

Book reviews

I. Brown, *Discovering a Welsh Landscape: Archaeology in the Clwydian Range*, Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2004. 172 pp. £16.99 pbk. ISBN 0954557573.

The spine of the Clwydian Range, formed from a complex interleaving of grits, shales and sandstones, dominates the skyline to the west of Chester. The peak of Moel Famau, the highest point in the range, forms a distinctive landmark and serves to remind those in Cheshire of the physical proximity of upland Wales. The hills themselves, studded with Iron Age hillforts, create an important physical and conceptual barrier between the Cheshire plain and Wales, forcing the main communication routes between England and north-east Wales either north along the narrow strip of coastal plain or south along the Dee valley. However, despite their importance, the rich archaeology and heritage of the Clwydian Range are relatively poorly known and are overshadowed by the better known Berwyns and Snowdonia. This book, by a former County Heritage Officer for Clwyd, serves to remind us of the importance of this historic landscape.

After an initial scene-setting chapter, the book takes a broadly chronological approach, with about half the volume dedicated to the prehistoric and Roman eras and half to the medieval and post-medieval periods. The Palaeolithic period is covered with an exploration of the significance of the human remains from Pontnewyd Cave (near St Asaph) and the later tool assemblages from Cae Gwyn and Ffynnon Beuno. The chapter on the Mesolithic is limited, primarily by the lack of recorded remains from this period from the Clwydian Range. However, the chapter does serve to contextualise this apparent absence of Mesolithic activity within the context of early prehistoric remains in north-west Wales. The chapters on the Neolithic and Bronze Age highlight the range of recorded material, with a focus on both monumental and artefactual evidence. For a book with 'landscape' in the title, these chapters seem curiously disengaged with the

landscape contexts of the region's prehistoric monuments. Although reference is made to the outstanding landscape positions of some of the Bronze Age cairns, this is not further explored. Considering the increasing importance of landscape approaches to prehistoric monumentality, it is to be regretted that the author chose not to pursue this avenue further.

The chapter on the Iron Age contains a substantial introductory section, providing background information on the period, some of which could probably have been dispensed with. The second half of the chapter then explores the excellently preserved hillforts found along the range, though again, whilst strong on the discussion of individual forts (though lacking in site plans), there is no real attempt to interpret their role in the social and physical landscape. The Roman section is good, serving to highlight some interesting discoveries, such as the use of caves for probable ritual activity in this period and Roman discoveries from the hillforts, such as the fourth-century hoard from Moel Fenlli.

The early medieval period is treated very briefly; whilst there are no archaeological finds from the area, a more in depth historical consideration and an exploration of the place-name evidence would have been useful. The discussion of the medieval period is patchy; reasonable coverage is given to sites, including castles and churches, but once the background information is discarded, the actual discussion of the medieval landscape of the area appears limited to a single paragraph on page 120. The weakness of the coverage of the medieval landscape contrasts with the more extensive treatment of the post-medieval landscape. This strong section includes a consideration of both the farming and industrial aspects of the landscape of the Clwydian Range, and also a fascinating exploration of the literary depictions of the landscape both by early visitors and antiquarians and by Gerard Manley Hopkins, who spent time at the Jesuit foundation of St Beuno's College in the 1870s.

The quality of the illustrations is variable. The fantastic photographs of Mick Sharp and Jean Williamson, many in colour, are attractive and informative. Unfortunately, some of the other images are less strong, with some lacking scales or appearing blurred and possibly over-enlarged. The biggest problem is the paucity of maps. There is one general map of the area, showing

the boundary of the designated Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty and key sites mentioned in the text, but there is nothing to show the relief that forms such a distinctive feature of the landscape of the range. It would also have been useful to have a map for each chapter or chronological period highlighting key sites, as well as additional period-specific features, such as Roman roads and cantref boundaries. Some detailed maps of specific landscapes would also help those not familiar with the area.

This book is a good introduction to the archaeology and historic environment of the Clywdian Range, although through much of the work, a discussion of the actual landscape itself seems curiously absent; it only comes through as a key thread in the discussion in the post-medieval chapters, where archaeological and literary evidence are combined to great effect.

David Petts, University of Durham

J. Harrop with P. Booth and S. Harrop, eds, *Extent of the Lordship of Longdendale, 1360*, Manchester: Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, CXL, 2005. lii + 116 pp. £25 hbk. ISBN 0902593633.

This is the third in the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire's series of parallel Latin and English texts of Cheshire records in the National Archives, and it makes a most useful accompaniment to the Macclesfield accounts of 1361-62, published a little earlier as volume CXLVIII. Together, these volumes help to illuminate social and economic affairs during the controversial period between the Black Death and Great Revolt, in a part of England scarcely touched by the standard works on the subject.

As the introduction makes clear, the PRO file entitled 'Extent of the lordship of Longdendale in the 34th year of Edward the third' embraces several related documents, the most substantial being drafts of an extent in 1360 and two rentals of 1361-66, the remainder being lists of names apparently connected to the valuation of the lordship around that time. In geographical terms, the area covered is still identifiable as the north side of the

Woodhead valley and the 'panhandle' of the former county of Cheshire, to the east of modern Manchester. The record survives because of the temporary possession of the lordship by the Black Prince from 1357 to 1374, as a result of which the editor (and his colleagues) have been able to draw on an annual series of accounts to annotate and expand upon the material in the composite 'Extent' itself.

Credit must be given to the editor for adding to the appeal of the material by the provision of an English translation and the addition to the publication of photographs of places mentioned in the volume, even if some cross-references from the captions to the main text would have been helpful. Another commendation is also deserved by the editor for squeezing as much as possible from what could easily be dismissed as little more than a collection of names and numbers: for he has sought to help the student of genealogy and place-names through his detailed footnotes and careful exposition of everyone mentioned in the 'Extent'; he has helped to re-date two key documents, the rentals, to a period shortly after the drafts of the 1360 extent with which it is bound; and in the light of this re-dating, he has used the material to draw attention to failing and changing tenancies in the aftermath of the Black Death, and in particular the revisitation of 1361-62. An eleven-page appendix compares the value of the Longdendale tenancies as they appear in the different documents bound within the 'Extent', and these pages – which broadly suggest some recovery in rents after an initial fall from 1360 levels – may well be the most consulted section of the volume in years to come.

