# **Business Archives**

Number 105 November 2012

edited by

Mariam Yamin &

Stefan Schwarzkopf

reviews editor

Moira Lovegrove





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CHARITY NO. 313336

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Printed by Manor Creative, Units 7 & 8, Edison Road, Highfield Industrial Estate, Hampden Park, Eastbourne, East Sussex BN23 6PT.

What is an archive – and where is it? Why business historians need a constructive theory of the archive <b>Stefan Schwarzkopf</b>	1
Linking history and management discourse: epistemolog and method  Bernardo Batiz-Lazo	gy 10
Pastures new: unlocking the heritage collections at the Alfred Gillett Trust (C & J Clark Ltd)  Charlotte Berry and Tim E. Crumplin	18
Exploring the socio-economic landscape in the north of Ireland: From early modern times to the present day <b>Bethany Sinclair-Giardini</b>	
Savings banks in England and Wales in the nineteenth century: a new insight into individual spending and savi Linda Perriton and Josephine Maltby	ng <b>47</b>
Bibliography in business history in 2011 Compiled by <b>Richard A. Hawkins</b>	65
Business records deposited in 2011 Compiled by <b>Mike Anson</b>	77

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### **Contents**

Number 105 November 2012



CHARITY NO. 313336

TERRY COOK (ed.)  Controlling the past: documenting society and institutions.  Essays in honour of Helen Willa Samuels.		Reviews
Lesley M. Richmond	97	Number 105
CHRISTINA ZAMON  The lone arranger: succeeding in a small repository.		November 2012
Andrea Tanner	99	

# WHAT IS AN ARCHIVE – AND WHERE IS IT? WHY BUSINESS HISTORIANS NEED A CONSTRUCTIVE THEORY OF THE ARCHIVE

### STEFAN SCHWARZKOPF Copenhagen Business School

### Using archives without being defensive about it

Archival records are a constitutive element of business historical research, and such research, in turn, is fundamental for a holistic understanding of the role of enterprise in modern capitalist societies. Since 1934, the Business Archives Council has promoted the preservation and wider use of archival records of business in Britain. Its journal, Business Archives, is an integral part of this endeavour. The journal presents itself to readers as follows: Business Archives '...covers various aspects of the principles and practice of managing business archives and modern records, and the use of business archives as source material for historians. ... The editors invite submissions on all aspects of business, economic and social history, especially those that reflect on the relationship between historical research and corporate archives.' The latter point however, which calls for a fuller reflection of the uses and limitations of the archive in business historical research, does not receive enough attention, neither in Business Archives nor in the scholarly publications that are to be found in the various journals in the field, such as Business History, Business History Review, Enterprise & Society, Labor History, and Management & Organizational History.

Admittedly, there are signs of a healthy debate in business history circles about the need to theorize the past and the need to theorize the historian as author and creator of narratives. Yet even these debates rarely engage with the question of whether the theorization of the archive might be a desideratum. Under such circumstances, the archive remains unexplored territory on the map of theoretical reflections that make up the craft of the business historian. Although virtually all readers of this issue will work in business archives, either as archivists or as researchers, few will have ever engaged in an open theoretical debate about the epistemological status of the archive in business history. The reasons for this rather remarkable lack of clarification regarding this status of the archive in research are manifold. One reason, I argue, is the extraordinary

survival of the epistemological position of realism in business history at a time when all other historical disciplines have long left realism behind by way of various 'turns' (cultural, narrative, pictorial, spatial, etc.). Like all other epistemological positions, realism is a belief system that allows one to create and to vouch and account for social facts. Unlike rival epistemological positions, realism, especially in its blissful form, is not aware of the fact that it actually is an epistemological position. Put simply, the sentence 'I have found this in the archives' is not a contestable claim for uncritical realists. Both 'the archive' and what has been 'found' in that place are 'just there'.

While other epistemological positions invite and cherish contestation, realism more often than not leads to defensiveness. When Steve Toms and John Wilson reacted to a paper by Scott Taylor, Emma Bell and Bill Cooke in Management & Organizational History, they entitled it 'In Defence of Business History' despite the fact that Taylor, Bell and Cooke attempted to challenge, enrich and engage business history, and not annihilate it.<sup>2</sup> When the author of this article presented some preliminary thoughts on the theory of the archive at a recent business history conference, a company archivist present in the room felt obliged to defend her profession – as if asking for a better theory of the archive somehow meant one doubted the worth of the archivist as service provider. In a recent interview of the eminent historian of South America, Frank Safford, in a business historical newsletter, Safford explained his craft with a few pre-emptive strikes: 'I am a historian, period. ... I respond to what I find in the archives.'3 How can one explain such defensiveness? One reason is of course historians' emotional engagement with the archive as locus of knowledge production.<sup>4</sup> Archival research is time-consuming, exhausting and quite often dirty (dusty) in the literal sense of the word. Archival search rooms, often enough, are dark and cold (air-conditioned) or located in areas where the last bus leaves at 4.37pm and warmth comes in the form of coffee vending machines. Oddly enough, most historians still prefer such work over cosy offices where one can run chi-squared tests all day long. Such defensiveness, however, is also indicative of a larger malaise that has gripped business history. While handbooks and compendia written by and for historians in general now include chapters with epistemological reflections about research styles, narratives, and theoretical approaches, business historians by and large seem to feel immune from such a need to reflect their craft.<sup>5</sup> The Oxford Handbook of Business History, for example, contains very little that would allow a young entrant into the field to gain a better understanding of the

epistemological, ontological, and axiological ramifications of knowledge production in this field.  $^{6}$ 

Ironically, the adherence to methodological and epistemological realism that seems to prevail among many business historians puts the field squarely within the realm of pre-1960s, orthodox Marxist-Communist philosophy of science. In Marxist dialectical materialism, knowledge is produced by way of reflecting or mirroring an extant reality. According to this theory, human consciousness and its production of theories and ideas allow a mirror-reflection of reality, ie of something objectively 'out there'. This mirror image might be warped, stretched and erroneous at times, but constant effort in scientific research can bring it closer to objective reality.<sup>7</sup> It is of course very questionable whether archives can ever be such physical locations that merely store documents for later data retrieval by historians, who then objectively put together what they have found. Such a position would, as argued above, form a most peculiar fusion of Marxist dialectical materialism and nineteenth-century Rankean positivism, which imagined the historian as a heroic discoverer of how events 'really unfolded' ('Wie es eigentlich gewesen').8 Archives are, strictly epistemologically speaking, more like folding screens of the type that could once be found in the harems of the Ottoman Empire: they titillate, allowing certain things to be seen, always at an angle, while most parts are blocked off to the gaze of commoners.

### **Archives as organisations**

Archives are organisations, too. They are organised by human beings with an interest in making certain things visible, while others might be taken out of sight. Hence, historians who use archives can only study what an organisation chooses to remember and to reveal. The historiography of the relationship between German business and the Nazi dictatorship is full of examples of firms deliberately choosing and selecting either the archival material that goes into their published company histories or choosing the historians that would write such a history. When the Deutsche Bank, Germany's largest banking and financial services institute, finally gave in to the pressure to reveal its connections to the Nazi leadership and its part in confiscating Jewish property during the 1930s and 1940s, the bank 'appointed' an official historian, Harold James, and gave him unlimited but exclusive access to the files pertaining to the Nazi era. This does of course not mean that one should not trust appointed company historians, especially those of the calibre and standing of Harold James. But it is also a fact that

companies of the size and influence of the Deutsche Bank can pick and choose 'approved' historians and therefore limit the extent to which other historians might come up with competing narratives and conflicting interpretations of the same material. Thus, one does not need to distrust the *outcome* of James' business historical research. But the *process* through which he and other appointed historians are chosen must give rise to serious questions about what archives actually are, and about who chooses whom to discover precisely what.

Because archives are organisations, they require institutional support. This in turn means that archives have embedded within them a metropolitan, European bias because it is only within the global north and the west that this institutional support is so widely available that local and national authorities and firms themselves can afford to preserve company records. In areas such as the global south, where European and American entrepreneurs and firms have been very active since at least the eighteenth century, this picture looks of course very different.11 Such organisational and geographical biases have now become institutionally professionally embedded in job roles ('the archivist') and in organisational structures ('the company archive' as department). This institutionalisation of archives – or the lack thereof in large parts of the world – can shape both our memory and the past itself. The first level, that of a collectively shared memory, is relatively easy to inspect. To choose but one example, historians of British advertising and marketing are often shocked to realise how much material the advertising industry decided not to preserve before the setting up of the History of Advertising Trust (HAT) in 1976. One of Britain's largest and most creative advertising agency, W S Crawford's, got almost completely wiped off the map of what Britain is able to remember about its own emergence as a consumer society because company managers threw out the entire set of agency files and client documentation in one dark night in the late 1960s when the agency merged with an American company. Ashley Havinden, who had worked at Crawford's as Creative Director, managed to recover his own sketches and roughs, and therefore preserved at least a part of the Crawford legacy. Had HAT existed at that time, our memory of what British advertising and marketing during 1920s and 1930s was like would now be profoundly different.

The second level, that of the past itself, might sound more sinister and Orwellian, but is beginning to affect scholarly practice nevertheless. In as much as business-related activities (reports, emails, memos, etc.) are increasingly becoming not only digitised but digital-only, owners and

producers of them can change the past itself. As Marlene Manoff has shown, publishers at Elsevier are known to go back to their journal databases and excise articles they deem false, erroneous, or plagiarised.<sup>12</sup> At a time of a completely paper-based publication industry, such changes of the record would not have been possible. But since a lot of the journals that Elsevier publishes are now digital-only, a change of the past itself is merely a mouse-click away. Given the possibility of such practices, what will stop governments and corporations employing twenty-first century Winston Smiths to deal with their own digital records in the same way? Although the example of Elsevier might at the moment sound - and be - an exception, the case should nevertheless raise questions about the relationship between the present ('now', changeable, in flux) and the past (not changeable anymore, recorded, fixed, archived). It is very likely that historians will have to change their attitudes towards archives because we are living in a type of constant present where the boundary between things that have happened (fixed) and those that are happening is becoming more and more blurred.13

If archives are organisations, and if the objects and materials in them have been preserved for a variety of reasons, including vanity, fear, and sheer luck, how can the archive be a place of the objective representation of the past? And where will that leave the 'search for truth' which most business historians perhaps still quietly believe in? One does not have to be a hard-core postmodernist historian to ask these questions. <sup>14</sup> In conclusion, we also need to understand in which ways archives become epistemological spaces, that is spaces of knowledge production.

### Archives as epistemological spaces

The nineteenth-century legalistic origin of archives as organisations biases them towards the written and printed word of individual organisations and their members.<sup>15</sup> That means in turn that most archive-based business historical accounts necessarily put firms at the centre of their analysis. Firms as self-contained social, legal and economic units *can* have archives. This creates problems, amongst others for those working on the history of markets, marketing and market behaviour. Markets have a history, but they cannot have 'an archive' because they are socially distributed entities.<sup>16</sup> As a consequence, a lot of marketing historical work is firm-oriented but ignores questions about the emergence of markets *per se* and about changes in consumer behaviour. But can one reconstruct a history of markets merely through the histories of separate firms as market actors? By the same token,

business history scholarship in the positivist tradition limits what it is able and willing to talk about to those aspects and entities that have an archive. If there is no archive that for example allows us to study the involvement of a specific company in arming Nazi Germany, or in exploiting slave labour in the Caribbean, then it has no space in academic discourse. Thus, business historians are in danger of adopting unknowingly and virtually without any reflection Ludwig Wittgenstein's last sentence in his *Tractatus Logico-Philosophico*: 'Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent' ('Wovon man nicht sprechen kann, darüber muss man schweigen').<sup>17</sup>

Archives reinforce survivorship bias. Large and dominant companies often have 'better' archives, which create expectations among editors, reviewers and readers for what is often termed 'robust evidence', and for what the editors of Business History Review call 'rigorous primary research'. 18 Take as example the well-organised and well-funded archive of the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency (JWT), for a while the world's largest ad agency, at Duke University's Hartman Centre for Sales, Advertising and Marketing History. Almost all parts of the collections there are searchable to file level, many items have been digitised, and the archive gives generous bursaries to international scholars. The archive is conveniently located on a beautiful university campus in North Carolina, where people play golf ten months of the year. The sheer availability and convenience afforded by the JWT collection feeds into a discourse and a set of historical narratives which privilege American marketing and advertising expertise over that found elsewhere in the world. Put simply, if one only studies existing archival sources which are provided, cared for, sponsored and promoted by American organisations, then the course of global marketing history indeed appears to be dominated by American organisations.<sup>19</sup> While JWT was growing globally during the 1930s and 1950s, a British competitor – the London Press Exchange Ltd – was a very busy rival to JWT. In the British market, the LPE was a pioneer in media research and panel-based consumer surveys. It opened up 19 overseas offices during the 1950s and 1960s and stole global accounts from JWT, such as Ford Motor Company in 1960. Yet, few marketing and advertising historians ever mention this firm. The reason for this is clear: the firm's legacy has been reduced to some leaflets and staff magazines which today barely fill four shoe-boxes at an archive somewhere in the Norfolk countryside. Thus, the convenient contention that unlike social science researchers historians do not 'make' their data is, strictly speaking, not true. Historians are in some sense in an even worse position than social scientists. While the latter admittedly *make* their data, the former have their data *made* by people in organisations, not always archivists, who decide which bits and pieces of the past are worth preserving.

### Business historians, 'archive fever' and suspicion

All of these considerations add up to the inconvenient yet also liberating insight that archives are not neutral spaces. In the words of the historian Patrick Joyce: 'If the historian is a site of memory so too is the archive, in which historians encounter the 'sources' or 'traces' from which they write histories. As sites of *public* memory, both are implicated in power. Archives themselves are a means by which societies organised their past. So-called postmodernism brought this once again to the attention of historians.'20 Historians who side with Joyce's view will necessarily develop an understanding of archives that fully appreciates their value but also encompasses a more critical perspective on sociology of knowledgeproduction in and through the archive. Jacques Derrida, in his 1995 essay on the 'archive fever', expressed this connection as follows: 'Normally, the archive is self-effacing – we discuss the contents but not the structures which have resulted in those contents being there and surviving. A sociology (anthropology) of the archive changes that frame'.21 Business historians therefore have to come to a better understanding for themselves of what they are doing in the archives, and what the archive is doing to them and their writing. In this search for a theoretical foundation, Michel Foucault provides one, but surely not the only, way to understand the role of the archive in a more critical fashion. According to Foucault, archives are not just sites for the passive collection of records from the past. Rather, archives are very active in both enabling and limiting what we see, know, understand, and accept as real. This very simple insight is at times wrapped in the somewhat labyrinthine conclusion that archives are 'sites of discourse formation', 22

Historians can and should challenge these limitations by reflecting and rejecting their own assumptions of the passivity of archives. Historians of science, for example, are far ahead in this respect as they have long given up the idea of the laboratory as the passive space in which data appear to the objective researcher in a neutral way.<sup>23</sup> Business history as a subject area has yet a long way to go to reach the level of reflexivity which colleagues in science history departments have achieved. In contrast, historians and anthropologist such as Patrick Joyce and Leela Fernandes in their writings on factory workers show how such limitations of archives can

be practically overcome.<sup>24</sup> Both Joyce and Fernandes use, but also challenge, written material from the company and public archives they visited. Instead, both authors use the entire factory system, workers' bodies, their homes, etc., as their 'archive'. Joyce's and Fernandes' work, and in fact that of many other business historians, proves that what Derrida somewhat derogatorily termed 'archive fever'<sup>25</sup> the obsession of positivist historians with theory-less 'fact-mongering'<sup>26</sup> can be overcome without having to succumb to postmodernist suspicions of archives *per se* and of historical research based on archival records in particular.

### **Notes**

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- S. Toms and J. F. Wilson, 'In defence of business history: a reply to Taylor, Bell and Cooke', Management & Organizational History, 5:1 (2010), 109-120; S. Taylor, E. Bell and Bill Cooke, 'Business history and the historiographical operation', Management & Organizational History, 4:2 (2009), 151-166.
- <sup>3</sup> Interview with Frank Safford, in History, *Business and Entrepreneurship Newsletter*. *Biannual Newsletter* published by the History, Business and Entrepreneurship Research Group, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia, No. 3 (October 2012), 2-3.
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- Take as one example U. Rublack, 'The status of historical knowledge', in: U. Rublack (ed), A concise companion to history (Oxford, 2012), pp. 57-80.
- In the OUP Handbook, Patrick Fridenson makes some attempts at discussing these issues. See P. Fridenson, 'Business history and history', in G. Jones and J. Zeitlin (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Business History* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 9-36.
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- 8 L. V. Ranke, Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1535 (Berlin, 1824), p. vi.
- H. W. Samuels, 'Who controls the past', American Archivist, 49:2 (1986), 109-124.
- H. James, 'Die Deutsche Bank und die Diktatur, 1933-1945', in L. Gall et al (eds), Die Deutsche Bank, 1870-1995 (München, 1995), pp. 315-408.
- See S. Decker, 'The silence of the archives: business history, postcolonialism and archival ethnography: post-colonialism and the practice of historical reconstruction from archival evidence', *Management & Organizational History*, 8 (2013), forthcoming.
- M. Manoff, 'Theories of the archive from across the disciplines', portal: Libraries and the Academy, 4:1 (2004), 9-25.

- This problem is not bound up with the fact that we are entering a digital future. Attempts to change the past by inserting forged 'historical' documents into existing archival collections are a known problem for archivists all over the world. At the National Archives in London, numerous such forged documents, often relating to Britain's involvement in the Second World War, turn up each year. See P. Lewis, 'The 29 fakes behind a rewriting of history', *The Guardian*, 5 May 2008, p. 11, and P. B. Hirtle, 'Archival authenticity in a digital age', in Council on Library and Information Resources (ed), *Authenticity in a digital environment* (Washington, DC, 2000), pp. 8-23.
- See for example D. LaCapra, *History & Criticism* (Ithaca, NY, 1985); P. Joyce, 'More secondary modern than postmodern', *Rethinking History*, 5:3 (2001), 367-382, C. Steedman, 'In the archon's house', in Steedman, *Dust*, pp. 1-37, and P. Hansen, 'Business history: a cultural and narrative approach', *Business History Review* 86:4 (2012), forthcoming.
- For these origins see M. Featherstone, 'Archive', Theory, Culture & Society, 23:2-3 (2006), 591-596.
- For the difficulties of creating a history of a (collective) market out of (individual) sources see A. Odlyzko, 'The collapse of the Railway Mania, the development of capital markets and the forgotten role of Robert Nash', *Accounting History Review*, 21:3 (2011), 309-345, and M. Casson and J. Lee, 'The origin and development of markets: a business history perspective', *Business History Review*, 85:1 (2011), 9-37.
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- <sup>20</sup> Joyce, 'More secondary modern than postmodern', p. 367 (emphasis in original).
- Quoted in D. Zeitlyn, 'Anthropology in and of the archives: possible futures and contingent pasts. Archives as anthropological surrogates', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 41 (2012), 461-480, quote on p. 467.
- <sup>22</sup> M. Foucault, *The archaeology of knowledge* (London, 2002).
- <sup>23</sup> A good overview of this complex and long-running debate is in J. Golinski, *Making natural knowledge: constructivism and the history of science* (Chicago, 2005).
- P. Joyce, Work, society and politics: the culture of the factory in later Victorian England (London, 1980); L. Fernandes, Producing workers: the politics of gender, class and culture in Calcutta jute mills (Philadelphia, 1997).
- <sup>25</sup> J. Derrida, 'Archive fever: a Freudian impression', diacritics, 25:2 (1995), 9-63.
- 26 C. Harvey and J. F. Wilson, 'Redefining business history: an editorial statement', *Business History* 49:1 (2007), 1-7, quote p. 3.

### LINKING HISTORY AND MANAGEMENT DISCOURSE: EPISTEMOLOGY AND METHOD

### BERNARDO BATIZ-LAZO Bangor University, Wales

### Introduction

In his blog post entitled *Theory and Historians*<sup>1</sup> Andrew Smith points to a discussion in *The Economist* on the role of conceptual frameworks in history.<sup>2</sup> Smith notes how some people are '...fundamentally hostile to the application of social theory to the craft of history' and points to an interesting debate along these lines within the pages of *Economic History of Developing Regions*. This article revises some of the issues raised by Smith by discussing their application to information systems by Mitev and De Vaujany<sup>3</sup> and in researching African business history by Decker<sup>4</sup>. At the same time, this article links such arguments to a trend concerning how to strengthen the relationship between business historians and management scholars.

Readers will also note that most of the references and sources in this article are electronic. This highlights how information systems themselves are now the *fons et origo* of contemporary and future archives. Indeed, Grier and Campbell<sup>5</sup> and the ethnographic study in Ketly<sup>6</sup> note the challenges to historical research of the Internet era, including the ephemeral nature of network correspondence (such as that by chat programmes), the lack of publicly accessible archives of e-mail correspondence, rapidly decaying and fast obsolesce of storage media (eg floppy disks). Research documented in this article shows that social networking can be a source from where a coherent picture of historical phenomena can emerge. This can be shown by rescuing a discussion amongst business historians in Facebook as well as email correspondence on the topic of conceptual frameworks and links with management scholars.

In summary, this paper offers not only a discussion of the role of conceptual frameworks in business history but also illustrates that in depth research is possible through new archival material emerging from the advent of the Internet.

### **About conceptual frameworks**

There is evidence of growing preoccupation within business history on whether or not to introduce explicit conceptual frameworks in its analysis. Examples include de Vaujany, Walsh and Mitev on history and management information systems<sup>7</sup>; Eloranta, Jari and Valtonen on the use of quantitative methods in business history<sup>8</sup>; Amedeo Lepore<sup>9</sup>, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, Abe de Jung and David Higgings<sup>10</sup> on the issue of considering new research methods for business history; a theme that is also picked up in Jones' and Friedman's editorial 'A Time for Debate'11. Smith, Jones and Friedman sit within a social sciences faculty and more to the point, are employed by a business school. This is largely the case for most business historians in Britain or at least for 32 per cent of the paid membership of the Association of Business Historians in 2010. Thus, explaining and even justifying our research to management scholars has not only conceptual implications but also practical ones as such as dealing with the issue of history journals having lower citation impact scores; and even more mundane issues about promotion and allocation of research budgets.

