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Campaign for an English Parliament
The Voice of England

Think of England Number 74 : November 2017



**Championing England
& Challenging Prejudice**

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Number 74 November 2017

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RECOMMENDED READING: Jane Austen's England by Helen Amy; publishers: Amberley. Austen's works, travels and life in English society are studied.



Campaign for an English Parliament Aims, Principles and Policies.

We campaign for an English Parliament, meaning a parliament for the people of England, for whom England is their chosen or inherited home and who are legally entitled to vote.

We campaign for an English Parliament with powers at least as great as those of Scotland's, i.e. a Parliament and Executive (Government) that can make Acts (primary legislation) on the same domestic issues (e.g. health, welfare & education) that are devolved to the Scottish Parliament.

The CEP works with academics, business groups, trades unions, think tanks and the media to create the conditions whereby UK MPs see that there is no alternative to the re-establishment of the English Parliament.

The CEP is a pressure group. It is not a political party. It does not contest elections.

The CEP is not and will not be affiliated to or formally linked with any political party

Editorial: Being English or considering yourself to be of an English nationality has no more to do with DNA than being Scottish, Welsh or any other nationality. The question is where you have roots or wish to put them down.



To be insulted or denigrated for that reality or choice could be perceived as a 'hate incident' and now the police have detailed instructions about how they should respond to such reported incidents. <http://library.college.police.uk/docs/college-of-policing/Hate-Crime-Operational-Guidance.pdf>. In particular Section number 1.2.3. Perception-based recording of hate crime, says:-

"For recording purposes, the perception of the victim, or any other person, is the defining factor in determining whether an incident is a hate incident, or in recognising the hostility element of a hate crime. The victim does not have to justify or provide evidence of their belief, and police officers or staff should not directly challenge this perception. Evidence of the hostility is not required for an incident or crime to be recorded as a hate crime or hate incident".

A witches brew is being foisted upon us! Where Labour's Lord! Prescott failed because he democratically queried the will of the people the Tories are proceeding with no popular mandate. But if Yorkshire people, or those from any other part of England, think they will get anything like the devolution given to Wales, Scotland and the Province of Northern Ireland they will need to think again! Labour peer Lord Desai experienced a surprise remit in speaking for England in a Brexit debate. Well done, sir and good luck!

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Campaigning for England : Constitution Unit report, CEP in the press **Excerpts from 'Options for an English Parliament: policy powers and financial arrangements' Posted on October 12, 2017 by The Constitution Unit**

Ongoing Constitution Unit research is exploring options for an English Parliament. Two of the most fundamental questions concern what policy powers such a body would have and financial arrangements. **Jack Sheldon** suggests that an English Parliament would be likely to have policy and fiscal powers resembling those of the Scottish Parliament, and that a new funding formula would be required to cover the costs of devolved services. These developments would have major implications not only for England but also for the other parts of the UK.



What English Parliament supporters have said: English Parliament supporters emphasise restoring equality among the UK's nations, in light of what they see as the unfairness of present devolution arrangements. It is thus unsurprising that they have often set the powers of the Scottish Parliament as a benchmark. The Campaign for an English Parliament (CEP) state prominently on their website that they campaign for an institution 'with powers at least as great as those of Scotland'. This demand has been echoed by MPs who are in favour, including David Davis, Frank Field and John Redwood. In the aftermath of the Scottish independence referendum Redwood wrote that 'As we seek to put into legislation what Gordon Brown called Home Rule for Scotland we must do the same for England'.

To the extent that they have addressed finance, advocates of an English Parliament have focused on criticism of the Barnett Formula, which provides more generous per capita government spending in Scotland than in England. Eddie Bone of the CEP has linked the continued use of the formula to 'closures of A&E departments and council services across England'. Frank Field has likewise been highly critical of the formula, saying that 'it is totally unacceptable that the poor in [his] constituency should be less well supported than the poor in Scottish constituencies'. Proponents have said less about what sort of financial arrangements they envisage following an English Parliament's establishment.

Policy powers: The existing responsibilities of the Scottish Parliament, Welsh Assembly and Northern Ireland Assembly are clearly the most logical starting point when considering possible powers for an English Parliament.

The most obvious powers that such a body would be likely to gain are those held by all three existing devolved legislatures. Currently these are exercised for England by the UK parliament, subject to 'English votes for English laws' (EVEL). This category includes health and education, as well as many other areas of domestic policy.

More complex issues are raised by the possible transfer of powers relating to policy areas currently devolved to some of the UK's devolved legislatures but not others. Devolution of policing and justice poses particular challenges. The combined England and Wales legal jurisdiction has been a barrier to devolution of these areas to Wales, and would also be an important factor when considering devolution to England. Because these matters are devolved to Scotland and Northern Ireland, achieving parity would require the jurisdiction to be split, something a report published by the Wales Governance Centre and the Constitution Unit in 2015 indicated would be a 'major political decision' with 'cost implications'. An alternative may be to instead establish 'distinct' but not separate jurisdictions, as is the policy of the Welsh government. Under this model the shared jurisdiction would be divided between the courts and laws of England and of Wales, but the judiciary and administration of justice would remain shared. This would allow for a degree of devolution in these areas, but some aspects of the justice system would continue to be 'England-and-Wales-only' responsibilities of the UK parliament.

Another area in which powers have been devolved to Scotland and Northern Ireland but not to Wales is welfare. Hence making an English Parliament's powers in this area mirror those of the Scottish Parliament would make changes to the powers of the Welsh Assembly inevitable. Northern Ireland's arrangements would also have to change as the 'parity convention' could not continue to operate as it currently does.

Financial arrangements: It follows from the demand for symmetry with Scotland that an English Parliament would be likely to have similar fiscal powers to the Scottish Parliament. This is something that has been specifically demanded by proponents such as John Redwood. However, this would again have major implications for Wales and Northern Ireland, neither of which currently has fiscal powers equivalent to Scotland's (see Table). The same powers would likely be devolved to them in parallel with devolution to an English Parliament as it is hard to imagine the UK Chancellor of the Exchequer setting taxes for Wales and Northern Ireland only.

Even if an English Parliament had significant tax-raising powers some form of transfer from central government would be required to cover the costs of devolved services. The Barnett Formula could not be the

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Table: Fiscal powers of the Scottish Parliament, Welsh Assembly and Northern Ireland Assembly

	Scotland	Wales	Northern Ireland
Income tax	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Power to set income tax rates and thresholds on non-saving and non-dividend income. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Power to introduce a Welsh rate of income tax (not commenced). 	n/a
VAT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assignment of first 10 percentage points of revenue raised by standard rate of VAT and first 2.5 percentage points of revenue raised by reduced rate of VAT. 	n/a	n/a
Other taxation powers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Power to raise taxes on land transaction, waste disposal and air travel, and control over the aggregates levy. Control over business rates and council tax (exercised by local government). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Power to raise taxes on land transaction, waste disposal and air travel, and control over the aggregates levy. Control over business rates and council tax (exercised by local government). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Power to set a Northern Ireland rate of corporation tax (not commenced). Control over Air Passenger Duty for long-haul flights. Power to set Regional Rate on top of District Rate (equivalent to council tax).
Borrowing powers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Right to borrow up to £1.75 billion (annual limit of £600 million) for revenue purposes and up to £3 billion (annual limit of £3 billion) for capital spending. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Right to borrow up to £500 million (annual limit of £200 million) for revenue purposes and up to £500 million (annual limit of £125 million) for capital spending. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Right to borrow £200 million per year for capital spending.

mechanism for this, as it is based on the UK government's spending on England-only functions, which would no longer exist. A new formula would therefore need to be decided on, which would apply across the UK. A big question would be how much of a redistributive element should be built into this formula, providing for transfers from the UK's wealthier nations to its poorer nations. Such 'horizontal transfers' are common in federal and highly decentralised systems overseas, but the type of criticisms frequently levelled at Barnett (including by English Parliament proponents) suggest explicit redistribution between the nations would be controversial. To avoid such criticisms, it would seem essential that the new formula should be based on a robust measure of 'need', so that each government had the resources available to provide a similar level of service. This kind of change has frequently been recommended by proponents of reform to the existing devolution finance arrangements. But it would not be straightforward to achieve, which partly explains why Barnett continues to be used despite having been criticised for years.

Conclusion: A key conclusion from this discussion is that the establishment of an English Parliament would have major implications not only for England but also for the other parts of the UK. In particular, it would be likely to result in Wales gaining additional powers (including some that have previously been rejected) and an overhaul of financial arrangements, with the challenging question of replacing the Barnett

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Formula needing to be faced. These issues have not so far received much attention from either critics or proponents of the English Parliament idea, but they ought to be taken seriously. They could ultimately prove to be major obstacles on the road to creating such a body.

Jack Sheldon is a Research Assistant at the Constitution Unit, working on the Options for an English Parliament project. He is also the editor of the Constitution Unit blog.



Careful Theresa! Catalonia-style split 'could occur in ENGLAND' as Yorkshire faction grows:

Express on line, 13/10/17: By Joey Millar

After a controversial referendum on Catalan independence earlier this month, one campaigner has warned the Prime Minister similar movements could destroy England.

Eddie Bone of the Campaign for an English Parliament told Express.co.uk he was concerned Mrs May did not appreciate the threat facing England. He said the growing regionalisation of England, with greater autonomy given to the Greater Manchester and West Midlands regions in recent months and similar moves for Yorkshire underway, could be "disastrous" for the country.

And he said keeping the UK together, amid Scottish independence and Irish unification campaigns, was one thing - but the real battle was within England.

Mr Bone said: "As Catalonian independence gains momentum and the Spanish government looks more like a headless chicken every day, it would be advisable for the British Government to reflect on how disastrous the regionalisation of England could be. "Many political commentators have wrongly thought of the parallels with Scotland and Wales but it is the governance of England that needs to be examined whilst discussing Catalonia not Scotland and Wales."

He said Yorkshire in particular, where campaigners are calling for a regional cabinet headed by a mayor, showed Britain needed to react and be ready for a Catalonia-style referendum.

Mr Bone said: "Yorkshire has a population of 5.5 million people which is not dissimilar to Catalonia's 7.5 million. it now has the beginning of an independence movement, admittedly only in its infancy. "But it is not inconceivable that like Catalonia it will grow. Then the remote British government, without a politically closer English government holding England together, would be in the same trouble as the Spanish government is now in."

Mr Bone said: "The British Government has shied away from creating an English Parliament because they have mistakenly thought it would lead to the break-up of the UK whereas in fact, the opposite is true. "An English parliament would be the glue that holds England and the UK together. It would be the common link, the bond that ensured shared responsibility and identity across England. This would, in turn, rob those Regionalists, who promote the over dominance of local identity, of any grievances that would propel their movements towards independence."

He concluded with a warning to Theresa May and said time was running out.

Mr Bone said: "Spain's inability to stop Catalonian independence should be a wake-up call to the British government. "It needs to answer the English question and that means creating an English Parliament so that England is both glued together and glued within the UK.

Last month the leader of the Yorkshire Party came out in support for the Catalonian independence movement. Stewart Arnold said: "Not surprisingly, we in the Yorkshire Party believe in self-determination, whether it's for Yorkshire or Catalonia. We believe the people of Catalonia deserve to have their voice heard and, subsequently, their wishes respected.

"We condemn the intimidation and bullying by the Spanish Government of the Catalan people and their institutions. Whether you agree that Catalonia should be independent or not, the Catalan people have the right to choose.

English Affairs and English Politics are issues that should be decided only by an English Parliament

Current English Affairs: England threatened, Being English!

First Catalonia, next Canvey Island

The Times, 16/10/17

The people of Canvey Island in Essex are planning a Catalan-style revolt to break away from mainland

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Britain. The island, which covers seven square miles and has a population of almost 40,000, is governed by the Conservative-run Castle Point council. However, 14 of the island's own 17 councillors are members of the Canvey Island Independent Party (CIIP). Residents and CIIP councillors have expressed their frustration over decisions affecting the island in the Thames estuary being made by people on the mainland. Dave Blackwell, a CUP councillor for Canvey Island Central, said: "Canvey people don't want to be told what to do by the mainland and they don't want to be part of Castle Point. "It is time for us to start a move for proper independence, like the Catalonians, and we must begin with a petition.

"It is simply not fair that there are more councillors sitting on the council from the mainland than from Canvey. We need our own voice to determine our own future even if that means we have to break away. The first thing we have to do is to ask the Boundary Commission for change.

"I think it will happen as more and more power is eventually handed to town councils but if they had a referendum here like they had in Catalonia about breaking from Spain, I am convinced that 100 per cent of people would vote to leave Castle Point."

He added: "We are unhappy at the decisions made for us by people who don't live here."

George Whatley, who lives on the island and led a long-running campaign to block the expansion of oil and gas refineries on Canvey, said: "Castle Point council was born from a shot-gun wedding years ago and has had a controlling Tory majority ever since but Canvey has had mainly independent councillors. Castle Point council is run by the Conservatives and they have systematically treated Canvey as the Cinderella district for years. People here are fed up with what historically seems to be unfair planning decisions and a general lack of investment in the infrastructure of the island. Everything favours the mainland districts, which are Tory-controlled.

"Being independent is nothing new we considered a unilateral declaration of independence in the oil refinery fight in the 1970s and 80s."

CIIP councillors have tried to win greater representation on the council by changing the way it is run from a cabinet system to a committee system, but were defeated.

Canvey Island is linked to the mainland by only two roads.



Radical plan to turn Yorkshire Into a 'nation within a nation'

Daily Mail 9/10/17: By Tom Witherow

PROUD Yorkshire folk may refer to their homeland as God's own county - but could they soon be heading towards being a nation in their own right?

Momentum is building to devolve major powers to the region that will unify it as a 'country within a country'. The historic county, split into multiple council- areas, could gain a powerful single mayor who will make key decisions and hope to rival London for foreign investment and government funds.

Devolution has long been talked about in the White Rose county, which has a similar population to Scotland, as a means to overcome perceived regional inequalities.

With an economy bigger than 11 EU nations and a sporting prowess that puts larger countries to shame Yorkshire already punches above its weight in the world. Its annual GDP is almost twice that of Wales.

The radical Yorkshire Devolution plan, written by Senior civil servants, currently has the backing of 17 of the region's 20 council leaders.

If implemented, an elected mayor will control a £3billion budget over 30 years and make spending decisions on transport, education and benefits. The county would also have the ability to set local business rates, united under a One Yorkshire banner. The mayor would lead a cabinet made up of Yorkshire's local authority leaders, according (to) proposals authored in part by Leeds City Council chief executive Tom Riordan. The document, obtained by The Sunday Times, said: 'The UK's - and particularly England's - centralised political and economic system has not served Yorkshire well.'

As with other mayors, such as those elected this year in Liverpool, Manchester and Teesside, supporters of One Yorkshire hope it will give the region a greater voice in Whitehall and abroad.

The post is expected to be highly coveted politically. Possible Labour contenders include former minister and Strictly contestant Ed Balls, while the Tories are said to be eyeing former party leader and proud son of Rotherham, Lord Hague.

They would be tasked with doubling Yorkshire's economy from a £113billion annual income to £200billion within 30 years. Historically Yorkshire has always been divided into three ridings -, north, east and west - but its borders for ceremonial counties, local government districts and unitary authorities have changed many times, over the years.

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And local rivalries have scuppered recent attempts to devolve spending to the region under the Northern Powerhouse project. Last month a £900million devolution deal for the Sheffield city region collapsed when Doncaster and Barnsley pulled out. The same disunity led to former prime minister David Cameron saying: 'We just thought people in Yorkshire hated everyone else, we didn't realise they hated each other so much.'

Sheffield and Rotherham, who currently favour a South Yorkshire mayor; could also cause problems for the One Yorkshire idea despite it reportedly having the cautious support of Chancellor Philip Hammond. The plan would also see Yorkshire given control of lottery funding, Wakefield College gain university status and the Humber Bridge toll scrapped to 'increase the flow of people, products and services'. MPs will discuss the plans in a Commons debate tabled by Labour's John Grogan.

The Northern Powerhouse minister Jake Berry will also reveal the Government's position. It has previously ruled out a deal for the whole of Yorkshire.

Mr Grogan, MP for Keighley, believes Yorkshire could become a rival to London as it bids for foreign investment. He said: 'Yorkshire is an internationally known brand. Dan Jarvis, Labour MP for Barnsley Central, said the plan could unlock £3billion of investment, adding: 'Decisions that are critical to our future have been taken in London with little regard for the communities they affect. Devolution of power gives us the opportunity to change this.'

Being English !

English winning Life's Lottery

Daily Mail 5/8/17: Dominic Sandbrook

"Few places in the world are at once so familiar and so unknown. With more than 55 million people, England is by far the largest country in our United Kingdom, yet it has no parliament or assembly of its own."

No other people on earth can match the contribution of English men and women to world civilisation, from William Shakespeare and Sir Isaac Newton to Jane Austen and Charles Darwin.

Our forefathers invented everything from the steam engine and the postage stamp to the railway and the vaccine. Englishness itself has become one of the world's great brands, a unique blend of nostalgia and prestige, cutting-edge fashion and timeless tradition.

And with Britain poised to leave the EU, the question of what is England — its politics, its economy, even its very identity — seems more pressing than at any time in living memory



Londoners' Diary

London Evening Standard, 10/7/17

The Londoner saw (Ben)Fogle last week at the 10th anniversary party of swimwear brand Orlebar Brown, held at B&B Italia in Knightsbridge, where he told us about the new tome. "We hit a funny obstacle today," he said. "The book was supposed to be called English but it's been decided that it's too jingoistic — it's thought that no one wants to touch it in bookshops because 'English' seems to have bad connotations." A treatment of the nation's many idiosyncrasies, the book will now be called Englishness instead, at the suggestion of publisher HarperCollins. "You're supposed to say British," Fogle said. "You can be Scottish, Welsh or Northern Irish but you're not allowed to be English."

A Brexit Britain provides the perfect opportunity to analyse the country and how we have come to equate patriotism as negative. "We're being asked to describe our identity, now more than ever," he said. "During my time writing the book, when I told people I was writing a book called English they said 'Don't you mean British?' There's a lot to be said for Englishness. It's got a uniqueness." Cry God for Ben, England and St George

And now a lesson on racism from a TV fop

Daily telegraph, 1/10/17: Rod Liddle

This has been quite a week for people we thought were dead not being dead after all. There's Laurence Llewelyn-Bowen for example, who was once a jabbering, foppish plague across our television screens. He has resurfaced in a magazine with the arguably oxymoronic title Cotswold Life.

According to Bowen, describing yourself as English is "racist". I'm sure he's right, but how should one respond to an inquiry if one actually is English? The best recourse is to lie. On official forms I always say I am a Somalian traveller. When asked in the street, I state that I am Irish and dance a little jig. Laurence added that English people all came from "just outside Amsterdam". Right. Laurence calls himself Welsh. He was

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born in Kensington.

Incidentally, heard on R4 yesterday that the Scottish Parliament and the NI Assembly have both negotiated with the British govt a change in the eroll-out of universal credit to reduce the length of time claimants have to wait for money. Who negotiates for England??

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**English politics:** Scrutiny of subnational authorities, Lord Desai speaks for England by default, prisons in England

## **COMMONS: Effectiveness of local authority examined**

**16 October 2017:** The Commons Communities and Local Government Committee questions local government experts as part of its inquiry into local authority effectiveness.

**Scrutiny:** Members continue the work of the previous committee in the last Parliament in examining the effectiveness of local authority overview and scrutiny committees, created by the Local Government Act 2000 as a way of balancing the increased powers of Leaders and Cabinets.

**Purpose of the session:** The session covers a wide range of issues including whether scrutiny committees are effective in holding decision makers to account, how committee chairs are selected, whether they are politically impartial and whether committees have sufficient powers to summon witnesses.

**Witnesses:** Prof Colin Copus, Director of the Local Governance Research Unit, De Montfort University (and member of the CEP. Ed.)

Jacqui McKinlay, Chief Executive, Centre for Public Scrutiny (CfPS)

Cllr Marianne Overton, Leader of the Independent Group, Local Government Association

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Mental health in prisons examined

23 October 2017: The Commons Public Accounts Committee examines the £400 million spent on prisoners mental and physical health in 2016–17 in England.

Purpose of the session: The Committee will ask NHS England, HM Prisons and Probation Service and Ministry of Justice about how they are working together to secure reliable data on incidences of mental illness among prisoners, why reliable data does not yet exist, and how at a time of budgetary pressure they will ensure to provide healthcare provision to those prisoners who need it.

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## **LORDS: Lords debate impact of Brexit on devolution**

**09 October 2017:** The report by the EU Select Committee was published on 19 July 2017. The report highlights the complex 'overlapping and shared competences' within the devolution settlements. The report also considers the impact of Brexit on Northern Ireland, Wales and Scotland.

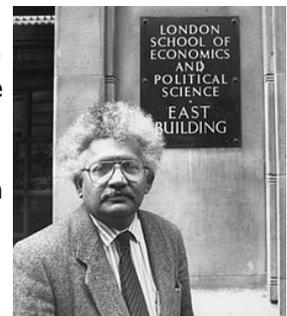
**Northern Ireland:** The Committee restated its previous conclusion that the unique circumstances of Northern Ireland will require unique, 'flexible and imaginative solutions'.

**Wales:** The Committee noted that the Welsh economy is heavily dependent on exports to the EU, and that Welsh manufacturing would be hard hit by a failure to agree a comprehensive trade deal with the EU.

**Scotland:** The Committee concluded that any Brexit deal should accommodate Scotland's particular needs, including its reliance upon EU migration to meet both labour market and demographic needs

**Lord Desai (Lab):** \_Given the two speakers who will follow me, I think that I have to speak for England, because no one is here doing that yet. I point first of all to the very useful table provided in the report, *Brexit: Devolution*. Noble Lords will see from the numbers there that the devolved regions together voted to remain; it is England which voted to exit. The margin in England was larger than the total margin in favour of exit—I have said this before in your Lordships' House.

We have to understand that one reason for dissatisfaction in England—it may have been reflected in terms of Europe—is that it is the only undeveloped region of the United Kingdom. As the noble Lord, Lord Lang, said, the problem with devolution is that we have done it in a piecemeal fashion. I was told when I had my colonial education in India that that is the way we do things: we do not do things systematically; we do them one at a time. Suddenly, Brexit, among other things, has shown us the shortcomings of this approach. We have this great conflict between what the union is, what the devolved powers are and where the gaps in the arrangements are. One problem which will come up again and again in the months ahead is that, if we are to preserve the union—as, quite eloquently, the noble Lord, Lord Lang, said—we will have to do something about the problem of England. English votes for English laws was tried in a very gingerly fashion and I think that it has



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sunk without trace.

I do not think that it will happen but I will say it anyway: a constitutional convention or—God forbid—a royal commission will have to take on afresh the issue of the constitutional structure of the union after powers have been devolved to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, with the situation of England left anomalous in that respect. We have toyed with the idea of regions of England having their own devolved governments or assemblies or something like that, but that went nowhere. In piecemeal fashion, we have now created some powerful mayors in large metropolitan areas, and there is now a movement in Yorkshire to have an independent Yorkshire or whatever it is. However, as a result of all these reports, I think that we have to come to terms with deciding what we are going to do about England. Are we going to have Westminster as a parliament for England and for the UK, or are we going to have a separate parliament for England and then have Westminster as the federal or the union parliament? It looks like an academic question, but I think it will come up again and again, because of dissatisfaction in England about lack of devolution.

The Barnett formula is one indication of this: every time the Barnett formula comes up, there is resentment in England that the same amount of money is not spent, per capita, in England as in Scotland. It may be a perfectly valid thing, because needs are different in different regions, but then you need to set an entire budget for each region, including England, on the basis of needs and then explain to people that, because the needs are dealt with equally and because they are different in different areas, this is why the Barnett formula exists; but nobody has ever done that. We have done the Barnett formula in an ad hoc fashion and it has long been reformed in an ad hoc fashion, without any reference to England. (*It has never been reformed! Ed.*)

I think it is very important that, as a result of these very important reports, we decide that now would be the best time, because Brexit is posing some very big challenges to us and when we are out, we will have problems. I was impressed by what the noble Lord, Lord Jay, said about the problem of re-establishing the single market. We are all old enough to remember that we had a single market before we went into Europe—what happened to that? Apparently it disappeared because, along the way, we have devolved power. How did that happen without anybody finding out? That kind of question is very important. We had the Kilbrandon commission, as some noble Lords will remember, back in the 1970s, but I think we need another commission, or some serious thinking as to how we will deal with dissatisfaction in England about the constitutional arrangements. It has not come up in a big way except in the Brexit world.

One problem we will have is that if the union is to be preserved, and I think that is a very important issue, we have to ask what kind of federation the union will be. Will it be one large region, England, and the three devolved regions? We see the asymmetry of that in the Brexit vote results: we may think that four units voted, but one unit overwhelmingly cast 28 million out of the 34 million votes cast for Brexit, and it was England which carried the result. Given that, are we going to have just four devolved regions, including England, or are we going to break England up into 10 separate independent regions with their own assemblies, or whatever it will be? How will we decide the question of the single market or the questions identified by the noble Lord, Lord Lang, of the social union, the defence and foreign policy union, the economic union?

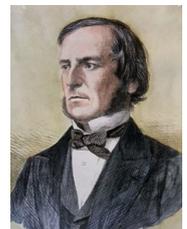
Such questions have to be posed in an abstract way at the beginning and then we have to discuss the practical arrangements, instead of doing the practical arrangements in a piecemeal fashion and then finding that we have anomalies in the arrangements we have made. We will have anomalies because we have not thought about these things systematically. I do not think I can go on much longer like this, in an abstract fashion, but the problem I see being raised by the reports of both the Constitution Committee and the European Union Committee is that something will have to be done about England. The only way to do something about England is to approach the question of the nature of the union formally, and decide once and for all how we are going to include the devolution of England within the overall framework of the union.

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## England's hero:

**George Boole** (2 November 1815 – 8 December 1864) was an English mathematician, educator, philosopher and logician. He worked in the fields of differential equations and algebraic logic, and is best known as the author of *The Laws of Thought* (1854) which contains Boolean algebra. Boolean logic is credited with laying the foundations for the information age.

He was born in Lincoln, Lincolnshire, England, the son of John Boole (1779–1848), a shoe-



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maker and Mary Ann Joyce. He had a primary school education, and received lessons from his father, but due to a serious decline in business, he had little further formal and academic teaching. At age 16, Boole became the breadwinner for his parents and three younger siblings, taking up a junior teaching position in Doncaster at Heigham's School

From 1838 onwards Boole was making contacts with sympathetic British academic mathematicians and reading more widely. He studied algebra in the form of symbolic methods, as far as these were understood at the time, and began to publish research papers.

Boole's status as mathematician was recognised by his appointment in 1849 as the first professor of mathematics at Queen's College, Cork (now University College Cork (UCC)) in Ireland.

He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society (FRS) in 1857.

Boolean algebra is named after him, as is the crater Boole on the Moon. The keyword *Bool* represents a Boolean datatype in many programming languages, though Pascal and Java, among others, both use the full name *Boolean*. The library, underground lecture theatre complex and the Boole Centre for Research in Informatics at University College Cork are named in his honour. A road called *Boole Heights* in Bracknell, Berkshire is named after him.

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**England's history: The Eleanor crosses** were a series of twelve lavishly decorated stone monuments topped with tall crosses, of which three survive nearly intact, in a line down part of the east of England. King Edward I had the crosses erected between 1291 and 1294 in memory of his wife Eleanor of Castile, who died in Northamptonshire on 28th November 1290, marking the nightly resting-places along the route taken when her body was transported to London.

Several artists worked on the crosses, as the "Expense Rolls" of the Crown show, with some of the work being divided between the main figures, sent from London, and the framework, made locally. "Alexander of Abingdon" and "William of Ireland", both of whom had worked at Westminster Abbey, were apparently the leading sculptors of figures.

### **The Twelve Places:**

Lincoln: The only remaining piece of the Eleanor cross is in the grounds of Lincoln Castle. The cross originally stood at St. Catherine's, an area at the end of Lincoln's High Street.

Grantham: No part survives, though the records of the 18th century antiquary, William Stukeley, suggest that it featured Eleanor's coats of arms.

Stamford: Only a small marble fragment survives, a carved rose excavated by William Stukeley; it is currently preserved in Stamford Museum. Stukeley's sketch of the top portion of the Stamford Cross, which suggests that it stylistically resembled the Geddington Cross, is preserved in his diaries, in the Bodleian Library.

Geddington: Still standing, it is the best-preserved of the three survivors. It is unique among the surviving crosses in having a triangular plan, and a taller and more slender profile with a lower tier entirely covered with rosette diapering, instead of the arch-and-gable motif with tracery which appears on both the others; and canopied statues surmounted by a slender hexagonal pinnacle.

Hardingstone, Northampton: The Northampton cross is still standing at the edge of Delapré Abbey, on the side of the A508 leading out of Northampton, just north of the junction with the A45; the King stayed nearby at Northampton Castle. This cross was begun in 1291 by John of Battle. He worked with William of Ireland to carve the statues: William was paid £3 6s. 8d. per figure.

Stony Stratford: This cross stood at the end of the town, towards the River Ouse, on Watling Street

Woburn: Work on the cross started in 1292, later than most of the others. A great part of the work was done by one Ralph de Chichester. No part survives. The precise location is unknown.

Dunstable: Eleanor's coffin was guarded by Canons in the Dunstable Priory whilst local people mourned at the crossroads, the location where the original cross was then constructed.

St Albans: A cross was erected in the Market Place at a cost of £100. It stood for many years in front of the fifteenth century Clock Tower in the High Street

Waltham (now Waltham Cross): The monument was constructed in co-operation between an architect and a sculptor, Roger of Crundale, who was the senior royal mason, and Master Alexander of Abingdon, respectively. It is still standing, although it has been restored on several occasions, and the original statues of Eleanor were replaced by replicas during the last major restoration in the 1950s. The original statues were kept for some years at Cheshunt Public Library but they were removed, possibly in the 1980s, to the Victoria & Albert Museum.



Geddington Cross

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Westcheap (now Cheapside): Fragments are held by the Museum of London,

Charing (now Charing Cross): The cross at Charing Cross, in what was then the Royal Mews, was the most expensive, built of marble in co-operation between an architect, Richard of Crundale, who was the senior royal mason, and a sculptor, Master Alexander of Abingdon. A replacement cross was erected in 1865 in front of Charing Cross railway station

The only three crosses still standing are those at Geddington, Hardingstone and Waltham Cross.

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## English culture: Driving on the left

In the past, almost everybody travelled on the left side of the road because that was the most sensible option for feudal, violent societies. Since most people are right-handed, swordsmen preferred to keep to the left in order to have their right arm nearer to an opponent and their scabbard further from him. Moreover, it reduced the chance of the scabbard (worn on the left) hitting other people.

Furthermore, a right-handed person finds it easier to mount a horse from the left side of the horse, and it would be very difficult to do otherwise if wearing a sword (which would be worn on the left). It is safer to mount and dismount towards the side of the road, rather than in the middle of traffic, so if one mounts on the left, then the horse should be ridden on the left side of the road.

In the late 1700s, however, teamsters in France and the United States began hauling farm products in big wagons pulled by several pairs of horses. These wagons had no driver's seat; instead the driver sat on the left rear horse, so he could keep his right arm free to lash the team. Since he was sitting on the left, he naturally wanted everybody to pass on the left so he could look down and make sure he kept clear of the oncoming wagon's wheels. Therefore he kept to the right side of the road.

In Russia, in 1709, the Danish envoy under Tsar Peter the Great noted the widespread custom for traffic in Russia to pass on the right, but it was only in 1752 that Empress Elizabeth (Elizaveta Petrovna) officially issued an edict for traffic to keep to the right. In addition, the French Revolution of 1789 gave a huge impetus to right-hand travel in Europe. The fact is, before the Revolution, the aristocracy travelled on the left of the road, forcing the peasantry over to the right, but after the storming of the Bastille and the subsequent events, aristocrats preferred to keep a low profile and joined the peasants on the right. An official keep-right rule was introduced in Paris in 1794, more or less parallel to Denmark, where driving on the right had been made compulsory in 1793.

<http://www.worldstandards.eu/cars/driving-on-the-left/>

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## Promotion: Onion growers

British (*sic!*) onions are grown in the east of the country mainly in East Anglia, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Traditionally the strong pungent onions have recently had sweeter varieties added to the production to widen the range available from UK production, which is about 433,460 tonnes.

<http://www.britishgrowers.org/british-growing/>

**Alastair Findlay Partnership**, Lakes Farm Office, Cardington, Bedford, Beds, MK44 3SH

**Anglia Growers Farming Ltd**, Everglens, Outwell Road, Emneth, PE14 8BG

**Dyas Farms 1988 Ltd**, Sevenscore House, Sevenscore, Nr Ramsgate, Kent, CT12 5DW

**E C Brown & Sons (South Eastern Produce Ltd)**, Wypemere Farm, Wype Road, Whittlesy, Peterborough, Cambridgeshire, PE7 2HG

**Elveden Produce Ltd**; Estate Office, Elveden, Thetford, Norfolk, IP24 3TQ

**Farmcare Ltd**, Coldham Estate, Coldham, Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, PE14 0LX

**F B Parrish & Son**, Lodge Farm, Chicksands, Shefford, Beds, SG17 5QB

**Frederick Hiam Ltd**, Manor Farm, Ixworth Thorpe, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, IP31 1QH

**G H Chennells Farms Ltd**, Clay Farm, North Scarle, Lincoln, LN6 9ES

**Greens Farming Ltd**, Mettleham Farm Centre, Hasse Road, Soham, Ely, Cambs, CB7 5UW

**Greenshoots Ltd**, Hollyhouse Farm, Horseway, Chatteris, Cambs, PE16 6XQ

**Home Farms (Nacton) Ltd**, Unit A, Camilla Court, Nacton, Ipswich, IP10 0EU

**Ward Farming Ltd**, Leadenhall Farm, Holbeach St Marks, Spalding, Lincolnshire, PE12 8HB

**James Foscett Farms**, Low Farm, Bridge Road, Bromeswell, Woodbridge, Suffolk, IP12 2QB

**JS Young Farms**, Grange Farm, Hockwold, Thetford, Norfolk IP26 4JN

**Maurice Crouch Growers Ltd**, Merrymac Farms, Threeholes, Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, PE14 9JU

**P G Rix (Farms) Ltd**, Lodge Farm, Great Horkesley, Colchester, Essex, CO6 4AP



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**PRC & CM Westrope**, Park Farm, Loudham, Woodbridge, Suffolk, IP13 0NW

**R.G. Abrey Farms**, The Estate Office, Larkshall, East Wretham, Thetford, Norfolk, IP24 1QY

**R H & R Paul**, Broxtead Estate, Sutton, Woodbridge, Suffolk, IP12 3HL

**Richmond Farms**, Northons lane, Holbeach, Lincolnshire, PE12 7QS

**Suffolk Produce Ltd**, Building 723, Bentwaters Parks, Rendlesham, Woodbridge, Suffolk, IP12 2TW

**Upton Suffolk Farms**, Park Farm Offices, Herringswell, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, IP28 6SR

**Wantisden Hall Farms**, Wantisden, Woodbridge, Suffolk, IP12 3PQ

**Wix Farms**, Hempstalls Farm, Wix, Manningtree, Essex, CO11 2NZ

<http://britishonions.co.uk/growers/>

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## Recipe: Cheese and Onion Puff Pies

Serves 6

Preparation time 40 minutes

Cooking time 30-35 minutes

### Ingredients:

3 Medium white onions

2 Tablespoons fresh chopped rosemary leaves

200g/7oz Full fat crème fraiche

1 clove garlic, finely chopped

500g/1lb 2oz Puff pastry, defrosted if frozen

6 Slices wafer thin honey roast ham

2 Tablespoons olive oil

450g/1lb Potatoes, peeled, thinly sliced

100g/4oz Gruyere or mature cheddar cheese, grated

Salt and freshly ground black pepper

A little flour for dusting

1 Egg, beaten



### Method

Thinly slice 2 of the onions and reserve the third for later. Heat 1 tablespoon of oil in a frying pan, add the sliced onions and 1 tablespoon of the rosemary and fry gently for 10 minutes, stirring until just beginning to turn golden.

Meanwhile, bring a saucepan of water to the boil, add the sliced potatoes and cook for 4-5 minutes until just tender. Drain and return to the pan then leave to cool for 5 minutes.

Add the crème fraiche, cheese, garlic and some salt and pepper to the potatoes and gently mix together then add the onions and mix once more, being careful not to break up the potato slices.

Cut the pastry into 6, then roll one piece out on a lightly floured surface until a rough shaped 18cm/7inch square. Lay one of the slices of ham on top then pile one sixth of the potato and onion mix on top.

Brush the edges of the pastry with a little egg then gradually bring up the edges, pleating the ham and pastry up and over the filling to enclose completely, pinch the edges together in the centre and trim off the excess pastry. Put the parcel on to an oiled baking sheet and repeat to make six parcels.

Brush the outside of the parcels with beaten egg. Cut the remaining onion into 6 slices then put a slice on top of each pastry parcel. Brush with the remaining oil then sprinkle with the remaining rosemary and a little salt and pepper.

Bake in a preheated oven set to 200°C/400°F/Gas 6 for 30-35 minutes until golden brown and the pastry is cooked through. Serve warm with a mixed leaf salad.

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