This publication is a major achievement, in that a collection of documents, whose relationship with one another was by no means clear, has been made to yield so much information about a relatively obscure period in an often neglected part of the country. In order to bring the 'Extent' to life, the editorial team has drawn on a good deal of other largely unpublished material, has recast the data in the 'Extent' in the form of tables, an appendix and a prosopographical index, and has annotated the edited text with footnotes which on occasion occupy over half the page. There is also an excellent, scholarly introduction, although one which is perhaps a little brief on the 'everyday life and the

economy' which the 'Extent' ultimately serves to illuminate. One has to acknowledge, however, that all this effort by the editor and his colleagues makes it likely that it is their words, rather than those of the fourteenth-century compilers of the 'Extent', which will mostly be read in order to draw conclusions from this volume. It is they who have recast the material into 'user-friendly' format, and we should be grateful to them for having done so.

Graeme White, University of Chester

T. Thornton, *Prophecy, Politics and the People in Early Modern England*, Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006. 269 pp. £50 hbk. ISBN 1843832593.

Tim Thornton has picked an excellent topic for exploding assumptions about political culture. His analysis of the tradition of prophecy in interpreting and understanding political action challenges a series of well-entrenched historical reflexes: that the centre dominated the peripheries; that localities were subservient; that elites determined what ordinary people could think; that change is more important than continuity. His largest target is a process of modernisation (brought about by new modes of communication and the spread of rational thought), which generations of historians have claimed swept away traditional beliefs in the role of prophecy to make sense of and act in relation to political events and God's plan. Developing out of his work on the palatinate of Chester (*Cheshire and the Tudor State, 1480-1560* (Royal Historical Society/Boydell, 2000)), Thornton takes further his overturning of older historiographies (Whig, Marxist and Revisionist) which placed excessive emphasis upon centralisation and modernisation. *Prophecy, Politics and the People* is an ambitious work.

Three prophetic traditions particularly associated with the north (especially Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire) are focused upon: Mother Shipton, Merlin, and Nixon the Cheshire Prophet. Thornton believes that these prophecies were invented after the events they foretold and is interested in the traditions attached to prophecies, not the prophets themselves. His term for this is 'ancient prophecy', which he separates from biblical prophecy and

millenarianism – though the important points of overlap might usefully have been explored further. Witness Sir Francis Bacon and Sir Isaac Newton, who, despite being engines of seventeenth-century rationalism, were both committed to a biblical view of history; Newton, in particular, was interested in recalculating biblical prophecies – pushing them further into the future, and so departing from the imminent millenarianism of the mid seventeenth century. Thornton, however, is more interested in examining the local and regional, rather than epistemological contexts for these prophecies, and lucidly presents his meticulous research on the significance of topographical and biographical features in each particular tradition and its texts. Thornton also offers compelling evidence for the political agency of those below the gentry. ‘These hugely popular prophecy traditions suggest that there were strands to the political culture which did not simply trickle down to the people but were more fundamentally of their making and under their control’.

Thornton argues that these particular prophecies had a strong regional and popular basis in the fifteenth, sixteenth and, to some extent, early seventeenth centuries, and suggests that this ‘vernacular’ tradition may have endured through to the nineteenth century. He pays close attention to topographical detail, the geography and social networks of those involved in the compilation, circulation and publication of these prophecies and argues for their likely basis in local oral cultures. He sees oral culture as more vibrant and autonomous than Adam Fox, who has recently emphasised the inter-penetration of oral, manuscript and print from the fifteenth century onwards. Thornton shows that there was a strong regional dimension to popular politics, which the elitist, centralist or county-centred concerns of political historians have tended to muffle. But regions in this study are vaguely defined, and it remains unclear how specific localities and jurisdictions related to *regional* (rather than community or county) politics.

The useful historiographical introduction focuses upon criticising assumptions in English/British history, but seems surprisingly dismissive of anthropological, literary or philosophical approaches to cultural tradition, texts and epistemologies. Chapter one opens out into an informative account of ‘Ancient prophecy

in the sixteenth century'. Throughout the Tudor period, Thornton shows, prophecy played a role in political decision-making, from the court of Henry VII (Henry himself was encouraged by Welsh prophetic tradition to be persuaded by those who saw in his potential actions an imminent universal monarchy) to the regional rebellions of 1536, 1549 and 1569. Thornton makes a strong and detailed case for the vibrant role of prophecy across the social spectrum, which he supports through detailed analysis of the court of Henry Tudor, the political turmoil of the 1530s, and for the 1540s through to James I's accession from specific examples such as the Eures (lords of Malton) and their associates in Yorkshire. In early modern England, then, the elites shared with the populace a belief in the role of prophecy: 'Broadly, contemporary theology and ideas did little to undermine, and often much to support, ancient prophecy' and critics questioned not fundamentals but its lack of political success.

Chapter two deals with 'Prophecy creation and audience in civil war England'. Through splendid detective work, Thornton shows that Mother Shipton's prophecies represent an intensely local tradition – originating in the sixteenth century, closely tied to York and its vicinity. The narrative of noble visitors to York beset by events was subsequently reworked for publication in December 1641, when a Scottish occupation and the departure of the king for York made the Shipton prophecy of national relevance. After the Restoration, Shipton was reprinted to make sense of the Great Fire of London in 1666 and the political travails of the later Stuarts. In chapter three, attention turns to 'Prophecy and the Revolution Settlement'. From a Whig perspective, Nixon had prophesied the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 (*A True Copy of Nixon's Cheshire Prophecy* was first published in 1713-15, and probably post-dates the Hanoverian accession). But from a Tory view, Nixon could be drawn upon to support the Jacobite cause – at least until the failure of the '45. In the eighteenth as in the fifteenth century, monarchy and the working out of British history was at the centre of people's concerns, and for this reason – despite the ridicule of Swift – Merlin and the Arthur Story remained a live element in political culture broadly conceived.

