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Letter to the Editor:

Mr Robert C Ward of 192 Stortford Hall Park, Bishops Stortford, Hertfordshire writes:

I am preparing a biographical article on Charles Abney-Hastings, first Baron Donington (1822-95) of Castle Donington and Ashby-de-la-Zouch. I am looking for any material pertaining to this man . . . I have consulted the obvious local sources but there may well be other material in the possession of your readers.

The Leicestershire Historian, which is published annually, is the magazine of the Leicestershire Local History Council and is distributed free to members. The Council exists to bring local history to the doorstep of all interested people in Leicester and Leicestershire, to provide for them opportunities of meeting together, to act as a co-ordinating body between the various Societies in the County and to promote the advancement of local history studies.

A series of local history meetings is arranged throughout the year and the programme is varied to include talks, film meetings, outdoor excursions and an annual Members’ Evening held near Christmas. The Council also encourages and supports local history exhibitions.

The different categories of membership and the subscriptions are set out below. If you wish to become a member, please contact the Secretary, who will also be pleased to supply further information about membership and the Annual Programme.

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EDITORIAL

To commemorate the fifth centenary of the Battle of Bosworth we are privileged to open with the article by Dr Daniel Williams of the Department of History at Leicester University, who warns how misleading has been the speculative plan of the Battle perpetrated by William Hutton and reproduced on our cover. Dr Williams, who edits the Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, has for many years made a speciality of the Battle and its history and is in great demand this year.

Local awareness of the importance of the Battle has been continuous. In 1629 Sir John Beaumont’s poem Bosworth-field was published. During the Civil War one of the local skirmishes was described in a published report as ‘a Defeat given to Colonel Hastings by the Lord Gray’s Forces, July 1, 1644, at Bosworth Field, in the very Place where King Richard the Third was slain’. Only four years previously, as a bookseller’s account preserved among the Hastings Manuscripts shews, Lord Hastings had made a payment of one shilling for a copy of the poem. In the article by Martyn Bennett, a research student at Loughborough University Department of History, another Leicestershire battle is set in the context of its local and wider significance.

In his eighth article for The Leicestershire Historian J D Bennett follows up his study of retail trade in Leicester by tracing the history of one firm that had branches all over the city and county. Geoffrey Brandwood, who is well known for his work on Leicestershire churches and architects, concentrates on the buildings of one Edwardian architect which still have some impact within his own town of Market Harborough.
THE

BATTLE

OF

BOSWORTH FIELD,

BETWEEN

RICHARD THE THIRD

AND

HENRY EARL OF RICHMOND,

AUGUST 22, 1485.

WHEREIN IS DESCRIBED

THE APPROACH OF BOTH ARMIES,

WITH

PLANS OF THE BATTLE, ITS CONSEQUENCES,

THE FALL, TREATMENT, AND CHARACTER OF RICHARD.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED, BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION,

A HISTORY OF HIS LIFE TILL HE ASSUMED THE

REGAL POWER.

BY W. HUTTON, F.A.S.S.

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS,

BY J. NICHOLS, F. S.A.

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1813.
WILLIAM HUTTON AND THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY REDISCOVERY OF BOSWORTH FIELD
Daniel Williams

In the muted razzle-dazzle of the Quincentenary Year of the Battle of Bosworth we might be forgiven for accepting the uniqueness of our celebrations and interest. In truth sporadic interest in the battle is by no means unique to the twentieth century; for on the sixth of August 1862 the youthful Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society organized a well attended day excursion to Bosworth Field via Kirby Muxloe Castle and Market Bosworth where, at the Dixie Arms Hotel, ‘upwards of two hundred ladies and gentlemen partook of luncheon’.¹ But the afternoon was to witness the most spectacular event:

Shortly before three o’clock the bugle summoned all to the carriages, which proceeded to Ambian Hill, overlooking the Battle Field. Here the visitors found an immense concourse of people assembled to hear an account of the stirring scene once enacted upon the spot where they were assembled. A large platform had been erected for the members of the different societies present. It was handsomely decorated with appropriate banners and evergreens, large flags, too marked the more specially interesting historical sites on the field.²

Yet the success of this glittering Victorian occasion, as the last sentence of this description reveals, was due in part at least to the fact that these eminent Victorians knew where everything was — or thought they knew. Ambian (sic) Hill, King Richard’s Well, even the spot where Richard III fell, were all familiar aspects of local knowledge and had been for almost eighty years. The pioneer work in the identification of the battle site goes back to the identification of ‘King Ric. feld’ on Christopher Saxton’s earliest map of Leicestershire published in 1576 and Raphael Holinshed’s Chronicle published in 1577.³ William Burton in his 1622 Description of Leicestershire, added further interesting details.⁴ But there the subject rested for over one hundred and fifty years.

The mid eighteenth century witnessed a scholarly revival of interest in the reign and character of Richard III culminating in the publication of Horace Walpole’s Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard the Third in 1768. Walpole’s book, although today the best known, was by no means the earliest, or indeed the most satisfactory, product of this revival of historical interest. The debate was begun by Thomas Carte in his A General History of England, published in 1750. Carte’s book represents something of a watershed in Ricardian studies in that he uses Sir George Buck’s The History of King Richard the Third of 1619 as the
basis for a circumspect reassessment of Richard III’s reign and reputation. His more sympathetic treatment of Richard was to be challenged by the Scottish philosopher turned historian, David Hume, in the third volume of his History of England, published in 1763. Hume took the traditional view of Richard III, derived from the Tudor chronicles. This in turn led his friend Horace Walpole to publish his elegant, though superficial and unconvincing, Historic Doubts based on logical argument and the rhetorical device of paradox. It is interesting to speculate what aroused the interest of the pioneer of this historiographical debate, Thomas Carte. It may well have been a visit to the site of the Battle of Bosworth itself. Carte’s father was Samuel Carte, vicar of Saint Martin’s, Leicester, and his brother the Rev John Carte was a somewhat eccentric vicar of Hinckley, whose charges included the chapel and village of Dadlington on the fringe of Bosworth Field. As the executor of his brother’s will Thomas Carte must have visited Hinckley and its chapelries in the mid 1730’s, some years before the publication of his History.

At all events the historical debate upon Richard III, particularly Walpole’s popular and successful work of 1768, stimulated further discernible interest in the site of the battle field. The next person was the self-taught and self-made Birmingham paper merchant William Hutton. Hutton was a good example of eighteenth century enterprise, who made the transition from paper merchant to book seller to author with the publication of his anecdotal, though historically very useful, History of Birmingham in 1781, which according to his autobiography won his election to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1782. Hutton’s prolific literary output was of a journalistic and speculative nature. Like many of his Birmingham business contemporaries he was willing to put his hand to anything that would turn a profit. In 1788, for example, he spent his holidays at Blackpool and, presumably to pay for them, he wrote a ‘History of Blackpool, price one shilling’. The landlords of the town subsequently purchased his whole edition of 750 copies at the ‘prime cost of six-pence each’, though the likelihood is that this was a mutually profitable business transaction. Nor did his literary efforts end there; for in his autobiography he tells us ‘This year I published the History of the Hundred Court, being a supplement to the court of Requests, price one shilling: also, The Battle of Bosworth Field, five shillings’. The latter was to be his first attempt to write what may be called straight history and it was not without much travail. He was to record in his autobiography, which seems to be based upon an annual diary, ‘Writing a History from memory is a difficult task, especially when memory presents hardly any incident to the mind’. These words of deep inner doubt ought to be noted.
On a more prosaic level this passage refers to his previous, and probably first, visit to the site of the Battle of Bosworth almost eighteen years earlier in 1770, stimulated by the current speculation about Richard III following Walpole’s *Historic Doubts* published two years before. As usual Hutton did not waste time on a solitary or sentimental pilgrimage; there were other equally important things to be done. In his autobiography/diary he tells us that in 1770 he went to Nottingham Races and returned through Mountsorrel and Swithland to see his Leicestershire aunts: only then he and his genteel companion ‘took our route through Market Harborough and surveyed the fatal field where Richard fell’. Even so, as with other pilgrimages, this first visit to the shrine was to be a difficult, hazardous and unrewarding experience. Indeed, if we are to believe the comments included in his *History of Birmingham*, it was an experience something akin to an exploration of Equatorial Africa. He wrote of the hospitality he received on his first visit to that town from the people of Birmingham and continued:

I did not meet with this treatment in 1770 at Bosworth, where I accompanied a gentleman with no other intent than to view the field celebrated for the fall of Richard the Third. The inhabitants enjoyed the cruel satisfaction of setting their dogs on us in the street, merely because we were strangers. Human figures, not their own, are seldom seen in these inhospitable regions. Surrounded by impassable roads, no intercourse with men to humanise the mind, or commerce to smooth their rugged manners, they continue the boors of nature. He was to take further literary revenge upon Market Bosworth by describing it in his *Bosworth-Field* as ‘a shabby market town on the western borders of Leicestershire’. Under the circumstances of this ‘native unrest’ it is hardly surprising that he was able to glean little local information. In the preface to his book he was to comment ‘I frequently perceived embarrassment, at being unable to give me that information of their own premises, which a stranger might reasonably expect’. After several visits over the next eighteen years he was to conclude, ‘Authentic information of so remote a period, is procured with as much difficulty, by the antiquary, as water in the Arabian deserts by the traveller.’ Quite so; but why in that case was Hutton to write in the text of his book, ‘I... have also made many enquiries into the traditions in the vicinity of Bosworth Field and found this the most copious source of intelligence’? It is all rather confusing.

