



Front cover: This issue's bookshelf belongs to John Lee, Assistant Professor of East Asian History. John's research focuses on the environmental history of early modern East Asia, with a particular focus on the Korean peninsula. When working at home, he is assisted by his cat, Kata. © 2020 John Lee.

This page: Image courtesy of Durham University.

When we decided on a theme for Issue 10 of *Symeon*, we had no idea what 2020 would bring. We met on North Bailey in Michaelmas 2019 and elected to curate an issue focused on Environments and Nature. Little did we know that the world would soon face monumental challenges and changes relating to these. The new year began in the midst of Australia's most intense bushfires in memory, a tragedy which would be repeated in the Western United States this summer. Meanwhile, by spring, COVID-19 was becoming a global pandemic. In March, many of us found that our everyday environment shrank significantly: in lockdown, we found our days unfolding at home as the streets became eerily quiet. Then, from the end of May, with the dramatic growth of Black Lives Matter, the world has seen a social justice movement on an unprecedented scale. This is a year in which nature has thrown us enormous challenges, and it is a year in which many of us have questioned the kind of environment—physical and social—in which we want to live. It's a year for history books to come.

Of course, however, these are not entirely new issues. This year's *Symeon* aims to speak to some of the major developments of 2020, through exploring people's relationships with nature and their environments in history. Our authors highlight some of the many ways in which humans have engaged with nature from the medieval to the modern periods—in medicine, trade, scholarship and domestic life—and how they have shaped and experienced their physical and social environments.

Barbara Hargreaves and Rachel Clamp discuss responses to disease in the medieval and early modern periods, respectively. Rachel draws our attention to the 'key workers' of seventeenth-century plague epidemics and Barbara considers the application of 'humoral theory' in twelfth-century hagiographies.

Regarding historical harnessing of the natural world, Julie-Marie Strange explores the history of domestic pets in Victorian Britain, and Manish Kumar

proposes a new method for estimating the volume of early modern timber exports from the Baltic. Closer to home, Sarah Cleeve showcases Ushaw College's collection of early modern natural history writing.

Meanwhile, Adam Whybrow takes us on a tour of English country houses, through the eyes of tourist John Byng, in the long eighteenth century. While many of us may have missed out on a holiday this year, Byng's accounts offer insight into an earlier form of staycation. Moving further afield, Jane Marriott OBE, Durham History alumna and now High Commissioner to Kenya, reflects on her career as a diplomat, recounting her experiences working in Africa and the Middle East.

Finally, there is the question of social and academic environments. Anne Heffernan's article provides a timely history of Africanization and decolonization movements in South African higher education. Meanwhile, Marcus Meer strikes a nostalgic chord

with his reflection on the History Department's joint conference with the University of Münster last Michaelmas—a time when it was far easier to make connections abroad and in person.

This has been a strange and unprecedented year for all of us, but research and writing have continued. If you would like to share your news with us or find out more about contributing to the magazine, please get in touch using the contact details on the penultimate page of this issue. On behalf of the editorial team, I hope you enjoy this year's *Symeon*, and I wish you all the best in these extraordinary, challenging times.



Antonia Perna
Editor-in-chief

SYMEON BOARD OF EDITORS:



ALEX JORDAN



CHRISTIAN DRURY



DANIEL ADAMSON



GRACE STEPHENSON



RACHEL CLAMP



Contents

Department news	06
Keeping science at bay? Natural history in print at Ushaw College Library	10
'Honest and Discrete Matrons': The key workers of seventeenth-century plague epidemics	14
Pets at Home: A history of animals in the domestic interior from the Victorian to the present	18
Africanization and Decolonization Debates in South Africa's Universities	22
The Danish Sound Toll Registers and the Baltic Timber Trade	26
Humoral Medicine in Twelfth-century English Saints' <i>Lives</i>	30
Impressions from the Second Annual Durham-Münster Workshop 1 - 2 November 2019	34
Accessing the built environment: English country houses and the experiences of John Byng	38
From Castle to Kenya: Alumna Jane Marriott's reflections on her career in diplomacy	42
Contact us	46

Department news



Image courtesy of Durham University.

Sarah Davies
Head of the History Department

I write this on the first day of Michaelmas Term in October 2020. This start to the academic year is unlike any other as we deal with the challenges of the socially-distanced campus, blended learning, working from home and so on. Nevertheless, as in any year, we are looking forward to welcoming our new and returning students.

The good news is that fears early in the summer that students would stay away this autumn proved unfounded. In fact, this year we are welcoming our largest ever intake of first-years. It is particularly encouraging to see that, despite the A-level fiasco, we have succeeded in recruiting students from a much wider range of backgrounds than normal.

This year all our lives have been overshadowed by COVID. As historians, we have tried to look to the past to help us understand what we are living through. For example, Giles Gasper, Professor of High Medieval History, has curated a series of podcasts, 'Narratives of Resilience', which features research from the

Department on human responses to crisis and disaster. Topics covered range from the Middle Ages to the present day, from North America, to Britain, Europe, and East Asia. You can access them at <https://durhamhistory.podbean.com/>



Staff and PhD students enjoy dinner at the Bishop's Dining Room, University College, in February 2020. © 2020 Antonia Perna.



Ludmilla Jordanova, Professor Emeritus (Visual Culture). © 2019 Howard Nelson.



Image courtesy of Durham University.

We do have some non-COVID news to share too!

Last October, we said goodbye to Professor Ludmilla Jordanova, who has retired after several happy and successful years in Durham. Ludmilla has left a huge legacy, notably in the fields of visual culture and public history. The Centre for Visual Arts and Cultures (CVAC), which she helped to establish, is now one of Durham's most dynamic and high-profile research centres, with PhD students continuing to benefit from innovative interdisciplinary training in visual culture. The public lecture series at Durham's Gala Theatre which Ludmilla founded, 'History NOW!', is also thriving: this year the series is being broadcast by the student radio station, Purple Radio. Tune in to listen to discussions on subjects varying from Black History to the 'statue wars' and Nazi elite schools!

Ludmilla was a relatively recent arrival to Durham. During your time here many more of you will have encountered Professor Philip Williamson, until his retirement last week the longest-serving member of the Department. He arrived in Durham in 1979 and quickly established himself as a renowned historian of modern Britain. The author of numerous influential works on the British monarchy, politics and religion, he has also led several major research projects, including, most recently, a digital edition of the journals of Hensley Henson (1863-1947), a dean and bishop of Durham. More information can be found at <http://community.dur.ac.uk/henson.project/>. Philip has been a highly valued colleague, serving as Head of Department, REF coordinator and Deputy Head of Faculty. Perhaps most importantly, he has acted as mentor to many colleagues, who will miss his trademark incisive comments on their draft publications! Sadly, the event to mark Philip's retirement has had to be postponed because of COVID, but we hope to reschedule it for 2021.

When Philip joined the Department at the end of the 1970s, it was a very different place. There were only about 16 members of academic staff, including

two Professors (Reg Ward and Paul Harvey) and one secretary. Now we are up to 55 academic staff and 8 professional services staff at the last count, making us one of the largest History departments in the UK. Among those who have joined us this year are three historians of South Asia. South Asian history is a completely new initiative for the Department and it is particularly exciting that we have appointed colleagues from across the chronological range: Dr Jonathan Saha is a specialist in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Myanmar (Burma) and Dr Christopher Bahl works on the social and cultural history of the Indian Ocean region in the early modern period, while Dr Mekhola Gomes is a historian of premodern South Asia.

All our staff continue to carry out ground-breaking research on an incredible range of subjects. This year has seen the publication of Tom Stammers' monograph, *The Purchase of the Past: Collecting Cultures in Post-Revolutionary Paris* as well as

several co-authored volumes including *National Prayers* vol. 3 (Natalie Mears, Stephen Taylor, Philip Williamson), *The Scientific Works of Robert Grosseteste* vol. 1 (Giles Gasper et al) and *Liberalism, Nationalism and Design Reform in the Habsburg Empire* (Markian Prokopovych et al). It has also been a successful year for research funding. Dr Richard Huzzey has been awarded an AHRC grant to lead a project on the role of petitioning in twentieth-century Britain, while Professor Julie-Marie Strange is beginning a three-year Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship on 'Love in the Time of Capitalism: Emotion and the Making of the Working Class, 1848-1914'. Dr Eleanor Barraclough has an AHRC Leadership Fellowship for a project 'Into the Forest: Woods, Trees and Forests in the Germanic-Speaking Cultures of Northern Europe, c. 46 BC - c. 1500.' Despite the financial and logistical challenges posed by COVID, the Department continues to maintain an active research culture. Seminars have moved to Zoom (attracting larger and more diverse audiences in the process), and colleagues have become adept at tracking down electronic sources.

Our growing cohort of PhD students plays a vital role in our research culture (and social life!), regularly organizing and attending seminars, workshops and conferences. In February, staff enjoyed a memorable dinner with doctoral students in the wonderful setting of the Bishop's Dining Room in Castle. Of course, it is a dedicated team of PhD students who are responsible for producing *Symeon* every year! We are enormously grateful for their work.

Despite all the challenges they faced over the year, our resourceful and versatile undergraduate students adapted quickly to the new world of online teaching and examinations. As usual, there were many exceptional achievements, some of which we have recognized through the award of prizes (thanks to the generosity of our alumni). This year prizes were awarded to Thomas Cohen (Edward Allen Prize for the best performance in the first year), Patrick Creek (Alumni Prize for

the best performance in the second year), Thomas King (Thompson Prize for the best performance in the final year), Alice McKimm (Dissertation Prize) and Frederick Vint (Gibson Prize for the best dissertation on a topic in local history). Although the graduates of 2020 face a difficult and uncertain future, we remain confident that our students are equipped with the skills and experience that will stand them in good stead in a volatile jobs market. We wish them all the very best.

Finally, we hope that you, our alumni, enjoy reading this edition of *Symeon* as much as we have enjoyed putting it together. Please also take a look at our website, which is a mine of news and information. We have recently added an Alumni page—<https://www.dur.ac.uk/history/alumni/>— which includes profiles of some Durham History graduates. If you have any content for the Alumni page, or any suggestions about how we can improve it, please do get in touch: as always, we would love to hear from you.

Keeping science at bay?

Natural history in print at Ushaw College Library



Sarah Cleeve

Sarah Cleeve is Rare Books Cataloguer at Durham University Library, currently based at Ushaw College. She has an MA in English, and an MLitt in Creative Writing, from St. Andrews University. She enjoys writing poems and illustrating, and has reviewed poetry for the journal *Poetry Review*. She is an enthusiastic gardener and wildlife enthusiast. She lives in Durham City with her husband and twin daughters.

The Big Library at Ushaw College—once a Roman Catholic seminary, which has now come to life as a visitor attraction—has in the region of thirty thousand books and pamphlets. Many are theological works. However, the recent cataloguing project, managed by Durham University Library, has thrown light on Ushaw's many rare and antiquarian editions on secular subjects; detailed bibliographical online records now provide a variety of entry-points for exploring the collections. As the twenty-first century brings with it multiple environmental crises, the natural history collection in Ushaw's Big Library is now more accessible than ever to scholars. Its cache of natural science works, mostly shelved in Bay XVI, is an embodiment of human curiosity about the natural environment and its inhabitants and processes, and comprises an array of endeavours to document and make sense of the world. Ushaw's collection is also extraordinarily rich in examples of illustration and in works by pioneering, and sometimes persecuted, scientists. What follows is a brief sketch of, and an invitation to explore further, a significant assemblage of printed material on natural history, and its place in the history of Ushaw College.

One of Ushaw's star objects is Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. The college has been in possession of a first edition since the day of its printing in 1859, which may seem at odds with the strictures of a Catholic seminary. However, its library was stocked with a broad range of subjects to provide Catholic students with a comprehensive education, since the new London University accepted students of all denominations for its general degree. Other works were kept so that their heretical ideas could be refuted: Protestant theology for example. In the nineteenth century, Catholic educators were also confronted by a cascade of scientific discoveries at odds with religious interpretations of the world. This tension between old and new was dramatically highlighted when William Wrennall, Ushaw's professor of philosophy, commanded that Darwin's book be immediately purchased and brought to Ushaw, so that refutations of its dangerous ideas could begin immediately. It is a point of interest that the book is shelved in the philosophy section, as if designated a volume of dismissible thoughts rather than a work of scientific observation.

The tide of scientific discovery, however, continued to make its way into the consciousness of seminarians. In

Ushaw's archives, a letter from John Henry Newman to Ushawman William Walker in 1868, shows a degree of adaptability to scientific developments. In it, Newman discusses W. Smith's *The Book of Moses* and R.M. Beverley's *The Darwinian Theory of the Transmutation of Species*, and declares that he has no fear of Darwin's theory, saying that 'Mr Darwin's theory need not then be atheistical, be it true or not: it may simply be suggesting [an] idea of Divine prescience and skill'.¹

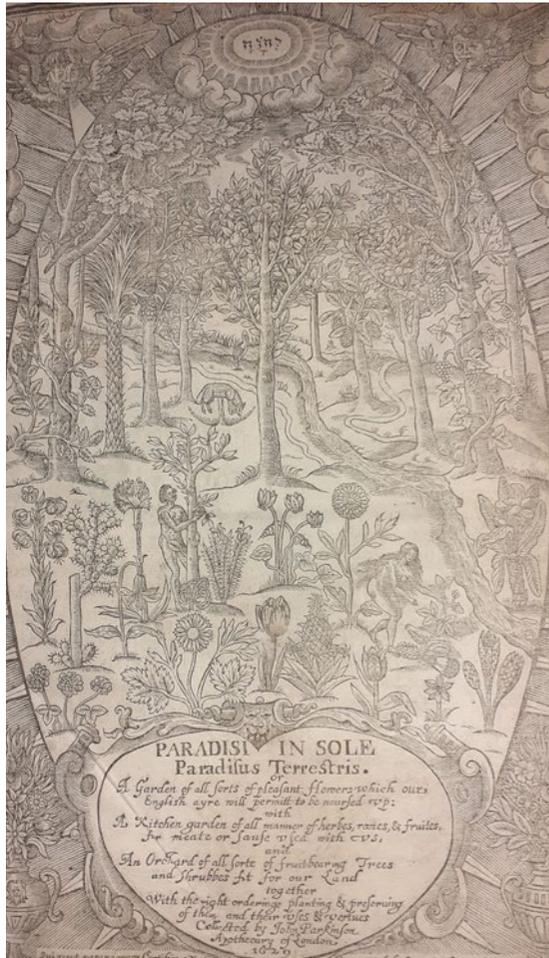
Old lore and pre-Linnaean herbals dominate the volumes on lower shelves of the natural history section, reflecting their weighty folio format, which in turn reflects the demand from apothecaries, herbalists and quack doctors for medical reference works in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ushaw has a 1591 edition of *Icones Stirpium*, a 1633 edition of *The Herball*, by John Gerard, and a 1640 edition of *Theatrum Botanicum* by John Parkinson, apothecary to James I. All three were major botanical publications of their times, reflecting an increase in more detailed observation and recording of plants. The botanical renaissance of the sixteenth century also led to the printing of horticultural guides, reflected in Ushaw's collection by such works as John Parkinson's *Paradisi in sole paradisus terrestris. Or A garden of all sorts of pleasant flowers which our English ayre will permitt to be nursed up*, with its delightful diagrams of orchard planting and advice on kitchen gardens.

In Edward Topsell's *The History of Four-footed Beasts and Serpents* (1658), 'equal weight is often given to real and mythical creatures'.² Hyenas and unicorns are depicted as if the engraver was relying on a vague second-hand description of these beasts for his or her engraved renderings. Yet the emphasis on arresting woodcut illustrations reflects the broadening appeal of natural history works, with increasing departures from informing specialist apothecaries, to delighting the more general reader. Presentations of exotic and far-flung environments is another theme that is explorable within Ushaw's Big Library: the natural history of Brazil is documented in Willem Piso's *De Indiae utriusque re naturali et medica* (1658), while Mark Catesby's *Luxurious Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands* (1747) gives beautiful depictions of the flora and fauna of the location. Alternatively, the familiar flora of the British Isles also began to be afforded increasing scientific precision of depiction and description. For example, William Curtis's

1. John Henry Newman. Letter from Newman to William Walker. 22 May 1868. UC/P20/161, John Henry Newman Letters. Ushaw College Library Special Collections

2. Helen Westrop, 'Edward Topsell, The History of Four-footed Beasts and Serpents, 1658'; Special Collections featured item for March 2006', University of Reading Library, 1 March 2006,

accessed 13 February 2020, at <https://web.archive.org/web/20060909061151/http://www.library.rdg.ac.uk/colls/special/featureditem/topsell/>



John Parkinson's *Paradisi in sole paradisus terrestris*. Or A garden of all sorts of pleasant flowers. All images reproduced by permission of Durham University Library and Collections.

Flora Londinensis documents flowers of South East England; Henry Baines's 1840 work *The Flora of Yorkshire* also drew focus to a more northerly environment. Perhaps such printed works satisfied a growing awareness of the ecological complexities of habitats closer to home. As the advancement of science and discovery necessitated ever-increasing detail in depictions of specimens, natural history publications became more specialized, homing in on ecological niches such as grasses for agriculture, conchology, mosses and ornithology: these and other subjects are generously represented in Ushaw's collection.

The work of artists and draughtsmen, whose enthusiasm for depicting the natural world brought them to the



Illustration from *Flora Londinensis* by William Curtis, 1777-1798.

attention of botanists and naturalist authors, is perhaps the essence and life-blood of natural history books in the nineteenth century—at a time when early Ushawmen, aiming to replicate as far as possible the now-lost great library of the seminary's mother college at Douai, were collecting thousands of volumes for Ushaw's library. Chance events brought an eleven year old Sydenham Edwards to the attention of William Curtis. Edwards had been copying plates from Curtis's *Flora Londinensis*, showing precocious standards of draughtsmanship. After his work was seen by an associate of Curtis on visit to Abergavenny, where Edwards lived, Curtis had the boy trained in botany and botanical illustration. In a time before mainstream photography, the hand-coloured,



Excerpt from Edward Toppell's *The History of Four-footed Beasts and Serpents*.

precise line drawings that Edwards then produced during his career for an array of popular natural history works must have been breathtaking to encounter: 'The public demanded quality illustrations of the newest and most colourful plants [...] and this is exactly what Edwards provided'.³

Ushaw holds works by Edwards as well as other key botanical artists of the time such as James Sowerby and William Kilburn; these luminous plates in deluxe editions are something of a window on a natural world that was still somewhat intact, mysterious, and filled with endless specimens to document and present to the nature-hungry, increasingly science-aware, nineteenth-century public.

How this rich collection was used at Ushaw College is an interesting question. Charles Geldard gave, in 1907, some hindsight and evaluation of how its students would best be educated in science:

'Everyone is aware of the gigantic strides made in every department of science at the end of the last and at the beginning of the present century [...] science has been brought home to everyone [...] it is familiar to the 'man in the street'.⁴ He goes on to explain that scientific observation is the optimum method of learning, rather than books, however it could be interpreted as the seminarians seeking an equilibrium with, and a fragile acceptance of, the upheavals in ideas of the human place in the meticulously observed natural world and wider universe. The easiest way in which they could find this equilibrium, presumably, is to let these ideas, safely housed in books, sit quietly in their library, a passive acknowledgement of unsettling developments in science. Although a relatively small section of Ushaw's Big Library, its natural history collection is both a capsule of the last five centuries of scientific discovery and its communication to the public, and a gateway to exploring the friction between scientific advancements and religion in the context of Ushaw College itself, a key chapter in the history of attempted harmonization between church and science.

3. Kevin L. Davies, 'The life and work of Sydenham Edwards FLS', Web Archive, 2006, accessed 2 February 2020, at <https://web.archive.org/web/20070928141402/http://www.mostlymaps.com/reference/Botanical/curtis-edwards.php>

4. Charles Geldard, 'The place of the natural sciences in the humanities', *The Ushaw Magazine* (July, 1907), p. 17

'Honest and Discrete Matrons':

The key workers of seventeenth-century plague epidemics



Early modern PPE? A physician wearing a seventeenth-century plague preventive. © Wellcome Collection. CC BY 4.0.¹⁴



Rachel Clamp

Rachel is a second-year ESRC-funded PhD student in the History Department at Durham. She received her BA in History from Jesus College Cambridge in 2017 and her MA in History from Durham in 2018. Since then, she has worked as a Collections and Archives Assistant at Alnwick Castle, helping to care for the collections of the Duke of Northumberland. Her PhD project is entitled 'Keeping the Diseased: Plague nursing, policy and the poor law in England 1560-1666' and focuses on the experiences of plague nurses in the North of England.

The coronavirus pandemic has brought the normal rhythms of everyday life to a standstill. In an effort to control the virus, regulations now dictate where we may travel, whom we may interact with, and how we live our lives. It has also highlighted the incredible efforts of our key workers who have maintained essential services throughout the crisis, often at great risk to their own wellbeing.

History may not repeat itself, but it rhymes. During the early modern period, bubonic plague was endemic throughout England. Then, as now, regulations were imposed in an attempt to stop the spread of the disease and key workers were employed to care for the most vulnerable members of society.

In the seventeenth century, the enforcement of formal plague orders received from the capital depended not on corporate authorities or 'professional' medical practitioners, but on the efforts of lay individuals. Patients needed to be cared for; bodies needed to be counted, the cause of death identified and the houses of the deceased fumigated and cleansed. Most of these responsibilities fell upon the shoulders of early modern women.

There has often been an unspoken assumption that women's healing was limited to the domestic sphere and that it remained largely outside of the commercial realm. Part of the untold story of women's engagement in this realm concerns their involvement in emergency responses to outbreaks of epidemic disease. This story is particularly relevant to late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century urban environments, which struggled to cope with growing population density and increasing demands on sanitation services.¹ Traditional resources and procedures for medical relief were inadequate to cope with outbreaks of plague and it was in these distinctive, crisis-filled conditions that women's 'unofficial' healing skills were put

to 'official' use in several innovative and gainful ways.²

Poor, usually old and often widowed, these women were hired in a number of roles specifically designed to meet the expanding needs of their communities. Evidence taken from contemporary wills and inventories, probated either during or shortly after major outbreaks of plague in the city of Newcastle, suggests that these women were responsible for a significant proportion of the city's medical provision during the early modern period.

Within this category of female healers, the occupation that appears most frequently is the cleanser. Cleansers were largely responsible for disinfecting the houses and goods after the death, or recovery, of the infected.³ These women were not wealthy enough to leave wills of their own and it is therefore only in the probate material of others that we are able to catch a glimpse of their activities.

The probate records registered at Durham Cathedral are unusually detailed, making it possible to reconstruct the regime and economy of care. The yeoman Thomas Creake, for example, paid fourteen shillings for the 'clenssing & dighting' of his home. He also accounted for maintenance of the cleansers, owing forty-four shillings for 'meat & drincke to Iszabell creake and the clenssers that was in the house frome saint luke days unto christenmes daye', nine weeks in total. In this case, we are even told what materials were used, as Mr Creake paid nine shillings for 'colles [coals]clenssing of the house'.⁴ Similarly, Richard Rutlidge accounted for eighteen shillings to be paid to the cleansers of his home 'and for coles, candles and sope'.⁵

The second most frequent occupation listed in the Newcastle probate records is the keeper, or 'kepper'. A keeper may have been employed by the sufferer themselves, by a member of their household, or by the local parish. The term 'to keep' was synonymous with 'to

1. Leona Skelton, *Sanitation in Urban Britain, 1560-1700* (London, 2016), pp. 36-40.

2. See Diane Willen, 'Women in the Public Sphere in Early Modern England: The Case of the Urban Working Poor', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19 (1988), pp. 559-575.

