LINCOLNSHIRE PAST & PRESENT
No. 16 - Summer 1994

Fenland near Kirton

CONTENTS

Editorial

'A Man of Lincolnshire': Terence R. Leach 1937-1994  J.S. English  2

Authorial Alternatives:
2. The True Authorship of the History of Scampton  Terence R. Leach  3

The Winceby Stone  Betty Kirkham  4

Directions in Documentary Work on the Lincolnshire Fenland  Dorothy Owen  7

Faces and Places

Early Lincolnshire Connections with America  C.L. Anderson  9

On the Rocks: A South American Adventure  Jim Murray  12

'The Wheels of Chance': Notes on a Source for the History of Roads  Nick Lyons  15

Village Co-operatives  David Kaye  17

The Social Conditions of Grimsby's Seamen in 1936  John Wilson  21

Notes and Queries  23

The deadline for contributions to the next Bulletin and the Summer issue of Lincolnshire Past & Present is Saturday 13 August 1994.
Material should be sent to the Joint Editors at Jews' Court, Lincoln LN2 1LS (0502 521337). It will help the Editors greatly if articles are sent typed, double spaced and with a good margin. A note of the number of words is of great value.
More detailed 'notes for contributors' are available from Jews' Court (please enclose s.a.e.).

Cover: Moving the Winceby Stone. See pp. 7-8
EDITORIAL

Easter this year was darkened for Lincolnshire people by the shadow of Terence Leach's serious illness; he was in hospital in Lincoln for several weeks and to everyone's distress died on 16 April. Terence's sterling qualities are recalled in the appreciation which follows. My own feelings of loss are no doubt shared by all members of the Society; I shall personally miss his breadth of learning, and his willingness to share and communicate, often with ebullience and wry humour, his enthusiasm for all things Lincolnshire: his knowledge of his beloved county was, like Sam Weller's of London, 'extensive and peculiar'. This is certainly evident in what was sadly to be his last contribution to *Lincolnshire Past & Present* (see pp.5-6) which married his bibliographical expertise with his devotion to the history of local studies in the county.

*Lincolnshire Past & Present* owes much to Terence's championship of a new magazine to replace its long running predecessor, the S.L.H.A. *Newsletter*, which he was instrumental in founding. His contribution to the Society was incalculable and S.L.H.A. members will be pleased to learn that an annual Terence Leach lecture has been arranged, to begin this autumn, and plans are afoot for a more permanent memorial.

The tiny parish church of St Chad, Dunholme, was packed for Terence's funeral on 22 April. Despite the solemnity of the occasion and the overwhelming sympathy for Terence's widow Joyce, the partner in so many of his endeavours, this was also, in a real sense, a celebration of a life richly lived and a thanksgiving for this 'man of Lincolnshire'. How apt it was, therefore, that we sang the famous valedictory lines by another son of Lincolnshire:

And may there be no sadness of farewell
When I embark.

Christopher Sturman, June 1994

SOCIETY FOR LINCOLNSHIRE HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

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If you are writing with queries that do not seem to be covered by the three existing committees please address your enquiry direct to the Chairman.
Local historians in Lincolnshire and beyond will be saddened and shocked at the early death in hospital, at the age of 56, of Terence Leach on Saturday 16 April.

Born in Dunholme, where he lived all his life, Terence became interested in history, and particularly Lincolnshire history, as a boy and joined the Historical Association while still a schoolboy; I remember, too, him telling me how when he was doing his National Service in the RAF, he used to take his set of *Lincolnshire Notes & Queries* back from leave, a volume at a time, to read in his billet - probably one of the few people who can claim to have read its twenty-four volumes from cover to cover.

After training as a teacher at Westminster College, Oxford, where his interest in local Methodist history was aroused, he taught at Sincil Bank School in Lincoln before moving to the William Parr School at Welton where he specialised in history and religious instruction, as well as serving as careers master for a time.

A dedicated member of the Lincolnshire Local History Society and of the Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society, when the two amalgamated to form the Society for Lincolnshire History & Archaeology he served on its Executive Committee and was its Chairman for several years. He also chaired its Local History Committee and for many years organised its outings and tours, as well as being a fertile source of subjects and lecturers for the lecture programmes. Terence also initiated the Lincolnshire Portraits Survey for the Society - one of the earliest, if not the earliest, survey of its type in the country.

Terence was a member of many cultural and historical societies. He served on the Executive Committee of the Tennyson Society (of which he was a life member), was a founder-member of the Lincolnshire Methodist History Society (of which he was Vice-Chairman and Editor for several years), a member of the Lincolnshire National Trust Association and of the Lincolnshire Old Churches Trust, and more widely, for example, of the Georgian and the Victorian Societies - he said to me on more than one occasion, 'You know I'm really a Victorian born out of my time'; yet despite his immersion in history he still had a lively interest in contemporary events. To all of these activities he brought a wide knowledge and enthusiasm which will be sadly missed, as will his trenchant views on so many subjects.

But it was for his Lincolnshire interests that he was best known and will be remembered - for his extensive library of books and other materials on the county, and for his willingness to share his knowledge and ideas with people who approached him with queries. He had, too, an ability to put over his subjects in a popular yet scholarly way, and so commanded a wide following for his lectures throughout the county, and just prior to his death should have been leading an historical tour in the Scottish Borders which grew out of the weekly classes which he held at Dunholme. Interested in anything and everything relating to his beloved county, his particular interests were the county families and their houses, and Robert Carr Brackenbury in whose memory he organised an annual lecture at Raitby by Spilsby, and he was particularly pleased when the restoration of Brackenbury's unique Methodist chapel in that village was put in hand.

As well as his historical interests, Terence has a wide interest and knowledge of English literature, and of the arts, as well as being a devout member of the parish church at Dunholme where he served some years ago as Church Warden.

Terry will be sadly missed by so many people as a local historian and a friend, but particularly by his widow Joyce who so loyally supported him in all his interests and enthusiasm - 'I sometimes feel that I'm married to local history as well as Terry,' she once said to me - and by his parents and his brother, to all of whom the sympathy of Terry's wide circle of friends and acquaintances is extended.

Terence Leach was the embodiment of all that is good in the field of Lincolnshire history, and everybody who knew him and worked with him will remember him with affection.
AUTHORIAL ALTERNATIVES: AN OCCASIONAL SERIES

2. The True Authorship of the History of Scampton
Terence R. Leach

The authorship of A Topographical Account of the Parish of Scampton, which was published in 1808, is naturally attributed to the man whose name appears on its title page - the Rev. Dr Cayley Illingworth, rector of Scampton. My own copy of the book, however, indicates that the rector was not the author. This copy of the book was once in the Library of the Incorporated Law Society, to which it was presented on 12 April, 1838, by W Illingworth, of Gray's Inn Square. The donor has added this note:

The whole of this work, except from pages 3 to 13 both inclusive was compiled and written by me; the excepted pages descriptive of the Roman antiquities and villa was written by my Brother, the Reverend Dr Illingworth, Archdeacon of Stow and Rector of Scampton.

The Illingworth brothers were the sons of William Illingworth, of Nottingham, and Cayley, the elder, was born in London in 1759. He was at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and was ordained in 1782. He became a Prebendary of Lincoln in 1802, having been rector of Scampton from 1783. He was also vicar of Barrow 1794-1823, rector of Epworth 1804-1823 and Archdeacon of Stow 1808-1823. He also held the living of Stainton by Langworth for a time. In 1783 he married Sophia Harvey, who survived him, and had two sons and four daughters. In 1793 he discovered the Roman village at Scampton and in the following year was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He died in 1823 at Scampton.

William Illingworth (1764-1845) was the third son of the family. After his education at Nottingham and Manchester Grammar Schools he was articled to a Nottingham attorney, and by 1788 had established himself in London as an Attorney of the King's Bench. In 1800 he published a learned Inquiry into the Laws, Antient and Modern, Respecting Forestalling, Regrating and Ingrossing. He became skilled at deciphering manuscripts, which led to his appointment in 1800 as a sub-commissioner on public records. The Statutes of the Realm from Magna Carta to near the end of the reign of Henry VIII were transcribed and collated by him, and he also transcribed the Placita de Quo Warranto (1818) and the Rotuli Hundredorum (1812-18). He wrote the preface, and compiled in Latin the index rerum to the Abbreviatio Placitorum (1811). He edited the Testa de Nevill (1807) with John Caley and helped with the preparation of Vol. I of the Rotuli Scotiae (1814). He arranged the records in the chapter house of Westminster Abbey, and in 1808 drew up a catalogue of their contents. His Index Cartarum de Scotia was privately printed by Sir Thomas Phillips in 1840. Illingworth, with T.E. Tomlins, visited all the English and Irish cathedrals searching for original statutes. He became deputy keeper of the records in the Wardrobe (under Samuel Lysons). When Lysons was succeeded by Henry Petrie in 1819, Petrie refused to have Illingworth as his deputy keeper and offered him a post as 'clerk'. Illingworth, not surprisingly, resigned and set up as a record agent and translator. In 1825 he entered himself at Gray's Inn, but he was not called to the bar. He expected to become a sub-commissioner under the new Record Commission in 1832 but despite publishing his recommendations for making public records more accessible, and giving advice to the secretary, he was not appointed. Cooper, the secretary, used Illingworth's suggestions without acknowledgement. Before he died, Illingworth was blind and in poverty, and a subscription was made for him at the Incorporated Law Society in Chancery Lane. He died at 13 Brook Street, South Islington. It is said that his 'peculiar temper' hindered him - but he seems to have been rather ill-used.

The family connection with Scampton came about when the manor of Scampton was sold in 1749, following the death of Sarah Bolles the Bolles family heiress in 1746. The purchaser was William Cayley, a grandson of Sir William Cayley of Brompton, Yorkshire. He had been Secretary of Legation to Sir Thomas Lumley Sanderson (later Earl of Scarborough) whilst he was ambassador at Lisbon, and was subsequently charge d'affaires there. In 1752 he became M.P. for Dover, being re-elected in 1754. He vacated the seat in 1756 when he was appointed a commissioner of excise. He died in 1768 and was buried at Ampthill, Bedfordshire. It seems highly likely that Cayley may have learned of the possibility of purchasing Scampton through his connection with Lumley Sanderson, whose Lincolnshire estates included Glentworth, not more than a few miles north of Scampton.

Cayley left Scampton to Richard Stonhewer in tail male with remainder to the sons of his cousin Sir George Cayley. Stonhewer was auditor of excise, knight harbinger and historiographer and
private secretary to the Duke of Grafton during his ministry. He was an intimate friend of Gray and Mason, and he left to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, the manuscripts and commonplace books of Gray and portraits of Gray and Mason. He died at the age of 80 in 1809 and the Scampton estate devolved upon Sir George Cayley, bar, uncle of the Rev. Cayley Illingworth.

The Rev. Cayley Illingworth was guilty of some mischief in the matter of church fabrics. Sir Francis Hill, in his *Georgian Lincoln* (page 174) quotes Sir Charles Anderson as recording that he was 'a great, fat, red-faced parson, a justice of the peace, and a great bully of churchwardens. He did as much harm as anyone during the time of his office, in pulling down aisles and chancels, putting in barn roofs and disfiguring and half ruining the churches in his archdeaconry. Nor did Dr Bayley, who succeeded him, do much better. The mischief these two ignorant men (of their office and its details) did is irreparable, but they were only specimens of what was very general in those days.'