From an information systems background, Mitev and De Vaujany<sup>13</sup> offer an interesting epistemological schema to explore the premise that 'management and organization studies have experienced a move towards History' while '[s]earching for theoretical and methodological benefits.'<sup>14</sup> Their concern is how to deal with 'research [which] tries to include historical variability but still tends towards deterministic and universalist explanations'. Based on the much celebrated framework by Üsdiken and Kieser<sup>15</sup>, Mitev and De Vaujany set about relating epistemological viewpoints of positivism, interpretativism and critical theory to corresponding historiographical methods.

First there are *supplementarist* approaches where historical 'context' is simply added as a complement to common positivist approaches, still focusing on variables but with a longer time span. Examples of *supplementarism*, they say, are to be found in new institutionalism studies, which have become more 'historical' by studying a smaller number of variables over a longer period. But these, they say, lack the rich contextual evidence of case studies. Secondly, one finds *integrationists* or a full consideration of History with new or stronger links between organisation studies and the humanities (including history, literary theory and philosophy). Examples, they say, include most of the work around business history as '[b]usiness historians have progressed to realise the potential of their work to inform contemporary managerial decision-making.' Thirdly,

there are the *reorientationist* or post-positivist studies, which examine and reposition dominant discourses (such as progress or efficiency) and produces a criticism and renewal of organization theory itself, on the basis of History. Management history and history of management thought are said to be representatives of this trend. However, they add, here the logic of economic efficiency has become superimposed onto the narrative of historians, that is, other potential avenues such as gender, culture and ethics have been disregarded in favour of a purely economistic narrative. Mitev and De Vaujany then engage in very interesting epistemological discussion of these three approaches and how historical studies can relate and/or inform different areas of management discourse. This is worth a read as it is, indeed, food for thought.

Their paper then progresses while trying to find the prevalence of each of the three named approaches within research in information systems (IS). This is done through a content analysis of peer-reviewed journal articles which are identified by combining the ABI bibliographic database and Google Scholar:

'The journals chosen had information systems as their primary focus as opposed to management science, computer science or information science. We selected journals whose principal readership is intended for those involved in the IS field... We do not claim that the survey is exhaustive; nor do we assume that a more comprehensive survey (e.g. including conference proceedings or using other databases) would deliver different results. The analysis involved the identification of all research papers in ABI that might broadly be defined as historical perspective on information systems. Using a further search on Google Scholar, we double checked on primary analysis in order to confirm general tendencies and identify complementary references, used in our discussion. Therefore, in our survey of relevant literature our intention is to focus on material that is published in outlets specifically targeted as IS.'<sup>17</sup>

Ultimately, only 64 papers were identified which represented the use of history as a method within the IS field. At face value, this is a disappointing number yet this should by no means be disregarded. It is an interesting exercise in itself. Upon reflection, they could have considered journals in which historians of computing publish such as the *IEEE Annals of the History of Computing* where Campbell-Kelly, Haigh and Heide (all of these

are authors that Mitev and De Vaujany cite in their paper) regularly publish. In addition, the authors could have engaged much more with the issues of method and methodology in history.

### About method and methodology

In comparison to the work by Mitev and De Vaujany, Decker<sup>18</sup> largely sidesteps epistemological issues to tackle head on how to explain what historians do in the archives and the issues that one faces in confronting surviving records of a particular organisation or event. This explanation is particularly poignant as she chooses to illustrate this set of problems through her own work on businesses in Africa.

According to Decker, most management scholars need a hand-on explanation as to how to process archival information, and in particular issues around 'triangulation'. Clearly, 'triangulation' and dealing with the problem of survival and document selection is part and parcel of the work of most historians and does not require further explanation. But to be fair, Decker does present the topic in a new light and notes that business historians too often take source material at face value and therefore could do more in questioning the source itself. Decker's contribution is thus worth a go for even the most experienced researcher to review her arguments and refresh some of the issues. As often, things we take for granted are not examined in sufficient detail.

But the above does suggest there is a group of people who are seriously thinking how best to promote a more fruitful interaction between history and management studies. Whether this should also translate into active presence in management journals and in broad interest, peer-reviewed outlets is also part of the question. The author of this article firmly believes that business historians have a serious contribution to make to the present conversation in management studies. As has been noted elsewhere by Ludovic Cailluet:

'For those of us business historians who work in business schools/management departments, to publish in management journals is very important. One solution is to find "mainstream" or "pure players" as co-authors who are interested in your data and skills, and who could help you with the format and describe methodology in a way that would answer the demands of management journals. Mixed methods (quanti/quali) are becoming very trendy lately in the management field. There is an opportunity.'<sup>19</sup>

Indeed, the journal *Business History* has initiated a series of special issues that offer social scientists an opportunity to explain how their work gels with the discipline of business history. But the opposite is not necessarily true. There is little or no representation of business historians in mainstream journals – hence the relevance of the paper by Mitev and De Vaujany discussed above. Mustafa Özbilgin, general editor of the *British Journal of Management*, concurs. In a conversation with the author, Özbilgin wrote:

'You are right in spotting that business history has been rather underrepresented in the journal. There are a number of reasons for this. First, business historians typically do not offer review service to the *BJM* nor do they typically submit papers. I don't know the reasons for this. You may wish to seek explanations also within the business history community. *BJM* publishes only empirical pieces which draw on robust data, both of which are specific disciplinary constructs I am aware.'<sup>21</sup>

Dissecting epistemology and method of history is thus interesting and relevant for those aiming to build bridges outside our specialist area.

### Conclusion

There is much to be said for avoiding a reductionist view of the human experience to mono-causal explanations. By the same token, it is hard to imagine empirical studies void of preconceptions or advancing the 'business history agenda' without recourse to quantification. Every business decision has a present and a past, and they need to be framed somehow to explore them systematically.<sup>22</sup> Concepts emerging from induction and deduction are crucial to advancing new arguments. But in trying to find a balance business historians are also challenged to strengthen ties with a major stakeholder group. The question, then, is how. Phil Scranton<sup>23</sup> has argued that there are three key lessons to be learned when searching for conceptual frameworks in business history, namely:

- Rich and varied theoretical resources are available for re-imagining business history.
- Engaging with promising theories adds extra work for scholars and students, often in unfamiliar literatures.
- Yet, moving away from traditional economic and institutional approaches will increase the discipline's scope and its linkages with related historical fields.

If Scranton is correct, the way forward for business history to have a greater impact lies away from mainstream management journals and within the so-called 'critical management' studies. Indeed, anecdotal evidence is that business historians seem to prefer to attend the *European Group for Organizational Studies* (EGOS) conference and so far have tended to shun the meetings of the *British Academy of Management* (BAM) or the *European Academy of Management* (EURAM). Whether these representations materialise in greater number of publications and interaction is yet to be seen.

At the same time, as this paper has briefly illustrated, it is possible to build a relevant discussion in business history using electronic media. Yet important challenges for future research in business and management history remain. Even where records do exist, there is no clear historiography to deal with the variety of archives available or how to deal with the new organisational forms of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Indeed, with the notable exceptions of Fridenson<sup>24</sup>, Locke and Schöne<sup>25</sup>, Ruzé<sup>26</sup>, Bátiz-Lazo and Krichel<sup>27</sup>, and studies documenting the automation of banking in Bátiz-Lazo et al<sup>28</sup>, the discussion of business and management historians around the nature of the third industrial revolution has been limited to the impact of information technology applications over the continuity and longevity of the Chandlerenian model of the firm.<sup>29</sup> Hence, there is very little on offer to help explain the creation of digital organisations<sup>30</sup> or indeed, form a historiography of how business history should deal with the digital humanities and electronic media.

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# PASTURES NEW: UNLOCKING THE HERITAGE COLLECTIONS AT THE ALFRED GILLETT TRUST (C & J CLARK LTD)

### CHARLOTTE BERRY AND TIM E. CRUMPLIN The Alfred Gillett Trust

### Introduction

This article outlines the history of the heritage collections of the Alfred Gillett Trust, which is responsible for the collection management of family and business heritage collections relating to Quaker shoemakers C & J Clark Ltd, based in Street, Somerset.

A brief history of the family and their role in developing Street as a company village will be given, followed by an outline of the history, provenance and collection strengths of the heritage collections and company Shoe Museum. The remainder of the article will concentrate on the professionalisation of the collections and how the Trust's heritage collections support the work of the business and the wider community. Finally, the current new build and Trust HQ projects will be briefly detailed, along with plans for the future.

### The Clark family and Street, Somerset

The Clarks are a well-established Somerset Quaker family. Originally hailing from the nearby hamlet of Greinton, John Clark III was the first to move to Street in 1723, marrying Ann Coaxley and into three farms within the immediate area. The family quickly established itself locally, becoming actively involved with the local Friends' Meeting House, built in 1717.

Cyrus Clark (1801-1866), the middle of the three sons of Joseph Clark (1762-1831), had to look outside the family farm for work, going into a brief partnership as a tanner and rugmaker from 1821 with his cousin, Arthur Clothier. The partnership was dissolved in 1825, with Clothier keeping the cow-hide tanning side of the business, and Cyrus taking over the sheepskin rug elements to create the business which was to become C & J Clark Ltd. Youngest brother James Clark (1811-1906) became apprenticed to Cyrus in 1828, and the two brothers went into partnership in 1833. James emerged as the driving force, developing the business from rugmaking to shoemaking through the manufacture of 'Brown Petersburg'

slippers. Boots, welted shoes and lambswool socks followed, with footwear accounting for one third of total sales by 1833.

Quaker contacts enabled a rapid expansion of the business, which included attracting shoemakers to Street from other parts of the southwest. During this period, Street's population more than doubled as the village expanded around the shoemaking hub on the High Street. The factory site came to occupy approximately 25 acres around the original building constructed in 1829. Mechanised techniques were gradually introduced and operated alongside the outworker system of shoemakers working from home.

Two threats of bankruptcy were negotiated with the help of Quaker loans. The second and most serious of these in the early 1860s resulted in the removal of Cyrus and his family from the business, with James' eldest son William Stephens Clark (1839-1925) brought in at the age of 24 to manage the business in partnership with James. William increased mechanization apace, enabling the Quaker loans to be repaid, and also developing the factory system. In 1870, the sheepskin side of the business was moved to Northover, Glastonbury, under James' son-in-law John Morland as Clark, Son and Morland.

Now free of company debts, William pursued his interests in philanthropy and developed Street as a company village. In 1850 the current Friends' Meeting House was built immediately adjacent to the rapidly expanding factory. The population explosion was followed by new civic amenities in the shape of a Working Men's Club and Institute (Crispin Hall, 1885), the Vestry Room (1887), Strode Technical School (1899) and Strode School (1913). The women of the family developed prominent national profiles in educational, slavery and social reform, supporting suffrage, temperance, pacifist and refugee causes, partly through Bright, McLaren and Priestman relations. William's sister Annie E. Clark (1844-1924) became one of the first female doctors in the UK.

William remained as company chairman until his death in 1925. The next generation came to the fore in 1903 when C & J Clark Ltd became a private limited liability company, with directors William, younger brother Francis (1853-1938), sons John Bright (1867-1933) and Roger (1871-1961) and, significantly, daughter Alice Clark (1874-1934). The younger generation were active in the emerging local and county councils, continuing the family's philanthropic interests, with the introduction of Street Library (1924), Hindhayes Infant School (1928) and Greenbank open-air swimming pool (1937). As competitor companies embraced retail,

Clarks purchased part of the Abbott chain in 1937 (operating it under the name of Peter Lord) and branding was vigorously developed during the 1930s. The appointment of Bancroft Clark (1902-1993) as managing director and company chairman instigated further change within production through the development of new non-local factories during the post-war period.

These factories established outside of Street enabled the company to pursue the commercialisation of post-war technological developments in manufacture. For example, the CEMA process (producing a durable school shoe by moulding the sole directly to the upper) and California slip-lasting were used to create affordable, comfortable and lightweight women's footwear. Increased manufacturing capacity also assisted in extending Clarks core offering of Children's and Women's shoes to include a Men's range during the 1950s. Following successful collaboration in the 1930s with John Halliday and Sons (Dundalk, Ireland), manufacturing agreements were sought abroad, particularly in the colonies. These were prompted by protectionist policies, increased local competition and a desire to raise brand profile internationally, resulting in arrangements for Australia, Canada and South Africa during the 1940s and 1950s.

Domestically, C & J Clark continued to extend its retail interests during the 1960s by acquiring independent retailers and small multiples as they became available, pursuing an ongoing strategy as a manufacturer and retailer of footwear. Managerial tenure of the fourth generation culminated with the retirement of Bancroft's cousins, J. Anthony Clark in 1974 and Peter Clothier in 1973. Of the fifth generation that had predominantly joined the business during the 1960s, the most identifiable was Bancroft's eldest son Daniel Clark (1931-2004) who was later elevated to the positions of chairman and managing director. For this generation of the family, the commercial landscape was considerably different from the one that had met their predecessors thirty years earlier.

Foreign imports of cheap footwear into the UK empowered wholesalers and retailers, forcing C & J Clark to begin a painful restructuring of the business that saw domestic manufacturing reduced from 1978 until closure of the final UK Clarks factory at Ilminster, Somerset, in 2005. During this process, the business entered a sustained period of lower profitability, with the resulting unrest prompting protracted family shareholder debate relating to continued family management and ownership of the business. This culminated with the failed takeover attempt by Berisford in 1993. Restructuring thereafter was executed by the appointment of professional

management, transfer of manufacturing to third party Portuguese, Brazilian and Far Eastern suppliers and the creation of a family shareholder council designed to provide a focal point for shareholder debate and family shareholder interface for company management. C & J Clark consequently remains majority family owned, employing 15,000 staff worldwide and selling 50 million pairs of shoes a year. The Originals range includes some of the company's iconic designs, including the Desert Boot and the Wallabee.

### History and provenance of the heritage collections

Preserving memory, heritage and kinship connections has always been of central interest for Quakers. The heritage collections at Clarks are consequently extremely well-preserved and even predate the company's foundation.

The archives include extensive personal collections relating to the family, as well as company collections encompassing the full range of business functions for C & J Clark Ltd and for associated companies (including those relating to K Shoes, Kendal, which merged with Clarks in 1980). Shoe catalogues dating back to 1848 are extensively used by Brand and Design for authenticating brand histories and inspiring shoe designs, alongside a substantial historic shoe collection of 20,000 items (some of which are on display in the company's Shoe Museum). 500 shoemaking machines and associated tools are also held, along with extensive point of sale (advertising) items, maps and plans of factories and housing in Street, a large photographic (business) collection dating back to the 1860s, sound and film collections, a significant collection of ichthyosaur and plesiosaur fossils, Quaker domestic costume and family furniture/artworks. The Trust also has a well-equipped Reading Room reference library covering shoemaking, history of costume, Quaker history and local history, as well as family book collections covering a range of subjects and dating back to the seventeenth century. Collections are stored at three sites (including a 1970s purpose built archive), prior to their forthcoming relocation to a new archive and museum store (see below).

Documents and artefacts held by the Trust represent the different civic, commercial, economic, familial, gender, local, political, religious and social connections, interests and responsibilities held by the Clark family. These originate from the family and commercial collections primarily accumulated on the initiation of William Stephens Clark up to 1925. William kept commercial and family papers, stored both at the factory and his home Millfield, built in 1890. Quaker principles and his interests in

history ensured their retention, a trait imbued into his son Roger (1871-1961) and Roger's three sons Bancroft (1902-1993), Stephen (1913-2011) and Nathan (1916-2011).

Millfield was vacated by the family in 1935 and turned into a school, with the family's personal papers split between Greenbank House (residence of William and his wife Helen prior to Millfield) and Whitenights (home of Roger and Sarah Clark). Business collections remained at the factory with Laurence H Barber beginning to create a Factory Museum and Archives Library in 1950, whilst accumulating information for the production of a company history. The 'archive' reportedly constituted 'a broken wooden cupboard with its contents... mixed with soot and broken egg shells', and miscellaneous additional papers originated from the Advertising Department, alongside an assortment of shoes. With no permanent place of residence and only a rudimentary 'catalogue' system, the company archive grew during Barber's tenure, which ended abruptly with his death in 1966.

Existing in a private capacity, company and family collections grew organically during successive generations. Quantifiable output included the company history in 1950 (written by Barber) and contributions to the monthly in-house company journal *The Courier* (1957 onwards). Historical family papers were relegated to tin trunks and stored in a shed within the grounds of Whitenights following the deaths of Roger Clark in 1961 and his widow Sarah Bancroft Clark in 1973. Sons Bancroft and Stephen Clark oversaw construction in 1973 of a purpose-built two-storey archive on the site of the old stable of Greenbank House. Designed to consolidate business and family collections, it overlapped with attempts to produce an academic history of the shoe industry that had started in conjunction with Professor Peter Mathias in 1963.

The new archive and planned business history also coincided with the appointment of Clarks employee Patrick Keith as Records Manager in 1975. The history failed to materialise, but intervening discussions concluded that a better organised 'archival system' incorporating modern records was desirable, enabling a company history to be written in the future, and the Alfred Gillett Trust was set up. Unfortunately, the intentions to appoint a new qualified archivist failed to transpire at this time.

As a result, potential archives were assessed on sentimental criteria, rather than according to any legislative or professional basis. Following advice in 1977 which recommended 'that it was dangerous to change from an untidy 'hugger-mugger' system to a formal archive system unless the job

was done properly', the archive remained closed to external users, with a skeleton archive service existing up to the mid 1990s.

#### Shoe Museum

The existing Shoe Museum was set up to celebrate the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Clarks in 1975, and was a vast improvement on the previous set up. A small family-based museum had been located in the Mechanics' Institute (Crispin Hall) from 1885, including the fossil collection of Alfred Gillett (1814-1904), but this closed in 1948 with the latter transferred into family storage and the remainder dispersed. Barber set up an in-house museum in the old Counting House in the original 1829 factory building, but this was limited in size and scope.

The newly revamped museum comprised three large galleries, containing nineteenth century shoe making machinery, Clarks shoes dating back to the late nineteenth century, and non-Clarks shoes dating back to the Roman period. Professional staff were employed, and great inroads were made into cataloguing and using the collections. However, as time went on, company investment in the museum declined radically and one gallery was taken over by other functions of the firm in 1996. At present, there is no museum curator in post, and the museum is staffed by a part-time museum administrator and casual reception cover only. As a result, the archives staff have since the 1990s become more heavily involved in the administration of the museum, albeit on an unofficial basis.

### Professionalisation of the collections

A former company insurance manager was appointed as archivist/collections manager in the late 1990s to coincide with the deposit of Bancroft Clark's large collection of business papers. During Bancroft's tenure as a director of the company (1928-1968), the business expanded from a small regional manufacturer of footwear into a multinational company. Pro-archive and pro-business history, Bancroft Clark influenced other managers and directors from manufacturing and marketing disciplines to deposit their papers as well.

Whereas the immediate physical requirements of the collection had been met by a serviceable building, systems to ensure suitable storage and easy retrieval did not exist. The archives were arranged into collections, catalogued and subsequently inputted onto an Access database by a newly appointed archives assistant. Acid-free boxes and racking were introduced. Initial responsibilities of archives and records were extended to include

disparate collections of machinery, consolidating Barber's collection of shoes and point of sale material extant in unsuitable premises offsite. At present, the archive collections are catalogued to box-level only. Finding aids for the shoe collections vary enormously in quality and format, ranging from handwritten lists to typed index cards. No single point of access exists by which the collections can be searched comprehensively, although the introduction of new cataloguing software is planned.

Formalising existing family arrangements, the Alfred Gillett Trust was officially set up in 2002 to safeguard the heritage collections associated with the company and family, a reflection of the family's longstanding interests in the history of the firm and its people. A local Clarks ex-shoe factory was purchased to store part of the heritage collections on a temporary basis, improving conditions from previous accommodation, and The Grange in Street was also purchased. It was intended that The Grange would eventually become the new home of the archive and museum, making the collections accessible to both company and members of the public (see below).

A post-doctoral researcher from the University of Liverpool was appointed by the Trust in 2004 to research the history of the business. Using the museum and archive extensively in his work, this role of company historian was combined with that of collections manager in 2009. In 2010, the Trust appointed a professional archivist to take over responsibility for the heritage collections. Focus has been given initially to setting up a reading room, managing access and introducing professional collections management. Accessioning procedures have been introduced, as well as the creation of collection level descriptions for the principal family collections. An enquiry service is available, and the reading room is fully open to external researchers for the first time. Academics have recently been given access to the collections with the result that use of the archive has made contributions to the disciplines of business, political, social, Quaker and feminist history. In spring 2012, a part-time archives assistant was appointed alongside a temporary heritage graduate trainee in order to help prepare collections for their planned relocation.

### Supporting the work of the business

Formalisation of links between the family, company and community has been a priority over the last two years. Heritage is increasingly recognised by the firm as a key asset, differentiating the Clarks brand from competitors within global markets. The heritage collections support the work of the

business in a wide range of business functions and company services.

Heritage sources have reinforced the Clarks historical background of ethical international trade to support its globalised view of doing business, with archive materials on the family's longstanding interests in promoting good working and living conditions used in a recent company Code of Ethics. The firm's history and the family business status of the company have been emphasised to assist entry into new markets in China and India during the current period of globalisation. Company secretarial services have used advertising, marketing and point of sale material (as well as shoes) to support contested trade mark and intellectual property claims. Human resources have drawn upon historical files relating to the conception of their department in the 1940s and the involvement of the company in graduate recruitment to entice prospective new employees, alongside using archive sources to improve corporate identity amongst existing staff and the wider community.

The shoe, advertising and point of sale collections are used on a regular basis. Designers, marketers and range managers have been referencing these in order to recreate dedicated 'Originals' and 'Iconic' lines of footwear, as well as more recently in the main men's, women's, sport and children's ranges. Items from the collections are now regularly used in inhouse and external Product and Brand presentations, in in-house and external publications and in major promotional events such as the twice-yearly product conference and the current Eley-Kishimoto London Fashion Week exhibition at Covent Garden in advance of a collaboration during Spring-Summer 2013.

The forthcoming new company history *Clarks: Built to Last* and an innovative history of the Desert Boot *Clarks in Jamaica* by DJ Al Fingers (published November 2012) both draw heavily on the heritage resources of the Trust. These publications will help to promote the collections to a wider audience as well as becoming indispensable company and Trust resources.

