PAST AND FUTURE

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What I know now that I wish I’d known then
David Cannadine in conversation with the History Lab
I want to use this regular Letter to launch a new project. I will have retired from the post of Director of the IHR and taken up the position of Professor of Medieval History at the University of East Anglia by the time this magazine is published. This is effectively an enforced change brought about by the invitation to give the Ford Lectures in the University of Oxford in 2009–10; many hours of hard thought having convinced me that I just could not continue to do justice to the very serious responsibilities of remaining as Director and at the same time fulfil what is in practice a requirement to write an unanticipated book. These hours have also involved deep thought about my long, close association with the IHR, an involvement which began in 1967 and which will continue after I formally cease to be Director.

Those with memories for such detail will know that I often refer to that first 1967 visit in the speeches of welcome which I give to postgraduates and those appointed to IHR fellowships. These repeated references are founded not just in a professional belief that working at the IHR in the Library, attending its seminars and conferences, and becoming involved in its many projects are of great value to the vast majority of historians, but in an unqualified personal attachment to the place. The foundation of that attachment is the knowledge that I would not have had achieved what I believe I have achieved in my career from 1967 to the present without the IHR. And in the knowledge that that achievement would not have been possible without the support I have received from some very special friends made at the IHR and from some superb IHR colleagues.

My IHR colleagues have many massive achievements to their credit over the period that I have been Director. Some are described in this magazine; many of them in previous issues and in our Annual Reports. It is a source of intense pride that I have been associated with them as Director over the last five years. It is similarly a source of intense pride to have been the public representative of this world-renowned Institute, to have met with many of its Friends and friends worldwide, and to have been involved in the continuation of activities, some of which date back to the foundation in 1921, and in the development of so many exciting new projects.

I hope that I may be forgiven for concluding this Letter by referring back to that visit of 1967 and exploring a little further its personal implications. I came to the IHR as a research student at a provincial university (Exeter). For someone from what was then a small postgraduate community at some distance from London, those first visits to the IHR represented my baptism into the mainstream of the UK’s historical life. Over the years that have followed I did work of fundamental importance at the IHR, above all towards the completion of the books and articles which I believe to constitute my chief contribution to scholarship. IHR seminars, above all the Early Medieval, have supplied intellectual stimulus and a necessary critical examination of some at times half-baked ideas. IHR publications have supplied information of crucial importance. Friendships have been made in the Common Room and major projects developed there.

This is a road which I want to help others to follow quite simply because I believe it to be a beneficial one for all historians involved in what we nowadays call ‘Early Career Development’. I also believe that it is a highly desirable infusion into the great intellectual powerhouse of the historical community of the University of London and its constituent Colleges and of the south-east of England as a whole. I am therefore forgoing the traditional leaving present in favour of the establishment of a fund to support bursaries for short visits to the IHR by postgraduates and IHR junior fellows whose universities are situated a significant distance from London. I shall be making the first payment into the fund and I will set up a direct debit to make regular further payments. I invite all readers of this magazine to follow my example.

David Bates

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Timeline becomes Past and Future

Past and Future is the name of the magazine which has been sent to the Friends of the IHR for many years. From 2008, it is merging with Timeline to form one single magazine to be read by everyone connected with the IHR – members, staff, visitors, seminar speakers and attendees as well as Friends. We welcome the Friends of the IHR to this new incarnation of Past and Future and would be happy to hear comments and suggestions about its content.
News

Victoria County History awards local history prize

A new local history prize, sponsored by Oval Projects and run jointly by the Victoria County History and History Today magazine, has been awarded to a project exploring the history of Deaf people in Wolverhampton.

‘Unheard stories’ will research and record the experiences of Deaf people living, working and studying in Wolverhampton and who use sign language to communicate. The project hopes to promote a greater understanding of Deaf culture and history across the wider community by producing an exhibition and DVD featuring local Deaf people.

Project co-ordinator Linda Ellis said ‘This award has allowed us to involve Deaf pupils from a local school in work we are doing to create an educational resource for Deaf and hearing students. The resource will examine the use of sign language through the personal experiences of local Deaf people. The young people will be given lessons in Deaf history and will be supported in interviewing members of our Deaf community to find out at first hand how the use of sign language in education has changed over the last 70 years’.

The award will be matched by Wolverhampton Arts and Museums Service. Other project partners include the British Deaf History Society, Wolverhampton Archives and Local Studies, Zebra Uno and Deansfield School.

New book explores 1001 years of migration in Bristol

A groundbreaking new book, which looks at 1001 years of migration in one of England’s most diverse cities, was launched this month at an event attended by the Lord Mayor of Bristol.

Bristol: Ethnic Minorities and the City 1000–2001 provides new insights into the experiences of the people who have made Bristol their home, from medieval Jews to the modern-day asylum seeker. This richly illustrated book seeks to bear witness to their many stories and begins to piece together how these migrants have affected the city’s own sense of itself.

Trevor Phillips, Chair of the Equality and Human Rights Commission, and author of the book’s foreword, stated: ‘This is a richly textured book, full of compelling human stories, many of which have not been published before. It should prove a valuable resource for all those interested in not only how Bristol, but the nation as a whole, came to be what it is today’.

This book is the third in a series of 15 local history books due to be produced as part of the England’s Past for Everyone project, which is funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund and run by the Victoria County History. The series is published by local history specialist Phillimore & Co Ltd.

The book can be purchased from the IHR bookshop at a 10% discount.

Bristol: Ethnic Minorities and the City 1000–2001
ISBN 978 1 86077 477 5
Price £14.99

1807 Commemorated

The IHR has collaborated with the Institute for the Public Understanding of the Past at the University of York to produce a website called ‘1807 Commemorated’.

This new site looks at how the bicentenary of the abolition of slavery was commemorated in 2007. It includes articles by historians, interviews with museum practitioners, and reports on the audience reception of the commemoration.

www.history.ac.uk/1807commemorated/

Acting Director for the IHR

Following the departure of Professor David Bates after four years as Director of the IHR (see p. 2), Professor Derek Keene, Leverhulme Professor of Comparative Metropolitan History, has taken on the role of Acting Director until a new Director is in place.
Victoria County History celebrates 75 years at the IHR

Generously supported by the Friends of the IHR, the Little Big Red Book celebrates 75 years of the association between the Victoria County History and the Institute of Historical Research. Lavishly illustrated with images from VCH volumes, the book contains information on the counties covered by the project and a list of general editors, directors, deputy editors and architectural editors past and present. The current director of the VCH, Professor John Beckett, looks at the origins of the organisation, the events that led to its being taken on by the IHR, the developments that have taken it into the 21st century, and at what the future might hold.

