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GENEALOGISTS' MAGAZINE

Journal of the Society of Genealogists



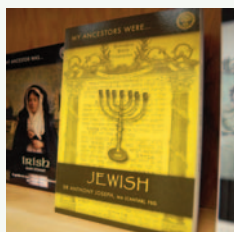
Volume 33 Number 12 Dec 2021

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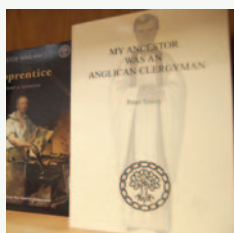


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SOCIETY OF GENEALOGISTS

Founded 1911

A MESSAGE FROM THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE

As we head towards the end of another year, it's a time for reflection on the difficult but necessary changes that the Society is undertaking. Packing up the library and archive and moving to our temporary accommodation in North London has seen our staff stretched to their very limits. I'd like to thank them and our veritable army of casual workers, for all the extra hours, camaraderie and expertise they showed throughout what was often a very tough process. Of course, we could not have done it without the selfless and constant support of our valued volunteers, whether in coding and packing boxes, continuing to work on pedigree rolls and a range of other activities that made this possible.

Those of us who remember the advent of leggings, exercise classes and Jane Fonda, will recall the phrase, 'no pain, no gain'. I'm reminded of this as we strive to review catalogues, collections, donations, embark upon a digitisation programme and ensure that next year we can present a vastly improved service for our members.

This once in a lifetime opportunity to improve our systems, design a new and welcoming library and archive and enable access to far more of our wonderful collections is exciting. However, such a huge change takes commensurate hard work and we are also keen to hear your views. One such change is a review of our magazine and so we'd love you to take part in the survey on sog.org.uk/gmsurvey.

We aim to make the new premises a hub for genealogy and family history, with events, exhibitions, and, vitally, a space for our members to meet, swap stories, tips and experiences. We also want to build on the burgeoning interest in tracing family histories which lockdowns and a certain television programme have inspired and to engage with more of the many people we know have questions about how to explore their family histories. Meanwhile, some of us have been known to shout at the television, during viewing!

As we firm up plans and focus on various aspects of our collections, we will keep you updated with our progress. We were delighted to receive a grant of £50,000 from Art Fund to digitise our collection of pedigree rolls, a project with which so many of you are familiar. We are also starting to have talks with other foundations and academic institutions about joint work, funding and projects.

There is much work to be done, but we are very pleased that so many of you are joining us for the quarter day socials, our courses, events and, of course, the book club, which has a waiting list! Moving events online has enabled the Society to reach far more of you, so rest assured that is something that we will build on and continue to offer.

I wish all of you and your families a wonderful festive break, and I thank you for all your support as members over 2021. We embark on the journey of 2022 full of exciting plans, ready to meet the challenges and hopeful of new discoveries, as we all do in our individual research.

Dr Wanda Wyporska, FRHistS, FRSA
Chief Executive



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GENEALOGISTS' MAGAZINE



Volume 33 Number 12 Dec 2021 Editor: Michael J. Gandy, BA, FSG

CONTENTS

Genealogists' Magazine

- 452 Family affairs in colonial Jamaica
Dr Peter Borrows
- 460 Edward Duke and the Amesbury Oliver
Peter Maggs
- 471 Matthew Speechly: A Fenland Life
Sheila Bligh
- 477 Medical personnel, commissariat staff, veterinary surgeons, and chaplains
who died during the Crimean War, 1854-1856
Mike Hinton
- 485 Landed Gentry? Goodman, Couchman, Marrow, Archer, Allan, Whitlock
Jeremy Archer
- 495 Changing Names: commemoration, confusion and error
Dr Stephen Murray
- 499 Family History or Genealogy?
Michael Gandy
- 500 Book Reviews
- 501 Correspondence
- 502 Readers' Queries
- 502 Deceased Members - 2021
- 503 *Genealogists' Magazine* - Advertising Rates

Centre Pull-out Section

- 1-4 Society of Genealogists' News

Caveat: Some of the terminology that appears in this publication is the language of the time and is used in the historical context.
Dr Wanda Wyporska, FRHistS, FRSA, Chief Executive.

Cover picture:

Sir Briggs, horse of Lord Tredegar (1831-1913) of the 17th Lancers, in Camp in Crimea 1854, 1856. Oil on canvas by Alfred Frank de Prades. Sir Briggs was ridden at Balaclava in 1854; Charge of the Light Brigade. Courtesy of the National Army Museum, London, and Bridgeman Images.

FAMILY AFFAIRS IN COLONIAL JAMAICA

Dr Peter Borrows

On the north side of St Mary's Church in Amersham, Bucks, adjacent to the West Door, is a cluster of graves, the Weller family plot (see Fig. 1). There are also some memorials to the family inside the church. One records the death of Henry Weller in Black River, Jamaica, in 1815. Black River was a slave port in the parish of St Elizabeth, so I was prompted to investigate using the University College London *Legacies of British Slave Ownership*¹ website and the usual online resources available to family genealogists.



Fig. 1 - Weller family plot, St Mary's Church, Amersham.

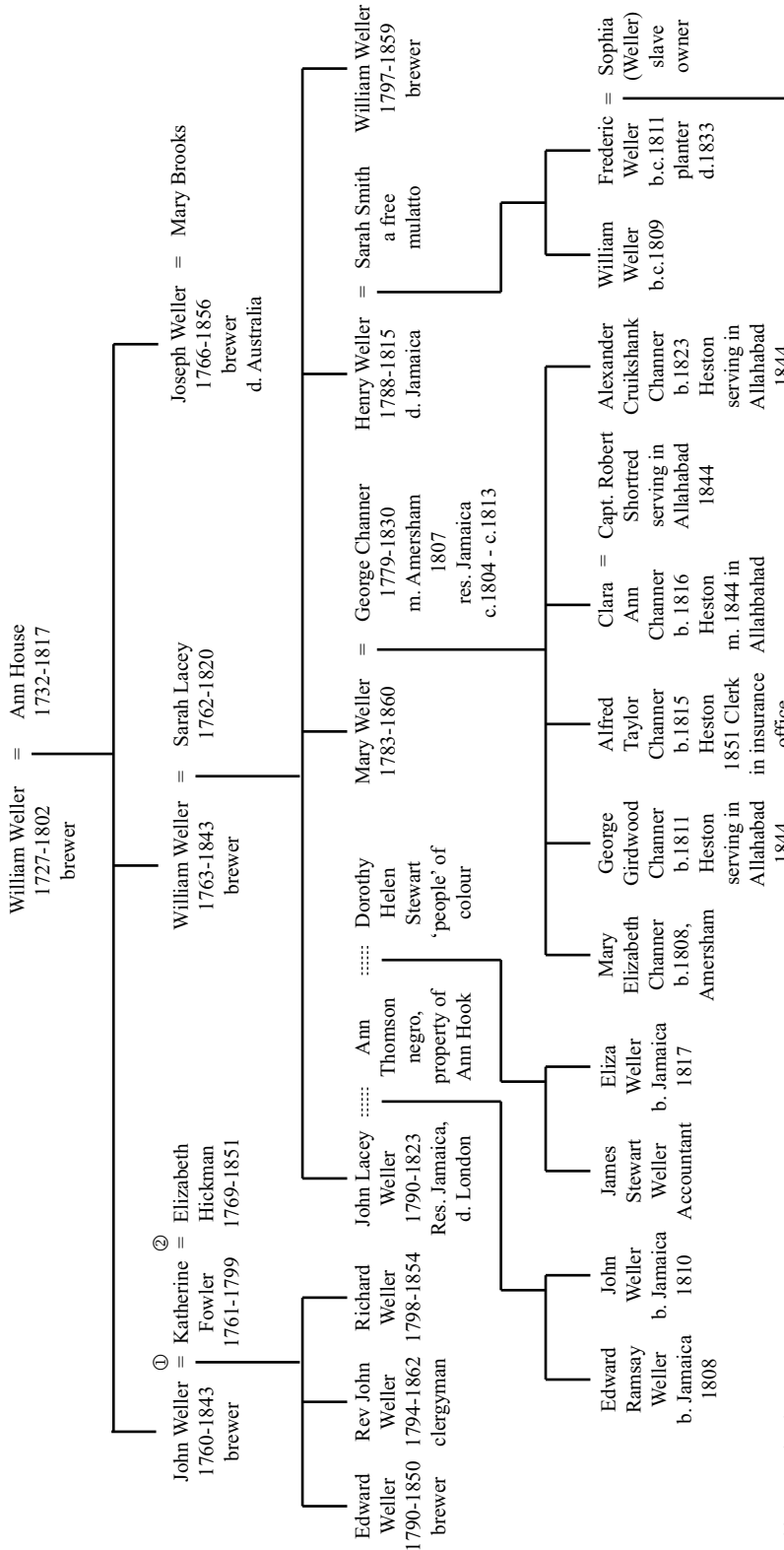
The Weller brewing dynasty in Amersham was founded by William Weller (1727-1802), a maltster, and his wife Ann House (1732-1817) from High Wycombe. They had at least 10 children between 1760 and 1780, most born in High Wycombe. The first, third and fourth sons, John (1760-1843), William (1763-1843) and Joseph (1766-1856) became brewers in Amersham with their father.

The eldest son, John Weller, had at least five children by Katherine Fowler (1761-99) and

Elizabeth Hickman (1769-1851). His first son, Edward Weller (1790-1850), became a brewer, the second, John Weller (1794-1862), became a clergyman, the third, Richard Weller (1798-1854), was living on an annuity by the time of the 1851 census. All very British, very conventional, although John seems to have been a rather embittered clergyman as he was buried in a neighbouring parish, not in his own, and his epitaph, composed by himself and inscribed in Latin (perhaps so the villagers would not understand it) translates as:

Here lies John Weller S.T.P., at one time a fellow of Emmanuel College in Cambridge, from where, having left under a bad omen, he was appointed rector of the church of North Luffenham - truly a hard and thankless office, which at the least having caused him to feel utter disgust in the greatest part, he preferred his bones to be laid to rest in this alien ground.

The third son, William Weller, see Fig. 2, is more interesting. With Sarah Lacey (1762-1820) he had at least eight children. Their fifth son, also William Weller (1797-1859) (and his descendants) followed his father, uncles and grandfather into the brewery. Their eldest son, Henry Weller (1788-1815), died in Black River, Jamaica, and their second son, John Lacey Weller (1790-1823), was also carrying out business in Jamaica at that time (but died in London). Their eldest daughter, Mary Weller (1783-1860), married George Channer (1779-1830), of Black River, Jamaica, by licence in Amersham in July 1807, although he already had a family in Jamaica. Mary and George had at least nine children, three of whom died in infancy and these three are recorded on a tablet in St Mary's Church. Their eldest daughter Mary Elizabeth Channer was baptised in Amersham in July 1808. It is



this tree only shows individuals named in text, many children are omitted.

see separate chart for George Channer's Jamaican family

William Weller - Descendant Chart

unclear where and when Frederick Lacey Channer was born but he died aged 3 months. However, their seven other children from 1815 onwards were baptised in Heston in Middlesex.

Despite his marriage in Amersham in 1807, George Channer continued to have business in Jamaica. According to *Legacies of British Slave Ownership*, in 1808 he filed accounts for the Bath Estate in St Elizabeth. This was a coffee plantation owned by the heirs of the recently deceased John Jenkins. Probably, he was a manager or book-keeper working for slave owners rather than a slave owner himself. In 1809, at the height of the Napoleonic wars, George was a Major in the St Elizabeth Militia, and in January took part in the invasion of the French colony of Martinique. George Channer's second family in Jamaica comprised four children born in 1804, 1807, 1808 and 1809 by Sarah Delano (see Fig. 3 for baptisms of the three youngest).



Fig. 2 - William Weller (1762-1820).

Baptism of White Persons in 1810

7/10
Ann Maria - daughter of John William Spencer Griffith Esq^r and Sarah Jane Campbell, his wife - born 5th Nov^r 1807

at Black River -

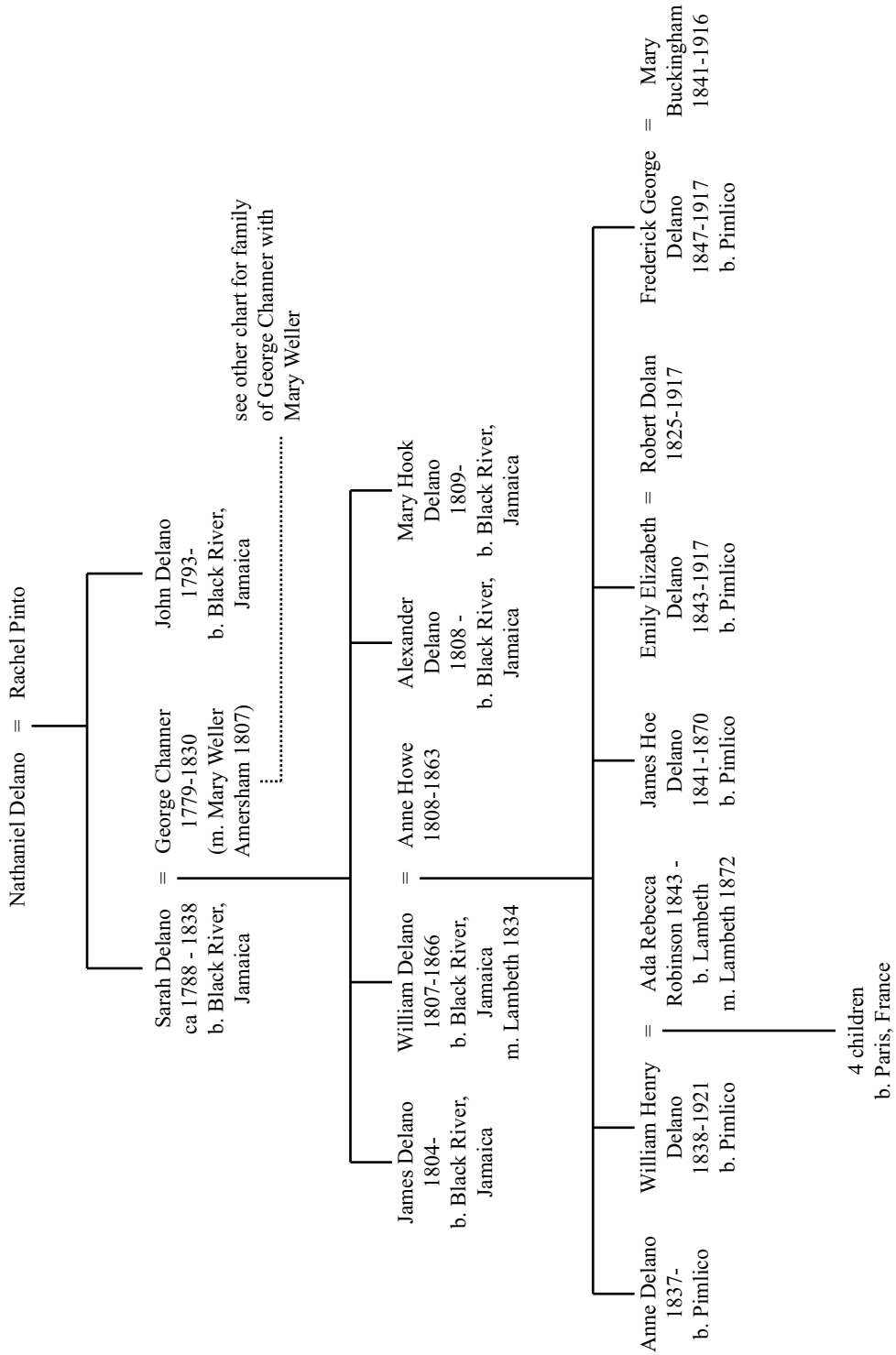
• <i>William Channer</i> -	born 27 th January 1807	} white by Law; being reputed children of George Channer Esq ^r by Sarah Delano, free Mistress -
• <i>Abranda Channer</i> -	born 15 th August 1808	
• <i>Mary Hook Channer</i> -	born 17 th Sept ^r 1809	

at Black River - *Elizabeth Smith* - white by Law - being the reputed daughter of Mr James Smith by Charlotte Brown, free Mistress - born February 17th 1809 -

at Church -

• *Buchan Warren* - born 6th August 1809 - son of Robert Wainwright Wright and Ann Jane his wife -

Fig. 3 - Baptism of three Channer children, 1810.



Nathaniel Delano – Descendant Chart

The three younger children were baptised as 'white by law' in 1810; the eldest, James, was just reported as 'white'. Sarah is described on the baptism registers as a Mestize. Although this was the term used in Hispanic America for children of European and indigenous parents, by this time in Jamaica 'mestees' was used to describe those who were only $\frac{1}{8}$ black (octaroons). Under an Act of 1761, a white man who fathered non-white children could have a Private Act presented to the Jamaican National Assembly. This Act would give them the same rights and privileges as British subjects born of white parents subject to certain restrictions, usually with respect to voting. However, the Act seems not to have been invoked after about 1802 and 'white by law' by then simply means more than $\frac{3}{4}$ white. 'Reputed' does not mean that paternity was disputed, just that the couple were not married. According to John Stewart, a not entirely disinterested white male writing in 1823, it was regarded as degrading for a white man to marry a coloured woman but quite normal to have her as a mistress or 'housekeeper' and he said such women considered it more genteel and reputable to hold such a position than to marry a coloured man². In fact, Sarah Delano was quite a wealthy woman. In 1836 she was awarded £286-12s-8d by the British Government when her 11 slaves were freed.

Sarah was the daughter of Nathaniel Delano, a river pilot in St Elizabeth and later harbour master, and Rachel Pinto, who must have been a quadroon ($\frac{1}{4}$ black). In the 1830s a number of members of the Pinto family (from both Jamaica and Trinidad) were awarded compensation when their slaves were freed by the British Government. The Delano family is believed originally to have been of French descent, probably Huguenots. The eldest child of George and Sarah, William Delano (1807-1866), see Fig. 4, came to England in about 1830 and married Anne Howe in Lambeth in 1834. They lived in Pimlico and had five children while William worked as a clerk to a tea grocer. Interestingly, the 1851 census (see Fig. 5) although giving his birthplace as Jamaica, states clearly he is a British subject (see Fig. 5). Their second child was William Henry Delano (1838-1921). He was not listed with the rest of the family on the 1851 census because he was a pupil at Christ's Hospital School in Newgate.

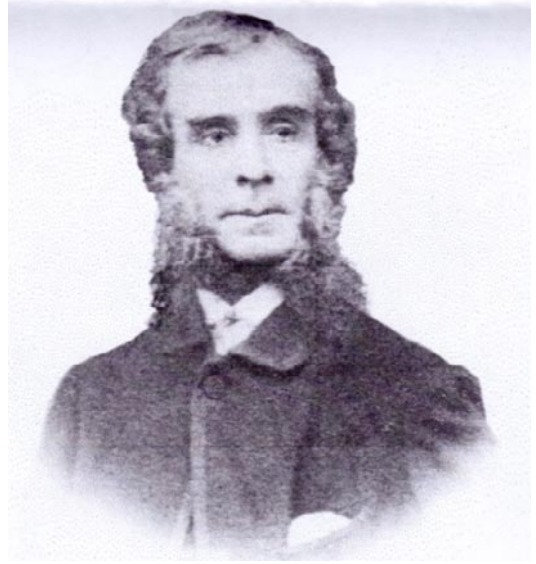


Fig.4 - William Delano 1807-1866.

For a few years, George Channer was a business partner of William Weller's eldest son, Henry Weller, but the partnership was dissolved in 1811³ and Henry carried on the business on his own. George seems to have been a rather disreputable business man because he left Jamaica secretly in 1813⁴ (see Fig. 6). Even after he left Jamaica, his financial affairs rumbled on and then William Weller's second son, John-Lacey Weller was appointed to wind up his affairs⁵. The three notices referred to here all appeared in the *Royal Gazette of Jamaica* and were signed by A. Girdwood, as the attorney.

It is interesting to note that the eldest surviving (legitimate) son of Mary Weller and George Channer was baptised George *Girdwood* Channer in Heston, Middlesex, in 1811, presumably in thanks to his attorney, Alexander Girdwood, in Jamaica. Alexander is listed in *Legacies of British Slave Ownership* in 1817 as executor of the Pisgah Estate with 40 slaves, although he had died by 1818. A Frances Girdwood received £546-12s-2d compensation for 28 slaves. There were several slaves baptised with the name Frances Girdwood (and more with other first names), no parents listed, but the surname is unusual so it seems likely that Alexander was responsible.

Parish or Township of <i>St. Elizabeth</i>		Ecclesiastical District of <i>Belgrave</i>		City or Borough of <i>Westminster</i>		Town of		
Name of Street, Place, or Road, and Name or No. of House	Name and Surname of each Person who abode in the house, on the Night of the 30th March, 1851	Relation to Head of Family	Condition	Age of		Rank, Profession, or Occupation	What Born	Whether Blind or Deaf
				Males	Females			
<i>9 St. Colehill Street</i>	<i>William Selous</i>	<i>Head</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>46</i>		<i>Cl. to Sea Green</i>	<i>Kingston Jamaica</i>	
	<i>Anna T.</i>	<i>Wife</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>46</i>			<i>Kingston Jamaica</i>	
	<i>Emily L. G.</i>	<i>Daughter</i>			<i>8</i>	<i>Scholar</i>	<i>Kingston Jamaica</i>	
	<i>Fredrick G.</i>	<i>Son</i>			<i>4</i>		<i>Kingston Jamaica</i>	

Fig. 5 - 1851 census, Coleshill Street, London.

32-35 Black-River, St. Elizabeth's,
August 3, 1813.

Notice to the Debtors to the two several Copartnerships of
George **Channer** & Co. and George **Channer**.

MR. GEORGE **CHANNER** having left this Parish in a secret manner, after having been served with a Subpœna in Chancery for an Injunction, and with a view, as has since appeared, of getting off the island, and which it is supposed he has effected: The several Debtors to the above two Copartnerships are hereby required not to pay any Monies whatever to any other Person than the Subscriber, he being the only Person now duly authorized to receive the same, as will appear by the Articles of Copartnership entered into between him and the said George **Channer** respecting the above two Concerns, and on record in the Secretary's Office.

A. GIRDWOOD.

Fig. 6 - Royal Gazette of Jamaica, 3 August 1813.