Chapter four moves on to deal with 'The re-rooting and survival of ancient prophesy' in the later eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries. If educated folk in the earlier eighteenth century enjoyed Nixon and Merlin as an aspect of their burlesque taste for the popular – interlaced with ridicule – then the later eighteenth century marked a re-orientation towards the Picturesque, which claimed to take popular traditions more seriously. As Thornton emphasises, it would be a mistake to separate too starkly elite from popular mentalities: they were reading the same texts with similar tensions over credulity. Horace Walpole heard the Nixon story at Eton, while John Clare recorded *Old Nixon's Prophecies* among the 'superstitious tales' his father had been fond of. Thornton returns to Mother Shipton to demonstrate how (from her earlier association to York and Yorkshire) she was pinned down to Knaresborough, where her cave – and inn – flourished as a consequence of the market for entertaining day trippers from Harrogate. Thus we see the familiar story of wavering interest in the local and fascination with the irrational and intuitive brought full circle, from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century localist concerns running alongside an awareness of British History and pepped by a Tudor penchant for Welsh prophecy, through later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century reason and ridicule, to later eighteenth-century picturesque tourism, and by the mid nineteenth century a return to the local in response to the uncertainties of a more rational, bureaucratic and capitalist world.

Issues of monarchy, a chief vehicle for national identity and a concept deeply imbued with biblical understandings of history, run through all these prophecies. The British dimension, and in particular the role of Scotland and the north of England in national politics, was a major element in sustaining these prophecies and motivated their compilation and publication. Monarchy remained a central concern at least until the eclipse of Jacobitism (and some people today apparently believe the accession of Charles III will bring about the fulfilment of ancient prophecies). The role of monarchy suggests that the regional and the local were never in binary opposition to the national – or divine – drama. From the fifteenth through to the eighteenth centuries, all sides (as well as all classes) made use of prophecy to bolster their view of history and hopes or fears for the future.

Throughout this study, Tim Thornton makes excellent use of manuscript and printed evidence to emphasise the limitations of assumptions which have closed off prophecy as a redundant, ridiculous and irrational aspect of political culture, in which the people were merely dupes. My reservation is that this book is at once too serious and not serious enough. The sense of playfulness people had with prophecy at all levels is missing, and while the tension between credulity and incredulity is well brought out, the underlying reasons for this tension remain unexplored. Literary criticism techniques would have helped reveal the sense of play, while anthropological and philosophical approaches are available for exploring the epistemological conditions which enabled the tradition of political prophecy to be deployed in so many distinct social, cultural and historical contexts. Thornton recognises that 'scepticism can sit alongside belief, mockery alongside serious engagement', but does not explain how this was so. Rather than addressing these issues, the book's conclusion is pegged on a critique of Patrick Curry's *Prophecy and Power: Astrology in Early Modern England* (1998). Many of Thornton's criticisms are well founded, and this study is particularly successful in demonstrating popular political agency in early modern England beneath the apparent power of print and dominance of the elites. But he might recognise further that ancient historiography, and other disciplines, contain insights as well as assumptions.

Adrian Green, Durham University

Esther M. Ramsay and Alison J. Maddock, eds, *The Churchwardens' Accounts of Walton-on-the-Hill, Lancashire 1627-1667*, Manchester: Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, CXLI, 2005. xl + 191 pp. £25 hbk. ISBN 0902593684.

Early modern historians pore over surviving sets of churchwardens' accounts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for the insights they can provide into the local world, squeezing from them evidence about the beliefs and practices of communities and about the ways in which and the degrees to which national policies, secular as well as religious, were being

implemented at the parish level. Although the survival of pre-Restoration accounts is inevitably patchy – and the North West has not fared well here – a growing body of early churchwardens' accounts have been analysed and in many cases transcribed and published. This excellent and well presented volume adds to that growing corpus of work, exploring and making available the early churchwardens' accounts of the south-west Lancashire parish of Walton, a township now swallowed up within the Liverpool conurbation, but at that time a separate and distinct settlement. Walton lay at the heart of a large and slightly sprawling parish which encompassed a clutch of townships, including West Derby, Kirkby, Bootle, Everton and Toxteth, the outlier of Formby and, the cuckoo in the Walton churchwardens' nest, Liverpool itself.

The Walton accounts of 1627-67, transcribed and published, analysed and annotated here, have both merits and demerits as a source. The obvious and most glaring weakness is that (all-too-typically) the accounts from the years 1642-48 are completely lacking – either few or no records were being kept by the Walton churchwardens during that troubled period or those accounts have subsequently been lost or destroyed – so that we have no direct and strictly contemporary evidence showing the Walton response to the military, administrative and political as well as the religious upheavals of the civil war years: *Hamlet* without the prince, perhaps. On the other hand, these accounts provide excellent insight into the tensions which existed when a rapidly expanding and independently minded settlement found itself within an ancient parish whose parochial centre and mother church was some distance away. In this case, the accounts show how Liverpool sought greater independence if not full separation from Walton – although promised by Protector Cromwell in 1658, the grant of independent parish status had not been implemented by the time of the Restoration, when it was deemed void and of no effect, and Liverpool had to wait until the last year of the century before becoming a parish in its own right – and they amply demonstrate the tensions this created, with Liverpool dragging its feet over providing its share of various parochial levies, sometimes refusing to pay until compelled to do so by legal judgements. The accounts point to fraught meetings, in one case lubricated by a quart of wine, and to acrimonious disputes, in

another case leading to the seizure by Walton of a silver can, part of the Liverpool mayoral silver; it was subsequently returned.