As a complement to the General Introduction to the VCH (1970) and its supplement (1990) it provides an update on the contents of the volumes, as well as a list of those who contributed to them. This is rounded off with a light-hearted delve into the fascinating archives of the VCH itself, making the Little Big Red Book a must-have for anyone interested in local history.

Historical Research – forthcoming articles

Highlights from May 2008 (vol. lxxxi, no. 212)

‘For some people this remarkable occasion is … a great, patriotic, unchanging British “tradition”, by turns moving and memorable, flamboyant and festive, splendid and spectacular; for others it is a deplorable display of boorish behaviour, mindless nostalgia and jingoistic xenophobia … Yet, despite their very different verdicts, these entrenched and contradictory assessments of the “Last Night of the Proms” both share and assume a permanence of programming and a constancy of purpose which are wholly belied by the historical evidence’.

Thus argues David Cannadine’s fascinating article ‘The “Last Night of the Proms” in historical perspective’, which traces the history of the ‘Last Night’, from the foundation of the Promenade Concerts in 1895 to its current iconic status. It examines the often contentious reception of this ‘invented tradition’ and its unique contribution to notions of Britishness, both at home and abroad.

John Beckett, director of the VCH, discusses ‘Local history, family history and the Victoria County History: new directions for the 21st century’, in the light of the increasing popularity of local history. Beckett looks at the development of the role of the VCH, and argues that the ‘England’s Past for Everyone’ project (the result of a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund), offers the VCH the opportunity to transform itself into the recognised quality standard for local history.

‘Caspar Van Senden, Sir Thomas Shерley and the “Blackamoor” project’ by Miranda Kaufmann investigates the project of a Lübeck merchant and his patron to collect ‘negars and blackamoories’ in England and sell them in Lisbon. Ultimately, financially unsuccessful, the project is interpreted not as part of a broader expulsion of black people but as an attempt by Elizabeth’s government to fend off another debtor with a patent.

Special Issue 2009

21 April 2009 sees the 500th anniversary of the death of the first Tudor king, Henry VII. Historical Research has commissioned a special issue to mark the anniversary, with guest editor Mark Horowitz. Contributing authors will include Sean Cunningham, Lisa Ford, David Grummitt, Steven Gunn, James Lee, Margaret McGlyn and Penny Tucker.

These articles are currently available to subscribers in our Online Early issue at www.blackwell-synergy.com/toc/hisr/0/0. For more information, visit our web pages at www.history.ac.uk/historical/.

Administering the Empire: new publication from the IHR and The National Archives

This important new guide is an introduction to the records of British government departments responsible for the administration of colonial affairs, and now held in The National Archives of the United Kingdom. It covers the period from about 1801 to 1966.

‘An indispensable guide and source of invaluable historical detail’, Wm. Roger Louis, Kerr Professor of English History and Culture, University of Texas at Austin.

Administering the Empire: A Guide to the Colonial Office Records in The National Archives of the UK

Mandy Banton
ISBN: 978 1 905165 29 2
Paperback
Price £20.00
Published June 2008 (jointly with The National Archives).

The best of Low

Sir David Low (1891–1963) is considered the greatest political cartoonist of the 20th century. This exhibition of his work (23 April–7 June 2008) includes over 60 original cartoons from before the First World War to the early 1960s. Many of the originals on show include Low’s most famous creations Colonel Blimp and the TUC Carthorse. The exhibition will also coincide with the launch of a book entitled Low and the Dictators.

www.history.ac.uk
The Norman Conquest and Anglo-Saxon literacy

Michael Clanchy, Emeritus Professor of Medieval History at the IHR, takes a fresh look at the effects of the Norman Conquest

I begin my book *From Memory to Written Record* (first published in 1979) with the Norman Conquest, when King William ‘decided to bring the conquered people under the rule of written law’. This implies that before 1066 the Anglo-Saxons had no developed literate culture. Certainly this became official orthodoxy in the 12th century. The lawbook from the 1180s ascribed to the Justiciar Ranulf Glanvill begins by declaring that English laws are not written down. The first chapter of *From Memory to Written Record* broadly accepts this Norman viewpoint. Domesday Book demonstrates in unprecedented detail how the Normans imposed their form of written record on the conquered people village by village. But I now think that I was as beguiled by a letter and his seal came to you, whether you could say that you could not recognize him by this means’. James Campbell, Susan Kelly, Simon Keynes, Kathryn Lowe, Patrick Wormald and many other scholars have argued that the evidence, fragmentary and awkward as it often is, points to a wide use of documents in the vernacular before 1066, not only at the exalted level of royal writs but locally across the country. At first the Normans accepted what they found and William the Conqueror issued writs in English like his predecessors. According to the chronicler Orderic Vitalis he even attempted to learn English himself. But when Lanfranc arrived as archbishop of Canterbury in 1070, the written language of administration soon changed from English to Latin. He was a lawyer and reformer in the Roman mould, who did not conceal his distrust of vernacular culture. However, the Normans could not make the English switch languages overnight. The conquerors therefore found themselves in an awkward position in establishing titles to property, as legal testimony continued to be given in English. How could the new landlords know whether it was reliable?

A writ from William the Conqueror to Lanfranc shows how the Normans dealt with this problem. It concerns the charters of the abbot of Ely and it probably dates from around the time of the Domesday survey in 1086. Lanfranc is ordered to find out who had the abbot’s lands ‘written down and sworn’ (*scribi et jurari* in Latin). How were they sworn? Who swore to them? Who heard the oath of the jury? Which lands are these? How big are they and how many are there? What are they called and who holds them? Lanfranc is to have the answers to all these questions ‘distinctly noted and written down’. ‘Do it’, William concludes in characteristically peremptory fashion, ‘so that I know the truth about this quickly by a letter from you’. This writ shows that even when there were written titles to property, a jury examined the details. Because disputes had continued at Ely, Lanfranc was ordered to write all the answers down again and confirm ‘the truth about this’ by yet another letter.

