- Who Do I Think You Were? •-











HELEN PARKER-DRABBLE





BY COUNSELLOR + GENEALOGIST = GENEATHERAPIST HELEN PARKER-DRABBLE

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'As soon as we die, we enter into fiction... once we cannot speak for ourselves, it is up to others to interpret us.'

- Dame Hilary Mantel

Author of personal memoirs, short stories, and historical fiction, double Man Booker prize-winner and Reith Lecturer 2017.





Notes to the reader	1
Currency	2
Dedication	5
Foreword	7
Preface	9
Chapter 1 Family	15
Walter's paternal Grandparents – Stephen Parker Snr and Frances née Moulton	16
The use of opium – Addiction in the family?	19
Walter's maternal grandparents – James Bates and Ann née Rands	21
Walter's parents – Stephen Parker Jnr and Ann née Bates	23
Family tree	31
Chapter 2 Upwell	33
A perilous birth – 18 April 1885	41
A working-class mother's responsibilities	44
The daily life of a working-class housewife	50
Family tree	54
Chapter 3 A New Life in Thorney	55
Exploring the village	64
Village hierarchy	78
Family tree	82

Chapter 4 An Alcoholic in the Family	83
Women and alcohol	85
The risk of public inebriation	90
Mental health: Intergenerational loss, trauma, and depression	1 92
The impact of trauma and addiction	99
Family tree	106
Chapter 5 School and Education	107
Girls' education	115
The school day, attendance, and wider learning	117
Expectations of children and their responsibilities	123
Family tree	130
Chapter 6 Traditional Games and Pastimes	131
A love of reading	134
Outdoor pastimes	136
Sports	139
Family tree	149
Chapter 7 Thorney Village Life	151
The Queen's birthday (and a cousin in jeopardy)	152
The Thorney annual feast	159
The church garden fete	160
The Thorney Foresters Society fete and gala	165
Children's school treats and outings	168
Music, dance, and entertainments	170
Lifelong learning	172
The horse and foal show	175
Hospital Sunday	178
Politics and unions	178
Holidays	179
Christmas	185

	Contents
Church and chapel	188
Family tree	193
Chapter 8 Health	195
Common illnesses	199
The medical officer	202
Pulmonary and bovine tuberculosis	202
Family tree	205
Chapter 9 A Farm Labourer	207
The working day	209
What Walter wore	210
Farming culture on the Bedford Estates	211
Farm work	213
Agricultural pay	216
Harvest	218
Chapter 10 All Change	223
Guiding the next generation	224
Thrown out of the Tank Yard	229
Stephen Parker – A man of property	231
Walter's sisters	232
Emigration	243
Canadian propaganda	247
Postscript Walter's refusal to doff his cap	253
Appendix A Wisbech Division Petty Sessions 1885	7 257
Appendix B Games & Pastimes	259
What's the time, Mr Wolf?	259
Bulldog	260

Contents

Pick up Sticks	260
Blind Man's Buff	260
Pin the tail on the donkey	261
Appendix C Letter from Cousin Theo, 1900	263
Appendix D Apprenticeship Indenture	265
Acknowledgements	269
About the author	271
About the history consultant	273
Endnotes	274
Bibliography	311
Index	336



Notes to the reader



This book is offered as a source of information and reference, primarily for family historians. It cannot be a replacement for professional guidance or help.

It follows British spelling (e.g. colour, neighbour).

The author had the benefit of a history consultant, Dr George Regkoukos, who oversaw this project. You can find out more about George at the end of the book.

The author accepts that the context of our ancestors' time is unknowable. The author is not qualified to diagnose psychiatric conditions and acknowledges that retrospective diagnosis is impossible. However, the author believes that introducing psychological theory, neuroscience, and epigenetics may offer a valuable lens through which we can deepen our understanding of our family and ourselves.

While the author has sought to provide historic and current scientific insight as a lens through which we can consider our ancestors this may feel an anachronism. However, such inclusions are integral to her work. See 'About the Author' for more about Helen's mission.

The family tree which closes many of the chapters include only those named in that chapter. (The URLs take you to a larger version on the website.)



The time formats are as they appear in the original sources.

Providing endnotes in an uninterrupted serial sequence was a conscious choice.

To help the narrative flow, the author has avoided the use of modal verbs wherever possible.

According to Walter's niece Mary, Walter called his parents 'Ma' and 'Pa'.

Currency

Prior to decimalisation in 1971, Britain used a system of pounds, shillings, and pence. (£sd or 'l', 's' and 'd'. LSD stands for the Latin words libra, solidus and denarius. There were 12 pence in a shilling and 20 shillings in a pound. The pound came in the form of a paper bill, called a note, or a gold coin, called a sovereign.

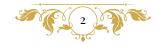
Money was divided into pounds (£, or l in some documents) shillings (s, or /-) and pennies (d). Thus, four pounds, eight shillings and fourpence would be written as £4/8/4d or £4-8-4d.

20 shillings in £1 – a shilling was often called a 'bob', so 'ten bob' was 10/-

12 pennies in 1 shilling

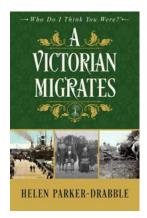
240 pennies in £1

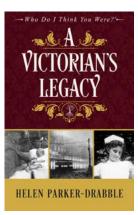
For more information, please visit the resource page at www.helenparkerdrabble.com.



Walter's journey continues

in A Victorian Migrates and A Victorian's Legacy





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Thank you for your interest. It means a lot to me.

Take care,

Helen





Dedication



To my family, past, present, and future,
especially my mum,
Doreen Drabble née Parker,
1938–2002.
She was to have been part

She was to have been part of this journey.



Foreword



Bv

Dorothy Halfhide, Curator, Thorney Museum, The Thorney Society
& Margaret Fletcher, The Thorney Society

Thorney is an old village. Set in an expansive area of level fenlands, it grew around a seventh-century religious community. For hundreds of years it was part of the Russell family estates.



A Summer Fair in the Tank Yard

The Bedford Hall in the Tank Yard was converted in 1981 from a Victorian centre where the estate craftsmen worked. Photograph supplied with the kind permission of John Clark, Chris Lane and the Thorney Society.

In the nineteenth century, the 7th Duke of Bedford installed an innovative water, drainage and sewage system powered by steam. He housed the heart of the system in the Tank Yard. Today, the Yard and the Bedford Hall are the focal point of our 2,500 strong community, whose history is recorded and preserved in Thorney's accredited museum.¹

Helen was first introduced to the people of Thorney in The Tank Yard. She visited while following in the footsteps of her grandfather Walter, a proud Thorneyite. His adventure also started from the Tank Yard. Her meticulously crafted account of *A Victorian's Inheritance* provides unique insights into social history, village life, psychology, and the connections that bind them.

We chose Walter Parker's story to form a part of the Museum's 'Thorney Profiles', a Heritage Lottery-funded project which aims to link individuals associated with the village and broader historical or geographical themes. Walter is an example of such an individual whose life was shaped in Thorney and then by his emigration to Canada. Thanks to Helen's efforts, we know a great deal more about him and the Victorian village. Her innovative research is detailed and has already been well received. The Thorney Society, our museum and our visitors have been interested to learn about Walter, his family, and the village, and we thank Helen for her profound understanding of our local heritage.

We wish the author and her book a positive reception and hope it encourages other family history enthusiasts to create and share their family stories.





Preface



Why did Walter Parker refuse to doff his cap to the Duke of Bedford's estate manager? This was uncharacteristic behaviour for the quiet and shy lad, given that the man was one the most powerful men in Thorney.² Walter's disrespect put at risk his future, his pa's job, and the house in which they lived. Losing one's home could have grave consequences: according to the Vagrancy Act of 1824, anyone found to be sleeping in a public place or trying to beg could be arrested and sentenced to one month of hard labour.³ Vagrants presenting themselves at the workhouse door were entirely at the mercy of the porter who decided whether they should be allowed a bed for the night in the casual ward.⁴

I was a child when my mother first told me the story of my grandfather's refusal to doff his cap. I imagined the manager in his carriage on his way to church. I visualised Walter and the other villagers waiting outside the entrance to the Abbey for their 'better' to enter and assume his seat. In my mind's eye, women and girls bobbed as the men and boys took off their hats and caps. All except Walter, who stood resolute with his hands buried in his pockets. According to the story my mother told me it was a lack of respect for the Duke's man that had stayed Walter's hand over a century ago. As a result, he had to leave the village to safeguard his family's future.

Walter fascinated me. I wanted him to share his life with me, to illuminate a time of profound social and political



change, when a working-class Englishman could become a landowner in Canada. But in the face of my naïve compulsion to connect with him, Walter remained mostly inaccessible. As an 11-year-old, I was delighted when he came to live with my family in 1974. At last, I would hear the longed-for stories of his Victorian childhood and his adventures as a bachelor homesteader on the Canadian Prairies. Yet no matter how hard I searched for a key to unlock his silence, the door to his past remained firmly shut. I desperately wanted to attach, to feel close to him, but his emotional distance defeated me. My mum gently explained Granddad was a Victorian fossil, that his decades on an isolated homestead had interrupted his growth.

A year later, Granddad died. I was furious. He had told me he would live to be a hundred and get a telegram from the Queen. I avoided the room in which he had died, packed away the heartache and buried my anger. Life moved on. The feelings and my unresolved questions lived beneath the day-to-day. Then in therapy (which I undertook as part of my counselling training) I unpacked that distressing time. I came to believe, alongside my desire, I had absorbed my mum's unmet, painful need to connect with her father.

In the summer of 2013, I unexpectedly found myself near Thorney. Imagine my delight to find that the house in the Tank Yard where Walter had grown up was now the Thorney Museum. Incredibly, the volunteer steward, Jeremy Culpin, overheard my interest in the Parker family. He asked if I wanted an introduction to a lady whose mother was a Parker. It had never occurred to me I could meet people who knew my granddad. My Cousin Phyllis Mary Skells née Woods, known as Mary, was Walter's niece and lived in nearby Peterborough. She was born in 1918 and had grown up in the village. At our first meeting, I discovered the cap incident was significant enough to be passed down our two



estranged branches of the family. In Mary's version, Walter was with friends outside their school when the Duke's man passed by on his way to the station. She added a new and dark twist to the family tale by telling me that Walter had not doffed his cap because of the man's 'evil ways with young girls'. According to Mary, although this was apparently well known in the village, it was not openly acknowledged. Apparently, the villagers would not let Walter forget his audacious disrespect for the man. His principled stance would both liberate Walter from a closed agricultural village in the Fens and trap him in a Victorian mindset on the virgin prairies of Canada.