## Collection strengths and significance Business papers

The business archive can be separated into company collections and those created by individual managers. Early business papers comprise part of the CJC company collection and include letter books from the nineteenth century, providing insights into early banking, capital markets and the state of local and national commerce. The collection also includes Annual Report and Accounts for the post-war period, business/strategic plans for

the CJC Group, associated companies, departments and territories. Documents on predominantly twentieth century overseas development are located in the COS collection, which primarily relates to the setting up and expansion of Clarks Overseas Shoes from 1952, but also incorporates its predecessor agencies in respective territories. Papers comprise of directors and managers minutes, agency agreements and general correspondence. Factory publications from 1924 such as *Clarks Newsheet*, *Clarks Comments* and *Clarks Courier* give a comprehensive overview of the company and its development within the industry, economy and locality of Street for most of the twentieth century.

Individual senior managers' papers within family and employee collections cover financial, general, manufacturing and marketing management. These reflect post-war company growth through factory, financial and retail organisation and planning, general mergers and Technical reports, international visits acquisitions. and competitor/industrial intelligence are complemented by material concerning internal processes; Factory Council, Home Sales/Travellers Conference, Managers Meeting, Style Centre, Stock Committees etc. Collections also reflect the vertical integration of C & J Clark and give good representation of its constituent companies, namely Avalon Chemical: Avalon Industries: Avalon Leatherboard: Avalon Shoe Supplies; CIC Engineering/Ralphs Unified; Europolymer; Larkhill Rubber; Milward Bayley and Strode Components.

Records of acquired and associate manufacturing businesses reflect Clarks' predominant status as a manufacturer and wholesaler of footwear with papers for A & F Shoes; Clark, Son & Morland; J.T. Butlin & Co. Ltd.; K Shoes and London Lane Ltd whilst the collection also incorporates information on overseas manufacturing businesses; Alma Shoes (Adelaide) Ltd and G.T. Harrison in Australia; Blachford Shoe Manufacturing Co Ltd, Canada; John Halliday & Sons Ltd, Ireland; Fidelity Shoes (Pty) Ltd South Africa. Retail planning is also incorporated within the collection and features information on shop acquisitions, sites and locations both domestically and overseas. Details of independent retailers (e.g. Milwards, Randalls, John Mills & Sons), Clarks company retail under the Peter Lord fascia, and incursions into unbranded retailing via acquisition of companies like Ravel are consolidated by photographs, in addition to shop floor design and planning, point of sale material and related product.

The company's point of sale (POS) collection is particularly rich,

dating back to the 1840s. The two earliest signed examples are a 1840s company showcard by John Aubrey Clark (1826-1890) and a 1905 'Dainty Shoes' showcard by American artist Hamilton King (1871-1952). The main series of POS dates from the 1920s when in-shop advertising was developed on a more consistent basis, demonstrating the high quality of artists used by the firm. London Underground graphic artist Edward McKnight-Kauffer (1890-1954) and Austrian-Swede and Wiener Werkstatte fashion and theatre designer Mela Koehler (1885-1960) were both recommended by Roger Clark who had keen interests in the arts. Many works by Freda Beard [dates unknown], D.M. [Dora] Batty (1900-1966) and Lilian Hocknell (1891-1977) also survive, along with many others by artists yet to be identified. Family member and renowned photographer John Hinde (1916-1997) collaborated with the firm on a long and pioneering series of POS and advertising featuring around 40 actress and dancer endorsements (1943-1951), including household names such as Moira Lister, Moira Shearer, Sally Gray, Greta Gynt, Wendy Hiller, Ann Todd, Bebe Daniels and Margaret Lockwood. These were suggested by the Board of Trade in order to promote wartime wooden soled shoes. A small collection of original POS and shoe catalogue artwork is available, mainly consisting of sketches from the mid 1960s by French haute-couture fashion illustrator Jean Demarchy (son of pictorialist artist and photographer Robert Demarchy (1859-1936)) who created the popular 'Skyline woman' in the late 1940s to accompany the 'high and tailored fashion' Skyline range of women's shoes using American lasts and fittings. Point of sale material from the prominent mid 1960s Clarks' advertising campaign involving a collaboration between Hardy Amies, David Bailey and Jean Shrimpton also survive.

The shoe catalogues are by far the most heavily used part of the business collection. The earliest catalogue for C & J Clark dates from 1848, with catalogues produced on an annual basis from 1916. These include many striking examples of catalogue cover illustration artwork, including a long-running pen and ink sketch of the High Street factory entrance and distant Glastonbury Tor by Quaker family friend and 'Birmingham Group' member Edmund Hort New (1871-1931) who was better known for his drawings of Oxford colleges and his work for William Morris's Kelmscott Press.

### Family archives

Family archives relating to the Clarks and related Quaker families are

numerous in their scope, reflecting their wide and extensive kinship across the UK and beyond. Many of the collections contain merely personal correspondence, extensive duplicate family photograph collections, visitors' books and other ephemera, but other collections are of a more diverse and interesting nature, demonstrating the extensive nature of Clark connections. For example, small family collections relate to Dr Hilda Clark (1881-1955), doctor and humanitarian aid worker, Joyce Hinde Green (1910-1993), ballet dancer and artist and to the Pease family of Bristol (including papers relating to Quaker philanthropist Thomas Pease (1816-1884) and to his Leeds family business Aldam, Pease, Heaton and Co).

The three most sizable family collections held by the Trust are that of Millfield (home of William Stephens and Helen Bright Clark, now Millfield School), Whitenights (home of Roger and Sarah Bancroft Clark) and that of Helen Sophia Horne Clark, daughter-in-law of James Edmund Clark. These substantial collections document in detail the earlier history of the Clark family.

The Clarks family of Street became closely connected with Quaker families of the Newcastle and Rochdale areas as a result of the marriage of William Stephens Clark (1839-1925) to Helen Priestman Bright (1840-1927). Helen's grandmother Rachel Priestman (1791-1854) was a Quaker minister who made several trips to the USA as a result of her vocation. Notable campaigners for women's rights amongst Helen Bright's maternal relations are Priscilla Bright McLaren (1815-1906), Anna Maria Priestman (1828-1914) and Margaret Priestman (later Wheeler, later Tanner) (1817-1905). There is good representation of McLaren and Priestman correspondence within the collection, as well as family papers relating to the Priestmans, Braggs, Wilsons, Wheelers and Tanners dating from the early eighteenth century, which include Ladies Temperance Committee notebooks and Friends' minute books. Papers relating to Women's Liberal Associations, the Union of Practical Suffragists to the Contagious Diseases' Acts, anti-vivisection and temperance are also included. Papers relating to the history of Street comprise Avalonian Budgets, 1814-1845, records relating to civic buildings of Street, Street Co-operative Society and local temperance activities. Family papers include diaries and letters of the parents of Cyrus and James Clark and multiple pedigrees and genealogies.

Roger and Sarah Clark continued the philanthropic interests of William and Helen Clark, as is reflected in their personal papers from

Whitenights. The family papers include the diaries of ancestor Thomas Clark, dating from 1817, as well as other early nineteenth century items relating to Metford, Bragg and Gillett relations and a full collection of correspondence and other items relating to the Clarks of Street from the late nineteenth century and onwards. Items of interest include papers relating to Glastonbury Festival, 1913-1926 (including posters by artist and protegée Christina Walshe, 1888-1959),and to the couple's collaboration in 1969 with composer Rutland Boughton (1878-1960) and in the 1920s with Austrian-Swedish artist Mela Koehler (1885-1960). As Sarah Clark was a keen advocate of the temperance movement and was active in this area throughout her life, the collection contains the papers of the Western Temperance League from 1930-1979. Records relating to the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene (later the Josephine Butler Society) are held from 1870, along with those of the British and Foreign Bible Society from 1850 and for Street Library Trustees from 1924. Family photographs are extensive and relate to the American and English branches of the family. Multiple artefacts of family sentimental and historical value are also dispersed throughout the archive.

The extensive collection of Helen Sophia Horne Clark (1900-1997) relates both to the Clarks in England as well as her own connections in India and the US. The Clark items were inherited from her father-in-law James Edmund Clark (1850-1944), who was the youngest surviving son of James and Eleanor Clark and who was the last surviving child of his many siblings. He therefore inherited many items from his parents, including their love letters from the 1830s and letters to other parts of the family. James Edmund was a science teacher at Bootham School in York, and the collection contains his scientific papers dating from 1897, as well as a fascinating Life Album compiled for his newly born and only son Roderic (1884-1937), which was entered into the Galton Family Faculties Competition run by Francis Galton in 1884. This portfolio on the subject of eugenics uniquely documents the attributes and characteristics of 70 of his forerunners from eight families. Papers also relate to his American wife Lucretia Kendall Clark (1853-1937), as well as to Helen herself and to her own American and Indian relations (including a letter book of the Bombay Guardian, 1904-1907). Business papers relating to family business Brangwin Clark and Co Ltd survive for 1897-1950, as well as the minutes of Lambeth Christian Social Council, 1925. Roderic Kendall Clark's prison sentence for conscientious objection during the First World War and his strong beliefs in pacifism are well represented in letters to his

parents and in papers relating to his tribunal, 1914-1919.

Through the Clark family's close connection with Helen Bright Clark, the earliest parts of the family archive collection mainly relate to her father John Bright (1811-1889), Liberal politician and reformer. The Trust holds significant sequences of letters from the members of his own family, his eldest daughter and also other Clark relations. Letters from figures such as Richard Cobden, Gladstone, Joseph Sturge, G.A. Trevelyan and the Duke of Argyll are included, as well as Bright's personal diaries, 1834-1884 and some handwritten speech notes. As well as a named John Bright collection, his papers appear elsewhere in the Trust's family collections, as well as those of the Priestmans and McLarens. Another large family collection is that of the Bancroft family, who originally had Lancashire roots but who emigrated to Delaware in the 1820s. Through the marriage of Roger Clark (1871-1961) and Sarah Bancroft (1877-1973) in 1900, the two parts of the family became reconnected. The earliest items relating to the Bancroft family are correspondence dating from 1735 and a 1715 account of a voyage to America by Ann Tatnall. Links with the Gillett family of Oxfordshire were also established through the marriage of Sarah's sister Lucy (1880-1969) to the later mayor of Oxford, Henry Tregelles Gillett (1870-1955): the couple were both founders of Oxfam. Further links with Oxford were made through the marriage of Roger's sister Margaret (1878-1962) to Henry's cousin Arthur Bevington Gillett (1875-1954). Margaret Clark Gillett's collection relates particularly to the Gilletts of Oxford, the Clarks of Street and the Rowntrees of York, and includes a few letters from family friend E.M. Forster as well as twentieth century papers relating to Oxford City Council and Barclays Bank (of which Arthur Gillett was a director).

### 'Village Album' collection

The 'Village Albums' form a fascinating and eclectic collection, namely that documenting the activities of the family's literary and essay society which continued a tradition begun in Glastonbury in the early nineteenth century. Regular Street meetings began in 1857 following the popular trend for essay societies and book meetings amongst the Quaker community. Album pieces covering poetry, stories, history, comedy, natural, family and local history, travel writing, philology and satire were compiled, and later bound into volumes which were distributed into the ownership of members of the extended family. With the exception of two volumes which have become lost, the Trust holds a complete set up to the modern period, with

the tradition still continued in Street today by the current generation of Clarks.

### **Shoe collection**

The historic shoe collection is both significant and substantial, numbering approximately 20,000 single items. Only a small number of these are on display in the Shoe Museum, with the Trust responsible for the collection management of the remainder of the collection. The earliest items date back to leather fragments (found locally) from the Roman period, with a similarly small number of medieval artefacts also held. The majority of the collection dates from the 1800s, and includes shoes manufactured by Clarks, K Shoes and others from elsewhere in the Europe and America. Of particular interest are the Second World War shoes by Clarks and other companies, which experimented with wooden hinged soles with rubber grips, designed to reduce leather use during wartime restrictions. An ethnographical collection of shoes from around the world is also held, including examples from Alaska to Zanzibar. Although many items are held on loan, items also continue to be donated by members of the public via the Shoe Museum, and new accessions of selected styles from the latest Clarks seasons (men's, women's, kids, sport and Originals) are taken on a regular basis. Existing duplication within the collection is being weeded out as part of the relocation project (along with an initial condition survey, rearrangement and reclassification). Similarly, new collecting criteria are being applied to all current and future Clarks accessions, whereby only shoes of significant sales' levels, construction, design or material will be accepted into the permanent collection.

### **Costume collection**

The Trust also holds two family costume collections thought to be of national significance, namely those of William Stephens Clark's daughter Margaret Clark Gillett (1878-1962) and his niece-in-law Helen Horne Clark (1900-1997). These mainly contain nineteenth century items of female domestic costume (Quaker dress). The collection was appraised and provisionally catalogued in spring 2010 by Anna Vaughan Kett of the University of Bristol, who has used the collection in her PhD research 'Quaker Women and the Material Culture of Abolition in Britain: the Wedgwood Slave Medallion and Free Produce Cotton, 1780s–1830s'.

### Fossil collection

The extensive collection of fossils in the care of the Trust has not been seen

on public display since the closure of the museum at the Crispin Hall in 1948, although occasional private viewings have been held. The collection will form the centre piece of the Trust's new home at The Grange (see below) and will be available on display on a rotational basis due to space constraints. Many of the specimens were collected by Alfred Gillett (1814-1904), an ironmonger from nearby Langport who was related to the Clarks through his maternal grandmother Elizabeth Clark Isaac, aunt of Cyrus and James Clark. The specimens collected both resemble and rival those of nearby Lyme Regis, and, with other specimens from other members of the Clark family and also the British Museum, formed the nucleus of the museum in the newly opened Crispin Hall in 1887. The collection has been little used in research terms although recently there has been academic interest from the University of Cambridge, and two study days were held in 2009 and 2010 by the UK's Geological Curators' Group. The current expert on the collection is Dr Michael Taylor, who until 2009 was Principal Curator of Vertebrate Palaeontology at National Museums Scotland.

### New build and Trust HQ project

The wide scope and variety of the collections provide some challenges in preservation and collection management. These will be partly addressed in the recent new-build project, which has resulted in a newly constructed passive archive building to hold the archive and museum collections. Funded entirely by the Trust, the new building will contain four large strongrooms with approx. 3,300 metres of mobile shelving to contain the historic shoes, point of sales, pictures and plans, and family and business archives. The adjacent Grade Two listed building The Grange, purchased by C & J Clark in the late nineteenth century in order to expand the neighbouring factory site, will accommodate the public and staff facilities of the Trust within nearly 1,000 square metres of space. These will include two permanent exhibition rooms (primarily for the fossil collection), a staffed reading-room, seminar and meeting rooms, staff offices and cataloguing/accessioning areas. It is hoped that the shoe museum may in the future relocate to a new site in the adjacent Tithe Barn, which is also owned by the Trust. A second phase of new-build storage would also follow

### Into the future

Once the long-term preservation of the collections has been secured

following the current collection relocations into the Trust's new premises, further attention will be given to increasing the profile of the collections both within the immediate locality and also nationally and internationally. Academics and schools are key target groups, as well as company pensioners throughout the Southwest. The Trust is collaborating with Somerset Voices (the county oral history project based at nearby Glastonbury Rural Life Museum) in a small-scale oral history project to interview former company employees, and it is hoped that this will be extended by the Trust in subsequent years. Family members will also be targeted and it is anticipated that additional family archives will be added to the collections in the future. Conservation work on shoe and archive collections will be undertaken, as well as the purchasing of new items to plug known gaps in the collections.

A second priority is to continue to build up positive links with the company, both within Street and further field on global scale. A major three year digitisation project is planned for the near future, encompassing the shoe collection, the shoe catalogues, point of sale, company newspapers and the film and sound collections. These will be accessed through a new collection management software to be made available through a company intranet, making the Trust's resources available at low resolution in the US and Asia, as well as Europe. Public access of some description may follow at a later point, with new Archives Hub and National Register of Archives' entries increasing the profile of the archive collections. With such rich and diverse collections made more readily exploitable and accessible, the company, family and local community will be in a very strong position to begin to celebrate the 200th anniversary of C & J Clark Ltd in 2025.

### **Further reading**

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- E. H. Milligan, *Biographical dictionary of Quakers in commerce and industry 1775-1920* (York, 2007).
- M. Palmer, Clarks: Made to last: the story of Britain's best-known shoe firm (London, 2013, forthcoming).
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# EXPLORING THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC LANDSCAPE IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND: FROM EARLY MODERN TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

# BETHANY SINCLAIR-GIARDINI Public Record Office of Northern Ireland

### Introduction

The Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI) occupies a unique remit within the British Isles, as one former Director pointed out. As well as accessioning records from both central and local government, PRONI's acquisitions come from private organisations, churches, individuals and families. This wide remit identifies PRONI not only as the national repository for the devolved state of Northern Ireland, but also as the manuscript section of a national library (there is no Northern Irish equivalent of the British Library, National Library of Scotland or the National Library of Wales) as well as the sole county records office representing the six counties of Northern Ireland, and in some instances, the historical nine counties of the province of Ulster.

Many people do not realise that PRONI also has one of the major collections of private business archives in the UK and amongst these collections can be found the names of firms that have made Ulster famous. The records themselves represent a wide cross-section of the economic life of the province ranging from the records of industrial giants like Harland & Wolff of Titanic fame, to the local corner shop and everything in-between. Various mercantile interests are also well represented and trade links can be realised through the archival documents to other parts of the UK, Europe and beyond.

The purpose of this article therefore is to advertise and illustrate the array of records held by PRONI, both in terms of their content and also contextually within wider Northern Irish/Ulster society. As readers of this journal will be aware, business records often contain a large amount of detailed information relating not only to suppliers, customers and shareholders, but to employees as well. The types of documents that you might come across in PRONI's business archives include minute books and company memoranda, as well as correspondence and letterbooks. Ledgers of all varieties are commonplace, as well as wage books, staff books and

maps and plans pertaining to company premises, from which researchers can glean links between the business and the wider socio-economic landscape.

In terms of the individual companies archives held, it is important to be lateral in one's thinking as to what constitutes a 'company' as from the early modern period onwards, individuals operated as merchants and their records are often illustrative of social and business networks at a time before large scale communications became available. For example, one famous mercantile family were the Black family of Belfast and Dublin, whose business networks can be charted to the Isle of Man. London. Bordeaux, Lisbon and the West Indies. Day books were often kept by merchants, and a good example is the individual day book kept by a Castlewellan-based merchant (PRONI reference D1202). At the same time, another merchant James Ferguson, who operated within the linen industry, was also keeping records (D468). Another fascinating series of over 1,000 letters that include much business correspondence can be found in the Mussenden archive (D354), for the period 1718-1757. All of the above mentioned sources date mainly to the late eighteenth century and illustrate how individual merchants operated and kept their records, in an age before mass industry and mass communications were bought on by the industrial revolution of the following century.

# Big business: linen and shipbuilding

The most extensive PRONI holdings of business records perhaps relate to the linen industry. In excess of 250 individual companies are represented, dating back to the eighteenth century when the spinning and weaving industries were domestic in character, through to the new methods of bleaching that were being devised by the Ulster bleachers, and eventually onto the growth of industry in the nineteenth century which led to Belfast being names 'Linenopolis.' These linen archives cover the whole spectrum of business activity, from technical production and employment aspects to marketing on a global scale. The archive of Messrs Henderson & Eadie Ltd (1869-1942) provides a wealth of information on how the business was run, including excellent volumes of correspondence in addition to the most interesting 'County Wool Book', illustrative of how agents collected wool from across the province on behalf of the company. PRONI holds many company archives relating to mills, and Hale Martin's Mill in Dungannon (D1064) provides a rich source of history for an important local employer during the period 1863-1941. In addition to over a dozen letterbooks and various journals and ledgers, there are 28 wages books and 16 employee registers, an excellent resource for researching individuals, particularly given the limited late nineteenth century census returns that survive for the northern counties. Another mill was that of the Island Spinning Mill in Lisburn, whose archive includes over 100 documents at D1621, for the period 1866-1940. Bleaching companies too crop up within the PRONI collections such as the Kilwee Bleaching Company at Dunmurry whose archive provides a series of day books and account books covering the period 1880-1952 (D1158). Weavers are another feature of PRONI's collections, including the Hazelbank Weaving Company of Laurencetown in Co Down, whose records include 13 volumes and over 40 photographs for the period 1905-1963 (D1764).

Of course linen wasn't the only industry which put Ulster on the map. Shipbuilding is another major player and the Harland & Wolff (H&W) archive will not disappoint (D2805). The H&W archive in PRONI had comprised of c.2,000 files, c.200 volumes and around 16,000 documents, covering the period 1861-1987, which document most aspects of Belfast's famous shipbuilding firm and there is a detailed introduction to this collection available on PRONI's website. A further accession of additional Harland & Wolff records was made in March 2012, including displacement and body plans for various vessels as well as files of technical specifications and other naval architect source files. This new accession will be catalogued into the existing Titanic Quarter archive (D4413) during the course of the next year. This timely accession coincided with Belfast's unveiling of the Signature Project building, just along the road from PRONI's new building in Belfast's Titanic Quarter, perhaps justifying Belfast's renaming in certain circles to 'Titanicity'.

Whilst linen and ships might have been big business for Ulster and Northern Ireland, there are a variety of other industries for which PRONI holds records, and the following will give you an introduction to just some of the many business archives that PRONI have, ranging from the early modern period onwards.

## Medieval and early modern records of economic activity

It is a well known fact that ecclesiastical centres in the late medieval period were engaged in economic activity and were very often a focus for such activity within their wider communities and networks. It is perhaps therefore not surprising that the Armagh diocesan archive (DIO/4) within PRONI holds some of the earliest evidence of economic activity within Ulster.

Examples of such activity include references to fairs and markets and duties paid for oxen, hens, hogs, barley and oats. Another type of source for documenting late medieval and early modern trade lies within urban histories. Many of Ulster's towns received charters and letters of patents from various English monarchs including James I and Charles I. One such example can be gleaned from the archive for Limavady (D663) which contains an example of a letter granting the establishment of a market/fair in that town in the early seventeenth century. Other examples for Ulster for this period can be found in the 'plantation' archives for towns such as Draperstown and Salterstown, urban centres established by the London companies who 'planted' in the regions of Coleraine and Derry when James I more or less compelled the livery companies of the City of London to undertake the plantation of 400,000 acres of the newly named county of Londonderry. As such, archives for the Drapers' Company (D3632) and the Salters' Company (D4108) illustrate how the growth of the urban environment in early modern Ulster was intrinsically linked to economic growth in the same period, as they established fairs and markets, encouraged trade within their respective localities and became key players in the area as urban and rural landlords.