George Smith by Sarah

at Black River -
William Weller - *born 9th July 1809 - reputed son of Mr Henry*
Weller by Sarah Smith, a free Mulatto -

Fig. 7 Baptism of William Weller.

Frederic Weller - *born July 20th 1811 - reputed son of Henry*
Weller by Sarah Smith, a free Mulatto -

Francis Smith - *Born July 10th 1803 - reputed son of Mr Weller*

Fig. 8 Baptism of Frederic Weller.

234 15th of Decr Frederick Girdwood, Frederick Weller, deposed,
 born 25th of Sept. 1833 and Sophia his wife Sacoria

Fig.9 - Baptism of Frederick Girdwood Weller.

24 at Black River - Morris Joseph Cohen - reputed Son of M^r. Jacob Cohen
 by Ann Thompson, a Negro, belonging to Mary Cook - born Jan^y 1st 1807.
 Edward Ramsay Weller - reputed Son of M^r. John Weller, by the above
 Ann Thompson - born December 24th 1808.

Fig.10 Baptism of Edward Ramsay Weller.

26 at Black River.
 Mary Kington - Born Sept. 29th 1818. reputed Daughter of William
 Kington Esq. by Elizabeth Hart, a free Mulatto -
 John Weller - Born October 20th 1810 - reputed Son of M^r. John Lacy
 Weller by Ann Thompson, a Negro belonging to Mary Cook
 M^r. & Lavinia Ricketts

Fig.11 Baptism of John Weller.

The Register of the Parish of St. Elizabeth
 Baptisms 1815.
 Mary Beurer Davies, aged 15, Months, Daughter of David John
 Davies, and Catherine Barnes Harris, People of Colour.
 James Stewart Weller, reputed Son of John Lacy Weller,
 by Dorothy Helen Stewart, People of Colour,
 born on the 14th of Dec^r 1813 -

Fig.12 Baptism of James Stewart Weller.

Ann Watson D^o D^o
 " Jane Campbell D^o D^o
 June 8th Eliza Weller, Born 26th June 1817. Daughter of John
 Lucy Weller, by Dorothy Helen Stewart
 " Eleanor Forrest, a Black, Slave

Fig.13 Baptism of Eliza Weller.

Meanwhile, George Channer's problems continued and in 1818 William Williams took over as Receiver from the late Alex Girdwood⁶ and in 1820 George was made bankrupt in London⁷. Nothing daunted he was then involved in setting up a marine insurance business in 1824⁸ and continued in this until his death in Amersham in 1830.

George's second surviving legitimate son, Alfred Taylor Channer, seems to have been a rather prosperous clerk in, surprise, surprise, a marine insurance office, keeping two servants according to the 1851 census. George and Mary's second daughter, Clara Ann Channer (1816-?) married Captain Robert Shortred in Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh in India in 1844, where he was serving in the 2nd Bombay European Regiment. It was presumably no coincidence that her brother, George Girdwood Channer (1811-?), was captain of ordnance in Allahabad at the same time.

Now to return to the Weller brothers in Black River, Jamaica. Like George Channer, Henry Weller was not married but had a family with two children, William (see Fig. 7) and Frederic (see Fig. 8) by Sarah Smith, described as a free mulatto (a mulatto is usually the child of one black and one white parent). Henry died at Black River in 1815.

Henry's son William became a planter. Frederic(k) died in 1833 and was deceased by the time his son Frederick *Girdwood* Weller was baptised, see Fig. 9. Note the Girdwood middle name, reflecting both the Channers and Alexander Girdwood, the Jamaican attorney. These families were intimately connected.

Frederic(k)'s wife was Sophia. In *Legacies of British Slave Ownership*, there is only one award of compensation to any Weller for freeing their slaves - to Sophia Weller. She had 3 slaves in St Elizabeth and was awarded £65-13s-11d. It is very likely, therefore, that Frederic(k) Weller, son of a free mulatto and an Amersham Weller, had been a slave owner.

Henry's brother, John-Lacey Weller, also had a family in Black River. His first children, Edward Ramsay and John, are by Ann Thomson, a negro described as 'belonging to Mary Hook', see Figs. 10, 11. He then had two more children, James Stewart Weller and Eliza Weller, with Dorothy Helen Stewart, described as 'people (*sic!*) of colour' on James's baptism, see Figs. 12, 13. James became an accountant.

Notes

1. University College London, *Legacies of British Slave Ownership*, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146659909>
2. Stewart, J., *A view of the past and present state of the island of Jamaica ...*, (1823), Edinburgh & London: Oliver & Boyd, G & W B Whittaker.
3. *Royal Gazette of Jamaica*, 25 September 1811.
4. *Royal Gazette of Jamaica*, 3 August 1813.
5. *Royal Gazette of Jamaica*, 21 October 1815.
6. *Royal Gazette of Jamaica*, 28 July 1818.
7. *The Star* (London), 21 August 1820.
8. *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 1 August 1824.

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EDWARD DUKE AND THE AMESBURY OLIVER

Peter Maggs

My father started investigating the genealogy of his family in the 1950s.¹ He was stimulated by his grandfather's tales of his own youth as the son of a shepherd on Salisbury Plain near Stonehenge. The close association of the enigmatic stone circle with the family fascinated Father, and he was determined to know more about those ancestors. I do not know whether he ever used the library of the Society of Genealogists, but he was certainly a frequent visitor to Somerset House for the Central Registration indexes. He also went to the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane for the 1841 and 1851 census returns, and made occasional visits to the parishes he had identified to consult the original registers. Gradually he was able to establish the family history as it had evolved in and around the Wiltshire parishes of Maddington, Rollstone, Shrewton, the Orchestons, and Tilshead.

A list of names and their relation to each other tells us nothing about what the people were like or how they lived. My father wanted to know more, and his enquiring mind led him to the records of the Amesbury Union Workhouse. He knew from his studies that most of his immediate Wiltshire ancestors had been either shepherds or agricultural day labourers. He reasoned that there was a strong possibility that some of them were given poor relief, and wondered whether there were records of those transactions.

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 required that henceforth relief to the destitute and infirm was to be provided through a central workhouse serving a number of parishes. More than twenty around Stonehenge had been subsumed into the Amesbury Union with its new workhouse at Amesbury. The Public Record Office held the correspondence between the guardians of the Amesbury Union and the Poor Law Commissioners, and my father

scanned the files eagerly looking for records relating to his ancestors. He was not successful; the only paupers' names he found were related to special cases where the local guardians needed guidance. He did, though, find something else. He described it to me as the record of a 'secret trial'. It concerned an enquiry to determine whether the workhouse master had cruelly ill-treated a crippled boy who had subsequently died. Around 100 pages of evidence taken over a period of four days were contained in the files.



The Amesbury Union Workhouse, early 20th century. By kind permission of Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, Geoffrey Crowe Collection.

This was potentially a most interesting discovery and eminently publishable. The trial at Amesbury had taken place in 1844, just a few years after the publication of *Oliver Twist*, and one year before the notorious scandal at the Andover Union Workhouse. The affair at Andover, where the paupers were so underfed that they took to sucking the marrow out of putrid bones sent for crushing into fertiliser, ultimately brought down the Poor Law Commissioners. Furthermore, one of the senior players caught up in the Andover scandal, Henry Walter Parker, had conducted the enquiry at Amesbury. His perceived misconduct

at Andover led to his forcible resignation as an assistant Poor Law Commissioner under very acrimonious circumstances.

My father decided to write up his researches as a historical novel; he called it *The Amesbury Oliver* after Dickens' boy hero. The book never saw the light of day. Several publishers turned it down and eventually my father lost interest, concentrating instead on factual descriptive writing on social history. Decades later and after his death, I re-read the text of his novel and decided to look first-hand at the source material on which he had based his account. My mother had transcribed around 30% of the trial evidence from photocopies, and this formed the basis of Father's novel. I was intrigued to know what the remaining 70% of the testimony would show, and wanted to scrutinize the background correspondence. The original files were requested from the National Archives and I spent many hours poring over them. What I found was astonishing. My father had included in his book only details of the enquiry and the immediate build-up to it, but he had barely disturbed the surface of what had been a simmering cauldron of resentment. Edward Duke, the person who made the accusation against the workhouse master, was a clergyman, an antiquarian of sorts, a guardian of the workhouse, and a Wiltshire magistrate.² He had spent the previous eight years criticising the Amesbury Union and its officers, of which he was one, and this was the third occasion on which there had been a formal hearing into his complaints. None of this background was mentioned in my father's account, in which Mr Duke was portrayed as a patrician, sympathetic figure, frustrated in his quest for justice for the poor.

In fact Edward Duke was far from being sympathetic; he was a grievance-hunting, petty, and disputatious busybody, subject to fits of petulance and caprice, and not short of hubris and ego. When Duke could not get his way during meetings of the Amesbury Union guardians, which was most of the time, he would write to the Poor Law Commissioners. When their responses failed to satisfy him, he wrote personally to the chairman of the commissioners. And when the chairman had had enough of him, he wrote directly to the Home Secretary. Edward Duke elevated telling tales out of school into an art form. The quirky nature of his

personality illuminates his many letters, and the two rather bizarre books that he paid to have published. It is clear from the extant correspondence that the 1844 hearing was the culmination of an enormous amount of frustration, bitterness, and resentment on both sides that had been building up over a number of years. This was a story that just had to be told.



Edward Duke, circa 1844. By kind permission of the British Library.

Edward Duke's character and behaviour in public life have been gleaned from three sources. Firstly, there are the newspaper reports of his activities during the Wiltshire Quarter Sessions, and his participation in the debates concerning the governance of the county with his brother magistrates. Then there is the extensive correspondence between the Amesbury Union, Edward Duke, and the Poor Law Commissioners; it is from these documents that details of the enquiry were obtained. Lastly, in his guise as an antiquarian Mr Duke speaks to us through the letters he wrote to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the 26-part exposition of his bizarre theory on Stonehenge in the *Salisbury and Wiltshire Gazette*, and his two books. The books are in

different ways odd in the extreme. In the first one, *Prolusiones Historicae*, it is possible to deduce a sardonic personality not taking itself too seriously.³ Less so in the second book, *Druidical Temples of the County of Wilts*.⁴ Here Mr Duke published his grand unified theory explaining that Stonehenge, Silbury Hill, Avebury etc., form part of a great planetarium;⁵ Avebury is the Sun and Moon, Silbury Hill is the Earth, and various other monuments placed along a twenty mile meridian in the 'correct' order and relative distances, represent the planets. Furthermore, the ancients must have had telescopes since the ratio of the diameter of the stone circle to the ditch at Stonehenge - which represents Saturn - is identical to the ratio of the diameter of that planet to its rings... In both publications he portrays himself as an experienced and knowledgeable antiquary with his classical education very much on show.

There should have been a fourth primary source of information about the Amesbury Union, namely the minutes recording the meetings of the guardians. Those for the period from 1835, when the union commenced, until 1839 are extant and deposited in the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, as are the minutes for 1845 and thereafter. For the period 1840 to 1844, covering the date of the alleged assault in 1840 and the build-up to the enquiry of 1844, the books containing the minutes are missing. They were never deposited in the archive. Was there a conspiracy? Did the Amesbury Guardians suppress them because of an incriminating entry? Did Mr Duke 'acquire' them, perhaps to use as evidence in an action against the union following the 1844 enquiry? It is tempting to suspect skulduggery given the turbulence of those four years in the life of the union.

Edward Duke's genealogy has been well researched; suffice it to say that as the second son, of the fourth son, of a second son, he was fortunate to inherit the family manors of Lake, and Salterton and Newton, together with Lake House, a substantial Elizabethan mansion.⁶ Initially Mr Duke turned his hand to excavating some prehistoric barrows on his land - Lake House was just two miles from Stonehenge - enrolling the help of William Cunnington and Sir Richard Colt Hoare, whose friendship he cultivated.⁷ In 1816 he qualified as a magistrate and regularly attended the

Wiltshire Quarter Sessions. It was there that he seems to have developed his talent for dispute and controversy. He was frequently in a minority of one or two, raising again and again subjects for debate which had already been settled, and being mocked for his trouble. On the question of the relocation of one of the assize courts from Salisbury to Devizes, Duke's refusal to accept a majority decision led to an Act of Parliament being needed. He was not chary of throwing out highly questionable accusations; he charged the governor of the Devizes prison with stealing potatoes and bread from the prison to feed his pigs. His brother magistrates, on learning that his informant was a prisoner at Fisherton Gaol in Salisbury convicted of a capital charge, decided that Duke had acted 'incautiously' and declined to take the matter any further.

As a magistrate, Mr Duke had been the authority for matters concerning the proper operation of the Poor Laws, which before 1834 were administered at parish level. Following the 1832 Royal Commission, the Poor Law Amendment Act passed into statute two years later. It mandated the use of union workhouses, the abolition of outdoor relief except under special circumstances, and a central administration with three Poor Law Commissioners based at Somerset House in London. The union workhouses served a number of local parishes, and henceforth outdoor relief, where a worker's very low or non-existent wages were subsidized by the Poor Law, would be largely removed. If a pauper needed assistance, he or she - frequently entire families - would have to enter the workhouse. There they were housed, clothed, fed, and given access to healthcare, and the children were educated in 'reading, writing, arithmetic, and the principles of the Christian religion'. In return, the able-bodied were required to work. The women generally did cleaning, cooking, and laundering, and sometimes also spinning and weaving and other craft activities. The men could be used for agricultural work, or other low-skill manual tasks like stone-breaking and oakum-picking.⁸

The union workhouses were managed by a board of guardians elected by the ratepayers of the parishes in the union, and they employed various salaried staff including the workhouse master and his wife, a clerk,

several relieving officers and overseers, a surgeon, an auditor, and a treasurer. Sometimes the master and his wife acted as schoolmaster and schoolmistress for the workhouse children; when there were many children, extra teaching staff were employed. As well as elected guardians, the new Act allowed that any JPs resident within the union could be 'ex officio' guardians.⁹

The first meeting of the guardians of the new Amesbury Union was held at the George Inn, Amesbury, on 12 October 1835. The union comprised twenty-three parishes; these included all those of interest to my father, as well as Wilsford-cum-Lake which was where Mr Duke resided. Twenty-four guardians had been elected - one for each parish plus an extra one for Amesbury on account of its size. There were also three ex officio guardians, of which Edward Duke was one. In his status as a Justice of the Peace, Duke had written to the Poor Law Commissioners on several occasions since the new Act came into force. During the transition period between the Act receiving royal assent, the establishment of the Amesbury Union, and the building of the new workhouse, there was an inevitable period of uncertainty where guidance was needed. With the establishment of the union and the election of guardians, correspondence with the commissioners on workhouse business was expected to be conducted by the union clerk 'as directed by the guardians'. But in June 1836, Mr Duke recommenced writing to the Poor Law Commission (PLC) on his own account. In nearly every case, his letter contained complaints that the new law was being applied incorrectly within the Amesbury Union, and implied that he had failed to persuade the other guardians of the fact. Sometimes he charged an individual officer of the union, or the master, or even the clerk with misconduct. Thus as with the Wiltshire magistracy, so also with the Board of Guardians of the Amesbury Union, Mr Duke seemed to have had an unerring ability to foster conflict with his peers. He did this by the simple expedient of refusing to abide by any decision made by a majority vote with which he disagreed. Between June 1836 and April 1844, Duke wrote to the PLC more than seventy times. His complaints ranged from the childishly trivial, to a charge, effectively of manslaughter, against the workhouse master.

The Amesbury Union had been set up by Colonel Charles Ashe a'Court, the assistant Poor Law Commissioner with responsibility for Wiltshire. In the early years of the union a'Court, who was a veteran of the Napoleonic Wars, seemed to have had a calming influence over Mr Duke, reigning in the worst of his excesses. In a letter to the commissioners, a'Court explained that Duke was unpopular with the other guardians; he was disappointed that he had not been elected chairman or deputy chairman, and rarely if ever managed to get any of his motions even seconded let alone passed. By January 1842 a'Court had retired, and Duke promptly wrote to *The Sun* newspaper denouncing the Amesbury Union as 'inferior to the majority of the Unions in the kingdom.'¹⁰ Pressing his advantage, he then wrote to the PLC laying out four instances where the workhouse master was not following the rules as laid down by the commissioners. The most significant of these concerned the frequency of clean stockings for the children. The clerk of the union pointed out that this minor variation in the rules had been sanctioned by the board of guardians. Nevertheless the commissioners wrote back saying that the master had breached their regulations and should, therefore, be 'reprimanded for his past neglect'. The clerk informed the commissioners that the Amesbury Guardians had voted eight to one *not* to reprimand the master; he had just been carrying out their orders. Mr Duke had already written to the commissioners telling them that the guardians had refused to obey their instruction.

The PLC decided to send an assistant commissioner to Amesbury to investigate. Notice of his arrival caused all of the pent-up frustration of the chairman of the guardians, Rev Gorges Lowther, to boil over, and he sent the commissioners a stinging sixteen-page letter. He lamented the fact that Colonel a'Court had retired because 'the very mischievous person who is your correspondent [was] well known to him, [as was] his character and habit of making up grievances'. He described Duke as 'one of those busy meddling and grievance-hunting persons with which most neighbourhoods are afflicted'. He made a serious charge against him: after Duke had failed to get agreement from the board for the women in the workhouse laundry to be given an allowance of beer, he opined in front of

two of the paupers that if it were him, he should refuse to work until beer was provided. This, Lowther said, was a specimen of the 'discretion, judgement, and temper, of the commissioner's correspondent', and could have led to disorder and 'mutiny' within the workhouse. After detailing a number of other objections, he said that he hoped that the commissioners would not allow Duke's 'petty and vexatious meddling about trifles and petty matters' to upset the 'beneficial working of the law'. The latter remark referred to the view of the local ratepayers that the new Poor Law, whilst having made little or no saving to the poor rates, had improved the 'moral' behaviour of the labouring poor to the ratepayers' satisfaction.

The new assistant commissioner was Henry Walter Parker, a barrister. He arrived at Amesbury on 11 April 1842, and was somewhat taken aback to discover that Mr Duke's four original charges against the workhouse master and guardians had grown to more than twenty-five. It is a measure of the disordered state of Duke's mind, that only one of the original four charges was included in his new list, and it was not the complaint about clean stockings. Parker spent eleven hours investigating the complaints; the meeting ended at nine pm. He reported back to the PLC, and six weeks later the commissioners sent their findings to the guardians. The charges were detailed and comments on the main ones were made. The report concluded:

With the exception of ... the omission to purchase ... clothing ... by tender, [the commissioners] find nothing to warrant the imputation on the Board of Guardians and no proof whatever to support the charges impugning the character of individual guardians and other officers of the board.

However:

They cannot conclude ... without expressing their regret that a magistrate and a clergyman should adduce charges of so serious a nature ... upon insufficient grounds, and that when visiting the Workhouse, he so far forgot his duty as to use language calculated to impair its discipline.

Mr Duke must have been furious. He had already written to the PLC several times between the

conclusion of the enquiry and the issuing of the report, saying that his charges had been 'decidedly proved'. Now he turned on Parker, accusing him of 'improper demeanour and highly offensive language' towards himself during the enquiry, and refused ever to meet him again at Amesbury. Parker commented that he was at a loss to understand Duke's animus towards him since, at the termination of the meeting, Duke had thanked him for his efforts and invited him to stay with him at Lake House on his next visit.

Nevertheless, the failure to purchase clothing by tender had been noted as a shortcoming, and Mr Duke was almost certainly responsible for a brief editorial note that appeared in the *Salisbury and Wiltshire Herald* on 11 June 1842: 'Amesbury Union ... in consequence of an appeal by an ex-officio Guardian to the Poor Law Commissioners, the supplies for Clothing and Shoes are to be thrown open to Tender'. A week later, the newspaper contained a letter from Richard Wilson, the clerk of the union. After all the union had been through at Mr Duke's hands, and an almost complete rebuttal of his charges by the PLC, they could not let this implied criticism go unanswered. Wilson mentioned the twenty-five charges 'preferred' by Mr Duke, and 'reiterated month after month, and year after year', and having pointed out that the recommendation of the commissioners regarding the tendering of clothes had been made 'solely on general grounds', Wilson said:

But as many unfounded statements of the proceedings of this board have been circulated by the same person, an extract from the letter of the Poor Law Commissioners will serve to shew their opinion of the numerous other charges contained in the same appeal.

The letter went on to quote the conclusions of the commissioners' report, as reproduced above. Referring to their regret of Duke's behaviour, Wilson declared:

In this regret the Guardians participate, and reluctantly, but as a matter of painful duty, consent to this humiliating exposure of an ex-officio member of their own body.

Such an explicit public rebuke as this from the union must have had the sanction of the chairman and a quorate meeting of the board of guardians. Years of frustration with Duke's incessant nit-picking had pushed them over the edge, and who could say that they were not justified?

Mr Duke had to respond; naturally it could not be a short letter, and when it was printed two weeks later, it occupied more than one column in the newspaper. He was prompted in making a response, he said, by the quotation from the PLC which 'involves a serious imputation on my character'. He proceeded to lay bare all of his own frustrations and actions, his objections, and his feeling that he had been unjustly treated. The Amesbury Union's dirty washing was well and truly out for public display. It is a moot point whether the union or Mr Duke were more damaged by the revelations.

Duke continued writing to the PLC. He found new complaints about the actions of the union and accused Parker, with whom he had had a meeting at Somerset House in the presence of one of the commissioners, of insulting him while he was there. Filed with one of Mr Duke's letters is a note from a commissioner to Parker. It reads:

Mr Parker, if there are any new facts alleged in Mr Duke's letter, they should, I think, be enquired into - but if not, I do not think it advisable to continue this controversial correspondence ... [where] the commissioners have already expressed their opinion and communicated the same to him.

On 10 September, Duke carried out a threat he had made several times; section 43 of the new Poor Law Act allowed a magistrate to visit a union in his district to ascertain whether the rules and regulations were being observed. Mr Duke was already a regular visitor at Amesbury, and his views on the adherence to the rules were well known to all - including readers of the *Salisbury and Wiltshire Herald*. Nevertheless section 43 allowed him, within the structure of the new Act, to make a formal inspection and communicate his findings. In his report to the PLC, Mr Duke stated that the workhouse was in 'general good order ... [and an] extreme state of cleanliness', but there were 'three

glaring and grievous defects': the yard was muddy, there was no porter, and vagrants with the 'itch' were not being segregated.¹¹ But these three items had already been considered, and dismissed, during Parker's enquiry in April. With admirable patience, Richard Wilson responded to the PLC's request for an explanation. Apparently no-one at the PLC had bothered to check the details of the previous enquiry. If Mr Duke was out of control, then it was clear that the PLC either had no wish to interfere, or just could not be bothered to act.