For the rest, the accounts point to the typical workload of a seventeenth-century churchwarden, albeit in Walton's case – unusually, but far from uniquely – a churchwarden who had to liaise with two incumbents, a vicar and a rector. Time and money were expended on overseeing the physical upkeep of the church, including repairs to the roof, walls and windows, the maintenance of the bells – a new bell was cast at Wigan in 1657 – and the new church clock installed in 1634, laying a flagstone floor in 1633-34 and the thorough cleansing of the church after it became a temporary prison for a group of Scottish-royalist prisoners captured during the Worcester campaign of 1651. Typically, too, the Walton churchwardens were involved in parish poor relief, in a parochial charity established by a wealthy London merchant and in running the schoolhouse in the churchyard. The accounts also show that Walton responded swiftly and conscientiously to the policy initiatives of central government. Thus, there was a burst of Laudian reforms in 1633-34, reinforced by a visit from the archbishop of York's commissioners, including the installation of a new east end altar and a set of altar rails and the purchase of the reissued *Book of Sports*. In line with parliamentary policies, in 1641 the altar rails came down and much of the painted glass in the windows was also removed, the Protestation oath was administered in 1641 and the Engagement in 1650, and the church bells were rung to celebrate key parliamentary victories in Ireland, Scotland and England in 1649-51. As the tide turned, the renewed purchases of wine and bread suggest that regular communion resumed from 1657 and in the early 1660s there was a swift return to conformity to the Church of England, with the re-erection of the altar rails, the repainting and beautification of the interior of the church and the purchase of a new church flagon and plates.

All these issues and others are explored and assessed in the full and thoughtful introductory chapter by the editors, Alison Maddock and (sadly now the late) Esther Ramsay, which puts the accounts in context and draws out the most important themes arising from them. The accounts of 1627-67 are then transcribed and reproduced in full, complete with brief but informative footnotes. The volume closes with appendices, including a

glossary of unfamiliar words, and full indexes. This rich, informative and impressive volume, produced to the high standards expected by and of the Record Society, presents a wealth of information about and insights into the life of the Walton area in the decades either side of the civil war.

Peter Gaunt, University of Chester

J. D. Oates and K. Navickas, eds, *Jacobites and Jacobins: Two Eighteenth-Century Perspectives: The Memoir of Walter Shairp: The Story of the Liverpool Regiment during the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 and The Writings of the Cragg Family of Wyresdale*, Manchester: The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire CXLII, 2006. ix + 140 pp. £25 hbk. ISBN 0902593730.

Aside from the possibility for an alliterative title, the chronology of the long eighteenth century is, as the general editor remarks in the preface, the only explicit link between the two transcribed and edited documents in this text. However, and notwithstanding such an ostensibly tenuous connection, *Jacobites and Jacobins* contributes significantly as a sum of its parts. The two documents – the first, Walter Shairp's memoirs of service as a company captain in the volunteer Liverpool regiment (the 'Liverpool Blues') during the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 and, the second, papers of the Cragg family of Wyresdale, comprising a short biography of Timothy Cragg, who was born in the penultimate year of the Cromwellian Protectorate and died some three years before George I, and the family's memorandum book, consisting of brief entries from 1698 to 1719 and then much fuller records from 1781 until 1816 – embrace a number of common themes in respect of the history of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and are effectively edited by Jonathan Oates and Katrina Navickas respectively.

Both documents are preceded by model introductions in which the editors not only explain the documents' historical contexts but also the light that each sheds on these histories as well as the historiographical utility of the documents as primary records. Thus, the reader can readily locate Shairp's memoirs

within the broader narrative of the Jacobite rebellions from the Revolution of 1688, when William of Orange and his wife Mary replaced James VII & II on the thrones of the British Isles following the latter's flight to France; and also appreciate the national impact of the French Revolution to which, as Quakers with an anti-establishment and, from 1792, an anti-monarchical perspective, the Craggs were sympathetic. Of the two introductions, Novickas's piece is fuller and more measured. Whereas Oates's text is focused upon Shairp's memoirs and, in a similar manner to his book, *The Jacobite Invasion of 1745 in North West England* (Lancaster, 2006), is afflicted by a residual Jacobitism – for example, it is hardly precise to claim, as Oates does, that James VII & II was 'ousted' from his kingdoms in December 1688, when it was James's decision to return first from his army camp at Salisbury and then to flee London for France without attempting to engage William – Novickas's introduction goes beyond the specific circumstance of the Craggs' writings to link the Jacobitism and Jacobinism manifest in the documents as representative at different periods of robust English local radicalism. It is to both editors' credit, however, that in the transcription and editing of the documents, the retention of the authorial voice and editorial intervention is appropriately balanced. Oates, in particular, achieves this equilibrium while also providing especially informative footnotes.

Rebellion – national and international – provides a common background for these records, with the differing responses of the protagonists of significant interest to the reader. Shairp, a Scotsman by birth and education, was working on behalf of his father within the Liverpool merchant community when Bonnie Prince Charlie raised the standard of rebellion in north-west Scotland. As the Jacobites quickly gained unexpected momentum marching through to Edinburgh, many towns within the north of England raised militia regiments and Shairp joined the 'Liverpool Blues'. Often dismissed as ineffectual, these locally raised militias have thus been frequently sidelined within the histories of the Jacobite rebellions and Shairp's memoir contributes a corrective to that trend. Included is plenty of detail for military historians on the composition, dynamics and evolution of the 'Liverpool Blues' which, given its local

recruitment, was unusually prominent in serving outside the city limits in Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland and Cheshire. It is, though, the broader point that Shairp, like so many other lowland Scots, mobilised to defeat the rebellion, which resonates as testimony to the longstanding interpretation of the Jacobite rebellions as a Scottish civil war. Shairp's prose is clipped and unemotional and thus his motivations are not readily apparent but, as Oates points out, defence of the local mercantile order and his likely Presbyterianism would undoubtedly have contributed. Whereas Shairp works to defeat rebellion for local reasons, the Cragg papers reveal a family similarly motivated by localism but in favour of such upheavals. In his brief autobiography, Timothy Cragg discloses that despite serving in the militia, 'his heart' was with the duke of Monmouth during his rebellion against James VII & II in the summer of 1685. Then, during the French Revolution of 1789, the family memorandum book contains numerous entries sympathetic to Jacobinism and railing against king George and his government, accusing them of seeking to establish 'the same despotical Tyrannical form of government which the French nation has fortunately shaken off' and claiming that they were deliberately using the politics of fear (particularly of an invasion by France) to rally support. The Craggs' writings are more emotional and personally revealing than Shairp's memoir. As Quakers, submitting to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy was problematic and informed their antipathy to the monarchy and government; moreover, the contributors to the memorandum were, as Novickas suggests, tapping into an anti-establishment civic radicalism which in the north-west of England had been vouchsafed from the era of the Jacobite rebellions and which Shairp, for alternative local reasons, had sought to suppress.