Another key area for Ulster's economy was the transfer of land ownership, through agreements of sale or rent, which today would fall under the 'real estate' umbrella. It has been noted above that the London livery companies became landlords from the early seventeenth century onwards. Other landlords too contributed to the economic growth of Ulster as land was rented out for farming, often with rights attached pertaining to felling woodland timber and/or managing bog rights for peat cutting and distribution. Key landowners from the early modern period, right down to modern times included the families from the 'big house' network. One good archival example is the Abercorn papers, numbered D623 in PRONI's holdings. The collection consists of over 29,000 individually numbered items, covering almost 750 years of history, from 1219 to 1963. The First Earl of Abercorn was a promoter of the Ulster Plantation and was granted large estates in Co Tyrone, which passed to his son James, Baron of Strabane, following his death in 1618. The Abercorns held the Tyrone estates for many centuries, and they were mainly located in what became known as the Barony of Strabane Lower. Among the Irish title deeds, around 30 predate 1660 and a further 160 cover the period from 1660-1760. Estates were of course valuable assets in terms of their landed wealth, and for example in 1818 the rental income for the Abercorn Estates would have

bought in around £40,000 per annum. There is a fabulous longevity in some of the Abercorn records, for example, the rentals from 1777 which run virtually unbroken for 200 years. D623/C/4 is a series of rent account books which cover both the Tyrone and Donegal estates, arranged by manor, from 1794-1911. Drilling down even further, D623/C/4/8 in particular is a rent account book for the Donegal estate for the period 1794-1809 and itemises individual tenants, clearly demonstrating the extent of the numbers involved within the agricultural sector in Ulster at that time.

Land was big business for many Ulster landowners, and the notion of land ownership and evidence that rentals penetrated society at all levels from the early modern period onwards is very apparent within PRONI's archival holdings. One key source for land ownership are the records relating to the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland. By way of background, when an 1869 Act of Parliament disestablished the Church of Ireland, it was an extensive landowner in the whole of Ireland, with around 11,000 tenants on 900 different estates with a total rental income book valued in excess of £200,000. When it was disestablished, its property transferred to the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland, who had previously been known as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Their role was eventually taken over by the Irish Land Commission in the 1880s and more recently in Northern Ireland, eventually to the Land Commission NI in 1921. As such the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland crop up in various records within PRONI. One example of the type of archival document you might find is D3300/77/1, which is almost like an auction book for the rental of unsold perpetuity rents relating to lands held all over the island of Ireland, and it is the first half which relates to the north. Each page is listed by barony and townland, again with the names of the landholders clearly present, but also an additional column which shows who last paid rent on the land, a key source for economic history research. Other landowners include local families such as the Huguenot family, the Delacherois, whose Manor House at Donaghadee was the control centre for their vast network of landholdings and business enterprises in the north of Co Down, around Donaghadee and Comber. The Delacherois brothers fled France in the seventeenth century to escape religious persecution and became the main landlord in Donaghadee from the mid seventeenth century onwards, and whose descendants still reside in Donaghadee today.

Some of the larger estate archives are a rich source not only for land transactions and associated bog and felling rights but of wider economic activity as well. For example, the Antrim Estate papers are a crucial source

for researchers interested in business archives and economic development, particularly in terms of how estate management was linked to different industries. Within the Antrim papers (D2977), you can learn about salmon fishing as far back as 1625 (D2977/3A/1/1/1); Ballycastle coal (D2977/5/1/4/11) and the Ballycastle collieries (D2977/28); Eglantine Chemical Company (D2977/49/1-2); urban development of Portrush (D2977/37/1); mining (D2977/3A/2/36/1); Glenarm saw mill (D2977/63), as well as documents illustrating Estate connections with the eventual growth of the railways in the nineteenth century (D2977/29). It is clear to see that from the early modern period onwards, economic expansion took place within Ulster, and that evidence of this can be found within estate papers from across the province.

# **Economic growth and industrialisation**

In the eighteenth century, mercantile development continued and a quick glance at the import/export statistics for Ireland as a whole in the period 1711-1811 illustrate the vast array of goods that were being traded, including 44,000 barrels of fish for one year and over 233,000 tons of coal in another. Exports demonstrate strong trade in foodstuffs including butter, ham and beef as well as goods such as untanned hides and calfskins, and of course, linen.<sup>2</sup> Agriculture continued to be a key driver for the economy in Ulster throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries although the industrial revolution was to change the face of Ulster's economy as the nineteenth century progressed. It has been commented elsewhere that it was only really the northern counties of Antrim, Down, Armagh and Londonderry and above all Belfast, which experienced an industrial revolution on the island of Ireland.3 As such, Ulster's economic development shared more characteristics with other British cities rather than any rival on its own island. Linen and shipbuilding were touched upon in the introduction to this article but other businesses also experienced growth during the industrial revolution and beyond; some of these archives are explored below.

A fascinating archive can be found at D2520, the records of Joseph Morton Ltd of Banbridge. Joseph was born in 1840 and by 1856 he had set himself up as a produce merchant, dealing in eggs, butter, pigs, etc. However, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the business diversified and he also began dealing in seeds. This diversification was so successful that by the turn of the century, it had become the prime focus for the company. In 1922 it became a limited company and his death some nine

years later saw the business pass to his three sons who have grown the business into Morton Seeds, who are still in operation today. Another example of business diversification can be found in the archive of Patton & Company, the boot and leather merchants of Lurgan (D1775). Covering a period of almost 50 years from 1925, this archive demonstrates how the business moved from being a garage and petrol sales business to stocking leather goods, fishing tackle, guns and musical instruments.

Local authority archives also provide evidence as to urban development and subsequent economic growth, such as the Markets Committee established by Belfast Corporation (which eventually became Belfast City Council) illustrated by the minute books which exist from the 1840s onwards. Another key group of records which illustrate economic activity are solicitor records, of which PRONI has a substantial collection, many of which date from the nineteenth century but some reach back to the 1730s, such as the Thomas Taggart & Sons of Ballymoney archive. Solicitor records have the ability to penetrate the economic landscape at all levels, since they were involved in documenting a variety of business transactions, power of attorneys, etc.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the Ulster economic landscape was changed with the arrival of the railways and there are many archive collections within PRONI that illustrate this development, including the Londonderry & Lough Swilly railway archive (D2683) covering the period from 1856 to 1957. Other indicators of the industrial revolution manifest themselves in the archive, particularly in the types of business that were operating at that time. For example, the records of McLaughlin & Harvey, a building and civil engineering contract firm in Belfast offer a history relating to the built environment and increasing urbanisation of Belfast from the 1860s onwards.

# **Banking in Northern Ireland**

The nineteenth century gave rise to another industry as banking became big business as mass industry demanded smarter economics! One of the major players was the Northern Bank (NB), which was established in 1809 as the Northern Banking Partnership, but which grew out of an older private bank dating to the late eighteenth century (D3145/1 within this archive). At the same time, the Belfast Bank and Commercial Bank were both founded in Belfast. Changes brought in by the Irish Banking Act of 1824 permitted banks to start using their own bank notes and to establish themselves as joint-stock entities. In 1824, the Northern Banking Partnership went along

this route, and on 1 January 1825 began trading as the Northern Banking Company with 280 partners, with its headquarters in Belfast, and nine branches scattered throughout the province. At the same time, the two other banks formed in 1809, the Belfast Bank and the Commercial Bank both merged into one of these new joint-stock entities and in 1826, the Belfast Banking Company (BBCo) was founded with 292 partners, headquartered in Belfast, also with nine branches throughout the province. As the industrial revolution took hold in Belfast, both banks enjoyed a golden age of business, and the Northern Banking Company ventured further south and through the acquisition of the late eighteenth century Dublin private bank of Ball & Company, it opened its first office doors in Dublin in 1888.

In the early twentieth century, processes of war and peace and economic instability affected the banking world. In 1917, the Belfast Banking Company was taken over by Midland Bank, at the same time as the Ulster Bank became part of the National Westminster banking company. The Northern Bank remained the sole independent Belfast-based banking company through the turbulent economic landscape of the 1920s and 1930s. During and immediately following the Second World War, the Northern Bank fought to retain its independence but finally succumbed to takeover in 1965, when it was acquired by the Midland Bank who also owned the Belfast Banking Company. With two Irish subsidiaries, the Midland Bank did the sensible thing for its own balance sheet, and in 1970 merged the two to form the Northern Bank we have today, and founded its prestigious headquarters in Belfast in 1976. The Northern Bank archive is currently in the process of being catalogued, which has temporarily been halted due to the need for conservation cleaning and potential conservation work on some of the volumes, but once complete, readers should be able to navigate through the extant documentary history of the Northern Bank since its inception in the 1820s through until the mid-twentieth century, and hopefully beyond if further acquisitions are forthcoming from the institution. This collection is being catalogued according to document type and so far, within the individual sub-fonds for the Belfast Banking Company at D3145/2 and for Northern Bank at D3145/3, there are series level sections for minutes, correspondence, ledgers and journals, and balance sheets. The Northern Bank section (D3145/3) also has a separate file series collection relating to the Belfast Corporation (since Northern Bank was the official banking institution of this corporation) with ledgers relating to redeemable stocks and transfers, but also a series of ledgers relating to mortgages granted under the Belfast Corporation Act of 1913, and covering the period 1915-1921. Other smaller banks for which PRONI holds records are the Enniskillen Savings Bank (D2486) and the Larne Savings Bank (D372).

### Twentieth century: war and peace

PRONI holds records for the major government departments including those that have a direct relationship with economic growth therefore making it possible to build up a substantial picture of economic life in the north of Ireland in the twentieth century. For example, the Department of Commerce (COM), established in 1921 holds files relating to areas such as mines and quarries; tourist development; canal traffic; New Industries Development Act (NI) 1937; Irish Linen Industry Depression Committee (1928); Sea Fish Commission, and Lough Erne Fisheries Enquiry. The Department of Commerce was replaced, more or less, by the Department of Economic Development (DED) in 1982, and again, the files series on offer cover a diverse range of economic interests including tourism; industrial research; harbours; Technology Board; Health and Safety Directorate; Investor in People, and Energy Branch files. With another government shuffle, the Department of Economic Development was taken over, again more or less, by the Department of Enterprise, Trade & Industry (DETI) which is still in operation today, and holds a similar remit to its predecessor with a focus on private sector generation; mineral rights exploration and again, tourism.

The private sector for the twentieth century is also well represented within PRONI, offering a wide range of business interests including the records of Messrs J.J. Hunter, wholesalers of wines and spirits in Belfast, 1959-1971 (D2875); Stewart Motor Lorry Works, 1930 (D2883); John Wright Quantity Surveyor, 1939-1970 (D2894), and business records and architectural plans of Henry Lynn, architect, Belfast, 1930-1972 (D2954). An example of a larger archive is that of Eason & Sons Ltd, wholesale and retail newsagents and stationers, covering the period 1825-1977, and comprising of over 500 documents, 95 volumes and 35 files, documenting the development and growth of this stationer, including his relationship with W.H. Smiths, and how different aspects of the political situation impacted on trade (D3981). Trade, industry and union associations are also commonplace in PRONI's holdings for the twentieth century including the Ulster Bee-Keepers Association (D3972); the Belfast Operatives Bakers' Society (D3594) and the Belfast branch of the National Union of Journalists (D2305) to name but a few.

The unique socio-political situation in Northern Ireland has also impacted on business dealings within the province and as such, these 'quirks' have manifested themselves within the archive. For example, in the period leading up to partition and beyond, firms in the newly formed state of Northern Ireland experienced boycott and the archival evidence for this can be found in the cabinet files of central government (CAB/62). A number of 'black lists' were established and in circulation during the early 1920s with such questions printed on them as 'Read this list carefully before placing your order. Does any firm on this list deserve your support?' (D1207/12). Ollerenshaw discusses the full effects of the boycott in his article 'Business Boycotts and the partition of Ireland.'4 Certainly the archival evidence available in PRONI offers an array of different sources such as a number of hand bills including one relating to the 'Orange Shipworkers' (D3338/L/2/2); archives demonstrating how geographically spread the boycott was including examples from Londonderry (D1207/12) and Portadown (D3338/L/2/3), and the effects of the boycott in other areas of the British Isles (D3338/L/2/1). On the official side, the Home Affairs (HA) archive contains numerous files pertaining to the boycotts, again displaying a wide geographical spread of Sinn Fein-instigated boycotts within rural Ulster against Belfast goods. It was not only the trade of goods that was affected by the boycotts, but also the services industry. One key example within PRONI's archives is evidence relating to the difficulties experienced by the banking industry, and the Treasury Division files in particular within the Ministry of Finance archive indicates such difficulty (FIN/18/1/102). The same document estimates that the overall loss incurred by the north's Wholesale Association during the Nationalist boycotts from mid August 1920 to early November 1921 amounted to just over £5.5 million loss of turnover. Boycott was visible on the streets as another PRONI source indicates: The Royal Irish Constabulary reported their finding of a poster at the corner of Reilly's Place and Cromac Street in Belfast city centre clearly asking Catholics to boycott Protestant shops (FIN/18/1/103), following which a counter-boycott was instigated by the Protestants (FIN/18/1/104).

As stated earlier, processes of war, peace and social change had a profound effect on the economic landscape in what was Northern Ireland following partition. The availability of mass produced clothing after the First World War contributed to the gradual decline of Belfast's linen industry, a complete U-turn from the century prior when Belfast had been the largest linen producing centre in the world.<sup>5</sup> The 1930s saw a need to breathe new life into Northern Ireland's economy and this is reflected in the government

records during the inter-war years, particularly within the Cabinet files. For example, CAB/9/A/3 relates to a series of files covering the period 1924-1937 focusing on the financial situation of the province within the wider UK remit, whilst CAB/9/A/79 is concerned with the Economy Bill (NI) 1931. An interesting group of files pertain to the New Industries Development Act (NI) 1937 where economic interests are coupled with snapshots of local history, since many European companies applied to set up operations in Northern Ireland during this period of political turmoil on mainland Europe. Included within this series of files, COM/17/3, are applications from Jewish businessmen wishing to relocate from central and Western Europe and escape Nazi persecution.

Of course, the Second World War itself had a major effect on Northern Ireland's economy as all industries became focused on the war effort, in line with other parts of the United Kingdom. During the war, a Planning Advisory Board was established (COM/3) and records exist for the period 1942-1945, overlapping with the Post-War Planning Committee whose records run from 1942-1946 (COM/7). The series of 86 files within the Planning Committee offer an insight into the economic thinking of the time, including files on post-war development; changing from wartime to peacetime operations; potential growth in the tourist industry as a source of income for the province; civil industry, and development of infrastructure to support industrial/economic growth.

After the Second World War, traditional heavy industries like engineering and manufacturing also went into decline, exacerbated greatly by the onset of civil unrest in the late 1960s. The Harland & Wolff archive (D2805) contains some excellent examples of such decline and how they diversified their operation to remain productive. The series of press releases issued from Harland & Wolff from the late 1950s onwards demonstrates their involvement in non-shipping contracts and is one such example of diversification in action.

As one might expect, the Troubles features within PRONI's archival holdings and the effects of Ulster's economy is key to understanding the place of Northern Ireland within a UK context. Sources include discussions on the effect of the Troubles on creating job security (CONV/7/95); files on compensation as a result of civil unrest (DED/3); Belfast Corporation Transport Department's financial difficulties as a result of civil disturbances in the early 1970s (DEV/8/30), and claims from trading individuals and companies for compensation as a result of property damage endured during period of civil unrest (NIO/24/1/13).

### Conclusion

It is clear that PRONI hold a diverse range of business archives, offering the full range of economic history for the province of Ulster and more recently, the state of Northern Ireland. As such, a rich documentary heritage relating to Ulster's industrial past can be uncovered and explored.

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# SAVINGS BANKS IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: A NEW INSIGHT INTO INDIVIDUAL SPENDING AND SAVING

### LINDA PERRITON

The York Management School, University of York

### JOSEPHINE MALTBY

The York Management School, University of York

### Introduction

Despite the ubiquitous presence of the savings bank in most high streets and towns in England and Wales throughout the last two centuries they have, until recently, attracted relatively little attention in terms of archive research. Much of the neglect of savings banks in terms of financial and economic history, as opposed to the history of social welfare, is a function of the 'savings only' model used in England and Wales, which funded interest payments to savers by purchasing government bonds.¹ Where banks were set up on a savings *and* loans model (eg Sweden)² they become part of the wider financial network and developing infrastructure into the 20th century, whereas a savings only model, with its limited ability to mirror or influence wider financial fluctuations and developments, has been seen as a footnote in economic history or a rather pedestrian aspect of early social welfare history.

As gender historians we viewed savings banks in a different light. We knew, through our previous investigations of investment behaviour by women in the nineteenth century and from looking at women's involvement in other forms of financial management that an analysis of the ways in which women used financial institutions in this period was key to understanding not only the economic activity of women but also the distribution of money/control within working class households.<sup>3</sup> Regardless of the significance of savings banks funds in the wider nineteenth century banking system, data concerning the behaviour of savers, and the way that savings banks were operated, are important sources of information about how retail banking for the masses developed as a result of the way that households used (and occasionally abused) financial

management tools. Given that savings banks are seen as an important element in building economic stability in many developing nations and rural communities, the insights we can gain from the archive data have real potential to inform current policy decisions as well as our understanding of the past.

There has been an upsurge of interest in the savings movement in the United States, which is claimed by some commentators to be a sign that banking behaviour research has a fresh relevance after the credit crunch of 2007-8. Garon's recent history of worldwide savings<sup>4</sup>, for example, that calls for a return to popular savings movements is one of a number of publications on the issue, many under the aegis of the Institute for American Values.<sup>5</sup> Writing has emphasised the moral quality of thrift. Blankenhorn et al. argue that '(t)hrift is one of the oldest American values... giving people the opportunity to achieve independence through their own efforts and initiative.<sup>6</sup> Such writing stresses the historical roots of the savings movement, often invoking the words of Benjamin Franklin and Samuel Smiles as advocates of savings.<sup>7</sup> The recent calls for the return to thrift add to the case for a fresh consideration of the key features of the savings movement in the decades immediately following its birth.

This paper's aim therefore is to provide an overview of recent archive research into the demographics and behaviour of depositors in a sample of savings banks in England and Wales in the period 1816-1900 as part of a fresh look at the history of savings banks in the UK. The paper is presented in the following sections. In the first section we will briefly outline the history of the savings bank movement in Britain, the literature that currently exists and outline more specific areas of interest in the records. The second section briefly outlines the type of data it is possible to recover from the extant archive collections from savings banks and the banks we have sampled. We then present an overview of the findings so far. The paper concludes by identifying the areas that we think are new and deserve further attention by researchers.

# A brief history of the savings bank movement and the research literature

Savings institutions aimed at the working classes were first formed in Britain in the late eighteenth century with the express aim of their founders of encouraging the poor to exercise thrift in order to protect themselves against old age and illness. The most popular early form of organised *income protection* was the friendly society but the savings bank opened in

Ruthwell in 1810 was the model for a rising wave of local banking institutions throughout Great Britain in the first half of the 19th century. Local savings banks had a number of distinctive features. Firstly, they had an explicit moral purpose – to encourage thrift among the poor, and hence improve behaviour. This moral purpose was an expression of the banks' social positioning: they were founded and run by the elite classes *for* the working classes. Secondly, the social order was reinforced by the banks' governance structures that were based on the model of having volunteer elite boards, made up of local gentry, aristocracy, clergy and/or industrialists, assisted by a small number of paid staff. Thirdly, the banks had a limited function – to provide deposit facilities only with maximum amounts for deposit.<sup>8</sup> Although special investment accounts were offered by some banks later in the century.

They did not lend. Savings banks of this pattern developed rapidly and widely in a variety of locations, from large cities to rural districts. By 1818 there were 283 banks established in England and Wales, with a further 182 in Scotland.9

Their growth slowed, stopped and reversed in the later nineteenth century, dropping back to 442 by 1880 when the trajectory of growth in other countries was still upwards (eg Germany, United States, France, Italy and Spain). 10 The reduction in numbers of savings banks reflected a number of factors. One was the introduction in 1860 of the Post Office Savings Bank (POSB), which operated from a high proportion of Post Office branches. The POSB were professionally run and also more accessible in that they were normally open for longer hours than the savings banks and they offered facilities for transferring money between branches, both features that were attractive to users. But another key feature in the transfer of business to the POSB was arguably the governance weaknesses, leading to a number of well-publicised fraud cases, which affected the volunteerrun savings banks. There was a rising tide of financial regulation legislation in the second half of the century, which was much more onerous for a volunteer board than a professional one in that it required more frequent and transparent financial reporting and audit, regular meetings by trustees, internal controls and – by the end of the century – regulatory inspection of all branches. The nineteenth century ended with savings bank provision centred on a smaller number of large, generally metropolitan banks which were much more closely regulated, professionally managed, and offered a wider range of products than their predecessors. Those that survived, now known as Trustee Savings Banks, did so well into the twentieth century and operated based on this model until the creation of the TSB central clearing bank in 1973.11

Notwithstanding this long institutional history, the existing literature on the growth and development of savings banks in Britain in the nineteenth century is fairly limited. Prior to Garon there have been only two monograph length general histories written in the past century.<sup>12</sup> Other studies have been relatively few in number, and have concentrated on two areas: the class of investors<sup>13</sup>, or local/regional studies on particular banks.<sup>14</sup> But these are not the only issues that are potentially relevant to an understanding of savings banks in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. An area that has so far attracted little attention is that of gender. As mentioned above, previous work on women's activity as investors and as members of financial organisations raises the question of the extent to which women also engaged with savings banks. And, if they did so, what was the relationship between gender and marital/employment status in terms of their overall representation as a proportion of savers; and was their behaviour as savers different from that of other categories?

Pattern of use data is also under-used in British savings bank research. Johnson laments this state of affairs in his account of working class saving and spending in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Johnson's critique focuses on the standard research strategy of recording account balances against depositor occupational classifications. He points out that average account size gives no hint of whether deposits in individual accounts rose and fell in line with external economic trends, the length they were held or the uses they were put to.<sup>15</sup> In the US context the research of Wadhwani and Alter, Goldin and Rotella in relation to the Philadelphia Savings Fund takes just this approach<sup>16</sup> but it has not been widely adopted in British research<sup>17</sup>.