The fruits of this intelligence were to be incorporated into the map included in his 1788 edition of *The Battle of Bosworth-Field* — a veritable minefield of misinformation and misorientation which was to lead to so many errors by future historians. There are, however, at least two redeeming features; the earliest identification of the location of King
Richard’s Well and the actual shape of Redmoor Plain, the area of the battle, probably culled from the map in William Burton’s 1622 Description of Leicestershire.17

In the meanwhile other products of the eighteenth century Enlightenment were to take an interest in the site of the battle. They (presumably because they spoke the local dialect) got rather more from the boorish natives; though they too experienced difficulties with the uncharted terrain. The first of these was John Robinson, a well-to-do Hinckley worsted manufacturer and a leading figure in what can only be described as the ‘Hinckley Enlightenment’.18 Like Hutton, a self-made, self-educated man, but whose efforts and intellect were directed to ‘scientific pursuits’.19 According to his friend and collaborator John Nichols’ barbed remarks his breadth of knowledge — or perhaps opinions — must have made Mr Robinson a tedious companion. Nichols in 1811 described him as ‘Mechanick, Astronomer, Botanist, Natural Philosopher, Electrician, Painter, and Poet: nor was he below mediocrity in either (sic) of these capacities’. He was also a man of quite extraordinary appearance as his portrait in Nichols shews. Indeed Nichols felt compelled to remark that his picture was not a caricature!20

Robinson made a number of visits to the area of the battle in the late 1770’s and it was he who in September 1781 escorted John Nichols over the field for the first time. This visit was obviously a prelude to the publication by Nichols of his History and Antiquities of Hinckley, in the County of Leicester a year later, a work dedicated to his collaborator, John Robinson, on the first of November 1782.21 Robinson made several further visits to the field, including one on the tricentenary of the battle, the twenty second of August 1785. He may have conducted a party on this occasion, in that case the very first; for that year he had printed his ‘Map of the County Five Miles round Hinckley’22 which contained the first published plan of the site shewing the supposed disposition of the two contending armies: thus adding military tactics to his compendium of knowledge and opinion. Unfortunately the orientation of the armies is based upon Holinshed’s embellishment, of Hall’s embellishment, of Polydore Vergil’s comment which still engenders hot speculation, that Henry’s army had the sun at its back.23 Upon this false premise poor Mr Robinson constructed an elaborate scientific orientation. In his own words:

I have often been on the spot. The few trees I have drawn represent the Ambiem Wood, which is but small. On the side next Hinckley is some tender ground, where it is said the king’s horse was mired; and on the other side of the wood is King Richard’s Well. The Ambiem is supposed to be the place of the engagement; but there are many
Portrait of John Robinson of Hinckley published by John Nichols in 1811
opinions of the position of the line of battle; which the following, I think, will sufficiently determine. Richmond is said to have taken a particular position for securing his right wing, &c.; and by so doing, it is agreed, he had the sun on his back, and full in the face of his enemies; and the battle is recorded to have been fought on the 22d of August, 1485, at two o’clock in the afternoon (!). If, therefore, we draw a meridian on the spot, and another line to the Westward of the same, making an angle of 30°, and then intersect the same at right angles, we have the position of the line of the battle as drawn in my map. 24

Three years later, as we have seen, stimulated by this and other speculations known to him through his correspondent and later friend John Nichols, and perhaps by the wholesome prospect of material profit, William Hutton published his *Battle of Bosworth-Field*.

The effect of this work, worthy as it is, upon subsequent studies of the battle can only be described as catastrophic; yet Hutton still has his admirers even today. 25 It is from Hutton that we get the notion that there was no marsh, ever: which tells us that despite the reference to the work in his preface, Hutton had not read Holinshed — at least, not read it carefully. It is also to Hutton’s account that we owe the extraordinary belief that Richard III arrived on Redmoor Plain four days early and subsequently had his troops gainfully employed in constructing prehistoric earthworks three hundred yards long about fifty yards behind his camp ‘which with other operations of great labour, prove his stay cannot have been less than three days’; 26 indeed! He is also alone responsible for the division of the Stanleys on either side of the battle field; Sir William to the north and Lord Stanley to the south — like his king, feverishly erecting earthworks near Stapleton — and later engaged in an extraordinary square dance on the battle field itself:

That Lord Stanley should keep at a distance on the right, and Sir William on the left. That when the two armies of Richard and Henry were drawn up face to face; Lord Stanley should form, and cover the opening between Richard’s left and Richmond’s right, and Sir William do the same on the opposite side, but join neither; so that when the four armies were marshalled they would form a hollow square. 27

There are many other examples of Hutton’s speculative errors. Contemporaries were not all deceived by the ‘admirable Hutton’; there were a number of dissenting voices. The reviewer of Hutton’s book in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* was to remark, ‘He is as particular in detailing the battle as if he had been in it: but for want of authorities, we must take his word for it, for it is impossible to follow him with other authorities’. 28 There were also adverse comments upon his journalistic
style; ‘His language, however is unpleasant and provincial and has a mixture of quaintness and vulgarity’. All this amounts to fair comment. Not only are his descriptions of incidents outrageously graphic in their imaginative detail — for example, ‘Richard was dressed in the same suit of armour, of polished steel, in which, fourteen years before, he won the battle of Tewkesbury’ — but he even provides us with a complete casualty list of deaths for all the battles in the Wars of the Roses; a grand total of 105,176! His contemporary John Throsby, writing in 1789, best sums up the whole book in his sentence, ‘Hutton has given us “Bosworth fight” in novel and entertaining words, but they are words of conjecture.’

Others, however, enthusiastically accepted everything with a disastrous lack of circumspection, including, unfortunately, John Nichols himself. In the late spring of 1789 Nichols, accompanied by John Robinson and Mr J Pridden, made a further visit to Redmoor Plain, described lyrically in a letter to David Wells of Burbach dated the thirty first of March 1790:

It was at the precise season, let me observe, when the blossom of the hawthorn, assuming its deepest vermeil tincture, was on the point of expanding into bud; when the red and white rose full-blown (apt emblems of the scenery we contemplated) were literally entwined in beauteous embrace.

But there was more to this visit than the delighting of a Londonder with the beauties of nature. The object of the visit was to draw up a definitive plan of the battle site by the resident experts in conjunction with ‘the ingenious ideas of Mr. Hutton’ published the previous year. The result was the ‘Plan of the Battle of Bosworth and of the Neighbourhood’ drawn up by Mr Pridden and dated the seventeenth of June 1789, incorporating a revised orientation of the opposing lines of the two armies, the disposition of the erroneously separated Stanley forces and the various so-called camps, at Stapleton Richard III and to the south west Lord Stanley, taken from Hutton’s ‘Plan of Bosworth Field’. Nichols and his companions added two more camps, that of Sir William Stanley at Hanging-Hill, just south of Market Bosworth, and the so-called Duke of Norfolk’s Camp near Cadeby. All this compounded conjecture was thrown into the literary pot and published in volume IV part ii of Nichols’ History and Antiquities of the Count of Leicester in 1811. The brew was further seasoned with a somewhat catholic and dubious list of ‘reliques’ found on the battlefield from as far away as Husbands Bosworth. When Nichols published a second edition of Hutton’s Bosworth Field in 1813, all this material was uncritically incorporated into the section of additional particulars that followed Hutton’s text; all prefaced by edited extracts from various reviews of Hutton’s first edition of 1788.
The only real virtue of this unedifying episode of local history is that everything was included and nothing was left out; one of John Nichols’ great legacies to later historians. Once the errors and inaccuracies are unravelled there remain a few precious grains of useful information: the site of King Richard’s Well — though how authentic this eighteenth century discovery actually is cannot be assessed; the site of Hewitt’s cottage and the finds, particularly of the cannon balls: but above all the general topography of the area of Ambion Hill just before its enclosure by the Sutton Cheney Enclosure Act of 1794. When William Hutton visited the area in 1807 he recorded in his autobiography/diary, ‘I paid a visit in July to Bosworth Field, but found so great an alteration since I saw it in 1788 that I was totally lost’;\textsuperscript{36} not for the first time.

