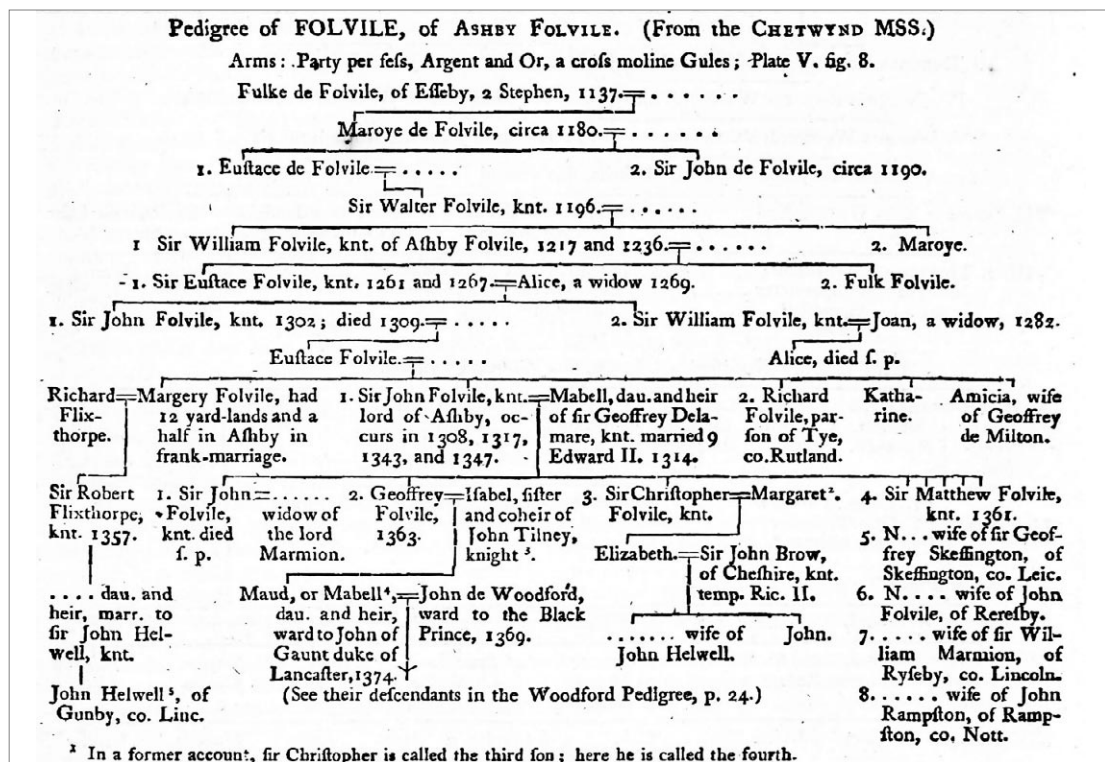


Figure 7 - Nichols' Folville Pedigree (1800) - vol. 3, p.23

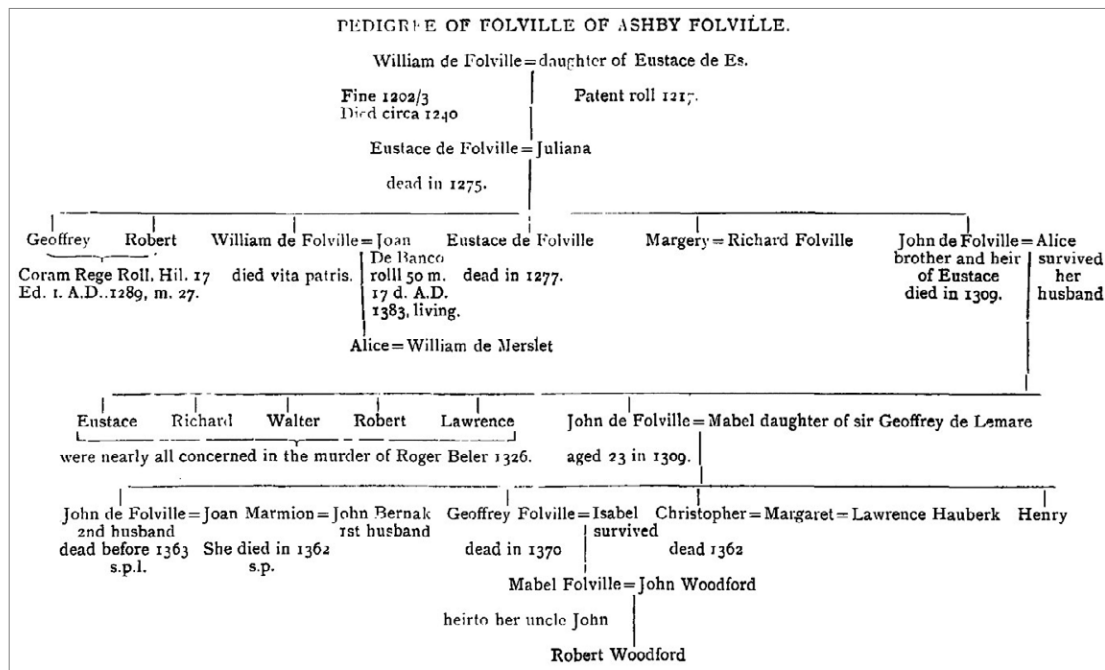


Figure 8 - Farnham's Folville Pedigree (c1920) - p.475

Pedigree of Folville,

TO MARRIAGE OF HEIRESS WITH JOHN DE WOODFORD.

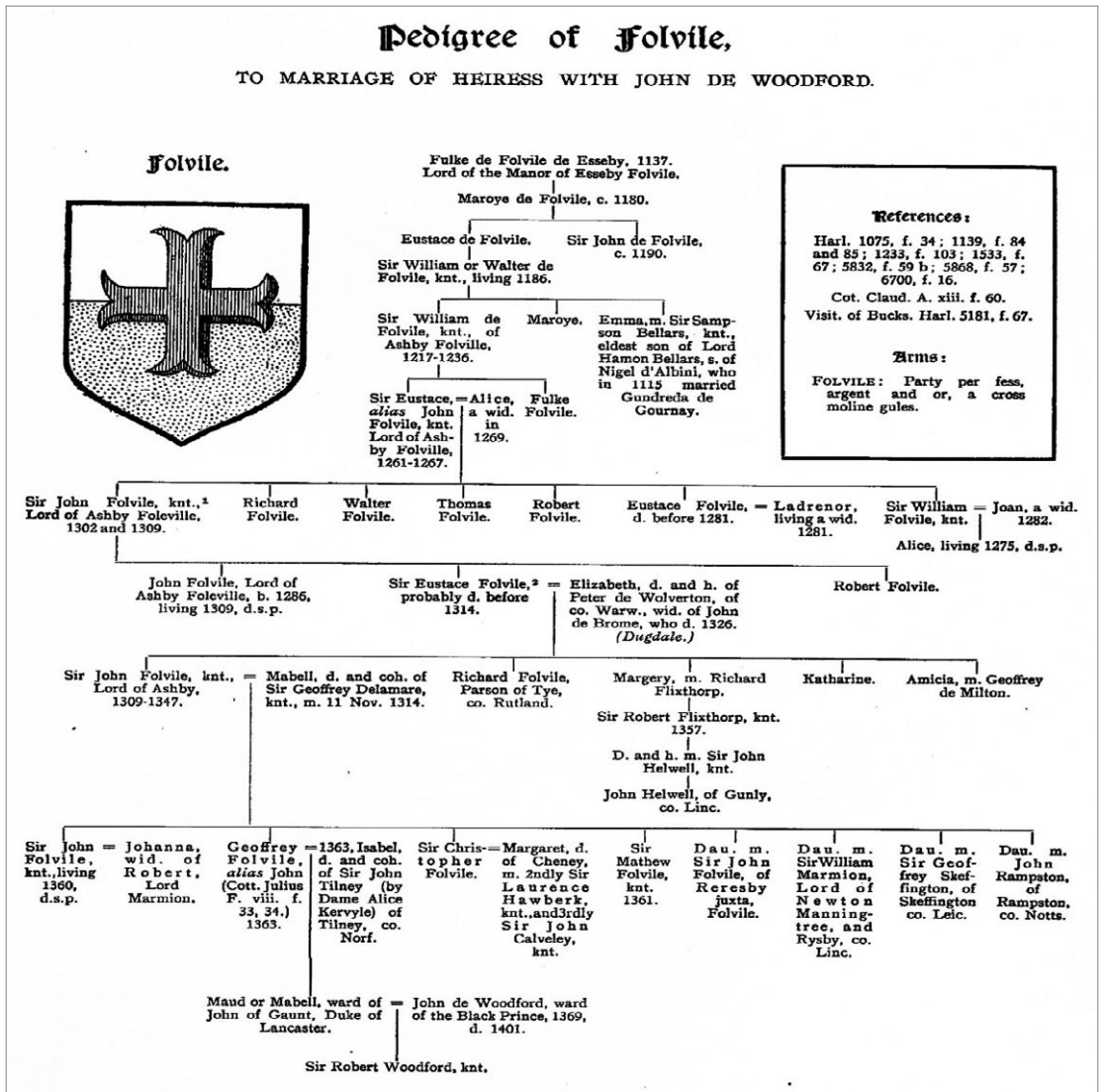


Figure 9 - Copinger's Folville Pedigree (1907) - p.265

Notes

1. J. Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, 4 volumes, London 1795-1811 (hereafter Nichols), vol. 3, p.23; W. A. Copinger (Ed.), *History and Records of the Smith-Carington Family*, London 1907 (hereafter Copinger), p.165; G. Farnham & A. H. Thompson, *The Manors of Allxton, Appleby and Ashby Folville* (hereafter Farnham), p.475 (Transactions of the Leics. Arch. & Hist. Soc., vol. 11, 1913-20).
2. Nichols, vol. 3, pp.20-23.
3. BL, Cotton, Claudius A 13, *The Cartulary of John de Woodford, once of Ashby Folville*, folios 232d-254, transcribed and translated by David J. Lewis, as yet unpublished 2022 (hereafter WCart), folios 238-238d.
4. J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, London (1835), p.514; citing Sloane Charter 31, 4, No.34. 'servitium ii. car. terre quam

5. *Walterus de Foleville tenet in parva Essebi*.
6. Nichols, vol. 2, p.278. See also Sir Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry*, 4th Ed., part 1, London 1862, p. 82.
7. WCart, folios 236d and 239d. Although undated, the grant must take place between 1190 and 1197 during which time Alice de Sutton was prioress at Eton [Nuneaton].
8. F. M. Stenton, *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*, London 1920, p. 238.
9. WCart, fo. 242. Witnesses to an early 13th century grant included 'Radulpho nepote Galfridi ffolvill'.
10. Hubert Hall, *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, London 1896, pt. 2, p.535 & 553; 1210-1212.
11. Nichols, vol. 3, p.20.
12. Cal. Pat. Roll 1216-1225, p.49.
13. Cal. Pat. Roll 1216-1225, pp.64, 280, 285, 289, 302 and 567-8.

13. Cal. Close Roll 1231-1234, pp.130 and 158.
14. *Liber Feodorum* (Testa de Nevill) 1198-1242, pt. 1, p.519.
15. F. N. Davis, *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste Episcopi Lincolnienensis 1235-53*, London 1913, p.187. See also J. Wright, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland*, 1684, p.123.
16. WCart. fo. 237; Undated but witnesses include Ralph Neville, Lord Chancellor of England who held the office between 1226 and 1238.
17. WCart. fo. 240.
18. WCart, folios 235d-236.
19. Nichols, v. 3, p.21.
20. Cal. Pat. Roll 1272-1281, p.115.
21. *The Forty-Third Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, HMSO, London 1882, p. 384.
22. De Banco Roll 9 (1276), m. 33d.
23. De Banco Roll 16 (1276), m. 41d; Juliana who was the wife of Eustace de Folville vs. Aubrey de Whytlebury and Margaret, his wife, guardians of Robert Flixthorpe; also Assize roll 1223 m. 26d; Eustace son of Eustace de Folville vs. Alice, daughter of William, son of Eustace de Folville in a plea of disseisin at Ashby Folville and Assize Roll 1231 m. 23; Alice, daughter of William de Folville vs. Eustace son of Eustace de Folville in a plea of disseisin at Teigh.
24. De Banco Roll 19 (1277), m. 57d; John son of Eustace de Folville implicates Juliana who was the wife of Eustace de Folville in the murder. *Ibid.* 21 (1277), m. 102d; John, son of Eustace de Folville vs. Ralph Capron.
25. De Banco Roll 51 (1283), m. 26; Also, The National Archives, CP 25 (hereafter Fine), CP 25/1/123/34, #91 (1284).
26. Fine, CP 25/1/123/34, #97 (1284).
27. WCart, folios 242d-243 (1304/5). Note: In the Latin texts of the cartulary, Amy is referred to as *Amicia* (Amice). However, this article refers to her as Amy, being the version of her name used by the Woodfords.
28. WCart, folios 240-241d (1303-1304/5); Joan, daughter of Alexander Lucas quitclaims to John de Folville all property and land in Teigh previously held by her mother, Amy, formerly the wife of Geoffrey de Milton.
29. TNA, CP 241/66/51; John de Folville, Alice and son John vs. Agnes de Flixthorpe, plea of debt 22 Jan 1310.
30. Cal. Inq. p. m., vol. 5, p.97 (19 Jun 1310); See Copinger, p.392 for transcript.
31. Cal. Fine Rolls 1307-1319, p.65 (8 Jun 1310).
32. WCart, folios 243-243d.
33. WCart, folios 233d-235 (12 Nov. 1314); marriage settlement between Sir Geoffrey de la Mare and Sir John Folville on his marriage to Mabel, daughter of Geoffrey, in the presence of Master John Sutton, her uncle. WCart, folios 234d-235. See also, Fine, CP 25/1/124/49. #121 (1316). See also *List of Inquisitions Ad Quod Damnum*, New York 1963, vol. 17, p.149; also Cal. Pat. Roll 1313-1317, p.355.
34. For further details of the Folville criminal activities see E. L. G. Stones, *The Folvilles of Ashby-Folville, Leicestershire 1326-1347*, Trans. Royal Hist. Soc., vol. 7 (1956), pp.117-136.
35. Cal. Pat. Roll 1324-1327, pp.215, 243, 245, 250, 286, 288 (1326); also Cal. Close Roll 1323-1327, pp.550-1.
36. Assize Roll 1411B (1332); the complete roll records a multitude of crimes perpetrated by the Folville brothers (Eustace, Richard, Walter, Lawrence, Robert and Thomas).
37. Cal. Pat. Roll 1330-1334, p.125 (1331).
38. *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery)*, 2 volumes, London 1916, v. 2, pp.310-11.
39. Cal. Pat. Roll 1338-1340, p.481 (18 Feb 1340).
40. W. H. Bliss (Ed.), *Calendar of the Entries in the Papal Registers*, 4 volumes, London 1893-1902, v.3, p.142.
41. W. G. D. Fletcher, *Leicestershire Men at the French Wars of 1346-1347*, Leics. Arch. Soc., vol. 10, pp.69-78, (1911), p.77.
42. WCart, folios 246-246d.
43. Cal. Close Roll 1360-1364, p.225 (1361). See also Cal. Inq. p. m. (Oct 1361), vol. 11, p.54.
44. Cal. Pat. Roll 1367-1370, p.183 (1368); John son of John Folvyle, knight (*militis*), of Assheby Folvyle, in the king's service to the parts of Ireland.
45. Copinger, p.406.
46. WCart, fo. 246.