The pilot study outlined below was planned with the intention of increasing our understanding of women as savers. However, in examining a sample of extant archive material it soon became clear that there were obstacles to comparisons between banks and in disaggregating women's data according to age and marital status. The following section of the paper briefly outlines the research plan and the archival resources available and the challenges it presents to researchers of savings behaviour.

# Research outline, data availability and methodology

The data collection process outlined in this paper is the pilot phase designed to inform the development of a larger research proposal on the

financial management strategies of working class women in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The pilot research identified four savings banks in England, selected on the availability of the records, the socio-economic environment they represented and accessibility. The sample includes banks that serviced the East End of London, two growing industrial centres and a market town with links to the railway industry. Specifically, the archive material we consulted was for:

- Bury Savings Bank originals in Lloyds/TSB archive, microfilm copies of some records in Bury Archives. These include minute books 1829-1896, printed annual reports 1865-1975 (gap 1915-1918), internal accounting records 1822-1904, and depositor account ledgers 1822-1903.
- York Savings Bank originals in Lloyds/TSB archive, microfilm copies of some records in York Archives from 1850 onwards.
- Sheffield and Hallamshire Savings Bank- Depositor's declarations covering the period December 1857 May 1860, are kept in Sheffield Archives (but the majority of the bank's records are held by Lloyds/TSB archive).
- Limehouse Savings Bank-Depositors' ledgers covering all accounts opened between 1817 and 1876 and incorporating depositor declaration information in account headers. All originals held by Tower Hamlets Local History Centre and Archives.

Prior to gaining access to the material some assumptions were made about the records that needed testing. For example, it was assumed that it would be possible to construct a chronological record of accounts opened by studying the depositors' declarations. Depositors' declarations were a feature of all banks that allied themselves with the 1817 Savings Bank Act, which required that every new saver that opened an account signed to confirm that s/he was not already an account-holder elsewhere and was therefore permitted to open an account. Declarations, which were often made in bespoke pre-printed books that allocated sequential depositor numbers to new account holders, often also included details of each saver's name, address, age, occupation and marital status. However, in some cases the biographical or 'identifying' information was kept in a separate, indexed register. Where depositor declarations were organised in sequential and chronological order it is possible to construct a year by year record of new account holders classified by saver type. But where only the depositor

index remains unless it also contains a note of when the account is opened then it cannot be used on its own.

Sheffield and Hallamshire Savings Bank, for example, is an example of where it is possible to construct an account list and to allocate the account holder into one of nine account types using just the depositor declarations i.e. an account opened by: an adult male, widow, married woman, single woman, female minor, male minor, trust, charity or joint account. This allows the analysis of *who* was opening accounts and – where a long run of archived depositors' declarations exist – a picture of any changes in the percentage of new accounts being opened by particular groups. This was the most basic level of information that was required for us to construct an analysis, for each bank, as to what categories of women were opening accounts and in what sort of comparative numbers to adult men (who are assumed to be the archetypal saver in this period).

In addition to the objective of comparing the use of savings banks by men and women of all ages the research has been designed to examine, wherever possible, the account behaviour of all savers but especially women. In order to explore savings behaviour the bank archive material must contain depositors' account ledgers. Depositors' account ledgers are less well represented in the archive material held on savings banks – probably because of the space that they took up and also because of the redundancy of the data once the life of the account had expired. Depositors' ledgers can be used in isolation if biographical details about the saver are transferred to the head of the ledger column at the start of the account. Limehouse Savings Bank, for example, has no extant depositors' declarations but the local administrative practice was to write the name, address, marital status (for women only) and adult status at the top of all new account columns.

Even where there the holdings list suggests that there is a long run of continuous account ledgers still in existence for the nineteenth century it is not always possible to extract long run data. The account ledgers for Bury, for example, start in 1822 but account numbers were reorganised and reassigned in 1844 and new accounts issued with reused numbers and in non-continuous sequences in the ledgers making it almost impossible to reconstruct lists of new account cohorts until 1854.

It was possible to examine savers' behaviour in two of our sample banks – Limehouse and Bury. Two sample years of 1851 and 1861 were selected prior to the start of the data collection in order to allow crosschecking of depositors against the census records. Unfortunately,

because of the renumbering and reorganisation of the Bury account ledgers it was not possible to collect reliable data for Bury in 1851 and 1861 and instead the closest year of complete ledger details was chosen (ie 1855) and then 1865. Individual accounts were summarised using the following measures: length of account holding, maximum balance held, number of transactions and notes taken of any additional activity in respect of the account, eg the addition of a spouse as co-holder or unusual features.

Even within a small pilot sample of bank records it became obvious that comparative data was going to be difficult to extract. Trustee savings banks did not operate as branches of a central bank but as independently formed and operated local banks. Each savings bank remained a separate legal entity even when they chose to be covered by the terms and conditions of the Savings Bank Act of 1817 and subsequent acts. In the absence of a centralized bureaucracy or standard operating procedures banks were free to follow their own administrative whims. It is this lack of standardisation, which persists throughout the century that represents the main obstacle to collecting comparative data. The formats in which the individual depositor accounts are presented are often the result of an individual trustee's best approximation of what a bank ledger should look like or of what was available from their local stationery supplier. Presentation styles also evolve over time, which can make it difficult to compare depositor data from one decade to another even within the same bank. The basic information that savings banks were required to collect from their depositors was not set out in legislation until 1828, which means that although some broad depositor information is available from 181620 it is only in 1828 that most savings bank data becomes detailed enough to be useful<sup>21.</sup>

Therefore when we refer to nineteenth century savings bank data in respect of depositors it is more accurate to think of financial activity in the period 1830-1900.

The crucial elements of record keeping, and the necessary elements of internal control for banks during the nineteenth century were: a) a depositor's declaration for each saver, b) depositor-identifying information such as name, address, age, occupation and marital status, c) a record of cash received from and paid out to each saver for every day the branch was open, d) a record of the cash balance paid into the bank's external account, e) a ledger with movements on each individual saver's account (receipts, withdrawals, interest credited) showing value and date of each, f) a passbook held by each saver with a balance corresponding to that held by

the bank in (e), g) a ledger for the bank's expenses (e.g. wages, building upkeep) and sundry income if any and h) governance records such as minutes of trustees' meetings.

Whilst all savings needed this information it does not necessarily mean that it is still accessible or in existence. Conservation of nineteenth century savings bank records is far from systematic or centralised. Archive material from the early London savings banks, for example, most of which is still held in county and borough archives, rarely contains depositors' ledgers giving long runs of new accounts and their activity. Where depositors' financial records do exist, the most commonly held nineteenth century records relating to savers are depositors' declarations, although like depositors' ledgers it is relatively rare to find complete chronological sets. Out of the 238 branch and legacy branch records held by Lloyds TSB, for example, only 23 branches have nineteenth century depositors' ledgers in runs of more than 50 years.

The 1828 Savings Bank Act may have defined the basic information that should be held for each depositor but did not stipulate *how* this information should be organised internally. As mentioned above, some banks recorded the information from the depositor declarations at the top of each account record in the ledgers and had a system of named accounts. Others recorded personal information in a registration book and assigned an account number for the depositor ledger. In cases where there is a numbered account ledger but no corresponding registration book it is not possible to make a connection between the individual depositor and their account.

Creating a comprehensive database of nineteenth century retail and savings bank archive material is outside the scope of our project. However, within our current set of sample banks it is possible to identify depositors with relative confidence by gender, adult and marital status and occupation from the depositors' declarations and the ledgers. Where savings behaviour is concerned it is possible to create a set of savings cohorts and to analyse the management of individual accounts in terms of amounts deposited and drawn out within each ledger volume. The vagaries of transferring the balances and information attached to individual account holders where the life of the account exceeded the ledger volume it was first entered into proved too complex. In practice therefore the data collected noted where accounts lasted a minimum of ten years, which is about the length of time covered by a single account ledger in the banks sampled.

A spreadsheet was created for each ledger volume examined. The first

three columns were for biographical details: the page of the ledger the record appeared on, the name of the depositor and their address. The following three columns recorded total transactions on the account (excluding interest payments) and then the number of deposits and withdrawals. The maximum account balance was then noted, with separate columns for pounds, shillings and pence. The attribution of the saver was then recorded against one of the following available categories: male, widow, married woman, single woman, minor (female), minor (male), charity, trust and joint accounts. A note was made in a dedicated column if the account had undergone some form of transition or change in its history (e.g. a single female had become married, or a spouse's name had been added changing a single account to a joint account). After the data was collected and the categories of accounts were established based on patterns of deposit and withdrawal the accounts were also categorised as 'in and out', 'accumulating', 'drawn down', 'contingency' and 'lump sum' (categories defined in Section 3 below).

The data collection phase for the pilot study has now been completed. On accessing the archive material it was possible to construct the following data set: a year-by-year summary of new accounts by saver category for Limehouse from 1830-1876, four sample years with details of account behaviour for Limehouse (1851/1861) and Bury (1855/1865), a sample of new accounts by saver category for Sheffield & Hallamshire (1857-1860), and totals of saver categories (by occupation) for York at points between 1816 and 1826. Within the resources available Limehouse has been established as the benchmark for comparison in terms of category of saver, long terms trends in saver category, type of account created, saver behaviour and economic participation.<sup>22</sup> Other bank records have been sampled selectively to check whether the categories established by the Limehouse data sets are robust and reliable and could form the basis of a wider data collection exercise. For example, the Limehouse accounts reveal a small, but persistent, number of 'joint accounts' by family members, married persons and non-related individuals. Sheffield and Hallamshire records also reveal the existence of joint accounts but Bury accounts for 1855/1865 and the depositors' index for accounts do not. Such discrepancies are helpful in the sense that they qualify comparative data between banks (ie did savers, especially married savers, have the option of organising their finances in a particular way and, if not, how does that affect our analysis of the numbers in comparative data?). They also suggest new, or additional, research questions (eg to what extent did local management decisions affect working class financial management strategies?). Some of those issues of comparability, interpretation of categories of saver and modification of research questions arise again in the next section when the preliminary analysis of the Limehouse data and the two sample years from Limehouse and Bury are discussed.

### **Preliminary findings**

As mentioned previously, one of the principle aims of the pilot research was to establish whether, and in what numbers, women were using savings banks as part of their financial management strategies and tools. From that main research question came sub-questions regarding whether or not differences could be discerned between categories of women savers in terms of the age, employment and marital status of women savers, the frequency/regularity/amount of savings deposits and the length of time for which savings accounts remained open.

Decade	1830s	1840s	1850s	1860s	1870s (partial)
Number of total new accounts in each decade	2440	3156	3885	2633	1480
Adult Male accounts % (total)	35.8	37.3	38.4	37.9	38.5
Adult Female accounts % (total) <sup>1</sup>	31.2	33.3	34.8	39.8	40.0
* widows %	4.4	4.9	3.9	4.5	4.3
* married women %	14.8	16.6	18.3	23.0	24.7
* single women %	12.0	11.8	12.6	12.3	11.0
Female Minors %	9.3	6.6	7.8	6.5	6.3
Male Minors %	11.5	8.9	9.1	8.5	9.3
Charities %	2.8	3.5	2.6	3.5	3.6
Non-standard %	9.4	10.6	7.2	3.8	2.3

Table One: Limehouse Savings Bank, new savers' percentages by classification

From the long-run data available from the Limehouse accounts it is clear that adult men represent the largest overall group of depositors from its opening until the end of the 1850s. However, the proportion of adult male depositors relative to adult women depositors is not overwhelming; this is particularly interesting given the assumption that more adult males would be economically active than women in this period. The number of married women account holders rises at the end of the 1850s, and not in the 1870s as might be expected given the timing of the Married Women's Property Act. It suggests that the POSB, with its

ability for a deposit to be made in one branch and a withdrawal from another, might have been attractive to a mobile working man and meant that accounts no longer needed to be held close to the family base. But the overall account trends suggest that within categories of depositors, as defined by age, gender and – within the adult woman category – marital status, the distribution of accounts remained relatively steady throughout the period.

The reduction in the number of trust accounts after 1844 can be attributed to legislation that amended the regulations so that accounts could not be held in trust without the person for whom the trust was established enjoying the benefit of the account. After 1844 the trustee and the individual for whom the account was held both had to sign on withdrawal. The adult trust account was widely believed to be a loophole in the regulations through which middle class investors (the bogeyman of those who saw savings banks as mechanisms for instilling thrift in the working class population) exploited the banks by creating multiple accounts and benefitting from the higher interest rates than those available commercially.

Although there is a noticeable fall in the number of adult trust accounts after 1844 such accounts are still opened but they appear to be used to manage the finances of adults who are prevented from looking after their own affairs by physical, mental health or learning disabilities. A smaller drop is also seen in the number of trust accounts for minors, although this change is not as significant and the effect lags behind that

	Percentage of Total New Accounts in Sample Years					
Saver Categories	Limehouse 1851	Limehouse 1861	Bury 1855	Bury 1865		
Adult Men	38%	41%	49%	44%		
Adult Women	34%	39%	38%	39%		
* widows	5%	5%	4%	2%		
* married women	18%	22%	8%	8%		
* single women	11%	12%	26%	29%		
Female minors	7%	6%	6%	9%		
Male minors	11%	9%	7%	7%		
Joint accounts	6%	4%	N/A	N/A		
Trusts	4%	2%	0%	0%		

Table Two: Percentage of accounts held by different saver categories in Limehouse and Bury in the respective sample years.

of adult trusts – perhaps a result of such accounts being kept until children obtain their majority and/or a level of economic activity justifying their own account.

The first comparative results from the pilot research suggest that adult women represented a significant percentage of savers in both the London metropolitan area and in the industrial northwest. However, the comparison of sample years shows that there are regional differences in who – within the larger category of adult women savers – are the largest group of savers. In Limehouse the largest group of women savers are married women; in Bury the largest group of female depositors are single women. These local shifts in representation are perhaps the result of the socio-economic environment and mix of industries and employment opportunities available to women in each location. The consistency in the representation of adult women in both Limehouse and Bury savings banks, together with the absence (as a probable result of local management decisions) of joint and other non-standard accounts, suggests that non-standard account forms are more likely to affect adult male account holding numbers than those of women. The implication of these findings – and what they suggest about financial management strategies within households – is an important additional question for the planned larger research project.

The preliminary analysis of saver behaviour, or 'pattern of use', data has also suggested that this is a promising line of investigation where continuous and chronological sequential account ledger records are available. As explained briefly in the methodology section the coding system for account use is based on patterns of deposit and withdrawal. Two surveys using the total number of transactions were undertaken by the POSB in 1930 where accounts were classified according to whether they had ≤ five transactions, ≤ eleven transactions ≥ thirty transactions.<sup>23</sup> This results in a somewhat one-dimensional picture of account activity. A further option is to calculate an average transaction rate per annum using the data on how long the account has been open. However, a 'transaction per year' score does not indicate how the accounts were used. In order to identify different types of accounts it is necessary to compare deposit and withdrawal transactions and to remove interest additions by the institution from the total count.

Comparing deposit and withdrawal activity identified five types of account usage. The first account type is where there are two transactions in total ie there was an opening deposit and a subsequent withdrawal of the

	Most common account type in each saver category						
Saver Categories	Limehouse 1851	Limehouse 1861	Bury 1855	Bury 1865			
_	Contingency	Contingency					
Adult Men	(65%)	(61%)	Contingency (56%)	Contingency (44%)			
Adult Women							
* widows	Contingency	Contingency					
	(50%)	(56%)	Contigency (53%)	Contingency (75%)			
* married	Contingency	Contingency					
women	(67%)	(65%)	Contingency (48%)	Accumulating (50%)			
* single	Contingency						
women	(58%)	Continency (46%)	Contingency (45%)	Contingency (43%)			
Female minors	Contingency	Accumulating					
	(54%)	(47%)	Accumulating (46%)	Accumulating (61%)			
Male minors	Contingency	Contingency					
	(68%)	(52%)	Accumulating (57%)	Accumulating (68%)			
Joint accounts	Contingency	Contingency					
	(71%)	(43%)	N/A	N/A			
Trusts	Contingency	Accumulating	In & Out 50%/Cont				
	(63%)	(50%)	50%	Contingency (100%)			

Table Three: Most commonly occurring account type in each saver category

same amount prior to the qualifying period for interest accrual. This account usage is labelled the 'in and out' account. The second type of account usage also had two transactions; an opening deposit and a withdrawal but in this category of account the money was left for at least two years. This type of account usage is referred to as the 'lump sum' deposit. The third type of account is where, regardless of the amount of activity above the minimum two transactions, there is no discernible pattern of deposits and withdrawals. This sort of account, which is suggestive of an account being used to plan for and to respond to normal household contingencies in a short time period, has been classified in our study as a 'contingency account'. The fourth category of account corresponds to a target saving behaviour where there is a regular pattern of deposits and then one lump sum withdrawal, presumably when the individual's saving objective has been met. This account usage has been designated the 'accumulating account'. Finally, there is the account that consists of a single deposit from which the customer withdraws from in smaller withdrawal amounts over time until the original money is depleted and the account is closed. This is referred to as a 'draw down' account.

Further work has to be done in analysing saver behaviour according to the time the account is held (eg establishing whether 'in and out' accounts are suggestive of 'failed' savings intent by being clustered in the < 2 years account category). However, the overall implication of the findings – that most savers were using their accounts to manage the cyclical contingencies of their household budgets rather than accumulating a lump sum to use as a

pension fund, as the founders fondly imagined they would do – is important. The findings summarised in Table Three suggest that the conduct of savers transcended the 'savings' aim of the founders and that rather than looking at savings bank records for what they can tell us about the philanthropic aims of politicians and social reformers, we are likely to find that account ledgers and depositors' declarations can provide insight into the formation of mass market consumer banking in England and Wales.

### Further research needed

The work completed so far as part of the pilot project suggests that savings banks, and their archived account holder records, deserve greater attention than previously given. The preliminary results suggest a number of possible directions for extension of this work. For example, the clear differences in the representation of married and single women in Limehouse and Bury suggest that it is desirable to extend its geographical scope in order to reflect local economic contexts and types of industrial settings. Some variation seems to be apparent at the moment, but a wider sample is needed to support or contradict this suggestion. Was this difference related to local economies, or to the behaviour of management at different banks, e.g. encouraging or deterring particular groups of savers? Similarly, did periods of local economic growth or depression result in different behaviours in terms of saving per se, the pattern of use (so that, eg, accounts were cleared because of lower earnings) or the gender of savers?

It is also the case that as the nineteenth century progressed many smaller banks vanished, although the largest metropolitan ones survived into the twentieth century. Another question for the data is whether it is possible to relate survival to the pattern of use of accounts in those banks. Was it the case, for example, that smaller banks were less able to compete against the competition of the POSB, whereas the larger ones had longer-term, more loyal savers? Beyond the banks themselves, this work suggests potential new insights into household savings behaviour. There is evidence that married women exercised economic agency by opening and managing accounts, and that they were able to pursue a variety of patterns of saving, for the long as well as the short term. What does this suggest about the management of money within the household? Were they acting on behalf of husbands and children who brought home the money, or has employment by married women in the mid-nineteenth century been understated?

The records reviewed so far also suggest a phenomenon that has had little attention paid to it in any of the literature on savings banks: the use of

joint accounts by pairs or groups of savers other than married couples. These include family members (e.g. mother and adult daughter) but also unrelated men and women. These accounts potentially offer more flexibility in saving and spending and, again, their relationship to the formation of retail bank products and to the success of the banks that offered these types of opportunities needs to be examined further.

#### Conclusion

The account given above of our pilot project examination of account holder data should encourage other researchers to return to savings banks' records to examine working class financial management strategies in the nineteenth century. The evidence from Limehouse and Bury about the significance of the activity by married women as savers, and the existence of joint married accounts in Limehouse, challenges the existing literature regarding working class women and financial independence. The presence of married women's accounts in nineteenth-century account ledgers of British savings banks has been overlooked24 and the marital status of women savers has very probably been the casualty of the almost exclusive interest in occupation as a way of categorising savers. An emphasis on occupational categories has had the effect of marginalising the discussion of women in the savings literature because they often make up the bulk of the single occupational category of domestic servant. Having found an occupational explanation for the presence of women savers there has been little interest in looking more closely at women savers. Even where the account holdings of married women are specifically considered, as in Pollock's study of the Bridgeton Cross branch of the Glasgow Savings Bank, the majority of the discussion is not given over to the data but to speculating whose money the women are depositing.<sup>25</sup>

The savings banks were founded with moral and social aims – to improve the behaviour of the working classes by stimulating long-term savings, thus diverting customers from feckless enjoyment and giving them a stake in society. But the patterns of savings behaviour we have found so far suggest that customers saw the opportunity to use the banks' facilities, limited though these were, to meet their personal needs. This appears to be reflected in two ways: in a set of different patterns of saving, for short as well as for long-term, and in a variety of different ownership groups, married and single. We are confident that if this work was extended we would be able to chart the regional differences and socio-economic

influences on savings behaviours of all groups. In the short term we intend to continue our work on using the findings on women's savings behaviour to re-assess the established debates about married women's financial dependency and to investigate wider questions regarding the management of finance by the working classes.

### Acknowledgements

Much of the fieldwork supporting this research has been made possible as a result of a BAC bursary that has part-funded the costs associated with accessing the archives of a number of provincial and metropolitan savings banks, which later amalgamated to form the Trustees Savings Bank. The authors are grateful to the BAC for the opportunity the bursary gave for this pilot research to be carried out. We would like to extend our thanks also to the staff at the Tower Hamlets Local History Library and Archives, especially Malcolm Barr-Hamilton; the staff at York City Archives (now part of York Explore); Bury Archives and Sheffield Archives. We are especially indebted to Karen Sampson, Anne Archer and the team at Lloyds TSB Archives for their patience and assistance.

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- This information is of obvious value to family historians and has resulted in some depositors' declarations being transcribed to provide easier access for genealogists. Such a project was undertaken for the depositors' declarations for the Sheffield and Hallamshire Savings Bank 1857-1860 creating a database of over 7400 account holders including basic biographical details.
- The Limehouse Savings Bank, for example, and in contrast to other savings banks of the period never allowed the opening of an account using only a number or ticket. The practice of not requiring named depositors created, critics of the system believed, the means by which the middle classes could open multiple accounts.
- <sup>21</sup> Cap XCII 9 GEO IV An act to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to Savings Banks 28th July 1828. Clause XXXII stated that 'no sum shall be paid or subscribed into any Savings Bank by any person or persons by ticket or number or otherwise without disclosing his or her name together with his or her profession business occupation calling and residence to the Trustees or Managers of such Savings Bank and the Trustees or Managers of every Savings Bank are hereby required to cause be name of such depositor together with his or her profession business occupation calling and residence to be entered in the books of the Institution'.
- A more detailed analysis of current Limehouse results is currently available in L. Perriton, Depositor trends in the Limehouse Savings Bank, London between 1830 and 1876. 2012 http://www.esbg.eu/template/event.aspx?id=1526&section=Winners (accessed 1 September 2012)
- <sup>23</sup> Johnson, Saving and Spending, 1985, 98.
- Maltby, 'The wife's administration of the earnings?' (2011), is an exception.
- Pollock, Aspects of thrift in east end Glasgow, op. cit., 133. Even more disappointing is the fact that Pollock is responding to an anticipated, rather than actual, challenge to his statement that women were opening bank accounts in their own name in order to seek an element of personal economic security.

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# Compiled by RICHARD A. HAWKINS University of Wolverhampton

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# **BUSINESS RECORDS DEPOSITED IN 2011**

# MIKE ANSON Bank of England Archive

Compiled from information provided by the National Archives, Kew.

# Advertising, media, printing and publishing

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Dundee University Archive, Records Management and Museum Services, Tower Building, Dundee, Angus, DD1 4HN: Publishing Scotland, Dundee: marketing material, board meeting papers and annual reports c1980-2006 (2011/471)

Glasgow University Archive Services, 13 Thurso Street, Glasgow, G11 6PE: Blackie & Sons, publishers, Glasgow: records, mainly catalogues and files of authors' corresp 20th cent (ACCN 3633)

History of Advertising Trust Archive, 12 Raveningham Centre, Raveningham, Norwich, NR14 6NU: George Butler, art director, JW Thompson Ltd: further corresp, publications, photographs and art work 1923-1995 (HAT21/493)

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Oxford University: Bodleian Library, Western Manuscripts, Broad Street, Oxford, OX1 3BG: Anthony Gardner, bookbinder: additional corresp and photographs 20th cnt (6663)

Suffolk Record Office, Lowestoft Branch, The Library, Clapham Road, Lowestoft, Suffolk, NR32 1DR: William Clowes (Beccles) Ltd, printers and publishers: apprenticeship indentures and related papers, photographs of staff and premises, and glass plate negatives of book illustrations c 1870-1979 (2083)

Surrey History Centre, 130 Goldsworth Road, Woking, Surrey, GU21 6ND: Wolsey Press Ltd, Esher: annual accounts 1940-66 (8904)

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# Agriculture, forestry and fishing

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### Architects and landscape design

Gloucestershire Archives, Clarence Row, Alvin Street, Gloucester, GL1 3DW: Illman Young Landscape Design Ltd, Cheltenham: additional project files and plans 1994-2005 (D10830)

Norfolk Record Office, The Archive Centre, Martineau Lane, Norwich, NR1 2DQ: MEPK, architects, Bedford: papers rel to developments in Norfolk 1983-1993 (ACC 2010/296); Purcell Miller & Tritton, architects and historic buildings consultants, Norwich: additional drawings and papers rel to churches and historic buildings in Norfolk 1908-1997 (ACC 2011/201); Anthony Rossi, architect, Walsingham: architectural and archaeological reports rel to St John Baptist Roman Catholic Cathedral, Norwich, Pentney Priory gatehouse and the Tower Curing Works, Great Yarmouth 1993-2002 (ACC 2011/159); John Sennitt & Associates, architects, Coltishall: additional drawings rel to Norfolk churches c 1908-1997 (ACC 2011/201); Wearing Hastings & Norton, architects, Norwich: additional architectural drawings rel to cider factory and other buildings of William Gayner and Sons Ltd, Attleborough 1936-1948 (BR 332)

Northumberland Archives, Woodhorn, Queen Elizabeth II Country Park, Ashington, Northumberland, NE63 9YF: Reavell & Cahill, architects, Alnwick: additional records c 1900-2000 (NRO 04232)

# Auctioneers, estate agents, surveyors and property

East Sussex Record Office, The Maltings, Castle Precincts, Lewes, East Sussex, BN7 1YT: Jenner & Parker, auctioneers, Hove: records of property auctions 1880-1919 (ACC 10881) Essex Record Office, Wharf Road, Chelmsford, Essex, CM2 6YT: Ernest Johnson, auctioneer, surveyor and estate agent, Clacton-on-Sea: sales catalogues, plans, architectural drawings and deeds 1913-1943 (A13219)

Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Hampshire Record Office, Sussex Street, Winchester, SO23 8TH: Carter Jonas, estate agents, Winchester: client papers incl ledgers for Hinton estate and papers rel to Marwell Manor, Owselbury 1845-2006 (131A11W) Norfolk Record Office, The Archive Centre, Martineau Lane, Norwich, NR1 2DQ: David Lemon, surveyor: working papers rel to properties in Norfolk 1973-2011 (ACC 2011/11) Powys County Archives Office, County Hall, Llandrindod Wells, Powys, LD1 5LG: Hubert Watkins, auctioneers, Llanfyllin: statements of purchase rel to sheep, pigs and cattle, diaries

and notebooks relating to valuations 1940s-1970s (M/BI/8)

Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, 2 Titanic Boulevard, Titanic Quarter, Belfast, BT3 9HQ: George Preston & Son, estate agents, Dromore: records 1910-1960 (D4514) Shropshire Archives, Castle Gates, Shrewsbury, Shropshire, SY1 2AQ: Nock, Deighton & Son, auctioneers and estate agents, Bridgnorth: account ledgers detailing advertising costs rel to the sale of land and properties in Telford, Bridgnorth and Shrewsbury areas 1974-1979 (8375)

Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch, Gatacre Road, Ipswich, Suffolk, IP1 2LQ: Oxborrow, Son & Morgan, auctioneers and surveyors, Ipswich: corresp rel to Orwell Hotel, Felixstowe and Tollemache Brewery site, indexed registers rel to valuations for probate, war damage, and dilapidations and other records 1911-1967 (HE403)

Surrey History Centre, 130 Goldsworth Road, Woking, Surrey, GU21 6ND: Messenger, May & Baverstock, surveyors, land agents and valuers, Guildford: log of PA Luxmore-May, surveyor, recording houses sold, with prices 1963-79 (8833)

West Sussex Record Office, Sherburne House, 3 Orchard Street, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 1RN: Humberts, estate agents, Lewes: files (transferred from East Sussex Record Office) 20th cent (Acc 16294)

Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Cocklebury Road, Chippenham, Wiltshire, SN15 3QN: Carter Jonas, estate agents, Bath: sale notices and sales particulars from predecessor businesses 1913-1987 (2764); Carter Jonas, estate agents, Marlborough: architectural plans of properties managed on behalf of Crown Estates, Devizes and Savernake and other records 20th cent (4021)

Wirral Archives Service, Lower Ground Floor, Cheshire Lines Building, Canning Street, Birkenhead, CH41 1ND: Cavendish Enterprise Centre Ltd, property services, Birkenhead: plans 1981-2000 (1991)

### Banking, finance and insurance

Cornwall Record Office, Old County Hall, Truro, Cornwall, TR1 3AY: Abbott & Wickett, stock and share brokers, Redruth: partnership deeds and leases 1904-1968 (AD2109) Dundee University Archive, Records Management and Museum Services, Tower Building, Dundee, Angus, DD1 4HN: Alliance Trust Co Ltd, Dundee: records of debentures, shareholders, corresp with agencies in America c1920-1989 (2011/423)

Glasgow University Archive Services, 13 Thurso Street, Glasgow, G11 6PE: Sir Robert Smith, chartered accountant: papers rel to liquidation of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders and takeover of William Collins & Sons, publishers 1968-89 (ACCN 3613; ACCN 3629)

Gloucestershire Archives, Clarence Row, Alvin Street, Gloucester, GL1 3DW: Stroud & Swindon Building Society: additional records, rules minutes and papers predecessor co Stroud Provident Benefit Building Society 1850-1921 (D12214)

London Metropolitan Archives: City of London, 40 Northampton Road, London, EC1R 0HB: St Martins-Le-Grand Investment Co Ltd, London: records 1901-1981 (B11/050) Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester, Liverpool Road, Castlefield, Manchester, M3 4FP: Ashworth Mosley & Co, accountants, Manchester: audit records for various Manchester companies c1876-1950 (2011.63)

Northumberland Archives, Woodhorn, Queen Elizabeth II Country Park, Ashington, Northumberland, NE63 9YF: Northumberland Credit Union: additional records 2008-2009 (NRO 07940)

# **Brewing**

English Heritage Archive, Archive Services, The English Heritage Archive, The Engine House, Fire Fly Avenue, Swindon, SN2 2EH: Brewery History Society: photographs (10,000) 20th cent (BHS01)

Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Hampshire Record Office, Sussex Street, Winchester, SO23 8TH: George Gale & Co Ltd, brewers, Horndean: image and historical material rel to pubs and advertisements c1875-2007 (29A11)

Nottinghamshire Archives, County House, Castle Meadow Road, Nottingham, NG2 1AG: James Hole & Co Ltd, brewers, Newark: day and wages books 1896-1955 (8003) Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent Archive Service: Lichfield Record Office, Lichfield Library, The Friary, Lichfield, WS13 6QG: Allied Breweries Ltd, Burton: research records 1950s-1997 (522)

Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Cocklebury Road, Chippenham, Wiltshire, SN15 3QN: Wadley & Co, brewers, Highworth: accounts 1898-1918 (3986); Wadworth & Co Ltd, brewers, Devizes: deeds to inns in Bath (Somerset) and Nether Wallop (Hampshire) 1849-1969 (2816)

### **Building**, construction and supplies

Aberdeen City and Aberdeenshire Archives: Town House branch, Town House, Broad Street, Aberdeen, AB10 1AQ: Lawson, Turnbull & Co Ltd, plumbers' merchants and electrical factors, Aberdeen: private ledgers and journals 1902-1943 (DD1551) Cornwall Record Office, Old County Hall, Truro, Cornwall, TR1 3AY: John Samuel Tregenza & Sons, builders, Newlyn: business records incl work diary, contracts and plans 1937-1960 (AD1518)

Cumbria Archive and Local Studies Centre, Whitehaven, Scotch Street, Whitehaven, Cumbria, CA28 7NL: JW Douglas, joiner and builder, Workington: wage records 1923 (YDB 75)

Derbyshire Record Office, New Street, Matlock, Derbyshire, DE4 3FE: R Skevington & Sons, painters, decorators and railway contractors, Derby: ledgers 1909-1935 (D7402) Devon Record Office, Great Moor House, Bittern Road, Sowton, Exeter, Devon, EX2 7NL: Berry & Vincent Ltd, builders, Crediton: corresp plans and specifications for Devon projects 1970-1979 (7959)

Dumfries and Galloway Archives, Archive Centre, 33 Burns Street, Dumfries, Dumfriesshire, DG1 2PS: R & D McDonald, joiners and undertakers, New Abbey: records 1906-1970 (GGD706)

East Sussex Record Office, The Maltings, Castle Precincts, Lewes, East Sussex, BN7 1YT: James & Frank Dengate, builders, decorators and undertakers, Sedlescombe: records 1924-48 (ACC 11001)

Edinburgh City Archives, Department of Corporate Services, City of Edinburgh Council, City Chambers, High Street, Edinburgh, EH1 1YJ: McArthur Brothers, painters and house decorators, Edinburgh: ledgers and accounts c1890-1959 (Accn 870) Essex Record Office, Wharf Road, Chelmsford, Essex, CM2 6YT: Binnie & Partners, consulting engineers, Redhill: records rel to Thames Tidal Defences at Canvey Island, Benfleet, Tilbury and Wennington 1974-2011 (A13137)

Glasgow University Archive Services, 13 Thurso Street, Glasgow, G11 6PE: McKean Group Ltd, civil engineering contractors, Glasgow: records, mainly financial 1950-1980 (ACCN 3611)

Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Hampshire Record Office, Sussex Street, Winchester, SO23 8TH: JT Barton, builder, Odiham: records incl ledgers, wage books 1946-85 (85A11); Edward Hellis, carpenter, Odiham: records incl day books 1838-62 (85A11)

Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, CHR002, County Hall, Pegs Lane, Hertford, SG13 8EJ: Benjamin Busby, builder and undertaker, Abbots Langley: day books 1890-1929 (Acc 5172); James Darvill & Son, builders, Watford: records 1902-1972 (Acc 5098)

Isle of Wight Record Office, 26 Hillside, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 2EB: Twymans, builders and funeral directors, Freshwater: additional business records 1899-1985 (2011/060)

Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, Record Office for, Long Street, Wigston Magna, Leicester, LE18 2AH: J Hunt & Son, builders, Leicester: business records incl ledgers, cash books, annual statements, notebooks, corresp, plans 1926-1982 (DE8143) Liverpool Record Office, Unit 33, Wellington Employment Park South, Dunes Way (off Sandhills Lane), Liverpool, L5 9RJ: Excelsior Saw Mills Ltd, Liverpool: deeds and photographs 19th - 20th cent (380 EXC)

National Maritime Museum: The Caird Library, Manuscripts Section, Greenwich, London, SE10 9NF: J Kirkaldy & Son Ltd, paint, varnish and enamel manufacturers, painters and plumbers, London: cash book 1808-1819 (MSS/80/095)

Norfolk Record Office, The Archive Centre, Martineau Lane, Norwich, NR1 2DQ: ACP Brown, builder and undertaker, Norwich: accounts and other records c 1942-1952 (ACC 2010/336)

North Devon Record Office, North Devon Library and Record Office, Tuly Street, Barnstaple, Devon, EX31 1EL: RH Burgess, builder, Barnstaple: ledgers, sales books, Putsborough workbook, wages books 1931-1974 (A432)

Nottinghamshire Archives, County House, Castle Meadow Road, Nottingham, NG2 1AG: William Woodsend Ltd, builders and contractors, Nottingham: contract ledgers, day, cash and wage books 1881-1959 (DD/2675, DD/99)

Somerset Heritage Centre, Brunel Way, Norton Fitzwarren, Taunton, Somerset, TA2 6SF: King family, builders, Frome: cash book incl household accounts 1826-1836 (A\DHT) Surrey History Centre, 130 Goldsworth Road, Woking, Surrey, GU21 6ND: Carpenter, Great Bookham: business records 1873-76 (8869)

Tyne and Wear Archives, Blandford House, Blandford Square, Newcastle Upon Tyne, NE1 4JA: Brims & Co Ltd, public works contractors, Newcastle upon Tyne: photographs of construction works c1900-50 (DX1425)

West Sussex Record Office, Sherburne House, 3 Orchard Street, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 1RN: Jim Wakefield & Leslie Staniforth, builders and decorators, Shoreham: records c1930-79 (Acc 16166)

Wigan Archives Service, Leigh Town Hall, Civic Square, Leigh, Wigan, WN7 1DY: Builder: day book 1799-1801 (Acc. 2011/125)

### Chemicals, oils, plastics, refining and rubber

Science Museum Library and Archives, Science Museum at Wroughton, Hackpen Lane, Wroughton, Swindon, SN4 9NS: Bakelite Xylonite Ltd, Brantham: additional minutes, ledgers, photographs and papers 1904-1980 (2011-35)

Southwark Local History Library and Archive, John Harvard Library, 211 Borough High Street, London, SE1 1JA: John Crutchley, dyer, Southwark: dye and account books from Crutchley family dying business 1700-1799 (2011/5)

### Co-operative societies

East Sussex Record Office, The Maltings, Castle Precincts, Lewes, East Sussex, BN7 1YT: Lewes Co-operative Society: additional ledgers c1930-39 (ACC 10964)

# Electrical, electronics and telecommunications

Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester, Liverpool Road, Castlefield, Manchester, M3 4FP: Electricity Northwest: records and photographs 1920-2010 (2011.19) St Andrews University Library, Department of Special Collections, University Library, Library Annexe, North Haugh, St Andrews, Fife, KY16 9WH: British Thomson-Houston Co Ltd, manufacturers of electrical machinery and equipment, London: papers on turbo-alternators at Guardbridge Paper Mill 1924-1973 (ms38789)

Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch, Gatacre Road, Ipswich, Suffolk, IP1 2LQ: Norton Devices (Controls) Ltd, electrical control gear manufacturers, Ipswich: records 1713-1986 (HC495)

Tyne and Wear Archives, Blandford House, Blandford Square, Newcastle Upon Tyne, NE1 4JA: CA Parsons & Co Ltd, electricity generator manufacturers, Newcastle upon Tyne: photographs of machine shop, Heaton c 1960-70 (DS.CAP); Reyrolle Ltd, electrical switchgear manufacturers, Hebburn; British Short Circuit Testing Station corresp, research records and plans 1928-1997 (DS.REY)

# Employers, trade and business organisations

Aberdeen University, Special Libraries and Archives, The Wolfson Reading Room, Special Collections Centre, University Library, Bedford Road, Aberdeen, AB24 3AA: Aberdeen Fish Salesmen's Association Ltd: directors and AGM minutes, annual reports, cash book 1896-2003 (Acc no 526)

Bolton Archives and Local Studies Service, Civic Centre, Le Mans Crescent, Bolton, BL1 1SE: Bolton Chamber of Commerce and Industry: records c1900-2000

Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, County Hall, Walton Street, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, HP20 1UU: Chesham & District Woodware Manufacturers' Association: minutes 1917-29 (D 282)

Coventry History Centre, Herbert Art Gallery and Museum, Jordan Well, Coventry, CV1 5QP: Company of Cappers and Feltmakers, Coventry: account book 1925 (PA2825) Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlisle, Lady Gillford's House, Petteril Bank Road, Carlisle, Cumbria, CA1 3AJ: Church & Cathedral Shops Association: records 1970-2009 (DSO 288)

Dudley Archives and Local History Service, Mount Pleasant Street, Coseley, Dudley, WV14 9JR: Dudley Traders Association: minutes, accounts, other records; minutes of Dudley Munitions Committee (1915) 1911-1940s (Acc 9560)

*Dundee City Archives, 18 City Square, Dundee*: Dundee Institute of Engineers: minutes, reports and accounts 1886-1969 (GD/IE)

East Riding of Yorkshire Archives and Local Studies Service, The Treasure House, Champney Road, Beverley, HU17 9BA: Goole and District Business and Professional Women UK Limited: minute book 1941-1946 (DDX1725)

Edinburgh City Archives, Department of Corporate Services, City of Edinburgh Council, City Chambers, High Street, Edinburgh, EH1 1YJ: Leith Ship-owners' Society: minute books 19th cent-20th cent (Accn 869)

Greenwich Heritage Centre, Artillery Square, Royal Arsenal, London, SE18 4DX: Bexley and Greenwich Trades Council: minutes 1900-1999 (WF1)

Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Hampshire Record Office, Sussex Street, Winchester, SO23 8TH: Winchester Incorporated Chamber of Commerce: records incl minutes 1918-70 (160A11W)

Highland Council Archives, Highland Archive and Registration Centre, Bught Road, Inverness, Inverness-shire, IV3 5SS: Inverness Grocers Association: minute book 1917-1937 (D1268)

Institution of Mechanical Engineers Archive, 1 Bird Cage Walk, London, SW1H 9JJ: British Internal Combustion Engine Manufacturers' Association: additional records incl foundation documents and minutes 1936-1998 (Acc 1076)

Liverpool Record Office, Unit 33, Wellington Employment Park South, Dunes Way (off Sandhills Lane), Liverpool, L5 9RJ: The International Cotton Association Ltd: administrative records 1798-2004 (Acc 6487)

Norfolk Record Office, The Archive Centre, Martineau Lane, Norwich, NR1 2DQ: United Commercial Travellers Association, Great Yarmouth and district branch: minutes 1925-1976 (ACC 2011/36)

Oldham Local Studies & Archives, 84 Union Street, Oldham, OL1 1DN: Asian Business Association Ltd, Oldham: records 1995-2011 (2011/22); Oldham Masters' Waste Trade Association: records 1940-90 (2011/21)

Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, Unit 3, Clare Place, Coxside, Plymouth, Devon, PL4 0JW: Tavistock and District Licensed Victuallers Association: minutes, accounts and cash book 1956-1977 (3787)

Wirral Archives Service, Lower Ground Floor, Cheshire Lines Building, Canning Street, Birkenhead, CH41 1ND: United Commercial Travellers' Association, Wirral branch: records incl minutes 1927-60 (1973)

#### Engineering, machine making and manufacturing

Birmingham: Archives and Heritage Service, Floor 6, Central Library, Chamberlain Square, Birmingham, B3 3HQ: Charles Taylor (Birmingham) Ltd, lathe makers: records c 1860-1989 (MS 453)

Bury Museum and Archives, Moss Street, Bury, Greater Manchester, BL9 0DR: Holgate, Fishwick & Leather Ltd, calico printers' machinery manufacturers, Bury: day books and cost books 1907-61 (BHF)

Durham County Record Office, County Hall, Durham, DH1 5UL: Royal Ordnance Factory, Aycliffe: photographs and records 1941-45 (Acc No 7878)

Essex Record Office, Wharf Road, Chelmsford, Essex, CM2 6YT: Davey, Paxman & Co Ltd, boiler makers and diesel engine builders, Colchester: glass plate negatives of products, manufacturing facilities, events and people c 1890-1958 (D/F 23 addl)

Glasgow City Archives, The Mitchell Library, 201 North Street, Glasgow, G3 7DN: Wilson Pipe Fittings Ltd, pipe fitting manufacturers, Glasgow: minute books, corresp, photographs, newspaper cuttings and business catalogues 1911-2011 (TD1836)

Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Hampshire Record Office, Sussex Street, Winchester, SO23 8TH: Wellworthy Ltd, armaments and machine parts manufacturers, Lymington: additional records 20th cent (92A04); Wheelwright, West Meon: day books (2) of wheelwright believed to be either Henry Trodd or Daniel Nash 1845-55, 1864-71 (93A11)

Highland Council Archives, Highland Archive and Registration Centre, Bught Road, Inverness, Inverness-shire, IV3 5SS: Northern Agricultural Implement & Foundry Co Ltd: minute book 1872-1877 (D1)