The divergent perspectives of Shairp and the Craggs on rebellion disappear in respect of the oftentimes banal everyday life as recorded in such documents. Notwithstanding the backdrop of tumultuous national and international events, Shairp and the Craggs habitually record the dull and unremarkable. Shairp, for example, strongly conveys the tedium of a battalion marching hither and thither for drill, to provide guard relief and as a shadow to the enemy force in full knowledge that an engagement is unlikely. Meanwhile, the Cragg family memorandum book is

packed full of detailed descriptions such as the one of George Bibby, falling from the wool cart, breaking his arm in two places and having it set by the 'bone setter Rawlinson' who happened to be in the coaching house at the time; or of stories similar to the one of the small bird being pursued into Christopher Gates's house by a hawk only to escape out the door as the hawk flew into the window. In addition, numerous ordinary entries by the Craggs record local deaths in detail and comment upon the weather. Such obsessions of everyday eighteenth century life will not, however, be unfamiliar to connoisseurs of the Reverend James Woodforde's dinner table as frequently related in intricate detail in the parson's five volumes of country diaries; and, of course, for the historian the commonplace is as valuable as the exceptional.

As a whole, then, *Jacobites and Jacobinism* is a first rate volume from the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. These seemingly unconnected records not only illustrate and evidence their individual concerns but also provide a wealth of material on common themes within the long eighteenth century. Both national and local historians will be reaching for this informative and well presented volume in the years to come.

K. A. J. McLay, University of Chester

J. Champness, *Thomas Harrison: Georgian Architect of Chester and Lancaster 1744-1829*, Lancaster: Centre for North-West Regional Studies, University of Lancaster, 2005. viii + 152 pp. £12.50. ISBN 1862201692.

This attractive and valuable book, by a leading expert on the architectural history of the North West, tells the story of the man who is perhaps best-known for his work in Chester. Thomas Harrison was born at Richmond, Yorkshire, in 1744. His early life and training and initial experience are comparatively poorly-documented, but John Champness draws attention to the importance of the seven or so years which were spent in Italy as a young man, and their powerful influence upon the later major buildings which he designed. Harrison worked on many prominent public commissions, beginning with the splendid

bridge over the Lune at Lancaster (1782) which still remains such an ornament to that attractive city, and continuing with his magnificent remodelling of Lancaster Castle – indeed, the front cover of the book shows the superb interior of the Shire Hall, one of his finest achievements. He then moved on to Chester, where comparably impressive work on the castle complex culminated in the monumental and inspirational Castle Gateway (1810) and other major commissions included the Northgate and the Grosvenor Bridge over the Dee, one of the masterpieces of nineteenth-century bridge design. In between all these, he designed country houses, monuments and obelisks, more modest bridges, and a variety of other public works such as infirmaries.

The book is important, for not only does it highlight many of the region's major buildings and architectural monuments, but it also gives crucial analysis of the context and circumstances of their creation. It is helpful to see how individual buildings fitted into an evolutionary pattern of architectural concepts, and to have explained, so clearly and simply, the ways in which imaginative ideas and inspirations were converted into often massive and always impressive stone structures. No less significant is an architectural history which focuses on an individual, rather than a style, an area or a period. The roving nature of Harrison's work, his regional catchment of patronage, his working methods and his approach to projects are all discussed accessibly and fluently – architectural history can at times be daunting to the non-specialist, because of the wealth of esoteric terminology which it employs, but Champness writes, successfully, for a general readership. The book includes a summing up of the subject's significance, and that is followed by a chronological list of his known works, a list of designs which were not implemented and a summary of his workload. This is a valuable contribution to the history of the built environment in north-west England. It is well-illustrated in black and white, with 69 photographs, drawings, plans and engravings, and includes detailed references. The author and the publisher are to be congratulated on producing such a useful work

Alan Crosby, Preston

M. Bush, *The Casualties of Peterloo*, Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing, 2005. 166pp. £15 hbk. ISBN 1859361250.

The events of Peterloo are familiar to many. Indeed, the events of 16 August 1819 are still considered significant enough to be taught in schools and universities across Britain, despite the ubiquity and popularity of courses on the twentieth century. Michael Bush reminds his readers at the outset of this book that Peterloo was a critically important day in the history of this island. He asserts that 'the event was central to the slow achievement of parliamentary democracy in Britain', as well as an indicator of the commitment of the people of the North West to reform.

The first part of this book is an essay, in which Bush examines the eight surviving casualty lists that were produced after the events. In the second, he reproduces the casualty lists, providing a valuable resource for historians. Bush lists casualties by name, and cross-refers to each list in which the names appear. This approach is useful and fascinating in itself, as it demonstrates clearly the inconsistencies of approach between the compilers. It is clear that, almost without exception, the lists were compiled by people who wanted to make a point about the events of the day. Some were compiled to help deal with claims made to relief committees (although the use of relief committee money to finance legal challenges and leaders' expenses also demonstrated a greater concern with parliamentary reform than with the foot soldiers of the movement). Others were compiled by radicals to justify their view, and others based on admissions to Manchester Infirmary; these commissioned by the magistrates to show that the forces of order had behaved moderately. Manchester victims are represented disproportionately in the lists, suggesting that lists from other places in the Lancashire and Cheshire hinterland have been lost.

Some of the lists offer evidence regarding age, gender, occupation and residence, but none do so consistently and with complete authority. By undertaking a detailed cross-checking exercise, the author has been able to make some important assertions that are contrary to current wisdom about the nature of the massacre.

Bush also suggests that, despite a lack of occupational information for around half the casualties, the handloom weaving industry was heavily represented in the North West reform movement. Weavers were not as loyal as has been suggested in the historiographic reaction to the work of E. P. Thompson. Further, the Irish were strongly represented among the casualties, and therefore more enthusiastic and more thoroughly integrated into the reform movement than has usually been conceded.