‘You do the swearing, we do the writing’ (I have reversed the *scribi et jurari* in the writ to Lanfranc to make the process clear) was the way the Normans ratified their conquest of England. Existing documentary evidence was not ignored, but it was subjected to scrutiny. In Domesday Book the information is so detailed that the jurors may well have had documents in front of them. Nevertheless, any information they got from these documents had to be rechecked and channelled through their sworn testimony.
The jurors voiced this in English because they had to speak the truth from their hearts. Their ‘truth’ (this would later be called their ‘verdict’ – *veredictum* in Latin) overrode all previous evidence, whether written or oral, because it was publicly and collectively sworn on the Gospels or on saints’ relics. The immediate recording of these verdicts was essential for the Norman government. How enough clerks were found to do this is something of a mystery, as they had to be able to translate numerous technical details about land tenure from spoken English and then write them down in Latin. This process was itself a form of domination as the Latin record was treated as authoritative: ‘Domesday Book’ was the ‘book of judgements’.

Through the jury process the Normans privileged orality as the way to reach the truth, yet at the same time they overcame the impermanence of speech, as the English verdicts were converted into Latin records for their exclusive use. This led to a revolution in government, when much the same process created the pipe rolls of the Exchequer (where each sheriff had to swear to the veracity of his accounts) and the plea rolls of the royal courts. By converting the vernacular testimony of thousands of juries into Latin documents, the Normans discovered a new path from memory to written record. Their uses of writing proved so powerful because they were ambivalent; they reached back to traditional orality and forward to government by bureaucracy. They came to believe that they ruled England by right of conquest. ‘This is my warrant!’, the Earl Warenne is reported to have claimed two centuries later, when he exhibited in court his ancestor’s rusty sword from 1066. Similarly in 1069 at Winchester, William the Conqueror declared: ‘That’s how land ought to be given!’ To the chancery clerks at Winchester in 1069, who wrote the king’s writs in English and ratified them with the royal seal, William’s jocular stabbing at the abbot’s hand must have looked barbaric. Although there are 50 or so references to knives ratifying charters after the Norman Conquest, the longer term this archaism proved a dead end. When in 1213 the prior of Durham produced in the king’s court a charter with a knife tied to it, his opponent objected that this was contrary to the custom of the realm. By 1213, a century and a half after the Conquest, the productive Norman innovation in property law had proved to be not antiquarian Frankish lore but the jury verdicts and plea rolls of the king’s courts.

I believe the title of my book *From Memory to Written Record* remains valid, as does its sub-title *England 1066–1307*. What I did not appreciate in 1979 was that the Normans faced a formidable challenge from Anglo-Saxon records being in English: tax and rental documents, for example, and the memoranda specifying the boundaries of estates. The conquerors reacted with contradictory strategies: first they produced writs in English themselves, then they challenged the very forms of documentation in charters, and finally they found a solution through the process of ‘You do the swearing, we do the writing’. In the enormous undertaking of putting together the evidence for Domesday Book the Normans found their own passage from memory to written record. Government in medieval England – and even down to the Reform Act of 1832 – was shaped by the administrative procedures put in place in the century following 1066. By reacting so strongly, the Normans acknowledged the power of Anglo-Saxon literacy, much as Frankish ideology had reacted to the power of Rome five or six centuries earlier.

Robert of St Martin’s broken knife, date 1148
This chirograph gifts church lands to St Cuthbert. When the prior of Durham produced it in the king’s court in 1213 his opponent objected that, instead of a seal, the document had a knife tied to it ‘which can be put on or taken away’. So the prior had to make a new chirograph ratified by the king’s justices.

Reproduced by permission of Durham University Library, ref. DCD 4.3.ebor.4

William the Conqueror declared: ‘That’s how land ought to be given!’, when he used a knife as the sign of his gift of conquest. ‘This is my warrant!’, the Earl Warenne is reported to have claimed two centuries later, when he exhibited in court his ancestor’s rusty sword from 1066. Similarly in 1069 at Winchester, William the Conqueror declared: ‘That’s how land ought to be given!’, when he used a knife as the sign of his gift and ‘in jest gave it to the abbot as if making to drive it into the palm of his hand’. Durham cathedral has preserved from the 12th century two documents ratified by knives of this sort (pictured) and a third one survives at Trinity College, Cambridge.

In *From Memory to Written Record* I thought Warenne’s rusty sword and the knives ratifying charters signified the death throes of an age-old oral culture in England. I now think the Normans were not only driven to documentation in charters, and finally they found a solution through the process of ‘You do the swearing, we do the writing’. In the enormous undertaking of putting together the evidence for Domesday Book the Normans found their own passage from memory to written record. Government in medieval England – and even down to the Reform Act of 1832 – was shaped by the administrative procedures put in place in the century following 1066. By reacting so strongly, the Normans acknowledged the power of Anglo-Saxon literacy, much as Frankish ideology had reacted to the power of Rome five or six centuries earlier.

Professor Clanchy will give a fuller version of this paper at the IHR’s Anglo-American Conference of Historians to be held on 2–4 July 2008, the subject of which is ‘Communication’ in all its forms.
Achievement under duress

Thousands of British prisoners of war sat examinations set by the University of London’s External System during the Second World War, as Samantha Letters explains

How did British prisoners of war (POWs) pass the time in German camps in the Second World War? Many people immediately think of escape attempts, or about time spent simply surviving, searching for food or working (for those below the rank of officer). Whilst these were a fundamental part of the POW experience, pastimes – however brief – were also essential to camp life. Besides music, drama and sports, it is well known that POWs educated themselves through books sent out by the Red Cross and by teaching each other, forming camp ‘universities’. What is less well known is that British POWs were able to study for and take examinations in the camps. Exam papers were sent out, they were invigilated properly and the completed papers returned to England to be marked. The accessibility and flexibility of the External System was the key to its success. The University of London sent 1,305 different papers to POWs, 21% of the 6,091 papers sent out. It was the most significant institution involved in providing examinations for POWs.