Hull History Centre (Hull City Archives), Worship Street, Hull, HU2 8BG: Priestman Brothers Ltd, mechanical grab manufacturers, Hull: admin records and photographs 1870-1970s (C DBSP)

Lancashire Archives, Record Office, Bow Lane, Preston, Lancashire, PR1 2RE: Platt Saco Lowell Ltd, textile machinery manufacturers, Accrington: additional records incl those of constituent companies 1935-2000 (DDPSL)

Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, Record Office for, Long Street, Wigston Magna, Leicester, LE18 2AH: Bellow Machine Co Ltd, sewing machine and trading clothes suppliers, Loughborough: catalogues and leaflets c1950-1969 (DE8261)

Museum of English Rural Life, Redlands Road, Reading, RG1 5EX: Nalder & Nalder Ltd, mechanical engineers, East Challow: additional business records incl accounts and pattern books 20th cent (TR DX 1937, 1948)

Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester, Liverpool Road, Castlefield, Manchester, M3 4FP: Mather & Platt Ltd, mechanical and electrical engineers, Manchester: minutes, reports, accounts and legal papers 1930-90 (2011.57)

Norfolk Record Office, The Archive Centre, Martineau Lane, Norwich, NR1 2DQ: Murdin's Typewriter Co Ltd, King's Lynn: photographs and misc papers 1936-1971 (BR 354)

Northumberland Archives, Woodhorn, Queen Elizabeth II Country Park, Ashington, Northumberland, NE63 9YF: Swinney Engineering Ltd, heat exchangers and cast iron pipe makers, Morpeth: photographs c 1946-1980 (NRO 09193)

St Helens Local History and Archives Library, Central Library, Gamble Institute, Victoria Square, St Helens, Lancashire, WA10 1DY: CH Sankey, wheelwrights, Newton-le-Willows: accounts and photographs 1886-1967 (SAN)

Surrey History Centre, 130 Goldsworth Road, Woking, Surrey, GU21 6ND: Meccano Ltd, machine tool and mechanical toy manufacturers, Liverpool: records incl accounts 1972-76 (8842)

Teesside Archives, Exchange House, 6 Marton Road, Exchange Square, Middlesbrough, TS1 1DB: Head, Wrightson & Co Ltd, engineers and ironfounders, Thornaby: accounts and annual reports 1891-1977 (Acc No 7036)

Tyne and Wear Archives, Blandford House, Blandford Square, Newcastle Upon Tyne, NE1 4JA: Noble & Lund Ltd, machine tool manufacturers, Felling: product brochures, instruction manuals and photographs c 1950-70 (DS.NL)

Walsall Local History Centre, Essex Street, Walsall, Staffordshire, WS2 7AS: Brown & Ward (Tools) Ltd, machine toolmakers, Birmingham: accounts 1947 - 1986 (Acc1502) West Yorkshire Archive Service, Calderdale, Central Library, Northgate House, Northgate, Halifax, HX1 1UN: Ardeth Engineers Ltd, Elland: records incl sales ledgers, fabrications cash books 1973-1986 (WYC:1580); James Lumb & Sons Ltd, engineers, Elland: minutes, ledgers, annual accounts and papers 1907-1968 (WYC:1579)

Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Cocklebury Road, Chippenham, Wiltshire, SN15 3QN: Altus Engineering Co (Corsham) Ltd, precision engineers and mouldmakers: staff, works and publicity photographs 1955-1996 (3931); William Bartrop & Co Ltd, agricultural engineers and ironmongers, Highworth: accounts and publicity 1903-1986 (3986); WJ

Powell, agricultural engineers, Ashton Keynes: additional records 1936-2010 (3859)

Wolverhampton Archives and Local Studies, Molineux Hotel Building, Whitmore Hill, Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, WV1 1SF: John Thompson Ltd, boilermakers and engineers, Wolverhampton: minutes, accounts, employment records, operating and maintenance records, publications, photographs and plans 1950-1970s (DW-30)

# Family business and personal papers

Argyll and Bute Council Archives, Manse Brae Area Office, Lochgilphead, Argyllshire, PA31 8QU: Kintyre Antiquarian and Natural History Society: MS collections incl the records of The Kintyre Club (1829-1981), Maj Gen Robert Campbell of Kintarbert letters (1778–1813) and Malcolm McNeall, merchant at Campbeltown (1703-1741) 1703-1981 (KASC/2)

Borthwick Institute for Archives: University of York, University of York, Heslington, York, YO10 5DD: Joseph Rowntree, manufacturer and philanthropist: letters to first and second wives, and to other Rowntree and Seebohm family members 1840s-1907 (ACC 10/2011)

Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts and University Archives, West Road, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, CB3 9DR: Joseph Cartwright Brettell, mining engineer, businessman: accounts and letter books (2) incl letters from Egypt and Syria 1834-1854 (MS Add. 9952)

Chetham's Library, Long Millgate, Manchester, M3 1SB: John Robinson, confectioner, Eccles: personal papers and business records of Bradburn's Eccles Cake Shop c1870-1901

Conwy Archive Service, Old Board School, Lloyd Street, Llandudno, LL30 2YG: Huw Selwyn Owen, poet and carpenter: papers, poems and photographs 1921-1998 (CX461, CP450)

Cumbria Archive and Local Studies Centre, Whitehaven, Scotch Street, Whitehaven, Cumbria, CA28 7NL: Francis Henry Ahier, mining engineer and agent to the Leconfield Estate: business papers and notebooks 1833-1958 (YDX 571)

English Heritage Archive, Archive Services, The English Heritage Archive, The Engine House, Fire Fly Avenue, Swindon, SN2 2EH: Carl Julius Gerhard Von Knoop, industrialist: photograph album rel to Manchester properties of the De Jersey Co 1872-1877 (JKA01)

King's College London: Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, Michael Howard Archives Reading Room, King's College London, Room 302, Strand Building, Strand, London, WC2R 2LS: Sir Frank Cooper, civil servant and industrialist: additional records rel to internal defence, procurement and strategic planning 1977-1988 (Cooper F)

Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester, Liverpool Road, Castlefield, Manchester, M3 4FP: Alfred Luddington Holton, chief engineer at Bradford Road Gas Works Manchester: illuminated address and scrapbook 1876-1950 (2011.3); Alfred William (Jim) Crook, academic and mechanical engineer: working papers mostly re turbine development at Associated Electrical Industries, Trafford Park 1928-2008 (2011.44)

Norfolk Record Office, The Archive Centre, Martineau Lane, Norwich, NR1 2DQ: Daniel Chasteney England, engineer and millwright, Ludham: drawings of mills and steam engines 19th-20th cent (ACC 2011/10)

Nottingham University Library, Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections, University of Nottingham, King's Meadow Campus, Lenton Lane, Nottingham, NG7 2NR: Georg Tugendhat, industrialist and economist: additional papers rel mainly to Manchester Oil Refinery incl corresp c1920-79 (Tg)

Oxford University: Bodleian Library, Western Manuscripts, Broad Street, Oxford, OX1 3BG: William Lionel Hichens, businessman: letters to his son, John Hichens 1926-40 (6666) Somerset Heritage Centre, Brunel Way, Norton Fitzwarren, Taunton, Somerset, TA2 6SF: Beach family of Kingston St Mary and Taunton: family papers incl business papers rel to family motor engineering firm and early motoring 1873-1989 (A\DFV); Yerbury family of Street: account books with FW Jones, grocer and greengrocer of Middle Leigh, Street 1960-1969 (A\DFX)

Wandsworth Heritage Service, Battersea Library, 265 Lavender Hill, London, SW11 1JB: Henry Ward, county councillor, Wandsworth: papers rel to the London Hospital, Toynbee Hall and Henry Ward's business 1879-1960 (D211)

#### Food, drink and tobacco

Glasgow City Archives, The Mitchell Library, 201 North Street, Glasgow, G3 7DN: Creamola Food Products Ltd, food manufacturers, Glasgow: private ledger c1938-1967 (TD1820)

Gloucestershire Archives, Clarence Row, Alvin Street, Gloucester, GL1 3DW: Ben Norris & Sons, family butchers, Uley: account book 1920-1925 (D12359)

Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Hampshire Record Office, Sussex Street, Winchester, SO23 8TH: Bakery, Alton: bread ledgers, customer ledger, farm and brewery accounts 1843-1916 (133A11); T Aylward & Sons, millers, Dunbridge: accounts incl wages books, customer ledgers and farm journal c1900-71 (34A11)

Liverpool Record Office, Unit 33, Wellington Employment Park South, Dunes Way (off Sandhills Lane), Liverpool, L5 9RJ: WO & J Wilson Co Ltd, millers, Liverpool: records incl subsidiary companies 1890 - 2000 (380 WOJ)

London Metropolitan Archives: City of London, 40 Northampton Road, London, EC1R 0HB: Clarnico Ltd, confectioners, London: corresp, accounts, ledgers and records 1818-1980 (LMA/4591); Pritchard & Burton, tobacco manufacturers, London: accounts, journals and photograph albums 1869-1949 (LMA/4577)

Norfolk Record Office, The Archive Centre, Martineau Lane, Norwich, NR1 2DQ: Nestle Co, food and drink manufacturers: papers collected by Michael J Banham, electrician and shop steward at Norwich factory incl minutes, papers and some factory records 1902-2003 (ACC 2011/112); William Gaymer & Son Ltd, cider manufacturers, Attleborough: additional records, incl letter-books and directors' corresp files 1903-1986 (ACC 2011/207); CE Woodrow & Sons Ltd, flour millers, Norwich: records incl minutes, accounts, photographs, corresp and estate papers c 1904-1975 (ACC 2011/196)

Oxfordshire History Centre, St Luke's Church, Temple Road, Cowley, Oxford, OX4 2HT: Brown's Original Banbury Cakes, bakers, Banbury: business records with family papers 18th-20th cent (Acc 6052)

Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent Archive Service: Lichfield Record Office, Lichfield Library, The Friary, Lichfield, WS13 6QG: Ewers & Co, butchers, Burton-upon-Trent: account books 1886-1906 (518)

Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch, Gatacre Road, Ipswich, Suffolk, IP1 2LQ: Pauls Malt Ltd, brewers, Ipswich: ledger 1927-1940 (HC461)

Trafford Local Studies, Sale Library, Sale Waterside, Sale, Manchester, M33 7ZF: Brown & Polson Ltd, starch and corn flour manufacturers, Paisley: corresp re glucose production 1932-62 (TRA1525)

Wirral Archives Service, Lower Ground Floor, Cheshire Lines Building, Canning Street, Birkenhead, CH41 1ND: Burton's Foods Ltd, Moreton: photographs and works magazines 1952-99 (1988)

#### Funeral directors and undertakers

Powys County Archives Office, County Hall, Llandrindod Wells, Powys, LD1 5LG: Pritchard & Sons, funeral directors, Llandrindod Wells: diaries, accounts, car order books, orders of service, photographs and personal papers 1900-1999 (R/BI/8)

#### **Furniture**

Glamorgan Archives (formerly Glamorgan Record Office), Clos Parc Morgannwg, Leckwith, Cardiff, Glamorgan, CF11 8AW: HM Owen, cabinet maker, Cardiff: business diaries, job notebooks 1964-2001 (D769)

#### Gas

Essex Record Office, Wharf Road, Chelmsford, Essex, CM2 6YT: Manningtree & Mistley Gas Co. Ltd: minutes 1939-1949 (A13130)

Northumberland Archives, Woodhorn, Queen Elizabeth II Country Park, Ashington, Northumberland, NE63 9YF: Northern Gas Board: records of pre-nationalisation local gas companies 1808-1932 (NRO 09467)

# Glass, earthenware and pottery

Derbyshire Record Office, New Street, Matlock, Derbyshire, DE4 3FE: Ault Potteries Ltd, domestic earthenware manufacturers, Swadlincote: letter book and cash book 1889-1914 (D7418)

Essex Record Office, Wharf Road, Chelmsford, Essex, CM2 6YT: John Frederick Davis Ltd, reproduction mirror manufacturer, Loughton: ledgers (3), cash books (3), day book, glass plate negatives and photographs of frame designs 1936-1964 (A13183) Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent Archive Service: Stoke-on-Trent City Archives, City Central Library, Bethesda Street, Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent, ST1 3RS: Collingwood Brothers, porcelain manufacturers, Longton: pattern books 20th cent (SD 1544); WT Copeland & Sons, pottery manufacturers, Stoke: directors' minute book 1946-1963 (SD 1559)

### Hotels, inns and public houses

Norfolk Record Office, The Archive Centre, Martineau Lane, Norwich, NR1 2DQ: Pineapple Public House, Bracondale: business records rel to public house and associated pasture used for grazing and horse fairs 1919-1968 (ACC 2011/30)

Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch, Gatacre Road, Ipswich, Suffolk, IP1 2LQ: Cragg Sisters Tea Room, Aldeburgh: papers 20th cent (HA442)

### Iron, steel and metal trades

Berwick-upon-Tweed Record Office, Council Offices, Wallace Green, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Northumberland, TD15 1ED: William Turnbull, blacksmiths and garage, Crookham, Cornhill: business records c 1920-1969 (BRO 1740)

Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, County Hall, Walton Street, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, HP20 1UU: Bifurcated Rivet Co Ltd, fasteners manufacturers,

Warrington: wages books 1899-1902 (AR 106/2011)

Durham County Record Office, County Hall, Durham, DH1 5UL: Consett Iron Co Ltd, iron and steel manufacturers: staff magazines 1957-68 (Acc No 7834)

### Jewellery and clocks and instruments

Ayrshire Archives, Watson Peat Building, SAC Auchincruive, Ayr, KA6 5HW: Wallace Allan Ltd, jewellers, Ayr: financial and customer registers rel to work undertaken 1889-1923 (Acc. S11/29)

Essex Record Office, Wharf Road, Chelmsford, Essex, CM2 6YT: William Wire, clockmaker and antiquarian: additional papers 14th-19th cent (A13271: D/Y 37)

Tyne and Wear Archives, Blandford House, Blandford Square, Newcastle Upon Tyne, NE1 4JA: Sir Howard Grubb, Parsons & Co, astronomical instruments makers, Newcastle upon Tyne: photographs showing various stages of telescope manufacture 1930-1988 (DS GP)

#### Leather and footwear

Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, CHR002, County Hall, Pegs Lane, Hertford, SG13 8EJ: Frandec Ltd, leather and glove manufacturers: corresp and accounts 1962-1973 (Acc 5033)

Huntingdonshire Archives, Huntingdonshire Library and Archives, Princes Street, Huntingdon, PE29 3PA: Norris shoe shop, shoe and bootmaker, St Ives: day book, sales ledger and other papers 1905-1957 (Accession 5446)

Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, Record Office for, Long Street, Wigston Magna, Leicester, LE18 2AH: JH Clarke & Co Ltd, shoe manufacturers, Leicester: minutes, ledgers, architects drawings 1917-1988 (DE8039); Stead & Simpson Ltd, footwear and leather goods manufacturers and retailers, Leicester: letter books and other papers re footwear rationing and other regulations 1941-1975 (DE8111)

North Devon Record Office, North Devon Library and Record Office, Tuly Street, Barnstaple, Devon, EX31 1EL: James Tapscott & Sons Ltd, chamois leather glove manufacturers, Great Torrington: financial records 1926-1982 (A512)

Northamptonshire Record Office, Wootton Hall Park, Northampton, NN4 8BQ: Haynes & Cann, shoe manufacturers, Northampton: records incl account books, costings books, order books and corresp 1920-2010 (2011/143); Jaques & Clarke, shoe manufacturers, Rushden: records incl staff records, accident records, accounts, sales ledgers, wages books, minutes 1911-1983 (2011/148); Wearproof Leather Co Ltd, leather washer manufacturers, Rushden: business day books 1947-1992 (WL(R)F 27-28)

Peterborough Archives, Peterborough Central Library, Broadway, Peterborough, PE1 1RX: Lockie & Son, boot repairers, Peterborough: ledgers and business papers 1900-1950 (Accession no: 2011/03)

Somerset Heritage Centre, Brunel Way, Norton Fitzwarren, Taunton, Somerset, TA2 6SF: J Ridler & Son, boot and shoe manufacturers and retailers, Minehead: ledgers, cash books and accounts 1906-1983 (A\DFP)

Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Cocklebury Road, Chippenham, Wiltshire, SN15 3QN: Charles Case & Son Ltd, tanners and leather manufacturers, Westbury Leigh: cash books 1941-1951 (3773)

### Leisure, recreation and art

Bath Record Office, Guildhall, High Street, Bath, BA1 5AW: Bolwell Photographic Studio, Bath: personal and business papers of Leslie Wicks incl photographs, negatives and financial records 1918-1979 (0892); Duck, Son & Pinker Ltd, music shop, Bath: records, mainly stock, order and advertisement books 1850-2011 (0907)

British Film Institute, Special Collections, 21 Stephen Street, London, Greater London, W1T 1LN: Halas & Batchelor, animation studio: records incl scripts, production papers and artwork c1940-1995

British Library, Music Collections, 96 Euston Road, London, NW1 2DB: Otto Haas, music antiquarian firm, London: index cards 19th-20th cent (Mus. Dep. 2011/21)

Norfolk Record Office, The Archive Centre, Martineau Lane, Norwich, NR1 2DQ: Charles Thurston & Sons, amusement contractors, Norwich: wages book, out letter books of John Thurston (2), invoice book and other records mid 20th cent (ACC 2011/221); PM Goodchild & Son Ltd, photographers, Kings Lynn: customer order books (4) 1956-1987 (BR 353)

Surrey History Centre, 130 Goldsworth Road, Woking, Surrey, GU21 6ND: Airfix Products Ltd, plastic scale model kit manufacturers, Earlsfield: records incl product information and publicity materials 1972-81 (8842)

Tyne and Wear Archives, Blandford House, Blandford Square, Newcastle Upon Tyne, NE1 4JA: Impulse Sound Recording Studios, Wallsend: accounts, advertising material, photographs and studio sound recordings c 1980-1990; Sunderland Empire, theatre: plans 1926-69 (DX1433); Theatre Royal, Newcastle: playbills, programmes and photographs 1815-2006 (TH.RO)

University of Birmingham: Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, Cadbury Research Library, Muirhead Tower (Lower Ground Floor), University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2TT: John Hardman & Co Ltd, artists in stained glass, Birmingham: designs for stained glass windows in churches and other religious buildings 20th cent (MS785)

Wigan Archives Service, Leigh Town Hall, Civic Square, Leigh, Wigan, WN7 1DY: H Leadbetter, photographer, Ashton in Makerfield: photographs of locality c 1960-80 (Acc. 2011/73)

### Medical and pharmaceuticals

Derbyshire Record Office, New Street, Matlock, Derbyshire, DE4 3FE: Chemist and druggist, Cromford: prescription and dispensing books c1862-1950 (D7525); Finlay McKinlay, wholesale and retail chemists, Glossop: accounts 1904-1959 (D7445)

Manchester Archives and Local Studies, 56 Marshall Street, New Cross, Manchester, M3 3WD, Manchester, M3 3WD: Pritchards Ltd, chemists, Manchester: recipe books and financial records 1860-86 (M375)

Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, Unit 3, Clare Place, Coxside, Plymouth, Devon, PL4 0JW: Cookworthy & Co, wholesale chemists and druggists, Plymouth: chemical and druggist account book, druggists receipt and recipe books rel to distilling, incl recipes for gin, incl Plymouth Gin, Dutch Spirit, brandy, and peppermint 1811-1842 (3817)

Scottish Borders Archive and Local History Centre, Heritage Hub, Kirkstile, Hawick, Roxburghshire, TD9 0AE: Keith Holme, pharmaceutical chemists, Galashiels: ledgers, prescription books 1880-1952 (A/11/36)

### Merchants, traders and dealers

Coventry History Centre, Herbert Art Gallery and Museum, Jordan Well, Coventry, CV1 5QP: Clay & Co, tobacco merchant, Coventry: account book with accompanying papers 1911-1927 (PA2862)

Devon Record Office, Great Moor House, Bittern Road, Sowton, Exeter, Devon, EX2 7NL: RW & FC Sharp Ltd, timber importers, Exeter and Exmouth: additional accounts corresp and papers 1906-1953 (8115)

Glasgow University Archive Services, 13 Thurso Street, Glasgow, G11 6PE: Austin & McAslan Ltd, seed merchants, Glasgow: corresp c1766-1959 (ACCN 3600)

Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Hampshire Record Office, Sussex Street, Winchester, SO23 8TH: Robert Dowling, importer of wines, Andover: sales ledger 1970-79 (106A11)

Island Archives, Guernsey, St. Barnabas, Cornet Street, St Peter Port, Guernsey, GY1 1LF: Robilliard family, timber merchants, Guernsey: letter books, ledgers and papers rel to Peter Robilliard & Sons and PE Robilliard & Norman Ltd 1834-1971

Manx National Heritage Library and Archive Service, Kingswood Grove, Douglas, Isle Of Man, IM1 3LY: James Kissack Ltd, grocery merchants, Isle of Man: business records c1960-89 (MS 12878)

National Museums Liverpool: Maritime Archives and Library, Merseyside Maritime Museum, Albert Dock, Liverpool, L3 4AQ: George & Robert Tod & Co, slave traders, Liverpool: corresp with Capt Thomas Brassey of slave ships Juvernas, King George and Liberty 1805-07 (DX/2525)

Newcastle upon Tyne University: Special Collections, Robinson Library, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, Newcastle, NE2 4HQ: Alnwick Corn Exchange: corresp and account books 1860-1880 (ACE)

Nottinghamshire Archives, County House, Castle Meadow Road, Nottingham, NG2 1AG: H Hopkinson Ltd, wholesale ironmongers, Nottingham: minutes, accounts, wages books 1889-1978 (8039)

# Mining and extractive

Derbyshire Record Office, New Street, Matlock, Derbyshire, DE4 3FE: Sheepbridge Coal & Iron Co Ltd: Sheepbridge Colliery Central Laboratory staff attendance book 1952-1982 (D7460)

Durham County Record Office, County Hall, Durham, DH1 5UL: West Stanley Colliery: glass photographic slides of West Stanley pit disaster 1909 (Acc No 7960)

North Devon Record Office, North Devon Library and Record Office, Tuly Street, Barnstaple, Devon, EX31 1EL: North Devon Clay Co Ltd, Peters Marland: additional corresp and financial records 1879-1980 (A516)