In the essay that precedes the detailed examination of the lists, Bush's interest is in analysing what they reveal about the nature of the crowd, as much as apportioning blame, although he does offer trenchant conclusions in the light of that analysis. For an accurate picture of the people who participated in such a demonstration offers insights into the character of the reform movement.

One of Bush's most interesting findings is that women were disproportionately represented among the casualties. For Bush, this is compelling evidence that the perpetrators of the injuries had abandoned notions of gallantry and protection towards women. The women did not just happen to be in the way, they were attacked as readily as were the men. The high-profile presence of women in the rituals of the reform campaign resulted in a conscious decision to mete out violence without regard to gender. Similar decisions had been taken in relation to the aged, who were also represented disproportionately among the injured. Social taboos regarding treatment of the elderly had been broken. This is significant because it challenges the cherished perception that the injuries inflicted at Peterloo could be attributed to panic, incompetence or accident. Reform threatened to turn the world upside down, distributing property to the poor and encouraging women to participate in public life. The authorities had decided on a *denouement* with the reform movement. Bush's conclusion in relation to women is less satisfactory. He believes that, for the authorities, Peterloo represented a double revolution – against property and against the rule of men. It is hard to believe that the authorities consciously harboured such a duality of perception. The subordinate place of women was surely an integral part of their vision of authority and order.

A detailed examination of the nature of the injuries suffered undermines the common wisdom that most were suffered the result of the crush as demonstrators attempted to flee. This leads Bush to consider finally whether the events of that day can plausibly be termed a massacre. First, he concludes that the action of the yeomanry and regulars (the hussars are not exempted, as they are in some accounts) was deliberate, was quickly-executed and consciously caused significant injuries. Second, he finds that violence against the demonstrators continued as they dispersed and for the rest of the day. Third, previous estimates of the numbers killed and wounded have been conservative. Fourth, the crowd was certainly much smaller than usually supposed. Both authorities and radicals had reasons to exaggerate the scale of the event. Finally, despite the insistence of some historians that the numbers game does not warrant the emotive title of massacre, 'the casualty lists suggest that the physical assaults on the peaceful crowd assembled in Peter's Field on 16 August 1819 represented a terrible act of repression'.

Michael Bush has used the casualty lists with care and insight to re-examine the many legends of Peterloo, placing the lists at the centre of his analysis and relegating many partial contemporary accounts to the periphery. While this is undoubtedly not the last word on Peterloo, it is a significant contribution to our understanding of that most formative of events in the evolution of democracy in nineteenth-century Britain.

Michael Huggins, University of Chester

Liverpool: Maritime Mercantile City, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005. 288 pp. £17.50 pbk. ISBN 184630067. A. Jarvis, *Foul Berths and French Spies. Essays on the Port of Liverpool c1800-1930*, Liverpool: National Museums of Liverpool, 2003. 85 pp. £11.95 pbk. ISBN 190270021X.

Although the underlying purpose of these two publications was distinctly dissimilar, they both provide a useful addition to the existing historiography on nineteenth- and early-twentieth century

Liverpool. *Liverpool: Maritime Mercantile City* was the nomination document submitted to UNESCO's World Heritage Committee in January 2003 which led to Liverpool's inscription on the world heritage list, while the collection of essays published by Adrian Jarvis consists largely of papers presented at recent maritime history conferences. Both publications focus on Liverpool's mercantile heritage, whether in the form of the built environment created in the course of the nineteenth century to sustain trading enterprise, or specific issues relating to the development and management of port facilities.

Responsibility for the preparation of Liverpool's nomination document for world heritage status rested primarily with John Hinchliffe, the City Council's World Heritage Officer, and he is to be congratulated for bringing together such a wide range of material. The volume is extensively illustrated with numerous colour photographs and contemporary maps which fully reflect the outstanding quality and significance of Liverpool's historic townscape, including key commercial and cultural buildings, docks, warehouses, monuments and archaeological sites. It provides a detailed description of the component elements within the world heritage site, including the Pier Head, the Albert Dock Conservation Area, the Stanley Dock Conservation Area, the commercial centre (Castle Street, Dale Street and Old Hall Street), and Lower Duke Street. This section is complemented by a useful synthesis of Liverpool's historic development, focusing in particular on its mercantile and maritime roles. It discusses the development and design of commercial buildings, the significance of the port-city's warehouses, the extent to which the construction of major cultural buildings, such as St George's Hall, reflected the civic pride of the 'rich, powerful and determined figures that built Liverpool' (p. 156), and the wider significance of the city's public sculpture. The treatment of these issues reflects the contribution of a range of local specialists and some of the themes are dealt with in a very effective and convincing manner, in particular the development of Liverpool's shipping and commercial buildings. Overall, the volume has a great deal to offer to historians and many of the illustrations are of excellent quality. However, the nomination document was designed for a specific purpose at a particular point in time and, inevitably, it contains material which

may well be of less interest to historians, including details of agencies and individuals with current management responsibility within the world heritage site and on-going development proposals (such as the ill-fated 'Fourth Grace'). There is some repetition and the treatment of specific themes, ('steam power and railway development in general') is superficial.

By contrast, the volume of papers published by Adrian Jarvis focuses on a series of specific issues relating to the history of the port of Liverpool between the start of the nineteenth century and 1930. In this field, Jarvis is an acknowledged expert who has made extensive use of the archives of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board. The motivation behind most, if not all, of the essays included in this volume was an intention to 'question established views to a greater or lesser degree' (p. 5), whether in relation to the rate of return on new dock development in comparison with existing dock provision or the impact of the non-trading use of water space on annual revenue, a not inconsiderable factor when approximately ten per cent of the port's quays were in the hands of the Dock Engineer between 1873 and 1908. The individual chapters cover a range of themes: the effect of steam shipping on port technology, where a good case is made for a more detailed analysis of Liverpool's use of steam power in comparison with other ports; the economic rationale for declining to use convict labour to construct dock facilities; the benefits of using the reports of two French spies from 1818-19 to illuminate foreign perceptions of Liverpool's progress as a port; and the factors which influenced the growth of bulk petroleum imports in the first three decades of the twentieth century. In each case, Jarvis provides some important insights into aspects of Liverpool's development as the second port of Empire which deserve further consideration. Most historians continue to rely on source materials which seldom provide a robust basis for explaining how a port really worked, and, in this context, the publication of the current collection of papers can be warmly welcomed.