David J. Lewis BSc (Hons)

Email: davelewis27@gmail.com

David J. Lewis, BSc (Hons), spent forty years in the telecommunications industry, mainly working overseas in the Middle East, Caribbean and South Atlantic. As an ardent family historian, retirement allowed David to focus on medieval genealogy which led to the publication of his book *The Danzey Pedigree: originally established at Somerby in Leicestershire* in 2017. He is currently researching and writing another book on the history and people of the Leicestershire village where he grew up.

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AGRICULTURAL HIRING FAIRS IN ENGLAND

Dr Stephen Caunce

In medieval times agricultural hiring fairs came into existence simply to facilitate the routine hiring of paid workers by farmers at agreed traditional times of year. In a society with only very limited ways of encouraging useful gatherings, this made sense, but as peasant farming was replaced by commercial enterprise, it was inevitable that their role would change. However, far from having lost their purpose, by 1830 they flourished in a multitude of very diverse towns and cities across Britain, Ireland and even the Isle of Man. The lasting value of those which brought in temporary workers for harvesting when the weather was promising is obvious, but we are not concerned with them here since they were essentially operating outside the mainstream of community life. Instead, we will look at 'statute hiring fairs', which were much more complex, and helped to shape the whole way of life, not just of rural communities, but towns and cities as well.

At the statute fairs regular workers were hired on contracts which originally all ran for a year and were legally binding. They almost all followed a traditional, unwritten format enforceable for a few shillings by magistrates against either side at their regular petty sessions. This procedure was rarely needed, but every year a handful used it, and the possibility did discourage dishonesty. Contract terms remained standardised for the commonly recognised classes of workers, so no need was perceived for writing them down, avoiding bureaucracy. It seems archaic and constricting, but comparing practices in various places over time shows that areas could and did adapt as times changed. The clearest example is that some zones had switched to a half-yearly contract by 1830. However, only such a change in general norms was accepted, not the creation of alternatives that users could freely choose between.

Most of those hired at the fairs were young and single 'farm servants' who were treated in law as being part of a wider 'family' of which the farmer was the head, not wage workers paid by the hour for work done.¹ This essentially medieval concept meant that while servants had no rigidly set hours of work, they could not be fired or laid off, even due to illness. They were paid in full when their contract ended, and were boarded and lodged in the farmhouse as part of their pay. It is clear that anyone who became known for reneging on a contract lost credibility, so written records of each engagement were unnecessary unless exceptional conditions were being inserted by private agreement, which was very rare. Mostly, therefore, no direct archival material resulted for historians to use, and, sadly for genealogists, no lists of names were generated by registering contracts.

It is often assumed that agriculture in the UK has followed a limited number of development pathways, mostly associated with terrain. However, I would argue it was far more complex than that, especially as both industrialisation and de-industrialisation transformed the economy from 1780 onwards. In adapting to local circumstances, different counties and regions within the UK led to very different patterns of farm service. Collapse and abandonment occurred across most of southern England, where chronic unemployment made most farm work casual in character, but the north and Scotland gave the fairs a greater role as an ever-increasing industrial workforce both created new demand for food, and drew away labour with higher wages. The Midlands as a whole is impossible to summarise neatly, but its counties mostly went with the south, as the acknowledged farming expert James Caird recognised at the time.² Since then, early modern rural historians have largely concerned themselves with that southern

zone on the grounds that farming in industrial areas was unimportant. Marxist historians similarly embraced the cause of the downtrodden southern farmworkers, but also ignored such employment practices as service as irrelevant to the ‘inevitable’ development of ‘modern’, oppressive class relationships. An unconscious consensus therefore emerged that fairs simply were not worth researching. Only one example was recognised, the depressing portrayal by Thomas Hardy of one visited at Dorchester, fruitlessly, by Gabriel Oak in *Far From the Madding Crowd*, which has no relevance at all to the prosperous rural north and Scotland.³ I discovered the northern fairs accidentally, while initiating a doctoral research project collecting oral testimony from the rural East Riding of Yorkshire. The local and regional press had preserved an amazing record of the completely different experience of the north. In my published survey of northern English fairs which resulted, I counted 70 Edwardian venues, almost all of which functioned right down to World War 2.⁴ The majority of reports resembled the one below, citing pay rates per year at one of a sequence of three gatherings, one before contracts terminated, and two more in Martinmas week, a pattern general at the majority of venues:

‘MALES PLENTIFUL AT DRIFFIELD HIRINGS.

‘The annual ‘statute’ hirings, held at Driffield yesterday, were attended by a large number of farmers and servants. So far as could be gathered, the rates of wages were unaltered from last Martinmas, and were as follows: Foremen, £20 to £27; shepherds, £18 to £25; herdsmen, £14 to £20; waggoners, £17 to £20; third lads, £15 to £16; ploughboys and boys just going out to farm work, £6 to £14. Female servants wages were as under: kitchen maids, £9 to £12; young girls, £5 to £7. Cooks, £16 to £20; housemaids, £12 to £15; generals, £12 to £16.’⁵

On the face of it, that may not seem to offer much direct insight into general life, but some were much fuller, with fascinating information about the intricate breakdown of the workforce, male and female, and how the bargaining operated to determine these wage rates. A very human face is generated, recovering a ‘lost’ aspect of community life from the century 1850 to 1950. This picture is constantly being supplemented as the number of

digitised titles increases. A handful of articles give exceptional clarity, like this in the *Hull Daily Mail* ‘from our own reporter’. It stated that, ‘Driffield, the capital of the Yorkshire Wolds and the centre of an extensive agricultural district, was the scene of much excitement and bustle on Thursday. For years the town has been the popular rendezvous of the farm servants from all parts of the [East] Riding on Martinmas Thursday.

‘The attendance on Thursday was equal to anything known for probably half a century past. The streets were thronged for the greater part of the day with a rollicking, mirthful crowd of lads and lasses on pleasure bent. There were plenty of attractions too, for them to gaze at and spend their money on. The street was lined with many a sweet stall: a pretty-faced Italian girl ‘chirped’ admirers to her side; at one corner there was a no-legged, one-armed British sailor ‘organist vocalist’, at another the Salvation Army girls took their stand. The Market-place seethed with Cheap Jacks, who wished to dispose of gold watches for 6s.9d., or teased the girls into buying silk handkerchiefs for their sweethearts. Cross Hill and Shipley’s Yard were the dumping grounds for roundabouts, shooting galleries, and cocoa-nut shies, those amusements so beloved by the bucolic heart.

‘For the most part, the crowds were fairly orderly, in their rough style. It is pleasing that in this respect there is a decided improvement. The town has known many riotous scenes in the past. Nevertheless, there were one or two lively scenes yesterday. [For instance], a crowd of [around] one hundred and fifty lads travelled post haste down the middle of the street churning up the mud as they went. At their head stalked a tall, brawny son of the soil. His head covering had gone, and he tore fiercely at his collar and front as he passed along with long, rapid strides, turning neither to right nor left. “Vengeance” is plainly writ upon a bleeding yet determined face. At the railway station the rabble was stopped by the closed gates, and here the injured one enquired in loud tones, “Where is he, the champion of Driffield? I want to fight him.” But the champion fails to respond to the challenge, and as two guardians of the peace stroll up, the angry man is dragged away to have his face washed, and so the incident closes.



Examples of hiring fair advertisements

'In the Market-place a still more striking scene occurred. A Cheap Jack had drawn around him a goodly crowd by his clap-trap and wonderful promises. He introduced a little conjuring, and holding up a purse he apparently placed three half-crowns inside it. Yokels paid down their shillings for purses, which contained nothing, and were probably worth threepence. The vendor so won upon his hearers that the purchasers for some time obeyed his request not to examine the purses, but at last one of them got angry. So did the others, and a rush was made for the deceiver. A crowd of several dozen lads chased him across the Market-place and into a yard, where three policemen were only just in time to prevent him being severely maltreated. They took him to the police station, followed by several hundred people, and kept him there for several hours.'⁶

The attendees were clearly set on making the most of these festival days, despite their November scheduling, which minimised disruption to necessary work. Thus, in 1872, 'the great Martinmas hiring day ... was held yesterday. The morning was extremely cold and stormy, but this did not prevent a less inpouring of both male and female servants than on any previous occasions. The Corn Exchange Rooms were again engaged for the accommodation of female and male servants, to which 6d admission was charged to farmers. As was anticipated great wages were asked by both sexes of servants, which they succeeded in most instances in obtaining, and many engagements were entered into, especially among female servants.'⁷ It is worth adding that most people saw this festival as far more enjoyable than Christmas. Also, given that this town was an

excellent and typical venue, I will focus on it from now on for clarity.

Martinmas is formally St Martin's Day, November 11th, and north western fairs always used this day as the anchor point for their fair sequence, with the main fair on Market Day, as at Driffield. However, as Yorkshire had refused to acknowledge the calendar change of 1752 in connection with their fairs, they consequently used Old Martinmas Day, November 23rd, instead. The intense sequence of fairs this created across the hiring zone allowed both sides to gauge how far labour was in demand at any particular place for any particular kind of worker. The ability not only to seek several offers on each visit, but also to visit several fairs of their choice made it the complete opposite of the slave markets, though once a verbal agreement was confirmed by the acceptance of a small agreed amount known as a fastening penny (or *fest*), it was not legally possible to seek another offer. Thus, in 1900 the *Yorkshire Post* reported that Driffield saw 'a fair gathering of men servants, but female servants were scarce and asked for higher wages'.⁸ In 1910 the first hiring there saw 'a large attendance' but then there was 'only a moderate attendance at the second hirings', and 'business was fairly brisk' as a consequence of the shortage of workers. Again, 'female servants demanded high wages'.⁹ In my very restricted survey of newspapers, I came across reports of large attendances at Driffield from 1890, 1892, 1901, and 1906.¹⁰ Where one or more of the town's sessions did see reductions in attendance, statements that hirings as a whole were losing their appeal often resulted. However, the real long-term picture is of fluctuations which cancelled each other out.

The fluidity of long-term wage levels is key to understanding why many teenage farm servants changed employers every year or two, when the conventional picture from writers like Hardy and Trollope is of immobility among rural people. In the north, as long as servants remained single, in a downbeat year they might earn less cash than they hoped for, but they had no reason to fear actual unemployment, and their food and accommodation remained as before. Government enquiries fully support recorded testimony that East Yorkshire farm servants may well have been the best fed working-class group in the UK. Like most teenagers today they clearly just enjoyed the changes of scene and companions. Moreover, farmers were unwilling to raise a servant's wage just because he or she was getting older: if the duties remained the same, so did the wage. For the ambitious, seeking variety of experience developed their skills, especially important if they intended to build a career on farms, as many did. Very few lads would thus stay more than two years in one place.

Another report said that 'nearly £1,000 was deposited in the Driffield Savings Bank yesterday, a sum slightly less than last Martinmas',¹¹ something confirmed to me by a man who had worked in a local bank, which fits with planning for the future. Girls also saved, so when a marriage occurred a determined couple might have a substantial sum. Equally, employers who wanted fresh staff, possibly as part of replanning their business, could do so with a minimum of rancour or fuss: they just made no offers to their existing staff.