3. Andrew Appleby estimates the mortality rate for the entire course of an epidemic to be about 60 per cent of those taken ill. See Andrew Appleby, 'Disease or Famine? Mortality in Cumberland and Westmorland 1580-1640', *The Economic History Review*, 26:3 (1973), p. 404.

4. Durham University Library, hereafter D.U.L., DPRI/1/1570/C5/2-3.

5. D.U.L. DPRI/1637/R12/1-2.

Pets at Home:

A history of animals in the domestic interior from the Victorian to the present



A pet dog and cat sit for their portrait, Victorian magazine, 1890. All images public domain.



Julie-Marie Strange

Julie-Marie Strange is Professor of Modern British History. She is currently co-authoring a book on 'Pets: A History of Family Life' with Jane Hamlett, Royal Holloway, University of London. The project was supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). Her previous work includes the co-authored *The Invention of the Modern Dog: Breed and Blood in Victorian Britain* (2018). She is represented here by Pepper, her canine companion.

Pets in the Victorian Home

The author and dramatist George R. Sims was well known in late-Victorian and Edwardian Britain for his love of animals, particularly dogs. His rather grand home, overlooking the 'duck pond' in London's Regent's Park, operated somehow between private residence, museum of collectibles and office. Journalists interviewing Sims at home typically marvelled at the sheer amount of art, artefacts and intellectual industry on display. But if human visitors were nervous of crashing into something valuable, the household's 'lively' animal residents (at one point, Sims lived with fourteen dogs, numerous cats and birds) had no such qualms. They 'bounced' and 'scrambled' about the house, 'made friends' with interviewers' feet, lounged on fine chairs in the drawing room, lay across Sims's desk, and followed him about the house 'like a shadow'. Sims even went so far as to commission an illustration of his animal companions fortified with napkins and cutlery, seated at his elegant dining table enjoying a hearty Christmas dinner. The household was entirely in keeping with Sims's public persona: subversive, chaotic, gregarious and sentimental. Sims's anarchic household arrangements were not those of a responsible *paterfamilias*.

The Victorians are famous for their love of domesticity. Their commitment to creating ideal homes left many households juggling astonishing amounts of clutter with highly regulated rules and boundaries to maintain order and propriety. And yet, for many Victorians, pets were essential to their idea of home. This feeling was voiced by Mrs Jane Loudon, in her *Domestic Pets: Their Habits and Management* (1851): 'with my favourite dog lying at my feet, a cat purring on a sofa at my side, and two goldfish swimming merrily about a vase before me, I sit down to write about the animals I am so fond of; and which, fortunately for the interest of my book, thousands of other people are equally fond as myself'. In the nineteenth century those with money increasingly lavished it on the home, introducing new household technologies, redecorating, buying more furniture and ornaments. Introducing animals into this moral and material mix was a challenge. For all the sentimental appeal of a cat purring on the hearth, a bird trilling in the bay window or a dog guarding the door, animals repeatedly threatened domestic order. Many writers – including novelists Charles Dickens, Emily Bronte and Thomas Hardy, the advice writer Mrs Loudon and the author of boys' companion books (how to build boats, catch wild animals, play games and so on) Reverend John George Wood – noted the disruptive tendencies of pet dogs, cats and ravens. Even where animals were working members of households, catching vermin or watching for burglars, their exercise of independent will could set them at odds with human domestic authority. Wood recounts the story of 'Roughie', an affectionate Skye terrier who proved less than adequate as a guard dog, leaving the family property open to all and sundry.

Animal companionship brought different expectations and challenges in homes across the social scale. Wealthy Victorians, although often inhabiting impressive villas or large terraced houses, were restricted in their use of space by the sheer volume of furniture and decorative goods it had become customary to display. These houses were also often filled with humans – in the mid-Victorian period it was normal to have lots of children, and extended family and servants were also likely to live on site. Animal companions would ideally intuit the value of household goods, the rules of domestic order and treat them with respect. Lower down the social scale, incremental improvements in housing stock and sanitary infrastructure across the nineteenth century made keeping birds and cats viable for many working families. The heart of Grace Foakes' late-Victorian and Edwardian tenement home in London's East End was the living room where seven people cooked, ate and worked. It was crowded but 'it was home', not



'Therefore try to learn manners, and eat as I do...', from Julia Ewing, *Papa Poodle & Other Pets*, 1884.



'Christmas Day', *The Idler*, December 1897, p. 686.

least because this was where Foakes' mother could always be found. The other mainstay of the living room was the cat, who slept in a special box underneath a cupboard and when possible laid claim to Foakes' father's chair. Dogs, though, were more challenging to accommodate alongside typically large numbers of children, china and the stuff of everyday life. In one Lancaster 'two up, two down' where eight children lived with their parents at the end of the nineteenth century, a mother reached a compromise with her older son: his dog could stay indoors overnight provided he tied it to the table leg to prevent it wandering about the house and wreaking havoc. Animals had a tendency to disrupt households, acting independently of human rules and morality, unaware of the nuances of social hierarchy, and constantly renegotiating the boundaries of human expectation.



Pet cats in a Victorian magazine, 1890.

Modern Homes

By the twentieth century, housing stock was changing to meet perceived needs of modern life but pets were not necessarily factored into new designs for the home. If the large gardens of interwar suburban estates met with some pets' approval, the trend towards small kitchens could lead to a constant battle against mud, the pungent aroma of wet animal and moulting hair. There was an increasing expectation that domestic pets would now be housed indoors. This posed new challenges as pets marked out their own territories in the home, and owners struggled to protect furniture and dispose of waste, an issue dwelt on in depth by the distinguished writer Joseph Ackerley, for whom the disposal of his beloved dog's faeces became a pressing issue.

If purpose-built 'new model housing' tenement blocks had been a novelty in the late nineteenth century, the low and high rise 'flat' became an increasing emblem of urban modernity as the twentieth century ticked onward. Flats, pet people generally agreed, were not conducive to keeping animals and certainly exacerbated the challenges of maintaining domestic order. Mass Observation diarists reported on the difficulties of reconciling different pets in small flats. Pets continued to create significant domestic disruption. When dog trainer Barbara Woodhouse wrote her first book in the 1950s, she was confronted with delinquent animals who stole prize steaks, occupied favourite chairs or refused to vacate their owners' beds. And yet, for all the potential havoc created by animals indoors, increasing numbers of single people and families throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries invited animals to share their homes.

If the seemingly anarchic domestic arrangements of George Sims and his pets provoked responses from bemusement to horror in readers at the turn of the twentieth century, free-range pets were much more the norm at the start of the twenty-first. While animals chewing the upholstery remain challenges for modern pet people, standards for pets' domestic behaviour appear to have relaxed overall. Technologies are available to help manage mud and pungent aromas and, as expectations that pets will share indoor (and even intimate) space increase, products that promote pet comfort and style in the interior have become ever more available.

Pets & the Way We Live Now

In 2018 a UK Gov and PDSA report found that 49% of adults owned a pet; and estimated that there were 11.1 million pet cats and 8.9 million pet dogs in the UK. Pets are part of family life, but they are also an important part of the British economy. In 2015, the store Pets at Home reported half-year pre-tax profits of £45.2 million; in 2014, the top 100 UK veterinary businesses reported a record turnover of £1.36 billion. But the position of pets in the home is also precarious. As the Coronavirus pandemic restricts human movement, the contribution of pets to human health and wellbeing becomes ever more explicit. At the beginning of the pandemic, demand for pets rose sending the price of some pedigree dog breeds to unprecedented levels (almost £10,000 for one French bulldog). And yet, as the economy tumbles and recession bites, animal rescue charities anticipate rising levels of pet abandonments as the costs of pets and veterinary bills become unaffordable and unexpected changes in human housing and employment make pet keeping impossible. For many people now, as for the Victorians, pets are valuable—and vulnerable—members of family and home life.

Young girls feeding their pet bird, from Caroline Pridham, *Domestic Pets*, 1893.

Africanization and Decolonization Debates in South Africa's Universities



Anne Heffernan

Anne Heffernan is Assistant Professor in Southern African History at Durham. Her work focuses on the role of students and young people in influencing political trends and changes, particularly during apartheid. She is especially interested in protest politics and the development of new forms of political ideology and practice.



The removal of a statue of Cecil John Rhodes from University of Cape Town, following student protests, 9 April 2015.
© 2015 Tony Carr / Wikimedia Commons. CC BY-SA 2.0.⁶

In 2015 and 2016 student protests on South African campuses demanded the decolonization of the academy. These students called to increase access for poor Black students, and to transform both the professoriate and curricula. They criticized the current university system as being a relic of a white-dominated past. Through transnational links, they spread to places like the United Kingdom (via Rhodes Must Fall) and linked to calls to decolonize universities globally. But a deeper look at the history of higher education in South Africa reveals that this generation of activists is not the first to raise many of the ideas now being articulated as decolonization. In the 1970s a battle was waged over Africanization and the management of segregated universities. Africanization was a contested idea, and students, staff, and university administrators differed over if—and how—it should be achieved. Language, leadership, philosophy, and politics were at the core of their debates. Adherents of Black Consciousness clashed with proponents of the quasi-independence provided by the Bantustan system. This article briefly describes the fight for Africanization at one historically Black university, the University of the North, during the mid-1970s.

Racial segregation at all levels of society represented, infamously, the apotheosis of apartheid in South Africa. Education was a key facet of this, as it was not considered sufficient to segregate racial groups physically. Separate curricula tailored by government planners to the perceived 'needs' of specific racial and ethnic groups were designed to control how people thought and what they were trained to do. To a large degree, this aimed to ring-fence upper- and middle-class jobs for white workers, and to restrict Black workers to menial labour. Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, admitted as much when he declared that Africans were only fit to be 'hewers of wood and

drawers of water'.¹ Under Verwoerd's tenure as the Minister of Native Affairs, the 1953 Bantu Education Act codified the type of primary and secondary education available to Africans. As historian Saul Dubow has noted, 'The intention of the Act was to suffocate independent thought and crush the aspirations of the improving [African] elite'.² Bantu Education aimed to bring all African schooling under government control—particularly mission schools, which had educated many African nationalist leaders.

But there was a further layer to this plan: another facet of apartheid planning was the establishment of ten self-governing ethnic 'homelands'—or bantustans as they were called colloquially, referring tongue-in-cheek to the nations in the Soviet bloc—throughout the rural countryside during the 1950s and 1960s. These were designed to provide citizenship to Black South Africans based on their ethnicity, with the express purpose of removing their claims to citizenship (and its attendant protections) in South Africa itself. Despite Verwoerd's aims to maintain a firm colour bar between blue- and white-collar jobs, these bantustans required a skilled professional class to operate. So, in the late 1950s, the Department of Bantu Education set out to establish four ethnically segregated universities, which were tasked with producing doctors, nurses, teachers, and civil servants for the bantustans.

These new universities joined the historic University College of Fort Hare as the places solely responsible for offering tertiary education to Black South Africans. Most of these universities opened their doors in 1960, and by the end of that decade, they were booming. One of them, the University of the North, started the decade with fewer than 200 students and ended it with nearly 2000.³ As it grew, this university also became a hotspot for anti-apartheid protest led by students. In 1969, the South African

1. 'Biography of Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd', *South African History Online* (2009), accessed 20 August 2020, at <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/hendrik-frensch-verwoerd>.

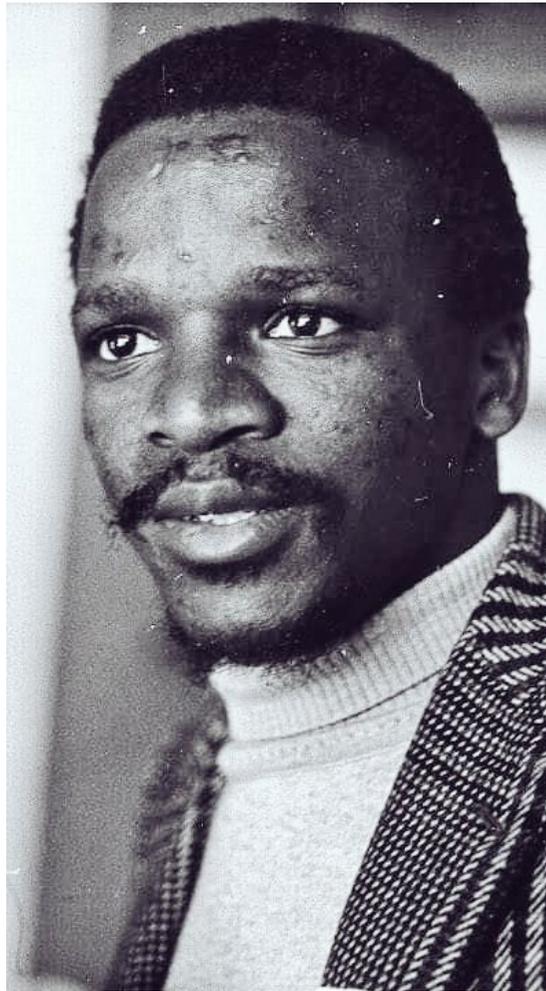
2. Saul Dubow, *Apartheid, 1948-1994* (Oxford, 2014), p. 55.

3. Anne Heffernan, *Limpopo's Legacy: Student Politics and Democracy in South Africa* (Johannesburg, 2019).

Students' Organization, led by Steve Biko and espousing a new philosophy called Black Consciousness, was launched at the University of the North. Over the 1970s, student protests on the campus mounted against the oppressive apartheid regime, particularly in its manifestation at the university itself. One issue that both students and Black staff began to call for with increasing urgency was for the university to Africanize. There was dissent over precisely what this meant and how it should be achieved: the university's Black Academic Staff Association called for parity of pay and promotion for Black academics, who were consistently kept in junior roles to their white colleagues. Students called for a more radical and anti-apartheid curriculum. But there was widespread agreement among Black students and staff, and even some white staff, that the university should have Black leadership. From its founding in 1960, the university's rector (analogous to a vice-chancellor), its governing Council, and all senior administrative positions had been held by white men. Given that the university had been expressly founded to educate Black students, this was particularly galling to many students and Black staff who felt like second-class citizens in their own institution. In 1972, a former student body president, Onkgopotse Tiro, called the administration to task at that year's graduation ceremony for maintaining the status quo when a new chancellor was appointed:

The [apartheid] system is failing. It is failing because even those who recommended it strongly, as the only solution to racial problems in South Africa, fail to adhere to the letter and spirit of the policy. According to the policy, we expected Dr. Eiselen to decline the chancellorship in favour of a black man. My dear parents, these are injustices no normal student can tolerate – no matter who he is and where he comes from.⁴

Tiro's speech caused widespread protests in support on campus and beyond—and prompted the university to expel him and shut down the campus for a time—but it would be another five years before Africanization in the form of Black leadership was achieved at the University of the North. In mid-1976, the presiding Rector, J.L. Boshoff, announced his retirement the coming year. He did so during one of the most tumultuous periods in South African history. In June of 1976 schoolchildren had marched through the streets of Soweto to protest



Abram Ramothibi Onkgopotse Tiro. © 2020 Steve Biko Foundation / Wikimedia Commons. CC BY-SA 4.0.⁷

the system of Bantu Education until police fired into the crowd, killing hundreds.⁵ Protests broke out in schools, townships, and villages throughout South Africa in response. In this context, under significant pressure from staff, students, parents, and the public, the university council decided that Rector Boshoff's replacement to lead the University of the North would be South Africa's first black university rector: Professor William Kgware.

Kgware's appointment was heralded as a moment of change in many quarters, although student activists worried that he was too conservative, politically. He had been a longtime member of staff, was the most senior Black academic at the university at the time and had a close working relationship with the Boshoff administration. Perhaps inevitably, Kgware's administration was beset by problems; student protests continued to flare in the late 1970s, particularly after news of the murder of Steve Biko while in police custody reached campus in September of 1977. The Kgware administration—populated mainly by the same people as the Boshoff administration, except for William Kgware himself—responded to this unrest with expulsions and university shut-downs, very much in the mould of earlier administrations. Many prominent Black South Africans at the time criticized Kgware for simply being a Black figurehead masking the enduring white power structures at the university.

So, what does this reflection on the movement for Africanization in the 1970s suggest for the twenty-first century movement for decolonization? It hints that the process of Africanization at the University of the North, devoid of larger structural changes to higher education in South Africa, was doomed to failure. The administration of Professor Kgware, South Africa's first Black rector, effectively continued the status quo of his white predecessors in failing to more broadly promote the position of Black faculty in the university and its governing structures, and in its quick and harsh repression of student dissent. This failure was in large part because changing the leadership of the University of the North did not change the way that power in the university operated, nor in the sector as a whole; it was still a segregated institution in a segregated and repressive society.

Recent student protests operate in a different, much more open environment, but have still recognized a need for this systemic change in the university sector. Nearly all universities in South Africa have Black leadership and have done for some time. However, the other components of Africanization that formed debates in the 1970s—the parity of employment that Black staff demanded, revisions to the curriculum that students desire—are now once more on the agenda for change.



COVID screening at the University of Limpopo in September 2020. In 2005, the University of the North became the University of Limpopo, reflecting the new name of its home province, as part of a national effort to transform the post-apartheid higher education system. © 2020 Tutgroup / Wikimedia Commons. CC BY-SA 4.0.⁸

4. A.O. Tiro, "Graduation speech to the University of the North, 1972". *ULSpace (Institutional Repository of the University of Limpopo)*, accessed 23 September 2017, at http://ul.netd.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10386/1798/tiro_graduationspeech_1972.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

5. Estimates of the death toll during the Soweto Uprising vary widely; initial government reports put the number at 23 in an intentional effort to contain criticism, but archival morgue data from Soweto records 181 deaths on 16 June 1976 itself, and historians have estimated that the full death toll over many days of protest could be as high as 700.

6. Licence: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/deed.en>. Image source: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Goodbye_Cecil_John_Rhodes20_\(16481463023\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Goodbye_Cecil_John_Rhodes20_(16481463023).jpg), accessed 10 November 2020. Original image title:

Goodbye Cecil John Rhodes20.

7. Licence: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>. Image source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Onkgopotse_Ramothibi_Tiro.jpg, accessed 10 November 2020.

8. Licence: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>. Image source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Screenp.jpg>, accessed 10 November 2020.

The Danish Sound Toll Registers and the Baltic Timber Trade¹



Manish Kumar

Manish Kumar is a second-year PhD student in the Department of History. He did his pre-doctoral research at University of Groningen, the Netherlands. He holds a Master's degree in Economics and a Master's degree in History, both from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He has also published in international peer-reviewed journals.

Maritime trade between the Baltic and the rest of Europe during the early modern period is extensively captured in the Danish Sound Toll Registers (STR). The STR provide information about the ships passing through the Sound (Danish: *Øresund*), the strait separating the North Sea from the Baltic, from 1497 to 1857. The date of passage of the ship, name of the shipmaster, cargo, the amount of toll levied, port of departure, port of destination and some other information were recorded in the STR by the Danish authorities who controlled the Sound. Port of departure was first recorded in 1557, whereas port of destination was regularly recorded only from 1669. This treasure trove of information is now available in digital format at www.soundtoll.nl. As a result, these registers are now commonly known as Sound Toll Registers Online (STRO).

The Danish Sound is not the only sea route that connects the Baltic and the North Sea. The straits of the Little Belt and the Great Belt also provide a maritime passage between these two seas. Another connection was made possible in the 1780s by a canal that connected Kiel on the Baltic to Tönning on the North Sea. But historians agree that most of the maritime traffic between the two seas passed through the Danish Sound and consequently can be investigated with the aid of the STR.

The significance of the STR can also be judged from the fact that they are included in UNESCO's *Memory of the World Registers*, which is a 'compendium of documents, manuscripts, oral traditions, audio-visual materials, library and archive holdings of universal value.'³ According to the UNESCO website:

The Sound Toll Registers constitute a record group of immense international relevance... The Sound Toll was introduced in the 15th century. The oldest Sound Toll Register that has been kept till today is from 1497, while the series is complete from 1557 to 1857, when the Sound Toll was abolished. The STR contain a wealth of information and provide a most valuable potential for research of many kinds and concerning many nations. Nowhere else can be found a record group of equivalent value when it comes to important information concerning international trade over several decades.⁴

The Baltic region provided products such as timber, hemp, flax, grain, iron, to name but a few, to the rest of Europe, and received products such as salt, wine and cloth in exchange. The Baltic trade was significant to such an extent for the Dutch that they termed it *moedernegotie*, mothertrade. This trade not only provided opportunities for employing ships and sailors, but also made available grains for bread and beer for the Dutch economy.⁵ Britain also imported timber and naval stores from the Baltic during the early modern period. The British imports of bar iron from Russia almost equalled domestic production in 1788.⁶ According to Peter Mathias, exports of bar iron from Russia to Britain were 'by far the greatest direct contribution of Russian commerce to the industrial revolution.'⁷ All these aspects of the early modern European trade can be explored with the help of the STR.

My research at Durham is limited to investigating timber imports into Britain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so I will here discuss how the STR can be used to study the exports of timber from the Baltic during the early modern period. Timber was important not only for civilian uses, such as construction of houses and buildings in early modern Europe, but also for military purposes, like shipbuilding and military defences, as well.

How reliably do the STR capture the exports of timber from the Baltic during the early modern period? Fraud was not unknown during this time period. Shipmasters did not report the actual quantity of the cargo they were carrying so as to save on the amount of toll to be paid. This was possible because ships were not inspected regularly by the customs officers and the toll was levied according to the papers presented to them.⁸ However, the bulky nature of timber made it difficult to hide it in a ship. The general consensus is that the STR provide a fairly reliable picture of the Baltic trade during the early modern period.

The timber exports from the Baltic came in the form of boards, deals, balks, planks, masts, spars, clapboard, wainscot and staves. How do we estimate the volume of these products? If we want to estimate the volume of timber exported from the Baltic, say, to England from 1750 to 1770, then first we need to identify only those passages of ships that originated from any Baltic port and terminated

1. This paper draws heavily from the following article by the author: Manish Kumar, 'A method for estimating the volume of Baltic timber products exported through the Sound and its application to Portugal, 1669-1815', *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 66 (2018), pp. 246-263. The material is being republished here with the permission of Taylor and Francis Ltd. © The Scandinavian Society of Economic and Social History, reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd. <http://www.tandfonline.com> on behalf of The Scandinavian Society of Economic and Social History.

2. Licence: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en>. Image source:

<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=12692756>, accessed 24 November 2020. Original image title: Kronborg 002.

3. Abid Abdelaziz, 'Memory of the World - Preserving our documentary heritage', available at <https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1325&context=iatul>

4. *Sound Toll Registers*. Documentary heritage submitted by Denmark and recommended for inclusion in the Memory of the World Register in 2007, accessed 5 June 2020, at [http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-](http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-8/sound-toll-registers/)

[page-8/sound-toll-registers/](http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-8/sound-toll-registers/).

5. Milja van Tielhof, *The 'Mother of all Trades': The Baltic Grain Trade in Amsterdam from the Late 16th to the Early 19th Century* (Leiden, 2002), p. 4.

6. Herbert H. Kaplan, *Russian Overseas Commerce with Great Britain during the Reign of Catherine II* (Philadelphia, 1995), p. 55

7. Quoted in *ibid*.

8. Kalevi Ahonen, *From sugar triangle to cotton triangle: Trade and shipping between America and Baltic Russia, 1783-1860* (Jyväskylä, 2005), p. 24, n. 12.



at any English port between 1750 and 1770. Next, we need to segregate only those passages that contained timber products. This, then, becomes our dataset for estimating the volume of timber imported by England. It must be noted here that the STR provide information only about the 'direct trade' from one port to another. For example, if Liverpool imported timber directly from Riga, then it can be studied on the basis of these registers. But what if Riga exported timber to Amsterdam, and from there it was re-exported to Liverpool? This trade is not captured in the STR.

Norway exported timber to Britain during the early modern period. After the Great Fire of London in 1666, timber was imported from Norway in such huge quantities that it was said that Norwegian merchants 'warmed themselves comfortable by the London fire'.⁹ But the STR cannot be employed to examine the Norwegian exports of timber to Britain simply because Norway lies outside the Danish Sound. To study British timber imports from this region, we need to depend on Norwegian and British customs sources.

The Danish authorities levied the toll on all cargo items individually, and this can be seen in the STR. According to the Danish regulations, the toll on timber products was charged according to either their size (length or thickness) or the number of pieces of a given timber product. A contemporary source gives us the dimensions of the various timber products and the corresponding toll that was levied on them.¹⁰ The following three examples can be used to explain it further.

The toll on products such as boards and deals was levied according to their length. The volume of a board is simply the product of its three dimensions: width, thickness and length. Therefore, in the case of boards and other such products, only length can be calculated on the basis of the toll in the STR. Two other dimensions (width and thickness) have to be estimated on the basis of other primary and secondary sources.¹¹

The toll on the second category of products such as masts and spars was charged according to their thickness (circumference).¹² We can estimate the radius of a mast from its circumference. There was a relationship between the thickness of a mast and its length, and it can be ascertained with the help of both primary and secondary sources.¹³

Specific toll was levied on products such as balks, clapboard, wainscot and staves. The STR are of no help in estimating the volume of such products. As a result, we have to rely on sources other than the STR to estimate their volume.

The second significant aspect of the toll is that it acts as a check against any errors either in the original STR or in their digital version (STRO). The toll rate (toll per piece) can be calculated from the STRO dataset. A high or a low toll rate for any given product with respect to other cargoes of the same product can help identify errors. In other words, in-built checks are available in the dataset.

The STRO dataset can also be used to study the trade relations between any two ports. For example, it is possible to study trade between, say, Liverpool and Riga. From the STRO dataset we simply need to identify those passages of vessels that originated in Liverpool and terminated at Riga, or vice-versa.

At least three limitations of the STR need to be pointed out here. Denmark granted exemptions to various nationalities from paying the toll at the Sound. For example, Sweden was exempted from 1645 to 1710. The effect was non-recording of cargo of Swedish ships in the STR during that time period. Sweden, it must be mentioned here, was a significant exporter of timber products.

The second limitation relates to the disruption caused in the records of the STR during wars. Therefore, the sound toll data recorded during the period of the Northern War (1700–1721) is incomplete. The third limitation, which flows from the second one, relates to the nationality of ships in the STR during the period of disruptions. For instance, Denmark declared war on Sweden in 1709. For the period 1709–21 Swedish ships would fly the flags of other nations and continued their trading activities. In other words, Swedish trade is not completely reflected in the STR during this time period.

To conclude, the strategic significance of timber for the shipbuilding industry during the overseas expansion of Europe cannot be overestimated. This key product can be investigated with the help of the STR, which are fairly reliable and must be exploited for a better understanding of the early modern European economy.

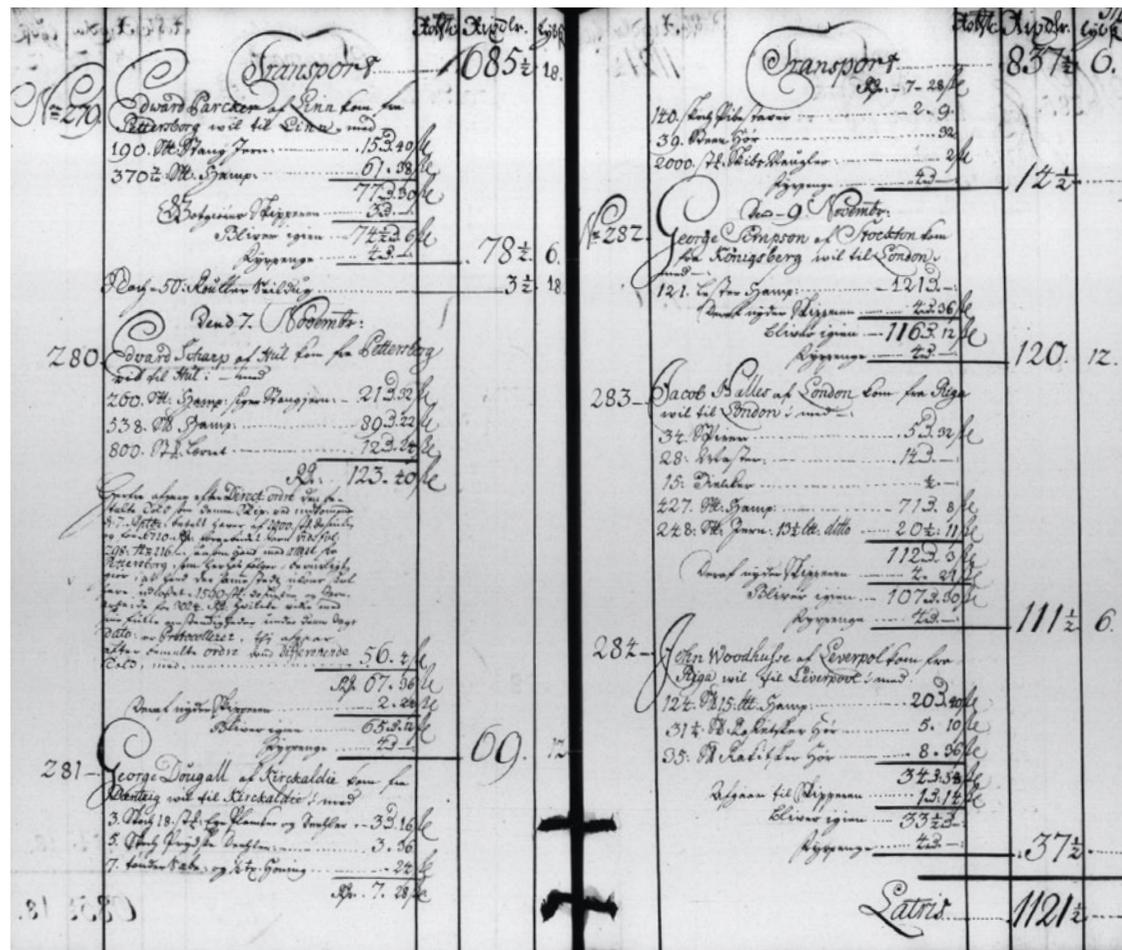


Image of the Danish Sound Toll Register; Passage ID: 479457. © STR Online. CC BY-NC 3.0.¹⁴



The Øresund strait today from Malmö. © 2006 Twowells / Wikimedia Commons. CC BY-SA 3.0.¹⁵



The Ship Handler's House (Skibsklarerergaarden) in Helsingør. © 2015 Ramblersen / Wikimedia Commons. CC BY-SA 4.0.¹⁶

9. Michael Williams, *Deforesting the Earth: From Prehistory to Global Crisis, An Abridgment* (Chicago, 2006), p. 179.

10. Jacob H. Schou, *Kongelige Forordninger og aabne Breve, 23. Som indeholder Kong Christian den Ottendes Forordninger for 1839 til 1843* (Copenhagen, 1844).

11. Sven-Erik Åström, 'Britain's timber imports from the Baltic, 1775–1830: Some new figures and viewpoints', *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 37 (1989), pp. 57–71; Joseph J. Malone, *Pine trees and politics: The naval stores and forest policy in colonial New England, 1691–1775* (Seattle, 1964).

12. The circumference equals $2\pi r$. The volume of circular products (masts, spars) is given by the formula $\pi r^2 h$, where π is 22/7, r is the radius and h is the length.

13. As a rule of thumb, if the diameter of a mast was 1 inch, then its length should equal 1 yard (3 ft.); See Robert G. Albion, *Forests and sea power: The timber problem of the royal navy, 1652–1862* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 28.

14. Licence: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/>. Image source: http://www2.soundtoll.nl/sonttolregisters-215/Sonttolregisters-215_0409.jpg, accessed 24

November 2020.

15. Licence: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en>. Image source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Malmö_view2.jpg, accessed 24 November 2020. Original image title: Malmö view2.

16. Licence: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>. Image source: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Skibsklarerergaarden_\(Helsing%C3%B8r\).JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Skibsklarerergaarden_(Helsing%C3%B8r).JPG), accessed 24 November 2020.

Humoral Medicine in Twelfth-century English Saints' *Lives*



Barbara Hargreaves

Barbara Hargreaves is a retired nurse and midwife currently in the final year of a PhD at Durham. Her research considers health narratives from twelfth-century English saints' *Lives* with a key finding, or rather a personal reflection, being that as regards health and sickness twenty-first-century England is definitely a better place to be.

Humoral medicine was one of the underpinning medical methodologies of the twelfth century in western Europe. Humoral theory was complex, but at its heart was the understanding that the body and its substances existed in equilibrium and that imbalance in the bodily humours of black bile, yellow bile, blood and phlegm, manifested in illness. The normal humoral composition of an individual was determined by factors such as age and sex, diet, season and a wealth of other variables with the role of the medical practitioner being to identify and correct the imbalance causing illness.

The growing application of the tenets of humoral medicine during the twelfth century was predicated upon the eleventh-century endeavour of translating scientific works from the Islamicate and classical worlds into Latin, and the dissemination of these texts through western Europe. This had amplified the body of medical knowledge available and enhanced existing understanding of humoral theory. From the late eleventh century onwards this new, or rediscovered, knowledge was incorporated into increasingly formalized texts of medical theory and practice. The number and type of such works in the monastic collections suggests that interest in, and probably to some extent at least, practice of, medicine by monks within the monasteries was active.¹

Close study of health-related narratives from saints' *Lives* written during the twelfth century shows increasing use of humoral theory.² Saints' *Lives* were hagiographies, written to promote their subject as a person worthy of veneration and emulation, and to affirm the Christian tenets and faith practices of the intended audience of the *Life*.³ They are works that reflect the belief world from which they came and the particular interests of the men who wrote them. Although they were not written to be read as medical works, they frequently contain health-related narratives. It is notable that *Lives* from the later part of the century make mention of humours while those from the earlier part of the century do not.⁴

The writers often, indeed usually, used the subject of disease to express religious belief. Reginald of Durham wrote his *Life* of Godric of Finchale (c. 1065–1170) around the time of Godric's death and described the hermit's condition during his final illness.

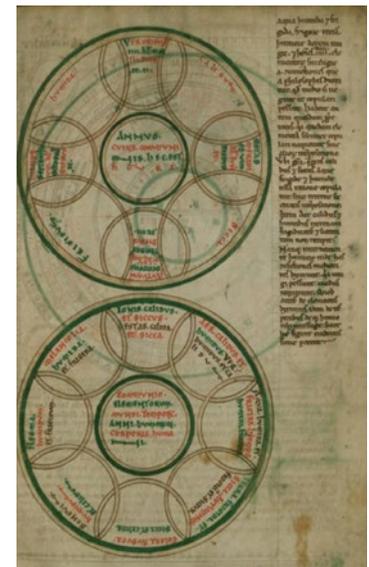


Bloodletting. *Le Régime du corps*, France, thirteenth century. The British Library, Sloane 2435, f. 11v. Public domain.⁵

There was very great internal pain in his innards and, under his skin, the bluish colour of humours [*intercutaneus livor humorem*], which had attacked him all over and felt like deadly worms. When we explained that these were not worms but that this was, rather, the course of the dire poison of morbid pain, he sometimes began with groans in his voice to give thanks to God who had, by means of such wretched punishments, seen fit to cleanse and purge from him the bodily contagion of sin.⁶

The 'bluish colour of humours' in this passage offers itself to several interpretations. Suggestions proposed include bruising, or the livid colour sometimes seen in a dead body, or slime or pus.⁷ Any, or all, of these would work in the context of this particular passage and it is possible that Reginald chose such an ambiguous term for exactly that reason. The account is working on different levels and endeavouring to articulate and balance ambiguities and tensions occasioned by the correspondence of both sanctity and humanity manifest in the body of the saint. While it describes Godric's medical condition it also conveys a theological message: decay is the human lot and physical and mental torment as a means of atoning for sin is an inevitable precursor to attaining heaven. Godric was suffering greatly and felt he was being eaten, while still alive, by the worms which would later consume his dead body. Reginald used the image of decomposition and decay in the still-living saint in order to show that Godric experienced fully the inevitable consequences of his fallen human nature. This, conveniently, allowed Reginald to proclaim Godric's sanctity from the moment of his death since the saint had already undergone the necessary purgation and could be assumed to have attained heaven immediately upon dying. Reginald mediated this account of suffering and salvation through the language of medical theory, with the ambiguity of the phrase *intercutaneus livor humorem* evoking the processes of putrefaction with its seeping liquid and seething worms as the inescapable route to heaven.

The following passage is from the *Life* of Abbot Waldef of Melrose (1095–1159), written by Jocelin of Furness between about 1198 and 1209.



Diagrams of the Harmony of the Year and the Seasons, and the Harmony of the Elements, Seasons and Humours. Late twelfth-century English cosmography. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, W.73.8R. Public domain: CCO Licence.

1. The twelfth-century library catalogue from Durham shows that a number of medical texts including the Hippocratic Aphorismi and *Prognostica*, Galen's *Tegni* and copies of the *Viaticum* and *Anatomia vivorum* were in the collection. *Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cathedral* (London, 1838), in the Publications of the Surtees Society, <https://archive.org/details/catalogiveteres100durh/page/n3/mode/2up>

2. The *Lives* considered here are those written by twelfth-century hagiographers in England about saints known to them personally, or of whom they obtained first-hand witness.

3. For more on the subject of hagiography see, among others: Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* (Princeton, 2013), pp. 518–46; Helen Birkett, *The Saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness* (York, 2010), p. 2; Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1988); Catherine Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective* (New York, 2013), pp. 3–4.

4. The *Lives* of Ailred, Godric, Waldef and the *Metrical Life* of Hugh which were composed between about 1170 and 1235 all contain explicit reference to humours while the early twelfth-century *Lives*

of Anselm of Canterbury, Margaret of Scotland, Wulfstan of Worcester and Christina of Markyate, which were written between 1100 and 1166, do not.

5. Source: <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=1412>, accessed 6 December 2020.

6. Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de vita et miraculis S. Godrici, heremite de Finchale, auctore Reginaldo monacho Dunelmensi*, ed. J. Stephenson Surtees Society vol. 20 (London, 1847), with translation by Margaret Coombe, *Reginald of Durham's Latin life of St Godric of Finchale* (forthcoming, 2022), ch. 163 [291], pp. 309–10.

7. Suggestions received from members of the online forum medmed-l@ASU.EDU in a post entitled '*intercutaneus livor humorem*'; September 2019.

Another Melrose monk of the same name was oppressed with intolerable head-pains and dizziness and feared too he was about to go out of his mind. Also, a bad flow of humours [*humorum*] blocked his ears and completely deprived him of hearing, so that he could not even detect the clanging of a large bell. Troubled in body and soul, but trusting to the merits of St Waldef, secretly and at night while the convent slept, he went up to the tomb, poured out his prayers and wetted it with his tears, fell asleep and in his exhaustion rested his head upon the sepulchre of the saint. After a short sleep he awoke and found the outside of the tomb soiled by a flow of fresh, bloody fluid from his ears. From that hour, as he told me himself, he has not experienced the old head-pains, and he has enjoyed clear and perfect hearing, thanks to his doctor [*medicumque suum*], St Waldef.⁸

This miraculous healing of the monk is told using the language of contemporary science and the theory of humours. Despite the medical nature of the account, and the fact that the details are congruent with modern medical understanding, the cure itself is credited to divine agency with the late abbot acting as doctor. This feature is seen commonly in religious works of the period where the supremacy of heavenly cure is predicated upon the failure of human medicine and the abbot is described as a doctor who heals soul and therefore body.

The *Metrical Life* of Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln (c. 1140–1200), written by an unidentified author between 1220 and 1235, contains a complex passage relating to humours which, unusually in a *Life*, seems to be solely medical in its narrative intent. It concerns the critically ill bishop.

By now one of his bodily humours was upsetting the temperament of the other three. His pulse and urine afforded two prognostics of death, the former lacking its usual beat, the latter its usual colour. The disease became more concentrated, the blood thinner, and nature lacked the very spirits with which to enter the critical struggle against the case in which the sickness was. All his facial colour deserted him, the elements of fire and water passed away wholly into fires – and when the natural heat has been drawn off, there is nothing to preserve a thing in being.⁹

The writer used prognostication techniques to show that Hugh was close to death. He explained how and why the bishop's urine and pulse show its imminence and gives another sign of impending death in the pallor of Hugh's face. This was described as a prognostic sign in the Hippocratic work *Prognosis* and was looked for by doctors and others attending the deathbed.¹⁰ The writer also commented that Hugh's blood became thinner. He does not say how this was known and there is no suggestion of Hugh being bled at this time. It is possible though that the writer considered the thinning blood was indicated to the observers by the change in the colour of the bishop's urine. Theory derived from the teachings of the second-century physician, Galen of Pergamon, held that urine was a filtrate of the blood which had undergone a process of sanguification with the excess fluid from this process being eliminated as urine.¹⁰ The colour of the urine would therefore indicate the condition of the blood and the humoral status of the patient. In Hugh's case, the reader is told that his urine lacked its usual colour but not whether it was too pale or too dark. The former would indicate too much heat in the liver and the latter an excess of phlegm.¹² Given the fact that the bishop was in the end stage of life, it is likely that he would have been dehydrated so his urine would be darker, the



Ill clerk with an abbot and two monks. Gratian's *Decretum*, France, thirteenth century. The British Library, Royal 10 D VIII f. 193v. Public domain.¹³

sign of an excess of cold, wet humours. This tallies with the observation in the account that the heat of the body had been drawn off meaning death was inevitable.

The sources quoted here, as well as those seen in other *Lives*, make it apparent that the writers from the later part of the twelfth century were familiar with the notion of humoral medicine and used its theories comfortably, almost casually, in their accounts. The detail of the narratives show that writers had both interest in, and knowledge of, medical matters and from this it can be inferred that they expected their intended readers would have a similar familiarity. This is in contrast to the silence of earlier *Lives* on the matter and suggests the integration of humoral theory and practice in England over the century.

8. Jocelin of Furness, 'The *Life* of St. Waldef, Abbot of Melrose, by Jocelin of Furness', trans. G. J. McFadden in *An Edition and Translation of the Life of St. Waldef, Abbot of Melrose, by Jocelin of Furness* (unpublished PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1952), pp. 201–357, ch. 129, pp. 193–4 and 348–9.

9. *The Metrical Life of Saint Hugh*, ed. and trans. Charles Garton (Lincoln, 1986), pp. 70–71.

10. *Prognosis*, from 'Prognosis' in *Hippocratic Writings* ed. G. E. R. Lloyd, trans. J. Chadwick [et al.] (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), pp. 170–85 and Faith Wallis, 'Why was the Aphorisms of Hippocrates retranslated in the Eleventh Century?', in *Vehicles of Transmission, Translation and Transformation*, ed. Fraenkel, Fumo, Wallis and Wisnovsky (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 173–194, p. 189.

11. Faith Wallis, 'Signs and Senses: Diagnosis and Prognosis in Early Medieval Pulse and Urine Texts', *The Social History of Medicine*, 13 (2000), pp. 265–78, p. 268.

12. Wallis, 'Signs and Senses', p. 269.

13. Source: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN. ASP?Size=mid&IllID=31965>, accessed 6 December 2020.





The *Schloss*, former residence of Münster's prince bishop, now the university's administrative centre.
© 2014 Dietmar Rabich / Wikimedia Commons. CC BY-SA 4.0.¹

Impressions from the Second Annual

Durham-Münster
Workshop
1 - 2 November 2019



Marcus Meer

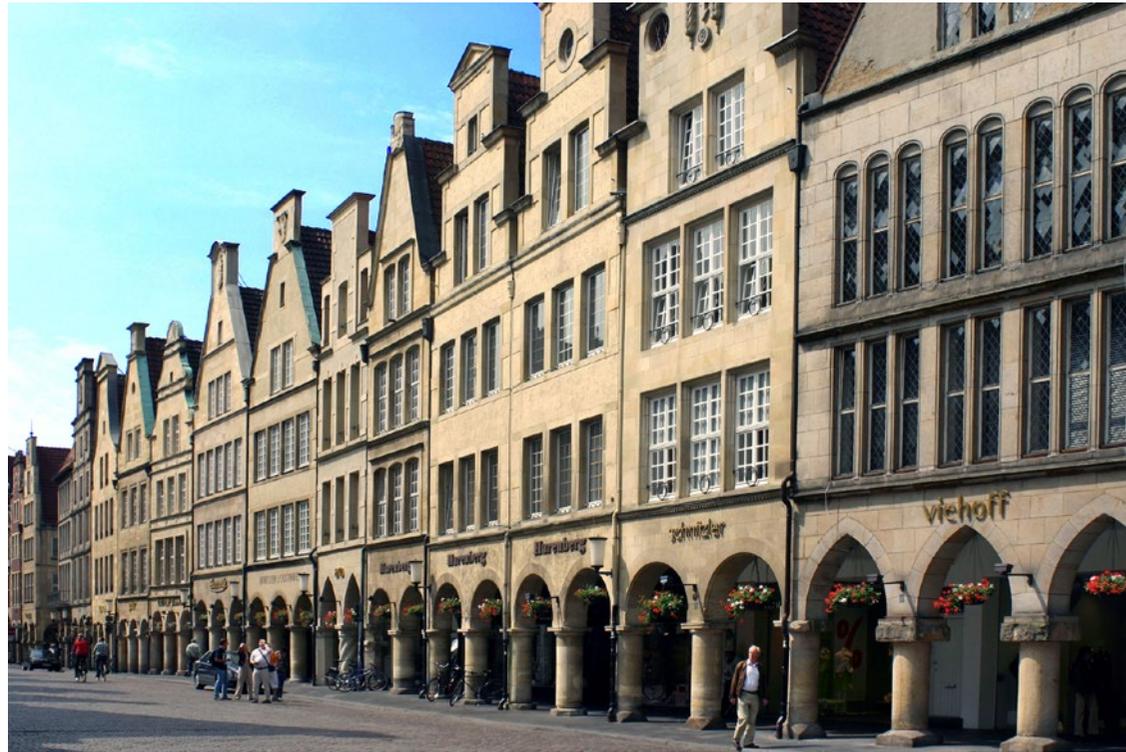
Marcus completed his PhD at Durham as a member of the Leverhulme Doctoral Scholarship Programme at the Centre for Visual Arts and Culture. He investigated the use of heraldry as a means of visual communication in the cities of late medieval England and Germany. He is now a Research Fellow in Medieval History at the German Historical Institute London.