My interest began with research I undertook for a history of the University of London’s External System. By 1939, the External System had been operating for 80 years. It did not offer tuition, but simply exams. These were available across Britain and indeed worldwide, to men and women who might be at a range of institutions from universities to schools, or studying with the help of private tutors, or even alone. From London, the syllabus was posted to the student, the exam paper sent out to a local institution (which invigilated the exam and returned the papers) and the results posted to the student. The success of the External System depended on its own administration, the reliability of the postal system and the co-operation of far-off institutions and governments.

Accustomed to operating at a distance and in difficult circumstances, the External System was ideally placed to provide education to British POWs. Interested POWs could enrol with the External System whilst in a camp and complete their degree there. There was no requirement to be a current or former student of London or any other university, nor any fees to pay. POWs took External exams from the Matriculation (the school-leaving certificate), to the Intermediate (the first part of a degree) and the degree itself, in subjects including Arts, Economics, Engineering, Estate Management, Laws, Medicine, Pharmacy and Theology. Modern languages were popular and, given the diverse nationalities incarcerated together, it was possible to hold oral exams. Some practical exams had to be postponed until the POW returned home. Otherwise, no concessions were made for the POWs, who sat the same External papers at the same time as other candidates worldwide.

Examinations were rigorously invigilated and marked, as POWs were determined not to be shown any favours. The accessibility and flexibility of the External System was the key to its success. The University of London sent 1,305 different papers to POWs, 21% of the 6,091 papers sent out. It was the most significant institution involved in providing examinations for POWs.

Another 135 examining institutions also supplied papers. Of the British universities, Oxford held its first exams outside the city by providing its Special Examination for POWs. The Oxford exams were also accessible to men not already enrolled with the University, but were on a small scale: only 17 men passed the English Language and Literature paper set by J.R.R. Tolkien and C.S. Lewis. Other universities – including Durham, Edinburgh and Leeds – provided exams, but limited these to their existing students.

Most of the examining institutions were professional or trade bodies, such as the Incorporated Sales Managers Association and the Library Association. They enabled POWs to take exams in diverse subjects including accountancy, town planning, mechanics, chiropody and radio communications. The papers in languages, music and brewing are understandable; those held by the Horse and Pony Club perhaps less so. My favourites include the 33 men who passed the British Bee Keepers’...
Craftsmen’s exam in early 1944, including the aptly named Bombardier Clover and Corporal Honeyman. In 1945, five men passed the Co-operative Union Window Display exam in Stalag 383. At Oflag XII B, 13 candidates passed First Class the Royal Horticultural Society Senior General Examination. Gardening, bee keeping and even, it seems, window dressing helped ease harsh camp life.

All of the exams were dispatched by the London External System, headed by its Registrar, Arthur Clow Ford MBE. Clow Ford was uniquely suited to this task, having been interned in Ruhleben camp, Germany, during the First World War, where he organised exams when the External System extended its remit to the internees. He understood how organised education could improve camp life. In 1939, Clow Ford was in exactly the right place at the right time to help a new generation of POWs. He checked the exam papers from every institution, searching for anything that might offend the German censors. The dedication of Clow Ford and his small team helped ensure the survival of the entire system.

The exams were sent airmail to Lisbon, by a General Post Office service that remained secret as it was significantly faster than normal correspondence to POWs. The Red Cross then distributed the papers. Exams were held in over 80 camps, in countries from Denmark to Hungary, and France to Poland. The Red Cross sent completed scripts to the Educational Books Section (EBS) of the Joint War Organisation (the merged British Red Cross and Order of St John of Jerusalem). Based at the Bodleian Library and directed by the redoubtable Ethel Herdman, the EBS distributed the exams to the respective institutions and informed the POWs of their results (see image). Unfortunately, the airmail stopped before D-Day, 6 June 1944; a limited service resumed in September via Sweden.

Whilst POWs had quickly set up camp ‘universities’ to educate each other and received books from the EBS, exams were evidently another step. The examination system was established in late 1941, when it was obvious that the war was going to continue for some time. There are limited statistics for POW exams, but clearly there was no initial rush: by December 1942, there were only 450 applications. Thereafter applications rose steadily until 1944. Studying was badly affected by D-Day and again by the breakdown in camp life from January 1945 onwards, when food was scarce and thousands of POWs were marched out of their camps. It was impossible to study in these circumstances. Nevertheless, by 30 June 1945 there were 17,600 applications for exams: 10,104 candidates sat papers and 5,529 of them passed outright.

Most POWs read or attended classes, without feeling the need to take exams.

...The preparation gave them something to aim for and helped to break down their captivity into smaller, more manageable periods.

Studying offered them a chance to forget their situation and prevented boredom, depression and even madness. Those who applied for exams found that the preparation gave them something to aim for and helped to break down their captivity into smaller, more manageable periods. The POWs with significant experience of education were more likely to be officers, who were protected by the Geneva Convention of 1929 from being forced to work and therefore had the time and energy to study. The POWs with limited experience of studying were more likely to be the ‘other ranks’ who had to work during the day at jobs including hard manual labour. Yet despite the cramped and noisy environment, extremes of temperature, lack of food and air raids, men of all ranks studied, poring over books illuminated by lamps made from margarine.

The examination system would have been impossible without the cooperation of the German authorities. They allowed British POWs to study as it cost them nothing, provided a focus which prevented men from dwelling on their captivity and distracted them from escaping. In contrast, the Italian authorities never replied to requests to hold exams and there was no hope of sending exams to POWs held by the Japanese.

Tracing POWs for the University of London book was difficult, partly because survivors are now in their 80s. Although there is a card index of POW students in Senate House archives, it is closed until 2032. I was allowed to see the index, but none of the information could be published unless it was already in the public domain. Therefore, rather than being the starting point for the research, the index was used to verify information found in a variety of archives: to check if X really had been in Y camp and taken Z exam.

It took a year to find a surviving POW who had passed an External exam. Corporal Jack Griffiths from the Royal Army Ordnance Corps was captured in May 1940 and spent five years as a POW. At Oflag VII B Jack passed his City and Guilds in Machine Design and Machine Shop Engineering in 1943 and the London Matriculation and Intermediate Engineering in 1944. He studied despite having to work as a camp orderly: only stopping whilst he was held in shackles for nine months. Unable to access the Officers’ facilities, Jack taught himself from books. His enthusiasm for studying came from his awareness that he was falling behind the men at home.