Finally, what are we to make of the history contained in Hutton’s \textit{The Battle of Bosworth-Field}, apart from the details of the battle and the site dealt with in this paper? Once again, the less said the better; but it is hard to pass over one purple passage guaranteed to set every historian’s teeth on edge. It makes a fitting ending to this account written during the Quincentenary Year of the Battle of Bosworth, pointing out the dangers of too sharp a focus upon one fleeting and transitory episode, the battle itself. Of the consequences of Richard’s fatal last charge William Hutton was to write:

From the time Richard galloped out of the right flank, till he fell, could not be more than fifteen minutes, but they were some of the most remarkable minutes we read of. They for ever closed the bleeding wounds of the two houses. They extinguished the ancient and heroic line of Plantagenet. A period was put to the enormous power of the Barons, which had bound the people, and bullied the crown; and to the still more enormous power of the priesthood, which had bullied both. They dispelled the clouds of ignorance and superstition, and obliged the witch, the ghost, and the wizard for ever to hide their faces. They opened the door for light, knowledge, and letters. They were the dawn of the arts. The world was taught to consider the lower ranks of men as part of the human species, who, before had only been considered as slaves and villains; that every man had a right to his property, and if he possessed no property, he had still a right to himself. They promoted a beneficial union between England and Scotland; which, being founded on natural principles, became permanent, by which harmony is preserved, and the lives of thousands saved. The united kingdom was taught by these fifteen minutes, to increase in commerce, in riches, in civilization, in power, and soon to rise the arbitress of Europe.\textsuperscript{37}

A veritable Pandora’s Box of historical solecisms that we should all take pains to avoid.
References:

1. Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society, II, 1860-4, p 114
2. Ibid, pp 114-15
3. R Holinshed, Chronicles, 1577, III, p 1416
4. W Burton, The Description of Leicestershire, 1622, p 47
5. See The History of King Richard the Third (1619) by Sir George Buck, ed A N Kincaid, Gloucester, 1979, p lxxxix
11. *Ibid*
12. *Ibid*, pp 183-4
15. *Ibid*, preface, p vii
17. The shape of his plan of Redmoor certainly conforms with Burton’s copy of the Leicestershire part of Christopher Saxton’s 1576 map of Warwickshire and Leicestershire.
19. Nichols, IV ii, p 693 n I
20. *Ibid* and plate CXVIII, facing
22. Nichols, IV ii, plate LXXXVII facing p 555
24. Nichols, IV ii, p 556
27. *Ibid*, p 59
29. *Ibid*, p 728
33. Nichols, IV ii, p 556; the visit was made in 1789 and not as C Ross, *Richard III, op cit, p 220* states, in 1838; by that date Nichols was long dead.
34. Nichols, IV ii, plate LXXXIX facing p 556
35. W. Hutton, *The Battle of Bosworth Field*, 2nd ed, with additions, 1813
The beginning of 1644 saw a concerted effort by the Parliamentarians to redress the balance of the Civil War, which had in 1643 gone very much against them. Luring the Scots into the war with promises of the establishment of a presbyterian church made the task easier for them. Pressure from the Scots had drawn the Marquis of Newcastle to the borderlands and the Fairfaxes having gone on the offensive in Yorkshire severely disrupted the running of the southern part of the Marquis’s command. In the south Sir William Waller was threatening the royalist Lord Hopton’s gains of the previous year and the Earl of Essex posed a threat to the King’s headquarters at Oxford. In the Midlands the powerful royalist garrison at Newark was besieged by Sir John Meldrum with a composite force drawn from several counties.

The north Midlands had been, since the commencement of the conflict, divided territory. Both sides maintained a structured war administration in the counties of Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire. These administrations provided money, supplies and the occasional levies of men for the respective causes, in a manner intended to minimise the break with tradition, by utilizing the conventional method of collections via the constables.¹ The success of this was lessened both by the need to protect the collectors from the enemy with a troop of horse and by the size of the amounts levied upon each of the villages every week. The parliamentarian war effort was conducted by county committees which, as well as administering the particular county for which they were responsible, were bonded into associations. Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire were at this time under the command of Lord Grey of Groby. The Royalists had a similar system, each county being run by a commission of array composed of local gentry, and they in turn were joined under the control of Henry Hastings, Lord Loughborough. Though both sides inevitably clashed in the region, there does appear to have been some degree of ‘turning a blind eye’ to each other’s activities where the day to day running of the administrations was concerned. There was also an attempt to create a bilateral agreement in the Vale of Belvoir.²

The royalist garrison at Newark was a considerable thorn in Parliament’s
paw. It guarded the route from Oxford to York and housed the Nottinghamshire Commission of Array, which not only controlled that county but made considerable inroads into Lincolnshire. The first siege of the town, early in 1643, had ended in failure, as did the projected siege of May the same year. However Meldrum’s siege was far more damaging and caused great concern. His force consisted of six thousand, about two thousand of which were horse. They were drawn from Hull, Nottingham, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Derbyshire. Lord Loughborough and the governor of Belvoir Castle, Gervase Lucas, attempted to bring some relief to the town but due to lack of numbers they could do little. It was clear that Loughborough needed the strength of all his own ‘flying army’ and outside help in order to tackle the situation.\(^3\) Prince Rupert at Chester was at first unmoved by Loughborough’s reports on the situation but an order from the King persuaded him to march east with around four thousand men, equally divided between horse and foot.

Rupert left Chester on the 12th of March and by the 16th informed Loughborough of his imminent arrival. He instructed the Lieutenant General to gather in extra food and to destroy hedges and fences along the route from Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Loughborough’s headquarters, and Rempstone, which was on the projected route to Newark.\(^4\) This was in order to facilitate rapid movement. The Prince need not have worried: for Loughborough had not been idle. He had begun to gather the ‘flying army’ at Ashby, bringing in the Derbyshire colonels, Harpur, Eyre, Freshville, Fitzherbert and Knyverton; the Leicestershire colonels, Lucas, Pate and Neville; the Staffordshire colonels, Leveson and Bagot; and the Nottinghamshire colonel, Molyneux. The force thus gathered numbered fourteen hundred foot and sixteen hundred horse.\(^5\) Loughborough had also fortified and garrisoned Burleigh House, near the town of Loughborough, to monitor movements between Leicester and Newark, as the house, situated on the ridge upon which part of Loughborough University now stands, had a commanding view of the area. On March the 15th a small force from the ‘flying army’ moved on Leicester to frighten the garrison there into inactivity. After a short demonstration of force the small army moved off along the line of the present A6 to Mountsorrel, where they ensconced themselves in the local inns.

On the same day Meldrum, apparently disturbed by the growing forces at Ashby, dispatched his horse under Sir Edward Hartopp to prevent firstly Major General Porter, moving from Tuxford, from joining Lord Loughborough and secondly any union between Prince Rupert and the local forces.
The following morning Hartopp’s troops, intending to cross the Soar at Mountsorrel, came across the Royalists who were in a less than active and alert state of mind. The leading regiment of Hartopp’s force, Colonel Thornhaugh’s horse, perceived an excellent chance to attack an unprepared enemy and charged across the bridge into the town. For some reason Hartopp was not happy with this action and refused to send any supporting troops into the fight. Thornhaugh was outnumbered and this gave the Royalists time to concentrate their minds and their forces and they rallied, driving Thornhaugh out and back across the bridge. He was undeterred. Mounting a second attack, this time with the aid of dragoons, he again entered the town and built barricades in the streets to strengthen the bridgehead. Hartopp was now furious at the insubordinate action Thornhaugh had taken, while other regiments were itching to take part and press their commander to send them to Thornhaugh’s aid. Instead Hartopp ordered the attacking troops to withdraw. Thornhaugh was forced to pull out, coming under increasing pressure as he did so. The hasty withdrawal resulted in heavy casualties and a large number of Thornhaugh’s men were taken prisoner. Once all his force were on the east bank Hartopp began to move north towards Barrow upon Soar. The Royalists, likewise, began to move north along the opposite bank.

Both forces were heading for the bridge at Cotes. The Parliamentarians wished to seize this in order to prevent Porter making contact with Lord Loughborough and to impede the Prince’s advance, though it is possible that even at this late stage they were unsure whether the approach of the Prince was little more than a rumour. The bridge, together with the causeway running from its western end towards Loughborough, a mile away, was about half a mile in length. Cotes Hall the home of Sir Henry Skipwith, a commissioner of array, overlooked the River Soar which divided into several channels as it passed by the village and under the bridge. The area around the bridge and between the channels was marshy and the river impassable except over the bridge itself. To deny access to the royalist forces would be a serious blow to any attempt to relieve Newark.

Hartopp’s force arrived in Cotes on March the 17th and placed themselves at the eastern end of the village itself. Thornhaugh’s horse were dispatched to Stanford Hill, almost two miles away to the north, perhaps as much to keep them out of the way as to watch for the arrival of Major General Porter and prevent any out-flanking move from the north. At the opposite side of the river Lord Loughborough’s troops had constructed earthworks around the western approaches to the bridge and placed themselves in these. During the day Hartopp was re-enforced by three companies of foot from Leicester under the command of Colonel
Henry Grey. These, and the two cannon that they brought with them, were placed directly at the end of the bridge. But no major action took place. The Royalists were content to gaze upon their enemies as time was on their hands. They were confident in the knowledge that both Rupert and Porter were close at hand and that the main body of the 'flying army' was nearby. Hartopp, who had a golden opportunity to capture this vital part of the Royalists' route, appears to have shown no inclination to attack the bridge.

There are no statistics regarding the royalist force at Cotes. The foot were said, at one point, to be in five bodies, which may indicate that elements, or indeed the entire complements, of five regiments were present. Though there is evidence to suggest that Lord Loughborough's and Colonel Bagot's foot regiments numbered around three hundred men each,\(^7\) we cannot say for sure whether either of these was present. Going by the numbers of officers whose names can be traced coming from the other regiments in Lord Loughborough's army it appears that the majority of regiments were smaller than those cited, perhaps little more than a hundred or a hundred and fifty strong.\(^8\) We may therefore be dealing with a force of between five hundred and a thousand foot soldiers. Royalist horse was also present, again in unknown numbers. As it is unlikely that all the sixteen hundred at Loughborough's disposal would have been committed, especially as Leveson's regiments was possibly with Rupert, we can assume that there were probably no more than a thousand.