Robert Lee, University of Liverpool

E. Davies, *Greater Manchester Clocks and Clockmakers*, Ashbourne: Mayfield Books, 2007. 342 pp. £35 hbk. ISBN 9780955446009.

Books on regional horology vary greatly in their quality and the reviewer had high hopes of this work. It includes details of some 3,700 'makers', along with 269 illustrations that bring the text to life by offering horological perspectives that words cannot. Much detail is included here and the volume's strength certainly lies in the extensive illustrative content; however, the book unfortunately contains a range of inaccuracies which are commented on below.

Turret clocks and their makers are discussed adequately in the opening chapter. Here, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century church accounts are shown to offer great insights into the supply, maintenance and costs involved with large public clocks. These, of course, were time-pieces on which a large proportion of the local population depended, domestic clocks and watches then being very expensive in terms of a family income. On the first page of this chapter, the author quotes from Mathew Gregson, an inaccurate account that gives credence to the idea that the watchmaking skills of Widnes were based on the skills of the local armourers. The Toxteth origins of these skills have been clearly demonstrated by the late F. A. Bailey and John Harris, findings reinforced in 2002 by this reviewer, by means of a series of illustrations of surviving watches. The topic of watchmaking is covered in chapter two and here the reviewer takes issue with several of the opening statements. The 1656 record of the ecclesiastical court case between Ellis Bradshaw of Bolton and Samuel Aspinwall of Toxteth Park, Liverpool involving the non-supply of horological tools, ordered and paid for in 1654, was discovered by the Rev. Thomas Steele, St Mary's Church, Prescot whilst undertaking research into his family connections to the Aspinwalls. Dennis Moore was not the finder and the document is not in the Public Record Office. The statement (p. 18) that a surviving watch signed Thomas Martin, c.1680 was made completely by Martin is also incorrect. The supply of movements 'in the grey' for subsequent finishing was well established by 1660.

The volume moves on briefly to discuss the rare examples of Lantern clocks and then the longcase clocks in more detail. Superb cases and dials are illustrated here in chapter four

and it is a great pity these are not in colour. All the clocks described date from 1700 onwards, there being no known survivors from the late 1600s. By chapter five, we have moved to a discussion of public clocks in the city of Manchester and a description is included, by Peter Clare (junior), of a regulator clock signed by him. The reviewer can add to this accurate description, having examined this clock in detail in 2002 when he dismantled it for removal to the Manchester Museum of Science and Industry, that Peter Clare omitted to mention he had purchased the clock from that master regulator builder, Thomas Leyland of Prescott, a fact that was reported to the MMSI.

The volume usefully profiles several of the notable clockmakers of the region, including one of Manchester's earliest, John Tarbock, who was working in the city by 1697. Details about Tarbock were recorded by John Byrom in his diary between 1725 and 1735 in an interesting account that records meetings between Tarbock and George Graham. These are useful insights into the correspondences and contacts of these early clockmakers. Probably the most famous and capable in Greater Manchester was Henry Hindley of Wigan and, later, York (1699-1771) and although he is discussed here, much more could have been added about this maker.

The value of this volume for any collector or dealer is the biographical listing of makers in chapter seven. The apprentice records listed here are based upon the thorough and highly reliable research and compilation conducted by Dennis Moore, a volunteer researcher at Prescott Museum for many years. Any reader needs, however, to be aware that inaccuracies are still present: for example a record, concerning John Bailey states 'successor to Sharp Roberts & Co in 1832'. This implies that Bailey took over Roberts's designs for turret clocks and perhaps some gear-cutting machinery, whereas, in fact, Sharp Roberts partnership continued as an active partnership until 1843. Similarly, the Hirst Brothers can indeed trace their origins to Alfred Hirst, mentioned in Kelly's *Directory*, but as early as 1880 and not 1888 as given here and were still in business far later than 1928 as cited by the author – their business survived as late as the 1980s. Another inaccuracy is concerns E. A. Holland, who is said to have *made* fine gauges for the government in World War One.

His business card for the period clearly states he was a government appointed *quality assessor* for gauges and fuses for the North West area.

The volume is complemented by six extensive appendices including: inventories of clockmakers and watchmakers by town (app. 1); clocks and watches found in inventories, the earliest being 1556 (app. 2); scientific lectures and shows (app. 4); and public clocks by town with maker (app. 5). Appendix 3 records information on 'The Towneley Group' and deals with this remarkable 'natural philosopher' and the circle of intellectuals he supported and influenced, including Jeremiah Horrocks; and the connection between clocks and the cotton industry is described in appendix 6, with an illustration of the mill clock by Hindley. The work of the great engineer and inventor Richard Roberts is touched upon.

This should have been a fine and comprehensive book and indeed, the biographical listing of makers and the appendices, a useful and comprehensive glossary, alongside the extensive array of illustrations, mean this wide-ranging volume will still be of considerable use as a source of information on the clock-makers of Manchester. The publication is marred, however, for the reviewer by the errors mentioned above, which with more care could have been so easily avoided.

R. J. Griffiths, former Curator of Horology, Prescott Museum and the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside

M. Presland, ed., *From Acorn to Oak. A History of Sutton Harriers and Athletic Club (St Helens)*. Liverpool: St Helens Association for Research into Local History, 2007. 143 pp. £9.99 pbk. ISBN 9780953690411.

From Acorn to Oak is the result of a collaborative venture between the St Helens Association for Research into Local History and members of Sutton Harriers and Athletic Club. The volume was conceived of by a former Club secretary and member of the Association and inspired by the impending centenary of the club,

a combination that greatly enhances the value and enjoyment of the story.

A traditional athletic club has within it a range of different competitive activities, presenting a problem to the historian wishing to write an account that is both coherent and readable. The authors have tackled this by devoting separate chapters to different activities, while broadly maintaining the historical sequence of events.