It might be expected that towns which hosted fairs would object to the boisterous atmosphere, but as a market town, Driffield was not only a convenient venue, but its shopkeepers also expected to benefit as the servants celebrated while having at least a week of living at home between contracts, bringing general family reunions. One report noted that the response of Driffield traders to difficult trading conditions was that 'they are making a brilliant show to attract Martinmas customers.'¹² In fact all the evidence suggests they made the most of their profits at this time of year, since servants otherwise rarely went to shops. The amount of cash being spent shows why these events were also visited by large pleasure fairs, which in turn generated more

business. In 1907 the *Hull Daily Mail* said that at 'the first of the two Martinmas Hirings for Driffield, the Wolds capital was given over to the festivities annually indulged in by the agricultural servants. Hundreds of servants, male and female, gathered in the Market-place from an early hour, and those not seeking engagements found gaiety in 'all the fun of the fair' on Cross Hill.' Most of the town's own population attended in the evenings.¹³

I would stress, that in research like this it is vital to cast your net as widely as possible. Also, recognise not only when accepted views are inadequate, but that rectifying the mistakes can only be done through working with the evidence you have, rather than trying to vindicate a predetermined theory. Until I had my first meeting with an elderly man who had responded to my newspaper appeal, the limited reading that was possible then meant that I had taken it for granted that farm horsemen would be skilled older men employed in the standard way. Mr Pridmore then delivered a devastating sharp lesson when he unknowingly contradicted everything I thought I knew, but in doing so he unconsciously explained why hired servants had traditionally been unmarried. They entered service aged about 12 years old by Edwardian times, mostly doing routine ploughing as their primary task, alongside helping with the care of the horses. As they grew older they might rise to the rank of *waggoner*, in charge of all the lads on large farms, and responsible for trips off the farm. Significant numbers of girls were also needed on large farms to help look after the lads, and in dairying areas the demand was obviously even higher. The small numbers of skilled shepherds and cowmen, in contrast, would generally be married and provided with a cottage, with a hired lad to help them.

On larger farms, farmers increasingly delegated the care of the servants to a superior grade of hirelings, known in Yorkshire as *hinds*, who were mature, married family men. They were the farm foreman, and were often given the farmhouse to live in. Some effectively ran the routine farming operations. These few apart, after marriage men became labourers, and ceased to use the fairs to seek work. They might well work for one employer for many years, living in cottages, and were paid weekly over an indefinite period. Either side was able to end this

type of arrangement at short notice. Many gave up farming for good at this point, however, and migrated to nearby industrial areas. They would not eat as well, but would have all their wage in cash.

Yet, I also came to see over many years, that this pattern was specific to its own area: every part of the country which hired servants used them differently. Moreover, some northern areas had no use for fairs, especially around the heavily urbanised areas. It could have been that, as Rachel Knappett was told by her educated southern friends when sent to work as a Land Girl in south-west Lancashire during the 1940s, 'I didn't know there were any farms there. Surely it's all coal mines and factories?' However, having actually grown up on within this zone myself, I knew that in Lancashire the smaller towns remained interpenetrated by arable fields made up of some of the best soils in England. Our milk was delivered in the 1960s by horse-drawn carts direct from a farm a few hundred yards away. As an adult when working in the Pennines I saw how many tiny family farms still made a living from dairying by not employing anyone, and often combining farm work with other jobs. The lack of fairs in such places was thus explained, and it had quite different causes than further south.

I came to see that there was never any national typical, much less 'model', way of farming in England. The British Isles instead formed a mosaic of zones defined not just by terrain, climate and soil type, but by their proximity to markets and the competition for labour, and the strength of their desire to live off the land. Thus, on big East Yorkshire farms there might be twenty or more servants hired onto one farm, whereas in Westmorland, farms were smaller and used mostly family labour, but did hire servants as needed. Much stranger were north-eastern practices, which I researched while working at a newly-launched Beamish Museum, in County Durham. I was re-organising and cataloguing their rapidly growing agricultural and craft collections, which proved to be a new and different way to relate to rural life as it was really lived. I learned to see the adoption or rejection of new crops, methods and implements as rational business decisions, even if lived out within a cultural framework that obscured this.

Northumberland was particularly striking, since it shared many Scottish practices. It had several hiring fairs, including one in Newcastle upon Tyne, but the bargains made at them were completely different from other English counties. Good soils made up a high proportion of its coastal plain, but its isolation and turbulent history meant towns were tiny, and villages few and far between. Only in the 18th century did population growth finally stimulate local agriculture, and landlords and farmers mutually initiated a headlong race to farm efficiently and commercially without creating settled communities. Hiring fairs were the best way of mobilising labour, but farmers hired whole families as farm servants, to live in tiny cottages on the farm. All members of the family could be called on to work when needed. Incredibly, bargaining at fairs encouraged mobility in search of higher wages despite the disruption of moving house, and Flitting Day saw roads full of carts carrying household possessions. Strict rules ensured that a family could come back to harvest any garden crops they had sown.¹⁴ However, a huge dispute associated with this way of hiring grew out of this labour shortage. Farmers were increasingly demanding that a hind, here the local term for a male adult hireling, should bulk out his natural family by himself hiring a young single woman as a *bondager*, to live with the family. He only received wages for her when she worked, but obviously she had to be fed at every meal. It was an explosive issue, which ultimately led to the formation of trade unions and the abandonment of the new system.¹⁵

I also discovered that my image of no hiring in the North West might be wrong, during a largely newspaper-based investigation of Chester and near-by areas. All inquiries to archives met with statements that there was no record of such fairs in the city. When I turned to newspaper reports, however, it became clear that they had been held in much the same manner as Driffield, and were much appreciated down to Edwardian times in that city, and also Nantwich and Whitchurch. This opens up the need for a wider search.

The fairs had quickly got back to normal after 1918, and wages soared in the brief and illusory economic boom which turned into an ever-deepening recession in 1921, when the *Hull Daily Mail*

reported that when ‘the third of the annual hirings ... was held on Monday, there was a good attendance of servants, but farmers were not numerous. Much lower wages had to be taken where engagements were entered into, though rapid inflation obscured this. Waggoners obtained £40, and foremen £50 to £56 per annum, with board.’¹⁶ A year later, ‘the first of the Martinmas hirings at Driffield was held yesterday, but no business was done’.¹⁷ The *Yorkshire Herald* added on the 16th that ‘few farmers were present ..., but the farm hands availed themselves of the opportunity for a holiday, and found pleasure on the swings, roundabouts, and in patronising the many devices for relieving them of their money’.¹⁸ In 1931 the hirings faced a new threat when the government created county wages boards representing farmers and workers to determine legal minimum agricultural wages. Thereafter, ‘few engagements were made. The wages [now] being statutory, the bargaining was over the demand for a wage beyond the minimum.’¹⁹ In 1933, for instance, ‘the second Martinmas hirings at Driffield were held yesterday, but ... little hiring was done, as the general tendency nowadays is to ‘stop on’ where possible.’²⁰

Everyone agrees that World War 2 was the final straw, especially through the complexities of rationing. Moreover, horses were disposed of steadily after 1945, and many jobs were lost. Though fairs continued in a very shrunken way for some years, they mostly were in terminal decline by 1955. Some youths continue to board in farm houses even today, for mutual convenience, but the old contracts were given up, and largely forgotten. The hiring fairs finally faded away, as many people thought they had over a century before.

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Dr Stephen Caunce

Email: sacaunce@phonecoop.coop



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LITTLE ITALY - LONDON'S ITALIAN QUARTER

Tudor Allen

'The unaccustomed wanderer has altogether lost sight of his native land and is stranded on a foreign shore.' So wrote the commentator, Joseph Greenwood, in 1875. The area he was describing was a part of Holborn and Clerkenwell where, during the 19th century, there had grown to be such a concentration of Italians that it became known to the English as 'Little Italy'. This Italian quarter continued in existence for much of the twentieth century.

The Little Italy area cannot be defined precisely but, roughly speaking, the main population was based in the streets to the north and south of the west end of Clerkenwell Road, including Hatton Garden, Leather Lane and Saffron Hill to the south, and Eyre Street Hill and Back Hill to the north.

There had been Italians living in the capital for centuries prior to 1800 but they had been few in number and widely scattered. That began to change in the early years of the 19th century when skilled craftsmen from northern Italy - mainly from Lombardy and Piedmont - began to set up business in the wealthier commercial streets of Holborn, streets like Hatton Garden and Charles Street (today's Greville Street). London was soon to be the largest city in the world, Hatton Garden was an established centre of craftsmanship and it was conveniently located close to both the City of London and the West End. These craftsmen saw an opportunity to succeed economically by moving here. Initially they were principally makers of looking glasses, picture frames and precision instruments such as barometers and thermometers. One Little Italy firm of instrument makers based in Hatton Garden - Negretti and Zambra - was to become internationally famous. Another successful firm in this field was O. Comitti and Son based in Mount Pleasant.

By the mid-19th century the Italian craftsmen in Holborn were far outnumbered by a second wave

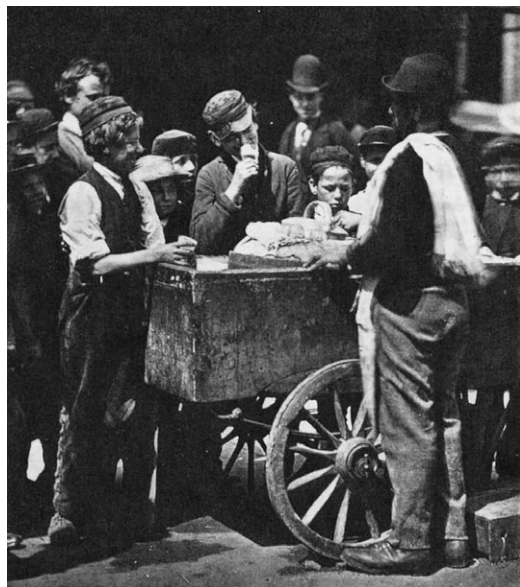
of immigrants from Italy into the area. These Italians were poor and unskilled, driven by desperate economic circumstances to seek work abroad. Most had made their way to London principally on foot, coming from north, central and southern Italy. The area around Saffron Hill and Leather Lane at that time was one of London's worst slum areas. Houses were in disrepair and therefore lodgings were cheap enough for these poverty-stricken Italians to afford. Their lives were hard. Surveys in the 1880s found the overcrowded and insanitary living conditions of these Italians to be the worst in any group.

Among the Italians who settled in Holborn were plaster statuette makers from the mountains near Lucca, who began to arrive in the 1850s; knife-grinders from the Val Rendena in the Italian Dolomites, who arrived from the 1870s; and mosaicists from Friuli in north-east Italy. However, the most popular job among the Italians for many years was organ grinding. These street entertainers would make money playing their barrel organs on the streets of London, some with monkeys trained to dance and beg for money. Many of the instruments the Italians played were made by the Little Italy firm, Chiappa and Sons, based in 31 Eyre Street Hill since 1877. The firm continues in the same premises to this day, though these days it concentrates on the production of cardboard music books for use in fairground organs.

The organ grinders were regarded by the middle and professional classes as a nuisance. It was claimed that many of them played deliberately out of tune to 'extract money in return for silence on their departure'! In 1864 a law was passed attempting to curb street music, though it had little effect.

However, by 1900 ice cream vending had replaced organ grinding as the most popular job of the Holborn Italians. At that time, there were as many as 900 ice cream sellers living in the area. The ice

cream became known as ‘hokey-pokey’ and the ice cream sellers as ‘hokey-pokey men’. The theory is that this name derives from the vendors shouting ‘Ecco un poco’ (‘here is a little piece’) or ‘O che poco’ (‘O how little’), referring to the cheap price. Originally, the ice cream was served in little ‘lick glasses’. The customer would lick the ice cream off the glass and return it to the vendor who would rinse it, then fill it for the next customer!



Little Italy ice cream seller in 1877. Courtesy of Camden Local Studies and Archives Centre.

In the ice cream trade, small family businesses were the norm, but sometimes they developed into large enterprises. The firm, Gatti’s, was a prime example of this. Carlo Gatti was a Swiss-Italian, who arrived in London virtually penniless in 1847, but died in 1878, reputedly a millionaire. In 1849 he opened, with Battista Bolla, a chocolatier, a café-restaurant in Leather Lane and then in 1853 started selling ice cream. His penny ices became a Victorian craze. In time he opened a wharf on the Regent’s Canal where he stored ice for sale to customers for refrigeration. Later he opened a palace of varieties on Westminster Bridge Road and a music hall in Villiers Street.

Women of the Italian quarter also worked, their occupations including domestic service, manufacturing pasta, making lace, and laundry work.

Some made money singing, dancing and playing the tambourine. Others were fortune tellers carrying a parakeet or lovebird in a cage with a pack of cards. The gifted bird would take a look at a customer, then select the card to tell their fortune!



Women of the Italian quarter in 1903. Courtesy of Camden Local Studies and Archives Centre.

Many Italian children worked on the streets of London, often as street musicians. Sadly, some of them were cruelly exploited by masters called padroni who leased them from impoverished parents in Italy - or even kidnapped them - then set them to work. The working day of these children could last from nine in the morning until 11 at night and their profits went to the padroni. Fortunately, legislation in 1889 did much to combat this widely-opposed social evil.

As the Italian community established itself it formed its own institutions - cafés, food stores, schools, clubs, a church and a hospital.

A famous example of an Italian food store in the locality is Terroni’s, which first opened in the area in 1878, moving in 1890 to premises almost next door to the Italian church on Clerkenwell Road. It was still run by the family until the 1980s. In 2007 it closed, apparently for good, only to reopen a few years later. Another longstanding Italian food store was Gazzano’s on Farringdon Road. Opening as Mariani’s in 1901, it remained in the same family throughout its existence but has sadly closed in recent years.

The first Italian school in the area was founded by the famous Italian patriot, Giuseppe Mazzini, when



Terroni's around 1900. Courtesy of Camden Local Studies and Archives Centre.

he was living in this country in exile with a death sentence on his head. The Italian School for Workers, based at 61 Hatton Garden and 5 Greville Street, provided free education for children of the Italian community, including child workers. It was controversial with some, however, who were suspicious that it was imparting liberal and anti-religious instruction. The historian Thomas Carlyle described it as 'a nest of young conspirators'.

In 1842 the Italian Catholic Free School was founded in the Italian quarter. It later became known as St Peter's School, when it was taken over by the Pallotine Fathers who ran St Peter's Italian church on Clerkenwell Road. It changed location several times, at one stage being based in the crypt of the church. The building that was its last home still stands at the junction of Clerkenwell Road and Herbal Hill. In 1953 the school changed its name to St Catherine Laboré. It closed in the 1980s.