The joy of finding living family encouraged me to seek more. I sent a letter for publication to the *Fenland Citizen* in March 2014 asking for 'information about the Parkers of Upwell'. Days later, I was thrilled to receive an email from Cousin Sue Oldroyd, née Parker. Sue's grandfather Joel was Walter's first cousin. Cousin Mary did not know of her Parker cousins who stayed in Upwell. Interestingly, when I re-joined the branches by introducing Cousin Sue and Cousin Mary, they discovered they shared a love of figures, and had both worked for the council in various financial capacities. They also lived near each other, in Cambridgeshire, and had mutual acquaintances. Given where each lived and the people they knew, it surprised both of them, despite the generation gap, that they had not met and discovered that they were related. Mary, her youngest sister 'Rene, our Cousin Sue, and I had a few delightful years swapping stories.

During these meetings, the yearning for a deeper understanding of Granddad rocketed back to the surface. What had made this man? I set out to discover the answers to the questions which had burned in me through the decades. I pored over records in the Cambridgeshire Archives and spent days lost in study at the Peterborough Library. I visited museums and

binge-read about Victorian life, including medicine, education, health, and addiction. I noticed that Sigmund Freud, (the father of psychoanalysis and the psychodynamic approach to psychology), was a contemporary of Walter's mother.

Re-reading Freud reminded me of my work and experience as a counsellor. I turned again to psychological theories of human development, identity and social behaviour and extended my understanding of neuroscience and neuropsychology, the crossover between science and psychology. Neuropsychology led me to epigenetics, the study of nature (our genes) and nurture (our environment). Epigenetics seeks to explain how our environment and life experiences trigger on-off mechanisms in our genes which can affect us, and our descendants, physically and psychologically.

I conceived of a project-kaleidoscope, which would bring together my passion for family history, advocacy for better mental health, and evidence-based psychology. Before our birth, we are influenced by our ancestors and the mental, emotional, and behavioural patterns of the family around us. This phenomenon is known as psychological inheritance. I pondered all I had discovered about Walter and his family and considered them through the lens of modern psychological theory. I examined the family tree with the idea that 'our children will inherit what we have not made conscious' in mind. A psychological inheritance unravelled, revealing intergenerational anxiety, trauma, loss, and depression familiar to so many families. I had discovered my voice and the overarching theme of my work.

Understanding our psychological inheritance can illuminate our ancestors, but it can also give us the language to consider our thoughts, beliefs, and behaviour. It can add to the narrative we construct to make sense of ourselves and our family. The good news for my grandfather Walter and his siblings is good



news for all of us: our psychological inheritance need not define how we lead our lives. We can become more aware, live positively in our communities, thrive, and pass on a different legacy. Family historians cannot know their ancestors' psychological inheritance. But using historical and current theories, we can examine the records and speculate in an informed way.

We are all complicated, multi-dimensional, multi-layered products of our environment, relationships, experiences, and genes. No one is without scars, though few show physically. So too, do we have strengths, flaws, and vulnerabilities. James Hollis, a Jungian analyst, believes we are all governed by the haunting of ancestral and parental influences and that we are shaped by inner voices, dreams, impulses, untold stories, complexes, synchronicities, and mysteries which move through us and history. He sums it up by writing, 'What we resist, persists'.

Reading about another's life can help us see from a fresh perspective, time, or place to our own. Elements of other people's lives can throw our own choices into light relief or suggest a new direction; they can add to our understanding of who we are. Let me tell you about Walter's life, his family, and the English village where he grew up. As you get to know him and what may have affected his development, consider your ancestors. What might their psychological inheritance be? A Victorian's Inheritance could help you answer some crucial questions about those who came before you.

Take care,

Helen

Helen Parker-Drabble October 2020



CHAPTER 1



Family



Our family and the people around us are crucial to our development. In 1902, Charles Horton Cooley, an American sociologist, outlined the concept of the looking-glass self.8 He believed that our view of ourselves depends on how others reflect their perception of us. Might some families impose their view when they label individuals as 'the clever one', 'the pretty one', or 'the black sheep'? Our family, peers, culture, media, even our employers can hold persuasive mirrors up to us, feeding into the story we tell ourselves about who we were, are, and will become. Psychologists believe the early attachments we form with our parents and the people close to us are crucial to the way we develop.9 They often shape how our future relationships unfold, our resilience and how we manage adversity. Neuroscience has explained how our unique experiences, our diet, and even our geographical location help construct the architecture of our brain. Genealogically, the experiences of our grandparents and parents influence our development. Cultural and family values can be transmitted through our families of origin, which have their roots in past generations. Also, because our psychological and biological characteristics are profoundly affected by the contexts in which we grow up, what happens to grandparents reverberates through the ages to affect their descendants. So, to understand Walter's psychological inheritance, we must first consider his parents and grandparents and their likely legacies.





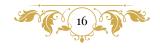
Map showing Peterborough, Upwell, Thorney, Wisbech, & Kings Lynn.

Map data ©2020 Google United Kingdom.

Walter's paternal Grandparents — Stephen Parker Snr and Frances née Moulton

Walter's paternal grandfather, Stephen Snr, was born in Upwell, on the Cambridgeshire/Norfolk border in 1816. It was called the Year Without a Summer (caused by the 1815 eruption of Mount Tambora in Indonesia). 10 Appalling weather ruined crops all over Europe, including locally.

The weather, which had given such cheering promise of continuing favourable for the already commenced operations of Harvest, has unhappily undergone a stormy and tempestuous change—Not a day has been uninterruptedly fine for nearly this week past.—On Saturday, the rain was without intermission, accompanied chilling wind, which increased during the night, to a perfect hurricane the effects, we lament to learn, have been general, in laying the fine crops of corn as completely flat as if they had been rolled



down.—On Wednesday last, had a heavy fall of rain, attended at intervals with thunder and hail:— some of the hail stones were of a large size; so cold was the general state of the atmosphere, that they continued for some time after to cover the ground and the roofs with Wintry garb."

The crop failures led to food shortages and the low wages of the agricultural labourers could not meet the higher prices demanded for basic foods. In nearby Littleport and Ely riots broke out.¹² The Parker family was likely among the recipients of poor relief distributed on Monday 23d [sic] December 1816: 'A well-fed ox and 7 fat sheep [were provided] to the labouring poor of Upwell, amounting to near 500 families'.¹³

When Walter's pa, Stephen Jnr, arrived in 1856, his mother marked the birth register with an 'X' in place of her signature. This was not unusual; in 1837, only two-thirds of all men and just over half of all women could sign their name upon marriage.¹⁴ Stephen Snr and Frances married at twenty-seven and twenty-six years of age in 1843, six years after Queen Victoria ascended to her uncle's throne. According to social historian Professor Emma Griffin of the University of East Anglia, there was an aspiration among the working class that upon marriage, a new household would be set up. Then as now 'couples needed to pool their resources and ingenuity to make that happen'.15 The first child often followed a year after the wedding. Studies of parish registers suggest that by the early nineteenth century men married at an average age of twenty-five and women at twenty-three.¹⁶ The delay in marriage meant that births could be limited, reducing the income needed to keep a family healthy. Stephen Parker Snr continued to work on the land after his marriage. It was an occupation leading to food poverty, which may have given Walter's descendants an advantage.



Broad Drove, Upwell, 2014. From the author's collection.



House in Plawfield, 2014. From the author's collection.

The Avon Longitudinal Study of Parents and Children showed that when a paternal grandfather experienced before his hunger teenage growth spurt. grandsons enjoyed increased lifespan by as much as thirty vears.17

Walter's paternal grandparents moved several times over the with vears. census returns showing the family living Parker at Back Drove, Broad Drove. Plawfield. and These Green Road. changes in address may reflect their improved

circumstances as the family moved closer to the centre of the sizeable village, with Green Road being the closest and running parallel to the main road. In the 1881 census, Stephen Snr is recorded as being a 'farmer of 6 acres', probably supported by his adult children Stephen and James. In the absence of a universal state pension, it was not unusual for children to support their parents financially. Even if the parent received parish relief, it was customary to recoup as much of this as possible from adult working children. Those children who refused to contribute were hauled before petty sessional courts.



Frances and Stephen outlived two of their eight children, who died at eleven and sixteen years of age.

The use of opium — Addiction in the family?

In 1891, Walter's grandfather, Stephen Snr, was seventy-five and still working as a farm labourer. It would be reasonable to suppose that he had arthritis. Long hours in the fields, exposed to wet conditions and bitter temperatures, along with dietary deficiencies may have contributed to poor health. A pharmacist who practised in the area in the early 1900s defined 'the three scourges of the Fens' as 'ague, poverty and rheumatism'. Ague was a crippling illness similar to malaria.¹⁹ To manage his pain and to support his wife, Stephen Snr probably self-medicated by taking opium.20 This widely accepted national practice included the buying of opium pills or opium-based products such as Godfrey's Cordial, also known as laudanum. What was curious was how many local people swallowed opium and the quantity they consumed. In an issue of the British Medical Journal of 1867, Dr Hawkins of King's Lynn stated that Lincolnshire and Norfolk consumed more than half the opiates imported into the country.21 'There was not a labourer's house... without its penny stick or pill of opium, and not a child that did not have it in some form.'22

Opium is addictive. As dependency grows, an increasing amount is needed to manage pain or satisfy the craving. If Walter's grandfather could not afford the shop-bought drug, Frances could harvest white poppies, as had been done in the Fens for hundreds of years.²³ Poppy-head tea was a typical drink at 'docky time', so-called because the labourers pay was docked while they ate



Victorian agricultural labourers at 'docky' time.

and drank.²⁴ Mothers and wives used shop-bought preparations of opium to treat arthritis, toothache, earache and colic, and to help with teething.²⁵ Despite their often innocuous-sounding names, these sinister preparations contained between one

and four grains of opiate per ounce.²⁶ We can hope Frances did not resort to dosing Walter's pa and his siblings while she worked in the fields.