This letter (opposite) from Ethel Herdman tells Jack’s mother of his success – Jack says she was ‘overjoyed’. Motivated by his achievements, Jack continued his education in England and eventually became a lecturer.

1 The People’s University: 150 years of the University of London and its External Students, by Christine Kenyon Jones (University of London External System, 2008).
Tall buildings in the London landscape: a historical and contemporary symposium

12 October 2007

This event at the Institute of Historical Research was jointly convened by the Centre for Metropolitan History with Elizabeth McKellar (Open University architectural historian) and Michael Hebbert (University of Manchester town planner), both members of the editorial board of the London Journal. The occasion had its origins in that group, and its proceedings will form a special issue of the journal. The day was introduced by Michael and Elizabeth as an attempt to step back from a ‘frenetic and heated debate’ to gain ‘historical perspective’. This seemed especially timely. On the same day a letter signed by 22 historians appeared in The Guardian urging the government to recognise that heritage spending is not a dispensable luxury. The symposium brought together speakers and listeners from a wide range of institutional and independent backgrounds, extending far beyond academe. Planning and good stewardship ensured plenty of discussion time between and after 10 short (15 minute) presentations.

The morning was devoted to ‘Building tall before the 20th century’ and began with Derek Keene’s paper on tall buildings in medieval London. There is, of course, nothing new about (relatively) tall buildings, nor about their contentiousness. Indeed, it was suggested that a close critique of the Tower of Babel story might tell us everything we needed to know on the subject. The reach for heaven, the assertion of unity and fame, and the instrument of authority combined in the spire of Old St Paul’s Cathedral, which, at 500ft (152m), was the tallest building in London before the completion in 1964 of the Post Office Tower (620ft/189m). Christine Stevenson followed with a consideration of ‘Vantage points in the 17th-century City’, reprising themes of domination and pre-eminence, but taking a more experiential approach. More than the monuments themselves, her subject was their observers and public access to the tops of the Monument (literally defined, a monument is that which reminds), St Paul’s and other towers, such as St Mary le Bow, at 224ft (68m) foremost among the City’s parish churches. Emphasising the vitality that comes from height, she quoted Michel de Certeau: ‘it’s hard to be down when you’re up’. She also drew attention to the way that the view from a tall building transforms anyone into an urban historian; vantage points make the complex city intelligible.

That was it for pre-Victorian London, and a chronological gap in the proceedings here did leave some questions hanging, not least whether smoke/smog compromised the enjoyment of views and rooftops after the 17th century, and whether the capital’s huge expansion encouraged taller building. Commercial building in the 18th century did climb as high as nine storeys, at Paul’s Wharf, where a block that was up by the 1740s intruded on views from the river of Wren’s only recently completed cathedral. Canaletto

The next speaker, Senaka Weeraman, an architect, presented an account of Brunel’s 282ft (86m) tall water towers to the Crystal Palace as it stood at Sydenham, and plans to re-invent their spectacular south suburban view of London in a new form, incorporating a wind turbine. Brunel’s towers survived the fire that accounted for the Palace in 1936, only to come down soon after (like the great chimneys of Abbey Mills Pumping Station north of the river) because they were felt to supply targets for the Luftwaffe. The hubris of height (Babel again) was a leitmotif of the day. The meaning of monument notwithstanding, Weeraman’s invocation of memory as a justification for the revival of a structure that is 70 years gone seems problematic. Again, this was all about views of the city from towers, not about views of towers in the city.

Richard Dennis took us on to ‘Babylonian flats’ in Victorian and Edwardian London. His primary focus was Queen Anne Mansions, a 10- to 12-storey block of flats of the 1870s in St James (Westminster) that rose to 141ft (43m) and aroused great controversy: The Times reported ‘when it comes to a building so extravagant as Queen Anne Mansions, the site hardly matters; the edifice itself passes the lawful limits of ugliness’. It was instrumental in the build up to the LCC’s success in gaining legislation to restrict the height of buildings.

Questions of density began (implicitly) to surface, as did comparisons with New York. Andrew Saint raised what he called the ‘great contra-factual’ – why didn’t...
imperial London have taller buildings? Regulation and the control of fire risk were factors, but the former not before 1890, and the latter was not unique to London. More tellingly, perhaps, London’s construction industry remained modestly capitalised, and Dennis pointed out that Queen Anne Mansions were not a great financial success. It was also interesting, in view of what had gone before, that views from these mansions have not been found; they were evidently not a selling point.

The afternoon moved into the 20th century. Jane Boyd, an artist, presented a single 1930s building, the one we were in – Charles Holden’s Senate House, which 210ft (64m) tower she called ‘the capital’s first skyscraper’. Yet somehow it is obscure, like its architect, little known by the general public, perhaps, in part, because there has not been free access to the top. Boyd’s installation, projecting an image of the Pantheon’s oculus and coffered ceiling onto Senate House, was praised from the floor as having brought coherence to the building. Leslie Budd, an engineer turned economist, reflected on first-hand experience of ‘the discourses of architects and engineers in the 1970s’. Professional convergence and divergence was one aspect of his varied, even fragmentary, insights.

Richard Seifert figured large and was credited as an unheralded John the Baptist to the current wave of tall building. He was given praise for the NatWest Tower (600ft/182m), but generally slated as over-stretched and disinterested, the absence of detailing at ground level being a particular problem, and a source of public antipathy, in and towards his and many other of the period’s tall buildings.

Of another project, he admitted, ‘frankly, we didn’t really care what it looked like’. As if they had, Andrew Saint pointed out that good design in tall buildings has to work in at least three scales, for the close encounter, the middle-distant view and the remote view. For this, Seifert and others since and presently have had no rules or framework, though the nature of the problem was well understood by Louis Sullivan.