In the 1840s, Vincent Pallotti, founder of the religious congregation - the Society of the Catholic

Apostolate - together with another priest, Raffaele Melia, the first member of this society, conceived the idea of a church for London's Italians. It was no accident that the site they chose was in the heart of the Italian quarter. The building of the church was controversial because at the time there was still a lot of hostility towards Catholics in this country. But despite this opposition building went ahead and St Peter's Italian Church opened in April 1863. For 40 years, it was the largest Catholic church in England, and would have been larger had the funds been raised to build it as originally planned. This beautiful place of worship on Clerkenwell Road was, and still is, at the heart of London's Italian community.

The most important of the clubs in the history of the Italian quarter was the Society for the Progress of the Italian Working Classes in London, a mutual assistance society for the men of the Italian community. This was co-founded in 1864 by Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi. Mazzini was its first President and drew up its

constitution. For many years the club formed the heart of the social life of the men of the Italian quarter, although its members came from all over the capital. The society was later renamed the Mazzini Garibaldi club and still continues to this day, these days admitting female members too. The club was first based at 106 Farringdon Road, then at 10 Laystall Street and finally at 51 Red Lion Street which it vacated in 2008. All three buildings still survive, the one in Laystall Street graced with a commemorative plaque to Mazzini.

In July 1883 a procession was held in Little Italy in honour of the Madonna of Mount Carmel. This was said to be the first public Catholic event in England since the Reformation. The procession, organised by St Peter's Italian church, became an annual event. Since 1896 only in wartime and during the recent pandemic has it not taken place. Every year, crowds flock to watch the spectacle with its statues, decorative floats and regional costumes or to enjoy the stalls selling Italian food and drink in Eyre Street Hill and Warner Street. Although the procession is still a special event, in its heyday it was a much bigger occasion. When there was still a large Italian population living in the area, the procession was much more of an event for local people. Decorations would transform the streets and houses of the quarter. After the procession a street party would continue into the early hours.



Crowds at the Italian procession in the early 1900s. Courtesy of Camden Local Studies and Archives Centre.

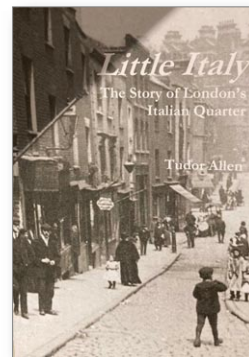
In 1884, Giovanni Orтели, a wealthy Italian importer of cheese, converted a house of his on Queen Square - a short distance from the Italian quarter - into a hospital for Italians. The Italian Hospital provided

free treatment for Italians and those of Italian descent with medical staff who spoke the language. Orтели expanded it by the acquisition of neighbouring buildings. In the late 1890s he decided to build a purpose-built hospital on the site for which he again provided the funding. This opened in 1900. Sadly he did not live to see its completion. By the late 1980s demand for treatment had receded and the hospital became no longer financially viable, closing in 1990. The building today belongs to Great Ormond Street Hospital.

Little Italy no longer exists today. Slum clearance, road building, property development and wartime bombing have vastly altered the look of the area. The Italians, by and large, have moved to other parts of London or further afield. Gradually, Italian businesses and institutions have folded. But echoes of Little Italy's former glory still remain. In Eyre Street Hill, No. 31 still bears the sign of Chiappa. Terroni's is open once again on the Clerkenwell Road. The beautiful Italian church of St Peter's is still a focal point for London's Italian community. And every year, the Italian procession returns and keeps alive the spirit of London's Little Italy.

Tudor Allen

Email: Tudor.Allen@camden.gov.uk



Tudor Allen's illustrated book ***Little Italy: The Story of London's Italian Quarter*** is available from Camden Local Studies and Archives Centre, the Italian Bookshop and other bookshops (price £5.99).

THE 'SEPARATE SYSTEM' OF PRISON DISCIPLINE AT WANDSWORTH AND ELSEWHERE;

A RADICAL EXPERIMENT IN SOCIAL, CIVIL, AND MECHANICAL ENGINEERING

Peter Maggs

The question of the balance of deterrence, rehabilitation, and punishment in the prison system is one that vexed social reformers in the 18th and 19th centuries, and to an extent vexes us still today. One possible solution, an extraordinary and quite unique system of discipline, was operated with great enthusiasm for a few decades in the middle of the Victorian era.

The *Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline and Reformation of Juvenile Offenders* was formed shortly after the end of the Napoleonic War, and produced a number of reports in the following years that were highly critical of the existing prison regime. It charged that British prisons were 'undermining morals by uncontrolled association, idleness, lack of reformatory programmes, and the poor quality of staff.'¹ In 1833 Viscount Melbourne, Home Secretary in Earl Grey's reformist Whig administration, commissioned William Crawford, founder member and secretary of the society, to travel to the USA and assess the various disciplinary systems in use in American prisons. He reported that Auburn Prison in New York operated the 'Silent System'; prisoners worked and ate together, but talking among them was forbidden under pain of flogging. At the Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia, they operated the 'Separate System'. Prisoners were held effectively in solitary confinement, visited only by the prison chaplain and 'teachers and trade instructors.' Crawford hailed the Separate System as perfect: it could 'deter by its awesome severity, and reform by its irresistible impact on the individual conscience'.² It seems that the system had its origins in England. The idea had been advocated by the great prison reformer John Howard together with Sir William Blackstone, and

was the 'subject of an Act of Parliament of 1778' (this was probably the Penitentiary Act, 1779); an appropriate House of Correction was built at Gloucester.³ According to Burt, prisons 'in which solitude was more or less enforced' were also built at Horsham and Petworth, but 'these model prisons were over-crowded, and the separation was broken down.'⁴ Henriques claimed that the commencement of transportation to Australia in 1787 'diverted the government's interest.'⁵

In 1835, Crawford and Rev Whitworth Russell, chaplain to Millbank Prison, were appointed Inspectors of Prisons for the Home District. Two years later, 'On the presentation to Parliament of the very able papers drawn up by [Whitworth and Russell]', the then Home Secretary, Lord John Russell, 'recommend[ed] the separate system of penal discipline' to the magistracy 'for their consideration'.⁶ In April 1840, work commenced on a new model prison at Pentonville designed by Major (later Major-General, Sir) Joshua Jebb R.E., specifically around the requirements of the system. 'The Model', as it was known locally, opened for business in 1842, and progress there was the subject of much interest.

In 1845, Surrey magistrates formed a committee to consider whether the new system of discipline could be applied in the houses of correction in their county, where men, women, and children were sentenced to between seven days and two years' imprisonment, with or without hard labour.⁷ The magistrates concluded that the Separate System could not be used without the 'entire reconstruction' of their prisons, which were in an unsatisfactory state and did not conform to the recommendations of the prison inspectors, nor

even in some cases to the law. Before long, they said, either the existing buildings would have to be extensively altered, or an entirely new prison based on the separate principle would need to be built. On prison discipline they observed:

the current system of discipline neither operates as a punishment nor as a means of reformation ... we are of the opinion that the separate system offers the means of a great improvement on both these points.

Having endorsed the new system, the committee cautioned against the large capital expenditure needed to implement it before the 'experiments which are now in progress in other counties have been more fully tested.'

Six months later the situation had got worse. In Brixton, prisoners were sharing three or four to a cell with a floor area of only six feet by eight feet; each man had in some cases no more than 15 inches width in which to sleep. In these circumstances contagious diseases spread uncontrollably - as had happened in the winter of 1845. Overcrowding at Brixton was so acute that between 20 and 40 inmates were obliged to sleep on straw in the school room, and 35 prisoners had been pardoned by the Home Secretary and released early in order to ease congestion.

Another committee was hastily formed to address the problem. They reported that there was an estimated shortage of 440 prison cells in the county. It was concluded that a new house of correction holding 750 prisoners should be built - to a design suitable for any system of prison discipline - and that the existing three at Guildford, Kingston, and Brixton should be closed and disposed of.⁸ The recommendation was accepted and the committee was reappointed to oversee the planning and construction of the new prison. The Home Secretary gave his permission for Jebb, who was now Her Majesty's Surveyor General of Prisons, to be retained as a consultant. A 26 acre site on Wandsworth Common was purchased, and contracts were awarded for the buildings. The total cost was £140,000, and financing was provided by a loan from the London Life Association at 5%, using the county rates as collateral. Henry Mayhew and John Binny visited the prison a few years later, and commenting on its location observed:

The situation is admirably chosen for the health of the inmates ... upon a large tract of open country ... [and] furze-tufted Common ... the view embracing a panorama for many miles around ... in the distance the Crystal Palace may be seen shining like a golden bubble ... looking towards the Metropolis, the Victoria Tower looms with exquisite grace from out the grey background of the London smoke.⁹

In 1847, the Board superintending Pentonville having reported great satisfaction with the results of the Separate System there, Surrey magistrates made the decision that the new prison at Wandsworth should be designed around separation. The main buildings were to consist of four wings arranged in a St Andrew's Cross with a central hub.¹⁰ There would be cells for 708 prisoners, together with 24 reception cells and 22 punishment cells. Provision had been made for a fifth wing to be added later, providing accommodation for a further 250 prisoners.

The central tenet of the Separate System was that no communication was allowed between the prisoners. This served to increase the severity of the punishment, emphasise the reformatory effect of contact with the prison chaplain, teachers, and 'trade instructors', and:

[the prisoner] is excluded from the society of the other criminal inmates of the prison, because experience has shown that such society is injurious, and he is urged to make his conduct the subject of his own reflections.¹¹

In other words, seasoned criminals, the 'old lags', were prevented from teaching the tricks of their nefarious trade to first-time offenders. Under existing conditions, prisoners had been able to talk to each other when sharing a cell, during communal meals, while washing, doing prison labour, at chapel, and during exercise. Under the Separate System, cell sharing was eliminated and everything except outdoor exercise, some forms of labour, and attendance at church service or group educational classes, took place within the cell. As a result, the cells had to be capable of almost continuous occupation and this requirement was the main feature of the design of the new prison. Cells needed to be ventilated, heated and lighted,

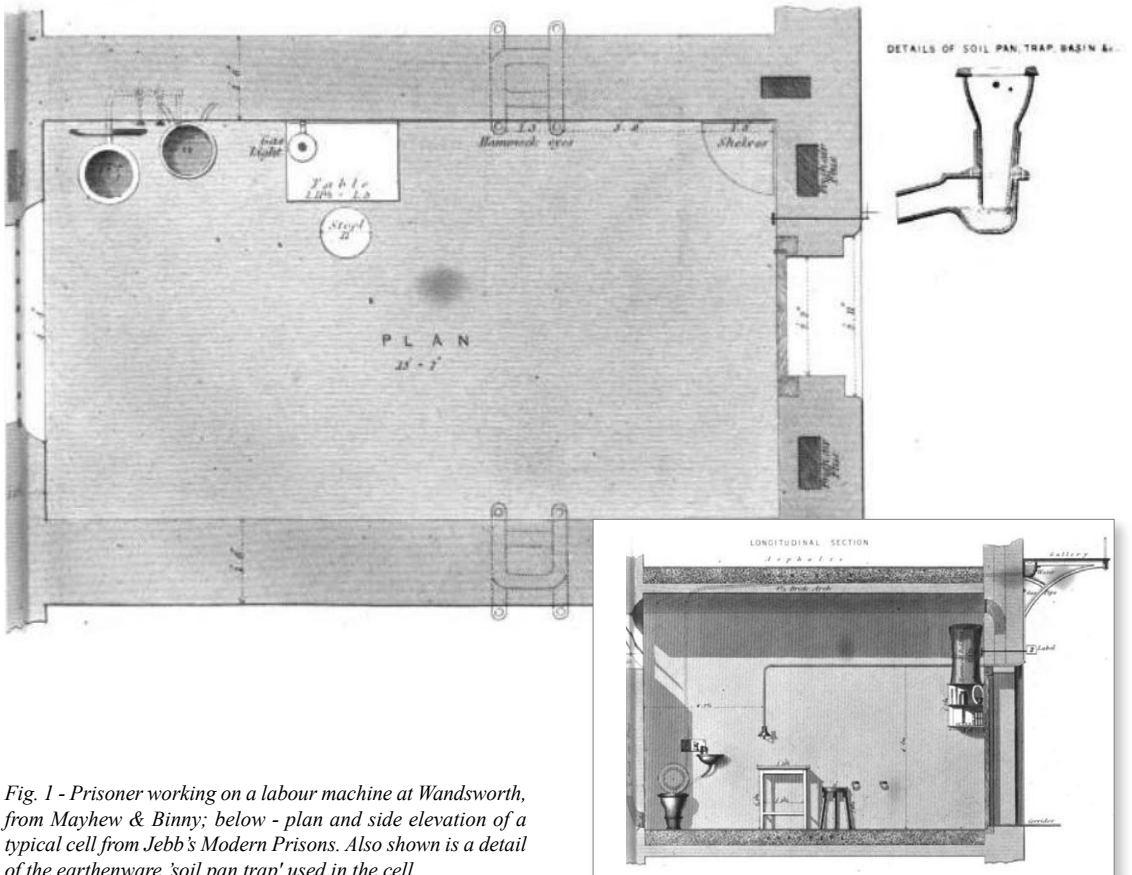
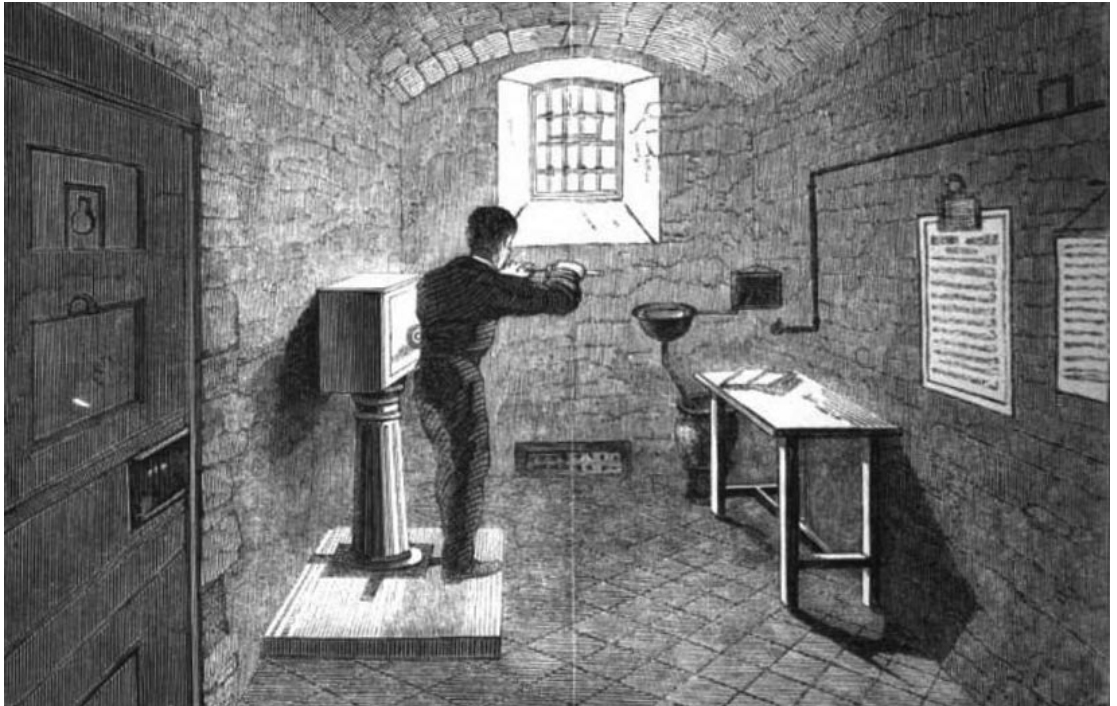
and have provision for eating, washing, sleeping, working, and study or general reading. They also needed lavatory facilities.

The prison was provided with its own supply of water. Even before building started, a substantial well was dug several hundred feet through the London clay to reach the chalk aquifer. The plans provided for 'cisterns' on the roof to accept water from the well; a pump was connected to a series of 24 (later increased to 36) crank-handles, each one operated by a prisoner on hard labour in the pump house. One revolution of the crank produced around a gallon of water; between five and six thousand gallons per day initially were pumped into the roof cisterns. Water was then distributed throughout the prison buildings via pipes. There was also a 37,500 gallon tank for collecting rainwater.

Ventilation and heating was provided by Mr Haden's apparatus.¹² Jebb included a diagram of the heating and ventilation layout at Pentonville in his book *Modern Prisons*,¹³ and from the description of the system given by the prison engineer at Wandsworth, a similar arrangement was used there.¹⁴ Each cell was connected to two flues via grilles in the walls. Fresh air was drawn into the basement of the building via a large duct from outside. The air was heated in winter by hot water pipes threading the duct. The hot air passed up into the fresh air flues from whence it was ducted into each cell through a grille set high in the wall. Foul air from the cell, was displaced through another grille, set at ground level, and then into the foul air flue which passed up the outside wall of the building into a large chimney. Air flow was driven by the rising hot air produced in the basement. During summer when the basement heating was off, a fire was lit at the base of the chimney, above the level of the cells. As the hot air passed up the chimney, it produced a draft that 'pulled' fresh air through the system from the basement. The flues for fresh and foul air were embedded into the cell walls, and would have provided extra heating in winter. The system was surprisingly effective. Jebb produced figures from Pentonville showing that during the winter of 1844, when the outside temperature was 25°F (-4°C), the temperature inside the prison was not less than 50°F (10°C).

Figure 1 illustrates a cell from the new Surrey House of Correction with the prisoner working at a labour machine.¹⁵ Also shown is a side elevation and plan view of a similar cell from Jebb's *Modern Prisons*, and a detail of the lavatory or 'soil pan trap' plumbed in to the cell. The cells were 13 feet long, 7 feet wide, and 9 feet high with a glazed window. In the corner can be seen a lavatory with a wooden lid which could be used as a seat. Emptying into it is a drain from a wash-basin, fed with water from a so-called water box. A separate pipe connected to the lavatory bowl provided rudimentary flushing facilities. The output from the lavatory was plumbed into a central drainage system using the 'best Staffordshire earthenware', and thence into storage tanks. Once more, reference to Jebb's book makes it clear that this was a proper, modern lavatory pan with a 'bottle' type trap - he called it a 'soil pan trap' - see figure 1. For sleeping, a hammock was slung between hooks or eyes in the wall; this was rolled up and kept on a shelf during the day. The rectangular panel on the door, above and to the left of the door lock, is a small covered hatch which was used to convey food to and from the cell. On the wall is a copy of the prison rules, the prisoner's diet, and a warrant detailing the prisoner's personal details, offence, and length of sentence. There was also a small table and stool - not shown - and above the table is a gas jet to provide the prisoner with light. The final report does not mention explicitly a gas factory or gasworks within the prison for manufacturing the coal gas. It does talk about two 'large gas meters', one of which was faulty, and it seems probable that the term referred to 'gasometers' or 'gas holders' which would be needed for an on-site local gasworks.¹⁶ Pentonville certainly had a gas factory, and it is very likely that Wandsworth had one also; the new prison was effectively out in the country and would have been nowhere near a commercial gas supply.

On shelves (unseen in the picture) are a tin plate and 'pannikin' - small metal drinking cup - a wooden spoon, salt cellar, comb, towel, brush, and soap box. Prison rules required the prisoners to wash every day, and wash their feet once per week. When Mayhew and Binny visited the prison, they observed a Bible, prayer book, and various library books on the shelves.



Outside the cell was a hinged plate displaying the cell number which was connected to a bell operated by a bell-pull inside the cell. By ringing the bell a warder could be summoned; the indicator would spring out showing which cell had rung. The water box was a shield which covered the water-tap, 'to prevent the prisoners tampering with it.' Evidently the prisoners signalled their need for water via the bell pull. There is no mention in the literature of how the gas lights in the cells were lit. The risks of allowing the prisoners to possess matches and have access to the gas controls are too obvious to state, and it is likely that the gas tap was either external to the cell, or likewise shielded to prevent mischief. In any event the warders would have needed to enter the cell to light the gas jets when required.¹⁷

Also visible in the cell is a labour machine. The prisoners were required to work, the amount and severity of which depended on the nature of the sentence. Many of the tasks concerning the day-to-day running of the prison were undertaken by the prisoners: general labouring, cleaning, cooking, gardening, and laundering. There was also profitable labour that could be done within the prison cell, like shoe making, mat making, and oakum picking.¹⁸ Operating the water-pump cranks was considered hard labour, as was working the mills for grinding grain for bread, but these were insufficient to occupy the large number of prisoners whose sentences included hard labour. The labour machines filled that gap.

The notorious treadmill, or *treadwheel* when no useful work was being performed, had been used for prisoners on hard labour. At the design stage of the new prison, the Surrey magistrates considered whether the existing treadwheels already in use at Brixton could be rebuilt at Wandsworth, but were told that the cost per prisoner would be around 18 pounds. There was also the more important problem of preventing communication between prisoners when several of them were using the wheel. The magistrates decided to investigate the use of a labour machine which could be installed inside individual cells. The machine consisted of a box with a large crank-handle, an indicator on the outside of how many turns had been executed, and a mechanism inside the box which allowed the

force needed to turn the handle to be varied. No useful work was performed, except that in turning the handle around 12,000 times per day, the prisoner was put to the 'hard labour' required by his sentence.

The Surrey magistrates were particularly proud of their labour machines, known colloquially as 'The Crank', and devoted a considerable part of their final report to an account of the procurement process.¹⁹ After inviting tenders, five machines of different designs were offered. Of these, three were assessed by a consulting engineer, Charles May, who favoured a machine using an iron wheel with a friction belt over it adjusted by weights. Captain Williams, Inspector of Prisons, endorsed the decision. One hundred of the machines were duly purchased at a price of £8.10s each. When in use, the prison surgeon advised on the setting according to the prisoner's state of health and strength. The magistrates noted that 'their' machine was 'Made by Mr Botten, but invented by Mr Appold, and exhibited by him at the Great Exhibition [of 1851].'²⁰

The New Surrey House of Correction, like Pentonville, was revolutionary in many aspects of its design although the ideas were not new. It has been noted that Howard and Blackstone had advocated the idea of separation in the 1770s. Furthermore, in 1787, a series of letters from the philosopher Jeremy Bentham had laid out *his* ideas for an ideal prison, the *Panopticon*.²¹ He noted that the object of a penitentiary house was 'safe-custody, confinement, solitude, forced labour, and instruction'. In Bentham's plan, the prisoners were separately confined, one to a cell, with the cells built on the circumference of a circle. In the centre was an 'inspection lodge', separated from the inner circumference of the cells by an appropriate distance. The inner wall of each cell was composed entirely of a 'light iron grating', and this allowed warders in the lodge to observe each prisoner in every part of their cell. Prisoners were always under observation, and as a result would be deterred from breaking the prison rules. And recognizing one of the consequences of confinement for extended periods, Bentham proposed that there should be a lavatory in each cell plumbed into a central waste disposal using 'glazed

earthenware pipes'. He had also suggested heating and ventilation using air ducts.

To persons unfamiliar with the Victorian prison system, the existence of air-conditioned, heated cells with en suite facilities, gas lighting, and room service, might seem surprising. A cartoon in *Punch* in 1849 entitled 'How to make culprits comfortable: or hints for prison discipline' provided a contemporary view. A number of prisoners are shown relaxing and being waited on. There is a notice on the wall that says: 'Those gentlemen who prefer washing, are informed that hot water is always ready, or a warm bath can be had at five minutes notice.' (warm water was available for the baths prisoners were obliged to take on entering the prison.) One prisoner is seen relaxing in an armchair with his feet up and smoking a pipe. A lad dressed as a bell-boy is saying to him: 'The governor wished to know sir what exercise you take today - whether you will pick a little oakum or take a turn on the mill?' The prisoner replies: 'Oh give my compliments to the gov'nor, and say I shan't come out today, I don't feel very well...'

It was necessary that the prisoners should leave their cells from time to time. Those whose labour included cleaning, cooking, laundering, and gardening, and the hard-labour men sent for duty on the water pumps and flour-grinding mills needed to get to their stations without communicating with any other prisoner. The Surrey Magistrates adopted the system that had been used successfully at Pentonville for nearly ten years. On admittance to the prison, each person was given a unique number displayed on the left arm of the prison jacket. A number above this, from 1 to 7, indicated the diet he or she was to be given according to the nature of their sentence. On the left breast was a hook with a plate on which the cell number, corridor and division was displayed. Thereafter, inmates were referred to only by their number, and could be instructed or ordered without using their names. To prevent recognition by other prisoners outside the cell, the prison cap was modified by the addition of a flap affixed to the front entirely covering the face. Two eye holes allowed the prisoner to see, and an aperture, covered in 'alpaca' over the nose and mouth 'assist[ed] respiration'. The women wore veils, and silence was insisted upon whenever the prisoner was outside his or her cell.



Fig. 2 - Masked prisoners on outdoor exercise at Pentonville Prison, from Mayhew & Binny.

There were two prison activities that stretched the ingenuity of the planners in maintaining separation; these were outdoor exercise and religious worship. Outdoor exercise was deemed essential, and Mayhew and Binny described the way it was done. Three large concentric circles were marked on the ground in the middle of the prison's vegetable growing area. One file of masked men walked around the outer circle; men of lower physical stamina followed the inner circle. Prison guards patrolled the circle between. Social distancing was practised - each man being separated from the one in front and the one behind by around four yards - thus making any sort of surreptitious conversation between them impossible. The officers barked instructions at any stragglers. Around 50 men could be exercised at a time, and the process lasted for an hour per day, per prisoner. Figure 2 shows prisoners at Pentonville exercising in a similar regime; the scene is reminiscent of a print by Escher, where grotesque figures follow each other in nightmare landscapes.

Far more problematic than exercise was Sunday worship. The prison chaplain played an essential part in the reformation of the prisoners. He was the highest paid member of the prison staff after the governor, and communal worship might, therefore, be expected to be a priority and an essential part of moral education and rehabilitation. The chapel was built with accommodation for 400 persons largely to the design already in use at Pentonville. Of all the ingenuity displayed in designing the prison, the chapel represented the pinnacle. It was thought desirable that the prisoners' faces should not be covered while at worship, and in order to maintain separation, each prisoner was placed in a vertical coffin-like structure or stall with only their head and shoulders visible. These boxes were ranged like seats in a theatre gallery with each row higher than the one in front. The sides of each box separated the prisoner from their neighbour on either side, and the back of the box prevented any contact with the person behind. Figure 3 shows the arrangement at Wandsworth; approximately half of the chapel is shown. Each box was numbered and a record of which prisoner was in which box was kept in order that any troublemakers could be immediately identified. Access to each box was via a door from the adjacent one.