Over the next eighteen months or so, Mr Duke continued his letter-writing to the PLC and his relentless attacks on the Amesbury Union. He produced more complaints and claimed that the PLC were deliberately ignoring him; he threatened to write to the Home Secretary. He declared:

I am, gentlemen, the representative of one of the oldest families in this county. I am a gentleman by birth and education and have acted extensively as a magistrate for this thirty years.

There was a welcome hiatus in Duke's letter-writing between May and December 1843 when he was ill. He said later that he had had 'three attacks of paralysis'. By late January 1844 he appeared to have recovered, and complained that the union clerk, Richard Wilson, had put himself up for election as county coroner and could not possibly combine this role with that of his union duties. His complaint was rejected, and Wilson was duly elected. There were other letters and complaints, but on 6 April 1844, Mr Duke finally deployed his doomsday weapon. He wrote to the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, charging the master of the workhouse, Charles Ralfs, with the cruel mistreatment of a crippled and consumptive orphan boy of 15, George Wheeler, which within a few weeks had led to his death. The incident had taken place in 1840. This complaint could not be ignored, and Henry Walter Parker was instructed to go to Amesbury without delay and carry out a full enquiry.

Duke was informed that Parker was going to chair the enquiry, and immediately wrote again to the Home Secretary saying that he would go to prison rather than attend the 'summons of that indiscreet

young man'. He repeated the threat in a further letter. Parker wrote to Duke asking him for the names of his witnesses to the assault, as well as witnesses to several other charges that he had subsequently added. Duke refused to give them to him. Parker wrote back, saying that though he regretted it, he would formally summons Duke to attend the enquiry. Mr Duke, having perhaps considered that were he to refuse the summons he would be in contempt of court, almost certainly be struck off the magistrates' lists, and thus be excluded from attendance at the Amesbury Union, decided against prison. He obeyed the summons, attended the enquiry, met Mr Parker, and gave his evidence.

The enquiry took place between 29 April and 2 May 1844. Forty-six witnesses were called. Mr Duke having refused to supply the names of his witnesses, Richard Wilson and Charles Ralfs between them had listed those they thought to be relevant, with further subpoenas being issued as the names of others emerged from the evidence. As well as the charge of cruelty against George Wheeler, Duke had claimed that the master had locked up an old woman for twenty-four hours on bread and water with no straw to sleep on, beaten two little girls with a rope, and beaten a boy with a rope so savagely that he sustained a cut eye.

Each charge was investigated, preceded by a statement from Mr Duke. As witness after witness was examined, it became clear that Duke was confused as to who had told him what; he also got the names of witnesses wrong, and claimed that they had told him things which they denied under cross-examination. The charge against the old lady, Mary King, she dismissed herself. She did have straw to sleep on, and she claimed that the master 'did not keep [her] on bread and water as he does some of them.' She would have no word said against him, although in the disturbance that led to her being locked up, she had called him a 'long legged son of a whore'. The two little girls, on their own testimony and that of several others, had only been cuffed around the ear for playing on the floor and possibly taking a comb without permission. One of them declared that her mother often hit her much harder. The evidence of the boy with the cut eye was less clear. He was clearly lying under cross-examination, and may have

deliberately misled Mr Duke. But several other boys present during the incident confirmed that he *had* been beaten with a rope and sustained a cut under the eye, but not the by workhouse master; it was the pauper *schoolmaster*, now dead, who had done the beating. There was some confusion because many of the paupers - and union officers - called the master 'governor', while the schoolmaster was known as the 'master'. The charges were dismissed as being without foundation.

And so to the allegation regarding George Wheeler. He had had a short and unhappy life. His father and mother, a sister and a brother had all died between 1836 and 1839, and he was born with a condition which made straightening his legs impossible. He was also consumptive, and to compound the misery of his final weeks he was racked with vomiting and diarrhoea.

Mr Duke had three witnesses for his charge of assault. James Fry had been present in the sick room when the incident took place; Moses Spreadbury entered the room a few seconds later and had spoken to the boy immediately afterwards. John Pothecary entered about half an hour later and, according to Duke, affirmed that Wheeler had blood on his head. Fry was thirty-four years old, also crippled, and with 'defective' eyesight. According to him, the master had come into the sick ward to find George Wheeler still in bed. He hauled him out by an arm and a leg, threw him on to the brick floor, and then picked him up and threw him against the flint wall whence he cut his head. There was blood on the pillow. At Fry's request, the doctor had put a 'plaister' on the wound which had been washed, and the hair cut short around it.¹² He was never well afterwards, and a few weeks later he died. Moses Spreadbury was seventy-seven years old and 'stone' blind. He was in the doorway and heard the boy cry out 'Murder!'. He said that Wheeler was 'sobbing and crying'; he told him that the master had thrown him out of bed, he felt something 'pop' inside, and he was sure he would 'not live six weeks longer'. Spreadbury then added that Wheeler's ghost was haunting him and laughing at him. It followed him for thirteen months using three different voices, and sang carols to him at Christmas time... But

Abraham Joules (or Joles) was also present, in bed, at the time of the incident. He said that the master simply 'drew' the boy out of bed. There was no blood to speak of, no doctor came, and no plaister was applied. John Pothecary came into the sick room a short while later. He said he saw a small scratch on Wheeler's forehead; there was no swelling and no plaister. Charles Kilford was just outside the door when the incident happened. The boy did not cry 'Murder!' but said 'Oh dear!' He also entered and asked him what had happened. George said he was 'thrown' out of bed because he would not - he emphasised 'would not', rather than 'could not' - get up. The boy was not crying, he saw no wound, and there was no blood on the pillow or sheet.

Charles Pyle, the medical officer at Amesbury, was treating Wheeler for consumption and his digestive problems, but had no record of a cut on the head or the application of a plaister - which he would not have entrusted to a nurse. He said that a 'combination of diseases' had been responsible for the boy's death.

George Wheeler's brother Charles was also resident in the workhouse. He was only eight years old at the time of the incident, but the master had told him he could visit his brother any time he liked. He saw no wound or bruise, no hair cut away, no plaister, and no blood on the sheets or pillow, and George never complained about a wound. On the contrary, he said that the master had behaved very well towards him for which he was very grateful. He continued to thank the master for his kindness even on the day he died. Jane Conduit was a pauper working in the kitchens. She regularly took food to George Wheeler - including 'tea and hot buttered toast' from the master's own table. George expressed to her his gratitude towards the master several times a day. She added:

The opinion of everyone in the house, as far as I have heard say, is that the governor is very kind to them. After inmates have been discharged from the house I have known many of them visit the house to see the governor and matron. The master and matron always appeared happy to see them.

Edwin Farr was one of the union relieving officers and had been contacted by George Wheeler's aunt, Mary Clift, who reported to him that George had been ill-treated by the master. This conversation had taken place four years previously, shortly after George Wheeler had died, and had led to an enquiry before the board of guardians attended by Mr Pyle, the surgeon. The master had been entirely exonerated from any wrongdoing, and Richard Wilson pointed this out to the PLC when Duke had first made his charges. He sent them a copy of the minute recording the outcome, noting also that Mr Duke had been present when the minute had been read through at the following meeting. Two of the guardians present at the earlier enquiry, Francis Lang and Stephen Smith, were now called. Both had visited George Wheeler on a number of occasions, and both reported that he had never complained to either of them about the master's treatment.

Mary Clift was now called and said that on the day before he died, George had told her and her sister-in-law that he had been 'used very ill'; on telling the master he could not get up he was '[thrown] out on the floor'. However, she also said that she saw no blood on the sheets or pillow, no wound, and no sign of any hair cut off. The other aunt, Susannah Thomas, confirmed all of that, adding that she saw no plaister either. Jane Carter had been working in the workhouse laundry at the time of George Wheeler's death. It was her duty to wash the sheets which she knew to be his, because they were brought to her by another pauper, Betty Pinkney, who used to look after him. Betty had emigrated to Australia and so was unable to give evidence, but Jane Carter confirmed that Betty had never told her of any ill-usage of the boy, and there was never any blood on the sheets.

This testimony concluded the direct evidence relating to the alleged assault. There followed a number of statements from paupers and ex-paupers, as well as some of the officers of the workhouse, regarding the general character and behaviour of the master. Mary Dyer was an ex-pauper living in Salisbury. She declared:

The Governor's conduct was civility and kindness to the inmates ... I never knew him to act cruelly to any

of [them ... or] heard a report of his having acted cruelly. Since I left the Workhouse I have called on the Governor many times.

The master and his wife had also visited her and her family several times. Regarding the workhouse children:

The children used to go to the governor every night and shake hands with him and wish him good night and the same to [the] Mrs ... The children always appear cheerful and I don't believe any of them ever went to bed without kissing the Mrs.

Sarah North had spent two years in the workhouse and her husband had died there:

He received attention and kindness in the Workhouse. He had everything that was needed for him by the governor ... Whilst he was able to do it, he spoke of [his] kindness.

Deborah Plummer's father had also died in the workhouse:

He was ill for 12 months. He was formerly paralytic and had no use of his limbs on one side ... The Governor and Matron behaved very kindly to him indeed all the time he was ill up to the time he died. He sometimes had food sent to him from the Governor's table. Father was very pleased and very grateful for the kindness and said so to me.

She went on:

[The dead] are never slighted and neglected by the Governor. [He puts] all sorts of flowers that he can get ... round the corpse in the coffin ... when there are none in the Workhouse garden, the Governor sends for them up into the town.

Ann Perry, another ex-pauper, recalled: 'The master once gave all the children and nurses a gypsy party on the Downs ... we spent the day very joyfully indeed ... We had plenty to eat and drink'.

The workhouse chaplain, Reverend Fulwar William Fowle, made a long statement. He began:

During the time I have been the Chaplain ... the conduct of the Governor and matron has been exemplary. Their behaviour to the inmates has been perfectly kind and humane. In no instance have I known them guilty of maltreating or improperly chastising the pauper inmates ... I never knew any instance of unjustifiable severity on the part of the Governor or the matron. I am much about the country and visit all the villages in the neighbourhood - I am particularly called to many of them for being Rural Dean. In no instance have I heard of the paupers having been illtreated or their children chastised improperly by the governor ... From the unrestrained way in which ill and dying persons unburden themselves to Clergymen I am confident I should have heard if any ill treatment had been [taking place] in the Workhouse.

He described being out driving with his wife:

we met a great many children out walking who looked so remarkably clean, happy and healthy ... she ... asked me what children they could be - I answered they are the children of the lowest genders of 23 parishes.

Rev Fowle had been in attendance during the entire four days of the enquiry; he concluded:

nothing that has transpired has shaken my confidence in the master and matron - that confidence has been confirmed though it did not want that confirmation, for I knew everything that has transpired as well before the investigation as now.

The master, Charles Ralfs, was not called, but he made a statement to Richard Wilson, the clerk, in his capacity as a lawyer. Ralfs had been a master sail-maker in the Royal Navy and had retired on a pension. He said that since the 1842 enquiry, Mr Duke had carried on a programme of persecution towards himself and his wife. He denied locking up Mary King without straw; he denied hitting the two little girls with 'rod or rope'. He remembered cuffing one of them on the ear for crawling around on the floor. He denied hitting James Coles with a rope or anything else. On George Wheeler, although he was capable of dressing himself, he had not got out of bed. Ralfs lifted him out by the

shoulders - not by an arm and leg - and placed him on a stool, then back on the bed. He said he was not angry or excited. George Wheeler was not hurt, he did not shed tears or shout that he was hurt. He never subsequently complained of being ill-used, on the contrary, he thanked him and his wife for their kindness.

Mr Parker wrote up the evidence and sent a report to Somerset House. Meanwhile, Rev Gorges Lowther, the chairman of the Amesbury guardians, wrote to the Home Secretary pointing out that this was the third occasion on which an enquiry initiated by charges from Mr Duke had been carried out at Amesbury.¹³ After detailing his grievances against Mr Duke he said:

Should you consider the conduct of a person deserving censure who systematically opposes himself to the peaceful working of the law in the house and out of it, by throwing out insinuations the most unjust, by making random and unsupported accusations, by collecting evidence in the most unworthy manner from the least fitting or the most discreditable sources, and should you be of the opinion that these charges justly apply to Mr Duke's conduct for a series of years, and emphatically in the commission obtained by him from you, I trust that you will be pleased to express your opinion in a way likely to deter him from continuing his mischievous course.

He was suggesting that Duke be struck off as a magistrate; Duke's status as an ex officio guardian was entirely due to his position as a JP, as allowed by the Poor Law Amendment Act. Remove that, and he would cease to trouble the union.

Parker's report was prefaced by a few comments of his own. The only real issue with Mary King seemed to be whether the straw was wet or not - she had thrown a cup of water back at the master after he offered it to her. On her own evidence, she *had* been provided with straw. The incident with the two girls Parker dismissed as the most trivial occurrence. The boy did have his face cut open, but not by the master, it was by the old pauper schoolmaster; he commented on the confusion that arose because many of the paupers referred to the master as 'governor'.

On the main charge, the alleged cruelty towards George Wheeler, Parker said that Fry and Spreadbury, for reasons known to themselves, had probably conspired to fabricate the story from the fairly trivial event of Wheeler refusing to get up one morning. He commented on workhouse inmates who were 'turbulent and mischievous, some who are imbecile or with intellects weakened by sickness or other causes'. The testimony from the aunts he did not mention and appeared to discount.¹⁴ However, the overwhelming evidence from all of the other witnesses, including an eyewitness, was not only that Wheeler did not suffer injury at the master's hands, but that he was most grateful for his kindness, that gratitude being expressed on the very last day of his life.

The report from the PLC was sent to the Home Secretary, with copies to the Amesbury Union and Mr Duke, and largely endorsed Parker's comments. Although probably with an eye to publicity in the event that the affair found its way into the newspapers - and the poor reputation enjoyed by union workhouses in some of them - it devoted half of the text to the reproduction of several of the glowing tributes from paupers and union officers to Mr and Mrs Ralfs and their kindness, particularly towards the children. And perhaps with the same objective in mind, and to confirm the fact that the PLC was doing a proper job in administrating and monitoring the union workhouses, the report pointed out that the Wheeler affair could have been defused at source had the guardians invited his relatives to be present during the brief 1840 investigation of the incident. Furthermore, it stated that the boy with the cut cheek illustrated the dangers of employing paupers as schoolmasters, and workhouse rules forbade 'hastily striking' the girls. But unlike the report on the 1842 enquiry, no criticism was made of Mr Duke. In the event, the 1844 enquiry at the Amesbury Union was not leaked to the press, and not a single word about it ever appeared in the newspapers; apparently only those directly involved knew what had happened.

And what of Mr Duke? His activities in respect of the Amesbury Union had been minutely examined in both the 1842 and 1844 enquiries; he was clearly revealed as a 'grievance-hunting'

troublemaker. Lowther had suggested to the Home Secretary that Duke should be stripped of his magistrate's status, but had he really done anything bad enough to warrant that? It could be argued that he was simply acting out of an extreme, if misguided, sense of duty. He was still listed as a JP the following year, so he was not expelled from the bench. But from the date of the 1844 enquiry, Mr Duke's magisterial duties abruptly stop. He also ceased playing any further part in the Amesbury Union. Perhaps a confidential word was said to him by the Home Secretary or Lord Chancellor to the effect that if he quietly withdrew, nothing further would be said. It was in no-one's interest to have a public expulsion that could have branded Duke a martyr; since he was also in indifferent health, it probably benefited him too, and he spent the rest of his days proselytising his extraordinary and bizarre theory regarding the origin of Stonehenge.

Edward Duke died in August 1852, and was buried with his ancestors in the parish church of Wilsford-cum-Lake. There is a substantial memorial to him and his wife on the wall next to the altar, and their initials are engraved on a flagstone immediately in front of the chancel indicating that the remains lie below in the most exalted part of the church. There were several obituaries praising his work as an antiquary and magistrate, although none of them mentioned that he had been a guardian of the workhouse. Perhaps after all, his activities in that area were known of in journalistic circles, and it was decided not to sully his reputation and to lay his misdemeanours to rest with him.

Mr Duke's books are now largely forgotten, although *Druidical Temples* is occasionally referenced in works on Stonehenge, mainly to illustrate the lunatic theories that arise from attempts to understand that most enigmatic of monuments.

Notes

1. My father was Norman Ernest Maggs, 1921-2008. His obituary in *The Times* can be read here: <http://www.mirlibooks.com/bm-creeper.html>
2. Duke had taken holy orders before he graduated from Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1803, but was not beneficed. He occasionally conducted marriage ceremonies and gave sermons in Salisbury.
3. *Prolusiones Historicae* ... Vol 1, Rev Edward Duke, Brodie, Salisbury, 1837.
4. *The Druidical Temples* ... Rev E Duke, John Russel Smith, London, 1846.
5. For an analysis of Duke's theory see: *Edward Duke, 'Decipherer of Stonehenge, Avebury, and Silbury Hill'*, Peter Maggs, Wiltshire Family History Society Journal, June 2020, Issue 158, pp.16-25.
6. *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, March 1915, p.192 et seq.
7. Colt Hoare was a notable antiquary and writer, and the owner of Stourhead; William Cunnington was a self-taught archaeologist sponsored by Colt Hoare.
8. From <http://workhouse.org.uk>
9. Ex officio - by virtue of position or status; ex officio guardians were self-appointed, not elected.
10. *The Sun*, 11 January 1842.
11. The 'itch' was scabies.
12. A plaister was a 'solid medicinal or emollient substance spread on a bandage ... and applied to the skin' OED.
13. Colonel a'Court had carried out a brief enquiry following a complaint about the clerk by Mr Duke.
14. The aunts and one of the other witnesses had reported George Wheeler as having said he that was 'thrown' out of bed; it seems likely that he was talking idiomatically or figuratively.

This article is extracted from my book *Reverend Duke and the Amesbury Oliver*, published by Mirli Books, 2020, ISBN 9780956287045, www.mirlibooks.com

Peter Maggs

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MATTHEW SPEECHLY: A FENLAND LIFE

Sheila Bligh

In 1804 Napoleon decided he wanted to add England to his growing Empire. 'The channel', he said 'is a ditch which needs but a little courage to cross.' However, Napoleon did not manage to cross the ditch or conquer England.

Meanwhile, in the tranquil farming village of Whittlesey, east of Peterborough in the Cambridgeshire Fens, John Speechly worked as a thatcher. In February 1804, his wife gave birth to their seventh child, a baby boy whom the couple named Matthew.

Matthew's mother died in 1809 when the little boy was five leaving his father a widower with five sons the youngest being a baby of a year old and a teenage daughter named Ann. For the next seven years Ann cared for her father and siblings but in 1816 she married. She and her husband settled in the village and began a family of their own. In the same year Matthew's father remarried so he and his brothers gained a stepmother.

1816 was a momentous year that became known as the year without a summer. An eruption on mount Tambora, an island in the Indian Ocean, caused a thick cloud of volcanic dust to spread over Europe blocking out the sun. It resulted in a poor harvest. The price of wheat increased and bread was expensive and in short supply.

By the time he was sixteen in 1820 Matthew could read, and was able to write an elegant copperplate hand and:

'... by his own will and accord and by and with the consent and Approbation of his father John Speechly of Whittlesey in the isle of Ely and County of Cambridge Thatcher (testified by his signing and sealing: these Presents)' doth put himself Apprentice for five years to John Corby of Coates in Whittlesey aforesaid Carpenter and Wheelwright to learn his Art and with him after the Manner of an Apprentice to serve from the sixth day of February last for during

and unto the Full End and Term of Five years from thence next following to be fully complete and ended.'

The apprenticeship indenture is handwritten. It is a legal document signed by Matthew, his father and the apprentice master and witnessed by John Peed. It states the fee his father must pay, the obligations of the apprentice master and the conduct that is expected of Matthew while he learns his trade.

'During which Term the said Apprentice his Master faithfully shall serve his secrets keep his lawful commands everywhere gladly do he shall do no damage to his said master nor see to be done of others but to his power tell or forthwith give warning to his said master of the same. He shall not waste the Goods of his said master nor lend them unlawfully to any nor commit fornication nor contract Matrimony within the said term. He shall not play at Cards or Dice tables or any other unlawful games whereby his said master may have any loss with his own goods or other during the said term without Licence of his said master. He shall neither buy nor sell, he shall not haunt taverns or playhouses nor absent himself from his Masters service day or night unlawfully. But in all things as a faithful Apprentice he shall behave himself towards his said master and all his during the said term. And the said John Corby in consideration of such faithful services and also of Twelve Pounds Sterling to be paid to him by the said John Speechly as follows viz. six pounds part thereof at the occasion hereafter the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged and six pounds residue thereof on the eleventh of October 1822 doth hereby for his heirs executors and administrators that he the said John Corby his said apprentice in the art of carpenter and wheelwright which he useth by the best means that he can shall teach and instruct or cause to be taught and instructed. Finding unto the said Apprentice sufficient meat drink and lodging during the said term and the said John Speechly doth hereby for himself his heirs executors and administrators covenant and agree with and to the said John Corby the sum of six pounds residue of the



Fig. 1 - Matthew Speechly's indenture, 1820.

said sum of twelve pounds on the eleventh day of October 1822 and also find and provide for the said Apprentice all the necessaries during the term aforesaid except what the said John Corby hath hereby covenanted to find and provide. And for the true performance of all and every the said Covenants and Agreements either of the said Parties bindeth himself unto the other by these Presents. In witness whereof the Parties above named to these indentures interchangeably have put their Hands and Seals the nineteenth Day of August In the first year of the reign of our sovereign Lord George the Fourth by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty’.

There is an NB underneath stating that:

‘... the indenture Covenant Article or Contract must bear the date the day it is executed and what money or other thing is given or contracted for with the clerk or apprentice must be inserted In words at length otherwise the Indenture will be void, the master or mistress forfeit fifty pounds and another penalty and the apprentice disabled to follow the trade or be made free.’

