Lancaster crew honoured after 70 years

Four Wolds farmers named John Grant

Parish conflict at Stow in Lindsey

Jack Thornalley and his brothers and cousins
Welcome

THE ICONIC TRIO of the Lancaster, Spitfire and Hurricane aircraft of the Battle of Britain Memorial Flight are often to be seen over Lincolnshire, but on Tuesday, 23 September we were seeing double when the Flight was joined by the only other airworthy Lancaster, from Canada, as well as another Spitfire and Hurricane, for one final treat before the Canadian Lancaster flew back home.

 Appropriately in this issue we have John Porter’s account of a Lancaster that did not survive the Second World War and the commemoration of its crew at ScXAvington seventy years later. This story also has a Canadian connection, as does Brian Thornalley’s piece on World War 1, about fourteen members of the Thornalley family who took part, twelve surviving the war.

 Chris Adams and Peter Leonard provide contrasting pictures of farming fortunes in two different areas of the county, and Mark Acton recounts events in Lincoln during the General Election of 1874, where Edward Chaplin won a seat for the Tories, and the 1872 Ballot Act, introducing secret voting, did not bring calm to the proceedings.

 An exciting item in the news recently was the discovery, in the ice of northern Canada, of one of Sir John Franklin’s ships, lost on his final expedition in 1847. Antony Lee from The Collection describes the snowshoes worn by Franklin on an earlier Arctic expedition, which were given to the museum in 1922 by his great-niece. Another Canadian connection!

Ros Beever, Editor

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Lincolnshire Past & Present Editor: Ros Beever Reviews Editor: Ray Carroll. Production: Ros Beever
Contributions to the next Bulletin and the winter issue of Lincolnshire Past & Present are welcome as soon as possible. Material may be sent by post to the Editor, c/o Jew’s Court, Lincoln LN2 1JS, either as paper copy or on compact disc, or alternatively as an email attachment to info@dlha.org.uk or lindumcolonial@hotmail.com or access the online enquiry form via www.adha.org.uk to submit a query. To place an advertisement email lindumcolonial@hotmail.com

Front cover: Seeing Double – The only two airworthy Lancastrians, plus two Spitfires and two Hurricanes fly over Lincoln on Tuesday, 23 September.

Photo © James Newton
From past to present

A Lancaster crash in 1943 is commemorated 70 years later

Seventy-one years ago an Avro Lancaster on a training flight crashed in this field.
John Porter was a schoolboy at the time....

In the first half of the last century the presence of the Royal Air Force in Lincolnshire was highly significant but, tragically, the risks taken by airmen flying across our open skies were often brought home to us in disasters and crashes across the whole county.

In the afternoon of 18 June 1943 a Lancaster bomber on a training flight from Pathfinder Squadron, Wyton, crashed near the village of Scredington with fatal consequences for all of the crew of nine - two of whom had gone for the ride. The disaster was recorded in the files and records of the Royal Air Force but, as with thousands of similar losses, no local memorial was erected at the time. As village residents died, or left Scredington, the event almost faded from local memories.

However, despite having moved away to follow their careers, there were two boys who never forgot what they had witnessed on that day. Seven-year-old Neil was in the playground of the village school when he saw the aircraft flying low, with a member of the crew visible in the fuselage door. Twelve-year-old John heard about the crash on his way home from school in Sleaford and went to see the site of the tragedy the same evening. He knew the field - it was the one where, each autumn, his mother took the family to pick blackberries for making jam.

Sixty-eight years passed. Wondering what could be done to honour the memory of those...
carried out with solemnity and dignity. Bob Taylor, the son of the rear gunner in the aircraft, unveiled a plaque. He had flown from Toronto in Canada especially for the occasion.

The RAF Association colours were lowered, and Neil spoke the famous words from the Remembrance Day service. Then a bugler played the Last Post and two minutes' silence followed. The individual names of the crew were read out and a wreath was laid for each one by the appropriate relative or friend attending. The service also included an account of John's memories of the fatal day, a brief sermon, prayers for peace by the Association Chaplain, the singing of the National Anthem and two hymns, and concluded with the music of the Pathfinders' March.

There followed a buffet reception in the village community centre, where John and Neil met for the first time. They stood with the crowd watching the impressive flypast of the Lancaster bomber of the Battle of Britain Memorial Flight from Coningsby. Firmly in all of their minds was the memory of the crew of the tragic Lancaster of seventy years before.

The village church, the local community and the RAF were brought together to declare their respect for the selfless bravery of nine young men, whose names will now remain enshrined for as long as the church stands. It is appropriate that Christ's words from John's Gospel are carved in stone round the outside walls of Highgate Farmhouse, five hundred yards from the scene of the crash: 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends'.

The memorial stone dedicated to the crew of RAF Lancaster ED439 OL-N in St Andrew's Church, Skeddington, who were killed all those years before, Neil and John individually contacted the secretary of the PCC at the village church. At once a group of enthusiasts set about bringing into the present the memory of the event that had once had such a profound local impact, and on 16 June 2013, two days before the seventieth anniversary of the disaster, a fading memory was transmuted into a permanent memorial and fixed in village history.

The commemoration service was held in St Andrew's Church, and was attended by two hundred people, including a number of invited relatives of the crew, together with senior RAF representatives from Waddington, Scampton, Wyton and Cranwell. It was a very moving and memorable act of remembrance.

408904 Pilot Officer Max Keiran Cummings
Max was born at Goulburn, New South Wales, on 1 April 1913. He enlisted in the Royal Australian Air Force in 1941 and undertook his basic pilot training at No.1 Initial Training School at Mt Breckan, Victor Harbor. He was mustered as aircrew and underwent flying training at No.1 Elementary Flying Training School at Parafield and No.6 Service Flying Training School at Mallala. His wife, Kathleen, was living at Victor Harbor when he embarked for service in the UK in 1942.

Max underwent further training with advanced flying units, and conversion to Lancaster bombers. He was posted to 467 Squadron RAAF and shortly after, to 83 Squadron RAF. On 18 June 1943 his aircraft took off from RAF Station Wyton on a practice bombing flight. It crashed near Skeaford, Lincolnshire. All nine on board were killed. Max is buried in the RAF Cemetery, Grantham, UK. He is commemorated on the Victor Harbor War Memorial. Max had one child, Peter, at the time of his death. Kathleen died on 20 April 1996 and is interred in the Victor Harbor Cemetery.

This information and photograph courtesy of Peter Cummings.

The sketch that John drew at school after the crash.
Brickworks on Cross O'Cliff Hill, Lincoln

In Notes and Queries in the Spring 2014 edition of Past and Present a query was raised relating to the remains of a brickyard near to the top of Cross O'Cliff Hill in Lincoln and about the date it went out of operation.

The answer to this lies within the pages of earlier SLHA publications, says Stewart Squires. The survival of what is a brickworks chimney, albeit lowered in height, also happened because of a campaign by the Society.

Members of the Industrial Archaeology Team surveyed the remains of the brickworks near the top of the hill in January 1992. The survey report was included in the Industrial Archaeology Notes in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, Vol.27, 1992. Derelict buildings here were due to be demolished as unsafe.

The yard was established before 1872, at which time it was owned by William Bartholomew Best. In 1887 it was one of a number of local brickyards, which combined to form the Lincoln Brick Company. We believe that the works we recorded were built soon after the company was formed as part of a modernisation and upgrade as some of the bricks, which were seconds, were marked LBCo. Brickmaking here had ceased by 1907 but there was evidence for some subsequent use for animals.

The Society persuaded the Council to retain the ground floor plan of the building and retain the chimney. This was reduced in height from 45 to 28 feet, to be maintained as a bat roost. Proposals to interpret the remains with a sign board were unsuccessful due to the costs, although this, of course, could still be done.

The mystery of the subsequent use was solved in Past and Present 10/11 Double Issue. In this Dennis Mills told us about their use as a slaughterhouse in about 1914 by Zachariah T. Priestley, a butcher of 4 High Street, and described how the slaughtering took place. Dennis also made reference to the former brickworks at the foot of Cross O'Cliff Hill. In the 1860s this was divided when the railway line, between Lincoln and Grantham, was built. In 1864 a Mr Ward owned a brickyard on Cross O'Cliff Hill.

A further note in Past and Present, No.12, Summer 1993, described this second yard as shown on the Deposited Plan of the Great Northern Railway No.2 Bill of 1863. This describes it as owned and occupied by Charles Ward. It may well have been this yard that, operated by Kirk and Parry, the contractors for the construction of the railway, provided the thousands of bricks needed. It is unlikely to have survived long after the opening of the railway although it may have provided the bricks for several of the houses and villas constructed here by 1887 and after and shown on large scale Ordnance Survey maps.