The club was established in 1899 and saw two periods of national prominence in the sport of cross country running, the first in the early years of the twentieth century before World War One and the second in the decade after World War Two. The major success of the first period, winning the English Cross Country team championship in 1906, and the consequent invitation to compete against two leading French clubs in Paris, are described in interesting detail; however, the narrative then moves to the 1920s, entirely overlooking the medal-winning team performances in the Northern Cross Championships in five years out of six between 1907 and 1912. In the second period, rightly referred to as the 'Golden Years' in the title of chapter three, the club won the English Cross Country title four times between 1947 and 1951, only beaten into second place in a close race in 1948. The events of this period, which within their locality endowed a near legendary status on the leading athletes involved, are well described with much detail, just as one might expect with at least one original participant able to contribute to the story. These achievements helped the club to expand not only in cross country, but also into track and field and to form a Ladies section, activities described in the next couple of chapters, which move the history of the club into the 1960s.

In dealing with the progress of the club in a more recent era, without a continuing achievement at national level in some sports areas, the structure of the volume inevitably changes and some continuity is lost in terms of covering the continued and changing club involvements. As well as athletic competition, activities included the efforts to establish and maintain a headquarters and the amalgamation of Sutton Harriers and St Helens Athletic Club to form St Helens Sutton Athletic Club in 1990. The treatment of this amalgamation and its outcome is

rather ambivalent. On one hand, the authors make reference to the last days of Sutton Harriers and Athletic Club, while on the other, the account continues to 1999, although without reminding the reader of the significance of this year as the centenary of Sutton Harriers. As the book points out, the amalgamation was not a success and by 1999 the club was largely Sutton Harriers at heart. A fact not mentioned is that the centenary of Sutton Harriers was celebrated by the club with a dinner that took account of the amalgamation of the members of both institutions. Perhaps for those steeped in the Harrier tradition, the recent history was too great to discard, but a more positive approach would have enabled the story to end on the high point of the centenary and to acknowledge the present officers of the club.

Two minor errors of historical fact can be noted: the final running of the Manchester to Blackpool relay was in 1965, not 1963 (p. 88) and the list of Sutton Harriers who triumphed as West Lancashire Senior Cross Country Champions includes Sam Welding in 1907 (p. 140) – however, the organiser of this competition, West Lancashire Cross Country Association, was not formed until 1910.

The text is enriched by individual contributions of personal anecdotes from more than a dozen members of the club and illustrated with some 70 photographs, including a number taken in the early 1900s. The quality of the printing and binding is excellent, and unlike many publications of this genre, the volume comprises a substantial, well-presented and lasting contribution. It provides a fascinating read and is strongly recommended to anyone wishing to learn more about the history of athletics in the Merseyside area.

Leo Carroll, Hon. General Secretary, Wirral Athletics Club

B. Burrows, *Infamous Cheshire*, Stroud: Sutton Publishing 2006. 138 pp. £17.50. pbk. ISBN 0750944250.

There is a certain novelty in a book entitled *Infamous Cheshire* and indeed this book provides exactly that – a novel and compelling account of some of the more notorious Cheshire men and women

past and present and infamous locations and places within this historic county. This is a volume without serious academic intention – it lacks references or a bibliography – but it may appeal to some of the subscribers to *Transactions* as a light, entertaining and informative read.

Having already surveyed the famous of Cheshire in an earlier volume (published in 2004), Bob Burrows here turns his attention to those of less illustrious character, introducing the volume as one which may astonish the reader with its gritty tales of misdoings. The landscape of Cheshire is full of the remains of fortified sites, medieval houses and halls, and within the first chapter the author offers many petite biographies of some of the men and women of rank within the county since the Norman Conquest who once occupied these local seats of power. The sad story of Mary Fitton, a sixteenth-century tale of love and dishonour, has all the elements of today's tabloid scandals, whereas the account of judge John Bradshaw provides a glimpse of the influence achieved by many Cheshire men and women in national events past and present. The author acknowledges that more detailed works already exist offering the reader far more well-researched and thorough accounts of some individuals, such as Raymond Richards's account of the *Manor of Gausworth* and his discussion of Mary Fitton. Burrows's narrative serves as a taster for anyone who might pursue some of these individuals in more detail. It is a shame that he did not include a bibliography for readers who might be tempted to weightier published discussions.

The volume is interesting in terms of its structure, which is thematic and centred on people, places and events. Historical characters are discussed alongside contemporary figures – media celebrities or political figures – reminding the reader that celebrity, infamy and gossip are ageless. Indeed, the volume serves as a sobering reminder that such contemporary figures as Martin Bell, Neil Hamilton and Sarah Harding may one day provide the subjects for serious historical research.

The volume lists places and events, too. An informative section is that on capital punishment and the discussion of a range of documented Cheshire executions (chapter 2). It is interesting to note the use of Gallows Hill, Boughton, both for burnings and hangings and the use of other locations in Chester and Cheshire

for both execution and the display of executed criminals. It would have been useful to have included a map of such sites. The mapping of late medieval execution sites can sometimes offer some useful information on the pre-Norman administrative and legal landscape. Less interesting are the short accounts of Cheshire's prisons or, indeed, its worst road blackspot. In a way, this highlights the main weakness of the book – it is simply a narrative that offers a string of exciting vignettes but without any depth of detail or reference to related sources, primary or secondary.

All in all, this publication is an oddity. It provides a mix of the ancient (Lindow Man) alongside the contemporary (Chris Evans), a method of juxtapositioning that does not always work throughout the book. The historical accounts of people, places and events are too brief and under-researched and are portrayed alongside accounts of relatively recent and contemporary infamy in a journalistic fashion. The author has chosen to discuss only selected characters, events and places past and present without justifying why. One feels that, with more detailed research, the book could have provided a far more comprehensive and interesting account of Cheshire unworthies.

Thus, in summary, with 75 black and white images, this volume provides a well illustrated, short history of the infamous of Cheshire. This is not a book for those who want detail and well researched historical narrative, but it offers an entertaining introduction to some key Cheshire characters and events that some might enjoy.

Sarah Semple, Durham University