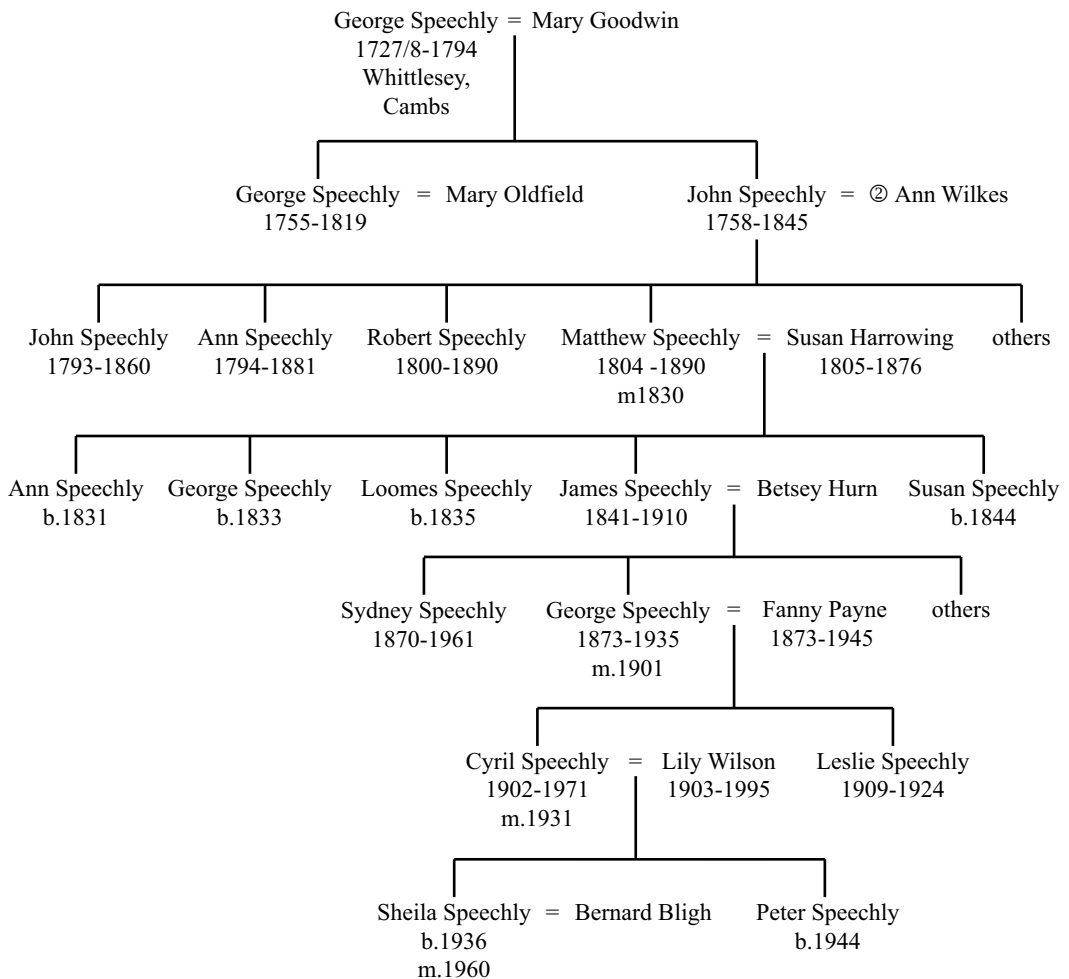
‘Signed Sealed and Delivered (being first duly stampd) in the presence of
J W Peed.’

In 1825 Matthew completed his apprenticeship. He was now a master carpenter and wheelwright and received a copy of his indenture. There were two copies of the document, one for Matthew and one

for the apprentice master John Corby. Matthew's copy has survived in good condition and is 200 years old.

In 1830 Matthew married a Norfolk girl, Susan Harrowing, and the couple moved into the Red Lion, a pub on the road from Whittlesey to the neighbouring village of Thorney. Rating assessments for 1837 and 1864 valued the Red Lion and adjoining premises at £14.00. The adjoining premises included a blacksmith's and a carpenter's workshop, so that Matthew was able to work as a carpenter and wheelwright as well as being landlord of the Red Lion. The pub was nearer to Thorney than

Whittlesey and with only one other pub between the two villages, open fields on either side of the road and almost five miles between Whittlesey and Thorney, the Red Lion became a welcome stopping place for the agricultural labourers working in the fields to quench their thirst. The census returns from 1841-81 record Matthew's growing family and his increasing success as a businessman. In 1841 he gives his occupation as 'carpenter'. By 1851 he is 'victualler' and although he mentions his occupation as a wheelwright in 1861 it is of secondary importance to his role as 'innkeeper'. This is his main occupation and it remains so in the two census returns for 1871 and 1881.



Speechly family tree

This is the last Will and Testament of me Matthew Speechly of Stone Bridge in Whitksey in the Isle of Ely in the County of Cambridge Wheelwright and Carpenter as follows that is to say I give and bequeath the following legacies of Sterling money to be severally paid as soon as may be after my decease, To my daughter Ann the Wife of George Hemingway the legacy or sum of Two hundred pounds to my son George Speechly the legacy of Two hundred pounds and to my daughter Susan the Wife of Edwin Elderkin the legacy of Two hundred pounds - I give and bequeath all my household goods and furniture (except an eight day clock which belongs to my son George) plate linen china wearing apparel tools and materials as a Wheelwright monies in the house book and other debts in my several businesses And I devise all that the Messuage or tenement known as the Red Lion Inn wherein I now reside together with the yards outbuildings and appurtenances unto my Son James Speechly his heirs executors administrators and assigns I give and bequeath to my son Thomas Speechly all Bank interest which may be due and payable in respect of any monies of mine which may be deposited in any Bank or Banks at the time of my decease And also all the Bonus or bonuses or profits which may now have been or at any time hereafter may be added to any Policy or Policies of Insurance effected upon my life I give devise and bequeath all the rest residue and remainder of my real estate if any and all other my residuary personal estate subject to the payment hereout of my just debts funeral and testamentary expenses unto and to be equally divided between my said daughters Ann Hemingway Susan Elderkin and my said Sons George Speechly and Thomas Speechly I direct that in the event of the said Ann Hemingway and Susan Elderkin or either of them predeceasing me that their several legacies estate and interest under this my Will shall be paid in like manner to their said respective husbands or the husband of the one so dying as the case may be so that the husband in each case shall take the legacy estate share and interest which his Wife if living would have taken under this my Will And in the event of the said Ann Hemingway and Susan Elderkin and their respective husbands and the said George Speechly James Speechly and Thomas Speechly any or either of them dying before me their several and respective legacies share estate and interest under this my Will shall respectively be paid to their

Fig. 2 & 3 - Matthew Speechly's will, 1890.

several issues lawfully begotten and living at his decease or their decease if one child only to that one wholly or if more than one in equal shares so that the child or children in each case shall take only the legacy share estate and interest his her or their parent would have taken if living under this my Will. But if such child or children shall die under twenty one years of age then the share originally limited as also the shares eventually limited under this Executory clause to any and every child or children so dying shall be paid and go to the other and others of them and if more than one in equal shares I appoint the said George Speechly and Loones Speechly and my friend Edward Goddard Deharcell of Stone Bridge in Thorney in the Isle and County aforesaid Farmers Executors of this my Will. Lastly I revoke all other Wills by me heretofore made and declare this only to be and contain the whole of my last Will and Testament. In witness whereof I have hereunder set my hand this thirty first day of January One thousand eight hundred and eighty seven

Executors

Signed by the said Matthew Speechly ^{the Testator} as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of us both present at the same time who at his request in his presence and in the presence of each other have hereunto or subscribed our names as witnesses attesting the same.

Matthew Speechly

John Boyce Junr } Clerks to Bowker Weldon
George Speechly } Sol^r, Whittelsey

Proved at Peterborough the 8th day of August 1890 by the Oath of George Speechly the Son the surviving Executor to whom administration was granted.

9

The Testator Matthew Speechly was late of Stone Bridges in Whittelsey in the Isle of Ely and County of Cambridge Wheelwright and Carpenter and died on the 8th day of May 1890 at Stone Bridge in Whittelsey aforesaid.

Gross £ 681. 7. 4 Net £ 671. 2. 2
Bowker Weldon, Solicitor, Whittelsey

2



During the 40 years from 1841-81 Matthew's employees lodged at the Red Lion. In 1841 his nephew John, a carpenter, is living with the family. He is followed by a succession of trainee blacksmiths until 1871 when his youngest son James is living at the pub with his wife and young family and working as a blacksmith.

In 1876 Susan died leaving Matthew a widower. In 1881 the census has Thomas Barton lodging at the pub with his wife and family and working as a blacksmith, while Matthew's son James is also living at the inn with his wife and family and working as a carpenter and wheelwright, having taken over this part of the business from his ageing father.

Matthew died in 1890 aged 87. In his will he left £200 each to Ann and Susan, his two married daughters, and the same sum to his eldest son George. His second son Loomes receives the interest on Matthew's bank accounts due at the time of his decease and the bonus or bonuses which may have been added to his insurance policies. James inherits the Red Lion and the buildings attached to it so he takes over from his father both as carpenter and wheelwright, and landlord of the Red Lion. James ran the business until he died in 1910 when it passed to his son George.

Over the years of the 20th century farming gradually became mechanised as the horse and cart was replaced by tractors and combine harvesters, and pneumatic tyres took the place of the carefully crafted wheels that Matthew had been taught to make. George realised that times had changed and

advised his son to leave the village and look for work in the town. So when George died in 1935 the Red Lion was sold. In the early fifties the building was demolished. With the advent of the motorcar it was easier to move around in search of places to eat and drink. Matthew had made the best of his own world but his descendants had to make the best of theirs which by now was a world changed by two world wars and increases in technology which would have been unimaginable to Matthew when he began his apprenticeship in 1820. Inevitably the slow pace of life in the country was replaced by the speed of life in the town, and in the span of just a few generations Matthew's descendants became urban dwellers. But the careful preservation of the 1820 indenture, the existence of census returns with the detailed information they contain allow us to view the social changes over the years through the experiences of this Fenland family.

Sources

Matthew's apprentice indenture – now in the Cambridge-shire Record Office.
Transcript of the Indenture.
Parish Registers for Whittlesey Cambs 1750-1837.
Census returns for Whittlesey 1841-1881.
Matthew's will 1890.
National Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths 1837-1940.

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MEDICAL PERSONNEL, COMMISSARIAT STAFF, VETERINARY SURGEONS, AND CHAPLAINS WHO DIED DURING THE CRIMEAN WAR, 1854-1856

Mike Hinton

The absence of an effective system for recording the location of the graves during the early stages of World War One provided the catalyst for the formation of the Imperial (now) Commonwealth War Graves Commission (I or CWGC). Nevertheless, this admirable - and now much valued development - was foreshadowed by an initiative taken by the British army at the end of the Crimean campaign which resulted in the publication of *The Last of the Brave* by Captains John Colborne, 60th Regiment, and Frederic Brine, RE. The: 'inscriptions are given exactly as they appear on the tombstones or slabs, without any corrections,' and this provides an invaluable inventory of the grave-markers and memorials in the Crimea and the Haidar Pasha cemetery at Scutari (Üsküdar), on the Asian side of the Bosphorus (Fig. 1).¹ One inevitable shortcoming of the survey was that many casualties were buried in unmarked graves, particularly the NCOs and men killed in battle or who died in the general military hospitals on the Bosphorus. Some temporary grave-markers may have already disappeared by the time of the survey,² while others would have been buried at locations not visited by the authors.³

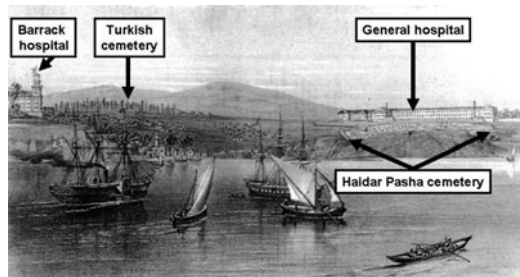


Fig. 1. The Haidar Pasha cemetery from the Bosphorus, 1856. [Colborne & Brine, following p.52].

The aim of this essay is to provide a summary of the fate of the cemeteries in the Crimea and the survival

of the one at Haidar Pasha, and to make reference to personnel in four 'non-military' departments, viz. army and naval medical service,⁴ commissariat, veterinary department, and chaplains, whose tombstones were recorded in *The Last of the Brave*, or whose decease was established by consulting official government papers, archives and libraries, diaries, and obituary notices in newspapers, weekly and monthly journals, and books.

The British Army of the East - the official title of the army commanded by Lord Raglan, and his successors Generals William Simpson and Sir William Codrington - first arrived in Turkey during April 1854, spent the summer of that year in Bulgaria, and invaded the Crimea on 14 September. The battles of the Alma, Balaklava, Inkerman, and Tchernaya - which did not involve British forces - took place on the 20 September, 25 October, and 5 November 1854 and 16 August 1855 respectively. There were two major assaults on the Sevastopol garrison on 18 June and 9 September 1855; the latter being followed by the Russian evacuation of the southern part of the city. A peace treaty was ratified on 27 April 1856 and the British forces finally evacuated the Crimea on 9 July 1856. There were over 130 cemeteries in the Crimea with nearly 600 monuments scattered over an area measuring about 12 miles east to west and eight miles north to south.⁵ The condition of the cemeteries became a matter of concern within a few years due to the depredations of vandals and treasure seekers, as well as the weather, grazing animals, and re-colonization of the steppe with the natural flora and fauna.⁶ The Prince of Wales visited the Crimea in April 1869,⁷ and though he expressed his concern about the condition of the cemeteries it was not until 1872 that Brigadier John Miller Ayde, RA, and Colonel Charles George Gordon, RE,⁸ were sent to the Crimea to investigate matters. Their report was

published in 1873 with a recommendation for rationalization with memorials in smaller cemeteries, but not the bodily remains, being moved to the nearest large one, about nine in number; that these should be protected by good walls; and the monuments within them repaired.⁹ Captain Thomas Henry Anstey, RE, subsequently supervised the necessary repairs between April 1875 and August 1876.¹⁰ Further concern about the condition of the cemeteries resulted in a meeting at the Royal United Services Institute on 10 March 1883. It was attended by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army.¹¹ It was agreed that money should be collected to fund the preservation of the remaining cemeteries. A committee carried forward the initiative under the chairmanship of Codrington. The principal cemetery was on Cathcart's Hill (see Fig. 2; the graves of individuals listed in Table 1 are identified by number). An additional 70 feet around the perimeter was granted by the Russian Government; and this made it possible to 'collect the tombstones and memorials into an enclosure and not to disturb the remains of the dead but to smooth over the ground.'¹² This project was supervised by Lieutenant General James Conolly, a Crimean War veteran,¹³ with the assistance of Captain Samuel Henry Harford, also a veteran and the vice consul in Sevastopol.¹⁴ The completed cemetery was consecrated in May 1884 by the Bishop of Gibraltar, the Rt Revd Charles Waldegrave Sandford.^{15, 16} This final rationalization facilitated the maintenance of the monuments though official correspondence involving the government and the IWGC, which assumed responsibility for the cemetery in the mid-1920s, confirmed that it continued to be a challenging undertaking. A retired Russian army officer, Captain K. Khlebnokov, was recruited as the custodian in about 1927, and he recorded the inscriptions on the monuments during 1929/30 and his longhand report is preserved in the CWGC archive.¹⁷ The Crimea was invaded by the Germans between the summer of 1941 and June 1942 and their occupation lasted until it was recaptured by the Russians in April/May 1944. The cemetery was visited by the Royal Navy's Black Sea liaison officer on 18 December 1944 who: 'found [it] almost completely destroyed. [...] The whole ground is very thickly pitted with shell holes. [...]

I found only fifteen [...] tombstones and memorials [...] not irreparably damaged,' and yet, despite this, he concluded: 'that, as far as can be judged now, the cemetery must have been looked after and kept in good order up to the outbreak of war.'¹⁸ However, apart from a portion of the tombstone of Sir George Cathcart, who was killed during the battle of Inkerman and was among the first casualties to be buried on Cathcart's Hill, and that of Lieutenant Oliver Colt, 7th Regiment,¹⁹ none from the cemetery had seemingly survived until those of two officers in the Royal Artillery were recovered later; and are now in the Municipal Museum, Simferopol.²⁰

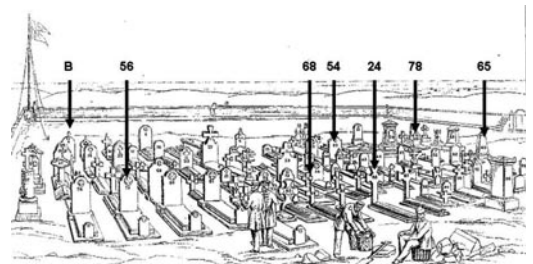


Fig. 2. The Cathcart's Hill Cemetery on the heights of Sevastopol, 1856. [Colborne & Brine, preceding p.45].



Fig. 3. Consecration on the burial-ground at Scutari by the Bishop of Gibraltar. [Illustrated London News, 9 June 1855].

In contrast, the cemetery at Haidar Pasha fared very much better. The earliest surviving monument is that of Lieutenant William Macnish, 93rd Regiment, who was drowned on 19 May 1854 and the latest was Veterinary Surgeon Alfred Henry Cherry, 1st Dragoons, who died 7 March 1855 (see below). The cemetery was consecrated on 16 May 1855 by the Bishop of Gibraltar, the Rt Revd George Tomlinson (Fig. 3) and Sergeant William Henry Lyne, RE, was appointed the custodian

shortly after the war and continued in this role until his death in 1914. He was succeeded by Petty Officer Walter Isaac Lee, RN, until he died in 1924. The property contains the graves of casualties of both World Wars and since then the whole property has been under the care of the CWGC. A gratifying consequence of this long-term supervision is that most of the monuments listed by Colborne and Brine still survive in relatively good condition.

Medical personnel

The first British troops in the British Army in the East arrived in Turkey during April 1854, and 86 individuals have been identified who were associated with the medical service and who died between July 1854 and June 1856 (Table 1). This is inevitably an underestimate as the deaths of almost all of the support staff would have been included in unpublished muster rolls or similar official returns, if at all. These individuals comprised staff and regimental surgeons (26 & 24), surgeons with the Turkish Contingent (which was in British pay) and Ottoman Imperial Army (3 each) and British German Legion (1), civilian surgeons (5), nurses, including two matrons (10),²¹ dressers, including one in the TC,²² dispensers of medicines, including one in the OIA (4 each), hospital sergeants (2), and one apothecary, purveyor,²³ hospital steward, and purveyor's clerk. The names of 55 (65%) were commemorated on a war memorial erected at Netley Hospital on Southampton Water. The foundation stone of the monument was laid by the Prince of Wales on 1 August 1864. 'Sixty feet high and in the form of a 13th century cross,'²⁴ it was demolished in 1973.²⁵

The individuals died in Bulgaria (4); Crimea: camps before Sevastopol (29), Eupatoria (2), and Yenikale (2); Turkey: Scutari (27), Kuleli (5), Büyükdere (3), Smyrna (2), and Trebizond (1); on board ship (7; 5 were surgeons); and the United Kingdom after repatriation (4). The principal causes of death included cholera (33, 37%), fever (28, 32.5%),²⁶ typhus (8, 9.5%), epilepsy/cerebral disease (3), dysentery (2),²⁷ unspecified disease (8), battlefield injuries (2), and accidents (3). Colborne and Brine's inventory recorded 26 individuals in the Crimea, including four individuals on regimental memorials (Table 1: 32, 54, 65 & 65), and 25 in the

cemetery at Haidar Pasha. Thirty individuals who died at either of these locations had no recorded grave or memorial, while 22 others died at places outside the scope of their survey.

The Prince of Wales visited several countries in the Middle East during 1862 and his entourage included the photographer Francis Bedford.²⁸ About 40 surviving tombstones can be seen in a photograph taken on 25 May,²⁹ and those of relevance to this essay are identified in Joseph Swain's engraving of Bedford's image³⁰ (Fig. 4).

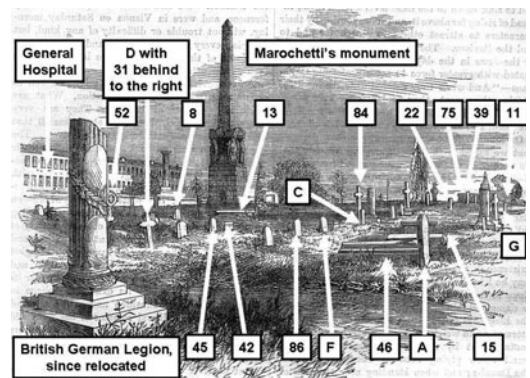


Fig. 4. The Haidar Pasha cemetery engraved by Joseph Swain after a photograph by Francis Bedford. [Good Words for 1866, p.273].

Coincidental connections

There were unexpected associations between three pairs of individuals who were buried at Haidar Pasha. The sailing transport *Europa* No. 92 provides the first example. The vessel caught fire after sailing to the East with the 6th Dragoon Guards and the casualties included Lieutenant Colonel Willoughby Moore, the husband of Mrs Moore (Table 1: 52),³⁰ while Dr McGrigor (46) was one of the passengers who were rescued. He died of cholera on 16 November 1855 and Lady Alicia Blackwood provided a poignant account of his final hours: 'In the afternoon [he] was struck down. [...] He knew his own state too well, the grip of cholera was upon him, every stage of which he understood and spoke of; an hour or two and he would be gone! [...] He made his will [with] the help of a friend near; bade adieu to my husband [Rev'd Dr James Stevenson Blackwood] and his sorrowing fellow-surgeons, and sank into the last stage of coma, till death released

him.³² Secondly, Dr Wood [86] and Dispenser Beveridge [8] were buried on the same day with the ‘infantry depot [furnishing] a party in accordance with the rank of the deceased.’³³ They died of cholera and the circumstances were described in the *Medical and Surgical History*: ‘[Dr Wood] had been on duty in the hospital up to 3 a.m. on the morning of the 17th [...] soon afterwards, 4 a.m., [he] was found lying on his bed, with his clothes on. [...] About ten minutes afterwards [...] he was now in the privy; but he did not complain [...] Shortly afterwards [he was found] lying on his bed suffering from cramps, and when Dr Webb called to see him he was pulseless, and becoming rapidly collapsed. [...] It appears the dispenser had made up some medicine for himself and Dr Wood, and [...] it is probable that both had been ailing previously, but as they never complained, and appeared in usual health at 3 a.m., their ailments can only have been slight.’³⁴ The connection between Drs Grabham [22] and Complin [15] who both died of fever is a mural tablet installed in Southwark Cathedral by the Governors of St Thomas’s hospital. The text reads: ‘past house surgeons of this hospital who, while ministering to the sick and the wounded of the British Army before Sebastopol, were stricken by disease and died at Scutari; the former February 16th 1855 in the 25th year of his age and latter October 29th 1855 in the 26th year of his age.’