A large remnant of the brick pit survived to form a boating lake, fish pond and swimming pool within the grounds of South Cliffe house, and memories of the building and its grounds were provided in Past and Present No.71, Spring 2008, by Richard Lucas. His grandfather lived there from 1903 to 1924. Richard described the lake and how it was gradually filled in and disappeared completely by the 1960s.

So, the story of two brickyards within the city has been well covered in SLHA publications although the full history is a little disjointed by appearing in four of them. Perhaps a good example of how histories can be pieced together over time and of the value of these aspects of the Society's activities.

A William Bartholomew brick from his site. This is a special brick with two chamfered corners. It is also discorced in shape, so a second. It made sense to build a brickworks with such normally unsaleable bricks. (Author)
NOTES & QUERIES 97:2

Raithby South African connection

Many people are familiar with the history of Raithby Chapel, near Spilsby, and its link with John Wesley, but its connection with Methodism in South Africa is not as widely known or recognised. British soldiers founded Methodism in the Cape area of South Africa, and an appeal for help was made by a Sergeant John Kendrick. This was answered in 1814 by the arrival in the Cape of the Rev J. McKenny, but he was refused permission to preach and moved on to Ceylon. In 1815 the Rev Barnabas Shaw, a Methodist minister from Yorkshire, attended a tea party at Raithby Hall together with John Wesley and the owner of Raithby Hall, Robert Carr Brackenbury, who agreed to sponsor a Methodist Mission to South Africa. As a result of Carr Brackenbury’s generosity, Barnabas Shaw arrived in Cape Town in 1816 and defied the Governor by preaching without permission. Before long he left Cape Town and settled among a group of Namaqua people at Lily Fountain in the Kamiesberg, about five hundred kilometres to the north.

This became the springboard for further advance into modern Namibia, a venture that cost the lives of the Rev William Threlfall and his Nama companions, the Rev Jacob Links and Evangelist Johannes Jager, who were murdered by their San guide. Mission stations were eventually planted at Warmbaths and as far north as Gobabis and Windhoek, but were abandoned in the 1860s mainly because the Missionary Society was in financial difficulties. The work nearer Cape Town was more enduring. In 1834 Shaw bought land in Somerset West, on which he settled a number of emancipated slaves, many of whose descendants still occupy their cottages. A substantial church was built in 1861. Societies were also established at Stellenbosch, Robertson, and throughout the Cape Peninsula.

In 2009 a group of Methodists from Somerset West Chapel visited Raithby Chapel in celebration of their 175th anniversary and a service of worship was held together with Methodists from the Mid Lincs Methodist Circuit. Subsequently, members of the Circuit visited Somerset West and found a vibrant congregation attending not just one Sunday service but three each Sunday morning and further services in the evening – all well attended.

Paddy O’Flynn
Rabbits, sheep, cows, and four farmers named John Grant

Chris Adams on a family of successful Wolds farmers. Their horses' hooves must have sounded like propety, propety to them.

The Small Church in the village of Oxcombe, nestled in the Lincolnshire Wolds, contains a number of memorials to members of the Grant family, sometime Lords of the Manor there. The one pictured was posted to the Internet with the comment that it 'looks as if it has been defaced', which is in fact exactly what has happened. Originally it boasted that John Grant had made £100,000 by farming, which had never been done before, but apparently one of Grant's descendants thought it vulgar, and had it erased. His achievements were remarkable — £100,000 was a fortune, vulgar or not — and as a result, for the following three generations the eldest son in the family was also named John Grant.

This article briefly considers the lives of the four John Grants. There has in the past been some confusion over which John Grant was which (see reference 19 for example), and this article should help sort this out. It makes extensive use of contemporary newspaper reports, which have recently become much more widely available due to the British Library's digitisation project. The Stamford Mercury is the primary source, and in order to shorten a lengthy reference list, citations to it are in the text as dates. Another benefit of digitisation

*From Alfred Tennyson's Northern Farmer, New Style: Don't thou 'ear my 'orse's legs, as they canter away? Propety, propety, propety - that's what I 'ears'm say'
is that old texts such as Stone's and Young's agricultural surveys are now freely available online.

The lives of the four John Grants—circa 1735 until 1838—span and reflect a period of considerable change in the agriculture of the Lincolnshire Wolds. At the start of this period, little of the area was under the plough and large portions of the area were used for grazing sheep. These were often bred and first sheared at Wolds, on the large grass areas known as sheepecks, and then fattened and sheared again on the richer marsh pastures nearer the sea—the marshes were considered unsuitable for breeding lambs (*the lambs would be drowned in the ditches &c. &c.*) and the poor Wolds soils too mean for fattening. It was therefore common for Wolds farmers to raise own marsh land for grazing.

The first John Grant came to attention in 1789, when for £12,000 he purchased the Manor of Oxcombe from the Reverend Bennet Langton, financially embarrassed friend of Dr Johnson. At about the same time he also purchased land at Hannah cum Hagnaby, thus becoming the owner of both wold and marsh land. There is no record of his actually owning any land before that date. In 1798, the year before his death, he owned or rented additional wold land at Belchford and Scamblesby, and marsh land at Adelshorpe, Winthorpe, Ingoldmells, Trusthorpe, Welton le Marsh and Sutton in the Marsh.

Where the Wold soil was particularly poor, rabbits were bred (the soil was not considered fit for anything else) and rabbit warrens were common. In 1797 it was reported that from Louth to Caister, eighteen miles, ten of it are warrens.

The first John Grant made his money as a warrener at Withcall; in 1784 one of his servants was deported after stealing some clothing from the family there, and in 1788 he was living there when listed as a member of the Lincolnshire Coney Warreners Association. (31 October 1788) A contemporary wrote:

> I have heard Mr Grant say, when

he looked at the farm at Withcall, he could see money lie like stones—it was there for shovelling up. His success at Withcall was ascribed to his preparation of the warren before putting rabbits in. The land was first ploughed and burnt, and then sown with turnips. Sheep were fed on these, fertilising the soil in the process, and then clover was grown. Only then were the rabbits added, and it was found that such preparation made the land so fertile and the rabbits so healthy that they would reproduce two or three times in a year, thus doubling or tripling the profit.

After moving to Oxcombe he left his son Thomas to farm at Withcall, and in 1798 Thomas was farming the entire parish (about 2300 acres), nearly half of which was rabbits. At Partney Fair, meeting with Mr Grant of Withcall [sic], and discussing with him upon warrens, he informed me... he now has 1000 acres of warrens.

Fifty years later, however, it was written that:

> The chalk Wolds... were, in the middle of the last century, a succession of rabbit warrens from south to north... Fences, however, have since then extended rapidly in every direction, and all the open fields have disappeared... The gorse has been grubbed, the sward burned, and all the warrens, with one or two exceptions, have been brought into good cultivation.

A combination of factors in the late 18th century caused this change. The price of wool dropped dramatically in the 1780s; rabbits went out of fashion; cereal prices surged. The newfound principles of soil improvement that had served the first John Grant so well at Withcall had made it possible, with hard work, to turn the thin wold soils into fertile fields on which to grow profitable crops.

In his will, written in 1796, the first John Grant wrote:

> I consider that my said son John Grant has at various times received of and from me the sum of three thousand pounds towards his advancement in the world. This son, the second John Grant, farmed in the Wolds at Wyham from at least 1790, and his father's gift may well have helped him secure the lease there and to buy stock; he also rented a large acreage in the adjoining parish of Kelstern. There is no evidence of his keeping rabbits; instead he seems to have kept a mixed arable and sheep farm, probably using some variation of a wheat—barley—turnips—clover cycle, with sheep grazed upon the turnips, fertilising the soil and compacting it ready for sowing.

> JOHN GRANT, having purchased a Number of the best RAMS of the Breed of the late Cha. Chaplin, Esq at Mr. Hyde's Sale, they will be LET for this Season, at Wyham near Louth, Lincolnshire, on THURSDAY the third day of October, 1799.

Three years later he was boasting about how good his sheep were: 'J. Grant clipped from 4,500 sheep last year 1,330 Tods of Wool, and 40 Tods of Locks, which he sold for £2,300. The tod was the standard Lincolnshire measure of wool, of 28lbs.' Shows at Wyham were advertised every year until his death.

Rabbits had gone out of fashion in both the literal sense—people stopped wearing them—and as a foodstuff. This was partly due to improved breeding of sheep in the late 18th century, which produced animals that were sufficiently good meat processors to allow the introduction of mutton as a routine source of protein for the working class, and which also produced plenty of wool (and which, unlike rabbits, could be used as part of the crop rotation).

The 'improved Lincoln' sheep of the type advertised above was ready for slaughter after the second shear, but could be kept for a third if mutton prices were low and wool prices high, and

the sheer quantity of both wool and mutton on the new breed was an unbeatable combination when
the flock was integrated with arable production on a mixed farm.

Charles Chaplin of Tatthwell was one of the founders of this breed, and had crossed his sheep with the Teeswater breed in an attempt to increase the weight of their fleeces, allowing the second John Grant to report of his sheep that 'Several of them clipped this year 18lb Wool each; some up to 20lb and none less than 14lb', which were good figures.

The second John Grant died in 1808: Wednesday died at Wyham near Louth aged 48, John Grant, Esq., one of the most considerable farmers and graziers in the county of Lincoln, having in occupation at the time of his death nearly 10,000 acres of land. The third John Grant was born in about 1788, and was thus about 20 when his father died. He appears to have seamlessly taken over the running of the Wyham farm; he purchased a game licence in 1809, and the Wyham shows of rams resume in 1810.

Improvements in Lincolnshire breeds were not confined to sheep. In 1810 the third John Grant attended a famous sale in County Durham: At the late sale of improved short-horned cattle, belonging to Mr. Charles Colling, the breeder of the well known Durham ox, at Kettow, near Darlington... Mr. Grant, of this county, was the purchaser of Laura, and her heifer-calf Comet, at 316gs. and of the bull Major, at 200gs.

The three animals purchased formed the basis of his herd of cattle at Wyham, and thence of the breed of Lincoln Red cattle: Mr Grant used to cross hisTurnell cattle with Collingbred bulls, and this herd is undoubtedly one of the foundations of the Lincoln Red of the present day.

The third John Grant died even younger than his father, in this case on Christmas Day 1818; On the 25th instant, at Wyham, near Louth, in his 32nd year, Mr. John Grant, an opulent farmer and grazier. By his death an amiable wife and five small children are deprived of an excellent husband and father, and society will sustain the loss of an honest and valuable member. He had married Martha Susanna Curtois in 1811; their marriage of less than eight years produced the five small children mentioned above, and another born less than two months after his death. The year following his death saw the sale of much of his stock, and gives an indication of how opulent he was.

PRIME RAMS. To be SOLD by AUCTION, by Mr. David Briggs, On Thursday the 2d of September, 1819, at Wyham, near Louth, in the County of Lincoln, All the very superior Flock of RAMS, (in number about 150,) late the property of John Grant, Esq., deceased. Every attention has been paid the breeding of this valuable flock for the last thirty-five years; and they are descended principally from sheep belonging to Mr. Allenby, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Dudding, and Mr. Barker, from Mr. Buckley's Young Duke, and from Old Magnum Bonum, which last sheep was supposed to be Superior to any other in the kingdom...

...In the First Week in October next, will be offered for Sale by Auction, at Wyham aforesaid. Four Hundred prime BREEDING EWS, and One Hundred and Fifty Head of NEAT CATTLE of the improved Short-horned Breed; particulars of which will appear in due time. (27 August 1819)

A third sale, in April 1820, offered 630 sheep, 37 cattle of the improved short-horn variety and 51 horses, and a fourth sale, in August 1820, offered 60 shearing rams.

One thing that was not given up after this John Grant's death was the farm at Wyham. The Grants did own this—the Earl of Buckingham owned the whole parish and the Grants were the sole tenants. John Grant's widow, Martha, stayed there and farmed for another ten years. until in 1828 she sold '550 ewes for tupping, 380 he and sh lambs, and 23 rams; 42 cows and heifers in calf, 10 two-year-old steers, 12 yearling steers and heifers, 28 he, she and bull calves, 2 bulls; and 14 horses of different ages.' and advertised the let of the keeping until Lady-day 1829. (31 October 1828). This date is probably significant, in that farms at the time were often let on leases of 21 years that began and ended on Lady-day. Twenty-one years before 1829 is 1808, when her husband, the third John Grant, took on the farm, so it seems as if she worked out the lease, but did not renew it or pass it on to her son, the fourth John Grant.

The fourth John Grant is the one we know least about. He was probably born at Wyham in about 1812, but the parish records from this date are missing. He (and a brother) met a watery end en route from Hull to Dundee on 6 September 1838, when the Forfarshire was wrecked on the Farne Islands, in the shipwreck that made Grace Darling famous. His estate was sold at Alford in January 1839, and comprised 536 acres at Hannah cum Hagnaby and Markby, doubtless his great-grandfather's marsh grazing, 70 acres at Truathorpe, and 30 acres at Sutton, as well as the Lordship of the Manor and advowson of Hannah.

Thus within thirty years of the first John Grant dying, his identically named son, grandson and great-grandson had also died. In fact the family were mired in tragedy – of his sixteen male-line descendants in the next three generations, two drowned in the wreck of the Forfarshire, one committed suicide in the Louth Canal, one went mad, two suddenly died young, two died young of consumption, another died young of something unidentified, and one was bitten by a dog and died following the amputation of his arm. (7 November 1845).

It was a feature of the time that the aristocracy generally left their estate (largely) as a single entity, often to the eldest son, whereas the middle
classes tended to share it between the sons. The former practice tends to preserve inherited wealth, and the latter to disperse it. The first John Grant took the latter route, sharing his estate equally among his five sons, which took some 15 years to do (complicated by the fact that one of them had gone insane), and ensuring that each of them was provided with a farm: John at Wyham, Thomas at Withcall, William at Oxcombe, Benjamin at Scamblesby and Richard at Belchford. However, by the time his last son died in 1845, there were no farmers left in the family; everybody still left alive had sold up and moved to Louth.

NOTES
1. J. C. Walter, Records Historical and Antiquarian of Parishes round Horncastle, Horncastle, 1994; LAO SR L.HORN.942 WAL.
3. http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=glNCtAAAqAAJ.
4. http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=nsVJtAAAqAAJ.
5. T. Storey, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln, 1794, p.47.
7. The 1791 Game list has him listed for both parishes, Stamford Mercury, Friday 28 October 1791.
9. A. Young, General view of the agriculture of the County of Lincoln, 1799, p.382.
14. LAO ICC Wills 1799/1/97.
15. He bought a game licence for Wyham: Stamford Mercury, Friday 24 September 1790.
16. ‘to be SOLD by AUCTION: Some Time in the Month of September next, on the Premises of Mr. Hyde, at Tathwell, near Louth, in the County of Lincoln; UPWARDS OF ONE HUNDRED CAPITAL RAMS, and TWO HUNDRED BREEDING EWS, late the Property of C. CHAPLIN. Esq. The Time of Sale will be made known in a future Advertisement.’ Stamford Mercury, Friday 16 August 1799.
19. Leeds Intelligence, 3 October 1808. It seems likely that this statement is wrong, and refers instead to his father.
20. This is probably a mistake; other sources agree that the heifer was called Lacilla, and was by Comet.
21. ‘Mr Thomas Tunnell [sic] of Reaby near Wragby has a breed of cattle which are not surpassed by any in the country’, A. Young, op. cit., p.289.
23. ‘The dispersal of a carefully bred flock was a social event providing work for auctioneers, caterers and printers.’ T. W. Beattall, op. cit., p.167.
25. Lincolnshire Chronicle, Friday 21 September 1839.
27. Louth and North Lincolnshire Advertiser, Saturday 14 December 1861.

NOTES: Parish Conflict by Peter Leonard

12. Technically Atkinson was perpetual curate but was also, less clumsily, referred to as minister.
14. Census returns for 1841/51/61 were used to help identify the individuals and their occupations.
15. Letter from Atkinson to Bishop of Lincoln, 15 October 1849, in M. Sparrell, op. cit., p.56. (Dissenters here means members of denominations other than the Church of England).
16. Lincolnshire Times, 17 April 1855 in M. Sparrell, op. cit., p.x.
17. Both figures are totals for the day and include general congregation and Sunday scholars. Source, R. A. Ambler, Lincolnshire Returns of the Census of Religious Worship 1851, Lincoln Record Society, 72, Lincoln, 1979, p.268.
Parish conflict

Thirty years after the publication of Mark Spurrell's book *Stow Church Restored 1846–1866*, Peter Leonard explores some of the social issues surrounding the conflict in the parish of Stow in Lindsey at the time.

In 1984 the Lincoln Record Society published *Stow Church Restored 1846–1866*. This contained Mark Spurrell's careful transcriptions of documents recording the disputatious relationship between George Atkinson, the priest of St Mary's, Stow in Lindsey, and members of the parish vestry. Despite opposition and the refusal of vestry members to set a church rate to pay for the work, Atkinson pressed ahead with restoration of the church building, 'unassisted by the parishioners, through great self denial and munificent subscriptions from his relatives and friends.' The book gives us insight into an often acrimonious, and sometimes humorous, world of parish administration and provides a handy resource for researchers and others. The local historian reading this record will be prompted to ask about context. What social factors motivated this clash of wills; did the local economy influence events; what do we know of the people prominent in the squabble? Although the large and architecturally important church building has received the attention of scholars, not much has been published about the social history of the parish it serves. This brief essay attempts to add a little to the debate by providing a glimpse of Stow and some of its people during Atkinson's incumbency.

*Stow in the mid 19th century*
The ecclesiastical parish of Stow is situated on the flat clay-land between Lincolnshire's limestone ridge and the River Trent, midway between Lincoln and Gainsborough. It comprises five townships: Stow and Sturton, each with populations around four hundred in the 1850s, and the hamlets of Bransby, Normanby and Stow Park. Almost all of the thousand or so inhabitants at that time depended on the land for their livelihoods.

While better off than some, life for many parishioners must have been a laborious struggle to survive. Most worked on small or medium sized farms on heavy land, unprotected from the weather by an almost featureless landscape. Their homes were either of the mud and stud construction common to Lincolnshire, or inferior brick cottages, hardly equal to any foul or freezing weather driving in unchecked along the Trent valley.
Table 1: Those attending second half of vestry meeting at Stow on 23 October 1848

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Spencer (Chair)</td>
<td>Farmer 40 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Gowen Smith (Clerk)</td>
<td>Schoolmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Booth Sikes</td>
<td>Farmer 286 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Sergeant (Sergent)</td>
<td>Farmer 60 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James S. Gelder</td>
<td>Farmer 26 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Taylor</td>
<td>Farmer 32 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Watson</td>
<td>Farmer 186 acres</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Ellis</td>
<td>Farmer 16 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Buttery</td>
<td>Wheelwright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Harrison</td>
<td>Miller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Harrison</td>
<td>Blacksmith/Farmer 65 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Jarvil</td>
<td>Innkeeper (Red Lion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Walker</td>
<td>Farmer 12 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Marshall</td>
<td>Farmer 30 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Burton</td>
<td>Farmer 96 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Knowles</td>
<td>Farmer 162 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Footit</td>
<td>Bricklayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Brocklesby</td>
<td>Farmer 24 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Ingham</td>
<td>Farmer 11 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Harrison</td>
<td>Farmer 72 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Pearce</td>
<td>Agricultural Labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Credland</td>
<td>Son of Farmer 125 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Clayton</td>
<td>Agricultural Labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Baxter</td>
<td>Agricultural Labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan Rose</td>
<td>Butcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Credland</td>
<td>Son of Farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Jollands</td>
<td>Bricklayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Harrison</td>
<td>Brother of Farmer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the 17th century, the 'principal crops of the claylands were wheat, barley and peas; fewer cattle, horses and sheep were raised than on the marshland but marginally more pigs were kept.' This cropping pattern persisted into the 19th century when the agricultural economy at first benefitted from high prices during the Napoleonic wars. After 1815, however, farmers experienced falling prices, especially wheat prices, and depression set in that was to dog the industry, to varying degrees, for much of the 19th century.

Developments in farming techniques, begun a century or more earlier, improved efficiency on many farms but, 'Of all regions in the county, the claylands benefitted least from the "agricultural revolution".' Even the railways were a late blessing for Stow with the nearest lines not completed until 1849.

Added to these difficulties many found their rents and taxes burdensome and those small farmers who had purchased their holdings were '... generally poor, having given too much for their land.' For the landless labourers the working day was at least twelve hours Monday to Saturday and wages by the 1850s '... had slipped from 12s a week to 10s.' All this, and more, probably led to the self-perception of a hard pressed and struggling farming community, a view often expressed at vestry meetings especially when parish expenditure was discussed.

The vestry
Stow was an 'open' parish with no single large landowner. Local administration was through vestry meetings, at which rate payers and unpaid officials managed poor relief, highway maintenance, law and order and other civil matters as well as the affairs of the parish church.

Atkinson normally chaired vestry meetings but his place was taken by others when members decided to act independently of church authority. Spurrell thought around a dozen individuals were the leaders of the vestry. 'Those he identified were undoubtedly vociferous opponents to the incumbent but the vestry book indicates a larger force of vestrymen arrayed against the minister.'

Those attending the second half of the vestry meeting held on 23 October 1848 probably formed the nucleus of a 'dissentient' group that comprised the most influential of the inhabitants. The first half of that meeting had been acrimonious and was closed by Atkinson but its members decided to continue under the chairmanship of Thomas Spencer, a respected Quaker.

Atkinson and the churchwardens withdrew but 28 others remained. It is not possible to know the extent to which each held himself in opposition to the minister but some unanimity is recorded in the vestry book, indicating all were of similar minds. These vestrymen are listed in Table 1 and, unsurprisingly, almost all of them had close connections with the land.

Comparing the acreages farmed by members of this dissentient group might indicate they were slightly better off than the average farmers on similar land in Lincolnshire. In Table 2, column 2, no holdings of five acres or smaller are represented and 75 per cent are above 20 acres, whereas the average is 44 per cent, as shown in column 4. It is possible that some who described themselves as 'agricultural labourers' actually farmed smallholdings not identified.
on the census returns. Land tenancy or even ownership may have given them sufficient status to be listed by name in the vestry book. For that reason column 3 assumes they were smallholders and adjusts the calculation accordingly; even so 63 per cent of the farmers farmed more than 20 acres.

**Dissenters**

Atkinson was of the opinion that those opposing him comprised "...a party almost wholly composed of dissenters and open opponents of the church." It has already been noted that Thomas Spencer was a Quaker and it is likely that several others prominent in the vestry were Methodists; Harrison the miller certainly was, and the fact he had a successful business might indicate his views were not anathema to local farmers.

Methodism was actually long established in the parish where its growth was assisted by several factors. Stow, like many other parishes, had been neglected by the Church of England, having had no resident incumbent for 60 or 70 years when Atkinson was appointed in 1836. Visiting priests would come to take services; one was popular because he joined in village football after Sunday morning services, but this was no substitute for a village parson.16

Another factor was geography; while the parish was not especially large, four thousand seven hundred acres, its church building was situated in Stow when more than half the parishioners lived in Sturton or Bransby up to two miles away. Walking two miles to church was probably neither a hardship nor unusual in the 19th century but the absence of both church and parson in the daily lives of many parishioners made the established church almost invisible to them. Methodism, on the other hand, had a solid presence in each township from its earliest days. This means that when Atkinson arrived he faced a massive task in attempting to persuade the dissenters to join the established church, a task in which he never succeeded. After fifteen years of hard work he must have felt frustrated as the Census of Religious Worship in 1851 showed there was a total of 512 actual chapel attendances on Census Sunday whereas the parish church recorded 165.17 Atkinson blamed the dilapidated church building, "...the nature of the accommodation is such as to discourage attendance especially in winter." While this might have carried a ring of truth it did not alter the fact that Methodism attracted congregations three times that of the established church on 30 March 1851.

**The Rev George Atkinson**

From the vestry book and other records we know the minister was a committed parish priest but, as Spurrell has said, "We have very little information about Atkinson's private life..." He came from Rochdale,

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**Table 2: Size of holdings farmed by those attending Stow vestry meeting 23 October 1848 compared with Lincolnshire average for soil type.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of farm drawn from 1841, 1851, 1861 census data</th>
<th>Farmers attending Stow Vestry 1848 (number = 16 land holders)</th>
<th>Attending Stow Vestry 1848 adjusted (number = 19 i.e. 16 known and 3 assumed land holders)</th>
<th>Average percentage of holdings by size on Lincolnshire clay and miscellaneous soils 1870 (source: J. Thirsk, <em>English Peasant Farming</em> (London, 1957) p.298</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not above 5 acres</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>3 15.8</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-20 acres</td>
<td>4 25</td>
<td>4 21.1</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-50 acres</td>
<td>4 25</td>
<td>4 21.1</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-100 acres</td>
<td>4 25</td>
<td>4 21.1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 100 acres</td>
<td>4 25</td>
<td>4 21.1</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
where his father was a cotton manufacturer, he never married and lived with his sisters in the parsonage at Sturton, which he had built at his own cost. His working life was spent as a clergyman in the Lincoln diocese and he arrived in Stow parish at the age of 34, dying there 29 years later. Whether there is significance in the fact the Rev W. H. Hay, a magistrate who authorised the yeomanry charge at 'Peterloo', was one of Atkinson’s referees would bear further investigation. Perhaps he was nothing more than Atkinson’s vicar in Rochdale.

Some clues about Atkinson’s personality do come from what contemporary writers said of him. These indicate he was conservative in his views and a truculent in his churchmanship, which undoubtedly influenced his decisions about the architectural features of the restored church, though no charge of ‘Romanising Practices’ was ever made.20

He cared for the poor and was a keen supporter of schooling for children in the parish, but he was also stubborn, with the ability to generate ire in other people; two petitions of complaint about him were sent to the Bishop, one in 1850 and one in 1855. Chiefly these arose out of his disputatious nature, which meant he and his parishioners spent almost all their time ‘...on unfriendly terms, if not open enmity with each other.’21 Consequently, the Archdeacon feared, ‘...he has not got one single friend there’ [in Stow].

**Conclusion**

For Atkinson there was no happy ending to this story. He was, however, the product of a time when clergymen were part of the poor elite; his absentee predecessor at Stow, for example, was C. R. Massingham whose family was among the squires that owned large Lincolnshire estates. As well as wealth some clergy held important positions in public office such as tax commissioners and magistrates.22

The interests of many clergy, then, lay outside the Church of England, which had become moribund in places like Stow and was largely irrelevant save for certain rituals. On the other hand Atkinson was one of a new generation of priests – residing in the parish, increasing the numbers of services, searching back to pre-reformation times to make both the church building and the liturgy relevant and accessible and engaging more closely with daily parish life.23

This was a new phenomenon for the community in Stow and the reaction to it might have been as much against change and the re-establishment of clergy presence and authority as it was against spending money.

The void created by the absence for many years not only of a clergyman but of any resident high status authority figure appears to have been filled by what I have called dissent vestrymen drawn from the rising middle classes and keen to consolidate their power base within the community.

_Historically the community has been an expression that emphasised the unity of common life... generating a sense of all belonging together._24

One historian, Keith Snell, has described community as a defined geographical area having administrative functions, in which virtually everyone knew each other and to which they felt they belonged.25 Such notions of community and belonging might have been in the minds of vestrymen when they spoke of hardship in the parish and expressed the view that the restoration of the church was something being done by ‘...strangers to the parish of Stow about to expend large sums of money on its church’ at the expense of ‘small farmers with large families perpetually engaged in a struggle for existence and utterly destitute of means or opportunity to indulge in the pleasurable perceptions of architectural beauty’.26

The vestrymen could then claim the moral high ground of protecting parishioners, most especially themselves, from having to pay for the frippery of a church restored in the latest fashion at the expense of impoverished farmers.

This argument would have been familiar to many in the parish, and elsewhere, as arguments over enclosures, grain prices, tithes and taxes were fresh in the memory. Church rates and tithes and the clergy’s collection of them were particularly unpopular. The poem _Roulement in a Farm-Yard_ suggests there would be joy on the farm if a clergyman were drowned by animals and reveals some contempt for the profession:

*But nothing shows resentment more than does the patient ass,*

*Who always brays and turns his rump whenever a Parson pass.*27

More than contempt for the church, though, the language used by the dissent vestrymen and recorded in the vestry book is calculated to appeal to the hearts as well as the pockets of the parish constituency. Phrases such as ‘unalienable rights’ and ‘freeborn englishmen’ and ‘choke the liberty of speech’ are in evidence and are reminiscent of the rhetoric of social movements such as Chartism and this was acknowledged by Spurrell.28 Chartism may have run its course by the time this story ends and there is no intention to suggest it had a rural revival in Stow, rather that the words and phrases used would have had resonance for many in the community.

While appealing chiefly to the working classes there was a section of the middle classes that believed the reforms to parliament that the Chartists advocated would have a beneficial impact on the economy.29 Some of the farmers in Stow would probably have come across this argument at market or in chapel or in the newspapers, and it may have influenced the language they used and the way they thought about social issues in the parish.

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*Please see page 10 for the notes to this article.*
EDWARD CHAPLIN
and the General Election of 1874

'Saw this and thought of you ...'

Mark Acton is no stranger to the 19th century Lincoln political scene and this article was prompted by the unusual gift of a 140-year-old election souvenir.

The election souvenir pictured was produced by the firm of William Doncaster of Silver Street in Lincoln. Measuring some nine inches by six and made of silk it was printed in pink – the colour of the Lincoln Tories. It celebrates the victory of Edward Chaplin for one of two Lincoln seats in the election of 1874.

Edward Chaplin was born in Ryhall, Rutland, on 23 March 1842, the younger son of the Reverend Henry Chaplin. Edward's uncle, Charles Chaplin, was the squire of Blankney and a former MP. After his education at Harrow, Edward was gazetted as an Ensign in the Coldstream Guards in March 1860. He was promoted to Lieutenant in September 1865 and to Captain in March 1871. As a captain in the Guards he held the army rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and was often referred to as Colonel Chaplin. His military duties did not prevent him from going out six days a week with the Burton Foxhounds.

His elder brother Henry, who had been Master of the Burton Hounds, ...
since 1865, decided that he could no longer spare the time along with his parliamentary duties and formed the Blankney Hunt in 1871. Edward became the Blankney Hunt's first Master.

As a fine shot, Edward made an expedition into the Zulu territory of South Africa in 1867. His bag included over one hundred hippopotami, twenty rhinoceroses, buffaloes, and a few lions. One morning before breakfast he shot three lions and that afternoon added a large crocodile and three antelopes to his spoils. Edward Chaplin was also known as a keen coachman and with Charles Floare set up a service between London and Tunbridge Wells. For two or three years Edward was to be found regularly on this coach.

**The Election**

The general election of 1874 was the first since the Ballot Act of 1872, which introduced secret voting. While this reduced some of the most blatant bribery involved in contested constituencies it did not, as will be seen, bring calm. In the 1868 general election the Liberals, Charles Seely and John Hinde Palmer, had been returned unopposed for Lincoln. The 1867 Reform Act had introduced household suffrage and created many more working-class votes. With the end of agricultural protection as a realistic prospect and the rise of Lincoln's great (Liberal-owned) engineering industry, the outlook for a Tory candidate in the city could not have been rosier. Nevertheless, Edward Chaplin, who had declined to stand in 1868, put himself forward in 1874 and was swept in on a Tory tide. Seely, by now over seventy, had been living on the Isle of Wight for many years. He had had an acrimonious falling out with his business partners Nathaniel Clayton and Joseph Shuttleworth some years before – both men vowing not to support him in future. Palmer, a London-born barrister who had married a daughter of Charles Tennyson d'Eyncourt, had thrice unsuccessfully contested Lincoln before 1868.

The following account of the election proceedings is taken from the Lincolnshire Chronicle of 6 February 1874. It should be borne in mind that the weekly Chronicle was a pro-Tory journal. Edward Chaplin and his supporters held a meeting in the Corn Exchange on the evening of Friday 30 January. Chaplin thanked both his supporters and opponents for the 'most cordial and friendly feeling' shown to him. He hoped that he would not be criticised too harshly for his inexperience in public speaking compared to that of Seely and Palmer.

On the subject of religion Chaplin proclaimed himself a firm supporter of the Church of England whilst in favour of freedom of conscience. He was in favour of religious education on strictly non-sectarian principles. Chaplin attacked Prime Minister William Gladstone for his 'sham economy' and was anxious that taxes and duties did not bear heavily on any class. He hoped that the working men of Lincoln enfranchised by Lord Derby's minority Tory government would show their trust in him with their votes.

On the prospect of further electoral reform Chaplin suggested that, while many more men would be admitted to the franchise, Lincoln might be reduced to a one-member constituency (this happened in 1885). Concluding that Gladstone was not worthy of the voters' confidence, Chaplin pledged himself to support 'every measure brought forward to promote the harmony of all classes'.

Chaplin was followed by Richard Hall who answered some of the criticisms of the Tory candidate. On the charge that Chaplin went across country after stinking vermin' Hall responded that he had never heard that was a crime. To the claim that Chaplin had never seen active service Hall claimed that he 'was one of the first to volunteer to fight the blacks in Ashantee' but was reserved to fight the blues (the Liberals) in Lincoln instead. Hall concluded by moving that the meeting should '[pledge] itself to use every legitimate means to secure [Chaplin's] election for the city of Lincoln'.

Henry Chaplin then spoke in favour of his brother, largely accusing Gladstone of financial mismanagement. He was struck, he said, with the 'remarkable intelligence and knowledge of public affairs which [had] been displayed by the working men of the city'. The resolution to support Edward Chaplin was seconded and put forward amidst such a 'tumult' that little could be heard.

The chairman of the meeting, William Foster, attempted to end the meeting but was interrupted by the Liberal Alderman Brodgen who wished to put forward some questions. As Chaplin's supporters vacated the platform it was stormed by Brodgen and a 'troop of boys' who alternately cheered and hooted as Brodgen began a 'denunciatory
address upon Conservatism' and presented a pantomimic spectacle of a risible character much easier to imagine than describe.

The next day saw the Liberals hold a meeting on the Cornhill with speeches by Seely, Palmer and three of their supporters. Another Liberal meeting was held in the Corn Exchange that evening. Evidently fearing retaliation for the night before, the platform and front of the hall had been packed with 'Liberal partizans'. No interruption took place. The unimpressed Chronicle correspondent thought that 'If talking would have returned [Seely and Palmer] to Parliament, their election on this occasion would have been easily secured.' Palmer, said the correspondent, ended by piteously pleading for support in the forthcoming contest.

Late in the evening a crowd gathered outside the Saracen's Head (the Tory election headquarters). After some cheers for Chaplin all was quiet until a glass bottle was thrown into the crowd whereupon 'the bump of destruction instantly swelled [and] ammunition was obtained'. The house of the Sheriff was then attacked; its top windows broken, shop shutters torn down and plate glass front smashed.

Polling took place on the Monday. Chaplin's supporters were brought up to vote by the 'splendid four-in-hand drags' of Edward himself and his brother Henry, by the 'handsome wagonette' of Coningsby Sibthorp and by 'rusty moth-eaten old landau[s] of former days, brought from [their] dim obscurity only on such events as the present'. The Chronicle reported peace at the polling places and a lack of drunkenness in the town. This changed after dark when 'troops of youths' joined the crowds in the streets. In anticipation of violence a detachment of troops from the 95th Regiment had been sent from Manchester under a Major Stockwell. The soldiers were quartered in the stable block of the Great Northern Hotel on the High Street. As a further precaution some hundreds of special constables were sworn in at six o'clock that evening. Trouble began with lighted tar barrels being kicked around. Windows were smashed by stones and pieces of iron. A burning stave from a tar barrel was thrown through the upper storey window of a draper's shop whilst others were unsuccessfully aimed at streetlamps.

A mob which had assembled outside the Great Northern Hotel began smashing its windows and 'groaning at the soldiers'. Several people were injured including Nathaniel Clayton who received a 'severe blow on the chest'. The frontage of the hotel's spirits vault was demolished and its surviving contents looted. At this point the Riot Act was read. After a burning tar barrel had been rolled up against the gates of the hotel's stable yard the soldiers inside emerged with fixed bayonets and charged into the streets. The crowd 'instantly turned tail' and disappeared down the side streets and passages like so...
many rabbits down their burrows. One line of soldiers was placed across the High Street below the hotel whilst another charged up it. As the soldiers passed the side streets the 'shouting and yelling' mob came out again but offering no violence with the exception of a soldier who was hit in the face with a piece of metal from a catapult. The troops were then deployed to clear the principal streets of the town and the mob finally dispersed.

The election result was posted at the Stonebow on the Tuesday without incident. Fearing further trouble, the city authorities had again sworn in special constables; these, together with the whole of the local police force, were assembled with the soldiers at the Great Northern Hotel. Many tradesmen had boarded up their windows and youths leaving the town's foundries had been searched for pieces of metal 'secreted for catapult ammunition.' Though the town was crowded during the evening no major incidents occurred. A few 'obstinate fellows' had to be moved on by the soldiers but generally 'a glance at the advancing bayonets [was] sufficient in most cases to produce a precipitate retreat on the part of the mob.'

The Liberals were said, by the Chronicle, to be 'completely staggered' by the outcome. The correspondent likened the election to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870; the Tories, like the Prussians, had been not only ready but instantly in motion whilst the Liberals, like the French, had had greater forces on paper but few in practice and had been lacking in organisation.

Aftermath

Edward Chaplin is not recorded by Hansard as having spoken in the House of Commons during his six years in Parliament. He retired from the army in 1876 and married Lady Guendolen Talbot the following year. They had two daughters. Chaplin lost his seat in the General Election of 1880 when he was heavily defeated by Seely and Palmer. He died in December 1883 at the early age of 41.

NOTES
1. Listed as ‘Printer, Bookseller, Stationer & Depot for Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge’ in White’s Directory of Lincolnshire, 1872.

My thanks go to Bill Stead for the gift of the souvenir that prompted this article.

Original Document

These interesting documents were found inside a book donated to the Society for sale in the Secondhand Bookshop at Jews’ Court. Exam papers from Smith College* dated January 1914, in English and history of painting. Below is a selection of the questions:

English 29

2. (a) Name five important dates and give their individual significance and their relation to the history of literature.
   or
   (b) Give a history of the literary activity in England at about 1815 and about 1840.

5. (a) Account for the reputation at the time of death of two of these: Keats, Shelley, Macaulay, Scott.
   or
   (b) What do the following men stand for in the history of literature: Landor, Keats, De Quincy, Carlyle? Choose two.

Art 14 History of painting
3. Speak of the change in the subject matter of painting from Giotto to Giorgione, and of the causes to which this change was due. Quote examples.

4. What contributions did northern Europe make to the art of the Renaissance? (Mental, moral, and technical qualities. Mention men and works.)

English 17

(Discuss one topic in each group)

II (A) The requisites of a novel of adventure. The correspondence of Cooper’s novels to these requisites.
   (B) Irving’s and Cooper’s use of American settings.

*Presumably this is the famous Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, which was at that time a women-only higher education establishment. One wonders how these 100-year-old exam papers came to be in a book that found its way to our shop.
Our third account about Lincolnshire people during the First World War is given by Brian Thornalley

Jack Thornalley and his brothers and cousins

Jack Thornalley, 1898-1965, on his 16th birthday, April 1914

Jack was born on 6 April 1898 at Holton le Clay, Lincolnshire, and from his home in Great Limber, he died on 19 February 1965 in Lincoln County Hospital. He was the third of Charles and Mary Jane's 12 children, only one of whom died in infancy.

Jack left home to volunteer for the Army when the Great War started in 1914 (aged only 16), following his two older brothers, Harold (17) and William (18). Obviously, Jack and Harold lied about their ages—assuming they were asked in the first place! All three were inducted into the Lincolnshire Regiment at Lincoln and, after training, however basic that was, their names appeared alphabetically on an early draft for France.

A sharp-eyed officer, checking the list, had the bright idea that these Thornalley 'triplets' would provide an excellent example for the Army's national recruiting drive. They were called in for an interview, at which their three different ages emerged. William was sent on his way to France, while Harold and Jack were placed in 'holding' occupations—certainly not sent home! Jack was assigned as an officer's batman, to shine shoes, clean uniforms and run errands, during which time, with his officer, he saw a period of service in Ireland, where trouble was brewing. At age 18 he was shipped to France.

Many of the Lincolnshire Regiment's records were destroyed in the blitz of World War 2, so nothing is known about Jack's movements and exploits in France. He took a small shrapnel wound in a leg and suffered from 'trench foot', which caused bad circulation in his feet for the rest of his life. All he ever said about his experience was that he could never again eat tinned pineapple or corned beef.

At a later stage Jack was transferred to the Leicestershire Regiment and attained the rank of Sergeant. When the war ended he returned home to work as a farm labourer for the rest of his life.

Papers did come to light showing that he applied to rejoin the Army, unsuccessfully, in 1920/21, when life
must have been desperately hard or work scarce. Later still, when WW2 started, Jack joined the Auxiliary Fire Service, and though they practised every Sunday, using the village pond as a ready source of water to produce spectacularly high jets, they were never called upon to put out any real wartime fires.

Further afield, there were three more sets of three Thornalley brothers involved in the First World War, as well as two other individuals – fourteen of them in the wider family. Only two of these lost their lives: Allatt, from Bury St Edmunds, was killed in battle on 1 July 1917; and Harry, originally from Burgh le Marsh, who had emigrated to Canada in 1913, died of typhoid in 1917 in Etaples Military Hospital, in spite of having been fully inoculated at his induction at Niagara, Ontario, in 1915, before sailing to Liverpool in 1916.

Only two dead out of fourteen seems a remarkably good survival rate, compared with so many families who lost most, if not all, of their members in the carnage.

The young men of the Thornalley family who took part in the Great War are shown below.

**Left: Harry Thornalley 1891 – 1917.**

*Photo: July 1916 at Burgh le Marsh*

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**Sons of Charles and Mary Jane, Holton le Clay, Lincs:**

William, 1896, Lincolnshire Regt.
Harold, 1897, Lincolnshire Regt.
Jack, 1898, Lincs and Leicestershire Regts.

**Sons of Abraham and Mary, Burgh le Marsh, Lincs:**

Harry, 1891, Canadian Infantry (died of typhoid)
Joseph, 1892, Army Service Corps
John George, 1894, Army Service Corps

**Sons of Carden and Julia, Worlington, Suffolk (born in Lincs):**

Carden A, 1885, Lincolnshire Regt.
George A, 1894, South Staffordshire Regt.

**Sons of Abraham and Clara, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk (born in Lincs):**

Allatt, 1885, South Staffordshire Regt. (killed)
Henry (Harry) Fincham, 1889, RAMC
Stanley, 1894, Royal Engineers

**Son of Benjamin and Lucy Ann, Bratoft, Burgh, Lincs:**

George Benjamin, 1899, Yorkshire Regt.

**Son of William and Elizabeth, Ashby by Partney, Lincs:**

Robert John, 1898, North Staffordshire Regt.
Newport Arch

This is a photograph from the Peter Grey collection, one of many that the Society saved, and which will be lodged with the Lincolnshire Archives.

It has not been possible to identify the make of car, but it is of a type known as 'rear entrance tonneau' – not uncommon in the early days of motoring. The registration plate is part of a series allocated to Greater London and issued about 1906 or 1907. This approximate date is confirmed by the building to the left of the arch. This predates the building that today is the Newport Arch Chinese Restaurant. The latter opened as a branch of the Lincoln Cooperative Society in August 1908.

The horse muck in the streets is an indication of what must have been the state of many city streets at that time and the reason for Victorian houses having a boot scraper incorporated into the building alongside the front door.

Thanks to Tony Wall for help with this information.

Stewart Squires, Scothern

RB crane in Australia

In July this year Tony Dent came across this Ruston Bucyrus crane in a wayside museum in Wyndham, Western Australia. It must have been found in this dilapidated state and rescued by the museum. Although not in the best condition, its name plate (above) is still intact and proudly displayed.
DAY, George A. Frithville to Fricourt and back; my family and the Great War of 1914-18; (my father's journey through the First World War). Boston, GB publications, 2014. 44pp. No ISBN. £8.50 pbk (available by post for £9.74 from Oakwell House, 133 Swineshead Road, Boston, PE20 1SB).

Mr Day's father was born in Frithville, a small village north of Boston in the 1890s and, ignoring the agricultural offers from his father, became an apprentice bricklayer. He enlisted in Lincoln soon after the outbreak of WWI and, 10 months later, found himself in the 8th battalion of the Lincolnshire Regiment fighting at the battle of Loos where over 600 men were lost in 2 days. A home leave in 1916 was followed by involvement in the Somme front from which his battalion was withdrawn after 4 days of more heavy losses. The major battle of the following year was at Arras where nearly half the battalion was lost. At Ypres he was awarded the Military Medal for gallantry in the field. After a brief posting to Ireland he was back in France where his luck ran out and he was wounded.

All of this is based on a cache of letters that the family had retained; facsimiles of some of these first-hand documents together with maps and relevant photographs make this an illuminating read of life at the front for a typical 'Tommy'.


Some years ago Mrs Burkett with the help of the children at Welbourn School produced a booklet on the subject of the local army success story - William Robertson (reviewed in this journal, no. 66). Now, it has seemed appropriate in view of the remembrance of the opening of the First World War to revisit the text. The result is a much enlarged account, nearly twice the length of the earlier version.

He was underage when at 17 he began his army life as a private in the Lancers. He served in India for some years and won the DSO; after being picked out as the first ranker to attend Camberley he worked in London before taking part in the Boer War. After personal success in that war Robertson served in the War Office for some years and later in charge of the Staff College. Already a general in 1914 he was in charge of the BEF from the early days at Mons and became later Chief of the Imperial General Staff. Eventually he fell out with Lloyd George and his career was more or less over. He remains the only soldier who started off in the ranks and rose to be a general.


In this slim volume the author provides an overview of a number of 'haunted' sites within the Boston (Lincks) area. Gemma is a member of a group that investigates paranormal activities. '13 Paranormal', and this is her second book on the subject of the super-natural, the first being Haunted Spalding (The History Press, 2012).

This new volume is of value in that it records evidence that, because most is anecdotal, could so easily be lost in the future. This book will appeal to those who are interested in the paranormal (and possibly already have bought others in this series) and the local historian, who will find here a different approach to the town's past.

In the first part of the book the author explains the methods used in the investigation of more than two dozen locations in and around the town, beginning with a recognition of the importance of discovering background information about the history of the 'haunting' at each place, including past and recent oral testimony. The author continues by discussing the type of equipment used to detect a spirit-presence and the techniques employed at the sites of alleged supernatural activity in an attempt to record the events scientifically, be they in audio, visual or other sensory form.

The second and subsequent seven chapters investigate phenomena that have been grouped in the book according to either their geographical and physical location or the type and function of the building in which they occurred. Chapter 2, which is about Blackfriars Theatre and Arts' Centre that lies in the middle of Boston, establishes a general format for the entries that follow. It begins with a brief history of the building, in this instance a monastic foundation dating from at least the 13th century and quickly brought up to the present with its conversion into a theatre and arts' centre in the 1960s. Then the author recounts anecdotal evidence of paranormal activity in the building.

Finally, the results of an on-site investigation by '13 Paranormal' are described and analysed, involving the use of detection equipment (such as motion detectors, electro-magnetic field meters and electronic voice
recorders), together with a séance, an exercise in table-tipping and a vigil.

Individual buildings are the subject of many of the chapters and, while there is nothing about churches or cemeteries (as might be expected in a book about the paranormal), there are sufficient occurrences reported as having taken place in public houses to merit one for themselves. Here the omission of a map showing the locations described in the book is felt as someone wanting to visit them would probably like to know that, while some can be found in the town centre, others are further away, including one at Old Leake, some eight miles outside the town. Such a map could have easily replaced the whole page devoted to a very detailed, and mostly unnecessary, family tree of the Fydell family, whose home, Fydell House, is the subject of Chapter 6. There is a map in this book but it does not include the position of the locations mentioned but indicates where archaeological digs have taken place in the town centre that have uncovered 'tombstones and skulls'.

There are a number of examples where the author concluded her account of a 'haunting' with a comment that there is 'no explanation' for the occurrence. This illustrates a deficiency in the narrative as alternatives to a supernatural origin are rarely mentioned. To give but one example, in at least four of the sites one wall of the building is the river wall on the 'Harbour', the tidal part of the River Witham that runs through the town. This wall is subject to twice-daily rises and falls of the tide, which can be up to six metres. This creates great lateral pressures on the building's walls and any resulting movement may offer an alternative explanation for some of the noises that were recorded by the 13 Paranormal group. The frontispiece photograph of an aerial view over Boston, '... featuring South Street - one of the town's paranormal hotspots ...' clearly illustrates this positioning.

This frontispiece photograph is only one of many in this richly illustrated volume, indeed, there is hardly a page without one. They are not in colour and sometimes the lack of contrast in these black and white photographs means that details are difficult to see. In addition, closer editing could have been applied to these illustrations - some have paper clips and what appears to be sticky tape across some edges but it is unclear whether this was unintended or was a 'design' feature of the image. Also the inclusion of hand-drawn arrows on some of the photographs is distracting and rather spoils the professional presentational style of the book.

In conclusion there is a summative afterword, a short bibliography and a list of websites where additional information about some of the topics mentioned can be found.

The author's industry in producing this book is commendable; the style of writing is direct, is well-paced, and engages the reader in an interesting and entertaining way. However, the author's efforts will probably do little to change an individual reader's opinion of the validity, or otherwise, of the buildings' spectral claims for, as she writes, '... I hope that one day be able to capture physical evidence, irrefutable to the most hardened of sceptics, of the existence of ghosts ...';

Dr William Hunt (Visiting Tutor, Bishop Grosseteste University)


Although this booklet concerns itself mainly with the two stations in the title it also includes views of the other stations on the former loop between Louth and Willoughby as well as trains further afield for whom the destination was Mablethorpe. There are also some tickets and timetables.

This excellent booklet from respected local author Alf Ludlam comprises mainly photographs, all of good quality and including a few present day views to compare with what has now gone. There are also short chapters on The Arrival of the Railway; Mablethorpe Engine Shed and Local Traffic; Holiday Traffic; A Wartime Incident; 1953 Floods; and Closure. This 93 year history records the opening of the line in three separate stages: Louth to Mablethorpe in 1877; Willoughby to Sutton on Sea in 1886; and finally Mablethorpe to Sutton Sea in 1888. Closure followed in 1970. We see the line in its day to day work but what stands out for me is just how important the railway was to the area. Even up to closure the station platforms were crowded with holidaymakers in the summer and there are photographs of long trains on their way to Mablethorpe from Derby, Grimsby, Manchester and Nottingham.

Just like his recent booklet on Louth, this will serve as a reminder of what has been lost and will be of interest to railway enthusiasts in Lincolnshire and beyond as well as to the general local historian. Subsequent volumes are anticipated.


Dr Pacey has, over the years, done county historians a great service with his reprints of older but still valuable books that have been long out of print and rare in second-hand book market.

This title reflects both aspects - it is rare and it has a value still. Mr Ogden was a schoolmaster in Horncastle before World War One and first produced this title in 1913 with a later edition in the 1920s and, of course, they have both been long out of print. The added interest that we have here is the short treatment Mr Ogden provides for some of the villages surrounding Horncastle. In a way, they are an odd selection but his focus is on the great men associated with the villages he has chosen -
Tennyson, as we all know, born at Somersby, for example. This booklet gives us an insight into the town's historical development in an easily readable way and, now, an easily accessible way.


Mrs Southworth has, over the years, written much on her home village, but, when challenged on her having missed out on the local war memorial, she decided to take up the challenge. Six years later we have the result of her researches.

She starts with a piece about the village for those who are not acquainted, followed by a very readable summary of what she has pieced together of village life during the two world wars, often from the personal memories of the villagers.

For much basic food people in the country tended to fend much more happily than big town neighbours. This may have been more so in the 1914-18 war since many still kept pigs or chickens or grew other edible items; sharing was often the order of the day. She contrasts the first issue of ration books only in 1917 while they were ready printed for use in 1939. The Women's Land Army and the Home Guard get their due mention.

The real core of the book is what she has discovered of the men whose names appear on the war memorial erected in the Market Square. 53 names from WW1 and 13 from WW2 are recorded. Much detail is given of the men's regiments, where they served or were killed and other memorials that bear their names.

With recent media coverage we may be getting used to the tales of suffering and horror from the First World War but there is a special poignancy when reading of three brothers (out of five who served) being lost, two of them with another Swineshead lad all on the same September day in 1915 (pages 24-6 have an account of this action).

There are two indices, a Roll of Honour lists all 53 men with basic details and page references. The other has no heading but seems to list others (all non-combatants?) mentioned in the text. Oddly, however, the men who survived are not listed. This is a book that reflects the amount of research the author undertook; it will be of great interest to all in the village as well as the many other students of WW1 and the backgrounds to the names on war memorials.

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NOTES & QUERIES 97:3 Fishermen's clogs

A number of years ago, before I was a member of SLHA, Rod Callow identified that the 1911 family photograph was taken in front of a stack of wooden soles for fishermen's clogs. I have always wondered where it was taken. It was winter and it looks as if they are wearing their Sunday best. Where were they on their Sunday afternoon walk? My father was brought up at Redcote, Doddington Road, Swallowbeck, Lincoln, and I wonder if it was taken in Hartshorne Woods, Skellingthorpe or Butleigh Park? Please does anyone know more about this small-scale timber industry? Where were these wooden clog soles being made? Was it a widespread industry or was it limited to just a few artisans? What timber did they use and how long were clogs handmade like this and used by fishermen?

Annabel Carle, Lindisfarne, Tasmania, Australia

Left–Right
Eileen Pennell, Ethel Pennell, behind her an aunt Kathleen Batham née McColl, my grandmother Ellen M. Pennell née Batham, and in front as an 18-month-old, my father, Walter E. Pennell (b. 18.6.1910).
Further to David Stocker’s article in Past and Present 96 on the 1825 public appeal for the restoration of Newport Arch, the engraving shown here was evidently made and published in connection with the same appeal. It is reproduced from a copy held by the Usher Gallery, Lincoln, for whose kind assistance I am grateful. Its inscription reads:

*engraved by H.T. Wright from a Sketch by J.S. Padley*

**THE ROMAN ARCH AT LINCOLN**

Erected in the Reign of Claudius A.D. 45.

TO THE RIGHT HON. JOHN, EARL BROWNLOW,

And the Nobility & Gentry who subscribed towards the Preservation of this Ancient Arch in 1826

This Plate is dedicated by their Obt. Servt. J.S. Padley

Published by E.B. Drury, Stone Bow, Lincoln

It was being advertised for sale in 1826. The arch is shown as it was before the restoration, with the side arch still unblocked and vegetation sprouting from the top of the walls. It is always possible that a sketch for an engraving is itself based on an older print; the original sketch may well have been taken from life at the time, and record the arch immediately before the start of the 1826 work.

An interesting detail is the male figure in the foreground. He is carrying a tool box, in which can be seen what appear to be the head of a lump hammer and some masonry chisels and bolsters (see detail enlargement on the right). Is this deliberate symbolism for the commencement of the work, following the successful completion of the fundraising?

*Christopher Padley*
TREASURES OF THE COLLECTION

Antony Lee says Sir John Franklin's snowshoes are a poignant reminder of one of Lincolnshire's most famous sons.

The recent announcement of the discovery of one of the ships used by Sir John Franklin in his fated final expedition of 1845 made news around the world and put the Lincolnshire town of Spilsby [where Franklin was born in 1786] in the spotlight. Future research at the site will hopefully identify whether the ship is HMS Erebus or HMS Terror, and ultimately shed light on the fate of one of Lincolnshire's most famous men and his crew.

Lincolnshire's museums and archives collections contain a number of objects and documents relating to Franklin's career, expeditions and even the search for him in the years following his disappearance, but few items are so unusual or as poignant as a pair of snowshoes worn by Franklin himself. The shoes were donated to the museum by Franklin's great-niece in 1922 and are an evocative survival of early 19th century exploration, complete with their pointed wooden frames and criss-crossed animal hide. A contemporary note attached to one of the shoes attests that they were worn by Franklin in 1820, dating them to one of Franklin's earliest, and one of the most controversial, Arctic ventures - the Coppermine expedition of 1819-1822.

Franklin's naval career was long and distinguished. After persuading his father to let him join the Royal Navy aged 14, he witnessed some of the most significant events of his age. He sailed with his uncle, Matthew Flinders, on his landmark circumnavigation of Australia and saw military action at the battles of Copenhagen and Trafalgar. His first experience of the Arctic Circle came in 1818 when he was second in command of an expedition to find the fabled North West passage - a safe shipping route through the ice of northern Canada to link the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Although the expedition was ultimately unsuccessful, it seems to have peaked Franklin's interest in the quest that would make his name, and finally cost him his life.

The Coppermine expedition aimed to map the Canadian coastline via the river that gave the expedition its name. Tragically, the expedition was a failure. An overland trek of hundreds of miles through vicious winter weather turned into a desperate fight for survival, which these snowshoes may well have witnessed. The unprepared crew were forced to eat lichen and even the leather from their boots to fend off starvation, and some were clearly driven to madness by the experience, with some sources suggesting that cannibalism and murder both occurred. Eleven of the twenty-strong party perished and Franklin was personally criticised by local fur traders for his lack of preparation and unwillingness to listen to local advice, though this criticism may not be entirely justified.

In Britain, however, the story was lauded as one of courage in the face of adversity and Franklin became something of a celebrity.

Franklin would return to the Arctic for a more successful voyage in 1825 before turning to a different lifestyle as Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land (modern Tasmania) between 1837 and 1843. In 1845 he was invited to lead another expedition, despite being 59 years of age and not having been to the Arctic for nearly twenty years. Sadly, this would be the expedition that he would never return from, and it is known that he perished on 11 June 1847, along with the other 129 members of the crew. Future research soon may very well shed light on his final weeks, but meanwhile the museum's snowshoes serve as a poignant reminder of the exploits of one of Lincolnshire's most famous sons.
Left: Sir John Franklin’s snowshoes with a contemporary note attached attesting that Sir John wore them in 1820, dating them to one of Franklin’s earliest Arctic ventures: the controversial Coppermine expedition of 1819–1822.

Below: Franklin’s ships that were lost on his last expedition – HMS Erebus and HMS Terror.