At the end of 2018, readers of last year's *Symeon* will recall that the Department of History welcomed a delegation of postgraduate students and staff members from the University of Münster in Germany. This two-day workshop was the starting signal for a series of annual events, part of a new strategic partnership between the history departments in Durham and Münster, meant to strengthen institutional ties and encourage academic exchange between staff and students.

In November 2019, a time before travel restrictions, mandatory quarantines and recommended face-

coverings, it was Durham's turn to travel to Münster. A long-awaited flight from Newcastle to Düsseldorf and a much-anticipated double-decker train ride to Münster later, we were met by the familiar faces who had been to Durham the year before, including Martin Kintzinger, Professor of Medieval History, and doctoral candidate Julia Bühner, who had organized our stay in Münster. Julia was more than successful in showing the city from its very best side, clearly conveying the unique sense of the German word *Gemütlichkeit* we found in cosy traditional bakeries, timber-framed restaurants, and oak-panelled pubs for Westphalian specialities in food and drink.

1. License: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>. Image source: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:M%C3%BCnster_Schloss_-_2014_-_6769-71_\(crop\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:M%C3%BCnster_Schloss_-_2014_-_6769-71_(crop).jpg), accessed 10 November 2020.



Mock-medieval townhouses on the *Prinzipalmarkt*, Münster's broad street.
© 2005 Rüdiger Wölk / Wikimedia Commons. CC BY-SA 2.0.1.2

Here we also had a chance to think and talk about a whole series of thought-provoking twenty-minute presentations by Durham and Münster PhD students, whose research projects demonstrated the breadth of interests shared between our two universities. Visual sources were at the heart of papers on portraits, photographs, and iconoclasm, not least due to delegates associated with Durham's Centre for Visual Arts and Culture. Interests of Münster's new collaborative research centre 'Culture of Decision-Making' emerged in papers on elections at universities, court procedures, and diplomatic relations. Other contributions explored diverse histories of science, music, and feminism, and pointed to political uses and abuses of the past and the humanities. Chronologically, presentations spanned from medieval monasteries and guilds, as well as early modern Northern Rebellion and the French revolution, all the way to the post-war period on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Two keynotes further added to these thematically, chronologically, and also geographically wide research interests: Münster's Marcel Bubert offered perspectives

on human-animal relations in the European Middle Ages, while Durham's Anne Heffernan explored contemporary debates and protests around the issue of 'decolonization' and 'Africanization' at South African universities.

That Münster has much in store for historians of German history was further demonstrated by a visit to the *Landesarchiv* in Münster, one of the state archives of North Rhine-Westphalia. We received a warm welcome from the director, Mechthild Black-Veldtrup, who introduced us to the extensive but complex structure of archives in Germany, before Benedikt Nientied—a participant of the first workshop in Durham in 2018—guided us through the archive's dungeon-like stacks and offered exclusive looks at some of the archive's treasures, including Charlemagne's last charter. Benedikt also curated a showcase of items specially selected with the research interests of our Durham scholars in mind, from early medieval law codes to early modern genealogical pedigrees and twentieth-century posters, demonstrating the abundance of primary sources gathered in Münster,



Benedikt Nientied (left) and Prof. Martin Kintzinger (second from right) showing Durham students a medieval codex at the *Landesarchiv*. © 2019 Marcus Meer.

not only because of its rich local history but also because of its role as a centre with regional and indeed international impact throughout the centuries.

While Durham staff met with their Münster colleagues to discuss future avenues for further collaboration, Durham students were invited to a city tour which explored this history of Münster further. Although the meandering streets and alleys, lined with tall burgh houses, often with representative sandstone facades, are reminiscent of the city's medieval heritage, they are in fact post-World War II reconstructions. Outside the gorgeous cathedral, a statue reminds of Cardinal von Galen's daring criticism of Nazi rule; a Baroque-style palace (the *Schloss*), nowadays the centre of the university's administration, reflects Münster's past as a community ruled by a prince bishop; the porched town hall marks one of the places where the treaties to end the Thirty Years' War and the Eighty Years' War were signed, and three iron cages hung outside St Lambert's church are morbid mementoes of the torture and execution of the Anabaptist leaders who turned

Münster into an independent but short-lived chiliastic kingdom in the 1530s. A final testimony to this rich history of the city—and an architectural landmark itself—was the Westphalian State Museum of Art and Cultural History. Their extensive collections ranged from Gothic sculptures to Expressionist paintings.

At the end of two exciting and stimulating days, we left Münster eager to be back before long. Little did we know that a global pandemic would put a big question mark behind our 2020 workshop, which was scheduled to take place in Durham. But after two successful events, we remain determined to strengthen our academic and personal ties further—not least with an eye on the UK's departure from the European Union and likely also its withdrawal from the successful Erasmus programme. For this reason, this year's Durham-Münster Workshop took place online (on 6 November 2020) but in 2021 we hope to see our German friends in Durham once again!



Burghley House (Lincolnshire), an essential stop on an early modern tour of English country houses.
© 2009 Anthony Masi / Wikimedia Commons. CC BY 2.0!

Accessing the built environment:

English country houses and the experiences of John Byng



Adam Whybrow

Adam is a third-year PhD student, and completed both his undergraduate and Master's degrees at Durham before continuing to doctoral study. His research investigates the experiences of early modern British tourists who conducted tours of England and France, with a specific focus on visits to English country houses. He is particularly interested in how far people understood the architectural features of houses, both outside and in, and also the social importance of country houses, that is to say, how travellers used their experiences visiting houses to establish and develop an idea of English society and national pride.

The English country house was a central aspect of the emergence of a more recognizable form of tourism in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. Often presented as the stronghold of the early modern English elite, access to country houses for tourists in the early modern period could be a contentious and potentially problematic issue. Diaries and other early modern travel accounts reveal the complexities of access, its denial, and how it could be exploited by visitors. This article will focus primarily on the experience of the diarist John Byng (1743–1813), who toured England several times and documented his travels spanning the years 1781–1794. It will also consider Byng's experiences alongside those of Celia Fiennes (1662–1741), a pioneering elite traveller whose lone tour on horseback took place in the 1690s.² This comparison allows us to address the question of change over time, and if a century could affect how tourists experienced houses.

John Byng's early life and background were fairly typical of many gentleman tourists of this period. He was born into a naval family and became involved in royal circles from an early age as a page to King George II.³ He served in the army for over twenty years before retiring from service in 1780 and entering into administrative roles in the government.⁴ In the late 1770s, Byng encountered financial difficulties, and an attempt to avoid arrest for his debts could have been the reason for his visit to mainland Europe and ultimately his resignation from the army.⁵ Thus, although Byng was born into what many would consider an extremely advantageous position, various troubles throughout his life, including an executed uncle, perhaps left him feeling jaded. This may explain some of his actions and attitudes towards tourism and the elite sphere in which it often took place.

A central issue concerning access to country houses was the purpose of houses themselves. Seats were occupied for at least part of the year, so functionality is an important consideration. Tourist accounts also frequently referred to the ordinary life of a house; it was, after all, the centre of an estate. Therefore offices, kitchen gardens, and other administrative areas were noted by visitors like Byng, despite not being the central focus of the visit.⁶ Tourists also commented on the 'convenience' of buildings: grandeur was not a visitor's only concern—Blenheim Palace may have been more popular if this had been the case.⁷ People acknowledged that even the most elaborate of houses should remain practical. However, there were myriad other factors concerning the purpose of country houses and the reasons for their popularity as tourist attractions. Houses had social functions, helping to establish and perpetuate dynasties; tourist accounts regularly included notes on the history of the family to whom a seat belonged.⁸

Furthermore, houses were built for display, which is a multi-faceted concept in the context of early modern country house building. It applies to the display

of power demonstrated firstly through building and maintaining a seat, and also includes displays of taste and education in the fine arts, both in terms of the house and its architecture, and the curiosities within. In relation to this, several scholars have suggested that country houses were built with tourism and its rapidly increasing popularity in mind.⁹ Gentlemen such as Byng and middling tourists alike flocked to houses to appreciate the architecture, interiors and gardens, and houses were adapted to reflect current fashions and to avoid falling behind on visitors' expectations.¹⁰ In terms of access, then, houses were often, but not always, open, and house owners allowed people to wander their halls. Without this access, often to people well below the ranks of country house owners, houses were at risk of losing part of what many would consider one of their primary reasons for existing at all.

How far did this access extend? Arguably, this is an issue of change over time, from seemingly unfettered access, at least to visitors of the appropriate rank, to tightening control and regulation. In Fiennes's seventeenth-century tour, it was rare to see her denied access to a house and its private rooms. At Burghley, Lincolnshire, she described its various public rooms, including the hall, 'parlours [and] dinning rooms'.¹¹ Fiennes progressed from these public rooms into the most private rooms in the house, including 'My Lords

1. Licence: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/deed.en>. Image source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Front_of_Burghley_House_2009.jpg, accessed 10 November 2020. Original image title: Front of Burghley House 2009.

2. Celia Fiennes, *Through England on a side saddle in the time of William and Mary, with an introduction by the Hon Mrs Griffiths* (London, 1888 ed.), p. vii.

3. Cyril Bruyn Andrews, 'The travel journals and life of the Hon John Byng, later Viscount Torrington', in Cyril Bruyn Andrews (ed.), *The Torrington Diaries, containing the tours through England and Wales of the Hon John Byng (later fifth Viscount Torrington) between the years 1781 and 1794*, vol. 1 (London, 1934), pp. xxv–xxvii.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. xxviii–xxix.

5. Joanne Innes, 'Byng, John, fifth Viscount Torrington', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008), accessed 7 February 2020, at <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37252>.

6. John Byng, 'A Tour of the North, 1792', in Cyril Bruyn Andrews (ed.), *The Torrington Diaries, containing the tours through England and Wales of the Hon John Byng (later fifth Viscount Torrington) between the years 1781 and 1794*, vol. 3 (London, 1936), p. 75.

7. John Byng, 'A Tour in the Midlands, 1789', in Cyril Bruyn Andrews (ed.), *The Torrington Diaries, containing the tours through England and Wales of the Hon John Byng (later fifth Viscount*

Torrington) between the years 1781 and 1794, vol. 4 (London, 1938), p. 133.

8. Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite?: England, 1540–1880* (Oxford, 1986), p. 295.

9. Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, travel, and the rise of tourism* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 61; Jocelyn Anderson, *Touring and Publicizing England's Country Houses in the Long Eighteenth Century* (London, 2018), p. 4.

10. Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The building of the English country house, 1660–1880* (London, 2000), p. 51.

11. Fiennes, *Through England on a side saddle*, p. 52.



Access denied: Wroxton Abbey (Oxfordshire), which often limited its opening times based on the whims of its owner.
© 2005 Daderot at English Wikipedia / Wikimedia Commons. CC BY-SA 3.0.¹²

apartment', where she praised the 'very Rich' furnishings, particularly the 'blew velvet bed' and its embroidery.¹³ Similar accounts can be found in Byng's tour, suggesting that access remained fairly open in many cases almost a century after Fiennes conducted her English tour. For example, on his visit to Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, in 1789, Byng commented on the bed once occupied by Mary Stuart. In the same year, at Grimsthorpe, Lincolnshire, he complained that the owner 'drag'd' him to every bedroom in the house in an attempt to demonstrate his taste, and even pushed Byng to choose a bedroom to occupy himself on a future visit—an effort which proved unsuccessful as Byng vowed 'you need not fear that I shall ever come again'.¹⁴ Some of the bedchambers Byng found himself in had even more historical significance: he noted on several occasions when a room had hosted royalty. At Broughton Castle, Oxfordshire, he described the bedchamber 'where King Charles lay', presumably during the occupation of the castle during the English Civil War, and at Apethorpe Palace, Northamptonshire, he reported that the bedchamber used by James I during his ownership of the palace was 'in the same stile he left [it]'.¹⁵ Thus the open access offered to Byng allowed him glimpses into the private lives and tastes of current noble owners, and of important historical events and fashions.

On the other hand, access could be denied to tourists regardless of rank, and increasing control of access to country houses is a key theme of the period. On a visit to Wroxton, Oxfordshire, in 1785, Byng was met with closed doors due to the recent arrival of the owner, Lord Guildford.¹⁶ Byng was an irritable tourist at the best of times, but when denied entry to Wroxton, he was furious. He professed

that the house should either be open or closed permanently or have fixed opening times, rather than refusing travellers 'who may have come 20 miles out of their way for a sight of the place'.¹⁷ This particular incident raises three key issues. Firstly, the privacy of country house owners and the place of privacy in early modern tourism. If we accept the notion that openness and display were an intrinsic aspect of country houses, how important was privacy? Stone argues that country house tourism declined in the nineteenth century due to an increasing desire for privacy from families who were spending more time in their country seats.¹⁸ Prior to this, privacy was clearly necessary for many house owners, as evidenced by Byng's denial at Wroxton, and privacy could also influence house design itself. Houses were built with private dining rooms, smaller great halls that

essentially served as entranceways rather than public reception rooms, and corridors which allowed occupants to move through the house more discreetly.¹⁹

The second issue raised by Byng's rejection at the gates of Wroxton is the increasing control of access to houses during this period. Byng himself advocated for set opening times at Wroxton to ensure that the house would be available to visit at a set day and time. This was becoming a more common practice throughout the eighteenth century. The rapid increase of country house tourists pressed house owners to find ways to manage the influx of visitors, and fixed opening hours was one of them. These hours could be found in guidebooks published for certain houses, including Blenheim and Stowe, and allowed greater regulation and formalization of the tourism process.²⁰ This formalization is the third point raised by Byng's Wroxton experience and relates to his background. Byng was a typical gentleman tourist, expecting to be admitted to every house he encountered, no matter the time of day, particularly if the house had no fixed opening hours.²¹ Despite his financial difficulties and troubled family history, Byng likely viewed himself as part of the elite who owned these houses. Thus, he could have taken it as a personal affront when he was denied access to a house he had travelled specifically to see by a member of the elite to which he believed he belonged. However, attitudes were changing, and Byng's perspective on accessing houses was perhaps becoming dated as a more anonymous, formal process began to surpass the informal, elite sociability which had allowed tourists such as Fiennes access to almost anywhere, at any time.²²



English tester bed at Hardwick Hall, once believed to have been occupied by Mary Stuart.
© National Trust / Robert Thrift.

Ultimately, access was a significant issue in touring English country houses in the early modern period. It both enabled and denied tourists across the social spectrum to tour houses of their peers or their betters. In some cases, tourists could even abuse this access: stealing was relatively common if tourists were left to wander the halls of occupied homes or ruined edifices alone. Byng admitted that he 'brought-away' some of the jacks from a spinet at Wingfield Manor, Derbyshire, and on another occasion lamented that he could not 'save any thing from destruction'.²³ No doubt this was the justification for Byng and hordes of antiquaries as they carried off their plunder, taken from the homes whose owners had granted them access.

12. Licence: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en>. Image source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wroxton_Manor.JPG, accessed 10 November 2020. Original image title: Wroxton Manor.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

14. John Byng, 'A Tour in the Midlands, 1789', in Cyril Bruyn Andrews (ed.), *The Torrington Diaries, containing the tours through England and Wales of the Hon John Byng (later fifth Viscount Torrington) between the years 1781 and 1794*, vol. 2 (London, 1935), p. 31; Byng, 'A Tour in the Midlands 1789', p. 127.

15. John Byng, 'A ride taken in 1785', in Andrews (ed.),

Torrington Diaries, vol. 1, p. 232; John Byng 'A Tour in the Midlands, 1790', in Andrews (ed.), *Torrington Diaries*, vol. 2, pp. 248–9.

16. Byng, 'A ride taken in 1785', p. 231.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

18. Stone and Stone, *An open elite?*, p. 327.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 345–6.

20. Anderson, *Touring and Publicizing*, p. 48.

21. John Harris, 'English Country House Guides, 1740–1840', in John Summerson (ed.)

Concerning Architecture: Essays on architectural writers and writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner (Baltimore, 1968), p. 62.

22. In my reading of Fiennes's account, I can find only one occasion of her being denied entry to a

house, claiming 'they permit none to see it': Fiennes, *Through England on a side saddle*, p. 232.

23. Byng 'A Tour in the Midlands, 1790', pp. 198, 249.

From Castle to Kenya:

Alumna Jane Marriott's reflections on her career in diplomacy



Jane Marriott

Jane Marriott is a career diplomat and currently the UK's High Commissioner to Kenya, having also served as Ambassador to Yemen and Acting Ambassador to Iran. She is also a trustee for the de-mining charity Mines Advisory Group.

Like many students who study history, I did a history degree (1994–97) because I loved the subject. Half by accident (I just did things I was interested in), I ended up as President of the History Society and editor of *Palatinate* during the 1997 General Election. The Cold War was long since over, Tony Blair was elected to No. 10 Downing Street, the Spice Girls were everywhere. Britpop was 'cool' and this thing called *The Internet* was starting to take off. The first Harry Potter book was published as I graduated and took myself off to Cambridge for an MPhil in International Relations whilst I was still trying to work out what to do with my life.

Coming from a comprehensive school in Doncaster, I wasn't aware of that many career options open to people like me. I'd gained confidence from my degree and extra-curricular activities, but not enough to think that the Foreign and Commonwealth Office was even an option. I'd never met or seen a diplomat. This is why role models who 'look like you'—whether physically or in ways of thinking—are so important. I started down the journalism route when I realized I wanted to be behind the news, making it, and joined the Fast Stream.

After two years in the Cabinet Office, an opportunity came up at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) in 2000 to lead the nuclear non-proliferation policy team. My MPhil thesis was in nuclear weapons diplomacy and I leapt at the chance. In many ways, this crystallized the skills I had acquired in my history degree and with dabbling in journalism. Every day seemed to require the assimilation of large amounts of information, which needed to be critically analysed. What was real? What was relevant? How did it fit with the past? What could it mean for the future? This was all second nature thanks to my history degree. Then the value add-on of the job was what to *do* with that information and analysis and how to use it to set visions, to shape the future.

Military action in Iraq took place in 2003. Yes, I was sceptical about going into Iraq but, once committed, I volunteered to go, becoming one of the first civilians posted to southern Iraq. I had no relevant skill sets, other than a cool head, a knack for bringing people together and a constant desire to get things done. HR bureaucracy meant that the FCO, desperate for staff, was not able to deploy me. I was in despair, having resigned the nuclear job to go, when my work telephone rang: 'Would you like to go to Maysan and be a POLAD?' said someone I'd never met in the Ministry of Defence. I said yes: 'I just have two questions: where's Maysan and what is a POLAD?'

Thus began the next seven years of my life based in Iraq and Afghanistan or working on them from London, Washington and Doha. Maysan, it turned out, was a Shia-dominated province in Iraq and 'POLAD' stood for 'POLitical ADvisor' where my unwritten job description was 'shoot the breeze over a late night whisky with the commanding officer and stop him doing anything he shouldn't'. As the camp was dry, the whisky turned into coffee and 'late night' turned into long days and occasionally nights, especially when we came under mortar fire.

There is a generation of civil servants whose careers were formed in Iraq and Afghanistan and other 'conflict' posts. At the time I went, I was told that I was committing career suicide, but before long a conflict post was necessary for a young diplomat to showcase their credentials.

The challenges were very real, as was the adrenaline. I saw a lot of mistakes and doubtless made them as well, but everyone with whom I worked was trying their best to help make Iraq and Afghanistan work for the people of those countries.

I worked for a few months for the then United States CENTCOM Commander General David Petraeus and the late Richard Holbrooke, United States special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan at the start of Barack Obama's presidency. These were tough jobs for tough people but gave me invaluable insights into the heart of US decision-making.

It was a conscious decision to apply for a 'normal' posting in 2010—as Deputy Ambassador to Iran. There was a risk that I would turn into a conflict junkie, or maybe I already was one, trying to chase one adrenaline thrill after another. Plenty of friends had burnt out or been killed doing just that.

What could have been the humdrum routine of a Deputy Ambassador was an intensely political job—even negotiating putting up barbed wire fencing required deft negotiation (and, in the end, a daring midnight DIY job by the technical works team). History mattered here. The Iranian department head for Europe had been dealing with the 'dastardly' British since 1986 and lived what I had only read about. Again, the context of the history degree and understanding how others interpreted your own history came into its own.



A dhow off Lamu Island. All images copyright of the author.

I was the acting Ambassador for nearly a year, but my tour ended unexpectedly in November 2011 when, shortly after our new Ambassador arrived, a government-orchestrated mob attacked the Embassy compounds, set the Embassy on fire (with us in it) and then government troops pretending to look after us effectively held us hostage.

Pushing my comfort zone and being Acting Ambassador had given me the confidence to become an ambassador in my own right, and I headed off to Yemen in 2013. Although Yemen in 2013 seemed to be on an upwards (just) trajectory, some of the fundamentals around an inclusive political process were not sound, leading to me evacuating the Embassy in Sana'a.

Returning to the UK, I was co-Director in the FCO for the Middle East and North Africa for a year and then established a small, cross-Whitehall international counter-terrorism organization to bring together and strategically plan HMG's international CT efforts. But it often felt as though the war was within Whitehall, not external forces. I left after three years having learned the hard way about politics and personal agendas.

Appointed as High Commissioner of Kenya (same as an ambassador but different title for Commonwealth countries), I started in August 2019. I've not

escaped the security world as Al Shabaab (Al Qaeda's arguably most loyal affiliate) keeps us on our toes. But I do more 'normal' diplomat things now including negotiating a post EU-Exit Free Trade Deal and working on climate change and development issues. Before COVID-19, I spent my evenings hosting receptions for young entrepreneurs or British businesses and, during COVID, am still managing to put together small dinner party guest lists where I usually send everyone off with homework (most recently, for top business leaders to get more involved in the need for accountability in the Kenyan political reform process).



Al Muthana - the sheikhs are in control, 2004.

Much of my life has been influenced by doing a history degree. It means that I look at every new political, social or economic development through a long-term lens of trends and analysis. In any given situation, I use critical thinking skills developed by examining source material for my theses to evaluate what I am hearing. I take each situation and immediately think about it from the multiple and often conflicting perspectives of the main players and those excluded in the first place. When making personal decisions, I fast forward my life ten years into the future and imagine myself then, reflecting on the decision I am taking now. It has saved me from both heartache and the wrong jobs.

I have learned a lot of new skills along the way, made and owned my mistakes, developed confidence after initially faking it to work out my authentic leadership style, worked too many late nights and occasionally partied too late. I have an international network of friends, whom I love and spend time trying to keep in touch with as best I can. Being a good, loyal and fair friend, daughter, sister and godmother is important to me.

I have great, amazing days and sometimes bad ones. I have never had a boring day in my entire life, even during COVID-19, and I appreciate how lucky that makes me.



Posing at Tallil Airbase en route to Basra.

Contact us

We hope you have enjoyed the tenth issue of *Symeon*. We would like to include more about you, our alumni, in subsequent issues, so please do get in touch and let us know what you are doing now. Whether you have a job related to history and the skills you learned during your studies or you moved on to something entirely different, we would love to hear from you! We would also be delighted to hear your thoughts on *Symeon*. Please let us know any subject areas you would like us to cover in future editions. Perhaps you would even like to consider contributing an article? We'd be interested to have your thoughts.

Please write to us at:

Symeon Magazine
Department of History
43 North Bailey
Durham
DH1 3EX

Email us;

symeonmagazine@gmail.com

or join our Facebook group:

'**Durham University History Alumni**'.

We hope you enjoyed Issue ten. Until next time!