According to the Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette:

There can be no doubt of the prevalence of the use of opium and other opiates, amongst the poor. They must not [be] judged too harshly for this. Obliged to devote many hours to labour, and unable [to] procure [a] servant for their children, they endeavoured to send them to sleep, in order that their time may not be occupied in nursing them, but in other more profitable pursuits.²⁷

What the report does not say is that opium can switch off the instinct to breathe.²⁸ Another side-effect was to take away the infant's appetite, and many died of starvation rather than poisoning.²⁹ Significant regulation was not introduced until the 1908 Pharmacy Act.³⁰

The consumption of opium may have had a profound effect on later generations, for 'addiction to depressants can cause



maladaptation of memory and reward circuits in the brain', underpinned by DNA and regulated by long-lasting changes in gene expression.³¹ (Conceivably, such changes were reflected in Walter's ma's physiological inheritance and could influence her legacy.) Might the effects of 'medications' like these have led to the mistrust of medicine? Indeed, it was a prevailing attitude of Walter's (and his niece's) generation to 'work off' pain and ill health, rather than medicate.

Walter's maternal grandparents — James Bates and Ann née Rands

Walter's maternal grandfather, James Bates, was born in West Walton, Norfolk. Walter's grandmother, Ann Snr, came from Alconbury-cum-Weston, Huntingdonshire, thirty-eight miles from where her husband-to-be was born. Upon marriage, James was twenty-three and Ann twenty-four. According to the 1841 census, the year before their wedding, both were working as servants on different farms. The couple would have nine children: four would die aged five or younger, another upon reaching adulthood. Walter's ma was their second daughter named Ann.

Professor Griffin wrote that the people who worked the land were among those least able to establish their own home at a young age. Although this sometimes led to newlyweds living with one set of parents, others who married before they could support a family described themselves as living in 'inescapable grinding poverty'. Like most agricultural workers, the Bates family were at times reliant on parish relief for part of the year. Often this meant going hungry, suffering from malnutrition,

and spending time in the workhouse. To encourage people to support themselves, the conditions were less than the poorest working labourer could achieve, so inmates and those receiving relief could still be close to starvation.³³ Walter's maternal grandfather, James, could not escape crushing poverty.

What effect might this lifestyle have had on Walter's mother, Ann, and her descendants? A landmark epidemiological study that investigated the impact of famine on pregnant Dutch women during the Hunger Winter of 1944/1945 may offer some possibilities. Researchers found epigenetic differences regarding disease risk among individuals who were exposed to famine early in their mother's pregnancy when compared with their unexposed, same-sex siblings. The suggestion is that 'earlylife environmental conditions can cause epigenetic changes in humans that persist throughout life' leading to increased risk of schizophrenia, coronary heart disease, obesity, and Type 2 diabetes.³⁴ Nor are effects limited to the female line. Epidemiologist Dr Marjolein Veenendaal and her team found that the offspring of fathers exposed to famine prenatally weighed more and had a higher body-mass index than offspring of unexposed fathers. This effect remained after an adjustment for birth weight, paternal weight, and body mass index.35

After the death of James's first wife Ann in 1860, he married Martha, a woman nineteen years his junior. Records show that James, Martha, and their daughters were admitted to the Union Workhouse at Huntingdon at harvest-time, on 30 August 1873, and again on 10 September. Further admissions show a family in crisis. James was presumably too ill, disabled, a dysfunctional addict or unable to find work.³⁶ He died in the workhouse in March 1875, aged fifty-six, ten years before his grandson Walter's birth. For a while, James's widow, Martha, found a way



of sustaining herself and her daughters, but they were again admitted to the institution on 9 February 1876. Martha died less than eight weeks later, at the age of thirty-four. Ann's half-sisters were just eight and six years old.

Walter's parents — Stephen Parker Jnr and Ann née Bates

Walter's Pa - Stephen Parker Jnr

We know a little about Stephen Jnr's early life from the census records. In 1861 he was living with his parents, and older siblings James, Jane, Jacob, Isaac, and Mary. Baby Susannah completed the family. Stephen Snr supported the family by farming three acres in Plaw Field, Broad Drove. Walter would not meet his uncle Iacob, a house servant and groom, who drowned in June 1861 aged only sixteen. Eleven years later, in 1872, Stephen's sister Susannah died painfully from 'inflammation of the bowel', at eleven years old.37 Of the surviving siblings, we know



Stephen Parker Jnr (1856–1937), c1907. From the author's collection.

little, but Stephen Jnr — Walter's father — was working as an agricultural labourer in 1871. Although land work had been declining for decades, Stephen Jnr would probably have worked from age seven or eight removing stones from the fields, looking

after animals, picking fruit or as a human scarecrow chasing off the birds intent on eating precious young seedlings.³⁸

We often think of the Victorian period as one of poor health and nutrition. However, there is compelling evidence to the contrary.

In the U.K. life expectancy at age 5 was as good or better than exists today, and the incidence of degenerative disease was 10 per cent of ours. They had little access to alcohol and tobacco; and due to their correspondingly high intake of fruits, whole grains, oily fish and vegetables, they consumed levels of micronutrients and phytonutrients at ten times the levels considered normal today.³⁹

The ability to write one's name improved over time. According to figures from the Registrar General, between 1871 and 1891 the ability of men to sign the register rose from 80 per cent to 94 per cent, and for women, it rose from 73 per cent to 93 per cent.⁴⁰

Walter's Ma - Ann Bates

Ann Catherine Bates was born in the small village of Alconbury-Weston in Huntingdonshire. The 1861 census tells us that five-year-old Ann was living on the 'North Side of the Brook' with her widowed father, James, who worked as a labourer, having been a ratcatcher. Ann's mother had died a slow death the year before, aged only forty-two, from phthisis, more commonly known as consumption or pulmonary tuberculosis.

How might the loss of her mother have affected four-year-old Ann? The physiological and psychological effects of overwhelming emotional experiences, such as those which stem from natural



disasters, abuse, rape, losing a parent or child or violence have been studied in-depth, and the effects on a person's life-long health are sobering.⁴¹

Modern research shows the death of a parent can lead social withdrawal, anxiety. and social problems, as well as lower self-esteem and that a quarter of children develop psychological serious issues following a parent's death.42 It seems a forlorn hope that Ann's environment was more protective than in recent times. To manage life at home, it was inevitable



Ann Bates née Parker. (1856-1938), c1907. From the author's collection.

widower James had to rely heavily on his surviving older children: eighteen-year-old Mary, fourteen-year-old James, and twelve-year-old William. The 1861 census record shows that James's brother Criss lodged with them. Given the family lived, intermittently, in extreme poverty, it would not be unusual for a paying lodger, family or not, to sleep in the marital bed with the head of the household.⁴³

I would like to think her older sister Mary mothered Ann, but by the time Ann was seven, Mary was twenty, married, and living in Upwell. Did Ann's ability to form close emotional attachments diminish after each of her losses? Although her granddaughter, Cousin Mary, told me she did not doubt her grandmother's love, she was not a grandparent who hugged her grandchildren. Nor could Cousin Mary recall a single time when



Cousin Mary in Ilfracombe.

Cousin Mary (Phyllis Mary Skells née
Woods) Walter's niece, Stephen & Ann
Parker's grandaughter.

Ann had laughed or even smiled. She remembered her, sadly, as a habitually black-clothed, unhappy alcoholic who was 'difficult to get along with'. (Cousin Mary said Ann's dependence on whisky was referred to in the family as her 'condition'.)

Ann's traumas may have affected the expression or suppression of specific genes, influencing not only her lifelong health and wellbeing, but succeeding generations, who did not know of them. Epigenetics offers a way to explain the connection between nature

and nurture, or as biologist Nessa Carey puts it, 'how the environment talks to us and alters us, sometimes forever'. The process of epigenetics changes the chemical elements surrounding and attaching to our genetic material that, in turn, changes the way genes are activated or silenced without altering the genes themselves.⁴⁴ Although we should view it with caution, epigenetics promises exciting new data related to mental health conditions that are 'bound to touch all of us at some point in the not-too-distant future'.⁴⁵

David Moore is a psychobiologist and Professor of Psychology at Pitzer College and Claremont Graduate University. His work underlines that genes behave differently in different contexts. They don't single-handedly dictate our talents, diseases, and preferences; 'what we do matters, and that the environments we occupy profoundly influence how we end up'.46 In their



study of mice, researchers from the University of Zurich and ETH Zurich discovered 'Not only trauma but also the reversal of trauma is inherited'.47 The late Bruce McEwen, neuroendocrinologist and stress expert at Bruce Rockefeller University in New York pointed out that interventions cannot reverse developmental events but rather produce compensatory mechanisms. He concludes reactivating the plasticity of the brain through 'physical activity, social support, behavio[u]ral therapies including mindfulness and meditation and finding meaning and purpose' have a powerful impact on our resilience and well-being.⁴⁸ So perhaps in following her sister Mary May to Upwell in 1871, Ann could begin to counteract her earlier experiences. At fifteen, Ann was an independent maid-of-allwork for John Hawkins, a sixty-three-year-old farmer who lived steps away from her sister in Small Lode, Upwell, close to St Peter's Church. Ann reported to a housekeeper, aged forty-two. A seventeen-vear-old male servant was the last of the live-in help. As a maid, Ann was not in a position to help her half-siblings or her father and stepmother stay out of the Union Workhouse at

Huntingdon. Both Ann's father and stepmother died destitute before Ann married.

Marriage was more of a practical affair than a romantic one. A working-class couple needed to work hard as a team to bring in enough of an income, raise children and manage household



The interior of St Peter's Church, Upwell, 2018.

Stephen Parker and Ann née Bates married on Thursday, 23 December 1880 at St Peter's Church, Upwell. From the author's collection. affairs. Although a partner could be found in the personal ads of some publications, it is plausible that Walter's parents were introduced by Ann's sister in their parish church after Ann had taken up the domestic post in Upwell.⁴⁹ Stephen and Ann's courtship could have taken place in public: at church socials, or while still in their Sunday best, on the two-mile walk from Upwell to Outwell and back, to 'see and be seen'.50 We do not know when they decided to marry, but choosing a spouse was a serious matter. Despite the 1858 Divorce Act, there were limited options for ending a marriage. Stephen and Ann were joined in holy matrimony at St Peter's in Upwell on Thursday 23 December 1880. They were twenty-four and twenty-three years old respectively — the same ages at which Ann's parents had married. For Stephen, the timing perhaps reflected his confidence, for 'He had succeeded in opening up a tolerable trade as a carpenter and builder'.⁵¹ For Ann, their vows may have represented a much-needed sense of security after the death of her parents, brothers, and sisters. By the time she married, only four of her nine full siblings were alive.

The 1881 census shows Walter's pa and ma living in King's Lynn as lodgers of Ann's older brother William (a tailor), his wife, Mary Ann, and their four children. Another lodger, a mason, also lived in the terraced house of Dilke Street. Skilled workers could afford these small homes which had two cramped rooms upstairs and two down. They were known as a 'through house' because they did not back on to another dwelling.⁵² Stephen worked as a carpenter and builder. I hope with Stephen at her side Ann had faith that she would have a longer and more comfortable life than her mother had known.

It would appear Stephen first became a father at the age of twenty-six, after he and Ann had settled back in Upwell.



Their first-born, Lily Ann, tragically died while still a toddler. The same year, Stephen lost his mother, Frances, aged sixty-five. Stephen and Ann's second child, Ethel Mary, was born in 1884. Walter arrived a year later, and in 1886 Stephen and Ann had their third daughter and named her Lily Bates. Their last child, Lucy Maud, came into the world in 1889. The 1891 census shows Stephen, Ann, their four children, and a lodger (another carpenter) were living a few doors away from the Old Duke's Head on the 'High Road', Upwell. Walter's pa had left the land. He was earning more as a bricklayer.

Like all parents, Stephen and Ann were expected to raise their children to be useful members of the community. Psychologist and psychoanalyst Erik Erikson maintained that children's personality develops logically through eight psychosocial developmental stages from infancy to adulthood.⁵³ During the

first stage, from birth to about eighteen months. infants develop a sense of attachment their to caregivers and begin to trust people. We do not know how emotionally available Ann was children in to her these formative years. Stephen worked till dusk, so during the shorter days of the



Elworthy Row, Upwell 2019.

Photograph by Amanda Carter.

According to a notebook owned by Walter's daughter

Doreen, the Parker family lived in one of these

terraced houses before moving to Thorney.

year he could spend more time at home. An extended family surrounded Walter and his siblings which reminds me of the old African proverb, 'It takes a whole village to raise a child'.54

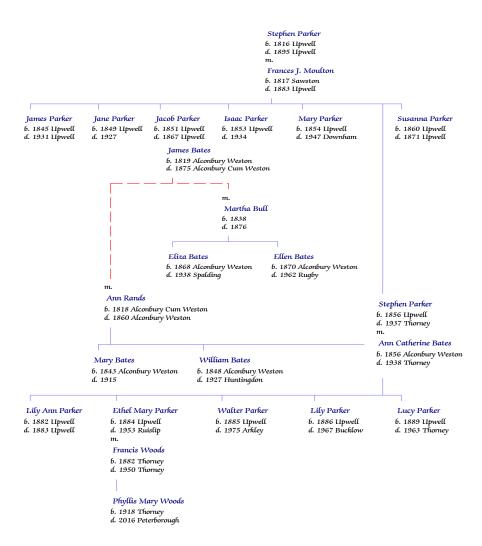
If Ann had mental health problems, her husband's family and stable community might have helped Walter and his siblings to develop a sense of trust.

According to Erikson, the second psychosocial stage, which occurs in the toddler years, covers autonomy versus shame and guilt. Walter became more independent as he learnt to control his body, including his bladder and bowel. Washing an infant's nappies in Victorian Britain was hard work and time-consuming so, I imagine Ann was compelled to toilet train as soon as her children were sufficiently developed. At this milestone selfesteem is boosted, leading to the beginnings of willpower and self-control. When Walter reached the third stage, at ages three to five, he had started imitating his parents. Rural workingclass children inevitably learnt useful skills from an early age. It seems probable that Stephen encouraged Walter to take the initiative. To meet his community's expectations and those of his parents, Walter became competent in foraging, weeding, sweeping the grate and laying a fire. Outside his home, Walter explored and found a sense of purpose. In theory, should children not find a goal, Erikson suggested they could disappoint their parents, resulting in feelings of guilt.55 Walter and his male peers emulated their fathers. They therefore looked forward to their graduation into long trousers.

Although the second half of the nineteenth century saw some people use education as a route out of land work and the poverty associated with it, social mobility was still restricted. Stephen Parker and his brother James had the personality and drive to seek opportunities and build assets. I wonder if they believed they were building a world where progress would march ever-forward, with each year better than the last.



Family tree



https://tinyurl.com/y5ofn3ke

https://tinyurl.com/y304zjr9



CHAPTER 2



Upwell



Upwell (from the old English word 'upp' meaning up and 'well' meaning spring)⁵⁶ is an ancient place. Many Georgian and Victorian houses line the two long, parallel highroads, which are split by a narrow river. On the west side of the river was Cambridgeshire, on the east side, the county of Norfolk. This pattern of building is not surprising given that the Roman emperor Hadrian set in motion the draining of the land and took advantage of Upwell's inland port. The waterways leading to and from Upwell have been used for trade (mainly fruits and vegetables). They also acted as a conduit for armies, such as those garrisoning at Hadrian's Wall.⁵⁷ During medieval times seagoing ships capable of sailing to Iceland, Norway and all over the Baltic Sea were based in Upwell.⁵⁸ In the 1880s some of the houses that back onto the canal or face the River Nene had a private jetty for boats or barges.

In Upwell, Walter saw men, women and children working in agriculture. He likely watched coal being transported by the modern tram to the Outwell depot, where the loads were transferred to the waiting barges for distribution through the Fens.⁵⁹ The trams trundled between Wisbech and Upwell carrying people, fruit and vegetables. As a six-year-old, had Walter looked forward to a dangerous local childhood rite of passage; jumping on and off the moving tram without being caught by the guard?⁶⁰ If so, it was not



St Peter's Church, Upwell
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Walter was baptised at this font 17 May 1885.



A traditional christening dress for boys and girls. In the keeping of Cousin Sue Oldroyd née Parker. 2018 image from the author's collection.

to be, for Walter's pa, Stephen, had an exciting new job and was to move the family to a parish owned by the Duke of Bedford.⁶¹

Research tell us that a parent's way of caring has a profound effect on a baby's psychological and physical growth.⁶² Walter's mother, Ann, may not have been aware of the importance of her interactions with her children. Nor could she have known that an infant's caretakers directly influence a baby's brain development, it's mental health, even its resilience to adversity.⁶³ In humans and primates, a mother's sensitive recognition of a baby's needs helps kick-start the neural system and activate (or silence) genes regulating stress levels. For example, contact with adults regulates a baby's oxytocin levels and alpha waves.⁶⁴ Epigeneticists build on these findings to argue that psychological inheritance during the formative years is as critical as physiological inheritance.





St Peter's, Upwell, 2017. From the author's collection.



Roof Demon, St Peter's Church, Upwell by Lynne Jayne Jenkins, 2018.



Roof angel & demon, St Peter's Church, Upwell by Lynne Jayne Jenkins, 2018.





Angel St Peter's Church, Upwell by Lynne Jayne Jenkins, 2018.



Upwell, looking towards St Peter's Church.





Lower Town Street, Upwell.Postcard from the author's collection.



Town Street, Upwell.Postcard from the author's collection.



New Bridge, Upwell.
Postcard from the author's collection.



Boyces Bridge, The Wisbech & Upwell Tramway.
Postcard from the author's collection.



Steam Tram, Upwell.

This steam tram was a 770 0-6-0, originally the GER Class 53.

Postcard from the author's collection.





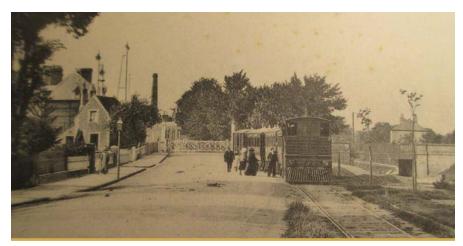
Local author Reverend W. Awdry based Toby on the Upwell tram. (According to https://www.lner.info/) Toby the Tram at Bitton Station on the Avon Valley Railway during a Thomas the Tank Engine day. Toby the Tram by Felixcatuk.

In the public domain.

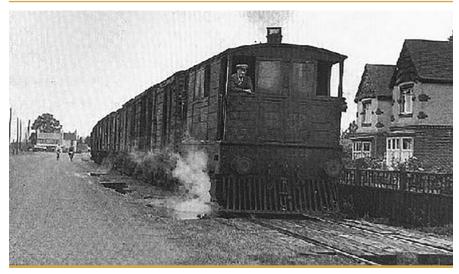


Upwell Station c1900.
In the public domain. According to https://www.lner.info/ local author, etc





The Wisbech & Upwell Tramway, Elm Road, Wisbech. From the author's collection.



Wisbech & Upwell Tramway, Elm High Road, Wisbech. From the author's collection.

There is no way of knowing the physiological effect of the earliest interactions between Walter and his mother, but we can plausibly discuss their psychological effects. To do this, we need to explore his childhood.



A perilous birth — 18 April 1885

Walter was the third child born to Stephen and Ann. Preparing for Walter's birth, Ann understood that childbirth could kill her. At this time, one in twenty mothers died in or after delivery from infection or haemorrhage. Ann would have certainly worried about herself, but there was the added danger to the baby. It would be natural for her to fear Walter would not survive. Around 1885, in surrounding Norfolk, approximately one baby out of every eight died. Should Ann need inpatient care; their nearest hospital was in Wisbech, five miles from home.

Given Ann's rural location and class, her midwife was likely a woman.⁶⁷ Women of the extended family and her network of acquaintances could be called upon to help Ann. Her mother had died, but her sister Mary May lived locally. Mary understood Ann's anxiety as she and her husband had lost all four of their infants.⁶⁸ If Mary had felt unable to be with Ann, another labour companion could have been Ann's sister-in-law Jane Britten. Jane was a close neighbour to both women. She had testified at the inquest investigating the death of Mary's daughter Florence in 1881. On that occasion, the jury returned the verdict 'Died by the visitation of God^{',69} Ann's other local sister-in-law, Mary Utteridge, may not have been able to help. There is a newspaper report of Mary's husband Henry doing hard labour in 1877 for deserting his wife and family.⁷⁰ Walter's pa, Stephen, was likely working nearby. Infant mortality rates in Norfolk around 1881 were also high.71 Ann's first-born, Lily Ann, had passed away as an infant, as had Ann's older sister Catharine who died at thirteen months.

Ann knew children were at risk. Ann's oldest brother, Davis, had died of meningitis aged five; Ann's namesake was just three years old when she passed of a fever; and Alfred, the youngest in the family, was taken by tabes mesenterica, a form of tuberculosis. A significant reduction in infant deaths was not achieved in the Fens until around 1910.⁷² Ann could not have known that breastfeeding was Walter's best chance of surviving infancy.⁷³ But she was encouraged to feed her children naturally by contemporary guides, such as the *Cassell's Household Guide*



Lily Ann Parker, memorial card, 1883.

The memorial card of Lily Ann Parker, most likely given to the family by the undertaker. It reads: Sacred to the Memory of Lily Ann. The Beloved Daughter of Stephen and Ann Parker who died October 24th 1883. Aged 1 year and 7 months.

Interred at Upwell Church, October 27th.



of 1877. Its author declared that 'the most suitable food for infants is that of Nature's own providing — mother's milk'. The fact that we cannot know whether Ann, as a working-class mother, breastfed or not, is itself thought-provoking. Dr Arthur Newsholme, a leading Victorian health expert, estimated that between 62 and 84 per cent of English working-class mothers breastfed. This percentage may seem low to us, but can be explained by restrictions placed upon working mothers on the one hand and, aggressive marketing of formula milk on the other. By 1883, twenty-seven brands of formula milk, predominantly from cows, were available to the public.

Another critical indicator of infant mortality was the health of the mother.⁷⁷ Stephen and Ann's first child, Lily Ann died from tubercular meningitis in 1883. With so little in the way of treatment, Ann and Stephen were helpless to relieve their little girl's suffering. Charles West, founder of the Hospital for Sick Children in Great Ormond Street (the first children's hospital in Great Britain) published his observations of this harrowing illness in 1848. His description finishes by stating:

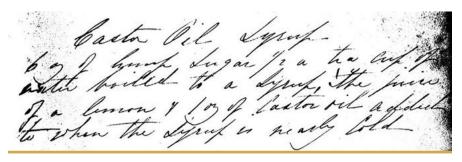
The recurrence of convulsions usually hastens the end, but sometimes many days will pass, during which death is hourly expected, and earnestly prayed for, to put an end to the patient's sufferings.⁷⁸

Ann was five months pregnant with Walter's sister Ethel when Lily Ann died. With new life growing inside her and a family to feed and care for, it is unlikely Ann had the chance to grieve for Lily Ann. Only weeks after Walter's birth, his second Cousin Mary Parker, who lived close by, died of measles and diphtheria at the age of five. Tragically, all three of Mary Parker's siblings also died before their parents.

There is a common belief that our ancestors were less affected by loss, disaster, or trauma than we are. However, Hilary Marland, Professor of History, at the Centre for the History of Medicine at the University of Warwick, makes a convincing case that poverty contributed to and exacerbated mental suffering in women in Victorian Britain.⁷⁹ That the poor were somehow immune to the loss of their loved ones is also soundly contested by Julie-Marie Strange, Professor of Modern British History at Durham University. Strange demonstrates in her book about death, grief and poverty that poverty increased rather than deadened the anguish of the poor.⁸⁰ It would, therefore, be understandable if Ann emotionally distanced herself from Walter and his siblings to cope with her loss.

A working-class mother's responsibilities

After the death of her daughter, it is reasonable to suppose Ann took 'prevention is better than cure' seriously, so she probably dosed her children with castor oil. This is one of the oldest medicines known. It was an unpleasant tonic that was

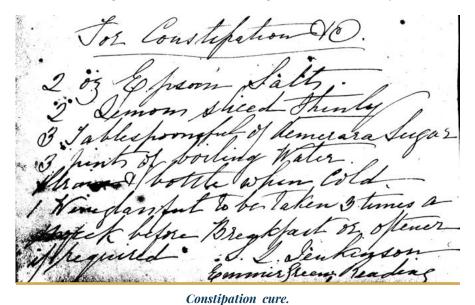


Castor oil syrup recipe.

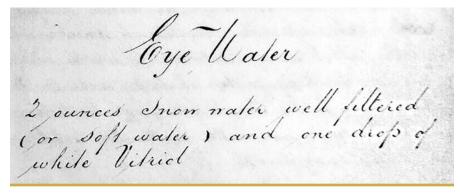
This recipe for castor oil syrup came from a family recipe book which belonged to Mrs Charles Aaron Allot, née Mary Hopkinson. She started recording recipes in this notebook in 1860. Mary married James Parker in 1906. The book is in the keeping of Cousin Sue Oldroyd née Parker, great-granddaughter of James Parker.



believed to promote wound healing, relieve pain, treat acne, fight infection, and keep the scalp and hair healthy. It has been proven to induce labour and cure constipation.⁸¹ Should castor oil fail, Ann would have prepared another age-old cure for regular bowel movements using Epsom salts, magnesium sulphate, lemon and sugar dissolved in boiling water.⁸² For conjunctivitis,

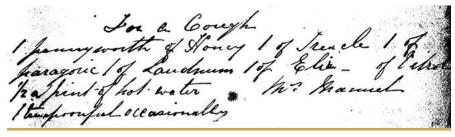


she turned to a homemade recipe made up from filtered snow water and one drop of white vitriol (zinc sulphate).83 If Walter



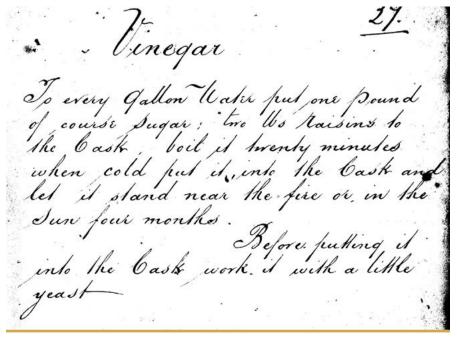
Eye water recipe.

had a cough, Ann could mix honey and treacle with the bitter laudanum.⁸⁴



Cough recipe.

Vinegar too was a part of the housewife's arsenal. It was used in the home to clean wounds and treat infection.⁸⁵ For sprains, sore throats, and rheumatism, a local newspaper suggested:



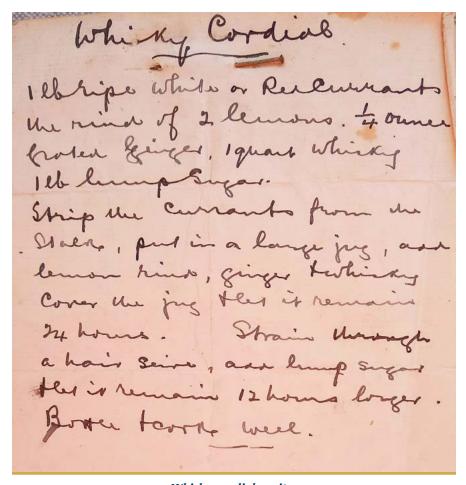
Vinegar Recipe.

Take half a pint of turpentine and one egg, put them into a large bottle, cork it, and shake it till it becomes



a thick cream, then add gradually one pint of vinegar: bottle for use. This mixture will keep for years and is improved by the addition of a small lump of camphor.⁸⁶

According to a Parker family recipe book for his colds, Walter could be given either a hot 'Whisky Cordial' or sweetened blackcurrant vinegar.⁸⁷ Strong spirits may seem an odd treatment, but alcohol was a valued part of the home medicine kit and was often prescribed by doctors. Research 'supports the folklore that



Whisky cordial recipe.
Photograph by Debanjali Biswas.

Black (wrant megar

Mew the cumunts in the oven with a little water then strain through a flamed bag to every pinh of juice and one finh of vinegar 1/2 th of loaf sugar. Put into a jur in the oven south the sugar is disvolved and the liquin quite hot when cold bottle it for use

Blackcurrant vinegar recipe.

So every to gallons of water put 18ths lump sugar toil it if an hour, when it is milk warm add to it if of leak of Sider Howers picked from the stalks, the piece of part peel of the lumines below of vaisins and 5 spoonsful of years. His it preguently for 3 or 4 days. When it has done working obsp it up. Bottle it in to months. So not put the flowers into the barrel.

We intend putting the players in a Bag next time - They were so smuch trouble.

The deck

Mis to Dethick

Elderflower wine recipe.

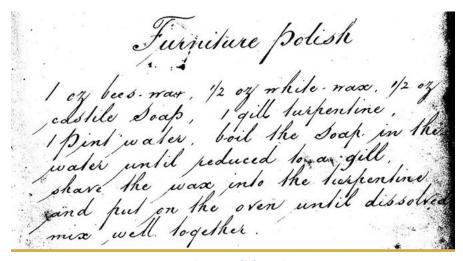


a hot tasty drink is a beneficial treatment for relief of most symptoms of common cold and flu' because of the powerful placebo and physiological effects on salivation and airway secretions.⁸⁸ As was typical, Ann laboriously made hedgerow wines, mead, beer and sloe gin for the family to consume at home. Could it be that Ann followed a family pattern of self-soothing with alcohol?

Trocips for making Mead. Cut Honey Comb fine & place in earthen vossel with enough water to cover. Let it remain 3days, then stain through a sieve. See if liquid is strong enough to carry a new laid until the lequid is of that Strength. Take eggout & put a few cloors in and a little whole ginger. Flace in Copper of boil 2 hour. When Cold enough, work with a little New Yeast (home brewed best) Let it remain 3 days then place in big bottle or vival until used.

The daily life of a working-class housewife

Despite her mental health problems, Ann was responsible for her family's health and nutrition. She also made, repaired, and cleaned their clothing and bedding, and kept their home clean and free from infection. Yet Ann had access to the most basic implements and ingredients. Although Walter's working-



Furniture polish recipe.

class family were comparatively well-off, health remedies, meals, cleaning products, towels, curtains, rugs, and all of their clothes were fashioned by Ann, either reworking them from existing items or making them from scratch. Unlike her middle-class counterparts, Ann was expected to manage her duties without the aid of a servant. If she was lucky, after Walter's birth, Ann might have had her ten-year-old niece, Rose Ann, lend a hand as a mother's help after finishing her chores at home.

Open fires and few appliances meant housework was heavy, isolating work, and the hours were long. It was usual for the housewife to rise before her husband to give him his



breakfast and ready his food and drink to take to work. If Ann had a cooking range, instead of an open fire to cook on, her first job was to clean the range, except the front bars, while the fire was drawing up.⁸⁹ To keep the appliance in working order, Ann cleaned the whole of it, including the boiler and oven, once a week. The water levels in the boiler had to be replenished daily. Once Ann was satisfied with the water, she put the kettle on to boil, set the porridge to cook, and laid the table for breakfast. Used tea leaves from yesterday's breakfast were scattered on the floor to help collect the dust. If Ann had a rag-rug in front of the fire, now would be the time to shake it outside before sweeping the front step.⁹⁰ After breakfast, Ann aired the bedding, turned the mattresses, emptied the slops, and rinsed the chamber pots.

It was recommended that the floors were washed three times a week, less frequently in winter.⁹¹ Any pieces of carpet Ann may have had needed regular cleaning. Candle drippings were scraped off first. Then the area was cleaned with a brush and chilly water. Next, a bar of homemade soap was melted into scalding water, and the floor scoured using as little water as possible. The entire area was gone over with a sponge removing the soap and dirt. The sponge was rinsed well before being dipped into a pail of cold vinegar water, and the whole carpet was wiped a third time.⁹² The dirt produced by coal fires meant dusting and polishing was done daily and rooms cleaned from top to bottom once a week. This cleaning involved lifting any floor covering, beating it, brushing down the walls and curtains or blinds, washing the paintwork and cleaning the windows.⁹³

Between the demanding jobs around the house, Ann fed the children and kept them clean, prepared a midday meal, then an evening meal. If Stephen could not get home for lunch, Ann

sent him a wooden box with a lidded dish inside surrounded by straw to keep the food warm. After the evening meal, which usually started around 5 p.m., Ann cleared away, perhaps preparing a lunch for Stephen for the next day and washed and dried the utensils and pans. Now she might have time to sit and either mend or make bedding or clothing for one of the family. The last job was to rake out the kitchen fire and lay it ready for the morning. If a maid-of-all-work was expected to retire to bed no earlier than 10 p.m. it is probable the working-class housewife would not get to bed sooner.⁹⁴

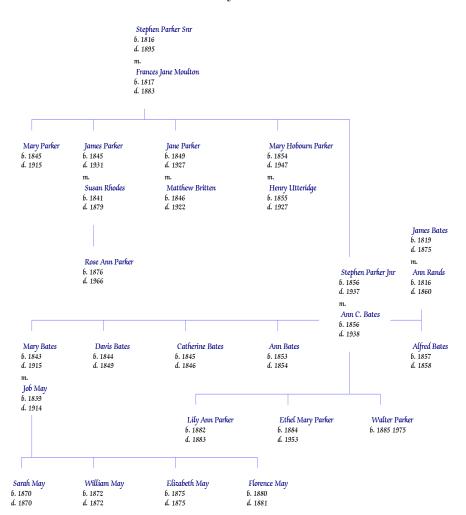
The weekly washing, drying, and ironing took the working-class housewife three days per week. On Sunday, Ann soaked Walter's cloth nappies and sorted and soaked the other washing. On Monday, the nappies were plunged into a hefty pot of boiling water set on the range or an open fire. Pounding was the next task. Then, like the clothes and bedding, they were rinsed four times, hand-wrung and heaved through a mangle. After some time drying on an outside line, clothes horse, or an airer on a pulley system, the washing was rolled up, at a specific level of dampness. This made Tuesday's job of ironing as easy as possible.

To remove the creases from fabric Ann used heavy flat pieces of cast-iron metal with a handle attached. While she ironed with one another was kept hot by a fire or cooking range. When she had finished, the laundry was aired again. The irons had to be kept immaculately clean, sand-papered, and polished. They were stored away from burning fuel and were regularly, but lightly, greased to avoid rusting. An application of beeswax on the base prevented the iron from sticking to starched collars, cuffs, and aprons. No wonder the better-off roasted a large joint on a Sunday; it provided meat for the family's main meal



until Wednesday. It is sobering to think all Ann's chores were probably completed without even a cold-water tap in the house. Industrialisation gradually brought household products into the home. From 1884 Ann could buy Sunlight Soap, a laundry block, to wash the nappies, clothes, and bedding. Its recipe contained copra or pine kernel oil, which lathered more easily than the traditional soaps Ann laboriously made at home from animal fats. I expect Ann was grateful for the improved facilities her home in the Tank Yard provided.

Family tree





About the history consultant



George Regkoukos is a historian with a PhD from King's College London, currently engaged by the University of Oxford. He specialises in the Modern History of Russia and Social Network Analysis, and runs a podcast about masterpieces of Russian art.

George is also a professional editor providing services for family historians and self-published authors of histories or historical fiction. He runs an e-book publishing and software development company. For those who wish to publish digitally, his 'planning to publishing' package is an excellent value-formoney set of services which is unique in the e-publishing market.

As a history consultant for my series, Who Do I think You Were?®, George advised me on research methods, sources, formatting, and language. He gave me historical perspective, suggested alternative approaches to write my research and helped me optimise my materials and output. His consultancy gave me the confidence to launch my book A Victorian's Inheritance world-wide.

Helen Parker-Drabble

To find out more about George and his services, or to request a free sample, you can visit www.georgeregkoukos.com. You can also find him on LinkedIn, Academia, and SoundCloud.





Endnotes



The author has used the following online inflation calculators to indicate the nineteenth and early twentieth-century currency equivalence in 2019/2020:

- Pre 1900 sterling inflation calculator: In2013dollars.com. (2019). 2000 pounds in 2019 | UK Inflation Calculator.
- Historic inflation calculator: how the value of money has changed since 1900 (sterling) Browning, R. (2020). *Historic inflation calculator: how value of money changed since 1900*. This is Money https://www.thisismoney.co.uk/money/bills/article-1633409/Historic-inflation-calculator-value-money-changed-1900.html [Accessed January 2020].
- Inflationcalculator.ca. (n.d.). *Inflation Calculator* | *Keep Track of Canadian CPI and Inflation*. (Canadian dollars 1914 onward)
- Population of Thorney as advised by Thorney Museum curator, Dorothy Halfhide, in an email dated February 17, 2020.
- 2 The village of Thorney is seven miles east of Peterborough and fifty miles north of Cambridge.
- 3 Legislation.gov.uk. (2020). *Vagrancy Act 1824*. http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo4/5/83 [February 2021].
- 4 Ibid.; Fowler, S. (2008). *The people, the places, the life behind doors*. Barnsley, UK: Pen & Sword Books Ltd. pp. 160–61.
- Further reading: Brennan, J. and Houde, K. (2017). *History and systems of psychology*. 7th ed. Cambridge University Press.
- 6 Marchiano, L. (2017). *Our Children's Psychological Inheritance*. blogs. psychcentral.com.
- 7 Hollis, J. (2013). *Hauntings Dispelling the Ghosts Who Run Our Lives*. Asheville, NC: Chiron Publications, Preface; p. 1.
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Index



4th Earl of Bedford 55 7th Duchess of Bedford 168 7th Duke of Bedford 8, 62, 63 11th Duke of Bedford 55, 58, 64, 137, 189

Abbey House 69, 74, 163 Abbey Place 68, 72, 74 Abbey Rooms 69, 170, 175 Abbey school 69 Abbey Sunday school 186, 191 Abraham Moores 145 A Christmas Carol 185, 186 Ada Mary Walton née Bates 95 addiction 12, 20, 90, 94, 95, 99, 100, 208 'Admiral's Broom' 164 After-care Association 91 Agatha 170 Agricultural Holdings (England) Act 211 agriculture depression 208, 217 ague 19 Air on a G String 163 Albert Bennett 65 alcoholism 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 94, 122, 191, 255 Alconbury 21, 24 Alfred Elworthy 164 Alfred Law 119 American Civil War 96

Amy Cousins 201 Ancient Order of Foresters 166 Angels Ever Bright and Fair 163 Anges Laut 248 Anglican church 189 Anglo-Boer War 154, 244 Ann Bates née Parker 25 Ann Catherine Bates 24 Anne Schutzenberger 99 Annie Crabb 107, 117 Annie Peach 108 Ann née Bates 23, 27 Ann née Rands 21 Ann Parker 26, 42, 80, 101 Apprenticeship Indenture 265 Arctic 173 Arctic Circle 137 Arkley 79 Arthur Conan Doyle 136 Arthur Thacker 163 Article 108 of the Code of 1885 111 Australia 247 Avon Longitudinal Study of Parents and Children 18

В

Bach 163
Baker Brown 87
Baltic Sea 33
Bank Holidays Act 179
Barnet 79
Bedford Hall 7, 8, 61, 62, 126
'Bedford Level' 55