Northumberland Archives, Woodhorn, Queen Elizabeth II Country Park, Ashington, Northumberland, NE63 9YF: National Coal Board, North East Area: Engineers Department records 1965-1986 (NRO 09071)

Somerset Heritage Centre, Brunel Way, Norton Fitzwarren, Taunton, Somerset, TA2 6SF: Research papers re the Brendon Hill Iron Mines and the West Somerset Mineral Railway 20th cent (A\CUV)

#### Motor vehicle and related industries

Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, County Hall, Walton Street, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, HP20 1UU: Iris Cars Ltd, motor car manufacturers, Aylesbury: wages books 1925-27 (AR 106/2011)

Coventry History Centre, Herbert Art Gallery and Museum, Jordan Well, Coventry, CV1 5QP: Armstrong Siddeley Motors Ltd, motor car builders, Coventry: general meetings minute book 1930 - 1956 (PA2850)

Dorset History Centre, Bridgeport Road, Dorchester, DT1 1RP: J H Norbury Ltd, garage proprietor, Wimborne Minster: corresp, plan, share certificates 1960-1989 (D/NOR) Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, Unit 3, Clare Place, Coxside, Plymouth, Devon, PL4 0JW: Mumford & Sons Ltd, motor car dealers and agents, Plymouth: photographs 1900-2010 (3713)

Somerset Heritage Centre, Brunel Way, Norton Fitzwarren, Taunton, Somerset, TA2 6SF: EA Shire, garage proprietor, Langport: ledger and papers 1935-1967 (A\CNO)

Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Cocklebury Road, Chippenham, Wiltshire, SN15 3QN: RTH Hopkins, garage proprietor, motor engineer and haulier, Lacock: corresp, accounts and leases 1960-1989 (3550)

# Paper and packaging

Bury Museum and Archives, Moss Street, Bury, Greater Manchester, BL9 0DR: Mondi Packaging Paper Sales (UK) Ltd: records of Peel Bridge Paper Mill, Ramsbottom 1872-1952 (BRM)

Chetham's Library, Long Millgate, Manchester, M3 1SB: Robert Yates Ltd, paper merchants, Bolton: records 1877-1915

Cumbria Archive and Local Studies Centre, Barrow, 140 Duke Street, Barrow-in-Furness, Cumbria, LA14 1XW: Bowater-Scott Corporation Ltd, paper manufacturer, Barrow in Furness: photographs of machinery 1961 (BDX 633)

#### Retail

Archifau Ynys Mon / Anglesey Archives, Bryncefni Industrial Estate, Llangefni, Anglesey, LL77 7JA: W Thomas & Sons, Ceinwen House Post Office, Llangaffo: ledgers and day books 1900-1969 (WM/2368)

Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Cheshire Record Office, Duke Street, Chester, CH1 1RL: Alfred Joseph Aston, draper, Willaston: records 1932-88 (D 8046)

City of Westminster Archives Centre, 10 St Ann's Street, London, SW1P 2DE: S Ward Ltd, delicatessen, St Ives: corresp 1939-1968 (Acc2697)

Flintshire Record Office, The Old Rectory, Rectory Lane, Hawarden, Flintshire, CH5 3NR: TMH Evans Shoe Shop, Mold: financial and other records 1960s (AN4570)

Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Hampshire Record Office, Sussex Street, Winchester, SO23 8TH: Culver & Son, Ironmongers, New Milton: general ledger 1944-65 (127A11)

Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, CHR002, County Hall, Pegs Lane, Hertford, SG13 8EJ: J Tingey & Sons Ltd, grocers, Hatfield: minutes, accounts and records 1909-1970 (Off Acc 1665)

Jersey Archive, Jersey Heritage Trust, Clarence Road, St Helier, Jersey, JE2 4JY: HJ Carrel, grocer, St Helier: general papers and receipts 1939-1941 (JA/1905)

Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester, Liverpool Road, Castlefield, Manchester, M3 4FP: John Noble Ltd, drapers, Manchester: trade mark corresp 1893-1910 (2011.28)

Perth and Kinross Council Archive, AK Bell Library, 2-8 York Place, Perth, Perthshire, PH2 8EP: Alex McConchie & Sons, ironmonger and saddler, Dollar: customer/job ledgers c1937-1954 (Acc11/08); J & D Smith & Co, linen drapers, Perth: additional records incl predecessor Hood & Jackson c1817-1970 (Acc11/34)

University of Reading: Special Collections, Redlands Road, Reading, RG1 5EX: WH Smith & Son Ltd, newsagents, London: records of the firm, with personal and estate papers of the Smith family, Viscounts Hambleden, and records of Bowes & Bowes, publishers and booksellers 1498-2004 (MS 5346)

Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Cocklebury Road, Chippenham, Wiltshire, SN15 3QN: Alfred Herbert Weston, tobacconist, Devizes: corresp, accounts and copy records 1902-2004 (3974)

# Shipping and shipbuilding

Cumbria Archive and Local Studies Centre, Whitehaven, Scotch Street, Whitehaven, Cumbria, CA28 7NL: Lumley Kennedy & Co shipbuilders, Whitehaven: records 1835-70 (YDB 76)

Glasgow City Archives, The Mitchell Library, 201 North Street, Glasgow, G3 7DN: Fairfield Shipbuilding & Engineering Co Ltd, Glasgow: enquiry files rel to destroyers and frigates (UCS2)

Glasgow University Archive Services, 13 Thurso Street, Glasgow, G11 6PE: Scotts' Shipbuilding & Engineering Co Ltd, Greenock: additional letter books, press cuttings, corresp, inventories, agreements 1769-1961 (ACCN 3535)

National Maritime Museum: The Caird Library, Manuscripts Section, Greenwich, London, SE10 9NF: River Thames Shiprepairers Ltd, London: records incl papers of London Graving Dock Ltd, R & H Green & Silley Weir Ltd and their subsidiaries c1890-1982 (MSS/83/056)

National Museums Liverpool: Maritime Archives and Library, Merseyside Maritime Museum, Albert Dock, Liverpool, L3 4AQ: Cunard Steamship Co Ltd, Liverpool: agreements and contracts incl specification and corresp re liner Queen Mary 1903-68 (B/CUN(A)); Liverpool Lighterage Co: wage agreement and loading calculations c 1960 (DX2522)

Northumberland Archives, Woodhorn, Queen Elizabeth II Country Park, Ashington, Northumberland, NE63 9YF: The Port of Blyth Steam Fishing & Ice Co Ltd: ship crew agreements and official log books 1911-1913 (NRO 09459)

Southampton Archives Office, South Block, Civic Centre, Southampton, SO14 7LY: Furness, Withy & Co plc, shipowners, London: additional records and photographs incl material rel to absorbed companies 19th-20th cent

Tyne and Wear Archives, Blandford House, Blandford Square, Newcastle Upon Tyne, NE1 4JA: Sir WG Armstrong, Whitworth & Co Ltd, shipbuilders and locomotive builders, Newcastle upon Tyne: launch cards for Elswick shipyard 1897-1911 (DX1454); John Crown & Sons Ltd, shipbuilders and repairers, Sunderland: share certificate book 1929-46 (DS.CR); Alfred Holt & Co, shipowners, Liverpool: photographs of ships built for the Blue Funnel Line by Vickers-Armstrongs, Walker 1948-58 (DX1439); Short Bros Ltd, shipbuilders, Sunderland: scrapbook incl photographs and newspaper cuttings 1958-64

(DS.SH); Swan, Hunter & Wigham Richardson Ltd, shipbuilders, Newcastle upon Tyne: visitors book for Nepune Yard 1910-68 (DS.SWH); Swan, Hunter & Wigham Richardson Ltd, shipbuilders, Wallsend: record of ships docked at Wallsend Slipway (1934-1950) and a diary of the Falklands conflict as seen from troop ship SS Canberra (1982) 1934-1982 (DX1422); Swan, Hunter & Wigham Richardson Ltd, shipbuilders, Wallsend: particulars book 1904-21 (DS.SWH/4/2/3/3); Swan, Hunter & Wigham Richardson Ltd, shipbuilders, Wallsend: plans and papers for the cable ship John W Mackay and the nuclear fuel carrier Pacific Crane 1922-1979 (DX1393); Joseph Thompson & Sons, shipbuilders, Sunderland: minutes, annual reports, accounts, share registers, photographs and other records 1858-1954 (DS.JLT)

#### **Solicitors**

Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlisle, Lady Gillford's House, Petteril Bank Road, Carlisle, Cumbria, CA1 3AJ: Beaty & Co, solicitors, Wigton: client records 1660-20th cent (DBW) East Sussex Record Office, The Maltings, Castle Precincts, Lewes, East Sussex, BN7 1YT: Attree & Sons, solicitors. Brighton: additional letters c1792-1849 (ACC 10963)

Gloucestershire Archives, Clarence Row, Alvin Street, Gloucester, GL1 3DW: Haines & Sumner, solicitors, Gloucester: papers of Robert Haines rel to the Wilton family and others 1860-1879 (D12541)

Norfolk Record Office, The Archive Centre, Martineau Lane, Norwich, NR1 2DQ: Hood, Vores & Allwood, solicitors, East Dereham: additional business and clients records c1801-1960 (ACC 2011/203); Overbury Steward Eaton & Woolsey, solicitors, Norwich: additional client's papers, incl Ketton-Cremer family of Felbrigg Hall and Goodchild deeds 18th-20th cent (ACC 2010/317); Pomeroy & Son, solicitors, Wymondham: further clients papers 1727-1915 (ACC 2010/274, 308, ACC 2011/152)

Northumberland Archives, Woodhorn, Queen Elizabeth II Country Park, Ashington, Northumberland, NE63 9YF: Wilkinson & Marshall, solicitors, Newcastle upon Tyne: records 1820-1903 (NRO 09086)

Pembrokeshire Record Office, The Castle, Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, SA61 2EF: VJG John, solicitors, Haverfordwest: papers 1706-1972 (HDX/1842)

Somerset Heritage Centre, Brunel Way, Norton Fitzwarren, Taunton, Somerset, TA2 6SF: Barrington & Sons, solicitors, Bridgwater: additional business and client papers incl records rel to drainage in Bridgwater 1851-1991 (DD\BA)

Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds Branch, 77 Raingate Street, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, IP33 2AR: Steed & Steed, solicitors, Long Melford: corresp, accounts and papers 19th-20th cent (HB524)

# Textiles, carpets and clothing

Aberdeen City and Aberdeenshire Archives: Town House branch, Town House, Broad Street, Aberdeen, AB10 1AQ: Richards of Aberdeen Ltd, textile manufacturers: records 19th cent-20th cent (DD1744)

City of Westminster Archives Centre, 10 St Ann's Street, London, SW1P 2DE: Aquascutum Group plc, clothing manufacturers and retailers, London: minutes, royal warrants, photographs, visitors books and other records 1900-2009 (Acc2686)

East Sussex Record Office, The Maltings, Castle Precincts, Lewes, East Sussex, BN7 1YT: Clothkits Ltd, home-sewn clothing supplier, Lewes: catalogues 1972-86 (ACC 11080)

Greenwich Heritage Centre, Artillery Square, Royal Arsenal, London, SE18 4DX: Benjamin Green, tailor, Charlton and Ilford: passports, rent book and documents rel to his business 1924-1979 (SG1)

Hackney Archives Department, Dalston CLR James Library, Dalston Square, Dalston Lane, London, E8 3BQ: Lloyd, Attree & Smith, tailors, London: records and photographs c1880-1980 (2011/24)

Heriot-Watt University Archive, Records Management and Museum Service, Mary Burton Centre, Cameron Smail Library, Heriot-Watt University, Riccarton, Edinburgh, Midlothian, EH14 4AS: Robert Stocks & Co Ltd, linen manufacturers, Kirkcaldy: account from ledgers 1805-1990 (RS)

Lancashire Archives, Record Office, Bow Lane, Preston, Lancashire, PR1 2RE: Fernbank Mill, Barnoldswick: records incl wages, cash and cost books, cloth orders and yarn contracts 1905-80 (DDX 2858); Thomas Mason Ltd, cotton spinners and manufacturers, Ashton-under-Lyne: sample books c1990-99 (DDX 2774)

Norfolk Record Office, The Archive Centre, Martineau Lane, Norwich, NR1 2DQ: Bulsare Handbags Ltd, handbag manufacturers, Norwich: photograph albums (24) of sample handbags, some with matching shoes 1980-2001 (ACC 2011/105)

Scottish Borders Archive and Local History Centre, Heritage Hub, Kirkstile, Hawick, Roxburghshire, TD9 0AE: Braemar Knitwear Ltd, Hawick: records 1868-1971 (A/11/10); Turner Rutherford & Co, hosiery manufacturers, Hawick: records (A/11/08)

Somerset Heritage Centre, Brunel Way, Norton Fitzwarren, Taunton, Somerset, TA2 6SF: Manning & Bray, tailors and cutters, Taunton: accounts and papers 1896-1934 (A\BKN)

### **Transport**

Aberdeen University, Special Libraries and Archives, The Wolfson Reading Room, Special Collections Centre, University Library, Bedford Road, Aberdeen, AB24 3AA: Aberdeenshire Light Railways: records 1896-1897 (Acc no 615)

Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlisle, Lady Gillford's House, Petteril Bank Road, Carlisle, Cumbria, CA1 3AJ: Carlisle Canal Co: construction contracts, deeds 1723-1851 (DX 1994) East Sussex Record Office, The Maltings, Castle Precincts, Lewes, East Sussex, BN7 1YT: Southern Railway Co: staff statistics 1931-54 (ACC 10973)

Glamorgan Archives (formerly Glamorgan Record Office), Clos Parc Morgannwg, Leckwith, Cardiff, Glamorgan, CF11 8AW: Western Welsh Omnibus Co: Rhondda tramways and Western Welsh Omnibus Co records 1908-1961 (D732)

### Miscellaneous

Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, County Hall, Walton Street, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, HP20 1UU: Thomas Wright & Son Ltd, manufacturers of wooden wares, Chesham: ledgers 1896-1970 (D 282)

Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlisle, Lady Gillford's House, Petteril Bank Road, Carlisle, Cumbria, CA1 3AJ: North Pennines Archaeology Ltd: survey reports and project files 2002-10 (DB 163)

Derbyshire Record Office, New Street, Matlock, Derbyshire, DE4 3FE: M Bond & Co (Ashbourne) Ltd, tape manufacturers: sales ledger covering period in Staffordshire 1819-1850 (D1770)

Durham County Record Office, County Hall, Durham, DH1 5UL: County Durham

Development Co Ltd: minutes 1986-99 (Acc No 7727)

Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, CHR002, County Hall, Pegs Lane, Hertford, SG13 8EJ: MW Bush, chemist and antiques dealer, Sawbridgeworth: business papers incl rel to Quinneys Antiques 1930-1979 (DAcc 1294)

Tyne and Wear Archives, Blandford House, Blandford Square, Newcastle Upon Tyne, NE1 4JA: Fordham & Co, packers, Sunderland: photographs showing employees and munitions work at Fordham's works c1945-1945 (DX1412)

Wigan Archives Service, Leigh Town Hall, Civic Square, Leigh, Wigan, WN7 1DY: Mansley & Co Ltd, ropemakers, Leigh: photographs c1970 (Acc. 2011/50)

#### REVIEWS

TERRY COOK (ed), Controlling the past: documenting society and institutions. essays in honour of Helen Willa Samuels (Society of American Archivists, 2011. Pp 434. \$56.00. ISBN 978 1 93 1666 35 9).

'Who Controls the Past', *American Archivist* 49, one of the most frequently cited writings on archives in the English-speaking world, was written by Helen Samuels 25 years ago. Within it was the first published expression of the concept of documentation strategy and the challenging concept of archivists as selectors not keepers of records. The Samuels approach to appraisal was launched on the archive world.

In *Controlling the Past*, twenty leading archivists honour Helen Samuels, on her retirement as institute archivist of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, by exploring the idea of documenting modern society and its institutions and examining the repercussions that start from the archivist's control over societal memory.

Terry Cook, the Canadian archival educator and editor of this book, provides an introductory essay which places the significance of Samuels' ideas into the context of modern archival practice. Thereafter, the work is divided into two sections – Documenting Society and Being Archival. Section one consists of nine essays which explore the rich contexts in which the appraisal of potential archival sources takes place, focusing on understanding the contexts and constraints under which archivists work to discern and manage all the documentation created by modern society and produce the small sliver that survives in archives.

The first two essays, by Canadian archival educator Tom Nesmith and Vermont State Archivist Gregory Stanford, investigate the layers of contextual complexity. Nesmith explores the contexts within which the archivist co-creates an archive as appraiser, shaped by the environments within which they work. Stanford describes the need for a strategy for redefining perceptions of the archival function within an institution by linking records to action, and by linking the archival conviction that archival records have continuing value to the institution's continuing issues. The next two essays, by archival photographic specialist Joan Schwartz and Bentley Historical Library senior archivist Nancy Bartlett, provide interesting case studies (photographs and colour) of some of the documentation issues raised by Nesmith. The three essays by archival educator Richard Cox on the impact of technology; private sector corporate archivist at Cargill Bruce Bruemmer on the case for including business institutions and their records when documenting society; and public sector state archivist Robert Horton on the real-world pressures of documenting government, continue Stanford's themes. The final two essays in this section, one by Rick Barry and the other by Richard Katz and Paul Gandel, information technology experts in different roles, look at the effect of digital technology on documenting institutions and society.

The second section consists of seven essays looking at documenting the surviving documentation and at who is doing the documenting. Canadian archival theorist and consultant David Bearman and archival educator Elizabeth Yakel suggest some new ways to describe and represent records. Bearman by exploring the use of computers to de-code born-digital documents based on the structure, layout, format, and functionality of various genres of document. Yakel by demonstrating that in documenting documentation, the archivist should allow other stakeholders (users) to help create archival descriptions. Brien Brothman,

archival theorist and electronic records archivist, explores visual models that archivists design to represent their concepts, strategies, and ideas. Fran Blouin, Director of the Bentley Historical Library, looks at modern appraisal and the transformation of the documenter from historian-archivist to functional and process analyst. Archival educator Jim O'Toole then examines the archive profession's search for a sense of identity during the twentieth century. Finally, in this section, South African archival administrator Verne Harris considers the ethics of the archivist as decision maker and American archival educator Rand Jimerson investigates the power of the archivist in controlling the past.

Completing the book is a reflection on Samuels' principal works by Beth Kaplan, the archivist of the University of Minnesota Libraries, and an autobiographical reflection by Helen Samuels herself.

The essay by Bruce Bruemmer, Cargill's corporate archivist, will probably be the one that business archivists will turn to first. Cargill, founded in 1865, is an international producer and marketer of food, agricultural, financial, and industrial products and services, and an employer of 139,000 people in 65 countries. Bruemmer discusses his attempts to approach the documentation of business records and the six main differences that he perceives between private and public sector archives: processing and description; appraisal; relationship to history; the archival mission; the greater good; and survival. His viewpoint is that of the North American corporate archive but the issues that he raises should be aired and understood by the archive profession in the United Kingdom for the sake of its own growth and development.

Both Richard Cox and Helen Samuels have called appraisal the archivist's 'first responsibility' upon which everything else depends. This is an axiom in both the world of corporate archives and that of the public sector. I, therefore, recommend all of this thought provoking book to business archivists everywhere.

LESLEY M RICHMOND

University of Glasgow

CHRISTINA ZAMON, *The lone arranger: succeeding in a small repository* (Society of American Archivists, 2012. Pp157. \$69.95. ISBN 1-931666-41-5).

In a paradoxical era of downsizing in government and company archives, and a corresponding mushrooming of small archives, manned (or, more often, womanned) by part-time or volunteer custodians, there is an obvious need for a one-stop-shop 'how to' guide for the army of sole archivists who find themselves in charge of the precious memory of a small organisation.

The title's first three words (which at first seem rather charming, but start to grate when read many times on the same page), are taken from the Society of American Archivists' *A Glossary of Archival and Records Terminology*, where they are defined as, 'an individual who is the sole staff of an archives'. So far, so good.

The book is full of sound common sense, such as the need for a new custodian to review and/or set policies with regards to access for staff, and this includes the managing director — we have all encountered situations where a particularly attractive manuscript or record was 'borrowed' to show some VIP. The book is peppered throughout with examples of documentation from US organisations on policies and practice, but is weak on legislation, so that de-accessioning, for example, is described almost as a matter of personal choice. The author is protective of the time and resources of the sole archivist; there is much advice on how not to be put upon. Rather surprisingly, this even goes as far as banning item level description. To quote her, 'lone arrangers must learn to let go a little bit' (p.31). Having said that, the author is very keen on electronic data management and devotes two chapters to this, one of which strongly advocates the employment of open source software applications. Gaining the help of the organisation's IT department (where one exists) is stressed, as is the reality that one technological solution rarely fits all requirements, and that a kaleidoscope of approaches is often the only way of keeping control of born digital and digitised material.

The book covers the management of volunteers and interns to do the work, and uses examples throughout from US higher education establishments. This is perhaps understandable, in that the author works at an American college, and such institutions have an almost limitless supply of students to act as interns, but she does not address how other types of organisations might access such help. Managing the expectations of researchers and the delicate subject of charging for facilities are dealt with sensitively, and her advice should be a template to all who work on their own and often face demands that researchers (especially undergraduates) are handed everything they want, ready-digested. There is insight into how to use the archive for internal advocacy, and how the sole archivist can manage outreach to schools and to the local community. There is also a very short section on social media, which is the one place where legislation is considered seriously. The chapter on facilities management and disaster planning is marked by its good sense and thoroughness, as is a rather surprising chapter on raising money. It is a fact that more and more archives custodians are under pressure to raise the money to pay their salaries and keep their facility open. She deals with the (necessarily) North American climate of fundraising within the community, grant applications, and keeping donors on board during and long after the original gift has been made, with the exhortation, 'remember, you are the public face of your archives' (p.123).

The glossary of archival terms provided in the margins throughout will be particularly useful for those who find themselves in sole charge of an archive having had no formal training, and for whom acronyms and technical jargon can be daunting. Her final advice is worth taking – that no matter how isolated the sole archivist is, connecting with one's peers and networking

with fellow single custodians will imbue confidence and power – and will prove to be one of the greatest resources of all.

The Lone Arranger is a relatively slight book, which covers a lot of ground lightly, and may not be the only 'how to' book a sole archivist might need, but it's a good start, and will find its place on many bookshelves beyond its North American focus.

ANDREA TANNER

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