Thereafter, current debates were engaged. Lucy Markham, a historian working within an engineering practice (Alan Baxter Associates), presented ‘the threat to views of St Paul’s Cathedral and the transformation of the London skyline’. Views of the City had long since mattered, but controlling what comprised that view (view management) was an invention of 20th-century planning. The beginnings were in the 1930s with the advent of the principle of zoning and reaction against the impact of Faraday House. But it was the Blitz and a post-war nostalgic view of St Paul’s standing alone, that helped seal a sense of the importance of these never unimpeded views. She pointed out that tall buildings had been forced to cluster outside the view corridors, and concluded that restricting heights along the Thames south of St Paul’s had probably contributed to poor design.

Michael Short spoke about recent tall-building ‘management’ in London, and its success or failure in enhancing the capital’s character. Perhaps the most interesting moment has been the intervention of UNESCO into the debate, that organisation having dropped the brick that World Heritage Site status might be removed from the Tower of London and Palace of Westminster because of alterations to their settings.

Short’s unhistorical assumptions about London’s skyline ‘becoming incoherent’ accompanied a reminder, memory/ nostalgia resurfacing as a salient, that what is initially vilified becomes well loved – Centrepoint, even Canary Wharf. Characterisation, it seemed to be agreed, was something that should have a wider base than just in the heritage sector.

Andrew Harris presented an absorbingly detailed case study of a plan to build tall that failed, a perennial subject that was otherwise neglected through the day. This came through ‘Livingstone versus Serota: the high-rise battle of Bankside’, which revealed much more than the specifics of its topic, proposals and counter-proposals for the plot immediately west of Tate Modern. Finally, Maria Kaika spoke about tall buildings and the changing social role of architecture in a globalised world. This, by contrast with what had preceded, was heavy-duty intellectual discourse. Yet it touched on some real issues, not least the unravelling of the urban realm, and ‘public space’ that isn’t truly public, with narrative verve and humour – labelling the great set-piece and contextually agnostic ‘landmark’ or ‘icon’ towers of the early 21st century ‘autistic architecture’. An understanding of the City Corporation as London’s Vatican was also amusing, but the characterisation of its shift from fogy-ish conservatism to 1990s corporatism (‘whipped into redemption’) was naïvely over-simple and failed to account for the changing nature of financial capitalism. Similarly, a question (why does capital refuse to occupy the landmarks it erects?) seemed to misunderstand the nature of capital. But, finally, Kaika’s call for an imaginary constitution of an urban identity seemed to reach to the heart of the historian’s purpose – that perspective to debate that launched the day.

In concluding remarks, Michael Hebbert, Elizabeth McKellar and Derek Keene mentioned a few topics that had not been covered – public housing, detailing, and outer/suburban areas with tall buildings, but this was unnecessarily apologetic. The symposium was an excellent event, lively and widely cross-disciplinary in its presentations and its discussions. The collaborative painting of a broad historical perspective must have left few preconceptions unchallenged.

Peter Guillery (Survey of London)
On 27 February 2008, about 40 people attended the latest in the History Lab’s regular series of events that aim to help postgraduates and young historians build and develop their careers. Historian and broadcaster Daniel Snowman chaired an evening of conversation and wine with David Cannadine, the Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother Professor of British History at the IHR and author of numerous books including *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (1990); *Class in Britain* (1998), and most recently *Mellon – an American Life* (2006).

Professor Cannadine reflected on a long and distinguished career in history around three broad topics suggested by the chair: ‘Learning’, ‘Earning’ and ‘Returning’. On the learning side, he was born in 1950 and grew up in what was then still recognisably the Birmingham of Joseph Chamberlain. A voracious reader of history books in his teens and beneficiary of an excellent grammar school education, David became the first member of his family to go to university. He remembers being greatly influenced in his youth by a number of the popular historians of the 1960s and 1970s, including Jack Plumb, A.J.P. Taylor and Lawrence Stone.

A number of the bees in Professor Cannadine’s bonnet emerged during the course of the conversation. One key issue was the importance of historians talking to colleagues outside their own specialist areas, which he felt was being lost amidst the pressures placed on young scholars to specialise too narrowly and too early in their careers. Another was his desire for professional historians to write books that people will actually want to read, recognising that history forms a significant part of our broader national culture. Professor Cannadine also remarked on what he sees as the grave lack of awareness of continuity between the present and the past, or a sense that the past matters in terms of explaining the present. This is, he noted, a particular failing within government and influencing public policy is an important activity for historians – though an extremely difficult one.

Historiographically, he noted huge changes in the field since he started out, especially in the move away from the erection of great causal constructs of change, under the banner of Marxism or other teleologies, to models of doing history where the emphasis is instead placed on the accidental and the contingent. Also important was the move away from narrow conceptions of political, constitutional and economic history to embrace areas such as social, cultural and gender history.

The hardest thing for young historians, Cannadine suggested, is to gain both the reputation and momentum that is required to start moving up the career ladder. Added to this is the increasing pressure to publish in journals, coupled with the over-long refereeing process, so that it can take almost as long to get an article into print as it can take to write a book. Despite the changes taking place within the profession, however, Professor Cannadine remained optimistic about its future.

When the meeting was thrown open to the floor a wide ranging discussion took place. Asked about the qualities required in a good teacher, for instance, Professor Cannadine said that young lecturers had a tendency to try to pack too much into a lecture – three key points was plenty. And one of the most important skills needed by academics leading seminars is the simple ability to listen.
AHRC Calendars Project

The Arts and Humanities Research Council has funded British History Online (www.british-history.ac.uk) to complete its digitisation of the Calendars of State Papers. Some volumes of the State Papers, Colonial, and State Papers, Foreign, have already gone live and the completed project will make around 400 volumes freely available online in the following series:

- Letters & Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII – (1509–1547): 36 volumes
- State Papers, Foreign – Edward VI (1547–1553): 1 volume
- State Papers, Foreign – Mary (1553–1558): 1 volume
- State Papers, Foreign – Elizabeth I (1558–1596): 30 volumes
- Colonial Records – State Papers, Colonial (1513–1739): 45 volumes
- Colonial Records – Journals of the Board of Trade and Plantations (1704–1782): 14 volumes
- Treasury Books and Papers – Treasury Books (1660–1718): 64 volumes
- France – Documents Preserved in France (918–1206): 1 volume
- Spain – Letters, Despatches, State Papers: Negotiations Between England and Spain (1525–1558): 20 volumes
- Spain – Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs (1558–1603): 4 volumes
- Italy – Papal Letters (1198–1492): 15 volumes
- Italy – Petitions to the Pope (1342–1419): 1 volume
- Italy – State Papers Relating to English Affairs (Vatican) (1558–1578): 2 volumes
- Italy – Report to the Master of the Rolls on Documents in Venice: 1 volume
- Italy – State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs (Venice) (1202–1674): 40 volumes
- Italy – State Papers and Manuscripts (Milan) (1385–1618): 1 volume
- Rymer’s Foedera – (1066–1654): 3 volumes

A central part of the project is the creation of an ‘annotation feature’ and discussion area for the digitised resources. Scholars will be able to add their commentaries to the calendars, focusing them at the level of an individual entry – adding or correcting information – and will be able to discuss topics more generally on a thread. The annotation and discussion tools will be available to all registered users of the site from spring 2008.