Canada 8, 10, 11, 225, 246, 247, 248, Bedfordshire 56, 210 Beer House Act 84 249, 251, 256 Benhall, East Sussex 147 Cape Town 155, 156 Ben Jeff 60 Captain James Cook 136 Bentinck Road 233 Caroline Foreman 174 Cassell's Family Doctor by a Medi-Bible 77, 117, 191 Billy Amps 249 cal Man 199 Birchmore Farm 212 Cassell's Household Guide 42 Birmingham 129, 140, 141, 197, 204 Causeway 70, 76, 173 Centre for the History of Medicine at Birmingham Daily Post 140, 141 Blackie & Son Ltd 112 the University of Warwick 44 Blackwood 112 Charles Chamberland 197 'Blind Man's Bluff' 139 Charles Dana 88 Charles Dickens 185, 186 Boer War 154, 196, 244 Charles Greenhead 163 bovine tuberculosis 202, 203 Charles Horton Cooley 15 Bovces Bridge 38 boys' education 110 childhood 10, 33, 40, 84, 86, 94, 98, Boy's Own Paper 136 126, 138, 160, 185, 255 boys' school 70, 108, 119, 169, 196 Choral Class String Band 172 Bram Stoker 135 Christmas 95, 170, 185, 186, 187, 188, Brian Simon 110 201 Bridge Fair 177 Church Lane 69 Britannia 153 Church of England 113 **British Emigration Tourist and** Church of St Mary and St Botolph Colonisation Society 248 72, 269 British government 204, 247 Citizen Sunday 191 British Medical Journal 19 Claremont Graduate University 26 British Society for the Study and Clarke's steam gallopers 159 Cure of Inebriety 89 Code of Regulations for the 1862 110 Broad Drove 18, 23 Cognitive behavioural therapies 95 Bruce McEwen 27 Colonel Reed 257, 258 Bruce Rockefeller University 27 Comic Cuts 133 Buckinghamshire estates 56 Convalescent Home, Hunstanton Buds of Progress Juvenile Society 165 200 'Bulldog' 138 Cooke's Circus 184 Council of the Rural District of Thorney 195 C Country Boy 208 Cambridge 120, 143, 173, 174, 176, 192 Cribbage 131 Cambridgeshire 11, 16, 33, 108, 135, Criss 25 209, 214, 216, 231, 232, 269, Crowland Boy Minstrels 171 270, 271 C. Wharburton 174 Cambridgeshire Archives 11, 209, cycling 125, 139, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148 232, 269 Cyril Horn 140



~	Elementhes Description
D	Elworthy Row 29
David Livingstone 136	Ely 17, 244
David Moore 26, 256	emigration 8, 246
Davis 41	Emily Goodwin 201
Devon 200	Emma Griffin 17, 89
D. Gibbs 220	emperor Hadrian 33
Dilke Street 28	Empingham 237
Divorce Act 28	epidemics 199
DNA 21	epigenetics 1, 12, 26, 256
	epilepsy 95
'Double Dutch' 139	Epsom salts 45
'Down Among the Dead Men' 170	Erik Erikson 29
Dracula 135	Erikson 29, 30, 125, 207, 208, 224
Dr Arthur Newsholme 43	Ernest E. Law 174
Dr Carter 196	• •
Dr Hawkins 19	Ernest Kitchen 250, 270
Dr Marjolein Veenendaal 22	Ernest Shackleton 136
Dr Shadwell 144	erysipelas 195
Duke of Bedford 8, 9, 34, 55, 58, 62,	Ethel Mary 29
63, 64, 67, 137, 174, 176, 179,	Ethel May Law 196
189, 192, 200, 209, 212, 223,	ETH Zurich 27
224, 226, 230, 245, 246	Europe 16, 203
Dürer 93	Evelyn Egar 173
Durham University 44	excursions 142, 152, 182
	Explorations in Spit[s]bergen
E	During the Summers of
	1896-97' 173
Earl of Chichester 56	Eye movement desensitisation and
East Anglian 147, 148, 199	reprocessing therapy 95
Edmond Holmes 111	
Edmund Garwood 173	F
education 12, 30, 108, 109, 110, 112,	_
115, 117, 119, 121, 134, 152, 201,	'Farmer in the Dell' 139
204, 208, 213, 224	farming 23, 175, 211, 215, 250
Education Act 109, 119, 120	Fenland Citizen 11
Edward William Smith 77, 226, 266	Fens 11, 19, 33, 42, 136, 140, 142
Eel fisherman 137	Fen skating 142
Eleanor Ormerod 174	Finsbury Park 237
Elementary Education Act 109	First World War 96
Eli Anders 201	fishing 125
Elisa Cousins 201	'Fivestones' 138
Ellen Bates 80	Flyer III 244
Ellen Provost 174	Ford Model A 244
Ellis's Rational Emotive Therapy 95	Foresters Heritage Trust 165, 166,
Elm Road 40	167



France 197 Handel 163 Hardship and Happiness 247 Frances née Moulton 16 Harvard Medical School 85 Frances Power Cobbe 87 Frances Utteridge 80 harvest 19, 22, 127, 218, 219, 220 Harvest Holiday 127 Francis Charles Hastings Russell Haverford College 201 212 Francis Russell 56 health 12, 19, 21, 24, 25, 26, 30, 34, Françoise Dolto 99 43, 50, 86, 89, 92, 95, 97, 99, Frank Woods 148 103, 104, 151, 165, 174, 195, 196, Frederick Bevan 164 199, 200, 201, 202, 215, 255, Frederick Charles Malvon 96 256, 271, 272 Frederick Parker Malyon 96 Henry Utteridge 257 'French Ropes' 139 Herbert 191 Friedreich's ataxia 195 Herbrand Russell 55 Friends of Thorney Society 62 Hertfordshire 79 H. G. Wells 135 Funny Cuts 133 H.H.M.Herbert 191 Hickman's Farm tokens 217 G High Court Meeting 167 Games 131, 259 'High Road', Upwell 29 Garton's experimental farm 213 High Street, Thorney 73 Gas light 132 Hilary Marland 44 George Blyth 8o Hilda 254 George Everest 136 holidays 115, 127, 144, 179, 198, 209 George 'Fish' Smart 141 Horticultural Society 126, 161 George Smart 140 Hospital for Sick Children 43 George Vaillant 85 Hospital Sunday 178 Georgian 33 House of Commons Committee on Germany 197 Drunkenness 84 Girls' education 115 Houses of Parliament 133 Gladstone's 100 'Housing for the People' 64 Godfrey's Cordial 19 Howard Edwin Bracey 213 Good for Nothing: A Comic Drama H. Sharpe 257 in One Act 172 Huffman Prairie 244 Great Depression 227 Hull 80 Great Eastern Railway 182 Hunger Winter 22 Great Ormond Street 43 Hunstanton 182, 183, 184, 200 Great Yarmouth 179, 180, 181 Huntingdon 22, 27, 80 Green Road 18 Huntingdonshire 21, 24, 92, 151, 178, Green's Poetry Cards 112 269, 270 Husborne Crawley 212

H

Habitual Inebriates Act 90 Hadrian's Wall 33



I Iceland 33 ice-skating 136 Ilfracombe 26 illnesses 84, 87, 199 Immigration Act 248 India 131, 244	John Walter Culpin 269 Jolly Farmers Inn 56 Joseph Assheton Fincher 132 Joseph Raff 163 Josiah 79 Julia Skelly 89 Julie-Marie Strange, Professor 44
Indonesia 16 industrialisation 83 Industrial Revolution 56, 121, 243 Inebriate Reformatories 91 infection 41, 45, 46, 50, 96, 195, 199, 202, 204, 211 infectious diseases 195 influenza 200 Isaac Parker 195	K Kelly's Directory 56, 122, 135 Kennington 91 Ketton Village 147 King Edward VII 182 King's Dyke Brass Band 168 King's Lynn 19, 28, 226 'Knucklebones' 138
T	
John To	L
Jabez 79 'Jacks' 138	labour 9, 20, 41, 45, 62, 87, 119, 209,
Jacob 23	221, 257, 258
James Bates 21	Ladies of the Bedchamber 168
James Hollis 13, 256	Lancashire 141
James Parker 44, 79, 231, 232, 233	Lancet 88, 89
James Sawyer 129, 197	Land Value Duties 232
Jane 23	Laura Crabb 108
	Leicester 237
Jane Britten 41	Liberal Unionist Association 178
Jane Winters 140	Licensing Act of 1872 85, 91
Jeremy Culpin 10, 269	'Life and Times of John Bunyan' 171
Jesse 79	Lillian Miles 174
J. Fletcher 148 Job May 56	Lily Ann Bates 29, 41, 42, 43
	Lincolnshire 19, 171
Joel 11, 79, 155, 156, 157, 158, 215, 216, 226	Lincolnshire Free Press 171
John A. Glover-Kind 182	Lisa Feldman Barrett 95
John Amps Stores 70	Literary Society 135
John Baldwin Buckstone 172	Littleport 17
John Bowlby 102	Liverpool 196, 248, 250
John Hawkins 27	Lizzie Borden 139
John Irons 174, 223	London 87, 91, 143, 144, 178, 182,
John Leech 186	236, 237, 246, 273
John Malyon 96, 269	Lord of Misrule 188
John Marshall 220	Lord Robs 263
JUHH MAI MAH 220	Lost Child 101



Louie Armit 171 Lower Town Street 37 Lucy Malyon 96 Luke Bailey 174 Lydia 235, 236, 237

M

Macclesfield 237 Mafeking 153, 155, 159 maid-of-all-work 27, 52 Manor House 69 March Silver Band 178 Margaret Horrell 174 Margaret Morris 174 Marine Parade 180 Mark Williams 104 'Marley's Ghost' illustration 186 Marni Low 99 marriage 17, 21, 28, 80, 96, 188, 192 Marsden Brothers 142 Martha Clerke 92 Mary Ann 28 Mary C. Foreman 174 Mary May 27, 41 Mary Parker 43 Mary Utteridge 41 Mascot 101 Master of Revels 188 Maxwell 117 McGill University 89 'Melancholia' 93 Melanie Klein 103 Mendelssohn 164 Men's Reading Room 122 mental health 12, 26, 30, 34, 50, 95, 97, 99, 103, 104, 255, 271, 272 Mental health 92 mental health problems 30, 50, 97 Messrs Gee 176 Midland and Great Northern Joint Railway 162 Mill Farm 212 Miss Gray 108

Miss Maxwell 117
Miss Topham 117
Mount Tambora 16
Mr. Snowden 171
Muddle Race 168
Mycobacterium bovis 203
Mycobacterium tuberculosis 203
Myrna Weissman 98

N

National Health Service Act 178 National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke 195 National Insurance Act 165 National Review 144 Nessa Carey 26 neurology 255 neuropsychology 12 neuroscience 1, 12, 15, 95, 271 New Bridge 37 New Testament 227 New York 27 New Zealand 247 Nobel Peace Prize 173 Norfolk 16, 19, 20, 21, 33, 41, 63, 137, 181, 187, 218, 219, 231, 232, 270, 271 Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette 20 Norman Kerr 89 Northampton 232 Northeastern University 95 Norway 33 Norwich 20, 120 Nottingham 163, 233, 235 Nottingham Six Tuba Band 163