The parliamentarian force is easier to estimate. Hartopp had brought with him around two thousand horse from Newark and there is no evidence to suggest that this number had changed, apart from the casualties suffered at Mountsorrel. Hartopp may have had a few foot with him. He certainly had dragoons, which in a fight like the sort which was to ensue would act on foot. To these must be added the three companies from Leicester, which would be between sixty and a hundred men each. It would be safe to assume a total number of five hundred foot. Hartopp also had the advantage of the two cannon, something the Royalists do not appear to have had on the field. We are left with an army of fifteen hundred to two thousand Royalists facing around two thousand five hundred Parliamentarians, making Cotes a larger battle than the better known one at Hopton Heath.

The 18th saw Hartopp at last galvanized into action. It may have been that the Royalists were being re-enforced or that he saw this as his last chance to grasp the initiative; either way the Parliamentarians attacked the barricaded bridge. The two cannon opened fire on the defenders and
appear to have done a good deal of damage to the defending regiments. The bombardment was followed by the parliamentarian foot surging across the bridge and forcing the Royalists back to the earthworks. The parliamentarian horse then crossed over and attacked, or were attacked by, the royalist horse. After a fight of unknown duration the latter were defeated. Thus disorganized they fled the field, not drawing rein until they reached the safety of Burleigh House, two miles away. The victorious parliamentarian horse drew rein in Loughborough and there rested their horses. Back at the bridge the impetus of the attack by Hartopp’s foot had driven the Royalists out of their earthworks and they now stood in five bodies in Loughborough meadows, to the north of the town. The Parliamentarians were unwilling or unable to press their advantage further and contented themselves with facing their enemy. This may indicate that the royalist foot were more numerous than their foe and that defeat on the bridge had been due, in the main, to the effects of the cannon fire. This would explain why the royalist foot did not counter-attack, taking into consideration the presence of the enemy horse who were a danger to the unprotected royalist foot. Hartopp, perhaps worried about the arrival of Porter, brought his horse out of the town and regrouped near the bridge. It may have been this action which caused the royalist foot to withdraw further into the cultivated lands bordering on the meadows, just after nightfall.

Other elements of the ‘flying army’ were now on the way from Ashby and Prince Rupert arrived at the castle there during the evening. Whether or not Hartopp knew of this remains a mystery but he was still worried enough about his position to withdraw his army across the bridge which the Leicester foot had done so much to gain. Not content with this he then began a total withdrawal towards Newark during the night. This was too much for Colonel Grey who, according to some accounts, truculently marched off to Leicester; though given the presence of at least two royalist armies this was a sensible move. All chance of delaying the royalist relief force was now gone as Lord Loughborough’s foot re-occupied the bridge at Cotes.

On the following day the Prince and Lord Loughborough crossed over and headed for Rempstone, joining Porter on the way. On the night of the 20th the army marched round Newark and placed themselves on Meldrum’s line of communications. On the following morning Rupert and Loughborough attacked and forced the enemy onto the island in the Trent known as the Spittal. With no hope of relief Meldrum’s entire army surrendered, handing over all their weapons, including eleven cannons. It appears that Meldrum was, until the last moment, unaware of Rupert’s approach.
The battle at Cotes was of great importance, though it has always been overshadowed by the brilliance with which Rupert conducted the encirclement of Meldrum’s army. Yet this would never have occurred if the outcome at the bridge had been different. Hartopp is entirely to blame for the parliamentarian failure to prevent or at least slow down the royalist advance. Had he taken and fortified the bridge on the 17th he could have done this. It is unlikely that his small force could have stood against the army Rupert and Loughborough assembled on the night of the 18th but had he stayed longer at the bridge he would have made certain of the Prince’s presence, a fact the ignorance of which cost Meldrum an army. It would have been expedient for the latter to abandon the siege had he known of this and, as the Prince was itching to return west and indeed did so as soon as possible, to resume the siege later. Hartopp’s action became the subject of a national enquiry. Thornhaugh’s Captain-Lieutenant gave evidence against him but it was feared that a protracted investigation might tear apart the rather shaky coalition between the counties in the area and the matter was dropped.

Had this small fight ended differently the subsequent history of the part played by the north Midlands in the Civil War would have been drastically altered and Prince Rupert’s reputation might have received the jolt Marston Moor provided that much earlier.

References:

1. Eg Braunston Constables Accounts, Leicestershire Record Office DE 720/30
2. Petition of the Vale of Belvoir, (photocopy) Nottinghamshire Record Office DD294/1
4. British Library Additional Manuscripts 18981 fo 89
5. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Newark-upon-Trent, the civil war Siege Works*, H M S O, 1964

6. ‘The Examination of Captain George Palmer taken before the Committee at Leicester, 30th March 1644’ in E W Hensman ‘Mountsorrel’ in A Dryden ed, *Memorials of Old Leicestershire*, 1911, pp 126-7


10. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *op cit*
Worthington's Cash Stores, whose grocery shops were once a familiar sight in both city and county, was a good local example of what has been called the first retailing revolution, that is, the rise of the multiple store. At its peak, just after the Second World War, it had 104 shops in Leicestershire and the neighbouring counties of Northamptonshire, Warwickshire and Nottinghamshire; and the slogan 'Let Worthington's feed you' had become a local household phrase.

The business was founded in 1891, when Charles Thomas Worthington, who was manager of the Leicester branch of the Nottingham grocery firm of J D Marsden, bought the shop he was managing. To that shop, at 18 Humberstone Road, he had already added two others, in Northgate Street and Upper Conduit Street, by 1895, the year he first appears in local directories.

Three years later the number of shops had increased to six, though the original one in Humberstone Road had by then been relinquished. It is noticeable that the firm was already moving out into the suburbs – the West End, Belgrave and North Evington – and this was to remain the pattern throughout; there was never any attempt to establish shops in the town centre. Worthington's was catering in the main for a lower middle and working class clientele who shopped locally.

By 1900 there were nine shops in Leicester, and the first branch had appeared in the county, at Hinckley. The numbers continued to rise steadily – sixteen by 1904, twenty by 1908 and twenty-three by 1912. As Worthington & Co the business seems at first to have been an unlimited company (one where the liability of shareholders is not limited financially), but by 1906 had become Worthington's Cash Stores Ltd. As the name suggests, credit was not encouraged, but could be given at the discretion of the branch manager.

It was not the only chain grocers in Leicester. The Maypole Dairy Co, the Home & Colonial Stores, Lipton's and Melias all had branches here in 1912, though only the first two had any shops in the suburbs. The main competitors, however, were not so much these as the Leicester Co-operative Society which in that year already had twenty-five grocery shops in the town of Leicester alone.

Where CT Worthington lived in the early years of the business is not apparent, as he does not appear on the voting registers for any of the shop premises. However, by 1902 he was at 23 St James's Road, six years later had moved to a
house called ‘Inglewood’ in Holmfield Road and by 1916 was living at 16 Springfield Road. The company had a total of twenty-seven shops in Leicestershire when its founder died on the 16th of March 1925 at the early age of 58; he was buried in Welford Road Cemetery. The success of his multiple retailing venture was borne out by his estate which had a gross value of £43,552, a considerable sum at that time. 4 His place as chairman and managing director of the company was taken by his son, Charles Edward Worthington, then aged 28. Educated at the Wyggeston School and Heidelberg, C E Worthington had served in the First World War as a lieutenant in the Royal Flying Corps before joining the family firm.

Though the number of shops had increased to thirty-three by 1928, the relatively slow growth of the business during the post-war years may have been partly responsible for the decision to turn Worthington’s into a public company in 1930. Thereafter it was known as Worthington’s Cash Stores (1930) Ltd. The expansion which resulted made it necessary to move the offices and warehouse from Pike Street to larger premises at 66 Church Gate. By 1932 the number of retail outlets had gone up to forty-three, four years later was fifty-six, and by 1941 had reached sixty-four. 5

A photograph of the Blaby branch taken in 1925 shows them advertising ‘home fed hams for an appetizing meal’ and ‘new Xmas fruit, finest quality’. ‘Finest lean ham’ was 9½d per lb, ‘delicious greengages’ 7½d a large tin, while eggs were 1/- a dozen. The firm advertised in the local press, and always with the famous slogan. One series of humorous advertisements was called ‘English history as pictured by Worthington’s’ and ran in the Leicester Mercury in the late 1920s, each advertisement highlighting a particular commodity. Another featured two characters called Sam and Pete who wore white jackets, aprons and white hats, and who were based on a warehouseman and one of the office staff. One showed them returning from Spain with Seville oranges to be turned into Worthington’s marmalade, and another had them coming back from Canada after inspecting Canadian pigs destined to become the firm’s Adanac bacon (Adanac being Canada spelt backwards). The advertisements were so popular that at one time they were used by some teachers in local schools in geography lessons. 6

In addition to his role as head of an expanding grocery chain, C E Worthington had other business interests. In 1931 he founded a margarine and edible oil firm with factories in Hull and Mitcham, and three years later was joint founder of Odeon Cinemas. He was elected to the City Council in 1936, and served as president of the Leicester and County Chamber of Commerce in 1937-39. Following the outbreak of the Second World War he became Civil Defence Controller for Leicester, and was Lord Mayor in 1945-46. He became an alderman in 1955. 7
In the early 1950s he visited the United States to look at American retailing methods and on his return decided to begin converting his shops from counter service to self service. The number of shops seems to have remained more or less at pre-war levels until the late fifties when a number of the smaller branches began to be closed as part of a rationalization programme.

Worthington's still had thirty-five shops in Leicester and a total of sixty-five in the Midlands, when in March 1966 the *Leicester Mercury* announced the sale of the business to Moores Stores of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. It had bought the goodwill, fixtures, fittings and stock, but the actual shops remained in the possession of Worthington's, which was now to operate as a property company and let them to Moores.

Though some of Worthington's shops continued to trade under their old name, many were closed down very rapidly by the new owners of the business. By 1970, the year C E Worthington died, only twelve branches remained open in Leicestershire, and today there is only one left which is still operated by Worthington's successors; it is at Kibworth and trades under the name of Lipton's.

References:

1. I have not attempted to deal with its development outside Leicestershire.
2. This was in use at least as early as 1925; information from Mr F Oldfield, Worthington's former Chief Buyer.
3. The shop, in a terrace built in 1888 and called Clump Buildings, still exists and is now occupied by the Humberstone Newsagency.
5. In Leicester they were in:–
   Abbey Lane, Allandale Rd, Aylestone Rd, Barkby Rd, Beatrice Rd, Belgrave Rd, Brunswick St, Catherine St (2), Cavendish Rd, Clarendon Park Rd, Cross St, Cyril St, Devana Rd, East Park Rd, Fullhurst Ave, Green Lane Rd, Hinckley Rd (2), Humberstone Rd (2), Imperial Ave, Kensington St, King Richards Rd, Kingston Rd, London Rd, Loughborough Rd, Marfitt St, Melbourne Rd, Melton Rd, Narborough Rd, New Bridge St, Nichols St, Northgate St, Parkway, Saffron Lane, South Albion St, Southfields Dr, Sparkenhoe St, Tudor Rd, Upper Conduit St, Uppingham Rd (2), Victoria Rd East, Welford Rd (2), Wharf St, Winchester Ave and Woodgate.

In the county they were at:–
   Anstey, Birstall, Blaby, Earl Shilton, Ibstock, Kibworth Beauchamp, Leicester Forest East, Melton Mowbray, Mountsorrel, Oadby, Sileby, South Wigston, Syston, Thurmaston and Wigston magna.
ENGLISH HISTORY AS PICTURED by WORTHINGTONS

A.D. 1485.
At a local battle at Market Bosworth the Earl of Richmond made his famous cry, "A bag of raisins— a bag of raisins— my kingdom for a bag of raisins (from Worthingtons)."

SUN-DRIED RAISINS

Per 4½d. Lb.

Let Worthington's aid you

THIRTY-SEVEN BRANCHES.
6. Information from Mr F Oldfield
8. *Leicester Mercury*, 7 March 1966. Moores Stores Ltd was an extremely large group with over 2,000 shops, which had taken over a number of other provincial grocery chains, including J D Marsden of Nottingham, C T Worthington’s original employer.
9. Moores Stores was in turn taken over by Allied Suppliers (Lipton’s, Maypole, Home & Colonial etc), which was then bought by Cavenham Foods, which has now been acquired by Argyll Foods; information from Mr P L Worthington, to whom I am indebted for help in preparing this article.

Three of the *Leicester Mercury* ‘English history as pictured by Worthington’s’ advertisements (above and previous page)
HENRY WINTER JOHNSON, A MARKET HARBOROUGH ARCHITECT  
Geoffrey K Brandwood

Henry Winter Johnson (1871-1918) was responsible for some of the more interesting buildings put up in Market Harborough around the turn of the century. He was the son of the Melton Mowbray architect, Robert Winter Johnson who had a busy practice in the 1860s and the early 1870s. He had been responsible for at least eighteen (rather unappealing) church restorations in the Wreake valley, the Melton cattle market (1870), Kettering cemetery, several schools (e.g. Asfordby 1859 and Edmondthorpe 1863) and numerous other works.

Henry was articled to Stock, Page and Stock in London from 1889 to 1894 and in 1895 became an assistant in the office of Gotch and Saunders in Kettering. In 1896 he went into partnership with Herbert George Coales (1863-1944), a surveyor in Market Harborough, with whom he remained until 1916. Johnson was the architectural talent in the business and Coales concentrated on the surveying and civil engineering aspects. This partnership seems to have worked well though the two men were very different, Johnson aspiring to county society, Coales more practical.

During the years around 1900 there was much scope for an architect in Harborough. This was a time of civic expansion and new public buildings were required as the following list shows. Johnson designed a number of good buildings, notably the Grammar School and the Gas Offices. They are mostly in a free style and make effective use of then current architectural ideas. His fascinations seem to include segmental arches (e.g. the Post Office doorway), interestingly treated heavy window surrounds (Gas Offices), bold parapets (Fire Station), richly varied roof lines (Lubenham Hill residence) and big limestone chimneys of enterprising section (Little Bowden School).

List of works:

All are in Market Harborough and are predominately of brick unless otherwise stated.
The page numbers in brackets refer to photographs reproduced in Victorian Harborough by J C Davies.

c 1897    Rose Hill, Leicester Road
           Residence with two large, distinctive tile-hung gables.
c 1897  The Croft, Leicester Road  
Residence next door to Rose Hill. Land for both sold in 1896. Corner turret, some half-timbering, complex roof lines. (p 114)

1899  Green's (printers), St. Mary's Road  
Probably by Johnson.

1899  Red Cow, High Street  
Public house, rebuilt, three storeys, attractive Art Nouveau lettering.

1899  Gas Showroom and Offices, St Mary's Road  
For Urban District Council. Interesting façade of two storeys divided by a string course and a broad frieze with stylized floral decoration. Heavy window surrounds with big keystones and deep sills. (p 117)  
See illustration.

1900  Black Horse, Foxton  
Public house, rebuilt.

1901  Post Office, St. Mary's Road  
Asymmetrically placed entrance under a segmental arch canopy (new entrance made in 1983). Flat, fluted pilasters on second floor.

1902  Cattle Market, off Springfield Road  
The Settling Rooms have a square, stocky clock tower at the southwest corner. Distinctive top, typical of Johnson. Scrollwork round the clock. (p 88)

by 1903  Factory, Peterborough  
Cost £5,500. Unidentified.

by 1903  Corset factory extension  
Presumably Symington's.

1903  Fire Station, Abbey Street  
Four bays. Upper storey and parapet have curved fronts to each bay. The two houses adjacent clearly built at the same time. (p 90)

1903  Assembly Rooms, Abbey Street  
Cost £3,000. Demolished. (p 36)

1907  School, Little Bowden  
One storey. Long, continuous roof. (p 95)
County Grammar School, Market Harborough.

Grammar School, Burnmill Road, Market Harborough

photo by Michael C Brown from a postcard
1909 Grammar School, Burnmill Road
Signed 'Coales & Johnson Archts' below a dated cartouche. Probably the best work of the partnership. Generally a simple Queen Anne Style. Elegant façade to the road, three bays, the central one slightly recessed. The entrance reached up a flight of stairs beneath a gently curved portico with twin classical columns either side. South entrance under a demi-octagonal projection topped by an attractive Arts and Crafts slated turret. Interesting display of gables at the rear. (p 68) See illustration.

1909 Two residences, top of Lubenham Hill, south side
For Newcombe's, estate agents. Stone-built. The more westerly has a rather confused, varied west elevation with a balcony over a broad two-bay segmental arched arcade. Lots of gables. The east side is much more restrained. The more easterly house is also restrained.

1909 Cottage Hospital, Coventry Road
Routine work, overshadowed by the more imposing extension of 1923. (p 96)

Other works
Johnson's statement to the Royal Institute of British Architects and his obituary make it clear he designed other houses, hunting boxes, hunting and polo stables. The main works, however, have probably been identified in the list above. No works after 1909 have been traced.

Sources:

Interviews with Miss Kathleen W Coales, daughter of H G Coales, supplied much information. I would thank her for her recollections of Winter Johnson and her father, which stimulated my researches.
J C Davies and M C Brown, Yesterday's Town: Victorian Harborough, 1981. I thank Mr J C Davies, whose unrivalled knowledge of Market Harborough was of great value, and Michael C Brown ARPS for preparing the photographs included here.
Royal Institute of British Architects Library; Johnson's Nomination Statement to become a Fellow of the RIBA, 14 Nov 1903. I thank Ruth H Kamen at the Library who turned up important details.
RIBA Journal, 26, 1918-9, p 95, for Johnson's obituary.
Market Harborough Advertiser, 3 March 1896, for date of sale of land for Rose Hill and The Croft.
LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETIES
Additions and corrections to lists published in Vol 3 Nos 1 and 2

a. Periodicals
b. Occasional Publications
c. Affiliated to Leicestershire Local History Council

bc Ashby-de-la-Zouch Museum
13-15 Lower Church Street, Ashby-de-la-Zouch

ac Brinhurst, Great Easton and Drayton Local History Society
Mr R Bryant, 10 Musk Close, Great Easton
NEWSLETTER
Mr K Hesselton, 24 Barnsdale Close, Great Easton

c Croft Local History Group
Mrs Harrison, 5 Pochin Street, Croft

c Desford and District Local History Group
Mrs Fuller, 26 Kirkby Road, Desford

c Dunton Basset Local History Group
Mrs Warren, Broomhills Farm, Dunton Basset
Fleckney, Kilby and Saddington Local History Group
Mrs D West, 69 Coleman Road, Fleckney

c Leicestershire Family History Society
Miss Brown, 25 Home Croft Drive, Packington

c The Harborough Museum
Mr S P Mullins, Council Office, Adam and Eve Street, Market Harborough

a Market Harborough Historical Society
Mr T Heggs, 11 Westland Close, Lubenham
THE HARBOROUGH HISTORIAN
Dr G Brandwood, 10 Barnard Gardens, Market Harborough

Market Harborough Local History Research Group
Mr S P Mullins, Harborough Museum, Market Harborough

a Friends of Moira Furnace
Mr B Waring, 11 Ashby Road, Moira
THE CRUCIBLE

bc Rearsby Local History Society
Mrs H Jordan, 30 Mill Road, Rearsby

bc Oadby Local History Group
Mr B Elliott, 17 Half Moon Crescent, Oadby

bc Whitwick Historical Group
Mr G R Hibbert, 81 Parsonwood Hill, Whitwick

c Wolvey Local History Group
Mr D Briant, 5 Hall Lane, Wolvey, Hinckley

33
BOOK REVIEWS
Mrs H E Broughton, J Goodacre, Mrs G K Long

FAMILY AND ESTATE RECORDS IN THE LEICESTERSHIRE RECORD OFFICE
H E Broughton Leicestershire Record Office Collections No 1
Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and Records Service 1984 £2

GUIDE TO BRITISH HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY
Henry E Huntington Library and Art Gallery,
San Marino, California 1982 $30

The comprehensive introduction to major deposits of estate and personal papers of Leicestershire and Rutland families held by the County Record Office is a useful guide for the researcher. Additional material is also noted and located under individual collections. Valuable appendices contain details of smaller collections, larger collections known to exist elsewhere and solicitors’ collections containing family archives. Families are also listed for whom few or no known papers survive. The guide includes a useful introduction, bibliography, map and index.

G K L

The major Leicestershire family archive in existence elsewhere is the Hastings collection of around 50,000 documents which was purchased in 1927 by Henry Huntington, the American railway and real estate magnate. Between then and 1947 the Historical Manuscripts Commission published a four volume report recording about half of the documents and transcribing most of the early correspondence. Only the mediaeval deeds were indexed and hardly any of the estate papers. Few local historians have the opportunity of visiting the private library to examine the papers but the staff respond helpfully to postal enquiries. Apart from their estates in the Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Loughborough areas, the lands of the Hastings Earls of Huntingdon extended across Leicestershire and many other counties. This published guide lists about 4,800 deeds, over half of which concern nearly eighty places in Leicestershire and date between 1230 and 1790. The Hastings papers form only one of the four main British collections at the library. The Stowe collection is far larger and also includes some Leicestershire pieces. A useful feature of the guide is the lists of names recurring in the correspondence files — 385 in the Hastings collection — and there is a complete index at the end.

J G
This new edition, whilst it retains the original foreword to the 1960 edition, includes a greatly expanded introductory section covering architectural developments of the last twenty years and new specialist sections on archaeology, building materials, smaller domestic buildings and industrial archaeology. Rutland retains its separate section and here too there is a new and expanded introduction. Many individual entries have been updated and new public buildings included. Some very useful town plans have been introduced and ground plans of some notable buildings. The larger and inevitably more expensive format greatly improves the quality of the plates and this updated guide is a valuable addition to current resources for Leicestershire history.

G K L

Because of its geological formation north west Leicestershire, whilst remaining comparatively backward in terms of agriculture, eventually came to the fore in industrial development, based chiefly on its coalmining resources. While there has long been an interest in the more spectacular beauties of Charnwood Forest, there has at the same time been a neglect of the mining landscape with its villages and towns beyond, on the assumption that rows of mineworkers' houses and spoil tips represent an ugly intrusion into the countryside. Recently the enthusiasm for industrial archaeology, the accounts of mineworkers and their working conditions by Alan and Colin Griffin, the study of mining communities both by individuals and by the local history groups that have sprung up in various of the villages and the very successful ‘Coalville 150’ celebrations and exhibition have helped redress the balance. With the publication of Dr Colin Owen’s important detailed study of the whole of the coalfield the north west is likely to become in some respects the most closely researched part of the county.
Starting from a brief description of the geology of the coalfield, Dr Owen distinguishes five sections of it to be mentioned at times separately throughout the chronological account, although it is strange that his many informative maps do not start with one shewing clearly their positions. After the chapter on mediaeval mining, which relies largely on Richard McKinley’s account in the Victoria County History Leicestershire Vol III, he contributes much original analysis of manuscript sources, especially the mining accounts available from the early seventeenth century onwards. He notes the region-wide mining interests of landowning families like the Beaumonts of Coleorton and Willoughbys of Wollaton and, of course, the Hastings family. He picks out as the first local self-made coalmining magnate John Wilkins of Ravenstone, one of the first to use a ‘fire engine’ to drain his mines. These steam engines were certainly in use in several mines in the area by the 1720’s. The development of transport, first by canal and then by railway, enabled the industry to expand and exploit the concealed areas of the field for the first time, eventually as far south as Desford. In 1840 the industry in the county employed under 1,500 men; by 1900 over 7,500, with production at its peak, around two million tons of coal a year. The century saw the foundation of the new towns of Coalville and Ellistown and also the transformation of existing villages into recognizably urban communities. The chapter covering 1860-1900 is Dr Owen’s longest and, hardly surprisingly, the hardest to follow as a continuous account.

This is a study of all aspects of the mining of the coalfield and rightly concentrates on the introduction of new techniques, such as the longwall system of working, steam engines for draining and the necessity for agreed barriers between adjacent pits. It does not overlap with the work of Colin Griffin in his The Leicestershire and South Derbyshire Miners; there is little mention of miners’ working conditions or their struggle to establish unions. Nor does it overlap with village histories or Denis Baker’s Coalville: The First 75 Years 1833-1908. It does, however, provide an authoritative background to such studies and will doubtless itself in turn be used as a mine of information for future ones. It also, incidentally, gives due weight to one aspect of interest to all, the importation of ‘strangers’, miners from Warwickshire, Shropshire or Wales, sometimes as migrant workers employed on special terms, presumably bringing special skills to help introduce new practices, like the longwall working or the operation of the ‘fire engines’.

J G
The main thing these two local 1984 centenaries have in common is that they are both commemorated by very lavish and glossy publications. The School of Textiles originated in the period after the failure of the Mechanics Institute movement with a new initiative in the Leicester Chamber of Commerce, inspired by W T Rowlett, to start technical schools as an offshoot of the Wyggeston Grammar School foundation. The chapters are based on the seven successive heads of School and there are the inevitable portraits and summaries of progress. Most fascinating is the series of photographs of classes in progress, many in various machine rooms with line shafts and belting. The cover appropriately features a badge designed for the school by a former head, as interpreted in knitting as a ‘computer generated image’.

In 1884 a group of young men, mostly Old Wyggestonians, met in a garden shed to found Leicester Fosse Football (rather than Rugby) Club. The early pictures shew many mustaches and knee-length trousers. After playing from various grounds the club eventually, with the help of Joseph Johnson, settled at Filbert Street in 1891. It was not until a new start was being made after the First World War that it was decided to re-form the club as Leicester City Football Club. There are plenty of photographs and reminiscences here for those who may not revel in the analysis tables of games, goals and players or who may know nothing of Gary Lineker’s 1983/84 season of 22 goals.

J G
This forty page booklet, neatly presented in the way we have come to expect from this publisher, brings together thirty pictures of Leicester public houses, summarily acknowledged at the end. The front and rear views of the Old Green Dragon Inn by John Flower are particularly delightful. At the end also the author lists eight sources, including Peter Clark’s book *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830*. This has enabled him to provide a general framework illustrated with a variety of facts about Leicester public houses through the ages. It would be too much to expect detailed references in the space available; on the other hand the text does represent considerable original research, personal and documentary, into what is, taking in the middle ages to the present and a total of 485 pubs quoted for 1880, a very large subject. The author deals with pub signs, the development of the bar-counter and the decline to the present 175 houses, ending with a tactful treatment of the modern pub. Although few of the houses mentioned are located and there are no maps, anyone knowing Leicester only partially will doubtless be able to pick out references to the pubs they know.

J G

The Ashby-de-la-Zouch Museum is not only a very active town museum but is also making its own contribution to dispel some of the romantic mists that have obscured the history of its town and castle. Kenneth Hillier, in his four-folded sheet, has even made room for a bibliography at the end of his compact summary of the career of the head of the Hastings family during the Wars of the Roses who ‘is best known in Ashby for his conversion of the old Zouche manor house into a more formidable castle.’
Martyn Bennett of Loughborough University, who specializes in the Civil War in the Midlands, has written a readable account of the local campaigns set well in the context of the War across the nation. This highlights the strategic importance of Ashby castle in the last years before its destruction at the end of the War. This thirty two page booklet, complete with footnotes and illustrations but lacking a title page, is neatly printed in Ashby. It bears an encouraging list of local businesses and organizations that have assisted the Museum in its bold publishing venture.

J G

THE BOOK OF MARKET HARBOROUGH
J C Davies  Barracuda Books  1984  £13.95
THE BOOK OF ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH
Kenneth Hillier  Barracuda Books  1984  £13.95

The Market Harborough book brings together the themes of J C Davies’ previous books on the town, spanning the centuries from the foundation of (Great) Bowden in Anglo-Saxon times to the outbreak of the First World War. The content is arranged chronologically, introduced by a useful calendar of key local events which have influenced the town. The effect of the Stuarts on the buildings of the town, the later eighteenth century development, the part played by Harborough coaching inns and the industrial scene, notably the presence of the Symington factories, are only some of the facets of the narrative of this well presented town history. Michael Brown’s photographs are supplemented with a variety of illustrations of documents, local maps, plans and sketches. This is a most readable yet informative publication.
Presented in the same mould, the Ashby history is however compiled by a relative newcomer to this locality and is the first major work on the town since 1907. The content is arranged thematically, certainly a more successful arrangement here than a chronological one might have been. Chapters are devoted to religion, education, ‘hostelries’, the local gentry and, naturally, the Spa. Famous local personalities, such as Anthony Gilby the Puritan reformer, the estate manager Edward Mammatt and the historians Scott and Hextall, are only a few of those mentioned in the chapter ‘Faces, Cases and Places’. The text covers a wider time-span than the Harborough book, describing Ashby’s history up to date and providing a contemporary viewpoint of Ashby and its locality today — the lost country houses, the industrial changes and the promotion of local history through museums and local societies. The book is well and amply illustrated and is certainly a publication of which Ashbeians should be proud.

H E B

REARSBY: The Story of a Village
Rearsby Local History Society the society 1984 £3.75

A BRIEF HISTORY OF WHITWICK
S Smith Leicestershire Libraries and Information Service 1984 £1.99

IN SEARCH OF SHEEPSHEAD: A Walk around Historic Shepshed
Shepshed Local History Society the society 1984 £1

BURTON LAZARS: The Story of a Village
C D Rothery (the author, Old Station House, Trimingham, Norfolk) 2nd ed 1984 £3

BEAUMONT LEYS: An Alphabet 1 A Aislabie 1984 25p

D Brown the author, 6 Northfield Road, Blaby

Rearsby Local History Society has been in existence for five years and has held a major exhibition in the parish church, several smaller exhibitions and other events which have, with the help of local sponsorship, enabled them to publish an admirable village history. Over thirty pages of text are clearly written with an interesting balance between historical generalizations and particular facts about the village. It is amply illustrated, very well printed and ends with a useful page of sources and acknowledgements. It only lacks a title page and a street map to supplement the centre spread aerial photograph from the 1930’s.
Whitwick is a very different village, mainly because of the development there in the nineteenth century of coal-mining and also the curious manufacture of ornamental bawbles of Derbyshire spar. Sheila Smith's sensible account traces the history of the village chronologically in four chapters, cites sources and is illustrated with over a dozen old photographs. If Leicestershire Libraries are able to publish other village histories to this standard they will be doing the whole county a service.

J G

The attractive little booklet from Shepshed has been written in the form of a guided walk around the village. The text is a pleasant combination of historical fact, researched from local records and newspapers, and local reminiscences. It provides an informal insight into the transition of Shepshed from a small rural community in the early eighteenth century to the rapidly expanding industrial development of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The booklet, which has pleasing pen and ink illustrations of the key buildings, is well presented and would be a credit to any local history group.

H E B

As promised Mrs Rothery has brought out a new edition of her 1980 book on Burton Lazars, reviewed in our Vol 2 No 11. It has been enlarged by adding over a dozen pages of photographs, including one that shews the success of her campaign to restore the village Stockwell spring.

Diana Brown has embarked on a novel method of publishing the history of Beaumont Leys, issuing A4 sheets triple folded into leaflets letter by letter. Her first deals with John Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer who was disgraced by his involvement in the South Sea Bubble. The second introduces the Beaumont family, whose estates at the time of the Domesday survey presumably included the area which was to become Beaumont Leys.
The survey of Quorn, which grew out of the work of a local history class at Rawlins Community College, provides a pictorial record of many buildings and scenes which have now disappeared as well as some which remain today. It includes facsimile reproductions and extracts from maps, inclosure awards, proceedings of public bodies and local associations, directories, sale catalogues and advertisements from the local press. It covers the nineteenth century development and expansion of Quorn as a residential and fox-hunting village, a centre of framework knitting and factory made hosiery rather than the agricultural community of earlier times. Whether the reader is interested in buildings, local history, education, transport or in the people who lived in Quorn there is much to be learnt from this well constructed and expertly annotated pictorial record.

G K L

The Castle Donington booklet has no text and is a selection of scenes and events from the photographic collections of society members and villagers. The photographs cover a wide range of subject matter, buildings now demolished, personalities and village events. The captions describing each are not always specific as to the dates or sufficiently informative for an outsider. It might have helped to arrange the photographs either chronologically or thematically. Notwithstanding this the booklet is professionally presented with an attractive cover.

H E B

Since 1980, when he published Around Old Burbage, reviewed in our Vol 2 No 11, Mr McNaughton has gathered in enough photographs of the village to complete a second booklet of views. His captions and supporting historical notes are admirable and identify most of the buildings and a surprising number of the people shewn. These two volumes together make up an invaluable record for inhabitants interested in the history of their village. Although no map is included the views are arranged as a tour following the main roads through the village, which is helpful for outsiders too.

J G
LEICESTERSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGY: the present state of knowledge
Vol 1 to the end of the Roman period
P Liddle No 4 1982 £2
Vol 2 Anglo-Saxon and Medieval periods
P Liddle No 5 1982 £2
Vol 3 Industrial Archaeology
Leicestershire Industrial History Society No 6 1983 £2.50
THE MEDIAEVAL EARTHWORKS OF RUTLAND
R F Hartley No 7 1983 £2.75
AN ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY AT THURMASTON, LEICESTERSHIRE
P W Williams No 8 1983 £2.75
THE MEDIAEVAL EARTHWORKS OF NORTH WEST LEICESTERSHIRE
R F Hartley No 9 1984 £2.00

Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and
Records Service Archaeological Reports Series

Leicestershire Museums continue a policy of issuing archaeological reports at a reasonable price and in a generous A4 format, with room for photographs, drawings and maps. The ‘present state of knowledge’ reports are not lists of findings but readable continuous accounts and also contain useful bibliographies. The ‘mediaeval earthworks’ surveys contain not only gazetteers and site surveys but also detailed maps shewing surviving traces of ridge and furrow cultivation.

J G

THE LANDSCAPE OF A LEICESTERSHIRE PARISH: the Historical Development of Groby
S Woodward Leicestershire Museums, Art
Galleries and Records Service 1984 £2

CATALOGUE OF THE COLLECTION OF TICKETS, CHECKS AND PASSES OF THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
A Gunstone Leicestershire Museums, Art
Galleries and Records Service 1984 £1.80

The format of the Archaeological Reports Series is used for other publications. Stephen Woodward’s landscape study of Groby starts from the geological background and traces the impression made by man on the parish through the ages. This has involved him in documentary research into the uses made of the fields and woodland and he ends with a study of the evidence of the surviving hedgerows.
From the earlier nineteenth century many businesses, especially cooperative societies and public houses, have issued coin-like tickets and passes. Leicestershire Museums possess a good collection, mainly through a bequest in 1955 from Mr C R Mapp of Cheltenham. The collection is especially strong for the Birmingham area and there is also a collection of local Leicestershire issues, around ninety pieces. This catalogue lists all the issues by county and town and is published in the same way but in a handier A5 format.

J G

JOHN FERNELEY 1782-1860: His Life and Work
R M Paisey Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and Records Service 1984 £1.25

ARTHUR WAKERLEY 1862-1931
J Farquhar Sedgebrook Press 1984 £4.95

E Turner Leicestershire Libraries and Information Service 1985 £4.50

The brief illustrated account of John Ferneley and his family describes the life and work of a sporting artist in its local setting. Two of John senior’s sons, John and Claude Lorraine, became competent artists and his favourite daughter Sarah also painted and engraved her father’s work. Many of the paintings illustrated here have local settings and include the artists’s delightful family group of himself and his children in his studio. There is also a painting, attributed to Sarah, of the Butter Market at Mountsorrel and examples of the work of his sons John junior and Claude Lorraine.
Arthur Wakerley came to Leicester from Melton Mowbray as a sixteen year old apprentice articled to the architect James Bird and became one of the town’s leading citizens. The most evident reminders of his abilities remain in the pioneer suburban area of North Evington which he developed in the urban tradition as a mixed area of factories and varied housing from the late 1880’s onwards. He also built a pseudo-Tudor house for himself at Crown Hill when the area was still rural. It was modelled in some ways on his former country house at Gedding in Suffolk, incorporating materials saved from older buildings and furnished with the antiques and other treasures which it had been his pleasure to collect throughout his life. To appreciate fully the Wakerley urban quality of his work one should walk around North Evington with the aid of the City Council’s Leicester Town Trail No. 2.