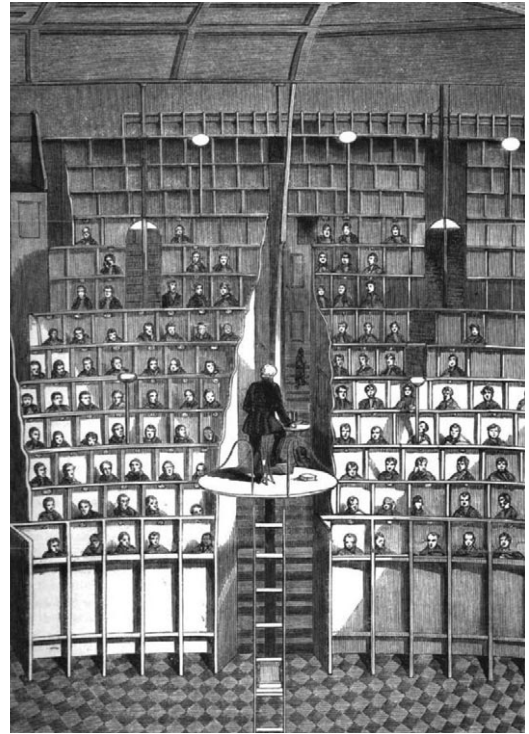


Fig. 3 - The chapel at the New Surrey House of Correction from Mayhew & Binny.

The design for the new prison had been finalised in 1849, by which time there was seven years' worth of data on the success or otherwise of the Separate System in action at Pentonville. The 'Model' prison was the first to have been designed specifically for separation, and the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, had appointed a most eminent set of commissioners to oversee its performance. These included Lord John Russell - who was to be a future Prime Minister, the Speaker of the House of Commons, Dr Robert Ferguson - physician accoucheur to Queen Victoria, Sir Benjamin Brodie - soon to be president of the Royal College of Surgeons, Joshua Jebb, William Crawford and Rev Whitworth Russell.

The second report of the commissioners, dated 10 March 1844, stated in regard of the merits of the separate system: 'There exists abundant proof of the religious and moral improvement of the prisoners, among whom a cheerful spirit of industry prevails.' In the third report the commissioners 'strongly urge the advantage of the separation of one prisoner from

another as the basis and great leading feature of all prison discipline.' And in the fourth report in 1846:

The experience of another year ... has more strongly than ever impressed us with the value of this corrective and reformatory system of prison discipline [which is] safe and efficient and capable of general application ... The result of our entire experience is the conclusion that the separation of one prisoner from another is the only sound basis on which a reformatory discipline can be established with any hope of success.

There had been debate regarding the merits or otherwise of the Separate System ever since its inception. In 1842, Charles Dickens' *American Notes* detailed some findings from the author's visit to the Eastern Penitentiary in Pennsylvania - the prison noted by Crawford as operating the perfect system. Dickens was horrified by what he saw; he said: 'I believe that very few men are capable of estimating the immense amount of torture and agony this dreadful punishment ... inflicts upon the sufferers'.²²

Sir Peter Laurie, president of the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem, published a pamphlet in 1846 entitled *Killing no Murder*.²³ The Separate System was, he said, 'Highly injurious to the minds of the prisoners ... Dangerous to their bodily health ... Demoralising ... has failed in America ... [and] is burdensome to the country from its great cost.' Laurie's main objection was the number of lunatics the new system appeared to produce. As president of the Bethlem Hospital - Bedlam - he had first-hand experience of this.

In 1851, Dr Forbes Winslow, a physician specializing in the diagnosis and treatment of insanity, pointed out in the *Lancet* that the number of prisoners at Pentonville who had been declared insane was significantly above the national average of the population at large. Even so, he continued to think that the Separate System 'better than any other plan'.²⁴ The following year John Burt, assistant chaplain at Pentonville, published a 288-page book detailing the results of ten years' operation of the Separate System at Pentonville Prison.²⁵ Brevity was not Rev Burt's speciality, and a review article in the *London Quarterly Review* by Dr Robert Ferguson, one of the commissioners for

Pentonville Prison, is helpful in providing a synopsis of his findings.²⁶ Burt's conclusions, endorsed by Ferguson, were that prisoners subjected to the Separate System as employed at Pentonville between 1843 and 1847 produced model prisoners with rates of insanity no higher than the general population. Prisoners were subjected to 18 months of separation after which they were transported. But in 1847, perhaps coincident with the deaths of Crawford and Russell,²⁷ Jebb had introduced a mixed system, where the term of separation was reduced to 12 months followed by 'associated labour at public works'. In a later report, he commented that this decision was based on 'close' observations at Pentonville and elsewhere.²⁸ This new arrangement, it was said by Burt and Ferguson, led to 'more madness, less reformation.'

Everyone seemed to agree that there was an increased incidence of insanity at Pentonville, and it is important to note possible causes other than the practice of separation. Sir James Graham had decided when the prison was opened that Pentonville should be used as a probationary filter for specific convicts sentenced to be transported. Prisoners were to be male first-time offenders, aged between 18 and 35. They would undergo a term of probation lasting 18 months which would include religious and moral instruction, and coaching in a trade. At the end of the period, they would be sent to Australia. Those who had behaved well, would immediately receive a ticket of leave on arrival; effectively, they would be granted freedom in the new country. Those indifferent performers would receive a 'probationary pass', including some limitations on their personal freedom and only a 'limited portion of [their] earnings'. Those who behaved badly would be treated as convicts and forced to work for no wages. Although a few percent of transported prisoners did return legally to Britain, the overwhelming majority stayed in Australia for the rest of their lives. The young, first-time offenders would have been aware of their fate during this probationary period and, as the Home Secretary himself had observed, they had to 'extinguish the hope of return to [their] family and friends'. Under such circumstances it is perhaps not surprising that some of them went mad with despair, while a few others sought to feign madness in order to be sent to Bedlam rather than overseas.

The practice of psychiatry was in its infancy, the diagnosis of insanity was far from secure, and the supporting statistics from Pentonville quoted by the various objectors were substantially different. Mayhew and Binny claimed that over eight years, the insanity rate at Pentonville was 0.62%, ten times the average rate for all other prisoners. Winslow claimed that it was 1.34% over a similar period. Burt and Ferguson claimed that for the first five years, the insanity rate was no worse than normal, but after Jebb reduced the period of separation - apparently in response to a *higher* rate of insanity - the lunacy rate increased by a factor of eight.

Jebb made other changes. In 1852 he submitted some resolutions from the Directors of Pentonville Prison to the Home Secretary, Spencer Walpole, for approval. These included dispensing with the masks and the removal of the stalls from the chapel in order to reduce the elevated mental disease at Pentonville. His rationale was that the masks and use of the chapel stalls did not prevent prisoners from recognizing each other, and the prisoners were, in any case, brought to the prison in free association with each other. The report of the Directors of Prisons for 1859, details the views of some chaplains and governors regarding stalls in chapels: 'the "separate stall" system ... [has] failed altogether in preventing prisoners from communicating with each other, or in affording an effective supervision'.

In the proceedings of the Hampshire Quarter Sessions in 1861, Lord Cholmondeley reported testing the efficacy of the chapel stalls at Winchester prison by having himself locked into one during a service. Previously it had been reported that there had been such a noise in the chapel that 'nothing could be heard'. During his confinement, he said he only heard a lot of whispering. He added that of the 292 stalls, every single one had been defaced 'in the most disgusting manner'. A letter to him from Jebb confirmed that 'after 18 years trial [of the chapel stalls] at Pentonville they had all been removed ... At Parkhurst and Dartmoor the same course had been taken'. Lord Cholmondeley had had communications from 37 prisons operating the Separate System; 11 had removed their stalls, 15 had never had stalls and were very happy with the operation of their chapel, and 11 still used stalls and had no plans to remove them.

Problems were not confined to the practice of separation; a number of the civil engineering innovations were starting to unravel. The efficacy of Hayden's ventilation system was called into question by a report from the same Hampshire Quarter Sessions. The system of ventilation in use at Pentonville (and Wandsworth), 'good in theory, had proved bad in practice.' At Pentonville and Winchester, while the prisoners were at chapel, the cell doors and windows were opened wide; on their return, the prisoners found their cells to be 'aired and wholesome'.

A report (undated) from a visitor to Pentonville stated that the water closets in the cells were constantly blocked, and had been replaced by 'communal vile-smelling recesses'. Mention was also made of (verbal) communication between the cells via the sewage pipes, which seems unlikely;²⁹ the pipes should have been sealed by the soil pan traps. In fact, inspection of Jebb's plans for Pentonville, shows that the ventilation ducts would have made almost perfect speaking tubes between each set of three vertically-separated cells. The principle of the speaking tube was well known at the time, and Bentham had even suggested using this type of communication between his Panopticon inspection lodge and the cells. It is odd, therefore, that this very obvious flaw in the prevention of very easy communication did not seem to have occurred to anyone. Burt gave details of a code, taught to him by a young prisoner, that could be used to communicate between adjacent cells, spelling words out by knocking on the wall; one knock for 'A', two knocks for 'B' and so on. He claimed that the method was 'much less [tedious] ... than one would imagine'.

By the early 1860s, difficulties with the Separate System were coming home to roost. The most serious of these, the apparent increase in insanity, was based on specific conditions at Pentonville, where there was the prospect of banishment to the other side of the world for life. Was the insanity rate increased at the houses of correction? The surgeon at Wandsworth during the 1870s commented time and again that the deaths, illnesses, and insanities among prisoners there were in no way attributable to the 'conditions under which the prisoners were held'. The number of prisoners removed to asylums between 1862 and 1873 averaged 11 per year,

which for an annual throughput of around 4,500 persons is 0.25%. Given the uncertainty in the rates at Pentonville, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions. Regular visits to the prison, made every few weeks and reported to the Quarter Sessions, were that prisoner 'separation' was being followed. The prison chaplain seemed to be only concerned by the effect of alcohol on criminality. He was convinced that drunkenness was responsible for 95% of prisoners at Wandsworth falling into crime in the first place.

The real question attending any consideration of penal reform is whether it reduces the reoffending rate. Mayhew & Binny produced the figures for all prisoners in England and Wales between 1842 and 1849; they showed that the rate was virtually constant at around 30% over the entire period. The statistics covered a wide range of different prisons using a variety of methods of discipline. The statistics for Wandsworth, for the year ending 29 September 1861, showed that 4,025 prisoners had been received, of which two thirds were male and one third female. Of these, 743 were children under 17 years old, and 18 of the boys were less than 10 years old. Out of 4,025 prisoners, 1,262 were reoffenders, 78% of whom had previously been prisoners at Wandsworth. The rate of reoffending, after ten years of the strictly enforced Separate System, was over 31%. The new system had achieved no improvement whatsoever.

Henriques offered a number of explanations why the Separate System was unsuccessful, of which the obvious one is that it just didn't work - as the above finding confirms. On the failure of reformation and rehabilitation, he suggested that 'the roots of crime grew in areas of social experience outside prison and beyond the reach of any system of prison discipline yet devised.' This seems as good an explanation as any although it is a pity, because the concept of reformation via religious instruction and education was instigated for the purest of motives. Even so, separation vis-a-vis single cell occupancy, continued to be regarded as important. The eighth report of the Commissioners of Prisons, 1885, states: 'experience shows that the separation of prisoners ... is of so much importance in prison management'. The report goes on to praise the benefits of 'cellular' teaching, i.e. one-to-one

instruction in the cells, listing many anecdotes from prison chaplains extolling its virtues.

At Wandsworth as early as 1859, the use of mandatory masks was probably abandoned as it had been at the county prison at Horsemonger Lane; the use of masks in all prisons was formally discontinued in 1878. The 'coffins' were not removed from the chapel until 1880, and Wandsworth seems to have been one of the last prisons to do so under instruction from the Inspectors of Prisons. It is not clear when the use of the labour machines was finally abandoned. In 1862, John Perry, an Inspector of Prisons visiting Wandsworth, proposed that they should be removed in favour of 'productive labour', a suggestion which the Quarter Sessions reported as being greeted with indifference by the Surrey magistrates. As late as 1888, 81 prisoners were still employed there on the crank.

It was 1886 before the individual lavatories in cells at Wandsworth were taken out. Inspection of Jebb's 'soil-pan traps', and the anecdote from Pentonville, make it clear that these early plumbed-in lavatories could not have worked without constant blockages until Thomas Crapper invented his famous and effective 'flushing' mechanism. An oft-repeated story that the lavatories were removed to make room for more prisoners, thus abandoning separation, seems likely to be an urban myth since they would have taken up very little more room than the notorious bucket. The closets were removed because they just didn't work.

Separate cell occupancy was not abandoned altogether; a recent Freedom of Information disclosure for Wandsworth reveals that even now, nearly half of the cells at the prison contain only one occupant.

Notes

1. William Crawford, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ODNB, online.
2. Crawford, ODNB.
3. *The Criminal Prisons of London*, Henry Mayhew and John Binny, Griffin, Bohn & Co, London, 1862.
4. *Results of the System of Separate Confinement*, John Burt, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London, 1852.

5. *The Rise and Decline of the Separate System of Prison Discipline*, U R Q Henriques, Past and Present, 54: pp.61-93, 1972.
6. Mayhew & Binny.
7. Mayhew & Binny.
8. The Surrey County Gaol at Horsemonger Lane was a so-called convict prison, and was unaffected by the closures.
9. Mayhew & Binny.
10. It is said frequently in print that the St Andrews Cross with a central hub design used at Wandsworth, was Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon* design. This is not the case; there is a description of the *Panopticon* later in the text.
11. Mayhew & Binny.
12. G & J Haden of Trowbridge.
13. *Modern Prisons, Their Construction and Ventilation*, J Jebb, John Weale, London 1844.
14. Mayhew & Binny
15. Figure 1 is from Mayhew and Binny's book; a ground plan of the prison from the same book indicates that the cell door and cell window are at opposite ends of the cell rather than as shown in the picture. Probably this change was done in order to see the door with its various openings along with all the other features of the cell in one illustration.
16. Coal Gas, or Town Gas, is made by heating coal in an enclosure from which oxygen is excluded. The gas is stored in large cylindrical containers - gasholders or 'gasometers' - of the type that used to be a common sight in towns in Britain.
17. The illustration of a cell at Pentonville in Mayhew and Binny's book shows a gas tap adjacent to the gas jet in the cell.
18. Oakum was old rope from ships, usually saturated with tar. It was picked into individual threads that were used for caulking in shipbuilding, and sealing pipes in plumbing.
19. *Final Report of the Committee of Justices ... House of Correction at Wandsworth Common*, London 1852. Surrey History Centre.
20. *The Great Exhibition Catalogue*, Part II, Machinery, notes on p.230: 429. Botten, Charles, Clerkenwell - Manufacturer. Appold's self-regulating friction-break labour machine for prisons. The resistance of this machine when loaded to any fixed strain on the handle will not vary, whether it be well oiled, and working freely or dry, and with considerable friction. It is adapted for measuring labour in prisons, or ascertaining the amount of work performed by a steam engine and other machines. Patented by J G Appold, Esq., Wilson Street, Finsbury Square.
21. *Panopticon*, p.10, Jeremy Bentham, Dublin and London, 1791.
22. *Pictures from Italy and American Notes*, Charles Dickens, Pollard & Moss, New York 1884; first published 1842.
23. *Killing no Murder*, Sir Peter Laurie, John Murray, London, 1846.
24. *Prison Discipline*, Dr Forbes Winslow, *The Lancet*, 29 Mar 1851, pp.358-359.
25. *Burt*.
26. *The Two Systems at Pentonville*, Robert Ferguson, *London Quarterly Review*, Vol 92, April 1853, pp 258-269.
27. In a grim coincidence, William Crawford had a fatal heart attack in the boardroom at Pentonville, while a few months later Russell, who had money worries and concerns from a report critical of the governance at Millbank Penitentiary, shot himself in the Millbank boardroom.
28. *Report on the Discipline and Management of the Convict Prisons*, Lieut.-Col. Jebb C.B., Eyre and Spottiswood, London 1854.
29. *The English: A Social History, 1066-1945*. Hibbert, Christopher, Grafton Books. 1987, p.667.

Peter Maggs

Email: pnd.maggs@gmail.com

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Top Tips and Techniques

SOME IDEAS FOR LOOKING AT GENEALOGY BRICK WALLS BEFORE 1837

Else Churchill

A little while ago some friends who follow me on Twitter answered my call out for some useful tips to resolve genealogy conundrums and smash brick walls. Their ideas were eminently sensible and I've summarised them here:

- Undertake a genealogy 'do-over'. Go right back to the start and begin the research again, ignoring everything you think you know and this time note what, where and when you found information.
- Review, review and review research very carefully as you may have missed or misunderstood something. Reviewing what you have already found often yields clues to new research ideas you haven't explored yet.
- Write out what you want to know making a full summary of what you've done so far and research plan.
- New information appears on genealogy websites all the time so re-check on an old brick wall every so often.
- Stop researching the person at the centre of the brick wall problem and research those around them. Always follow collateral lines, go sideways to go backwards - explore siblings and cousins, especially look for wills of unmarried female relatives.
- Don't just look for individuals. Family reconstruction can be really helpful so search and extract all entries of a family name from the records and put those you can into family groups. This may show naming patterns, identify siblings and cousins and show any anomalies and gaps.
- Keep learning and expanding your genealogical knowledge through reading books, magazines, online blogs and guides and courses.
- A second opinion often helps and a fresh pair of eyes always helps. Try asking questions in the SoG members' forum. Contribute or just follow social online #genealogy support groups such as

Twitter's #AncestryHour or many Facebook #genealogy groups.

The SoG's member forum can be accessed in the members area of the website <https://members.sog.org.uk/forums> and you can sign in via your profile page on the website. Or give our experts a call on the Thursday evening advice line between 6-9pm on 0207 251 8799 and press option 5.

Who? What? Where? When? Why?

When I prepare to approach any genealogical problem - whether for myself or to help another genealogist - I find I am always having to ask the fundamental questions. Who? What? Where? When? Why?

- **Who? Who are you looking for?** Do you actually know their name? That might be the name they used informally rather than the name they were registered with. The type of person or status of that person may influence what can be found. Are we dealing with an agricultural labourer or a lord of the manor? But remember the Ag Labs worked on the manor and farms so knowing who their employers or landlords may be important too.
- **What are you looking for?** Baptism, Marriage or Burial? What information do you hope to find from that source? Can another provide the same information? What did your ancestors do in their lives? Many records relating to occupations provide useful clues.
- **Where? Do you know an exact place or parish, county, country, world?** Many records are associated with the places where our ancestors lived so that starting place can be vital.
- **When? 16th-20th centuries?** Time and context are crucial. It is important, for example, to know that you only get birth certificates in England and

Wales after 1st July 1837 or that the procedure and location of wills differs before and after 1858. Create a timeline or chronology to spot anomalies or gaps in your information.

- **Why are you stuck?** Usually it's down to too many or too few possibilities. Are there gaps in records or your knowledge? Do you simply have insufficient information to go any further at present?

What's likely to cause the impasse?

Are you dealing with a change of name or absolutely the wrong name? Are you working under a false premise? Challenge your theories and test your evidence. Are you challenged by the mobility of your ancestors? Is this a case of movement and migration or are you simply looking in the wrong place? Have you checked the original record and source? Has it been mis-transcribed? Not registered or recorded - sloppy record keeping.

As part of a sound research strategy and plan ensure you identify the gaps in your information and consider where you might find that missing information? How do I access it? What are my priorities? Determine the logical and practical order of your research.

The Society's online hints and tips in the members area give some ideas on analysing your research, www.sog.org.uk/learn/hints-tips/how-to-analyse-your-research, and has some ideas about writing up a cogent report and argument including a proof summary of what you have found www.sog.org.uk/learn/hints-tips/writing-genealogical-reports

Our online ideas for collating your research include our standards of good research practice www.sog.org.uk/members/members-area/how-to-collate-your-research.

Considering what constitutes proof in a genealogical context can be a challenge. Certainly you don't want to delude yourself or anyone else that something is true when is not. The Society of Genealogists' principles of research and suggested practice are rules that any good researcher should abide by and which generally ask for honesty of research, the use of good and clear evidence to prove a logical argument.

These concord largely with what is known as the genealogical proof standard which ensures that before you accept anything as genealogical proof or fact you should be satisfied that you, or indeed the compiler of any online family tree or pedigree that you have found, have made the following:

- A reasonably exhaustive search for all pertinent information - (Have I searched hard enough?)
- A complete and accurate citation to the source of each item used - (Can I find this again and could someone else repeat this?)
- Analysis of the collected information's quality as evidence - (Does my theory hold up to scrutiny?)
- Resolution of any conflicting or contradictory evidence - (Don't delude yourself)
- Arrive at a soundly reasoned, coherently written conclusion - (Make sense)

Become the expert on your place

It's so important to become an expert on the places where your ancestors come from. Know the extent of the coverage of parish registers on online genealogy sites. Are there gaps? Can Bishops transcripts be used if the registers are deficient?

Check local archives catalogues to see what parish and other records survive for your parish and FamilySearch catalogue to see what's filmed/digitized.

Be aware of the local history - important factors affecting your family may be employment and industry, what happened during the Civil War, the preponderance of nonconformity.

Find the farms and manors, factories and businesses where your ancestors worked or may even have owned.

Use contemporary maps and directories to establish local transport routes via turnpikes, roads, railways etc. that gave them an opportunity to leave or arrive.

The administrative units that overlay the places where your ancestors lived are indicated by Vision of Britain website, <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/> and also FamilySearch, www.familysearch.org/mapp/.

You will need to identify the Registration District where births marriages and deaths might be registered, the Poor Law Union that these were based on and which formed workhouses and gave relief to the poor. The Ancient or Ecclesiastical Parish or Chapelry as each might have essential records. In the capital you will need to know the current London Borough, ancient parishes and wards and in the county shires what was the Hundred or Wapentake etc. Which might be the local county town where Quarter Session courts were held or which Assize Circuit Courts dealt with serious criminal matters?

Family, Associates and Neighbours

Another useful genealogical technique is to look at more widely-extended family members, who your ancestors associated with and who were their neighbours. Some genealogists call this the FAN technique.

Family members may be a witness at a marriage, bondsmen on a marriage bond, godparents etc. Cousins and siblings should be identified as of course they will have ancestry. If you can't find an ancestor's birth certificate can you find his brother's? If you have three James Churchills living about the same time and place, can you establish whether they are perhaps cousins and have the common ancestry via their grandfather?

Association can be the people your ancestors worked for or with, attendees at the same church. I once established that a surname used as a second forename didn't indicate a marriage with that name somewhere up the tree (as it often does) but rather the second surname/forename was given in honour of the master to whom the father of the child served as an apprentice.

Neighbours of course are those who lived nearby and it's certainly not unusual to marry the girl next door. However check where people in the same street or village come from. I have seen for example fishing communities where several families came down the East coast from Norfolk to Kent or from Devon in the West to Kent following the fishing trade and if your ancestor was in that trade that may be a clue as to where to look.

Don't just look for baptisms, marriages and burial records in online church registers. Use local name-rich resources to supplement parish registers.

As there can be challenges and problems using parish registers it is important to build up your evidence. Look for name-rich supplementary information to add or provide an alternative to information in parish registers. Were your ancestors married by licence or banns? The marriage registers after 1753 will always say this and the associated records may have other clues. Monumental Inscriptions recorded from the tombstones in churchyards can supplement burial records.

Can you find local 'parish chest' records - such as churchwardens' accounts, vestry minutes, or parish apprenticeships? Look for local tax and rate records. Look for local directories. Land and property owners probably voted and will be listed in poll books, jurors lists etc. Their estate and manor records may list their tenants. Search for information about occupations and taxed apprentice records. Use poor law records. Can you find church court wills and causes? Are there local land and property records? Newspapers report even the smallest events in our ancestors lives and even the poorest might be the victims or perpetrators of crime, leading to criminal and court records.

So to sum up:

- Review and revisit your problem
- Draw many sources together to review and resolve conflicts
- Use vital parish and other name rich records to bring together family information.
- Keep looking, take good notes and keep putting your assumptions to the test

How have you broken down a genealogy brick wall? Case studies can help and we'd like to hear about your breakthroughs. Do email me some of your examples and stories at: else.churchill@sog.org.uk.

Further reading:

- Pitfalls and Possibilities in Family History Research* - Pauline M Litton.
- Genealogy. Essential Research Methods* - Helen Osborne.
- Family History Nuts and Bolts. Problem Solving Through Family Reconstructions Techniques* - Andrew Todd.

OUR ANCESTORS NEVER CEASE TO AMAZE...

Helen Dawkins LRPS

This quarter has seen some unusual work come into the studio but I am also pleased to say, some interesting emails from readers. It is rewarding to know that my articles are being enjoyed and also to hear fascinating stories courtesy of our ancestors. Little did they know that even the most humble would be talked about in years to come, which only goes to demonstrate how interesting lives can be from all walks of life. From the ag lab to the hop merchant and on to the more privileged classes, all have a story to tell and photographs can only enhance and embellish their lives.

I must give particular thanks to reader Nancy Wilson for her interest in Richard Beard who patented and licensed the Daguerreotype in this country, as mentioned in my last article. She began her research into Mr. Beard as a possible link in her family tree and it was through this that she identified that he did in fact pass away in 1885 and not 1851 as I noted - I believe a Freudian slip was at work here, Louis Daguerre died in 1851. By 1885 Beard had suffered a definite demise in his photographic business going from living with 'family and servants' in St. Pancras in the 1851 census to becoming a Lodger with just his wife at Lambeth in 1861 and stating his occupation, once again, as Coal Merchant. The trials and tribulations of a business man were ever difficult!

The Calotype ... the next exciting development in photographic history

Further interesting information came from reader, Simon Tosswill, who found information referring to the Daguerreotype in his family archive. George Gibson Richardson was his 2 x great-grandfather, recorded as a hop merchant living in Southwark. He also kept extensive diaries and one of his entries was as follows:

'25.8.1843 Went down at Mr Cundall's to have my likeness taken Photographically - beautifully done!'

He goes on to say:

'I consider it far superior to the Daguerreotype. It is a very prolific process. When once the likeness is taken, scores of others may be produced from it by a careful process, but an unerring one. I sat two minutes for this one, in a morning that was clear but without sun.'

This fully demonstrates the freedom afforded by the introduction of the Calotype in 1841 as it took production out of the studio and free of the constraints of the patents of the Daguerreotype process. The Calotype certainly took the photo-graphic process a huge step forward from the time-consuming but nevertheless beautiful invention of the Daguerreotype whereby only single copies were produced each time. The process is also referred to as the Talbotype, the original negative and positive process being invented and patented by William Henry Fox Talbot in 1841. He was based at Lacock Abbey near Chippenham. The negative was produced on paper which resulted in a softer, less sharp print than the Daguerreotype but clearly the results provided to George Richardson were completely acceptable. The main advantage of the Calotype, however, was the ability to produce more than one copy from the negative.

A full and very interesting biography of William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) can be found at <https://talbot.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/talbot/biography/>.

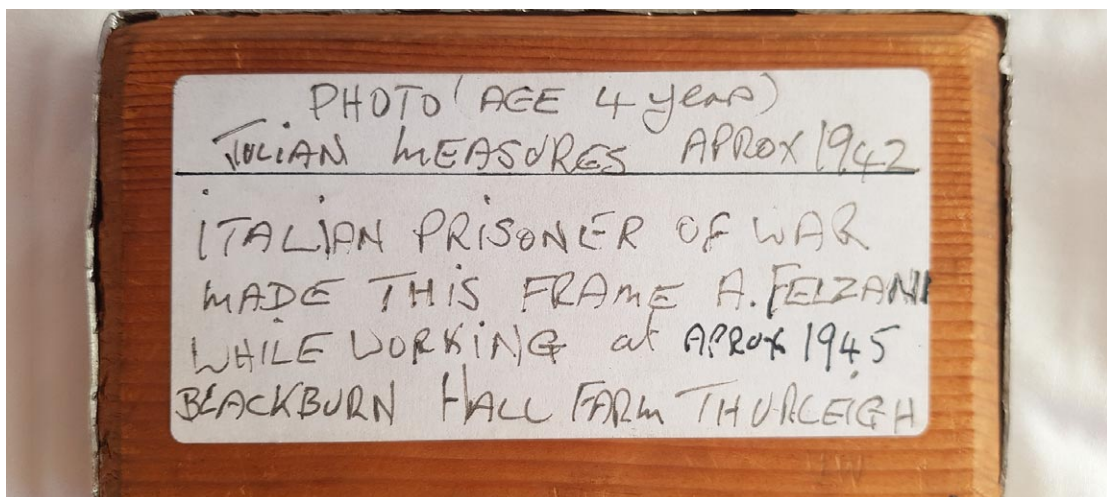
Joseph Cundall 1818-1895, carried out much early work on the Calotype process. He with fellow photographers, Robert Hunt and Hugh Welch Diamond formed the Calotype Club which later became the Photographic Club and finally known as the reputable Royal Photographic Society. By 1852, Cundall was working as both an author and photographer at 168 New Bond Street in London. As well as working independently under his own name, he teamed up with other notable photographers and formed a brief partnership with Robert Howlett and George Downes and traded under the names of Cundall & Howlett and Cundall and Downes.



Cundall's photographic career had two high points: first, when Queen Victoria commissioned him and Robert Howlett to photograph the British heroes of the Crimean War in 1856 and again in 1871 when the British Government sent him to France to organise the first photographic record of the Bayeux Tapestry.

...And so to work coming into the studio

One of the most thought-provoking items to come into the studio was a formal photograph of a child - nothing different here you may think but the interesting and much treasured part was the frame it was mounted in. The photograph was of a farmer's son and the farm he grew up on was home to several Italian prisoners of war during the Second World War. It was one of these prisoners who had made the frame out of some scrap metal with crude decoration as a gift to the child's father. As an Italian he believed the name 'Julian' began with a 'G' and so the inscription shows 'G M' as opposed to 'J M', referring to the subject, Julian Measures. Here was a man away from the comfort and support of his family but he obviously appreciated the new 'family' he had found albeit as a prisoner of war. His name was 'A Felzani' and he was one of those POWs who helped to alleviate the problems of a labour shortage, particularly in agriculture, during war time. It was estimated that some 100,000 Italians became POWs from the time of their capture in the Middle East in 1941 and after the surrender of Italy in 1943 and were given comparative



Figures 1, 2 and 3 - Julian Measures in Italian POW handmade frame



Figures 4, 5 and 6 by kind permission of the Green Family Archive

freedom, mixing with the local population. Items such as this are completely individual - money could not buy anything more precious.

This was certainly the quarter for interesting anecdotes as my next group of photographs was to prove...

The first, as shown in Figure 4, is a carte de visite, date uncertain but costume clues would point towards late 1860s-1890. The lady in the photograph was my client's ancestor, his mother's great-aunt, and was being evicted from the colliery house they lived in. Family lore tells that 'she threw pepper' at the officials gathered to carry out the eviction.

The family were from the north of England and certainly in November 1865 an anonymous writer and possible participant in a long running strike at Cramlington Colliery in Northumberland informed the Home Secretary that the families of striking miners including 'the blind, the lamed and the sick' were being forced from their homes. Life was certainly tough not only for the miners but also their families. Although legislation was brought in in 1842 to outlaw the employment of women and children in the mines, this no doubt had a knock-on effect on poverty.

For anyone interested in the history of the coal mining industry may I suggest: *Disability in the Industrial Revolution: Physical impairment in British coal-*

mining 1780-1880 published by the Manchester University Press, available to read online at: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK513201/>.

The cabinet photograph shown in Figure 5 depicts Charles Octavius Kirtley proudly photographed with his awards earned through long distance running. He was also the Founder of the Sunderland football league. My client, Mr McKie still has one of the two statues depicting Peace and Plenty: however, the watch and chain were sold by Kirtley's son, George Henry Kirtley, in order to start his betting 'business'. He did go on to open legal shops and sold them later in order to buy one of the large betting companies. He died a millionaire. The public house shown in Figure 6, the Engineers Arms was Charles Kirtley's later venture. Work on identifying the full details for the family archive are ongoing.

As ever, I look forward to receiving your thoughts and photographs for advice and care in the coming months.

Helen Dawkins LRPS

Email: helen@blackandwhiterevival.co.uk

Established in 1992, Black and White Revival carries out traditional restoration and conservation of photographs. Helen Dawkins is now one of the few traditional processors for black and white photography continuing to produce archival quality photographs in the darkroom. For further advice: email helen@blackandwhiterevival.co.uk, visit www.blackandwhiterevival.co.uk or tel: 01234 782265.



CORRESPONDENCE

From: Alan Taylor
Email: aljocata@gmail.com

Re: 'Our Kiev Ancestors'
Genealogists' Magazine, June 2022

You show how the several million descendants of King Edward III are descendants also of the Grand Princes of Kiev, mentioning two of Edward III's descents from Yaroslav the wise. The much greater number of people descended from his grandfather,

King Edward I, might be interested to know that he too had Kievan ancestry.

His line from Yaroslav passes through his daughter Anna into the royal house of France whence, as you show, to Louis VI who married Adelaide of Savoy. Their son Peter (1126-1183) married Elizabeth de Courtenay and was the father of Alice who married Aymer Taillefer, Count of Angoulême. Aymer and Alice were parents of Isabella, wife of King John of England and grandmother of Edward I.

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Derryck Peter Fitzgibbon Giles	1987 - 2022	Merlin Charles Sudeley	2014 - 2022
Daphne Mary Harper	1999 - 2022	David Alan Weatherson	1987 - 2022
Reginald Thomas Harrison	2008 - 2022	David Charles Witt	2001 - 2022
Barbara Elsie Elizabeth Horrocks	1977 - 2022	Michael Johnson Wood	1967 - 2022
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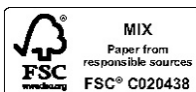
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Issued quarterly to members; and available to non-members by annual subscription (£25 if resident in the UK; £34 if outside the UK).

Editorial address for contributions, letters for publication and readers' queries and business address for advertisements, books for review and subscriptions: Society of Genealogists, 356 Holloway Road, London N7 6PA.

CONTACTS

www.sog.org.uk

SoG: 020 7251 8799

Chief Executive Officer:

Genealogist:

Librarian:

Archivist:

Dr Wanda Wyporska, FRHistS, FRSA

Else A. Churchill

Mary Hinton

Alex Bimpeh-Segu

ceo@sog.org.uk

else.churchill@sog.org.uk

mary.hinton@sog.org.uk

alex.bimpeh-segu@sog.org.uk

Publishing and Graphic Designer:

Genealogists' Magazine Editor:

Volunteer Contributions Editor:

Head of Member Services:

Membership:

Lectures and Courses:

Transformation & Volunteer Manager:

Graham Collett

Michael J. Gandy, BA, FSG

Jemma Lockhart

Hasnath Kalam

Tel: 020 7553 3291

Ruth Willmore

Christine Worthington

publishing@sog.org.uk

publishing@sog.org.uk

jemma_lockhart@yahoo.co.uk

hasnath.kalam@sog.org.uk

membership@sog.org.uk

ruth.willmore@sog.org.uk

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Over the years many of our members have honoured the Society by leaving generous gifts in their wills. We are always humbled by these gifts and recognise that this is a commitment made not only to the Society, its library and archive collections but also to future generations who will discover their ancestors, thanks to that generosity. As genealogists, you, our members, are no strangers to wills and probate, and so we would like to ask you to consider leaving a gift to the Society in your will. We have been able to use legacy donations to increase our digitisation, our acquisitions and to fund staff to care for our collections. Vitally, as we move into new premises, key legacies have enabled us to create a modern and welcoming new Society of Genealogists, which I hope you will all enjoy. If you would like your legacy donation to be spent in a particular area, then please do get in touch with Wanda, our Chief Executive, who would welcome a discussion.



FROM THE VOLUNTEER MANAGER

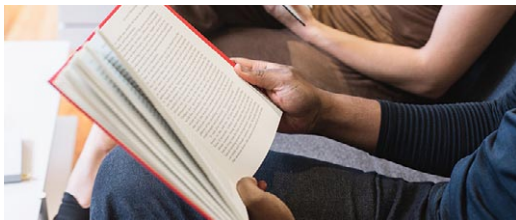
The colder weather is well and truly here and we are preparing for another big winter of home indexing. Though we'll all be busy in the run-up to the Christmas season, many of our home volunteers like to have a little extra indexing to do in the quiet, relaxing time after Christmas/New Year. This time of year can be a great opportunity for new volunteers to become acquainted with projects and receive support from others working on the same projects via our busy volunteer Forum. The Forum is our online common room for volunteers and contains helpful resources and training videos. There are three home projects to choose from: take a look at the volunteer page of our website for further details: <https://www.sog.org.uk/get-involved/volunteering/>

Preparation towards our new collections system continues. Our web developer now has a small amount of test data from across a variety of online collections and datasets and using this data can build the user interface. At some of our online meetings this year, members have seen some sketches of what the search and results screens will look like (and the designs look terrific!). The Phase 1 implementation of the new system will contain a limited selection of datasets and we will keep our existing system running in the meantime until the next phases of the new system are complete. All this work is important to ultimately showcase the amazing indexes and other content created by volunteers over many years. Our volunteer community will have the first opportunity to test out the new system and provide feedback before wider release to members (volunteers will find out more about this in our next volunteer e-newsletter Dispatch).

Our onsite collections volunteers continue to progress a range of projects such as for the library and periodicals inventory, admin files scanning, archives processing and listing, catalogue record amendment, books end processing, indexing, and microfilms extraction.

Our archives team has been busy sorting, packaging, labelling and documenting collections which arrived over the past year at our temporary office. An additional volunteer has been conducting a pilot review of the best way to tidy up and describe our extraordinary document collection. All of this work with physical archive records will feed into the work of Alex, our Archivist, who is creating the first online records for special collections which will be on the new collections system and available online for the first time.

In the library area around 40 'part processed' books packed at Clerkenwell have now had barcode numbers added to their catalogue records, and the books have received their bookplates (with their bibliographic information) and library stamps. This work means that all these books can now be easily identified in the catalogue, retrieved and used by members. The next library project involves the re-boxing, packaging and catalogue amendments for many boxes of unbound tracts (small booklets boxed together by subject).



If you have reviewed books previously for the Society's newsletter and would like to do so again, or if you have some writing skills and would like to get involved, please fill in our Book Reviewer Expression of Interest form (<https://tinyurl.com/2f888vm7>) and let us know. You can nominate your particular areas of interest and speciality, to enable us to match you with the right books. We can arrange for books to be posted to reviewers who live in the UK, but please note that we do need all books to be returned after review, as members will expect to be able to access them. If you have any questions about becoming a book reviewer or would like to see the list of books available for review please contact Mary, our Librarian: mary.hinton@sog.org.uk

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HIGHLIGHTED EVENTS

Thursday, 5 January - 23 March, 6 - 8pm
Stage 1 Family History Skills Evening Course

Do you have a budding genealogist in the family? Have you persuaded a friend to take up the hobby? Our Stage 1 Family History Skills Evening Course beginning on 5th January would make a fabulous Christmas present to get someone started on the right track. Maybe you have been meaning to brush up on your skills? This course covers all the basics and would be a wonderful New Year refresher.

This 12-week course is perfect for anyone who wants to get better at building their family tree. It aims to help participants use records, both onsite and online, to find your ancestors - wherever you are in the world. There are no specific requirements or special knowledge needed. Over the weeks, you'll get to know the other participants and improve your skills. The tutors always make time for Q&A sessions so ask your questions and get full value.

- Practical tips for searching
- Using a range of sources
- How to assess evidence
- Clues to decipher older handwriting
- Research beyond Ancestry and Findmypast

£240 but as a benefit of membership members pay £192 for a 12-week evening course. You can follow up with Stage 2 and 3 later in 2023.

Monday, 9 January - 13 March, 6 - 7:30pm

Researching your Twentieth Century Ancestors

This online course will look at resources and techniques for researching ancestors who lived in the twentieth century, examining the records that are available and how to get the most from them. Includes tracing living relatives, oral history, using newspapers, census returns, civil registration, occupational records and looks at war times. We use case studies, various archives and more.

- Using English and Welsh records to trace ancestors living in the twentieth century
- Tracing forward from ancestors to living relatives
- Navigating the gaps in records
- Getting the most from birth, marriage, and death certificates
- Tips for interviewing family members
- Using newspapers and social media
- Twentieth Century census returns
- Using employment records for family history
- Using oral history
- World wars and the effects on our ancestors
- Contacting and communicating with unknown relatives

£200 but as a benefit of membership members pay only £192 for an 11-week evening course.

WALKS AND VISITS

As we start to get out and about more we have more walks and visits planned. These are very popular and numbers are often limited so early booking is highly recommended. Planned visits for 2023 include the Parliamentary Archives, Camden Archives and hidden spaces of St Alfege Church in Greenwich.

Why not join like-minded people for a walk in one of several areas of London? If there is somewhere your ancestors lived that you would love to explore with an expert guide do let us know.

All places must be pre-booked. For fuller information and to make a booking, visit our events site at: <http://www.sog.org.uk/events>

Or contact the events team: events@sog.org.uk

ADVICE LINE

Our telephone advice line is now open every Thursday evening from 6 - 9 pm. This service is open to all members and anyone wondering how we might help. Our wonderful volunteers will be at the end of the line ready to assist you and offer guidance on your research queries.

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Our Members' Forum enables you to connect with each other via shared interests and allows easier access to our community of experts. Log in now and introduce yourself or see if you can help a fellow member with their research.



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