Royal and Merchant Navy

The Royal Navy surgeons all died of disease. These comprised Surgeons J. Douglas, HMS *London* and J. Corbett, HMS *Jean d’Arc*; Assistant Surgeon, Terence H. Wall, HMS *Leopard*, who died in Constantinople on 16 December 1855 and was buried at Haidar Pasha (Fig. 4: A); while Surgeons H. Stupart (*sic*), HMS *Niger*, and Edward Harris Derriman, Royal Marines, and Assistant Surgeon John Hitchens, HMS *Sphynx*, were interred in a cemetery in Therapia on the European side of the Bosphorus.³⁵ The tombstones of Derriman and Hitchens, along with several others, were later relocated in the southern end of the Haidar Pasha cemetery, and where they can still be seen. Finally two civilian ship surgeons: John Morgan Salter was drowned when *Prince* No 107 sank during the storm of 14 November 1854 and William Leshley, of *Emue* No. 74, who died of typhus on 14 March 1855.³⁶

Commissariat and veterinary departments, and chaplains

The Commissariat was responsible for ‘*inter alia*’ supplying provisions, including food, clothing and other necessities. Initially under the control of the Treasury it was transferred to the War Department during the campaign. Eight deaths were recorded (Table 2). Two possibly occurred in Turkey or Bulgaria prior to the invasion of the Crimea, where three died, with Coppinger being buried on Cathcart’s Hill (Fig. 2: B), and Brown and Cochran who died at Scutari (Fig. 4: C & D).

Veterinary surgeons were responsible for the health and welfare of the immense number of horses and mules utilised by the Army, and eight died during the course of the campaign (Table 3). None were killed in action though two suffered a violent death; Kelly died when the transport *Europa* caught fire (see above) while Elkes was shot during the night by his colleague, George Western, who had mistaken him for an intruder. No tombstones were recorded by Colborne and Brine except that of Cherry, who died at Scutari, and which survives (Fig. 5: E).

Military chaplains spent time in the hospitals attending to the spiritual needs of the patients. Fourteen died of disease during the campaign (Table 4): eight in the Crimea, though no grave was recorded for Whyatt and Cantry, three at Scutari, namely Lee, Whitfield (Fig. 4: F & G), and Proctor (Fig. 5: H); and three following repatriation from the East. The denominations represented comprised Church of England (7), Roman Catholic (6), and Presbyterian (1).

Crimean War memorial

In the summer of 1855 the government entered into discussions with the sculptor Baron Carlo Marochetti about the design for a memorial in the Haidar Pasha cemetery. The monument, using masonry prepared in the British Isles, was erected during 1857. The inscriptions on the plinth, which are in French, Italian, and Turkish on the other three panels read: ‘To the Memory of the Officers and Men of the British Army and Navy who in the War against Russia in 1854, 1855, and 1856, Died

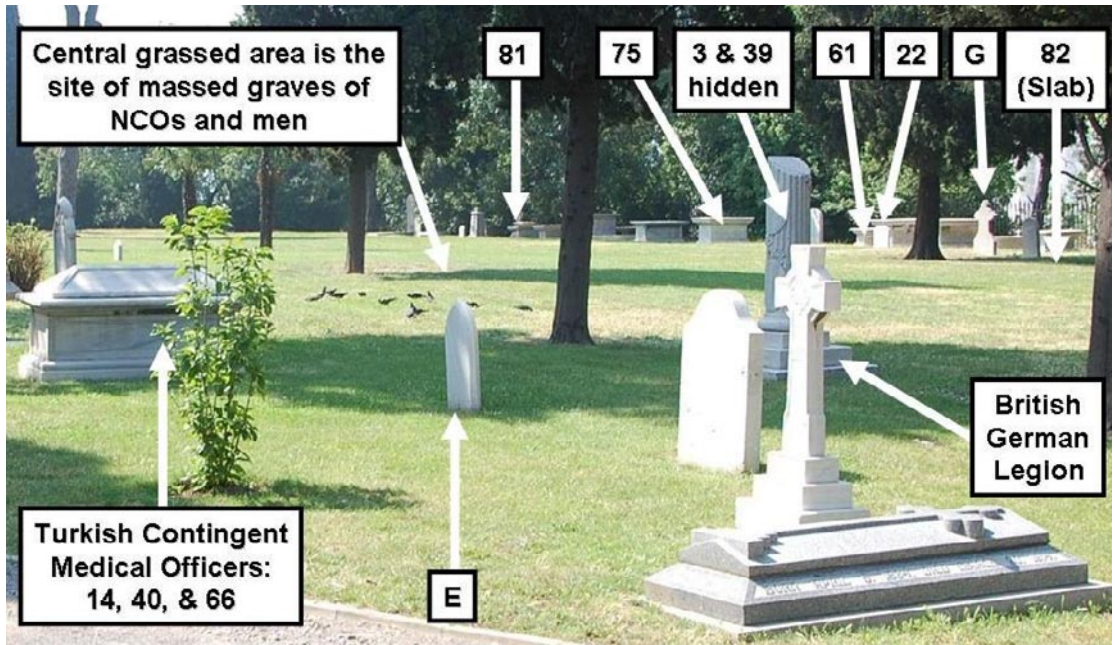


Fig. 5. The Haidar Pasha cemetery looking south from the entrance [Photograph by the author, 12 June 2012].

for their Country. This Monument was Raised by Queen Victoria and her People, 1857.' A plaque 'To Florence Nightingale, whose work near the cemetery a century ago relieved much human suffering and laid the foundations for the nursing profession,' has since been affixed below the main inscription and was unveiled by the British Ambassador, Sir James Bowker, on 24 May 1954.³⁷

Misinformation in the medical press

A list of medical officers who died published in the *Medical Times and Gazette* included two examples of misinformation.³⁸ First, it was stated that a Dr Boothroyd, Grenadier Guards, died at Smyrna during March 1855. There is no record of any medical officer of this name in various official records but the medal roll of the 3rd Battalion, Grenadier Guards, recorded that No. 6607 Private Doctor Boothroyd was entitled to the Crimea campaign medal.³⁹ He died on 20 March 1855 at Smyrna of frostbite (*gelatio*).⁴⁰ Second, Assistant Surgeon Edward Wallis Campbell, Royal Horse Artillery, was reported to have died in the Crimea in April 1855. In the event, he died on 26 February shortly after his appointment and before he left England, and was buried at St Luke's, Greenwich.⁴¹

Acknowledgements: I am grateful to Tony Margrave for the details of Assistant Surgeon Campbell, Dispenser Wakinshaw, Private Boothroyd, Deputy Assistant Commissary General Tronton, and Veterinary Surgeons, Scott and Wilkinson, and to Douglas Austin, Glenn Fisher, Mike Hargreave Mawson, Colin Robins, Pete Starling, formerly the curator of the Army Medical Services Museum, and Megan Stevens for assistance over the years.

Notes

1. Colborne, J. and Brine, F., *The Last of the Brave; or the Resting Place of our Fallen Heroes in the Crimea and Scutari*, (London: Ackermann, 1857). A second edition was published in 1858 with the title amended to *Memorials of the Brave*; ... The principal difference was that the 17 appendices based on data supplied by the War Office had been increased to 21, including one for the Royal Navy. The index in the book is limited principally to officers. A comprehensive listing prepared by Mrs R.P. Williams is available in the Society's library though it contains several errors. The most notable in the context of this essay was the abbreviation 'Dr' for drummers and drivers on some gravestones being mistaken as 'Doctor', namely, Barrow, R.; Brinton, G.; Carey, B.; Dawson, D; Day, J.; Horsford, J.; Hughes, P.; Huntley, G.; McHugh, J.; Mitchell, T.O.; Nee, M.; and O'Brian, S.
2. A surprisingly large number of officers were buried in seemingly unmarked graves. For further details see Hinton, M., 'Was Captain Nolan unusual in having an unrecorded grave?' *Soldiers of the Queen* [Journal of the Victorian Military

- Society], No. 173 (2018-19), 14-16.
3. These included Bulgaria and Eupatoria in the Crimea, and Büyükdere, Kuleli, Smyrna, Therapia, and Trezibond in Turkey.
 4. This should not imply army medical officers were not exposed to enemy action, since one was killed, another died of wounds (Table 1: 56 & 38), and three who tended the wounded on the battlefield were awarded the Victoria Cross, namely: Surgeon James Mouat, 6th Dragoons, and Assistant Surgeons Thomas Edgerton Hale, 7th Regiment, and Henry Thomas Sylvester, 23rd Regiment. See Hinton, M., 'The award of orders and medals to medical officers in the British Army during the Crimean Campaign. *Soldiers of the Queen*'. No. 177 (2020), 30-4.
 5. From a report on the Crimean cemeteries by George Jackson Eldridge, H.M. Consul, Kertch, dated November 1861; The National Archives (TNA): FO 65/1509.
 6. For general reviews see Fisher, G., 'Resting places of fallen heroes', *The War Correspondent* [Journal of Crimean War Research Society], 27:4 (2010), 36-48; and Robins, C., 'British memorial outside Sevastopol', *The War Correspondent*, 31:3 (2013), 11-4.
 7. *Illustrated London News*, 22 May & 12 June 1869.
 8. Later to become well-known as Major General 'Chinese' Gordon, who was killed at Khartoum on 26 January 1885.
 9. House of Commons Parliamentary Papers 1873 (C.719) XL.433: *Report on the Crimean Cemeteries*. The document includes an inventory of the monuments, and their condition, but nothing on the inscriptions. The map included with the report was dated 1872.
 10. A copy of Anstey's report for the Under Secretary of State for War is in TNA: FO 65/1510.
 11. *The Times*, 12 March 1883.
 12. General William Codrington to Sir Edward Thornton, British Ambassador to St Petersburg, 24 July 1883; TNA: FO 65/1511.
 13. Conolly's brother, Captain John Charles Conolly, 23rd Regiment, was killed during the battle of the Alma and was buried on the battlefield with seven other officers of the regiment; and where a tombstone can still be seen (Colborne and Brine, op. cit., 28).
 14. Harford's elder brother, Lieutenant, later Captain, Charles Joseph Harford, served in the Crimea with the 12th Lancers.
 15. The Crimea is within the extensive Diocese of Gibraltar, now the Diocese of Europe.
 16. The Consul General in Odessa, Gerald R. Perry, to the Earl of Granville, 23 May 1884; TNA: FO 65/1511. The ceremony was reported in *The Times* and *The Standard*, 31 May 1884, and other newspapers.
 17. Commonwealth War Graves Commission: CWGC/1/1/11/11 (WG 1500/1/19/5 Pt. 1) - Pre-War Cemeteries - Cathcart's Hill Cemetery - Russian Documents and Spare Translations.
 18. CWGC/1/1/11/6 (WG 1500/1/19 Pt 4) - Pre-war Cemeteries - Cathcart's Hill.
 19. Colt was killed on 8 September 1855 and interred in the cemetery of the 1st Brigade, Light Division; Colborne and Brine, op. cit., 1.
 20. Hinton, M., 'A Sad End to a Fine Memorial, the RE Monument Erected on Cathcart's Hill', *The Royal Engineers Journal*, 134:1 (2020), 48-53.
 21. For details on the nurses see Hinton, M., 'Beyond Florence: Nurses of the Crimean War', *Nursing History Now*, Spring (2019), 10-13.
 22. Dressers were principally medical students recruited to assist in the hospitals though on some occasions they were designated assistant surgeons; for example H. Harrison (Table 1: 24).
 23. The Purveyor's duties included the provision of hospital equipment, rations for patients and staff, cooking of meals, washing clothes, arrangements for funerals, and drawing up wills.
 24. Cantlie, N., *A History of the Army Medical Department*, (Edinburgh: Churchill Livingstone, 1974), 2, 184-5.
 25. See www.netley-military-cemetery.co.uk (Accessioned 15 May 2021). The main hospital, with the exception of the chapel, now a museum, was demolished in 1966.
 26. This diagnostic category included common continued, remittent and intermittent fever; see House of Commons Parliamentary Papers 1857-58 [2434] XXXVIII.Pt.I.1 & XXXVIII.Pt.II.1: *Medical and Surgical History of the British Army which Served in Turkey and the Crimea during the War against Russia in the Years 1854-55-56*, 2, General Return A. Shepherd (op. cit., 318) opined that because fever was merely a symptom labelling the fevers on 'purely clinical observations' makes for a classification that is 'utterly confusing.' It is probable that the majority of the deaths from fever were for enteric, or typhoid, fever. See for example Bonnici, W., 'British Army Medical Services and the Malta Garrison' at <maltaramce.co>; and particularly the section: 'Fever, morbidity and mortality 1816-1909.' (Accessed: 21 May 2021).
 27. See Gordon, S. (ed.), *Cairo to Constantinople. Francis Bedford's Photographs of the Middle East*, (Royal Collection Trust, 2015).
 28. Royal Collection Trust: RCIN 2861694.
 29. Macleod, N. (ed.), *Good Words for 1866*, (London: Strahan & Co.), 273.
 30. This low incidence is in distinction to NCOs and men many of whom died from diarrhoea (22.5% of deaths from disease) or dysentery (14%). The comparable proportions for cholera, fevers, and typhus were 27.5, 19.3 and 1.7 per cent respectively; see Hinton, M., *Victory over Disease. Resolving the Medical Crisis in the Crimean War*, (Warwick: Helion, 2019), 197.
 31. Hinton, M., 'Mrs Charlotte Willoughby Moore: an officer's widow and a lady volunteer nurse', *Soldiers of the Queen*, No. 167 (2017), 2-8.
 32. Blackwood, Lady A., *Narrative of Personal Experiences and Impressions during a Residence on the Bosphorus throughout the Crimean War*, (London: Hatchard, 1881), 211-2.
 33. District Order IV, 18 November 1855; TNA: WO 28/103.
 34. *Medical and Surgical History*, op. cit., 2, 83.
 35. Colborne and Brine, op. cit., 2nd edition, Appendix 21, 66, and *Report on the Crimean Cemeteries*, op. cit., 30.
 36. Shepherd, op. cit., 248 & 330.
 37. *The Times*, 25 May 1954.
 38. *Medical Times and Gazette*, 1855, 1, 464.
 39. TNA: WO 106/25.
 40. *Armagh Guardian*, 20 April 1855.
 41. *Morning Chronicle* and *Manchester Times*, 3 & 7 March 1855 respectively.

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Table 1: Eighty-six medical officers and support staff that died in Bulgaria, the Crimea, Turkey, and the UK during the Crimean campaign, 1854-1856

No.	Name	Status	Cause of death	Place	Date
1	Alibert, Louis	Civilian Surgeon	Fever	Kuleli	Feb 55
2*†	Ancell, Malcolm Currie	Assistant Surgeon, 11th Hussars	Fever	Camps	Aug 55
3**¶	Anderson, David	2nd Class Staff Surgeon	Cholera/lung disease	Scutari	Nov 54
4*†	Anderson, William Abbot	Surgeon, 41st Regt	Typhus	Camps	Jan 55
5¶	Barnes, Sophia	Nurse	Disease	Scutari	Apr 55
6*†	Bassano, Christopher Bakewell	2nd Class Staff Surgeon	Fever	Camps	Feb 56
7*†	Beckwith, Henry	Assistant Surgeon, 49th Regt	Cholera	Camps	Oct 54
8**¶	Beveridge, John Martin	Dispenser	Cholera	Scutari	Nov 55
9*	Boxall, Robert	2nd Class Staff Surgeon, Turkish Contingent	Disease	Yenikale	Nov 55
10†	Boyle, Edward Patrick	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Cholera	Camps	Dec 54
11**¶	Browne, William	Surgeon, 95th Regt	Fever/dysentery	Scutari	Nov 54
12*	Butler, Mary Elizabeth	Nurse	Fever	Camps	Feb 56
13¶	Clough, Martha ³	Nurse	Epilepsy	Ship	Sep 55
14¶	Coates, Charles	Dresser, Turkish Contingent	Disease	Büyükdere	Jul 55
15*†	Complin, Edward John	Civilian Surgeon	Fever/dysentery	Scutari	Oct 55
16*	Drake, Elizabeth	Nurse	Fever	Camps	Aug 55
17†	Edmonds, James Humphries	Civilian Dispenser	Fever	Smyrna	Apr 55
18	Edsall, Horatio	Surgeon, Ottoman Imperial Army	Typhus	Trebizond	Jan 56
19†	Fell, Thomas	Dresser	Fever	Ship	Aug 55
20	Flewitt, John Alexander	Dresser	Disease	UK	Jun 56
21*†	Gilborne, John Henry	Assistant Surgeon, 71st Regt	Typhus	Yenikale	Jan 56
22**¶	Grabham, John	Assistant Surgeon, 11th Regt	Fever/lung disease	Scutari	Feb 55
23†	Graham, Frederick M.	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Typhus	Kuleli	Mar 55
24*†	Harrison, Harry ³	Dresser, 95th Regt	Fever	Camps	May 55
25*	Henty, Frederick	Purveyor's clerk	Cholera	Camps	Jun 55
26	Holland, Thomas S.	Civilian Assistant Surgeon	Epilepsy	UK	Jun 56
27†	Huithwaite, Francis Cornelius	Surgeon, Grenadier Guards	Cholera	Camps	Sep 54
28†	Jane, Micheal Allen	2nd Class Staff Surgeon	Fever	Scutari	Mar 55
29†	Jenkin, Ebenezer Alfred	Assistant Surgeon, 23rd Regt	Cholera	Bulgaria	Aug 54
30	Johnston, Alexander	Assistant Surgeon, 68th Regt	Disease	UK	Jun 56
31**¶	Keital, F.	Surgeon, British German Legion	Cholera	Scutari	Nov 55
32*†	Lamont, James	Assistant Surgeon, 41st Regt	Fever	Camps	Jan 55
33†	Langham, John Philipson	Assistant Surgeon, 7th Regt	Fever	Ship	Feb 55
3†	Le Blanc, Edward ²	Surgeon, 9th Regt	Shot accidentally	Camps	Mar 55
35	Le Mesurier, Mrs	Nurse	Disease	Smyrna	Nov 55
36*†	Longmore, John	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Cholera	Camps	Aug 55
37**¶	Ludlow, Henry Harvey	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Fever	Scutari	Apr 55
38*†	Macartney, Christopher	Surgeon, 77th Regt	WIA/erysipelas	Camps	Apr 55
39**¶	Macartney, Frederick Arthur	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Fever	Scutari	Feb 55
40¶	Macauley, Arthur Frederick	Surgeon, Turkish Contingent	Dysentery	Büyükdere	Oct 55
41*†	Mackey, Peter	2nd Class Staff Surgeon	Cholera	Scutari	Oct 54
42**¶	Marks, Mary	Nurse	Cholera	Scutari	Oct 55
43†	Marshall, John	1st Class Staff Surgeon	Fever	Kuleli	Feb 55
44†	Martel(l), Philip Gifford	Assistant Surgeon, 50th Regt	Fever	Ship	Sep 54
45**¶	Mayne, Joseph	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Cholera	Scutari	Nov 55
46**¶	McGrigor, Alexander	Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals	Cholera	Scutari	Nov 55
47†	McKenzie, Richard James	Civilian Surgeon	Cholera	Camps	Sep 54
48	McKutcheon, Andrew	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Fever	UK	Nov 55
49	Millard, Ray Samuel	Surgeon, Ottoman Imperial Army	Typhus	Eupatoria	Jun 55
50†	Mitchell, John	1st Class Staff Surgeon	Cholera	Ship	Sep 54
51†	Mitchell, Thomas Oak	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Cerebral disease	Camps	Dec 55
52**¶	Moore, Charlotte	Matron	Dysentery	Scutari	Nov 55
53†	Newton, John	2nd Class Staff Surgeon	Fever	Scutari	Jan 55
54*†	Norris, John James	Assistant Surgeon, 55th Regt	Cholera	Camps	Nov 54
55*†	O'Connor, Nicholas	1st Class Staff Surgeon	Suicide	Camps	Jun 56
56*†	O'Leary, John Francis	Assistant Surgeon, 68th Regt	KIA	Camps	Oct 54
57	Ormerod, Lawrence	Surgeon, Ottoman Imperial Army	Cholera	Camps	Jun 55
58*†	Pine, Chilly	1st Class Staff Surgeon	Typhus	Camps	Mar 55
59†	Pitcairn, George Kinkaid	1st Class Staff Surgeon	Cholera	Bulgaria	Aug 54
60**¶	Platt, Charles	Hospital Steward	Cholera	Scutari	May 55
61**¶	Reade, George Hume	Apothecary	Cholera	Scutari	Nov 54
62†	Reid, Alexander Rothnay	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Cholera	Camps	Oct 54
63*†	Renwick, William	Assistant Surgeon, 14th Regt	Fever/cerebral disease	Ship	Mar 55
64†	Shogog, Frederick Yorke	Assistant Surgeon, 88th Regt	Cholera	Bulgaria	Aug 54
65*†	Shorroek, James Alysius	Assistant Surgeon, Rifle Brigade	Cholera	Camps	Sep 54
66¶	Sibbald, Andrew	Assistant Surgeon, Turkish Contingent	Cholera	Büyükdere	Jun 55
67**¶	Simons, Robert Thomas	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Fever/lung disease	Scutari	Apr 55
68*†	Simpson, Walter	Surgeon, 7th Regt	Fever	Camps	May 55

69*†	Smith, Francis	Surgeon, 95th Regt	Typhus	Camps	Feb 55
70	Smyth, Elizabeth Anne	Nurse	Fever	Kuleli	Apr 55
71†	Spence, Thomas	Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals	Drowned accidentally	Ship	Nov 54
72*	Spry, Winifred	Nurse	Cholera	Camps	Oct 55
73*	Stanley, F. J.	Hospital Sergeant	Disease	Camps	Apr 55
74	Stewart, George	Assistant Surgeon, 33rd Regt	Cholera	Scutari	Feb 55
75*†¶	Struthers, Alexander	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Fever	Scutari	Jan 55
76*	Swyny, Edward S. ^D	Hospital Sergeant	Disease	Bulgaria	Jul 55
77	Thompson, James Bowen	Civilian Surgeon	Fever	Kuleli	Aug 55
78*†	Thomson, James	Assistant Surgeon, 44th Regt	Cholera	Camps	Oct 54
79*†¶	Walford, Sophia	Matron	Cholera	Scutari	Aug 55
80	Wakinshaw, Edwin	Dispenser, Ottoman Imperial Army	Cholera	Eupatoria	Aug 55
81*¶	Ward, Lucas	Purveyor	Cholera	Scutari	Jan 55
82*†¶	Wason, Edmund Sidney ^B	Assistant Surgeon, 13th Regt	Fever	Scutari	Feb 55
83*	White, John Horsley	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Cholera/fever	Camps	Jul 55
84*†¶	Whitwell, John Herring	Dispenser	Fever	Scutari	Sep 55
85*†¶	Wishart, James Alexander	2nd Class Staff Surgeon	Typhus	Scutari	May 55
86*†¶	Wood, Henry William	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Cholera	Scutari	Nov 55

* Recorded in Colborne and Brine, *The Last of the Brave*.