Subscribe to the Calendars of State Papers, Domestic, Scotland and Ireland

British History Online, the digital library of key historical sources, has recently digitised the Calendars of State Papers, Domestic, Scotland and Ireland. Like the other material on the site, each volume has been scanned, double re-keyed and converted to XML format, with a guarantee of 99.9 per cent accuracy. The calendar texts are fully cross-searchable with a range of other material for the early modern period, including the Lords and Commons Journals. Personal subscriptions to this online resource – essential for any study of early modern history – cost £30 per year and will support us in continuing to publish further free content. Institutional subscriptions are also available, so please let your university librarian know how important it is for your research and ask him or her to request a free 30-day trial.

Please see www.british-history.ac.uk/subscribe.aspx for further details. To sign up for an individual subscription at the special rate of just £20 please quote reference 289563.

New content on the website

The second half of 2007 continued to see the regular addition of new texts to British History Online, including the completion of John Thurloe’s State Papers, a fundamental source for the political and diplomatic history of the 17th century. It was also a bumper period for new resources for local history, with new volumes of the Victoria County History appearing for six counties, including Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire. Significant new content for parliamentary history included the Catalogue of Ancient Deeds, a six-volume calendar of manuscripts held in The National Archives.

Appeal for copyright holders

British History Online should like to make contact with any relatives or legatees of the editors of certain sources, with a view to securing copyright permission to add these volumes and datasets to the site. For full details please see www.history.ac.uk/digit/copyright.html.

Record society publishing

One of the core aims of British History Online is to support record society publishing. The project held a conference in 2007 and will hold another in June 2008. For further details please visit www.history.ac.uk/recordsoc/.
Research training at the IHR

Historical archives courses
These courses introduce students to the fundamental skills of conducting original historical research, guiding them through the processes of compiling a bibliography, locating primary source materials and using archives and repositories. As well as being introduced to the printed and online tools available, the group will visit the most important archives and libraries for their fields of interest, learning about their collections and how to use them, and meeting the specialist archivists who will help them in their work.

Methods and sources for historical research
7–11 July 2008
A week-long intensive introduction to archives and libraries for historical sources post-1500 (runs three times a year).

Information technology courses
Databases for historians II
16–18 July 2008
Develops the more advanced practical skills necessary for constructing and fully exploiting a database for use in historical research.

The Internet for historical research
6 June 2008
An introduction to using the Internet as a tool for historical research.

Historical GIS
22 May 2008
Geographical Information Systems are rapidly becoming essential to all historical analysis involving spatial data. This one-day course will explain the basics of GIS for a non-specialist historical audience, exploring its application to history and evaluating its potential for particular types of historical sources. It is a first port of call for those curious about historical GIS and wishing to understand how to make it a part of their own research.

Historical skills courses
These offer training in a variety of specialised skills used by historians in the course of their work.

Interviewing for researchers
5 June 2008
An introduction to conducting interviews with officials and specific types of subject (i.e., civil servants, government ministers, politicians, clinicians, businessmen and dissidents).

An introduction to historical theory
Thursdays, 24 April–26 June 2008
A critical introduction to current approaches to historical explanation.

Further courses are also run throughout the year. Please see www.history.ac.uk/training/ for an up-to-date listing.

Reviews in History (www.history.ac.uk/reviews) is a free e-journal published by the Institute of Historical Research. Since its launch in 1996, the journal has published reviews and reappraisals of significant historical works. Reviews are undertaken by leading scholars of recently published works of history in a serious and scholarly way, at greater speed and fuller length than in most printed journals. The journal also aims to encourage constructive discussion by allowing authors the right of reply.

The launch of the journal coincided with the wide-scale proliferation of electronic modes of publishing, particularly through the Internet. Twelve years on, the journal continues to fulfil a global need, providing a forum for historical debate and discussion. The Reviews in History webpages register around 20,000 visits each month while an email digest summarising new postings is distributed to 2,000 subscribers in over 40 countries. To subscribe to the weekly email alert, please visit the Reviews webpages (address above) and click on the link which says ‘free email alert’.

To date almost 650 books have been reviewed, covering a broad chronological, geographical and thematic range. Recent highlights include a thoughtful review by Marc Calvin-Lefevre of Jo Vellacott’s most recent book, Pacificists, Patriots and the Vote: the Erosion of Democratic Suffragism in Britain During the First World War (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), along with a reply from the author; an interesting discussion of Tom Lodge’s recent biography of Nelson Mandela; and a review of Ordering Africa: Anthropology, European Imperialism and the Politics of Knowledge (Manchester University Press, 2007), edited by Helen Tilley, in which the reviewer and editor discuss the role of anthropology within European imperialism and draw comparisons with the recent US-led invasion of Iraq.

The affairs of Reviews in History are overseen by an editorial board whose interests are diverse. The board guides the direction of the journal so as to maintain its usefulness to students and teachers of history. Consequently, Reviews allows students of history to gain insight into current issues and debates, as well as acting as a useful bibliographical reference. Teachers, meanwhile, can use Reviews to stay abreast of new developments and to explore topics relevant to undergraduate and A-level courses.

Following the publication of the recent AHRC-funded/IHR-led project ‘Peer review of digital resources for the arts and humanities’, Reviews in History is seeking to increase the number of reviews of digital resources that are commissioned. The journal hopes to reassure academics and their host institutions of the worth of time spent in the creation of digital resources and establish which are of most use and interest to the academic community.