Besides being a very successful business man, Wakerley was also a committed Methodist, a Total Abstainer, a local councillor, Mayor of Leicester and Alderman. He was an unsuccessful Liberal candidate in the General Elections of 1895 and 1900. He was a kindly philanthropist who gave generously time, money and land to Leicester. He was far seeing too; in the early 1920’s he designed a famous cheap ‘council house’ with more regard for open surroundings than his early work. He was also one of the first people to appreciate the needs of the motor car and their impact on future town planning. This very interesting, well illustrated and carefully documented book covers every aspect of his public and private life and is a fitting tribute to one of Leicester’s most distinguished citizens.

This deceptively simple and delightfully written account of the family background, personality, professional and public life of Sir Robert Martin is written by a former Ranger of Charnwood Forest who shared with Sir Robert his great love of this unique area of Leicestershire. It is soundly based on careful research in family and personal papers, national and local official records and newspapers and, above all, the personal recollections of family and friends, former employees and colleagues in his manifold activities. It paints a picture of a many sided man, deeply religious, remarkably tough, a lover of all country pursuits, a very practical professional engineer, a skilled manager of men in peace and war, with an understanding of ordinary people and practical sympathy for the needs and aspirations of the young. Throughout his long life he was curious and inventive, with a great command of the written and the spoken word. As a County Councillor for fifty one years and Chairman of the County
Council and of the County Education Committee from 1924 to 1960 he became a symbol of good government in Leicestershire. He seemed to represent the best in the English tradition combined with the ability to accept radical change. His impartiality won the respect of his political opponents and his idiosyncrasies were an endearing part of his independent character. There is something in this book for students of every aspect of Leicestershire life and it also suggests many interesting avenues for further research.

Attractively produced with excellent and varied illustrations, a note on source and a clear and simple family tree, this book gives a vivid picture not only of a remarkable man but also of Leicestershire in three quarters of a century of rapid social change.

G K L

THE WRITERS OF LEICESTERSHIRE: a Biographical Dictionary and Literary Gazetteer of Leicestershire Authors from the 14th Century to the Present Day
M Raftery Leicestershire Libraries and Information Service 1984 £1.75

CHARLOTTE MARY BRAME: Hinckley’s Forgotten Daughter
G Drozdz the author, 9 Clifton House, 131 Cleveland Street, London W1 1984 £1.75

This useful dictionary attempts to list writers of all kinds who are Leicestershire people by birth, chance, education or adoption. An interesting feature is the inclusion of writers for children in their own right. The illustrations are delightful and the gazetteer at the end a useful tool for local historians. Inevitably there are gaps in the dictionary. Doubtless some of these will be filled in a later updated edition.

An interesting brief account of a nineteenth century popular writer. Charlotte Mary Brame found a magic formula for romantic plots expressed in simple language which met the needs of the growing army of women magazine and novel readers. She had an enormous output under her own name and a further set of novels appeared under the pen name Bertha M Clay. Some of these, undoubtedly of dubious authorship, remained in print in our own times. Her Hinckley background, though not reflected in her novels, and the illustrations of Hinckley make this pamphlet of some interest to local readers.

G K L
In a very vivid and very direct style Mrs Ellen Smith first recollects the events of her early childhood and girlhood in Wymeswold before, during and after the First World War and then goes on to describe her married life on their own farm before and during the Second World War. It is the record of a lively, interested and very busy woman who has seen the change from the horse to the motor car and from the heavy manual labour to mechanical aids on the farm side by side with the decline of her village as a self-sufficient community. The illustrations are delightful. Even though no woman would pine for a return to the copper, the wash tub and the mangle, some of us may feel pangs of nostalgia for the excitement, smells and sounds of the steam engine and the threshing crew on a bright autumn morning.

G K L

Like his Melton Mowbray Recollections and the past of 1977, reviewed in our Vol 2 No 9, Oliver Roe’s new booklet has eight pages of text and eight of old photographs. The sub-title is The Story of the Great Flood of Melton Mowbray as told in the Melton Mowbray Weekly News of 2 January, 1901. Apart from destroying effects and livestock, the flood suggested an ‘impromptu regatta’ in Burton Street where, as one picture shews, the water rose above window cill level. In another flood in 1922 a wedding party failed to get to the railway station along this street and a picture shews the remains of the horsedrawn carriage they were in. The rest of the text is a miscellany of historical facts and the author explains in a postscript that he ‘wishes it to be known, that as in his previous booklet, all items herein are from very old books, old newspapers, and photos which are in his possession, going back as far as 1879.’ and he sets the style with a cheery photograph of himself on the cover.
As in his *The Ibstock I Remember*, reviewed in our last issue, Mr Eggington invites readers to follow him round his village. His two dozen pages are packed with characters and their activities, whether mining or small businesses like his family newsagency or leisure like cricket, football, the debating society or the various musical groups and bands. 'The Annual Church Parade which coincided with the Wakes was always an outstanding event in the village. All the friendly Societies took part, assisted by all the bands in the village . . . along with contingents of troops, ambulancemen, nurses, scouts, columns of ex-service men and the Ibstock Red Gary’s Band . . . The Parade was often a mile long . . . One could stand at the top of the Avenue when the head of the Parade turned in and hear faintly a band playing on Melbourne Road and one in Gladstone Street.' Proceeds from this booklet are being donated to the Wesleyan and Baptist churches.

Harry Burdett was born in Sapcote in 1907 and lived there until his marriage in 1933. His clear account of three dozen pages covers aspects of domestic life, of work on the farm or in the stone quarry and of regular village events. One exceptional occurrence was the battle with the gypsies in 1919 which ended in the sacking of their camp on the old Fosse Road. The text is relieved by half a dozen friendly pen drawings and the whole booklet makes delightful reading.

A reminiscences competition about Belgrave, jointly organized by Leicestershire Libraries and Age Concern Leicester, attracted over forty entries. This booklet comprises eight of them, including the ones by four of the prize winners. There are half a dozen old photographs with no captions, a not very informative sketch map on the card cover and no title page. The editor’s introduction does not say how the prizes were awarded or where the original entries may be found. There are many interesting details here and such publications are very popular in their local market. This one has sold out.

J G
This is an interesting account of the many discussions in the 1830’s and 1840’s which preceded the actual building of the line by the London & North Western Railway in the later 1850’s. If there had not been such long delays in the early stages in approval, planning and construction, it might have been a major link between the Midlands and a London line. Instead it became a useful minor rail link with Northampton until its final closure in the 1960’s. The book contains many interesting photographs and is a useful addition to the railway history of the East Midlands.

The project to make the Wreake navigable up to Melton Mowbray was a product of the ‘canal mania’ of the 1790’s. Although it was soon extended by the Oakham canal, its essentially country business collapsed when faced by competition from the railway in the late 1840’s, although the operation lingered on until 1877. None of the company’s papers, apart from the Share Register, survive, so that the authors have had to reconstruct the history of the construction and operation from newspaper reports and advertisements. This little book started as an exercise in industrial archaeology and the greater part of it is taken up with a schematic plan and detailed descriptions of the surviving traces, some of which will be removed during the present Severn-Trent Water Authority drainage scheme.
Open air services were held in Kirby Muxloe as early as 1876 when disillusioned Baptists and Congregationalists met together to form the nucleus of a Nonconformist congregation drawn from Kirby, Ratby and Glenfield. This early group numbered fifty to sixty and enthusiasm was so great in the locality that the first official building, the Zion Chapel, opened in 1883, was outgrown and replaced ten years later. The church continued to flourish and the publication of this booklet is a clear indicator of continued activity. The historical account is divided into two fifty year segments, the introduction to each providing an account of international, national and local events. The text is arranged by ‘ministries’ and is amply illustrated with photographs.

Although intended mainly as a local publication (it is unfortunate that the names of the authors, both former ministers, are not included on any title page) this centenary booklet is well written and has much to interest a wider audience.

1983 was a watershed for local Baptists as the new Central Baptist Church came into being — a timely opportunity to provide a history of the Harvey Lane, Belvoir Street and Charles Street chapels. This begins with an explanation of the birth and growth of the Baptist movement and then deals with the development of the three chapels. The influence of William Carey, Robert Hall and Richard Harris is also dealt with in detail. The final chapters provide accounts of the chapel’s later histories leading to a brief history of United Baptist Church from 1940 to 1983 (written by Graham Lee).
Sheila Mitchell’s is a far more complex and academic work than the Kirby Muxloe booklet. Although the substance of the book is intelligently and sympathetically written, the overall appearance may deter all but the more devoted local and social historians from looking beyond the first pages. The illustrations are sparse, the layout and print are unattractive and there is no index. Despite the lack of aesthetic appeal, however, the book has much to commend it and provides valuable information of a hitherto neglected area of Leicester’s religious history.

H E B

The Copt Oak Pamphlet is more than the usual church guide. The accounts of its recent history are evidently based on living memory. The church started as one of the chapels built at the enclosure of Charnwood Forest and was allotted its own parish in 1865 and its own vicar in 1911. The pamphlet, which lacks title page details, has been lavishly published by the Parochial Church Council.

The Rev Mr Richardson, who edits Heritage, the local Wesleyan Historical Society Journal, included in the December 1984 issue, as an eight page supplement, his ‘Provisional Bibliography listing books, pamphlets, brochures, leaflets relating to the History of Methodism in the City & County of Leicester held in the stock of the Information Centre, Bishop St, Leicester, the County Record Office, New Walk, Leicester and the Library of the East Midlands Branch of the Wesley Historical Society’.

J G
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