† Commemorated on the Netley Memorial.

¶ A monument survives in the Haidar Pasha cemetery.

A Miss Clough died on the voyage to Scutari and was buried in Haidar Pasha.

B Designated an acting assistant staff surgeon on the tombstone; Colborne and Brine, *The Last of the Brave*, 51, No. 86.

C Le Blanc's tombstone was found later and relocated to Cathcart's Hill.

D Swyny died in Bulgaria but was commemorated on a memorial erected in the Crimea by his brother; Colborne and Brine, *The Last of the Brave*, 3, No. 30.

E Transcribed incorrectly as Mason in Colborne and Brine, *The Last of the Brave*, 55, No. 52.

Table 2: Commissariat staff who died during the Crimean War, 1854-1856

No.	Name	Status	Cause of death	Place	Date
87	Coppinger, W.P. ^A	Deputy Assistant Commissary General	?	Crimea*	Aug 55
88	Bayley, Henry Lambert Brisbane	Assistant Commissary General	Fever	Crimea*	Sep 55
89	Brown(e), Edmund Robert	Commissariat Department	Fever	Scutari*¶	Nov 55
90	Cochran, James Inglis Cochran	Commissariat Department	?	Scutari*¶	Dec 55
91	Coeken (sic), James	Commissariat Clerk	?	Scutari*	?
92	du Bourdieu, G.	Deputy Assistant Commissary General	?	?	?<Sep 54
93	Furey, Thomas	Acting Clerk	?	?	?<Sep 54
94	Tronton, Gardiner	Deputy Assistant Commissary General ^A	Cholera	Crimea	Nov 54

* Recorded in Colborne and Brine, *The Last of the Brave*.

¶ Their tombstones survive in the Haidar Pasha cemetery and are identified in Fig. 4: C & D respectively.

A Recruited from the Royal Irish Constabulary. His tombstone is identified in Fig. 2: B.

Table 3: Veterinary surgeons who died during the Crimean War, 1854-1856

Name	Corps	Cause of death	Place	Date
Cherry, Alfred Henry	1st Dragoons	Disease	Scutari*¶	Mar 56
Elkes, Frederiek de Fair	Land Transport Corps	Shot accidentally	Bulgaria (Baltechik)	Jun 56
Fisher, George	5th Dragoon Guards	Disease	Bulgaria (Varna)	Aug 54
Gavin, William	17th Lancers	Cholera	Crimea ^A	Jun 55
Kelly, Richard Glengall	6th Dragoons	Shipboard fire	On board <i>Europa</i>	Jun 54
Scott, Gavin	Land Transport Corps	?Disease	Constantinople	Fev 56
Siddell, Thomas	10th Hussars	Cholera	Crimea	Jun 55
Wilkinson, Robert	Ottoman Imperial Army	?	Bulgaria (Shumla)	Mar 56

* Recorded in Colborne and Brine, *The Last of the Brave*, p. 56.

¶ His tombstone survives in the Haidar Pasha cemetery. See Figure 5: E.

A Gavins's tombstone was found after Colborne and Brine's survey and moved to the Cathcart Hill cemetery.

Table 4: Chaplains who died during the Crimean War, 1854-1856

Denomination	Name	Status	Cause of death	Place	Date
Church of England	Freeman, Robert	Assistant Chaplain, Light Brigade	?	At Sea ^A	Aug 55
	Gyngell, George	Missionary, Crimean Railway	?Cholera	Balaklava*	Jul 55
	Lee, Robert	Assistant Chaplain	?	Scutari*¶	Oct 55
	Mockler, George	Chaplain, 3rd Division	?	Balaklava*	Sep 55
	Proctor, George Henry	Assistant Chaplain	?	Scutari*¶	Mar 55
	Whitfield, Henry John	Assistant Chaplain	?	Scutari*¶	Jun 55
Presbyterian	Whyatt, William	Assistant Chaplain, 2nd Division	Fever	Balaklava ^B	Feb 55
	Fras(z)er, Alexander	Assistant Chaplain, 2nd Division	?	Scotland	<58 ^C
Roman Catholic	Canty, Michael	Chaplain, 2nd Division	Fever	Camps	Feb 55
	Doyle, James	Chaplain	?	Ireland	Jul 55
	Sheehan, Denis	Chaplain, Light Division	?	Camps*	Mar 55
	Shiel, James	Chaplain, 2nd Division	Fever	Camps*	Aug 55
	Strickland, Gerard	Chaplain, 4th Division	Fever	Camps*	Apr 56
	Wheble, John Joshua	Chaplain	Dysentery	Balaklava*	Nov 54

* Recorded in Colborne and Brine, *The Last of the Brave*.

¶ The tombstone of Lee, Whitfield, and Proctor are identified in Fig. 4: F & G and Fig. 5: H respectively.

A Freeman died on the steam transport *Clyde*, No. 145 while on passage to England.

B Whyatt died while on board the sailing transport *Herefordshire*, No. 108.

C Fraser died as a consequence of illness contracted while on service; the date of his death has yet to be ascertained.

LANDED GENTRY?

GOODMAN, COUCHMAN, MARROW, ARCHER, ALLAN, WHITLOCK

Jeremy Archer

My interest having been kindled by a very scrappy hand-written 'pedigree' of my mother's family, the Allans, I became a member of the Society of Genealogists in the summer of 1984. At that point I knew next to nothing although, in the spirit of the hugely-popular television programme, *'Who Do You Think You Are?'*, I was confident that there was much of interest to unearth. And so it proved. Almost 37 years later, I am still digging away, my elbow having been given added power through the totally unexpected, lockdown-inspired gift of an *Ancestry.com* subscription from our son. This has not only helped time fly by, rather than drag, but it has also brought me back to the research table for the first time since I put together a family history website - www.archerfamily.org.uk - in the summer of 2005.

At the outset, I was a regular visitor - usually in my lunch break - to the Public Records Office in Chancery Lane (to read P.C.C. wills on microfilm), to Somerset House (where, at a cost of just 25p per will, enormous bound volumes were produced on hospital-like trollies), to St. Catherine's House (where one had to search the indexes tediously, quarter-by-quarter, volume-by-volume), to the Society (where the family box files, printed parish registers and published indexes proved invaluable) and, finally to a broad range of Record Offices (London Metropolitan, Surrey, Wiltshire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Devon, Dorset and Edinburgh spring to mind). Working for the private wealth division of a High Street bank, with clients all over the country, undoubtedly helped.

What has this exhaustive and methodical process actually achieved - and revealed? 37 families have been investigated, often starting with a completely blank sheet of paper. For the record, there were nine published 'histories', a number of which were very patchy, although the six printed in

Burke's publications proved to be a useful starting point. There were also four, previously unknown, pedigrees at the College of Arms. The published pedigrees contained errors, which was unsurprising, bearing in mind that the source of information was usually the families themselves.

Since I was keen to adopt a portmanteau approach - whereby I could insert additional information, such as apprenticeships, naval and military service details, honours, awards, decorations, appointments, etc. - I used the traditional *Burke's* format. Some people said that it didn't make things as clear as a 'wiring diagram' would but I ignored them! The key information, of course, comprised the 'punctuation marks' of life - birth, baptism, marriage, death and burial - supplemented by education, occupation and residence. There is nothing remotely unusual about any of this.

What did come as a slight surprise, though, was to discover that many of the so-called 'landed gentry' families were actually nothing of the sort. They often had no longstanding connection with the land at all; although, doubtless, they dearly wished for one. Indeed, most of them owned no land, let alone a country estate. In practice, they were members of families which, in one way or another, had progressed upwards through society. There are shades of Sir Anthony Wagner's seminal works - *English Genealogy* (1960) and *Pedigree and Progress* (1975) - in what follows. Out of curiosity, I also bought one of *Burke's* more unusual publications, *Vicissitudes of Families*, which serves as a forceful and timely reminder that moves can take place in either direction: the so-called 'clogs to clogs in three generations'.

Of perhaps more interest is the way in which people were viewed, in a societal context, by their contemporaries. Standing in society can be identified in a

number of often fascinating ways: churchwarden, parish clerk, apprentice master, city commissioner, commissioner of the pavement and surveyor of the highways. In county terms, there are also the official appointments - largely the preserve of the aristocracy and the landed gentry - such as the shrievalty, the lieutenancy and the judiciary. Perhaps the clearest confirmation of perceived place within the social hierarchy can be found in burial registers, where Esq. and Mr. both carry significant weight. Progress up the social ladder can be tracked through such apparently arcane methodology.

Following the fortunes of these families - mostly in England, but also in Scotland and Ireland - one gains a feeling for the way that the Industrial Revolution provided tremendous opportunities for the ambitious. While there were significant fortunes to be made, I have concluded that it was a two-, or even three-stage, process. A father's subtle change of status, geography or focus provided hitherto undreamt-of opportunities for his children. Examples are important and I have been fortunate to track down - sometimes from distant connections - contemporary accounts by members of some of these families.

My wife's maiden name was Goodman. A grocer in Peterborough, whose father, Thomas, had followed the same trade in the same city, Thomas Goodman was sent to a school of which his father was 'one of the feoffees of the Charity to which the school belonged'. Subsequently, Thomas 'was removed to a school at Oundle belonging to the Grocers' Company in London', although it is unclear whether his father's trade had anything to do with the choice of school. Thomas Goodman senior was clearly a pillar of Peterborough society, serving as City Commissioner in 1790 and then as Churchwarden of St. John the Baptist in 1803 when the new Cowgate burial ground was decided upon. He also took on apprentices and married the daughter of a former Sheriff of Lincoln, so, though solidly 'trade', he had a respected position in a city that then numbered just 2,000 inhabitants, equivalent to one of today's larger villages. Crucially, he was the catalyst for his then 42-year-old elder son to abandon his profession and go travelling in England, Scotland and on the Continent, before settling in Birmingham 18 months later.



Fig. 1 - Thomas Goodman (1754-1829).



Fig. 2 - Mrs. Mary Goodman (1767-1845).

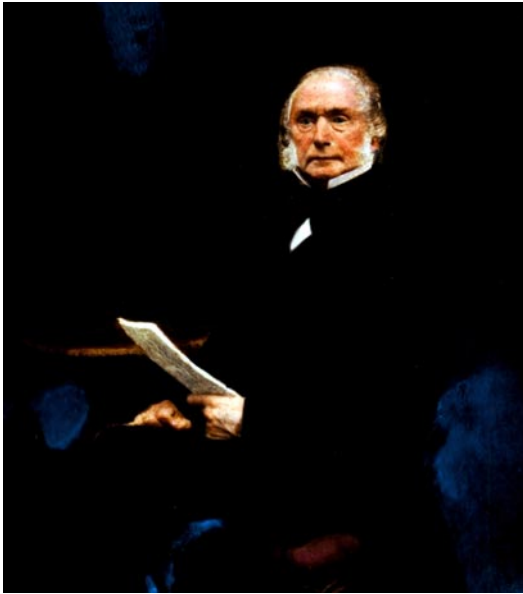


Fig. 3 - Thomas Goodman, Esq. (1792-1874).



Fig. 4 - Mrs. Mary Anne Goodman (1791-1870).

A progressive city at the forefront of the Industrial Revolution, with a population of close to 150,000 and with business instincts and enthusiasms stimulated by the likes of James Watt, Matthew Boulton and Joseph Priestley, Birmingham offered just the opportunity that Thomas Goodman junior had been seeking. Within a dozen years, he had become one of Birmingham's 'great and good': Trustee of Birmingham General Hospital, Trustee of Birmingham Institution for the Blind and Director of the District Bank. By the early 1860s, the population of Birmingham had doubled once again, to close to 300,000, while that of Peterborough, still languished far behind, at fewer than 5,000. In turn, Thomas's eldest son, John Dent, who was educated at King's School, Peterborough and Hazelwood School, Edgbaston, was Chairman of Birmingham Small Arms and Metal Company Ltd. from 1855 to 1900, Chairman of The Birmingham and Midland Bank Ltd. from 1880 to 1898 and served as a Justice of the Peace. His descendants married into families such as the Kenricks, who, with their strong Chamberlain connections, were undoubtedly members of the 'Birmingham aristocracy'. In 1897, three years before John Dent Goodman's death, the family featured in *Burke's Family Records*, a one-off publication by that firm. Instead of making a formal application for a grant of arms, John Dent

Goodman simply adopted the crest of an unconnected family with the same surname - before making liberal use of it.

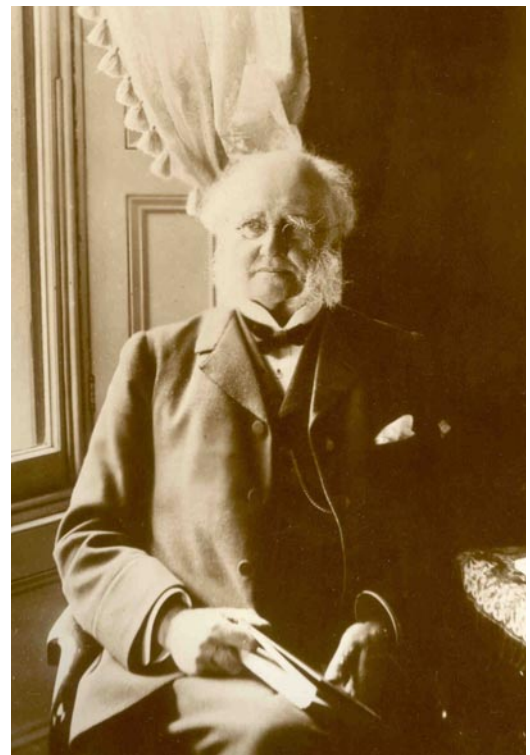


Fig. 5 - John Dent Goodman, J.P. (1816-1900).

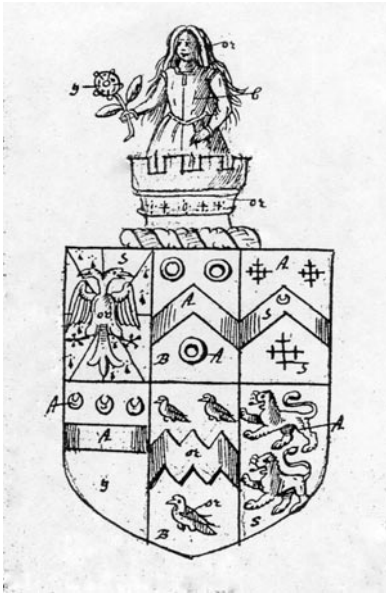


Fig. 6 - Coat of arms of the Goodman family of Ruthin.

John Dent Goodman's second son, Charles, married into the Couchman family, of which a similar story can be told. The Couchmans were a solidly North Kent family, of no great distinction, although they

also provided generations of churchwardens and parish clerks. The first traceable Couchman family will dates from 1733, fifty years earlier than the first surviving Goodman will. In terms of occupation, they were carpenters, builders, surveyors, blacksmiths and farriers, who often took on apprentices, in the time-honoured fashion. Despite these somewhat prosaic occupations, the word, yeoman, described in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as 'a class intermediate between the gentry and the labourers', occurs frequently. Henry Couchman, son of another Henry, carpenter and joiner, of Ightham, managed to break free from a centuries-old pattern. In his own words, he was 'sent to a day school to M^r Edward Hodges at Wrotham, a mile from home, where I remained 'till I was about 14 years old, when I had the credit of having learned almost all my Master could teach me having been leading Boy and an assistant to Master some time before I left school'. Five years later, frustrated at being employed as a sawyer and 'allowed to make drawings in our lodgement to show that I had some knowledge, tho' not employed at it', he left home and eventually - after unexciting graft in Greenhithe, Chatham, Woolwich and Beckenham - found himself in London.



Fig. 7 - Henry Couchman (1737-1803).



Fig. 8 - Mrs. Susannah Couchman (1737-1804).

On 17 September 1766, having met him in London, Henry Couchman junior was appointed Clerk of the Works to Matthew Brettingham, who was then redesigning Packington Hall in Warwickshire for the 3rd Earl of Aylesford. From that point, he neither left the county nor ever looked back, designing the saloon at Arbury Hall for Sir Roger Newdigate, Drapers' Hall in Coventry and the House of Correction in Warwick and also serving as County Bridgemaster for Warwickshire. Through this body of work, he earned himself an entry in Howard Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*. This branch of the Couchman family became firmly rooted in the county: Henry and Susannah's only son, yet another Henry, also held the offices of County Bridgemaster and Surveyor of Highways. Three of his Couchman descendants were knighted and, though hardly described as such, the family of 'Couchman of Solihull' makes a one-off appearance in *Burke's Landed Gentry*, in the 1952 edition.



Fig. 9 - Henry Couchman, Esq. (1771-1838).

In many respects, the Marrows, my grandmother's family, are little different from the Goodmans and the Couchmans, albeit from more humble origins, since there is no evidence of any civic appointments. My Marrow ancestors farmed around Frodsham,

Weaverham and Middlewich - between Chester and Macclesfield - without making any significant impact, other than on the land. Although, unfortunately, there are no contemporary accounts, it would appear that it was once again the lure of the big city which proved decisive for one branch of the family. With the great trading port of Liverpool less than fifty miles away, it was the obvious destination for an ambitious young man. In this instance, Peter Marrow broke the proverbial mould: by the age of 27, he had married the daughter of a wealthy Liverpool butter merchant and established Peter Marrow & Co. (Corn Merchants). Judging by his will, he prospered, leaving handsome bequests to the children of his deceased brothers and also to his two surviving sisters.

The principal beneficiary, though, was his only child, William John, who, having been educated at the Royal Institution School in Liverpool, was a director of The Royal Insurance Company Ltd. from 1853 to 1892. On his death, with an estate which amounted to £136,880.6s.10d. - the equivalent of almost £20 million today - he secured the family fortune to such an extent that, 75 years after his death, the bulk of the assets in the Marrow Trust were still invested in shares of Royal Insurance. Following a well-established route, William John Marrow had a grant of arms by letters patent of the Kings of Arms dated 17 March 1895, months before his death. Just two years later, the Marrow family is included in the sole edition of *Burke's Family Records* while it also appears, for the first and only time, in the 1969 edition of *Burke's Landed Gentry*. In reality, though, there was nothing remotely 'landed' about them, beyond the fact that W. J. Marrow eventually landed on his feet, having recovered from fathering an illegitimate son at the age of just 28. His eldest legitimate son, my great-grandfather, Major Peter Marrow, King's Dragoon Guards, was educated at Merchant Taylors' Boys' School, Crosby and Harrow.

What is particularly striking is that, although the Goodmans, Couchmans and Marrows all have many branches which it has been fascinating to trace, there is no indication that any of them - apart from one Couchman line - have prospered to any great extent, simply because there was no break-out ancestor to hurdle the very significant boundaries. For example,

one of Thomas Goodman senior's great-granddaughters married a Jewish Russian missionary, emigrated to the United States and died in San Diego while no fewer than four generations of earlier Couchmans worked in the London printing trade, centred on Fleet Street, with unexciting job titles such as 'printer's machine minder', and generations of Marrows farmed - and still farm - in Cheshire. On the other hand, the success stories provide conclusive evidence that the English class system is a semi-permeable membrane.

My father, General Sir John Archer, is further evidence of the validity of this proposition. His father, Alfred Arthur, who had fought and been taken prisoner in the First World War, was a grocer's porter in Fakenham, Norfolk, in 1901 and had graduated no further than grocer's assistant a decade later. In turn, his father, Robert, was a gardener in 1891, a miller's porter in 1901, a coal merchant's carter in 1911 and a retired roadman in 1939. How



Fig. 11 - Marrow coat of arms (1895).



Fig. 10 - 40th Wedding Anniversary Family Group, 25 September 1885: (front row) Mrs. Kinbarra Swene Marrow (1823-95), William John Marrow, Esq. (in profile, 1812-1895).

might it be possible to break the succession of North Norfolk agricultural labourers or their equivalent? In the early 1930s, when my father was eight years old, the family moved to Peterborough and, in my father's words, his father 'became a commercial traveller for a London firm called Carr and Sons, selling all manner of boot and shoe polishes.



Fig. 12 - Alfred Arthur Archer (1886-1984).

'His parish was the boot and shoe manufacturing area of Northamptonshire and Leicestershire. He spent many nights away from home and on the road driving many miles and, on the odd holidays when I went with him on day trips, I recall it as very boring. My brother and I both went to Lincoln Road School and he, being older than I, soon left to become a telegraph boy at Peterborough Post Office at the age of 14 or 15. I was lucky and was made to take a scholarship to what was to be either Deacons or King's School in Peterborough. In the event it was the latter which at that time was a minor public school, part boarding and part day but fee-paying. I know that the bills for the required school uniform were a great financial worry at the time and great care was the order of the day - for my bicycle as well as my clothes.' Once again, it was the decision to move to a large urban centre, with its educational possibilities because Peterborough was by then much larger, which presented my father with his opportunity.



Fig. 13 - General Sir John Archer, K.C.B., O.B.E. (1924-1999).



Fig. 14 - Cynthia Marie, Lady Archer (1925-2015).

Of course, it would be naïve to suggest that, merely by moving round the country, one's children are bound to 'make it', in modern parlance. My uncle, Wilfred, who was four years older than my father, was not a 'scholarship boy' and duly left school at the age of fourteen, which was then typical. The 1939 Register records him as a G.P.O. Sorting Clerk and Telegraphist. That same year, it was agreed that the school leaving age should be raised to fifteen, although this change was not implemented until 1947, because the Second World War intervened. It was not until 1972 that the school leaving age was increased to 16, where it remains today. The outbreak of war presented another opportunity to ambitious, hard-working people. My uncle joined the Royal Air Force, qualified as a State Registered Nurse, was commissioned on 14 March 1957, promoted to the rank of wing commander in the RAF Medical Services on 11 May 1973 and retired in that rank on his 55th birthday.

By contrast, having attended a shortened course at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, my father was offered an Emergency Commission on 23 June 1944 and was serving on the front line in France three months later. During the next 35 years, he rose steadily to become Commander-in-Chief, United Kingdom Land Forces. At the suggestion of the Bath King of Arms, my father had a grant of arms by letters patent of the Kings of Arms dated 1 June 1978.



Fig. 15 - Archer coat of arms (1978).

My parents met when my mother's parents, learning that there was 'a lonely bachelor [on the Army Staff] at Wilton', invited him to a dance. My father later wrote: 'The Allans were kindness itself to me but I was full of apprehension. Although within a year of one another in age, your Mummy and I were socially poles apart and I well remember the day a solicitor's letter arrived from Scotland asking what figure I had in mind as a marriage settlement. With so little in the bank, the answer [was] at once both simple and very difficult. The facts are that, notwithstanding all the difficulties, we were married in Salisbury Cathedral in October 1950.'

Like the other families put under the microscope, this snapshot conceals the fact that the Allan family had risen almost without trace and that, in reality, my mother's line descended from a candlemaker in Prestonpans, East Lothian. One of seven children, only my mother's great-great-grandfather, Alexander, left his mark upon the world, in a very Scottish way: he founded Alexander Allan & Co. (Bankers) of 40 Princes Street, Edinburgh, at the age of thirty; bought a house in Edinburgh's Charlotte Square; purchased the Hillside Estate, which was later developed by William Henry Playfair as part of the second New Town of Edinburgh, in 1785; acquired a country estate of 3,500 acres at Glen, near Innerleithen, Peeblesshire (from which the Tennant family later took the title, Glenconner) in 1796; arranged for the family to be painted by Sir Henry Raeburn (his portrait is now in the Frick Collection in New York); built a family mausoleum in Edinburgh's Old Calton Burial Ground; and matriculated his Arms at the Court of the Lord Lyon on 20 February 1813. Alexander Allan of Hillside and Glen - as he liked to style himself - had done extraordinarily well. Only the third brother, William, could begin to hold a candle - no pun intended! - to his achievements. Of course, my father knew nothing of this at the time; indeed, I am confident that his in-laws didn't either.

A frequent - but necessarily riskier - alternative to moving to a city in the British Isles was emigrating, either to the colonies or to other fast-growing regions, such as the Americas. Many failed to prosper from this bold strategy; for example, a century after he emigrated, two great-grandchildren of a journeyman collier and coal miner from Shropshire were married

to truck drivers from Caddo County, Oklahoma. There were, inevitably, significant health hazards: three generations of the Whitlock family of Ottery St. Mary, Devon lived in British Guiana - but all the men died between the ages of twenty-four and forty-two, despite the fact that one of them was the Health Officer for the city of Demerara. Another branch of the Whitlock family, which descended from the Eden family of Windlestone, Co. Durham (as had the former Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden) count sheep farmers, corn millers, butchers, storemen, electricians, plumbers, teamsters and loggers in

Canada and New Zealand amongst their number. The eldest Whitlock brother (there were 16 children in all) commanded a column during the campaign to suppress the Indian Mutiny, was knighted on 16 May 1859, presented with a vote of thanks from both Houses of Parliament and had a grant of arms from the College of Arms by letters patent dated 23 September 1863. There is also at least one 'Royal Descent', through that well-known, West Country, gateway ancestor, Lady Margaret de Bohun, granddaughter of King Edward I and the Courtenays, Earls of Devon.



Fig. 16 - Alexander Allan Esq. (1747-1825).



Fig. 17 - Allan coat of arms (1813).



Fig. 18 - Lieutenant-General Sir George Cornish Whitlock, K.C.B. (1798-1868).



Fig. 19 - Whitlock coat of arms (1863).

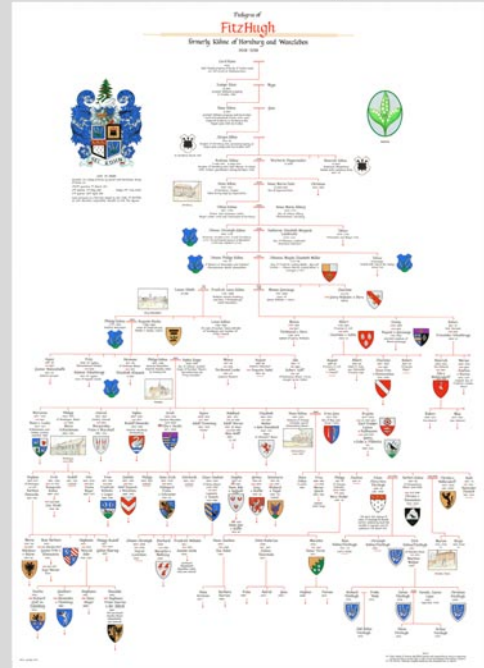
While a few ventured out of Norfolk - even as far as Lancashire - no Archers appear to have emigrated from the United Kingdom while something similar can be said of the Catchpole family, who transplanted no further than Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire. Sometimes, of course, emigration was enforced - in which case it was called 'transportation'. A distant cousin, William Archer, fisherman, of Sculthorpe, Norfolk, was tried at King's Lynn Assizes for shop-breaking on 21 April 1828, sentenced to transportation for seven years and sailed in the *York* with 199 other convicts on 3 September 1830. Having disembarked in Sydney on 7 February 1831, he was allocated to William Sparke of Hexham on the Hunter River and, having been found guilty of cattle-stealing in 1834, was sentenced to life, which was subsequently commuted to 15 years' imprisonment, on Norfolk Island. Granted a free pardon for saving a party - including one of his gaolers - from drowning, he was elected the third Mayor of Grafton in the Clarence Valley in 1861. On my paternal grandmother's side, two great-great-great-great-uncles - brothers, William and Matthew Catchpole - were transported, in 1831 and 1836 respectively. The former was granted a free certificate in 1840 while the latter, who had left a wife, three sons and two daughters in Norfolk, died less than three months after arriving in Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania).

My conclusion after close examination of the ancestry and connections of these 37 families is that things are seldom quite what they appear to be. Scratch the surface - and it is surprising which base metals emerge into the daylight!

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CHANGING NAMES: COMMEMORATION, CONFUSION AND ERROR

Dr Stephen Murray

Surname changes are commonplace: in Britain women have historically adopted their husband's surname upon marriage; however, a significant number retain their birth or professional name, or create a double-barrelled, wife-husband surname. My extended family includes examples of both women and men changing, adopting and using different surnames. This can make genealogical research challenging even when the historical record is correct, let alone when published sources are ambiguous, contradictory or simply wrong.

Farrell

My paternal grandfather (born 1907) had told me that we were related to an Indian army family called Farrell Palliser. That was not much to go on, and in 1994, confronted with the red, green and black index books of births, marriages and deaths, then at St Catherine's House, where to start? I assumed that the members of this family may have had a presence in England and Wales, if that was where they originated, after the end of British rule in India in 1947. Starting at 1947 I worked forward through the death registers. But would the surname be indexed under F for Farrell Palliser or under P for Palliser? To be sure I checked both volumes. I struck lucky in June 1970: Kathleen Mary Farrell-Palliser, born 8 December 1878, died Surrey S W. Her death certificate indicated she was born in Holyrood, Scotland, and was the widow of Henry John Walter Farrell-Palliser, Major Royal Artillery. Frustratingly the certificate did not give her maiden surname, so I could not confirm a family connection.

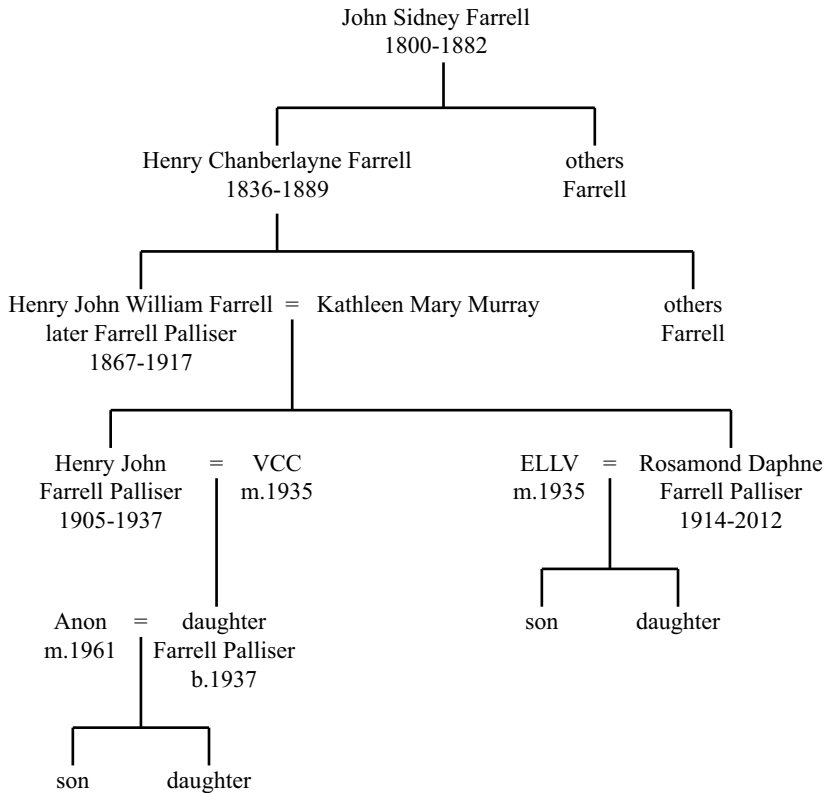
A list of Royal Artillery Officers¹ in the SoG library indicated that Henry John William [not Walter] Farrell had joined the Royal Artillery as a Gentleman Cadet in 1885 and had served around

the British Empire including lengthy tours of duty in India. A note in the Royal Artillery book stated that in November 1902 he had added the surname Palliser to his own surname. A visit to the India Office Library, then at Orbit House in Blackfriars Road, identified an entry in the marriage register for Ahmednagar in the Bombay Presidency: Henry John William Farrell Palliser (no hyphen) married Kathleen Mary Murray in November 1902.²

Employing a researcher in Scotland drew a blank: there was no record of a birth for Kathleen Mary Murray in Holyrood or anywhere else in Scotland for 1878 or 1879. But the India Office Library had a baptism entry for the birth of Catherina Mary Murray in Bombay (now Mumbai) on 8 December 1878.³ So her death certificate was incorrect on several counts. Further work in the India archives enabled the construction of my family tree and proved the connection with the Farrell Palliser family. But why had the Palliser surname been added?

Palliser

I eventually contacted an elderly relative, my grandfather's cousin, who said that the Palliser surname was a requirement that had been stipulated in a will. The will, of which she had a copy, had been made in 1868 by Mary Jane Keane (1801-1881) wife of the Honorable John Manley Arbuthnot Keane (1816-1901) later Baron Keane. This was a fortunate find: although the will is identified in the Calendar of Wills and Administrations for Ireland, the original will had been destroyed in the Four Courts fire in Dublin in 1922.⁴ The provisions of the Will bequeathed 'all my estates' to her husband during his natural life and then to 'my dear and early friend' Major Farrell of the Royal Artillery, and his descendants, on the condition that he 'obtain a license from the Crown to assume and use the



surname of Palliser either alone or in addition to his own name so that the name Palliser shall be the last and Principal name and thenceforth use the said Surname.'

Mary Keane's 'dear and early friend' was Major John Sidney Farrell (1800-1882), this is supported by his will, made in May 1863, where he mentions 'my diamond and emerald ring given to me by my kind friend M.J.K.' By the time that the provisions of Mary Keane's will came into effect John Sidney had died as had his son Henry Chamberlayne Farrell (1836-1889). It was to Henry Chamberlayne's son that the estates devolved in 1902 together with the requirement to assume the Palliser surname.

But why was Mary Keane so keen to perpetuate the surname? On her marriage certificate to John M. A. Keane she is identified as Mary Jane Palliser, a spinster, daughter of Hugh Palliser, Baronet. This was promising as a baronet should have a significant presence in the historical

record. The Baronetcy of Palliser of The Vache, County Buckingham, had been created on 6 August 1773 for Admiral Hugh Palliser (1723-1796). Upon his death his estate devolved to his illegitimate son George Thomas, from 1796 called George Palliser, and the baronetcy passed to his great nephew Hugh Walters (1768-1813), as second baronet.⁵ In 1798 the second baronet obtained a license from the Crown to change his surname to Palliser, 'from grateful and affectionate respect to the memory of his great uncle'.⁶ He therefore became Sir Hugh Palliser. In 1790 he had married Mary Yates (1758-1823), daughter and co-heir of John Yates of Dedham Essex, of which more below. Sir Hugh and Lady Mary had three children:

- Hugh Palliser Walters (1796-1868), became Hugh Palliser Palliser in 1798, then Sir Hugh Palliser Palliser the 3rd baronet in 1813, declared a lunatic in 1854, died unmarried;⁷
- Mary Anne Rachel Walters (1798-1826), became Mary Anne Rachel Palliser, died unmarried;

- Mary Jane Palliser (1801-1881), married firstly in 1822 William Lockhart (1787-1856) MP for Lanarkshire from 1842 to 1856, divorced 1835, married secondly John M. A. Keane in 1848.

Some online sources⁸ claim that Sir Hugh and Mary had a fourth child, Fanny Palliser (1809-1859). However, Belgian marriage notices demonstrate that Fanny Palliser, who married Jean Baptiste Museur in 1834, was the daughter of Huges Palliser and Marie Anne Drayton.⁹

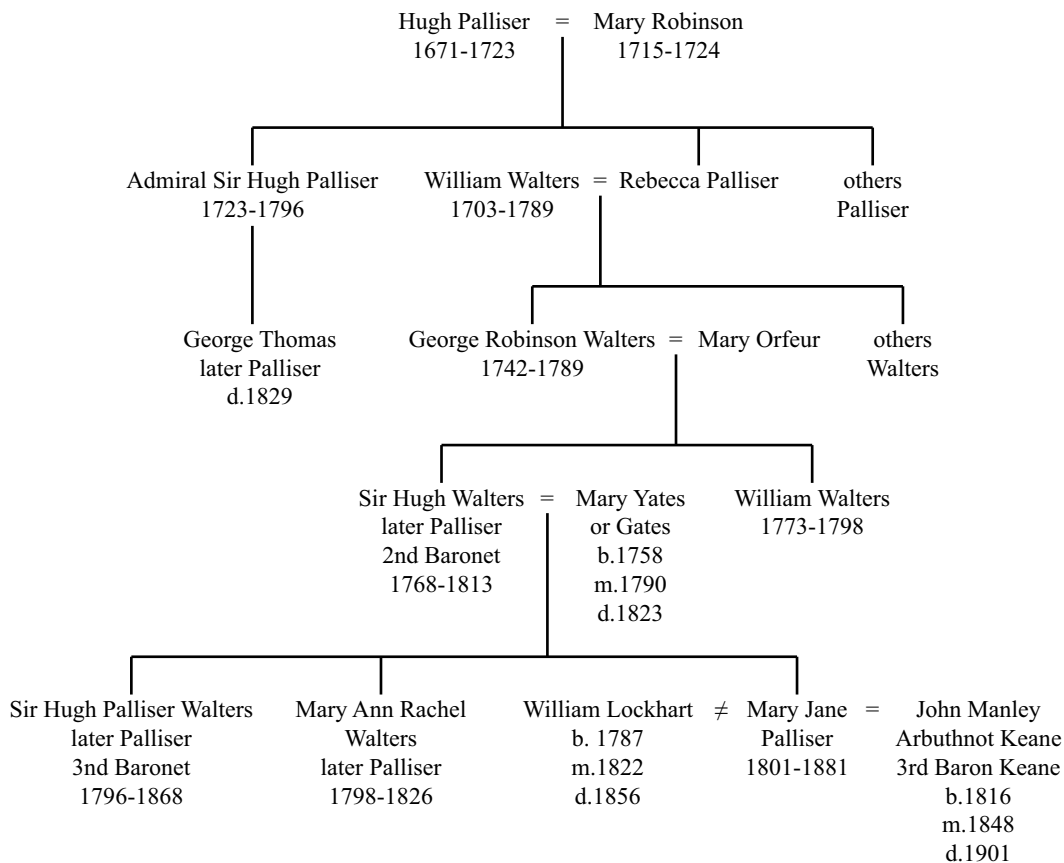
Sir Hugh Palliser Palliser and his sister Mrs Lockhart were part of fashionable society, their arrival and departure from resorts such as Leamington Spa, Scarborough, Hastings, Richmond and Brighton, was noted in the local press.¹⁰

Mary Jane had been granted a divorce from William Lockhart by the Scottish courts in 1835,¹¹ although she continued to be known as Mrs

Lockhart in society. She married John M. A. Keane in 1848, but she was not the widow of William Lockhart as claimed by some sources.¹² The 1848 marriage certificate was incorrect: she was a divorcee and her married name was Mary Jane Lockhart. When Sir Hugh Palliser died in 1868 the baronetcy became extinct, and the surname Palliser was no longer in use. It was at this point that Mary Keane wrote her will, the provision to use the surname Palliser reflects her father's adoption of the surname in 1798.

Yates and Gates

As described above, the second baronet Palliser had married Mary Yates, daughter of John Yates of Dedham, this was confirmed in a plethora of published sources.¹³ However, John Yates proved to be elusive; there was no mention of him in any contemporaneous record relating to Dedham. There was, however, a John Gates who was



John Gates of Ireland in the County of Essex Esquire being of sound and disposing Mind and Memory thanks be to God for the same Do make and declare this my last Will and testament in manner following that is to say, To my dear wife and

Opening text of the will of John Gates

associated with the area in the late eighteenth century. John Gates had four daughters¹⁴ the youngest was Mary born in 1758 and this corresponded to the death of Lady Mary Palliser in 1823 at the age of 65. John Gates was identified in one published source.¹⁵

How had the confusion over Yates and Gates come about? One possible explanation is demonstrated in the figure, which is the title of the will of John Gates.¹⁶ The elaborate capital G of the surname is clear yet the script G in the margin could be mistaken for a Y. The error was perpetuated by various genealogical directories.

In 1768 the widowed John Gates (? - 1787) married as his second wife Rachel Beaumont (1717-1814) the widow of Sir George Beaumont (1726-1762) of Dunmow Essex. Dame Rachel retained her title: in his will John Gates refers to her as 'my dear wife Dame Rachel'. When probate of John Gates' will was granted in July 1787 powers were reserved 'to Dame Rachel Beaumont the relict of the said deceased'. She was therefore referred to by her first married surname of Beaumont despite her marriage of 19 years to John Gates.

Farrell Palliser

What of the Farrell Palliser family? Upon inheriting the estates in Ireland, Henry John William Farrell Palliser sold them to the tenants under the provisions of the Land Act 1903.¹⁷ Henry J. W. and Kathleen M. Farrell Palliser had a son born in 1905¹⁸ and a daughter in 1914. The son, Henry John Farrell Palliser, had a daughter and he died in 1937. His daughter married in 1961, she is now the only person carrying the name Farrell Palliser as her maiden surname. Henry and Kathleen's daughter Rosamond

Daphne married in India in 1935¹⁹ and died in 2012 at the age of 98. Despite several Royal licenses to adopt the surname Palliser and Mary Jane Keane's efforts to perpetuate the name it is now no longer used as a principal surname in this branch of the family.

Confusion over altered names is not uncommon; but these relatively small branches of my family tree are particularly rich in changed, imposed, adopted and ambiguous names. Naturally, the story did not fall into place in the linear fashion that I have described, but rather in a piecemeal way. Genealogical research has never been easier with online resources, but a good research technique is still essential. The lesson here is: do not assume that information in primary and particularly secondary sources is true or correct, question it, think laterally and corroborate it with other sources where available.

Notes

1. *List of officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery from June 1862 to June 1914 with appendices*, vol. 2 (ARM/RH 16).
2. India Office Records N/3/88 folio 259.
3. India Office Records N/3/53 folio 2.
4. National Archives Ireland.
http://www.willcalendars.nationalarchives.ie/reels/cwa/005014896/005014896_00180.pdf
5. *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage*, John Burke, 1839.
6. *The London Gazette*, 15 to 18 December 1798, p.1203.
7. 'In the matter of Sir Hugh Palliser Palliser, Baronet, a lunatic'. *Wexford Independent*, 2 February 1856.
8. https://military.wikia.org/wiki/Palliser_baronets.
9. Belgium Marriage Notices, 1792-1899.
10. See for example: *Morning Post*, 11 June 1836. *Freeman's Journal*, 7 September 1844. *The Standard*, 6 February 1845, p.1. *Morning Post*, 10 February 1845 p.5.
11. *Morning Post*, 8 April 1835, p. 5.
12. http://mediawiki.feverous.co.uk/index.php/Baron_Keane.
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- Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage*, John Burke, 1839. *The Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage of Great Britain*, Robert Phipps Dod, 1864.
14. Higham, Suffolk Baptism Index 1538-1911.
 15. *The Baronetage of England*, Arthur Collins, 1806.
 16. Will and Codicil of John Gates made 6 November 1785 and 3 December 1786, proved at London 14 July 1787, TNA PROB 11/1155 folio 166 to 170.
 17. W. O. Cavenagh, 'Castletown Carne and its owners', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1911, Vol. 1 (3) pp.246-258; and 1912, Vol. 2 (1) pp.34-45.
 18. India Office Records N/3/94 folio 4.
 19. India Office Records N/3/153 folio 169.