Illingworth did cause some churches to be repaired, and as Stonehouse said, 'his own church at Scampton was done after a vile fashion.' At Epworth the lead was replaced by slate on the roof and a 'vile' plaster ceiling put up which cut off the east window from the spring of the arch. At Scampton Illingworth let the tithes to Sir George Cayley the patron on lease for £500 per annum; after he died it was found that the land was exonerated from tithes on a certain money payment.

Stonehouse said the parsonage house at Scampton was 'a neat and comfortable residence' and was in the time of Illingworth 'called the Rectory, and was the scene of his continued and unbounded hospitality. 'I have been forty years at Scampton,' said Illingworth to a friend of Stonehouse, 'and I've lived every day that I have been there.' Stonehouse thought he meant that he had enjoyed himself.

Stonehouse quoted:

- Live while you live, the epicure will say,
- And catch the transient pleasures of the day.
- Live while you live, the urgent preacher cries,
- And give to God each moment as it flies.
- Grant Lord in me that both united be,
- I live to pleasure when I live to Thee.

and went on to observe 'The first of these maxims the Dr. very well understood. The second he did not much enforce by his example; and of the third he had not the most distant conception. He was, however, a very useful member of society, especially as an active magistrate; most strict and uncompromising in the discharge of his duty, and all the disorderlies in the neighbourhood stood in complete awe of him. He had a terrible bull dog sort of bow-ow way with him, which had a great effect with such fellows, "Answer my question, I don't stand here to have any altercation with such a fellow as you" - this was a very favourite expression with him. Never did any man clean the country so of vagrants. He actually made them scarce, so that a gypsy had never been seen in Lincoln for 30 years; and when some of that wandering tribe passed through soon after his death it was said people did not know what they were. He carried the same decisive way of doing business into the discharge of his office as Archdeacon, and in some cases it answered. Having ordered some extensive repairs to be carried into effect at Scotter, a parish meeting was held [and] a vote passed that such repairs were unnecessary. When the churchwarden communicated this resolution to him he ordered them to commence the work next Wednesday, or to take the consequence, and they did so. He knew nothing of the Reform Bill. He had not the least notion of Free Trade. His head was laid low before the storms of political and religious change swept over it. Probably they would have uprooted him, for I am quite sure he would not have bent before the blast like a willow.'

The profits from the sale of the Scampton history - which was re-issued in 1810 - were devoted to a charitable fund for the widows and orphans of distressed clergymen. This probably explains why the book was produced in such large numbers - it is remarkably common for a book of its period, and by no means difficult to find. It is probably the earliest 'parish history' published which relates to a Lincolnshire parish. It is, of course, of interest to the collector not only for that reason, but also because it is illustrated by William Fowler of Winterton's engravings of the pavements of the villa.

In addition to the information about the authorship of the book, my copy also contains an engraving which I have seen in no other copy. It shows a man wearing a very large hat, with a 'muffler' round his neck and mouth - only one eye and his nose is visible. There is no printed inscription on the engraving but William Illingworth has inscribed it 'The Rev. John Hoggard,
Rector of Scampton died 1782. This eccentric character ever viewed the old Roman Gateway at Lincoln with an apprehension of its falling on him, as he passed under it; so much so, he always road through at full gallop; although this much admired relic of Roman antiquity has stood for nearly 2,000 years. W.I."

Sir Francis Hill tells the same story in Georgian Lincoln, but of the Rev. Tillotson Laycock, vicar of Hackthorn, Cammeringham, Ingham and Owersby. Hill's source was Sir Charles Anderson of Lea. Laycock was a native of Brigg, graduated in 1762 and held his livings 'upwards of forty years' and died in London, aged 73, in 1815. In view of the date of his death, and the date when Illingworth presented his book of the Law Society, it seems likely that the story relates to Hoggard rather than to Laycock.

Note
William Illingworth is to be found in The Dictionary of National Biography, and his entry includes a note on his brother. Further information can be gleaned on all the clergymen mentioned in the Alumni Cantabrigienses. The comments by Stonehouse are found in A Stow Visitation (by Stonehouse) edited by N. S. Harding (Lincoln, 1940), pp.74-75.

As a footnote to the first contribution to this occasional series, Simon Pawley's "The author of Creasey's "History of Sleaford", Lincs. Past & Present, 15 (Spring 1994), pp.20-21, the following letter supplied by Dr Rod Ambler, clinches the argument over authorship. It is tipped into his copy of 'Creasey'; the armorial bookplate of Henry Thomas Ellacombe suggests he was the addressee. Ellacombe (1790-1885), who merits an entry in the D.N.B., was, in 1848, vicar of Bitton, Gloucs., and a noted antiquary and authority on church-bells

Sleaford
October 18 1848

Reverend Sir,

The History of Sleaford was published by me in 1825. The price of the demy 8vo 15s. and the royal 8vo copy 21s. It was sold by Longman & Co. [..] Simpkin & Co. and Whittaker & Co. - but I am not aware that there are any copies left for sale in London. I have only about half a dozen copies left. I have two copies of the royal 8vo in boards and one copy neatly half bound at 15s each. I have 3 copies of the demy 8vo at 15/- each. I could send a copy of either to London free of expense to any book-seller or other person you might appoint - and you could remit a Post-office order.

The Rev. Richard Yerburgh L.D.D. was the compiler and perhaps may be said to be the writer. It was entirely a speculation of my own. I collected what materials I could and gave them into the Doctor's hands to arrange, edit &c - which he very kindly and gratuitously did.

I am Reverend Sir,
Your obedient servant

James Creasey

P.S. I have also a royal 8vo The History of Boston in Lincolnshire, 1/2 bound 21/- and The History of Wainfleet the same size in boards for 15/-.

[The next item in the series will, in fact, be about the last mentioned book C.S.]
THE WINCEBY STONE

Betty Kirkham

Moving the Winceby Stone. Top left 8th June 1971; other photographs 12th June 1971

The drawing of the Winceby stone heading Christopher Sturman's article in the last issue of *Lincolnshire Past & Present* (15, Spring 1994, p.14) and the mention of the moving of the stone in David Robinson's article on page 27 of the same edition reminded me of the excitement and difficulties which occurred during the moving of the stone. Having looked out the notes I made at the time I wondered if members might find them of interest. They are as follows:

June 1st, 1981. Went with Mrs Rudkin and my husband to a field above Slash Hollow G.R. TF 312691 where 20 yards or so inside the gate was a boulder which Mrs Rudkin thought was a natural glacial erratic brought down during the ice age. Only the top was visible.
It was last uncovered at the turn of the century for a man from Lincoln to examine. This time it was examined by David Robinson who pronounced it sandstone. It appeared to us to be harder than Spilsby sandstone on the top surface. This surface had the initials R B carved in two places also the same initials in mirror writing and the date 1788 and numerous scratches. It measured eight feet across in both directions and was shaped like a wedge of cheese with a slight ridge around the outer edge.

June 8th, 1971. Mr Frith of Hagworthingham who farmed the field in which the stone lay, rang to say he was going to try and move the stone. I sent a wire to Mrs Rudkin who travelled at 60 miles an hour from her home at Willoughton to get to the site in time to witness the lifting.

Mr Frith had brought his tractor. Though he had farmed the field for 60 years he had never seen the stone but he had known of its existence but not the exact whereabouts to several yards. Previously the field had been ploughed the other way across and the stone had always been below the level of the plough and so had caused no problems. This year they had decided to plough the other way and so had broken the plough on the stone and decided to remove it.

The first thing he did was to fasten a steel wire hauser round the stone and to the tractor and pull. After several tries the only thing that happened was that the tractor wheels dug themselves further into the ground.

After some time, another caterpillar tractor was attached to the first and they pulled together. The wire snapped and was rejoined. They tried pulling from all angles but no success, so a Land Rover was attached and all three pulled together but all they did was lift the stone a few inches so that a plank could be put down the side to stop it falling back altogether. After three hours they decided to leave it and try again another time with hydraulic lifting gear.

June 12th, 1971. Mr Smith from Scamblesby had been contacted and came with a couple of ex-army trucks which both had winches. A one inch steel hauser was again fastened round the stone and they pulled as hard as possible but no success. The most they could do was lift the stone on to its edge at which stage the striation caused by the movement of the ice became visible and we all became very excited.

At this stage the men were able to place further planks and some 18ft lengths of channelled angle iron under the stone. They then fastened both vehicles together and with the aid of a winch they were able to tilt the stone so that it was resting on the channelled iron pieces.

Then came what was to me the most fascinating thing, it made me feel at one with the ancient Egyptians. They produced 6ft lengths of 4 inch wooden rollers and laid these across the pieces of iron and pulled with both vehicles together and hauled the stone up with the aid of the rollers which they kept moving to the front as they were released from the rear just as we had been taught the Egyptians had hauled the stones to build the pyramids.

In this way they were able to move the stone to the edge of the field. It is difficult to estimate the weight of the stone but at 8ft across and 4ft deep it is no small amount. In all it took three men four hours to move it twenty yards. I wouldn’t have missed it for anything.

Note
The folklore attached to the stone is recorded in Mrs Rudkin’s Lincolnshire Folklore (1936), p.66-68.

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Weather Notes from Lincolnshire Parish Registers

‘The year 1826 was so remarkably dry that the Agriculturists suffered severely in consequence’ (Caistor, baptism register, 1823-1844)
[See also Christopher Sturman, ‘The drought summer of 1826’, Lincolnshire Life, 26, 6 (Sept. 1986). pp.29-30.]
DIRECTIONS IN DOCUMENTARY WORK ON THE LINCOLNSHIRE FENLAND

Dorothy Owen

In the last few years I have come increasingly to feel that it is time to look afresh at documentary studies of the medieval fenland in Lincolnshire with a view to the requirements of archaeologists, topographers and local historians, and this is an attempt to suggest some ways by which a new approach can be made. The sweeping social cum topographical study of South Holland begun forty years ago by Herbert Hallam (see especially his *Settlement and Society: A Study of the Early Agrarian History of South Lincolnshire*, 1965), admirable though it has been in opening our eyes to available sources of information, leaves many questions unanswered, and especially those problems of detailed development which most concern us today. I should like, then, to suggest here a fresh look at methods and sources. What we most need is, in fact, a series of detailed topographical studies within individual parishes, or along watercourses and other natural features. Here one should concentrate on a few salient features:

1. the location and identification of original and secondary settlements
2. economic exploitation within a given area, and the identification of different varieties of fenland
3. the nature and rate of reclamation of the fen
4. water-supply in the area
5. nature and route of communications in the area.

The sources will in the first place be the monastic and private cartularies and charters with which we are very richly endowed in this area, and so will not be very different from those regularly used by all Lincolnshire medievalists. But one can, and should, cast the net wider, as I have done myself in looking at chapellaries and parochial settlements (‘Chapels and rural settlements: an examination of some of the Kesteven evidence’, in P.H. Sawyer, ed., *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, 1976, pp.66-71). For a detailed study of a single parish, or a small region, maps, place-names, manor court rolls, surveys and accounts, commissioners of sewers records, glebe terriers, depositions in tithe causes, poll-tax, subsidy and communicants’ lists, even wills and probate inventories can all be useful. The ingenious and painstaking student, especially if he or she is a local resident, will soon learn how to wring the last ounce of information from every scrap of evidence, and build up the invaluable detailed picture. We can all think of people who have done this, not perhaps in the fens. Mrs Rudkin’s pottery surveys at Toft and Mrs Farmery’s study of reclamation in Croft marsh are examples which I should like to see followed in our fenland work. I don’t propose to attempt any such detailed work in this paper, though I did try it out long ago in connection with Fulstow and Marshchapel (Notes on the mediaeval manors of Fulstow*, *L.A.A.S.R.P.*, IV, 1, 1951, pp.1-56). Instead, what I should like to do is point out some areas where the basic material for such detailed studies survives, and where exploration might be fruitful. I have therefore looked in a general way at surviving monastic and lay cartularies which include documents relating to fenland areas in Lincolnshire, and shall use this to indicate where work can be done. The surviving information can be grouped partly topographically, partly by subject, and I will take it in this way. One can, for example, discuss the fenland ends of coastal parishes, which is essentially what Professor Hallam did in South Lincolnshire; one can look at river valley parishes where there are extensive fens; or one can glance at fen edge settlements. On another tack one can examine communications in a homogeneous area, or trace the chronology or purpose of banks and ditches. I do not propose to say much about either of these last except as they can be covered in the regional sections. First the fenland end of the coastal parishes. Here, and especially in south Lindsey, the material is very rich, principally, it seems, because of the demand among religious houses for access to a salt supply, which was, of course, freely available here. Wrangle and its immediate neighbours provide a very good example; the monastic houses of Waltham Holy Cross, in Essex, West Dereham in Norfolk, Stixwould, Kirkstead, and Friston, and the families of Huntingfield and Goxhill, all had an interest in the area, and, more important for us, have left cartularies. The Waltham cartulary, for example, includes a number of grants by Simon Le Bret
lord of Wrangle in the early twelfth century, describing water-courses of various widths used by little boats carrying out turf from the fen (Early Charters of Waltham Abbey 1062-1230, ed. R. Ransford, 1989, pp.296-378). They indicate that there were already two fen banks, the old and the new, and that a secondary settlement, called Fenhorpe, was in existence. Two agreements of 1207 between the men of Wrangle and a later lord of the place, Alexander of Pounton, give precision to the fen economy: the tenants of Waltham abbey are allowed a way across Alexander's ground to carry home fodder and turf from the fen; they are permitted to common their stock on that part of his land which borders Le Pendike, except for the period between the beginning of Lent and the end of hay harvest, or when diking work is in progress there. In addition they may construct a ditch 56 perches long and 18 feet wide, to convey water for their land from Alexander's water at Hestie, but are to take no fish from it. Alexander, in return, is allowed to build a sluice on Hestie for summer use, lest the marsh dries up. So here we have artificial banks, turf cutting, fishing and grazing in the fen in the twelfth century. Build on to this with poll-tax and subsidy returns, probate inventories, the monastic dissolution surveys, glebe terriers and so on, and you will soon have a good picture of the economy; with sewers' records you can probably fill out the topography, especially if there are any medieval sewer verdicts printed by Dugdale (History of Embanking and Draining, eds of 1662 and 1772).

Now to turn to river valley parishes, which in Lincolnshire at least can often be classed as fenland settlements. I can say very little about the Ancholme valley, except where there are occasional chapelfields, but the lower Trent valley has more to tell us. Here the early development of water mills, navigation and irrigation cuts, and fisheries can be seen in the Peterborough abbey charters and surveys for Scotter, Scawthorpe and Messingham. In a survey in Scotter made in 1231: there is a water mill which cannot be used between 1 May and the end of the Hay harvest, another mill on a cut called Sarkasmer, near Trent, and a fishery. The villeins were obliged to carry whatever the lord wished in their boats, to cut and transport turf for him, to provide for the lord 60 sheaves of reed from the fen, and 2 boat loads of kindling and one of willow rods. There was fishery for the free tenants in Scawthorpe water, and they might make a cut between it and Trent to renew the water supply (Cambridge University Library, Peterborough ms 1 (Reg. Swaffham) f.c.cxxxix).

The Witham valley is more fully documented, both above and below the Lincoln gap, principally along the Brant which is a tributary. Newhouse abbey had a watermill on the river in Norton Disney which about 1150 had its chapel, its diked toft, two intakes for arable, pasture for 300 sheep and an unspecified number of beasts, and its easements in turbaries, heath and moor, an interesting mixture of economic resources (Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw, ed. F.M. Stenton, 1920, pp.230-31).

Below Lincoln there is a string of religious houses stretching almost to Boston, and these, with their granges were centres of active reclamation and economic exploitation of the fen, on both banks. In addition, Necton priory, on the lower slopes of the cliff, reclaimed fen in Necton, Dunston and Blankney although the details of this are lost to us since there is no cartulary of the house. The Stixwould grange in Blankney and the various Kirkstead granges on the Kesteven heath are better documented (Stixwould cartulary, British Library Add. Ms. 4670; Kirkstead cartulary, B.L. Cotton Vesp. Exviii). I have described elsewhere how Linwood fen, the lines of which can be seen still, was taken in during the thirteenth century ('Kesteven villages in the middle ages', Lincoln Historian, II, 2, Spring 1955, pp.10-17). Most of this Cistercian activity on the Kesteven bank seems to have begun only in the twelfth century, but the foundation charter of Catley priory suggests that settlement, intake, and a number of primary and secondary settlements were already established earlier. Here you remember the priory was endowed with the island called Catley, with its ditches, watercourse, mill, and mill pool and all the water of the fen; a grange between Walcot and the marsh, with its enclosure and ditches; an intake in Walcot, next Hallegarthedyke and Billingeydyke; the chapel of Walcot; forage, firewood and thatch from the marshes and common, and pasture for 200 sheep (Transcripts of Charters Relating to the Gilbertine Houses, ed. F.M. Stenton, L.R.S. 18, 1922, 72-73). Here then is a small economic unit of some antiquity, not the first in Billingeby parish it is true, but already made and developed before the priory was founded.

On the Lindsey bank of the Witham there was thicker, perhaps more intensive settlement above the valley bottom, where the cliff gradually descends to the river, and extension from these villages into the fen was already marked in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In Fiskerton, for example, Peterborough had a considerable interest, and was in conflict with Barlings abbey, close
by, over pasture in the marsh and woods, where there was already an old park, and where their respective interests had been divided by a boundary ditch before 1240. Bardney and Topholme also had their rivalries, and there is an interesting arbitration of 1241 between them, which throws some light on the Bardney estate of Southrey. Here we know from the Bardney cartulary (B.L. Cotton Vesp. Exx) that reclamation was going on actively in the twelfth century and now the limits of the estate had been reached. Meanwhile Topholme was equally active, it seems, and had been allowed by the Crown to claim a ditch which divided it from Bardney land, and which was also the boundary of the wapentakes of Wragg and Gartree (and incidentally, of the two archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow). The two religious houses were now in dispute about the cleaning and maintenance of this ditch, which was made difficult by Bardney's ownership of the eastern bank, and by two dikes through which water from Southrey was discharged into it, and which it seems, could not be crossed from Topholme. The difficulty was finally resolved by the assignation to Topholme of a strip of land on the Southrey side to allow access, by the planting of a hedge along the strip so that it should be clearly marked, and by permission to bridge the two lesser dikes (A.A.S.R.P., XXXII, I, 1913, pp. 80-86). This is only one sample of a type of document which is particularly informative about the topography and economics of this valley, where the houses were so close together that clashes were inevitable. I suspect that a careful use of the cartularies and feet of fines may well enable one to build up a very clear picture, at least of the 'power structure' in the valley, and thereby of its medieval economy.

True fen edge parishes must certainly not be overlooked. I must point to the recurrence of the name Cardike in the southern Kesteven fen edges, where it is found in the Goxhill cartulary as a bounder in Rippingale, Graby, Aslackby and Millthorpe (Cambridge University Library, Peterborough ms). At the same time I should remind you of the desirability of a close examination of the siting of chapelries and other secondary settlements in these parishes.

One final direction in which detailed topographical research might be rewarding is that of communications. Within small areas many clues to water communications and bridges can be picked up from charters, surveys, and final concords. On a wider scale, wills, chantry certificates and some charters throw light on causeways, ferries, and quays. The best source for these seems however to be the presentments at royal inquests of those monastic houses and private persons who had failed to discharge there obligations to maintain roads and bridges or provide ferries, or who had levied unjust tolls on travellers. Many such presentments are to be found in the inquests of Quo Warranto, and the Hundred Rolls, both of which are available in print; other later examples have been found and printed by Dugdale. It might well be a useful exercise to map all such references, for your chosen area, and possibly to compare the result with air photographs.

Note
This paper was originally presented at a conference organised by the Fenland Committee at Harlaxton Hall, in 1980. Most of the cartularies quoted can be consulted in facsimile in the Foster Library (Lincolnshire Archives Office). An edition of the Goxhill cartulary by Canon D. Rogers is projected for the Lincoln Record Society. The Quo Warranto Rolls, the Hundred Rolls and Dugdale can also be consulted there. There is also useful material in the on-going series of Curia Regis Rolls, e.g. XVI, 1237-42 (1979) No. 2477 which concerns a cut made from the Holland causeway as far as Swaton to allow ships to bring merchandise to Swaton market and thence on to Folkingham.

[Editor's Note:
Since this article was typeset, the Society has learned of the death last year, in Australia, of Professor Herbert Hallam. An appreciation will appear in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology.]

A History of Lincoln Minster, edited by Dorothy Owen, has recently been published by Cambridge University Press (ISBN 0 521 25429 9, £35.00). This important collection of essays, appropriately dedicated to Miss Kathleen Major, tracing the cathedral's historical development, architecture and musical history from the eleventh century to the present day will be reviewed in the 1994 issue Lincolnshire History and Archaeology.
Recently on the market is the little known seventeenth-century farmhouse at Wykeham, in the parish of Weston, together with gatepiers of c.1700 and the medieval chapel (Scheduled Ancient Monument no. 45). The chapel was part of the grange complex at Wykeham, built in 1311 by Spalding’s Prior Clement of Hatfield. The write-ups in local papers, enthusiastic if not quite accurate, seem to have suggested that the area was doing a lot of trade with Holland at the time, but there is no evidence for this. The illustration shown here is taken from Thomas Allen’s History of Lincolnshire (1834).

The ‘moats’ in the grounds are of some interest, being typical ‘dylings’, broad flat ditches apparently constructed to help improve drainage. Herbert Hallam, in Settlement and Society (page 153), quotes from the Spalding Priory chronicler:

he [Prior Hatfield] endowed with lands and pastures not only the Chapel of Wykeham at no small cost but the whole manor or mansion, just as it is built, and suitably planted trees round it. And he established the manor of Thornholm with the dyking and raising of the lands, both there and at Wykeham, and elsewhere in various places.

[Thornholm is believed to be the site at Fulney where a rather neglected medieval brick building survives]

There are other more recent associations of interest at the site, including a more recent burial ground of the Welby family, with burials or memorial plaques (two of these on exterior walls of the chapel) dating between 1909 and 1985. The most interesting of the latter is a tall cross to Glynne Everard Welby, Major in the 1st Battalion S. Wales Borderers 24th Regiment. He was born in 1872 and ‘fell whilst leading his company against a German attack at Vendress, France, on the 26th September 1914. Buried there with 3 officers and 60 men in the trenches which they defended.’

The earliest memorial inside the chapel is of interest in connection with the history of the building. It is a memorial to Tyringham Norwood, late of Astwood Buckinghamshire. He ‘Repay’d this chapel in the Year of our God 1625 and left maintenance for a preaching minister.’ He died 16 September 1629.

It is to be hoped in the future that this interesting building will occasionally be open to the public.

[Notes compiled by Hilary Healey and Gerald Lewis.]
EARLY LINCOLNSHIRE CONNECTIONS WITH AMERICA
C.L. Anderson

Most readers know the details of Captain John Smith. Born at Willoughby near Alford in 1580, he attended Louth Grammar School before becoming a soldier. Fighting for, and in various countries in Europe he was taken prisoner and lodged in a Turkish gaol. He managed to escape and after a hazardous journey across the continent he got back to England. He did not stay at home very long, for in 1605 he was off to America. There, among the early pioneers he was outstanding, a born leader of men and a hard worker himself, he had no time for the fops who were afraid to soil their hands. He wrote home asking for men who could cut down trees, till the land, look after themselves and earn their living by the sweat of their brow. He was not totally responsible for preventing the disappearance of Virginia as a colony as Roanoke had disappeared a few years earlier, but he had a lot to do with its survival. With his fellow-travellers he was the real founder of Jamestown. He died in 1631.

The next pioneer about whom we know quite a lot was the Rev. William Blaxton. Born in Horncastle in 1596, educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, he was ordained at Peterborough in 1619. Sailing for America on the Katherine in the early 1620s, he is commemorated by a plaque on Boston Common, Massachusetts, which states that he was 'the first proprietor of Boston'. He died in 1675.

There followed at least seventy men who left Lincolnshire for America between 1620 and 1650. Many of them took their wives and families and some of them took servants as well. Oddly enough, servants appear to have been very few in New England. According to Alexander Brown (Genesis of the United States, 1, pp 248-49) few families had more than one servant, preferring to do the work themselves, assisted by their children.

Of the seventy or so who left Lincolnshire, we know quite a lot about some of them, very little about others. Those who had been ordained had been to University, so there is usually a record of that. Hansard Knollys, born at Cawkwell and became vicar of Humberstone, went to New England in 1638. The Rev. William Morvel, baptised at Boston in 1592, went with Cotton on the Griffin along with several more locals. The Rev. Samuel Skelton was born at Coningsby but was at Sempringham and from there went to Salem. A second Rev. Samuel Skelton is also on the list but I cannot verify that there were two of them. The Rev. John Wheelwright was a sizar at Sidney Sussex, Cambridge, got his A.B. in 1614 and A.M. in 1618. He was vicar of Bilsby before going to Boston, Mass. The Rev. Samuel Whiting was at Skirbeck and married Elizabeth St. John, a cousin of Oliver Cromwell. They found themselves at Lynn, Mass.

I hear some people asking what about the Rev. John Cotton? Well! Cotton was not a Lincolnshire man as he was from Derbyshire, though he was preferred as vicar of Boston in 1612. He was responsible for many others leaving Lincolnshire for New England. One was his wife, Sarah Story, widow of William Story who left her considerable property in Boston. She had no children by her first marriage, but her first child was born at sea on board the Griffin on the voyage to America. For his, or her pains, he was called Seaborn. Sarah was involved in a very complicated relationship in America. After John Cotton died, Sarah married for a third time, on this occasion to Richard Mather. Then her daughter Maria by John Cotton married Increase Mather, son of Richard. They had a son, Cotton Mather, who became a famous cleric. So John Cotton was Cotton Mather's natural grandfather on the mother's side, and his step-grandfather on his father's side. The same applied to Richard Mather. Worse was to come as Cotton Mather married Ann Lake Cotton Mather. She was the widow of his nephew and also his cousin. (David H. Fischer, Albion's Seed).

Among several other men from Boston were Richard Bellingham, recorder of Boston from 1625 to 1633, who left with his wife in 1635. She died and he married his ward, performing the ceremony himself. He was Governor of Massachusetts from 1665 until his death in 1672. His sister Anne, who had married William Hibbins of Alford, was burnt as a witch in June, 1656. William Coddington (1601-1678) from Boston but probably one of the Grantham Coddingtons, arrived at Salem, Mass. in June 1630, but became a principal merchant of Boston, New England. He is credited with having built the first brick house there. He was a magistrate but espoused the cause of Anne Hutchinson and was so incensed at the result of her trial that he left for Rhode Island in 1638. He was appointed a Judge and then Governor when Portsmouth and Newport were united. He was in England in 1651 and was appointed Governor of Aqueduct Island, separate from the rest of the
colony. He resigned because of jealousy but later became chief magistrate. Atherton Hough, another Bostonian, distinguished himself by climbing St Botolph's tower and destroying some medieval statuary which offended his puritanical mind. He sailed with Cotton on Griffin.

Three daughters of the Earl of Lincoln went to America. Lady Frances Clinton-Fiennes married John Gorges, second son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges of Plymouth who had been granted thousands of acres of land in America. Their marriage was circa 1621. Lady Arabella married Isaac Johnson of Rutland in 1623. They sailed with Winthrop's fleet in 1630, but neither survived very long in America. Lady Susannah married John Humphrey as his third wife by 1626. Their son was baptised at St Botolph's in May, 1627. Nothing is known of Lady Frances or Lady Susannah in America, but John Humphrey returned to England in 1641, apparently alone. Harrington Fiennes is reported as having sailed from Ipswich taking eighty emigrants from Boston with him. It is known that their ship was intercepted by Dunkirk pirates but what became of them remains a mystery.

Edmund Quincey from Fishtoft sailed with Cotton on Griffin, no doubt one of the considerable number of Cotton followers. Of the seventy or so known emigrants who left Lincolnshire during that period seventeen were from Boston and twelve from Alford. The remainder were mainly from different villages, apart from Stephen Whittington. He was baptised at St Paul's, Lincoln, on 18 December, 1614. He left for America on Robert Bonaventure in 1633.

One other class of emigrants during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries should get a mention. From 1673 to 1775 around 350 persons were convicted of various offences and transported to America. Most of them went to Virginia or Maryland, though some of the early ones may have gone to the West Indies or Bermuda. That was where many of the rebels were sent, rebels being mainly those who fought on the wrong side in wars or rebellions. It is unfortunate that the Assize records for Lincolnshire for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have disappeared. So it is very difficult to get precise details from any surviving records at the Public Record Office, as so many of those are also missing. Among those who did go to America was Anne Brewster who was convicted in 1720. But she had been in trouble before. The church wardens of Huttoft recorded in 1688 'having Anne Brewster to the townes stocks when she had like to have killed her mother and sister, 8d. For whipping (whipping) Anne Brewster 4d' (Charles Briers Lincolnshire in the 17th and 18th Centuries). Another was Francis Castle who appeared to be rather unfortunate. Acquitted at the Spring Assize of 1775 he was sentenced for life at the Summer Assize for 'being at large after sentence of transportation'. John Frisby was convicted at the Summer Assize of 1764 for stealing a sheep and sentenced to 14 years at the Lent Assize of 1765. John had married Ann Longfoot on 8 November, 1742, at Uffington. Presumably she was the Ann Frisby also sentenced at the Lent Assize of 1765 and transported. It is extremely doubtful that the two were transported together. Zachariah Hazzard was held in Lincoln Gaol for nearly a year before he was removed for transportation in 1739. Richard Keenleside of Gainsborough was sentenced to transportation in 1716, Susanna Lee, wife of Thomas Lee of Spalding, was sentenced and transported for 14 years for receiving stolen goods in 1775. Exactly one dozen men named Smith were transported. There is, of course, no guarantee that Smith was the correct name for any of them. Simon Talloway confessed to having stolen 20 sheep at Gedney and was sentenced at the Lent Assize of 1771. John and Honor Young were brother and sister from Goxhill. John was sentenced in 1759 and Honor in 1764; he would have been about 20 when convicted while Honor was only 18. Neither offence nor length of sentence is available in either case. Did Honor deliberately commit a crime in order to follow her brother? We shall never know unless there is any mention in the parish register, as there was about Thomas Trowlope in the Kirkby-on-Bain parish register. In his case, though sentenced he does not seem to have been transported.

Weather Notes from Lincolnshire Parish Registers

'18 trees, limes, planted round the church yard by the Revd. J.F. Bassett January 3rd 1885 - which said trees were destroyed by the severe winter of 1887-88' (Normanby-by-Spital, burial register, 1813-1970).
ON THE ROCKS: A SOUTH AMERICAN ADVENTURE

Jim Murray

A small French naval force was trying to blockade the South American ports of Buenos Aires and Montevideo on the River Plate. A squadron of the Royal Navy was keeping the river open for navigation and protecting British Merchant vessels in the river.

At 3 p.m. on Friday 10 September 1847 the British warship HM Sloop Comus 181 lying in Montevideo roads weighed anchor, made all plain sail and proceeded to Port Indio, where she lay all night to a single anchor. The next morning she again weighed anchor and made course NW. At 5.45 p.m. the captain ordered the ensign dipped in salute to HMS Grecian.2

HMS Comus was making good speed up river 'under studding sails and royals' when at 6.45 pm in gathering dusk a series of violent shudders rocked the vessel. What all captains dread - a grounding - had occurred! The first lieutenant, Lt. Robert S Moore reported in the ship's log:

6.45 ship struck on the Farallon Reef having 3½ fathoms the last cast before the ship struck...furled sails...out all boats...streamed anchor...fired a signal gun...and burned a blue light...the ship making a great deal of water...3

The unfortunate captain of HMS Comus was Commander Edwin Clayton Tennyson d'Eyncourt RN, second son of Charles Tennyson d'Eyncourt M.P. (1784-1861) of Bayons Manor Tealby.4 Edwin was born at Caenby Hall on 4 July 1813. On 3 August 1826 he entered the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth as a cadet. He served as a midshipman aboard HMS Asia 84, HMS Britannia 120, and HMS Rapid 10, and was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant on 22 October 1832. He was gunnery officer aboard HMS Excellent at Portsmouth and in 1833 as mate of HMS Jupiter 50 escorted Lord Auckland to India under Captain the Hon. F.W. Gray. After a spell on the South American and East India stations Lieutenant d'Eyncourt, as Aide de Camp to Captain (later Sir) Thomas Herbert aboard HMS Calypso 26, was wounded on 26 February 1841 during hostilities in China. He was twice mentioned in despatches for his bravery at Boca Tigris. His promotion to Commander came on 8 June 1841 and he was given command of HMS Comus.

Edwin was nicknamed by his family 'The Admiral' or 'The gallant Captain'. His Somersby cousins (including Alfred Tennyson) referred to him less charitably as 'The Snob'.

His misery and agony of mind can be imagined as he listened all that long night to his vessel grinding on the treacherous reef. Worse was to come. The ship's log reported, 'Midnight...observed the rudder to wring off and unship...'. Edwin must have experienced the excruciating pain of despair and the loneliness of command.

At 4 a.m. on Sunday morning 12 September 1847 the tide rose in the River Plate allowing the ship to swing clear at high water. Lieutenant Jackson in HMS Grecian stood by to render assistance. The gallant and gentlemanly captain of the French steam vessel Fulton, forgetting old enmities, attached hawser to Comus and towed her into the relative safety of Colonia harbour some 100 nautical miles WNW of Montevideo.

D'Eyncourt's troubles, however, were not yet over for his ship which was still taking in water sank in the shallow harbour during an attempt to careen her. Edwin wrote home to his family in Tealby. The letter revealed his anguish of mind:

I should have taken a pilot at Montevideo. It requires a man of long experience in this river to undertake the safe navigation of a vessel. I have suffered a deal in mind from all this and it seems that I am doomed to be unfortunate for just as one man puts my vessel on shore another man sinks her. However we shall I hope soon have her up again as tomorrow we float her with casks and tow her aground at high water so that at low water we shall be able to pump her out and so eventually repair her.5

Edwin confessed that he was 'exhausted in body as well as mind for since the accident happened I have been hard at work from 5 am to 9 pm every day'. He was worried that the grounding would affect his chances of promotion to Captain which was due and asked his father to use his influence to see to it that the incident would be a 'nine day wonder'. Press reports would appear in England by people who did not understand that the captain of a ship is ultimately responsible for its safety even though he may be blameless. He feared the inevitable Court Martial which happens when any of HM ships suffer damage.
Indeed, after considerable difficulty and not inconsiderable nautical skill in sailing his damaged vessel back across the Atlantic Ocean to Spithead, Commander Tennyson d'Eyncourt was court martialed (9 February 1848). Charged with him was the Acting Master of HMS Comus, Mr Francis Bassett Henwood, who had been piloting the vessel when she struck. His other officers, Lieutenants Robert S. Moore, Frederick F. Nicholson and C.T.W.G. Cerjet were not brought to trial. Edwin's relief can be imagined at the verdict:

The Court is of the opinion that the said Commander E.C.T. d'Eyncourt was justified in entrusting the pilotage of the said sloop to the Master...he is adjudged to be acquitted considering that under all the circumstances he was free from blame...and further that the said sloop was run upon the rocks in consequence of the Master Mr. F.B. Henwood having trusted to his eye neglecting the precaution of keeping the land on its proper [compass] bearing...1

For d'Eyncourt the nightmare was over. The unfortunate Mr Henwood was dismissed the ship and reduced 'to serve as Second Master'. Edwin was jubilant. On 8 October 1848 he sailed his ship from Spithead to Sheerness where she was to be paid off on 18 October; he wrote to his father: 'The naval world here gives me immense credit for the beautiful appearance of Comus and the miraculous manner in which she has been saved and brought to England and I have had some seriously bad weather pumps going all the time.'

In his typical jaunty style Edwin described how when dining out with some senior naval officers and high-ranking Admiralty officials, an admiral had said to him 'Well, how are you after your dip?' Not much worse for the experience, it seems, for the gallant commander claimed: 'I seem to have got great credit for Comus, so what seemed at first a misfortune may probably turn out an advantage...' Indeed it was. Edwin was promoted to Captain on 1 November 1849.

Shortly after paying off HMS Comus, d'Eyncourt was doing the rounds of country houses (Brocklesby, Hainton, Brancepeth Castle, Newstead Abbey, Burwarton, etc.) basking in the glory of his adventure, breezily determined to massacre the game population of the countryside and find himself a wealthy, aristocratic bride. With his sailor's eye for the girls he wrote to his brother from Burton Constable Hall just after the River Plate incident:

Thanks for your letter and Punch...Our party here consists of Lord Hotham who I like very much, Hudson (the Railway King), wife, and daughter, the two latter I declare you would never know to have been in a linen draper's shop at York, their manners are excessively good and the daughter really a very nice girl. Old Hudson is a jolly old fellow and calls Hull, Hool &c. The shooting here is excellent now.

Edwin was ever a Snob to the end!

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NOTES

1. HMS Comet (46'2" beam, 113' length and 31' draught) was launched at Pembroke Dock on 11 August 1828. She was renamed Comus on 31 October 1832 and was broken up at Chatham on 10 May 1862.

2. HMS Grecian, a brig sloop (48'4" beam, 105' length, and 33' draught), was launched at Pembroke Dock on 24 April 1838 and broken up there on 1 November 1865. The numbers after vessels' names are the number of guns mounted. See J.J. Collinge, Ships of the Royal Navy, Volume I (1987).


4. Charles Tennyson (1784-1861) took the additional surname d'Eyncourt by Royal Licence on succeeding to the Bayons estates on the death of his father, George Tennyson, in July 1835. He was 32 years in Parliament as a Radical being successively M.P. for Great Grimsby (1818), Bletchingley (1826), Stamford (1831) and for the Metropolitan Borough of Lambeth (1832) where he sat for twenty years until losing his seat in 1852. In anticipation of a peerage at the Coronation of Queen Victoria in 1837 he created Bayons Määr at Tealby, a masterpiece of Romantic Gothic. The peerage eluded him. See Joseph O. Baylen & Norbert J. Gossman, Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals, Volume I, 1770-1830 (New Jersey 1979).
5. Edwin hated Lincolnshire considering it 'a most beastly county compared with the others' and declared 'the Somerby family are really quite hogs'. He married Lady Henrietta Pelham Clinton, daughter of the 4th Duke of Newcastle on 1 March 1859. For family relationships see J. Murray, 'The Tennyson d'Eyncourt nicknames', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 27 (1992), pp.34-39.

6. For Edwin's correspondence with his family re Comus see Lincolnshire Archives Office T.d'E. H131.

7. See Public Record Office, Court Martial Number 23219 February 1848. ADM 27F. (In Court Martial No. 2322 24 February 1848 Marine James Hamilton was given 50 lashes and one year's hard labour for striking a sergeant.)

8. Edwin was promoted to Rear Admiral on 2 April 1866 and to Vice Admiral on 21 March 1878 retiring twelve years later in April 1880. He had inherited the Bayons estate in 1871 on the death of his elder brother, George Hildegard Tennyson d'Eyncourt (1809-71). In that year Edwin paid for a Fowler restoration to the church of All Saints, Tealby. Distilling Lincolnshire, having no male heir and being unable (or unwilling) to pay for the upkeep of a 60 roomed mansion, he made the Bayons estate over to his younger brother Louis Charles Tennyson d'Eyncourt (1814-1896), whose son Eustace Henry William (1868-1931) was knighted for his work as Director of Naval Construction at the Admiralty from 1912 to 1924. Edwin died at Bayons on 14 January 1903 having been a widower for thirteen years. His memorial is on the north wall of the chancel of Tealby church. For Edwin's naval career see *Lean's Navy List* (1903).

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**THE WHEELS OF CHANCE**

Notes on a Source for the History of Roads.

*Nick Lyons.*

The condition of roads in England, like the behaviour of women and of the working classes, was noted in archival records only when things got really bad; and whereas women and the working classes could be rigorously repressed by the Establishment of the day, bad roads hindered the travel even of the mightiest, so could not be entirely ignored, or even granted an indulgent toleration in the hopes that they would mend themselves, or just go away. The frequency of complaint about roads could be interpreted, without undue cynicism, to imply that until the beginning of the present century there was a universal expectation that public highways would be unacceptably poor - and rarely was this expectation disappointed. The turnpike trusts had never had responsibility for the lesser roads, and their records carry innumerable complaints about their inability to manage those main highways they controlled with more than casual efficiency. Our early Victorian ancestors probably accepted so readily the dirt, noise and exposure to the elements offered by the first railways because road transport was so much worse in every detail. Macadamising, developed late in the eighteenth century, did nothing to prevent slurry and dirt, the binding surface known as tarmac coming into use only in a few cities after 1840. Photographic evidence from the turn of the century reveals village roads as little better than dirt tracks, as they tended to remain until after the Great War.

The twentieth century's greatest accomplishment in terms of road surfaces - universal adoption of tarmac - came into being apparently because of the adoption of motorised transport. The dust thrown up by relatively fast-moving vehicles on dirt and stone roads made them insufferable in summer, and the splashing from wet, oily mud guaranteed that they were worse at other times. It may be that in rural areas like Lincolnshire the ruling class thrown up by creation of new local government systems in the 1880s and 1890s - merchants living in villages and suburbs away from their trades, capitalist farmers, and a rump of increasingly depressed gentry - needed better roads to enable them to travel by motor car when council meetings were convened - so these bodies became unusually willing to spend public money on actual public utilities, such as proper roads. In the 1930s roads took on something of their modern appearance, just in time for the Common Man to begin to enjoy the phenomenon of the Cheap Motor Car. But the mass-produced bicycle had given democracy wheels some decades earlier and, whereas motor-car travel had necessitated overalls, goggles and gauntlets, whilst both passenger and driver sat relatively remote from the actual road surface, the safety bicycle assured the rider of very palpable experience of each and every change behind, beneath and before him. The serious long-distance cyclist had to have good information of his road's variable composition, for he was confined to making his passage along the public highway itself.
Thus it came about that touring cyclists were provided with printed commercial guides, describing the roads themselves in useful detail. Earlier ones adopted a formula familiar from coach-road guides, supplying details of distances, places of note along routes, and major landmarks. *British High Roads, Arranged for the Use of Tourists* (issued in four parts by Tinsley Brothers, London, 1877) noted in the Preface that

Since the decline of coaching in this country, subsequent upon the perfection of our railway system, there has been comparatively but little use made of our high roads by pleasure seeking tourists.

Evidently based upon the pattern of road-book made familiar in the eighteenth century by Cary, Patterson and others, this publication carried strip maps in the old style, but of poorer quality and less accuracy (Fig.1). Bicycling was in its early stages in the 1870s; Tinsley's guide had advertisements for penny-farthings, solid wheeled machines, and bugles instead of bells 'to sound calls'.

Changes in the immediately ensuing decades were rapid. The Cyclists' Touring Club was founded in 1878, and its membership increased as bicycles became more accessible in terms both of cost and ease of use. Its road books issued in the 1890s were 'based upon actual knowledge or inspection' of all routes recorded. *The British Road Book*, Volume three, compiled by R T Lang for the club and published in 1897, shows the levels of sophistication which cycling had reached, carrying advertisements only for safety bicycles, with detachable tyres, and gears. Most could be ridden by both sexes. An excellent general map of the area covered - the north of England - was included, folded into a pocket at the front. Most usefully to the toposgrapher, Lang described many lesser country roads in as much detail as the main ones, commenting specifically upon the varying states of their surfaces. His information came from 'practical cyclists resident in the localities treated', and was believed to describe 'the normal condition of the road during an average season', but he allowed that

These estimates will naturally be found to differ in various parts of the country; thus, a road in Durham described as having a good surface, might, by a rider resident in Cheshire or Lincolnshire, be voted altogether indifferent, the disparity between the two opinions being attributable partly to the varying conformation of the country, and partly to the nature of the material available for road repair; but the system of original construction and the present method of maintenance are also important factors which must not be lost sight of.

![Fig. 1. Cyclists' road maps, British High Roads, 1877](image)
Over twenty routes wholly or partly traversing Lincolnshire were included in the third volume of the British Road Book; a few, across the southernmost extremities had appeared in a previous one, the Fens being jumped with the Midland counties. A marked feature of the Lincolnshire routes was the number offering good, level runs to the cyclist. The obvious hills were noted, mostly at the scarps, as at Flixborough - "up to and through which is a rather stiff climb" and inevitably Lincoln, with its 'steep, undrideable hill'. The Wolds offered many a 'long rise and sharp descent' (West Ashby), and the occasional 'long, heavy climb', as at Cawkle Hill (Fig. 2), but here too were more gently undulating runs from Ulceby Cross to Calceby Beck there was a 'steady descent', followed by the 'long rise and fall to Burwell' before the 'direct and undulating passage to Louth'. For the experienced cyclist these hills were very pleasant, and the marsh lands easy.

If the natural topography offered few challenges, the road surfaces - man-made and various - did not. It was still very much the age of the parish road-maker, and although actual materials used are infrequently specified in Lang's reports, quality was apparently expected to alter every few miles. Around Gonerby there was a 'good sandstone road', which was 'susceptible to good weather', but towards Foston the generally good surface became rutty in wet weather. On the Wrangle side of Wainfleet there was a 'patchy surface, but level'; towards Skegness it was 'dead level, but with bad, and steadily deteriorating surface'. Between Sibsey and Stickney was an 'occasionally rather loose surface' which improved towards Stickford. Dust became a problem on made as well as unmade roads, as from Burwell to Louth, where there was a 'good surface, except in very dry weather'. Dampness was a useful binding agent; from Louth to Saltoft by the 'indifferent surface' became 'rather loose in dry weather'. But the Heath north of Lincoln was 'worst in wet weather' and southwards became 'generally heavy in wet weather'; such roads would presumably have been made from the native limestone, which produces an interesting, clinging clay-like mass when pounded and watered.

Surface irregularity was made the more striking because of the occasional high quality of properly made roads. From Boston to Sibsey there was a good surface, and level; other notably good roads ran from Dalby to Ulceby Cross, from Burgh on Bain to Louth, from Brig to Caistor, from Market Rasen about two miles towards Usselby, and through Redbourne towards Brigg. The Trentside roads were both good and level. Roads through towns tended to be markedly superior to those.
through villages; Mablethorpe enjoyed a good surface, as did Barton on Humber and Grimsby. Brigg had 'improved' roads, although the cobbled Market Place was especially noted - one can imagine it to have been hazardous, even to the riders of safety bicycles. Market Rasen had particularly good surfaces, and Gainsborough 'streets fairly paved', although Silver Street and Bridge Street were 'both paved and narrow'. Like Boston, Gainsborough had setts in the central area. Louth enjoyed only indifferent surfaces. About Lincoln itself, however, there was a strong warning, that from Bracebridge village to the Stonebow the cyclist would meet with a 'poor surface, although better in the centre of the road'; presumably traffic was slow enough in the city centre for a cyclist to ride in the middle of the road without danger.

Whatever the policies of highway maintenance followed by the several responsible authorities, even the general view provided by the British Road Book makes evident the importance of the materials used. Poor roads were probably made up with cheap local stuff, which explains the Heath roads, the 'poor, stony surface' around Baumber and Langworth, and the 'rough, sandy surface, often very loose' across the Wolds from Elsham to Barton on Humber. The worst road noted in the county was that from Lincoln to Dunham Bridge, with a 'loose gravel surface, all very inferior'. Conversely, wherever the materials of a good road are named, they are imported, of obvious high quality, and quite probably of recent usage in 1897. At Redbourn the 'improving gravel surface' came as a relief after the limestone track leading from Lincoln; from Dalby to Ulceby Cross and again from Boston to Sibsey granite provided the superior surfaces. Boston itself had granite setts, which gave way to tarmacadamised roads - the only instance of this specifically noted in 1897, although one wonders whether the 'excellent surface' at Market Rasen was the same.

As a tourists' handbook, the British Road Book cannot be rated very highly, but then it had no particular pretensions in that direction; members of contemporary cycling clubs just wanted to cover as many miles as possible, it appears, especially now that the fast safety bicycle had made this a worthwhile proposition. In the previous age of the penny-farthing the cyclist must have been excused from scorching across the landscape: frequent halts, genteel rests in which the landscape could be enjoyed were near-essential, given that the rider had to be both strong-man and acrobat to ride at all. The British Road Book only accidentally offers insights into the life of the countryside, but these are of interest. At Usselby was one of the few fords noted on the rideable roads, with a footbridge alongside; probably the careful cyclist dismounted here. The Ermine Street north of Lincoln appeared a 'lonely and gently undulating road' - features for which it remains notorious. Otherwise the guide offers useful notes about ferries, essential to the ambitious rider crossing west or north out of Lindsey. To Hull the New Holland ferry carried passengers for 4d., and cycles for 3d. Crossing at East Ferry, passenger and machine went for 3d. together; the ferry worked from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m. on weekdays, and from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m. on Sundays. Further north, there was still no bridge officially available to foot passengers, and no mention could be made of illicit use of the railway bridge at Keadby. The most northerly ferry on the Trent was at Burrington, but prior arrangements for its use were advised. The charges were well-established - cycles or tricycles and the passenger went for 4d. each way, or at 6d. for a double journey. Tandems were charged at 6d. and 9d. respectively, presumably with their users. But the ferry 'runs at irregular intervals', from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m. in summer, and from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. in winter, so the ambitious and careful touring cyclist was advised that 'arrangements can be made by post; address, "Ferryman, Burrington, Doncaster"'. This seemingly bizarre necessity may have been caused by the proximity of the railway bridge, or by the strongly tidal nature of the Trent so near its confluence with the other Humber rivers.

Roadbooks intended for cyclists and early motorists seem at present to be considered of little importance, not particularly highly rated by topographers or specialist collectors; this is shortsighted and unlikely to continue as the threshold of desirability moves inexorably forward. Close attention to different issues of the sort of publications cursorily examined here is likely to reveal at least broad patterns of change. Any single issue requires close attention to produce results, but may have the occasional gem like this final one, which seems to reveal the compiler's frustration when faced with the poor condition of streets in the county's main town:

Single tram line begins in village (paved between lines), and after about 3/4m. the [left] hand side is also paved, and shortly after passing iron rly. br. the whole is paved, all bad granite setts. [Bracebridge to Lincoln]
In December 1844 the famous Rochdale Pioneers opened their first co-operative store in Toad Lane, thus starting the present Co-operative Movement. It spread quickly across the country arriving in Lincolnshire on 17 July 1861 when the Lincoln Equitable Co-operative Industrial Society Ltd was founded, with its headquarters and first store at 1, Napoleon Place in the city. For its first decade and a half the new Society opened branches only within Lincoln itself, but on 26 May 1876 it took the significant step of opening their first rural branch in the village of Welbourn. The previous year young William Robertson (to become the village’s most famous son) had left home to begin his military career that was to make him the first private to carry a field marshall’s baton in his pack. Welbourn proved to be one of the most reliable rural branches ever founded by the Lincoln Society, for its management committee consisted of men with vision and determination to run a ‘tight ship’. With a population at that time of 550, it also drew on nine other local villages for its membership. Welbourn was Branch No.5 and was a success; however, Branch No.6 was just the opposite. The original bearer of this number was established at Owbyby-Spital (population: 226) and was placed under the charge of a shepherd and his wife. As a result of inept management and the fact that it carried a very limited stock, this venture folded up in June 1880. It had taught the Society’s central management team an important lesson. The number 6 was now re-allocated to a new branch at the much larger village of Metheringham (population: 1,857). This was the centre point of a line of villages like Nocton, Dunston, Blankney and Scoopwick, and flourished right from its inception.

The third successful rural branch (No.8) had quite a different starting point from any of the others. In 1883, two years after the Metheringham store had opened its doors, Jonathan Wilson found that his Saxilby business was floundering. He was the village’s draper, grocer and tailor, and he had made the cardinal fault of giving too much credit to his customers. So he offered to sell out to the Society, with the proviso that he should become its manager. At the time the population of this canal-bank settlement was 1,191. At the beginning of 1886 Bardney, of similar size, became branch No.11. Here the co-operators met stiff resistance from local traders, who by now were becoming seriously concerned about the success of the Movement. This was becoming especially so since the period in Agriculture known as ‘High Farming’ had come to an end, and a deepening depression in that industry had taken its place. Indeed during the 1880s Boston County Court had to deal with a considerable number of bankruptcy cases involving farmers. Bardney at that time was rather an isolated community compared with the other branches, since the bridge over the Witham had not yet been built, and the only link with the outside world in that direction was a small ferry.

Meanwhile elsewhere in the county other co-operative societies had sprung up. On 13 May 1872 the Gainsborough Industrial Co-operative Society had come into being with a headquarters in the town centre. Unlike the Lincoln Society, no rural branches were founded, at least not on the Lincolnshire side of the Trent. Instead a network of very extensive village rounds was established. As members went out into the countryside on Saturday afternoon on propaganda missions, so these delivery rounds were expanded, until they reached Lincoln Cliff communities such as Glentworth and Hemswell. Indeed they reached as far as Sturton-by-Stow by 1890, a village already covered by the Lincoln Society. It was not until 1908 that the dispute between the two societies over Sturton was solved.

1872 also witnessed the founding of the Grantham Equitable Co-operative Industrial Society Ltd. This followed the same policy as the Gainsborough Society, although it did make an exception in the case of Billingborough, where a none-too-effectively branch was established in 1891. Some of the most westerly villages in the county appear to have been served by a branch opened over the border in Leicestershire at Bottesford in 1912. By 1914 delivery rounds had stretched as far afield from Grantham as Swayfield and Swinstead.

On Saturday, 1 May 1880 the Boston Equitable Co-operative Society Ltd was launched, but it, too, was reluctant to open rural stores until a decision reversing this policy was taken by their Management Committee in 1902. The first such branch was established at Kirton-in-Holland in 1906, followed later in that decade by one in Swineshead.
The Louth Industrial Co-operative Society existed from 1877 until 1887, but it had to be wound up due to what was at the time described as 'severe adversities'. Nevertheless, the Co-operative Wholesale Society encouraged local people to try again, and on 22 April 1887 a new such Society was founded at Louth. In spite of attempting to spread the movement's message to surrounding villages like Donington-on-Bain, its days too were to be numbered. On 20 April 1904 it was absorbed by the Great Grimsby Co-operative Company Ltd (founded in September 1873). The latter organisation, although concentrating its resources mainly on the growing urban areas of Grimsby and Cleethorpes, did have a policy of opening rural branches, as exemplified by those established at Barnetby-le-Wold, New Holland and the new port of Immingham - all industrial rather agricultural settlements, as had been the case with the Lincoln Society.

As at Louth, so at Spalding the first efforts to bring the Movement into the town failed. A second attempt was made in April 1891 and this time it was met with success. However, in Bourne their Co-operative Society lasted only from 1896 until 1905, when it was taken over by the Peterborough Equitable & Industrial Co-operative Society, which itself had opened branches in Deeping St James and Stamford.

Skegness & District Co-operative Society Ltd was launched at a meeting held at the Ena Cafe in Lumley Road on 21 May 1909 - the last such society to be founded in the county. Although the vast majority of its members were recruited from the resort itself, there was a small nucleus of members at Wainfleet, and later people living in Ingoldmells and Chapel St Leonards joined. Again rural rounds, especially out to Wainfleet were started.

In the meantime the Lincoln Society continued to found new branches outside the city - at Bassingham (No.16, July 1892), Reepham (No.18, May 1893) and Hackthorn (No.19, Autumn 1900). In the last mentioned case the Lincoln Society had, in fact, taken over a small independent co-op, the Hackthorn & Cold Hanworth Provident Society, which had been trading since 1888. In addition, branches had been founded in three market towns, viz. Horncastle (No.13, October 1887), Sleaford (No.13, October 1887) and Market Rasen (No.15, 1892). In the latter case, this replaced an early society formed in 1876 which had gone into liquidation after over-reaching itself by opening branches in Binbrook, Housham, Ludford and Nettleton. Rural delivery rounds were created based on the three urban branches.

There remains to tell of two much smaller enterprises. The first of these was in operation by 1892 and was based on the village of Saxby All Saints, and appears to have served other villages along the lower reaches of the River Ancholme. It lasted at least thirty years, and if any reader can provide the author with any details on this society he would be pleased to receive them. On the other hand the first Minute Book of the Walsgate Co-operative Society survives (in the Lincoln Archives Office). It was founded on 22 September 1904 in the hamlet of Walsgate, on the A16 between Burwell and Swaby, largely at the initiative of the Dallas-Yorke family of Walsgate Hall and the vicars of Burwell and Muckton. From this tiny base it built up delivery rounds, which lasted until the Society was closed down in 1976. Its wooden hut premises (Fig.1) still exist, having been transported to Brackenborough Hall, near Louth, to be used by the county's Girl Guides.

Fig.1 Walsgate Co-operative Society Building, early 1980's

Note
The author acknowledges a deep debt of gratitude to Ursula Lidbetter (Research Officer for the Lincoln Co-operative Society) for all her encouragement and help in my research into this Movement in Lincolnshire.
THE SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF GRIMSBY'S SEAMEN IN 1936:
New Light Shining on Captain Richardson

John Wilson

On 23 June 1936 Grimsby Borough's Port Sanitary subcommittee had something unusual to discuss. Before it was Captain Frederick Albert Richardson's report on the social conditions of Grimsby's seamen. Running to twenty-two pages of typescript it shone light on shore living conditions, recreation and welfare provisions, as well as on usually undocumented aspects of port 'low-life'.

Edward Gillett quoted from the report in his standard work, *A History of Grimsby* (1970), and today its existence is fairly well known among local historians. Little attempt, however, has been made to evaluate critically Richardson's findings which must now be questioned following the discovery among the archives of the Town Clerk of a file² of informants' comments and complaints.

Very little is known about Richardson but he certainly appears to have been a stranger to Grimsby. He was a retired Royal Navy captain, decorated with the Distinguished Service Cross, and an Associate of the Institution of Naval Architects. From about 1934 he was employed as a Port Welfare Officer by the British Social Hygiene Council (hereafter B.S.H.C) which was concerned chiefly to combat infectious diseases including sexually transmitted ones. He had already carried out a survey in Liverpool of which no copy seems to have survived. Now in December 1935, responding to an approach from the B.S.H.C, the Borough Council voted twenty pounds to defray the cost of a similar survey in Grimsby and Richardson was sent to undertake it. He visited the town for ten days in March. Although individuals, churches and associations were invited to comment on his confidential report it does not appear to have been aired in the local press.

It would be surprising if his judgments went unchallenged. In a whirlwind ten days he met at least sixty informants! They included the Town Clerk and the Chief Constable, several Borough committee chairmen, the Port Master and the Port Medical Officer of Health, several ministers and the Port Missioner, besides representatives of the Grimsby Exchange Limited, the Free Church Union, Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen, Toch, Y.M.C.A., Salvation Army, Church Army, and of the Danish and Swedish Missions. He did not meet many seamen, nor did he consult directly with the London and North Eastern Railway Company (who owned the docks estate) nor with trawler and vessel owners. There were significant omissions because they were the very people who might bear the cost of improving the seamen's lot in and around the docks estate.

The report is certainly a mine of information about the Grimsby docks which were at the time part of the biggest town in Lincolnshire, some of the biggest on the East Coast, and home to the world's greatest fishing fleet. Quays extending six miles in length enclosed 139 acres of water and were served by 81 miles of docks railway. Port services and industries were massive: a new fish dock had been opened in 1934 and fishing vessels alone now required 250,000 tons of ice and 900,000 tons of coal every year. The estate had its own shops and eating places, and its own police force of sixty uniformed men and five detectives.

In 1935 the port had been host to 700 cargo vessels. Of the 360 foreign ones the largest contingent was Danish (134) then Swedish (60) and French (51), followed by Dutch (28), Norwegian (22) and Finnish (20). British Trawlers registered in the port totalled 628 (even this huge number was 20% down on the previous season) and trawlers of all nations made a total of 15,000 dock entries annually. Richardson estimated that cargo vessels employed about 7,000 British seamen and about the same number of foreigners. Some 5,400 British fishermen were employed (with 1,200 unemployed at the time of his visit) and 9,000 foreign fishermen visited during the summer months. British fishermen were joined by Danes, Swedes, Icelanders and Germans. It was a hectic and cosmopolitan scene³.
The shore living conditions of many fishermen were not good. The British crews might spend only one or two nights in port before sailing again. Because of this many preferred to live close to the docks, and it was here that many of the town's most overcrowded houses were located. They included three hundred one-up-one-down houses, many next to fish curing houses and other industrial premises. Streets, it was true, were broad and well-lit, but alleys and backs were narrow and dark, and rents for lodgings were high.

According to Richardson good ‘working-men’s’ restaurants were few, although there were many fish-bars. Hot baths and swimming baths were available at the municipal Fisheries Institute in Orwell Street and there were some laundries. There were some public lavatories on the docks estate, too, although in 1936 none were for women.

Generally, single men lodged in rooms in houses. In the eastern wards and adjacent to the docks Richardson noted that every ‘third or fourth house’ was occupied by fishermen or let to them. The ‘more enlightened types’ had begun to move away to the newly built Council estates at Bradley and Nunthorpe. Food in lodgings was good: the fishermen got good food on board ship and expected the same now that they were paying for it. Richardson considered that the unmarried men (about 40% of the total) were less and less likely to spend time ‘riotously’ and believed that this trend was caused by education and the availability of fifteen cinemas. However, 75% of crews still proceeded directly from their vessels to the clubs and this concerned him.

The crews of cargo vessels - who had longer at leisure - had no additional facilities. In particular there was no institute or reading room for British crews as there was for Danes, Finns, Norwegians and Swedes.

Outside his living quarters the seafarer could seek recreation in 143 public houses, or in the town’s many clubs, or in the cinemas. (There were only two public houses on the docks estate itself and women were excluded from both of them). The 58 registered clubs were the least desirable alternative in Richardson’s eyes. Some were of the ‘very worst character’, ignored licensing laws and allowed gambling. The police had few powers to act and when clubs were closed down others sprang up in their place. Richardson regretted the clubs’ activities - painting a picture of drunkenness and immorality - but conceded that there were few other social venues near the docks. The townsfolk evidently agreed since the clubs boasted 21,000 members in a population of 94,000.

There were some other facilities. The Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen had established a hostel in 1924 which provided 63 beds besides a coffee room, billiards, reading and writing rooms. However, it was nearly twice as expensive as the larger Salvation Army hostel and occupancy was only 50%. There were eight licensed lodging houses as well but, in general, none of these places were patronised by seafarers.

Coming to one of his main concerns Richardson noted that there were no brothels as such in Grimsby but that prostitutes were known to rent rooms near clubs. Most seafarers had seen notices about ‘venereal diseases’ and knew where the clinic was. Official figures showed that their incidence was steady and in the case of syphilis steadily declining to half the new cases reported in 1929. These facts diluted the impression of rampant vice with which Richardson perhaps purposefully shocked his readers.

In an aside Richardson stated that about 120 ‘coloured’ men sailed out of Grimsby. He felt it necessary to comment that few had had any children and also stated that few were engaged on trawlers because trawlermen disliked them. This by-way would reward more study.

Richardson’s observations attracted several protests. One appeared to be a misunderstanding: the Pastor of the Scandinavian Mission, who had been quoted as saying that 75% of the Scandinavians’ earnings was spent on drink, women and poor quality goods, protested. Reverend Abrahamsson had meant that 75% of their earnings was spent in the town and some of it was spent in the way alleged.
A detailed rebuttal of Richardson's claims about sexual morals came from Superintendent Arthur Birtles of the Borough police in a report to his Chief Constable, Frank Bunn. This was particularly damaging to Richardson's case because if sexual morals were not depressed by a lack of recreational facilities as he claimed, one case from providing more was removed. He had, for example, claimed that prostitutes entered the docks estate at remote points to visit Scandinavian vessels in the Alexandra Docks. Birtles replied that prosecutions had been so few that it seemed unnecessary to mention the matter. He denied that dock cafes were infested with touts, runners and low women. To the allegation that 'lower-class' women came into the town from the surrounding countryside for prostitution when foreign fishing vessels were in port he claimed 'no knowledge whatsoever'. He flatly contradicted the assertion that fishermen were unhealthier than merchant crews, or morally inferior. Finally, he denied that there was any 'considerable trade' in indecent literature around the docks. Birtles might be accused of minimising the problems. On the other hand, it is striking that while many respondents agreed in condemning the 'clubs pest' nobody appears to have sided with Richardson in his more lurid allegations.

To the modern mind the revelations about sanitation on the docks estate seem some of the most disquieting. Urinals and closets drained into the docks, as did the soil from the dozens of ships there, and this water—albeit chlorinated—was then used to hose down the fish-rooms! The Free Church Union expressed 'startling surprise' at this arrangement (which had already attracted the criticism of the Port Health committee). The practice was presumably unknown to most consumers of fish, too.

Richardson's recommendations seem muted considering his descriptions of the threats of the seamen's health and morals. He advocated merely that health posters be produced in several languages, that a Port Welfare Committee be inaugurated drawing on the advice of seafarers, councillors and doctors, and that pressure be put on foreign ports ('much worse than Grimsby) to raise their standards too.

The response of churches was generally favourable. The Reverend Lisle Marsden of St James, Grimsby, had already advocated establishing a welfare committee and a large institute, expressing as a recent income 'astonishment' that neither existed already. He supposed that the municipality, dock owners and 'possibly' the trawler owners would be jointly responsible. The 'clubs pest' could, he suggested, be referred to Parliament.

Nothing much happened. Perhaps the overstatements which Abrahamsson and Birtles highlighted told against Richardson. If other ports were 'much worse' in their provisions, and if even the British Social Hygiene Council conceded that venereal disease was declining in Grimsby the case for action was weakened. Moreover, the Borough and the Railway Company might each look to the other to spend the money needed for improvements.

By June 1937 the Free Church Council was voicing 'deep concern' at the lack of action; in November the Town Clerk explained that he was waiting for the new Mayor; in January 1938 the Venereal Diseases subcommittee pressed for action but the matter was adjourned. Richardson's report sank without trace for the duration of the Second World War and did not surface thereafter.

We are left with his tourist snapshot of the port in the thirties, and a file of letters.

Notes
3. The Grimsby Exchange Limited provides centralised port services to its members.
4. Dockside scenes were captured for the cinema in the romantic drama The Last Adventurers (1938).
5. There had been only twelve convictions of prostitutes in the previous five years.
6. In another slip Richardson stated that there was no public house at Nunthorpe, but he meant Bradley.
7. Bunn's autobiography, No Silver Spoon (1970), which sensationaly exposed political interference in Stoke-on-Trent's policing, has little to say about his two years in Grimsby.
NOTES AND QUERIES

Contributions for this feature should be sent direct to the Joint Editors, c/o Jews' Court, Lincoln LN2 1LS

16.1 LINCOLNSHIRE WEATHER. We have received a number of responses to Lance Tuffnell’s article ‘Towards a climatic history of Lincolnshire’, *Lincs. Past & Present* 15 (Spring 1994), pp.3-6, of which the following is a reflection (material supplied by Brian and Pat Borrill of Hibaldstow is used as on pp.6 & 14). We will print further material in future issues of *LP&P*.

David Robinson has supplied a number of additional references:

F.A. Barnes & C.A.M. King, ‘Notes on the causes of the recent tidal inundations round the North Sea’, *Survey* 3, 2 (1953), pp.29-36


D.N. Robinson, ‘Describing the weather in Lincolnshire Dialect’, *Weather* 23, 2 (1968), pp.72-74


He also draws our attention to the following report in the *Horncastle News* of 27 August 1898:

**THUNDERSTORM IN HORNCASTLE AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.**

Horncaste and district in common with other parts of the county was visited by a severe storm of lightning, thunder, and rain, in the early hours of Monday morning. The storm really commenced before Sunday midnight with frequent and vivid flashes of lightning flashed at all points of the compass, and until three o’clock in the morning the crash and roll of thunder scarcely ceased for a few seconds. At times the peals were so frequent and so reverberating that it was impossible to distinguish one from another and police officers on duty state that there were several lightning flashes each minute, the worst part of the storm being about three o’clock when the sky was ablaze with electric fire, momentarily lighting up the district for miles around. Between three and five o’clock in the morning rain fell and about half-past four the downpour was for some minutes exceedingly heavy. The lightning and thunder frightened many animals and drove them into dykes and drains, whilst in some instances the hurricane, for such it was at times, carried cut corn a considerable distance. The storm was one the like of which has not been experienced for some years, though, taking all things into consideration the injury done was not nearly so great as might have been expected.

The elevated village of Hameringham, near Horncastle, caught the full force of the storm which left its mark both outside and inside the house and adjoining buildings on the farm occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Waller. Between half-past four and a quarter to five o’clock, a particularly vivid flash of lightning was followed by a deafening crash of thunder. Mrs. Waller who was with her husband in one of the bedrooms was awoke by hearing a strange noise and she found the bedroom filled with sulphurous smoke which seemed to come through a hole in the ceiling near to the chimney flue, and the plaster of which was scattered over the top of a dressing table. Regardless of her own safety and mindful of the others who were sleeping in the house, Mrs. Waller went first to the bedroom of her mother, Mrs. English, and then to the room of her maid servant. Finding they were safe she went downstairs and there in the dining room underneath the bedroom occupied by her and her husband, a scene of wreckage met her gaze. The heavy black marble mantelpiece standing on which was a solid and weighty marble clock and a massive oak and glass overmantel had been forced from its position in the wall and though it was still standing, the whole of the ironwork underneath, sides, mouldings, grate etc., had been wrenched away from their fastenings and laid flat in the middle of the room. The carpeting and linoleum round about were torn into shreds, and the furniture had not by any means escaped injury. Besides the thick layer of soot and dirt lying all around, holes were burnt in the cover of a table in the middle of the room, on that side
nearest to the fireplace the mahogany table underneath being chipped. The front of the piano standing still further back in the room was scorched and chipped and other furniture round and about seemed to have suffered in like manner. The room was filled with smoke and fine dust, and when our representative visited the house on Monday afternoon and saw the wreckage, left untouched from the time of the occurrence, the sulphurous smell in the house was still strong, and Mrs. Waller and her mother had not by any means got over their fright of the extraordinary happening. When the family could recover their surprise and fright they went outside the house and found a greater scene of devastation. The lightning had struck the brick chimney stack rising above the roof at one end of the house and had completely levelled it with the roof, a portion of the roof itself also being torn away. A big hole had also been made through the wall at the gable end of the house between the roof and the ceiling of the upper room, viz., the bedroom occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Waller. The débris of which there were several hundred weights had fallen below, outside the house, and whilst a portion was scattered over the garden, the greater weight of it had gone through the tiled roof of a pantry adjoining the house, breaking both tiles and rafters and carrying all with it into the pantry below. In the pantry the falling bricks, tiles etc., had smashed down the shelving, breaking many earthenware and tin articles on the shelves and demolishing a deal table and three kitchen chairs. The spouting running round the roof of the house and also the slates on the roof were damaged. A granary close by the pantry and in which a harvestman was sleeping was untouched. Mr. and Mrs. Waller's house is a comparatively new one, is built of brick and has a slated roof. The damage described is covered by insurance in the Royal Insurance Company for which Messrs. Clitherow and Son, solicitors, Horncastle, are the agents.

Ruth Tinley writes as follows:

In addition to Parish registers as a source I suggest all the contents of the parish chest. The Welbourn whirlwind of 1666 is mentioned in a brief in the parish chest at Frampton.

Also useful are comments in parish magazines. My index for a substantially complete run of the Deanery of Graffoe Parish Magazine from 1872 to 1895 shows some 100 references, especially in the inclement 1870s. In July 1872 an 'unprecedented storm... excessive heat' was reported at Carlton-le-Moorland (also reported in the South Cliff Parish Magazine, under Navenby, as preceded by a terrifying whirlwind which did enormous damage). 'Christmas Day 1873 will ever be remembered for its mildness' was followed in the summer of 1874 by comments on the drought. Most of these comments are made in connection with the effect on all-important crops. During this period annual rainfall figures for Doddington are printed.

Diary entries are often spasmodic but usually contain notes of spectacular weather. William Penney of South Hykeham wrote in 1770 of 'the largest flood that has been known in the memory of the oldest man then living... not only our own river but the Trent... at Brabridge the water went into Mr Erk's oven and spoilt ye batch [of bread]. My ancestor Jane Tinley noted in May 1826 'arrived in London... had a very wet uncomfortable journey'. I am told that my own diary for 1947, the year of the Lincoln flood, is now history!

Some of these references have been in print, many more than once. In recent years various publications (such as Lincolnshire Past & Present) have printed notes about weather taken from Parish registers, old newspapers etc. as 'fillers', only to be forgotten again. A central collecting point would be of great value. Might I suggest also the recording of references to epidemics?

16.2 GRANTHAM BELL RINGERS (LP&P, 15, p28). Ken Ketteringham encloses a letter from Mr Dennis Frith, captain of the ringers at St Wulfram's parish church, Grantham:

This photograph is very similar to one in the belfry of the Grantham band of ringers on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the foundation of St Wulfram's Society of Change ringers in 1881. On our photo there are only twelve people compared to the sixteen on your photo. H. Lounds is named on our belfry photo, and is either second-from-the-left of the fifth-from-the-left in the middle row of the journal photo. You will note they are similar looking, white haired and white bearded. Both photographs were taken outside Grantham church most likely at the West end. The journal photo is not really good enough to be certain of the names of the other people by a comparison with our belfry photo.
16.3 THE LINCOLN RED CATTLE SOCIETY. Mrs M. Skehel (c/o The Lincoln Red Cattle Society, Showground, Grange-de-Lings, Lincoln LN2 2NA) has written to the Society:

The Lincoln Red Cattle Society will celebrate its centenary in 1995. I am attempting to write a history of the Society to coincide with this occasion. I am anxious to obtain details of the following founder members and where possible portraits:

C.W. Tindall, Agent for Brocklesby and later of Wainfleet. Died in Louh, March 31st 1926.
Edmund Turner, J.P. of Panton Hall, Wragby.
James Hornby, J.P. of Laxton Hall, Stamford.
J.H. Dean of Greatham, nr. Stamford.
T.B. Freshney of South Somercotes, Louh.
Robert Chatterton of Steigot.
Walter Martin of Wainfleet, Land Agent and Farmer.
A.S. Leslie Melville, the first Treasurer of the Society.
Stephen Upton, Secretary of both the Lincoln Red Cattle and the Lincoln Agricultural Society from 1896 to 1906. Lived at Temple Gardens, Lindum Hill, Lincoln.
William Frankish, Secretary 1906 to 1914.
Robert Lamming, Secretary 1914 to 1927.

Any information about the above or the Lincoln Red Cattle Society in its early years will be most welcome. I will willingly pay any postage involved in sending me this information.

16.4 MEDIEVAL COINS FOUND IN GRANTHAM, Juanita Louise Knapp.

On 12 April 1994 two workmen diggng a trench along Conduit Lane in Grantham, unearthed approximately 460 gold coins. The coins were found in a small clump, probably indicating they had originally been in a bag which had, over the years, rotted away. The depth at which the coins were found as well as the location, would suggest that they were buried and not merely lost.

The coins are of three sizes and appear to be English groats, half-groats and pennies. All the coins are thin and worn and generally in a poor condition. However, some of them had markings which even an inexperienced eye could identify as the typical stylised head of a king on the obverse and the cross and pellet design on the reverse. That design was used throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, coins for each successive king only differing in name and mintmark from that of his predecessor. It was not unusual for older coins to remain in circulation at a much later date. The Coroner’s Officer has confirmed that one coin, bearing a profile head, was tentatively identified by British Museum Staff as a coin of King David II of Scotland (1329-1371). Until the British Museum definitely identifies all of the coins, one can only speculate as to when, and possibly why these coins would have been buried.

The Black Death spread across England in the mid-fourteenth century. Grantham was sacked by the Lancastrian Army in 1460 as it marched toward London following its success at the Battle of Wakefield. In 1470, the Lincolnshire Rebellion, led by Sir Robert Welles, passed through Grantham. An of course there is the later dissolution of the Franciscan Priory, located in the Conduit area, in the early sixteenth century. These are all good reasons for one to hide a large amount of coins. Perhaps they were just secreted away before all old coins were called in when new coinage was issued.

We will never really know who buried the coins or for what reason. But for the first time in five to six-hundred years these coins have been seen and handled. Another tiny piece in the jigsaw of Grantham’s medieval past has appeared!

We apologise for the lack of book notes in this issue. Readers are however reminded that details of A History of Lincoln Minster, edited by Dorothy Owen, are given on page 11.