0

Octavia Hill 62, 121 Oh Happy Day 164 Okehampton Convalescent home 200 Old Bailey 89



Old Duke's Head 29 Old Post Office Buildings 71 opium 19, 20, 196, 200 Oundle 70, 190 outings 168, 184, 189 Outwell 28, 33

P

Park Field 176

Parks Committee 125 Parliament 84, 109, 133 Parliamentary Select Committee 84 parsonage in Chelford 237 Passchendaele 96 Paula Nicolson 103 Paul Young 217, 269 Peckover House 173 People's Refreshment House Association 64, 66, 153 Peterborough 10, 16, 67, 89, 92, 120, 136, 170, 173, 187 Peterborough Advertiser 134, 167, 171, 174, 182, 198, 216 Peterborough Advertiser and South Midland Times 151 Peterborough Agricultural Society 177 Peterborough Borough Band 167 Peterborough Co-operative Society 170, 203, 217 Peterborough Cricket Ground 146 Peterborough Cycling Club 145, 146 Peterborough Fair 199 Peterborough Images Archive 66, 68, 69, 70, 72, 75, 76, 77, 164, 172, 203, 217, 269 Peterborough Infirmary 67, 178 Peterborough library 137 Peterborough Library 11, 137 Peterborough Silver Prize Band 153 Peterborough Stamford Mercury 151 Peterborough Standard 142, 153, 155, 162, 175

Pharmacy Act 20 Phyllis Mary Skells 10, 26, 98, 269 Physical education 112 physical well-being 63 'Pick Up Sticks' 138 'Pin the Tail on the Donkey' 139 Pitzer College 26 Plawfield 18 Poor Rate 232 Postcard 'Cupid's Darts' 242 Postcard 'Just Out' 238 postnatal depression 104 Pretoria 263 Primitive Methodist Chapel 70, 76, 81, 171, 190, 191 Prince Albert 185 Priscilla Peckover 173 Professor Emma Griffin 17 Professor Griffin 21 projection 93, 103 psychological inheritance 12, 13, 15, 40, 93, 95, 96, 105 Pulmonary 202 Punch and Judy shows 159

0

Oueen Charlotte 185 Queen Victoria 17, 124, 152, 168, 169, 185 quoits 146, 147, 148

R

Rachel Dring Wagon 79 Rachel Parker 234 railways 179, 249 Registrar General 24 Report of Observations of Injurious Insects and Common Farm Pests 174 repression 103 Reverend Doubleday 115 Reverend Ferris 170 Reverend G. H. Curtis 112 Reverend J. Scruby 171



Reverend Stephen Davies 122 school 11, 63, 69, 70, 72, 75, 79, 85, 89, Reverend William Symons 113, 167, 101, 107, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 119, 127, 140, Revised Code 110 142, 161, 162, 164, 165, 168, 169, rhymes 139 186, 189, 191, 192, 196, 199, 201, Rhymes 138 202, 208, 212, 213, 214, 244, 248 Richard Brown 191 Schubert 163 Richard Hillver 208 science 12, 119 Richard Jefferies 244 Scotland 182, 203, 248 'Riding the Blind Horse' 168 Scott Phillips 255 'Ring Taw' 138 Scrooge 186 River Nene 33, 62 Select Committee of the House of Robert Falkner 257 Lords on Intemperance 88 Robert Koch 197, 202 self-esteem 25, 30, 92, 207 Robert Louis Stevenson 135 Self-Help: With Illustrations of Character and Conduct 121 Roberts 263 Robert Scott 136 Sheffield 146 Robert Thomas Smith 225, 266 Sherlock Holmes stories 136 'Should Women Be Admitted to Robinson Crusoe 135 Have Equal Social Standing Romanze 163 Rose Ann Robb 50, 79, 80, 81 with Men?' 174 Rose & Crown Inn 64, 66, 67, 153, Shrewness Villa 231, 232, 234, 235 Sid Watkinson 147 172, 249 Ross and Son 226 Sigmund Freud 12, 88, 255 Ross Rosenberg 100 Sir James Sawyer 129 Royal Agricultural Society 56, 174, 212 Sir John Lubbock 179 Royal Army Medical Corps 96 skating 136, 139, 140, 141, 142 Royal Commission on Labour 213 Skegness 182 Royal Engineers 156 Skipping games 138 Royal Mail 80 Small Lode, Upwell 27 Russell family estates 7 Smith Bros 162, 226 Smoking Concert 170 Russia 151, 273 'Snakes and Ladders' 131 Ruth Colton 125 Somers Road 128 Sonata No. 3 in F Major 163 South Africa 153, 154, 244 Sailor's Rest 155, 156, 263 Spitsbergen 173 Salvation Army Band 178 sports 136, 139, 167, 188 Samuel M. Egan 174 SS Ionian 250 Samuel Smiles 120 Stackyard Field 212 Sandringham 182 Station Road 75, 209, 230, 240 Saturday Review 191 Stephen Charles Skells 98 Savage 233, 235 Stephen Parker 16, 17, 23, 27, 30, 80, Scapegoat 101 223, 231, 266



'The Tea-Service and Dinner Ser-Stephen R. Foreman 174 Stephen Skells 99 vice' 115 The Time Machine 135 Steve Clarke 147 St Helena 263 The War of the Worlds 135 St James's Home for Female Ine-'The World's Great Explorers' 173 Thomas Hood 170 briates 91 St James's Sanitary Steam Laundry Thomas Miller 112 Thora Hands 87, 88 St John the Baptist Day 231 Thorney Abbey 55, 72, 73, 74, 80, St Margaret's Hall 248 189, 191, 227, 269 St Mary and St Botolph 72, 269 Thorney Amateur Dramatic Society Stotfold 95 St Peter's Church 27, 35, 36 Thorney annual feast 159 Sue Oldroyd 11, 34, 44, 154, 155, 215, Thorney Causeway Society 173 Thorney Dyke 140 233, 234 Suffolk 211 Thorney estate 63, 137, 226 Suffolk Regiment 244 Thorney Flower Show 67, 162 Suffolk Regiment, 12th Foot 244 Thorney Foal Show 67, 213 Sunday Hospital Fund 178 Thorney Foresters Society 165 Thorney Horticultural Society 161 Sunday school 79, 169, 186, 189, 191 Thorney Infant and Girls' School 89 Susannah 23 Swavesey 141 Thorney Methodist School Parade Sydney Smith 84 Thorney Minstrel Troupe 172 T Thorney Museum 7, 10, 57, 60, 61, 'Tag' 138 62, 116, 122, 255, 269 Thorney Mutual Improvement Tank Yard 7, 8, 10, 53, 57, 58, 59, 60, Association 67 61, 65, 66, 71, 74, 78, 126, 138, Thorney Quoit Club 148 160, 168, 209, 223, 229, 230, 240 Thorney River 62, 146 taproom 64, 66, 67, 170 Taxation Survey 231, 232 Thorney Shire Foal Society 176 Thorney Society 7, 8, 59, 62, 74, 75, Temperance Demonstrations 89 76, 107, 122, 126, 230, 269 The Boy Makes The Man 123 Thorney Station 76, 77 'The Dream of Eugene Aram' 170 'Tiddlywinks' 131 the Hero 101 'The Hidden Dangers of Cycling' 144 Toby the Tram 39 Town Bridge, Peterborough 177 'The Idle Shepherd Boys' 112 Town Street, Upwell 37, 231, 232 The Invisible Man 135 trauma 12, 27, 44, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, Theobald Smith 202 99, 100, 158, 249, 255, 271 Theophilus 79, 226 Treasure Island 135 Theophilus Parker 154, 155, 156 Trevor Bevis 57, 65 'The Sailor's Hornpipe' 170 Trinity College 192 'The Spring Walk' 112 T. Stoby 134 The Strand magazine 136



tuberculosis 24, 42, 96, 197, 199, What's the time, Mr Wolf 259 Whig party 84 201, 202, 203 Whisky Cordial 47 Turkish baths 86 Type 2 diabetes 22 Whittlesea 201, 237 Whittlesey Petty Sessions 92 Wilbur Wright 244 H William Amps 71, 266 Union Workhouse at Huntingdon William 'Billy' Amps shop 70 22, 27 William 'Turkey' Smart 140 University of East Anglia 17 William Wordsworth 112 University of Manchester 125 Wiltshire 246, 256 University of Warwick 44 Windsor Castle 185 University of Zurich 27 Winnipeg 247 Upwell 11, 16, 17, 18, 25, 27, 28, 29, Winter Gardens 180 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 42, 79, Wisbech 16, 38, 40, 41, 112, 128, 162, 80, 81, 102, 127, 128, 140, 142, 163, 173, 218, 269, 270 163, 164, 176, 195, 215, 216, 231, Wisbech and Upwell 33 232, 253, 257, 271 Wisbech Constitutional Gazette Upwell Station 39 and Isle of Ely Standard 244 USA 225 Wisbech Division Petty Sessions 257 Wisbech Road 62, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, V 229, 230 Vagrancy Act of 1824 9 Wisbech Union 257 Valuation record 231 Woburn 174 Victoria Costello 99 Woburn Abbey 55, 164 Victoria County History 56 Woburn Continuous Wheat and Victorian houses 33 Barley Experiments 212 Victoria Sponge Cake 169 Woburn estate 212 vinegar 47, 48, 51 Woburn Experimental Farm 212 Virtual Ice Skates Museum 142 Woodward 166 Worcester Journal 143 World Health Organisation 86 W World War Two 256 wages 17, 83, 114, 121, 127, 214, 218, 220 Walter Parker 8, 9, 57, 60, 67, 77, X 107, 227, 228, 245, 249, 250, 255, 256, 266, 271 X-ray machine 178 Walter's birth 22, 41, 43, 50, 143 Walter Stark 248 Y Wash 136 Year Without a Summer 16 Water Tower ℰ Buildings, Thorney Yorkshire 253 Young Men; or an Appeal to the 'We Are Getting It by Degrees' 171 Several Classes of Society in West Walton 21 Their Behalf 122



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