Dr Stephen Murray

Email: stephen3.murray@btinternet.com

FAMILY HISTORY OR GENEALOGY?

The Society of Genealogists was founded in 1911 by a group of people who liked family trees - anybody's - like gardeners enjoy anybody's garden.

Sometimes these are simply fun showing relationships between unlikely people. Others shed light on important people: who their mothers were, who their in-laws married, who had a father-in-law pontificating at their breakfast table or a herd of aunts unsilenceably asserting their opinions (to adapt PG Wodehouse) like mastodons bellowing across a primeval swamp. Family is always there.

Some people shy away from the word genealogy and call our hobby family history. They say 'I'm not interested in just dates; I want to put 'flesh on the bones'. Actually, family history is much more difficult than genealogy because (to nail my flag to the mast) it can never be complete. Seven eighths of the iceberg is always under the water.

A family tree illustrates the relationships between people - any people you like. It has to be accurate but only as far as it goes. Thus most trees of the Tudors show Mary as the daughter of Katherine of Aragon and talk about Henry wanting a son. However, the Wikipedia article details three sons including one who lived seven weeks in 1511 - who knew? Other trees show the male descent for 300 years but only the women's marriages. Or they ignore children who died young eg Queen Anne's five live births (out of seventeen pregnancies).

However, the tree for a family history has to be complete. All the children, all the grandchildren, their whereabouts and fates, even the stillbirths and miscarriages - quite impossible. In a genealogy you

need not worry about children you know nothing about; in a family history they always knew about Mary (in Australia), Jack (died in India) and Sarah (in an asylum) - so you have to find everybody.

In a genealogy you can stop at the facts you have. In a family history the only acceptable goal is - no gaps, but how can you know if the 'single' son lived with someone for years (but had no children)? Some of your widowed ancestors took up with someone else whom they didn't marry. Their partners were at every family event for donkey's years and everybody called them Uncle Bob or Auntie Rose - but how can you know?

In family history there are lots of semi-family influences which cannot be quantified; step-relatives, in-laws, godparents, the grandchildren's other grandparents, Roger the Lodger, nannies, teachers, ladies maids, employers. Our foster children are a big part of our family history but they have a genealogy of their own where we wouldn't appear. Nor would the mate your grandpa came to London with.

Then - the impossible question - were they happy? Was the husband a tyrant or henpecked or trying to hold it together because the wife was ill. Was the single daughter an unwilling housekeeper or quarrelsome or super-religious; an invalid or a flibbertigibbet? Were the siblings envious and competitive or 'fat and happy'? Only astrology could help. Of course I don't believe in astrology - but then Aries are sceptical.

With genealogy you can finish; with family history you never will.

BOOK REVIEWS



Manifestations of Madness. Voices from the Norfolk County Lunatic Asylum by Julie Jakeway. 2021, 88pp, Poppyland Publishing, Lowestoft, NR32 3BB, www.poppyland.co.uk

This work evolved from the author's dissertation in Local History from Leicester University. It focuses on the personal history of patients diagnosed with gender-specific causes of insanity through a series of twenty-one case studies from within the asylum during the Victorian period. Many of our female ancestors spent time in an asylum and their stories are just waiting to be told.

This book provides insight into a largely neglected area of family and local history and is drawn from various records including the asylum Case Books and Superintendents' Journals held at Norfolk record Office, but, where the patients were discharged, also goes on to track down happened to them and their families afterwards using the census and other genealogical records. As can be expected many of the admission related to postnatal and child birth related incidents and depressions as well as the circumstances that women found themselves in during their later often menopausal years. Very often poverty and living conditions contributed to their ill health. Interestingly, for most of the cases the care they received in the asylum meant they could be discharged and go on to have a family life in the future. Many had the support of their husbands or other family members but in several sad instances where this support broke down in later years, some women did see themselves be readmitted to care.

This is not the bleak story of the madhouse and given the state of medical knowledge of the time the institution, which had been in existence since 1814, gave remarkable support and care to these women. For anyone who discovers their ancestors in similar circumstances this book is encouraging in what it shows *can* be established through research and diligence. As well as a useful introduction the work analyses why women were admitted, what life was like within the Asylum and life afterwards. There is a glossary of useful terms and explanation of the medical terminology of the time.



Tracing Your Irish Ancestors through Land Records. A Guide for Family Historians by Chris Paton, 2021, 160pp, Pen and Sword Family History.

To understand Irish land records the genealogist needs to know the specific nature of Irish boundaries and administration, for the ecclesiastical Province and Diocese, for parishes of the Established Church and the Catholic Church, for the townland and barony, for Poor Law Union and Electoral Division, for the Registration District and for the Manor and Estate. Surviving censuses, census fragments and census substitutes can help establish where your ancestors lived as can street directories, electoral records, ecclesiastical census and tax records. Surveys and valuations of land exist from the 17th Century Down Survey of Ireland, the 19th century Tithe Applotment Books, and State Townland and Tenements Valuations undertaken first by the Boundary Commissioner Richard Griffiths and subsequent revisions. Estate records can provide information of owners and tenants and the extensive documents deposited in the Registry of Deeds and surviving probate records are invaluable. Chris Paton gives a clear and constructive overview of all these records and more. He explains which are the best record offices and websites, catalogues and finding aids that will grant pathways into the records and shows case studies which explain how the records work together. Not everything was destroyed in 1922 by any means. This is a useful reference work to keep to hand when first venturing into land records. However, even those who have a familiarity with these records will most certainly discover more.



CORRESPONDENCE



From: Ruth Wilcock,
email: postmaster@towlard.com

**Re: 'My first visit to SoG',
Genealogists' Magazine, Sep 2021**

Michael Gandy's reminiscences brought back happy memories of using the Society at Harrington Gardens. I joined in the mid-1970s and enjoyed working in the gracious surroundings. One day in the late 70s or early 80s I needed to pop in to check some records and was accompanied by my young daughter, who waited patiently whilst I did my brief researches, knowing that we'd soon be on our way to The Natural History Museum. I found her in conversation with a friendly gentleman, whom we later discovered was Lord Teviot. She was most impressed that her mother appeared to move in such elevated circles!

On another occasion I joined a group of people round a table having tea. One of them asked if I had met any relatives whilst I had been a member. With my extremely uncommon maiden name of Towlard this would have been unlikely, but I had been branching out, pun intended, onto other lines. My reply was 'no, but I might be related to whoever is consulting those parish registers on the table, Linkinhorne and Stoke Climsland'. 'Which family are you looking for', came a voice with a transatlantic twang. I replied that I was 'trying to find more about Richard Peak Garland, 17 ...' and the voice joined in '1757 to 1814'. It transpired that the late Elaine Matthews and I were fourth cousins, my more recent relatives on that line having moved from Cornwall north to North Yorkshire and her branch to Canada. We compared notes and from then on we shared our research and she became known as 'cousin Elaine'. My husband, Bob and I had the occasional meal with Elaine and Ron, and on one occasion another guest was the Society librarian, Lawson Edwards, who was a fount of knowledge on Cornwall, having transcribed all the Cornish and some Devon nonconformist registers at the Public Record Office.

From: John Bathurst,
email: johnbathurst@sympatico.ca

**Re: 'My first visit to SoG',
Genealogists' Magazine, Sep 2021**

My researches began in the summer of 1947, sparked by my paternal grandfather's inability, unlike my other grandparents, to even name his own. Back home in London after a few years out in central Africa, I first went along to the SoG on 27 March 1952. It was then located in Chaucer House, Malet Place, and only about 40 years old. HM Queen Mary was its Patron. I was elected member No. 750 on 24 April, which perhaps was before anyone else living today. Until leaving for Canada in June I spent many long hours in the library gleaning every scrap of Bathurst data that I could. At times I was given assistance by such early society notables as Charles A Bernau, W H Challen and George Sherwood.

I also toiled at Somerset House extracting every Bathurst entry in the heavy B M & D index tomes from 1837 to the mid-1800s - several thousand entries (the oldest not found by *FreeBMD* because the ink has since entirely faded out). At the PRO, then in Chancery Lane, I scoured original 1841 and 1851 census enumeration books (with no gloves!). My next and only subsequent visits to the SoG were not until I was in England again during the winter of 1959/60, by which time it was in Harrington Gardens. My grandfather lived long enough for me to be able to tell him not only about his own grandfather but our Bathurst ancestral lineage back to the 14th century.

How utterly different was the family history research world back in those distant days! I find that memories and records of my adventures therein are fascinating to contemplate. Here in Canada, professionally retired, I am still happily and actively immersed in my international genealogical endeavours - such a splendid hobby - at the age of 94.

READERS' QUERIES

We shall be happy to publish any enquiries from members on general genealogical matters and no charge will be made for this. The other 9,000 members must know something you don't! Letters or emails to the editor please.

Request for *Genealogists' Magazine* back issues.

I have been a member of the Society for many years and have collected an almost entire series dating back to April 1925. However, sadly, I am missing two issues for December 2019 and June 2020. Are there any fellow members who have surplus copies?

I would be most grateful if they could spare them and would happily reimburse any postage costs incurred. Thank you.

Please contact: Alfred James
email: abmjames1@optusnet.com.au

DECEASED MEMBERS - 2021

Bruce Anthony	2002 - 2021	Michael Dunbar Joyce	2002 - 2021
Rodney Armstrong	1956 - 2021	Elizabeth Mary Florence Kerr	1989 - 2021
Michael Alan Atyeo	1988 - 2021	Monica Kinally	2008 - 2021
Edward Albert Barnes	1954 - 2021	Nigel David John Markwick	1986 - 2021
Gervase Richard Belfield	1983 - 2021	Guy Godfrey Alfred Martin	2011 - 2021
Susan Joy Bicknell	2014 - 2021	Norma Maxwell	2010 - 2021
Peter John Richard Brown	1976 - 2021	Michael Murray	1996 - 2021
Margaret Edith Butler	1992 - 2021	Harold George Offley	1954 - 2021
Peter James Campion	1976 - 2021	Rosemary Margaret Oliver	1978 - 2021
Patrick Hugh Chronnell	2002 - 2021	Kathleen Pearce	1987 - 2021
Richard Diamond	2015 - 2021	Martin Penny	1984 - 2021
Graham Ford	2000 - 2021	Sally Phillips	1979 - 2021
Donald Geoffrey Halliday	1985 - 2021	Jennifer Phipps	1995 - 2021
Julian Henry Hargreaves	1999 - 2021	Doreen Rossiter	1980 - 2021
Henry Harrison	1990 - 2021	Ronald Smith	1990 - 2021
Heather Hawker	1960 - 2021	Olwen Spence	1981 - 2021
Marianne Henderson	1986 - 2021	George Raymond Steenton	1975 - 2021
David Henwood	1973 - 2021	David Randall Thomas	2010 - 2021
Frances Ellen Hindmarsh	2005 - 2021	Richard Travell	1989 - 2021
Maureen Holden	1977 - 2021	Peter Watkins	1990 - 2021
Jean Mary Horton	1994 - 2021	Neal Wells	1993 - 2021
Sheila Coope Jalving	2003 - 2021	Frederick White	2007 - 2021
Edwin Augustus Jones	2019 - 2021	Mavis Claire Wrightson	1988 - 2021



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VISITING THE SOCIETY OF GENEALOGISTS

The Society of Genealogists is undergoing a transformation. We're setting up a new location in London which means you are temporarily unable to visit us in person.

You can still enjoy access to all our online resources and take advantage of our new centre as soon as we have everything in place.



For the latest updates on our transformation and services, please see our news section at:

<https://www.sog.org.uk/news/>

SOCIETY OF GENEALOGISTS

Founded 1911

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GENEALOGISTS' MAGAZINE

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SOCIETY OF GENEALOGISTS' NEWS...

Registered Charity No. 233701. Company limited by guarantee. Registered No. 115703. Registered office: Ground Floor, 1/7 Station Road, Crawley, West Sussex RH10 1HT.

While settling down in our temporary office, we are taking the opportunity to work on setting up retrieval systems for all the records that were sent to Restore Heritage for storage. As part of this exercise, a team of volunteers are currently in the process of updating the library inventory with barcodes that will be used for the retrieval services.

The plan is that we should soon be able to recall books and records that are in storage now. We are also designing projects to digitize some of our records to increase access for the researchers to our Collections. It is our hope that once systems are set up, we will make arrangements for you to be able to recall records for research. Meanwhile, please feel free to access the records that are available on our website and do let us know if you have any issues gaining access by emailing: librarian@sog.org.uk

As part of our transformation process, our old membership website changed as the systems were coming to the end of their life. The new website has been developed to build up further content about our collections and services. We hope you are able to navigate and finding the information interesting and useful. We are working on expanding the members-only content for you to browse while the library is closed.

Members were invited to join our new membership platform on the new website and to set up a new password for security purposes. If you have not yet updated your details, or are having any issues on the new platform, please email our Membership secretary on: membership@sog.org.uk.

Once you are set up with a new password, you will be able to access the membership area and some of our online collections. We have a range of free guides that will help with some aspects of your family history search. The guides provide valuable sources of information and tips in the case of any brick walls in your research.

To get access to SoG data Online, look for the search pages on the website: <https://www.sog.org.uk/our-collections>

By typing a surname, and you will be directed to the main page of the SoG Data Online. Members should be able to log in with the new password.

The screenshot shows the Society of Genealogists website search results page. The search criteria are 'Wills' and 'Probate records'. The results are grouped by source, and a table lists the sources and the number of matches. The table is as follows:

View	Sources	Number of matches
	Wiltshire Wills Beneficiaries	
	Wills > Wiltshire Wills	1
	Cheshire Burials	1
	Parish registers > Suffolk Registers	2
	Genealogical Baptisms	1
	Parish registers > Suffolk Registers	1
	GI Watlington Marriages	1
	Parish registers > Suffolk Registers	2
	GI Watlington Baptisms	2
	Parish registers > Suffolk Registers	2
	GI Watlington Burials	2
	Parish registers > Suffolk Registers	2

Wells Wills Probate records index On SoG Data Online

All probate records for the Diocese of Bath and Wells deposited in the probate registry at Exeter were destroyed by enemy action in May 1942. Prior to their destruction there were few published indexes to the names in the records. The Somerset Record Society vol. 62 covered wills 1528-1600 from the Consistory, and Archdeaconry of Bath and Wells, the Dean of Wells and the Dean and Chapter. British Record Society vol 53 included the Peculiar of Ilminster 1690-1857.

In 1939, (two years prior to the destruction of the original records), the Society of Genealogists purchased a manuscript index 'made by an unknown person when the records were at Wells' covering the Consistory to 1829, the Archdeaconry to 1799, the Dean of Wells to 1804, the Dean and Chapter of wells will to 1720, 1837-1857, admons 1660-1857 as shown in the contents list below:

Wells Wills vols 1-13 – contents

Wells wills, vol. 1 parts i-iii

The Episcopal Consistory Court of Bath & Wells: index to copies of wills, vol. 1 books 1-19 1528-85; books 20-47 1573-1636; original wills 1543-1648

Wells wills, vol. 2 & 3

The Episcopal Consistory Court of the Bishop of Bath & Wells; calendar of wills 1660-1739:

Wells wills, vol. 4

Index to Bishop's Court wills 1740-59

Wells wills, vol. 5 & 6.

Index to Bishop's Court wills 1760-99

Wells wills, vol. 7

Index to Bishop's Court wills 1800-30; Dean's Court calendar of administrations 1712-75

Wells wills, vol. 8

Wells Archdeacon's court 1660-99

Wells wills, vol. 9 & 10

Wells Archdeaconry court 1700-1800

Wells Wills, vol. 11

The Consistorial Court of the Dean of Wells: calendar of wills & administrations, 1660-1804:

Wells Wills, vol. 12

The Consistorial Court of the Dean of Wells: Dean & Chapter calendar of wills 1660-1720; wills & administrations 1837-58; Dean's Court calendar of administrations 1712-75; Dean & Chapter calendar of inventories & administrations 1660-1837

Wells Wills, Vol 13 Peculiar Courts

Ashill wills & administrations 1662-1845: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Banwell & Churchill wills 1675-1857 & administrations 1674-1852: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Buckland Dinham wills & administrations 1637-1857: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Compton Bishop wills & administrations 1647-1851: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Compton Dundon wills 1678-1857 & administrations 1678-1745: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Cudworth & Knowle St. Giles wills & administrations 1626-1831: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

East Harptree wills & administrations 1657-1854: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Easton in Gordano wills 1661-1856 & administrations 1662-1854: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Hazlebere wills 1676-1855 & administrations 1679-1856: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Henstridge wills 1677-1856 & administrations 1665-1856: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Ilminster wills & administrations 1625-96: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Ilton wills & administrations 1678-1848: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Kingsbury & East Lambrook wills & administrations 1662-1857, administration bonds 1667-1739: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Litton wills & administrations 1661-1848: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Pilton & North Wootton wills & administrations 1661-1856: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

St. Decumans wills & administrations 1636-1857, administration bonds 1641-1745: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Timberscombe wills & administrations 1689-1850: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

West Lydford wills & administrations 1669-1857: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

White Lackington wills & administrations 1665-1837: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Witham Friary wills & administrations 1669-1821: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Wivelscombe & Fitzhead wills & administrations 1656-1857, administration bonds 1662-1719: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Wookey wills & administrations 1627-1857: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13

Yatton wills & administrations 1662-1857, administration bonds 1660 -1733: Calendar of wills & administrations, Wells Peculiar Courts: Wells wills, vol. 13.

To allow searches to be made, in 2020 a team of SoG volunteers led by Cliff Webb transcribed the indexes for digital publication thus all 13 volumes and available on SoG Data Online. To access the names in this index, please go to the members section of the Society website and log in to SoG Data Online. The index is in the Wills section under Somerset:

<https://sogdata.org.uk/bin/simplesearchsummarycat.php?mode=q>

We miss all our visitors to the library and look forward to welcoming you back.

Francisca Mkandawire

Head of Archive and Library Services

FROM THE VOLUNTEER MANAGER

It's that time of the year. Fluffy slippers, hot tea, rain at the window - perfect accompaniments for a Society of Genealogists indexing project! Get ready for winter and take a look at the volunteering page of our website (address below) to find out more about the Pedigree Rolls Project, the Great Card Index and SoG Data Online

indexing. Signing up is easy using our Home Volunteer Expression of Interest form and you can join our online volunteer forum to discuss your project with others and receive assistance and project resources.

Additionally we have a number of home volunteers temporarily assisting librarian Francisca with the construction of a spreadsheet library inventory. This involves the transfer of handwritten barcodes and box numbers from an image of a spreadsheet (used by library packers) into another spreadsheet. So a fairly simple task which will be very important for our future retrieval of collection items from storage. If you are interested in helping with this let me know via the email address below.

Christine Worthington, Volunteer Manager
volunteering@sog.org.uk
<https://www.sog.org.uk/get-involved/volunteering>

TRANSFORMATION UPDATE

This year we have seen a number of long overdue technological upgrades - financial system, member email software, events booking system, member database (with associated modules for receiving donations and a new member research forum about to be launched), bookshop software and website. Members have seen a lot of change in a short period of time, so we have appreciated your patience and your feedback.

The next technological upgrades relate to collections - online display of digital content, archives catalogue, and online display of the Pedigree Rolls Project. These projects are being scoped at present, with much of the foundational work relating to assessment of current systems (in consultation with staff and some highly experienced volunteers) and articulating our future requirements. SoG staff will soon be viewing demonstrations of new systems. As we move into the selection and prototyping phases we look forward to reporting on progress and hope to have opportunities for volunteers to view prototype collections.

Christine Worthington, Transformation Manager

EVENTS UPDATE

At the start of a new year, we find ourselves making resolutions, to continue good practices and accomplish personal goals. Family Historians are no exception, often looking at their pile of research papers and thinking about how they can get organised and best research practice. The Society's events are geared to help you. To kick off the new year, join us on our virtual common room chat: New Year's Resolutions - Organising your Family History with genealogist, Else Churchill on 12 January (10:30).

Our live online events have continued to be very popular, interactive and informative. All events currently take place on Zoom, but we're looking forward to holding some hybrid events for both those who wish to attend live events held onsite, those who prefer to watch online, and those who wish to watch a recording of our live events.

The below events will be held on Zoom, which is free and easy to use. Further information can be found on the Events & Courses bookings page of our website: www.sog.org.uk/events

Please do contact the events department if you have any questions, email: events@sog.org.uk

Upcoming Live Online Events:

Saturday, 8 January
Archive Sources for Local History

Wednesday, 12 January
Virtual Common Room Chat: New Year's Resolutions - Organising your Family History

Saturday, 15 January
Evernote - The Fundamentals



Saturday, 22 January
Using Private Papers in Family History Research: The Papers of Thomas Bowrey - a case study

Saturday, 22 January
Using UK Archives – Going Beyond the Database

Saturday, 29 January
Family Historian Software for Beginners

Thursday, 3 February
Swiss Cottage – an Illustrated History

Saturday, 5 February
The Staff of Life: Bakers & Confectioners

Saturday, 5 February

Following the Money: Financial Records for Family Historians

Saturday, 12 March

Mummy, what did you do in the Great War?
My Ancestor was a Woman at War

**SoG MEMBER'S ONLINE CHRISTMAS
SOCIAL - 15 DECEMBER 6-7:30**



Join us to celebrate Christmas, as well as other religious traditions during the month of December.

As the days reach their shortest and we prepare for Christmas and our other winter festivals, we will explore some of the customs, recipes, folklore and sayings that mark rural life at this time of year. What lies behind the plough plays performed in some of the local villages, why might we drink lambswool on Twelfth Night, and why do we bring holly into our homes in the winter?

We will enjoy a short talk by Dr. Sophie Hollinshead as she explores country lore past and present, and please bring your own traditions for discussion.

Hosted by our Genealogist, Else Churchill, the event will take place via Zoom and will include news from the Society staff and trustees, updates on the SoG transformation, as well as a virtual holiday pub quiz. Get your thinking caps and Santa hats on!

So feel free to join us for virtual afternoon high tea, cocktails or mulled wine and nibbles (depending on your whims and time zones). Sorry it's BYO refreshments.

Free of charge but you must book your place - online: www.sog.org.uk/events or email: events@sog.org.uk telephone: 020 7553 3290 (Tue-Sat).

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