From time to time the journal has themed months. This year, a sports history-themed month will be held to coincide with the Beijing Olympics. It will include reviews of recently published titles discussing, among other things, the origins of the modern Olympics, the interaction of sport with the media, and the impact of drugs and alcohol on sport throughout history. This also coincides with the CCBH’s summer conference, ‘Olympic City: London, Britain and the World – 1908, 1948, 2012’.

Reviews in History is also planning to begin a new range of reviews of the text books used for A-level courses written by those who use them – history teachers (perhaps with some input from their pupils). These reviews will consider the usefulness of the content and structure of the book under review with regard to the A-level syllabus, and will provide a valuable interface between those who write the books and those who use them. If you teach history at A-level, or know someone who does and who would be willing to write a review for us we would be delighted to hear from you.

Reviews in History is anxious to enhance its coverage and to learn more from our users and how we may serve them better. Any advice or suggestions will be gratefully received. Please send any thoughts you may have to ihr.reviews@ sas.ac.uk.
Events will take place at the Institute of Historical Research unless otherwise stated.

**Anglo-American Conference of Historians: Communication (2–4 July 2008)**
Communication is central to all human relationships and to the functioning of all societies. This year’s Anglo-American conference, the IHR’s flagship event, includes sessions on subjects as diverse as medieval transport networks, the growth of the knowledge economy, the General Post Office in modern British history and communicating the civil rights movement in the US.
Contact: Julie Ackroyd (julie.ackroyd@sas.ac.uk); see www.history.ac.uk/conferences/ihrconfs.html for more information.

London hosted the Olympic Games in 1908 and 1948, and will do so again in 2012. The CCBH’s 2008 Summer Conference will examine the history of the Games in the context of London and British history in the 20th and 21st centuries, and look ahead to the impact of the 2012 Games.
Contact: Virginia Preston (virginia.preston@sas.ac.uk; 020 7862 8802); see www.icbh.ac.uk for more details.

The IHR is jointly sponsoring this conference, which will evaluate the impact of Liebermann’s work, explore new work on early English law (from Æthelberht to the London Leges Anglorum), and launch a new edition of the texts.
Contact: Bruce O’Brien (bobrien@umw.edu; 020 7978 5084); see www.history.ac.uk/conferences/ihrconfs.html for more information.

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**American history**
- Thursday, 5.30pm
- British history 1815–1945
- Thursday, 5.00pm
- British history in the 17th century
- Thursday, 5.15pm
- British history in the long 18th century
- Wednesday, 5.15pm
- British maritime history
- Tuesday, 5.15pm
- Collecting & display (100 BC to AD 1700)
- Monday, 6.00pm
- Contemporary British history
- Wednesday, 5.00pm
- Crusades and the Latin East
- Monday, 5.00pm
- Economic and social history of the premodern world, 1500–1800
- Friday, 5.15pm
- Earlier Middle Ages
- Wednesday, 5.30pm
- European history 1150–1550
- Thursday, 5.30pm
- European history 1500–1800
- Monday, 5.00pm
- Film history
- Thursday, 5.30pm
- History of education
- Thursday, 5.30pm
- History of gardens and landscapes
- Friday, 5.30pm

**History of political ideas**
- Wednesday, 4.15pm
- History of the psyche
- Wednesday, 3.15pm
- Imperial history
- Monday, 5.00pm
- International history
- Tuesday, 6.00pm
- Knowledge and society
- Tuesday, 4.00pm
- Late medieval and early modern Italy
- Thursday, 5.00pm
- Late medieval seminar
- Friday, 5.30pm
- Locality and region
- Tuesday, 5.15pm
- London Group of Historical Geographers
- Tuesday, 5.00pm
- London Society for Medieval Studies
- Tuesday, 7.00pm
- Low Countries
- Friday, 5.00pm
- Marxism and the interpretation of culture
- Friday, 5.30pm
- Medieval and Tudor London
- Thursday, 5.15pm
- Metropolitan history
- Wednesday, 5.30pm
- Military history
- Tuesday, 5.00pm
- Modern French history
- Monday, 5.30pm
- Modern German history
- Thursday, 5.30pm
- Modern Italian history
- Wednesday, 5.30pm
- Modern religious history
- Wednesday, 5.15pm
- Music in Britain
- Monday, 5.15pm
- Parliaments, representation and society
- Tuesday, 5.15pm
- Philosophy of history
- Thursday, 5.30pm
- Postgraduate seminar
- Thursday, 5.30pm
- Psychoanalysis and history
- Wednesday, 5.30pm
- Reconfiguring the British: nation, empire, world 1600–1900
- Thursday, 5.30pm
- Religious history of Britain 1500–1800
- Tuesday, 5.00pm
- Society, culture and belief, 1500–1800
- Thursday, 5.30pm
- Socialist history
- Monday, 5.30pm
- Tudor and Stuart
- Monday, 5.15pm
- Women’s history
- Friday, 5.15pm

www.history.ac.uk
Plenary speakers:
Virginia Berridge
Michael Clanchy
Natalie Zemon Davis
Jean Seaton
Paul Starr

For more information or to register, please contact Julie Ackroyd
(julie.ackroyd@sas.ac.uk)

Institute of Historical Research
School of Advanced Study, University of London

The Victoria County History is pleased to announce the latest publication in its England’s Past For Everyone series:

Bristol: Ethnic Minorities and the City
1000-2001

This book offers new insights into the experiences of foreigners who came to cosmopolitan Bristol. It seeks to bear witness to their many stories and begins to piece together how these migrants have affected the city’s own sense of itself. Full of archival and visual material, and interviews with Bristolians the book marks a new departure in local history. It is the first time that immigration and ethnic minorities have been explored in such depth over the recorded history of a single city. This story may span 1001 years rather than 1001 nights, but like Scheherazade, the authors intrigue their audience into wanting to know more.

“This is a richly textured book, full of compelling human stories, many of which have not been published before. It should prove a valuable resource for all those interested in not only how Bristol, but the nation as a whole, came to be what it is today.”
Trevor Philips, Chair of the Equality and Human Rights Commission

www.EnglandsPastForEveryone.org.uk
www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk