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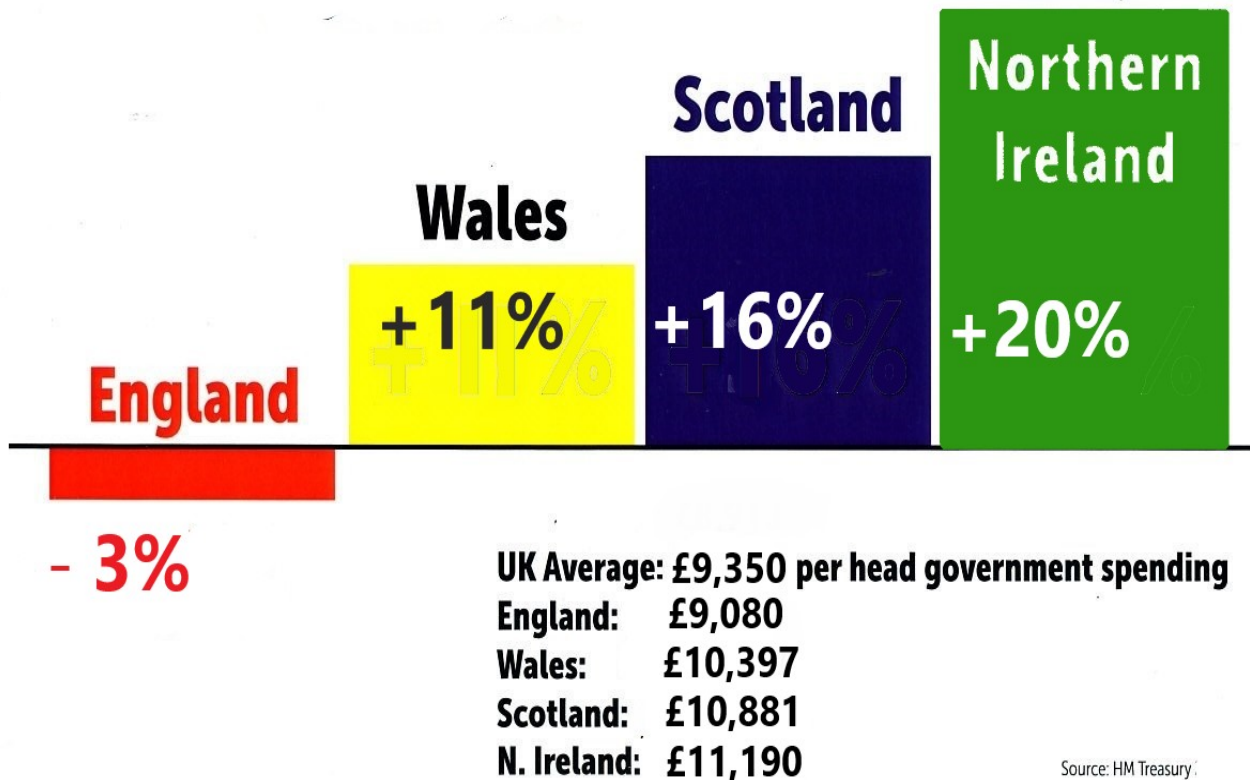


**C**ampaign for an **E**nglish **P**arliament

# Think of England

## Number 94: August 2019

### UK government spending on services



**Championing England  
& Challenging Prejudice**

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Number 94 August 2019

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## 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: Philip Johnston

in the Telegraph calls for a new Act of Union. We have been calling for that since 1998! He refers to "regions". We do not recognise this term, in fact I spit blood when I hear the

phrase "nations and regions", originally coined by an England hater and repeated ad nauseam. As far as I am concerned England is a national entity and has been longer than the rest of the UK. It is not and never has been a collection of regions. We are a nation! We must be shown the same respect as the rest of the UK and have our own legislature AS A NATION! Every nation, however large or small is entitled to have its own administration that is the human rights policy of the United Nations. Are we, in England, to be treated differently from all other nations?

In August we always report the latest National Statistics regarding the amount the national governments of the UK spend on their citizens. England has no national government and relies on what the UK government sees fit to distribute. We suffer the least funding in the UK due to the notorious Barnett formula that was never based on need, despite the lies told by eminent politicians, but we have no recourse to our own national government to lobby for change. Theresa May's deputy David Lidington has warned that English "indifference" to its union with the rest of the UK risks breaking up the country in a no-deal Brexit. I would suggest to him that the English are far from indifferent but acutely aware of the disparities in funding and in representation since devolution.



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## Campaigning for England :

If the PM wants to save the Union, a radical new plan for a federal UK could be the answer

30 July 2019: Telegraph: Philip Johnston

Keeping the Union intact is, as William Hague observed this week for the *Telegraph*, Mr Johnson's greatest challenge as he prepares the country to leave the EU at the end of October. Nationalists across the UK see Brexit – especially a no-deal variety – as their best chance for secession.



There are, in fact, three different unions within the UK. That between England and Scotland is enshrined in the document John Smith holds in his portrait by Godfrey Kneller in the Tate Gallery, amended recently by devolution and the reduction of Scots MPs at Westminster, although they remain over-represented compared with England.

In the case of Wales, its position within the Union is as an integral part with England. The two countries are one legal jurisdiction. While some powers have been devolved, together, they form the constitutional successor to the former Kingdom of England.

Northern Ireland is more problematic, not having been a nation but part of one that was previously united to the kingdom through another Act of Union, that of 1801, which remains in place despite the partition of Ireland in 1921.

When Boris Johnson talks about defending the Union – the “awesome foursome” as he called it – all of these complexities need to be considered. Devolution, especially to Scotland since the 2014 independence referendum, has made England's position hard to sustain without an element of self-government for the UK's largest component.

We need, in other words, a new Act of Union to pull all these strands together and make some constitutional sense of it all before it fractures under the pressures applied by Brexit and the politics of national identity. It is all well and good Mr Johnson extolling the Union as “the most successful economic and political union in history”, but some constitutional flying buttresses are needed to shore it up.

What might, however, is a new constitutional settlement. It so happens that there is one ready and waiting for a government that takes these matters seriously rather than just utter platitudes. A few months ago, a new Act of Union Bill was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Lisvane, the former clerk of the Commons. It was drawn up by the Constitution Reform Group, headed by the Marquess of Salisbury, whose members include Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrat and non-party figures.

The measure reverses the current position where all powers are centralised unless they are devolved and assumes that they reside with the four parts of the UK to be “pooled” by mutual agreement. The most eye-catching option would involve the creation of an English parliament and the abolition of the House of Lords.

These are radical proposals which would have been required even without Brexit but most assuredly will be needed when it happens if the Union is to hold. They would effectively turn the country into a federation with four self-standing national units voluntarily pooling their sovereignty to a central administration. Common UK functions might include the constitutional monarch as head of state, national security, foreign affairs and defence, human rights, immigration, the supreme court, the currency, a central Bank of the United Kingdom, some taxation powers, and the civil service. Everything else would be controlled by the nations and regions (*sic! Ed.*). This is a reversal of what happens now, where a central government devolves power to the periphery as it sees fit.

If we are serious about preserving the Union then practical legislative decisions need to be taken or we will lose it by default.

*(The first reading of the Bill in the House of Lords took place in October 2018. There is no date set for a second reading! So don't hold your breath. Ed.)*

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## Current English Affairs:

**FUNDING: National Statistics:** Every July the Office for National Statistics publishes its Public Expenditure Statistical analysis. Every year the least is spent per head on the people of England nationally. Many MPs and academics, with vested interests, try to hoodwink us with comparisons between cities or regions in the UK. The truth is that the cake is divided along national lines according to the truly evil, discriminatory and discredited Barnett formula. The graphs below have been drawn up to show the current deficit to us in England and the cumulative effect of this discrimination.

The sums spent by the governments of the UK on services by country per head are as shown in the front

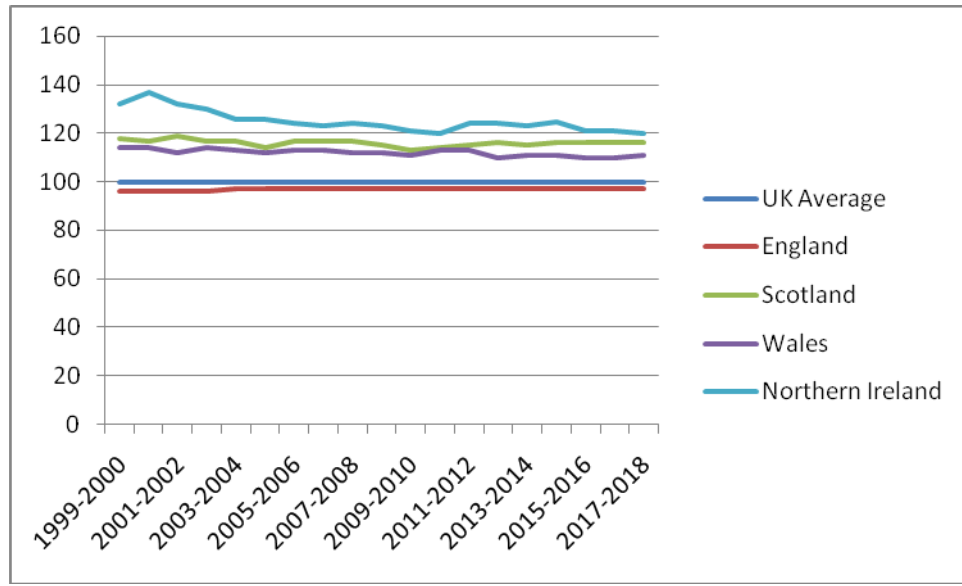
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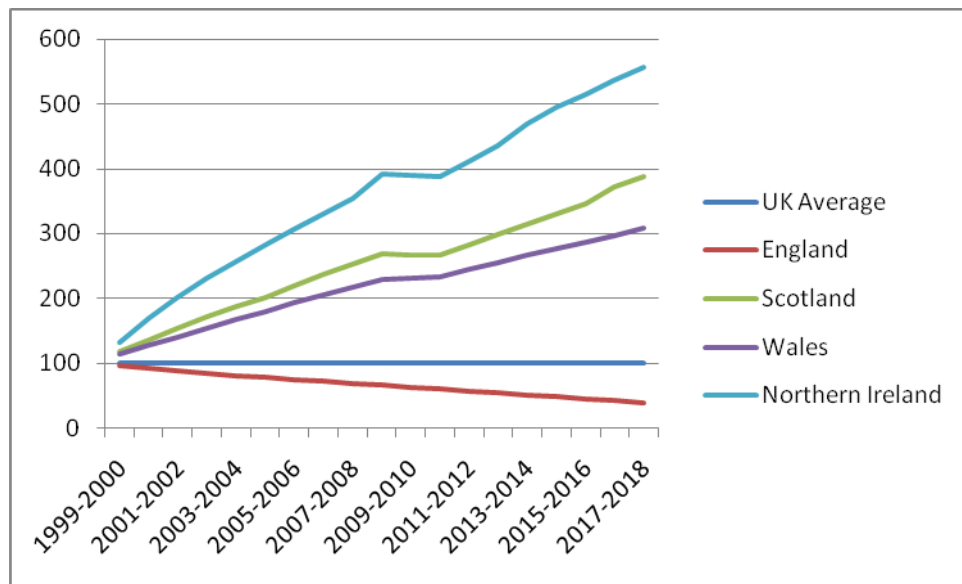
tispiece. The UK government spent on each of us in England £9,080 but in Northern Ireland it spent so much more on each of them. The Scottish government the Welsh Assembly enabled by the UK Government's generous funding compared with its parsimonious funding of us in England spent a great deal more on each of their citizens than we received in England.

## Spending per head of population

% Current and historic deficits/benefits.



## % Cumulative effect



## National scandal' of potholes puts cyclists at risk

July 1 2019, The Times: Graeme Paton, Transport Correspondent

The transport committee accused successive governments of a dereliction of duty over funding, with a 25 per cent drop in local government funding since 2010, which meant that councils were diverting money to pay for priorities such as adult social care.

The report called for a five-year settlement to give **English** local authorities more certainty over funding. This could be ring-fenced to force them to improve roads, all of which, apart from motorways and big A-roads, are part of the local road network, with maintenance in the hands of 153 councils.

Seventy-one cyclists were seriously injured or killed in accidents linked to poorly maintained roads in 2016, more than triple the number a decade earlier.

Central government spends £1.1 billion a year on local roads. This is a quarter of the total amount spent on local roads annually, the rest coming from council tax and building developers.

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Today's report says that too many councils adopt a cheap "patch and mend" approach to repairs, which fails to deal with the problem. On average local roads are completely resurfaced only once every 67 years.

It cites a study from the Asphalt Industry Alliance this year that showed 11 per cent of all local roads were in a poor condition and a further 25 per cent showed deterioration. It estimated that it would take ten years at a cost of £9.7 billion to repair all potholes.



Martin Tett, transport spokesman for the Local Government Association, said:

"Councils have lost 60p out of every £1 in central government funding between 2010 and 2020 and are increasingly having to divert more and more money into meeting rising demand for children's services, adult social care and homelessness support." The Department for Transport said that councils had £6.6 billion for roads from 2015 to 2020, including more than £700 million for extra maintenance.

### English apathy over no-deal Brexit 'poses threat to Union'

July 5 2019, The Times: Oliver Wright, Policy Editor; Kieran Andrews

Theresa May's deputy has warned that English "indifference" to its union with Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland risks breaking up the country in a no-deal Brexit. David Lidington said that Britain was "under greater pressure" than he had "ever known it to be" and warned English voters not to take the UK for granted. He added that if Britain crashed out of the European Union without a deal there was a very real prospect of Irish reunification and Scottish independence. "It's a very delicate situation where two nations of the UK voted to leave the European Union and two nations voted to remain," he said. "In England, I think that there is an indifference to the Union; a sense of taking it for granted. It is something that is there as part of the landscape rather than something that you've really got to make a conscious effort to work to sustain."

### Ministers 'fail to measure impact' of regional funds and local enterprise partnerships (LEPs)

July 5 2019, The Times: James Hurley, Enterprise Editor

England's 38 local enterprise partnerships (LEPs) are run by boards "not representative of their local areas" that lack "scrutiny and accountability" for spending decisions, the public accounts committee said. LEPs are voluntary partnerships between business leaders, academics and the public sector designed to give more power to regional decision makers to drive growth in their areas. They are supposed to tackle skills shortages, provide small business support and improve infrastructure and transport policy. However, the spending watchdog said that the Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government, which is supposed to oversee the partnerships, had not properly tracked the use of the funds the organisations were given. This is because the department does not evaluate the performance of the Local Growth Fund, the funding pot that the partnerships rely on.

A report published today concludes that the government "has made no effort to evaluate the value for money of nearly £12 billion in public funding, nor does it have robust plans to do so". It receives quarterly performance data from LEPs, but value has not been measured.

LEPs are also blighted by overlapping geographical boundaries, which "dilutes accountability and responsibility", while a lack of capacity within the organisations has caused them to underspend their funding allocations by more than £1 billion over the past three years. This called into question their ability to deliver complex projects, the committee said. Concerns were also raised at a lack of expected private sector funding that was supposed to boost the impact of the partnerships.

Concerns were previously raised that a lack of oversight had given rise at some partnerships to secretive cultures, misuse of funds and cronyism. The government asked the local partnerships to improve local scrutiny of investment decisions and the public accounts committee said that there had been improvements. However, it said there was "still a long way to go for all LEPs to reach the rigorous standards we expect".

The government told the committee that enterprise partnerships "are not resourced sufficiently to respond to high levels of scrutiny and, as such, the department needs to prioritise what it asks LEPs to commit to". A ministry spokesman said: "We continue to work with LEPs across England to further improve standards and ensure value for money."

### Public fear streets are lawless, say police chiefs

July 5 2019, The Times: Sean O'Neill, Chief Reporter; Fariha Karim

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The public have lost confidence in the police and fear that Britain has descended into lawlessness because of knife and drug crime, five former heads of Scotland Yard warn today.

The former commissioners have united to condemn the “emasculatation of British policing” under Theresa May and urge her successor to make law and order a priority. Their intervention added to the sense of urgency over the issue as Boris Johnson faced pressure to explain how he would fund a pledge to recruit 20,000 police officers.



In a letter to The Times the former Metropolitan Police chiefs, who ran the force from 1993 to 2017, said that resources had been “drained to dangerously low levels” and victims of crime had “perilously low expectations”. They wrote: “The reduction of police and support staff by more than 30,000, the virtual destruction of neighbourhood policing and the inadvisable undermining of lawful police powers such as stop and search have taken their toll.” Violent crime rose after Mrs May, as home secretary, imposed restrictions that caused the number of instances of stop and search to fall by 80 per cent, from a peak of 1.5 million in 2008-09.

The chief inspector of constabulary also gave an alarming assessment of policing yesterday. Sir Thomas Winsor said there were signs that some forces in **England** and Wales “are straining under significant pressure as they try to meet growing complex and high-risk demand with weakened resources”. There was a “mismatch between police funding and public expectations . . . there is a widening gap between the needs of the public and the police’s capacity and capability to meet them”.

Sir Mark Rowley, former head of counterterrorism policing said that police and crime commissioners should be scrapped. He told the Today programme on BBC Radio 4: “Forty-three police forces organised in the way they are, held to account by locally elected, generally parochial police and crime commissioners, is not the way to structure policing when we’re dealing with global challenges. “We’ve had eight years of what I would say is a policy misdirection that has been characterised by parochialism, by weakening of powers and by cutting of resources. “And it’s that combination of factors in a time when threats are more joined up and policing needs to be more joined up. “The reason we’re talking about the royal commission or something equivalent is the need to have a really fresh look to set policing up to deal with the threats and challenges today — as well as having the resources, but it’s not only about resources.” He said that hundreds of millions of pounds of investment is needed to fund tens of thousands more officers.

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### **Social care funding is a scandal that stains our nation**

Times 5/7/19 : Ian Birrell

When politicians are in a pickle on an issue, they kick it into the long grass. So we have seen at least 17 white papers, green papers and state reviews of social-care funding over the past two decades. The present government, having lost its majority largely because of a bungled policy proposal on this issue, has delayed the latest green paper six times during its dismal tenure.

Politicians talk of reaching across tribal boundaries but play sordid party politics with efforts to break the log-jam. The spiralling crisis leaves families suffering agonies behind front doors. A fragmented, struggling system is breaking down. There are 1.4 million old people with unmet needs. Support for people with disabilities is being restricted. Access to care depends on wealth and where you live, not need — issues intensifying due to demographic pressures.

Listen to the debate and you might think this is simply about middle-class folks cashing in homes to fund elderly care. But this crisis goes far deeper. It is shrouded in hypocrisy as our health service is sanctified and stuffed with cash while social-care funding shrinks in real terms and support for despairing citizens dries up. This is the impact of local authority budgets being cut deeper than those in Whitehall during austerity by a coalition government to deflect criticism. Now desperate calls for help from cash-strapped councils are surging, led by working-age adults. The means test has become meaner. Worst hit are those reliant on inadequate state support as the care market gravitates toward self-funders paying higher fees.

Behind the problem lies a simple but profound question: why should someone dying of dementia not be supported by the state like someone dying of cancer? The Lords economic affairs committee, which includes Tory and Labour former chancellors has joined those of us highlighting this iniquity in a report demanding an urgent £8 billion investment, then extension of free personal care to all by 2025. The next government should forget about talking shops or delaying tactics. Just act to end a scandal that stains our nation.

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### **Banks axe branches in poor areas**

Times 22/7/19: Banks are abandoning customers in poorer parts of England by closing more high street branches than in wealthier areas, research has indicated.

The digital current account provider Pockit, which compiled bank branch closure figures and Office for National Statistics data on deprivation in England, said there had been more than 5,000 branch closures since 2010. It found that, on average, nearly a third of branches in the most deprived 10 per cent of local authorities have closed, compared with just over a fifth in the least deprived 10 per cent.

High street banks axed 990 branches in the most deprived areas of England over the same period more than four times the 230 shut in the least deprived areas. The number of branches declined sharply in areas such as Blackpool, Bradford, Hartlepool, and Leicester. At the other end of the spectrum places such as St Albans, Guildford and Richmond-upon-Thames suffered less severe drops.

Virraj Jatania, chief executive and founder of Pockit, said: "Big banks are marginalising the poorest in society by shutting up shop and leaving them behind. These findings suggest that high street lenders prefer serving the most well-off rather than the most in need."

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### **'Uncaring' Priory clinics put in special measures**

July 30 2019, The Times: Rosie Taylor

Two hospitals owned by the Priory Group have been put into special measures over fears about the standard of care provided to people experiencing mental health problems. Inspectors raised concerns about uncaring, disrespectful staff and dirty wards at one adult hospital and an inspection at another hospital identified problems with the safety of children and young people.



The two hospitals, which were both rated "inadequate" by the Care Quality Commission, are Kneesworth House in Royston, Hertfordshire, which cares for adults with chronic mental health problems, and the Priory Hospital Blandford in Dorset, which cares for people under 18 years old with mental health problems, learning difficulties or autism.

The Priory Group is better known for running the Priory Hospital in Roehampton, southwest London, a favourite with celebrities seeking treatment for drug and alcohol addiction. Kneesworth House is run by Partnerships in Care, which is owned by the Priory Group.

Inspectors criticised "disorganised" clinic rooms and "dirty", poorly maintained wards with stained, smelly lavatories and ripped furniture. They said some staff were "uncaring and disrespectful" and that several had used keys to poke patients in the legs to get them to get out of bed. Patients were kept in seclusion for long periods, sometimes with no justification recorded.

Paul Lelliott, deputy chief inspector of hospitals at the CQC, said "We identified several serious problems regarding the quality of care and patient safety that needed immediate attention . . . NHS England have taken the decision to suspend admissions until further notice." He said that the CQC would take further action if improvements were not made.

### **English politics:**

05 July 2019: **Commons Select Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee**

The Committee welcomes the announcement of the Dunlop review into devolution, as recommended in its 2018 report

Prime Minister's speech, delivered in Stirling, announced: "There have been several reviews into how devolution works. But we have never thought deeply about how we make the Union work – how we ensure that as we fully respect devolution, we do not forget the UK Government's fundamental duty to be a government for the whole United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

That is why I have asked Andrew Dunlop to lead an independent review into the structures of the UK Government to ensure that they are set up to realise fully all the benefits of being a United Kingdom."

This closely echoes the Committee's recommendation from its 2018 report, which examined how the Brexit process may impact the UK's existing devolution settlement:

"In line with the recognition that devolution is an established and fundamental feature of the UK's constitutional architecture, the Government should commit to a systematic review, in the year following the UK's exit from the EU, of how Whitehall is structured and how it relates to the devolved administrations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. (*But not, presumably to England! Ed.*)

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09 July 2019: **Commons Select Health and Social Care Committee**

The Health and Social Committee is conducting a short inquiry in the run-up to the November 2019 Budget, aimed at assessing the case for investment in each of the following areas: capital expenditure on the NHS, education and training, social care, and public health, including the impact these areas of spending have on the implementation of the Long-term Plan.

**Terms of Reference:** The implementation of the NHS Long-term Plan depends not only on the five-year funding settlement for NHS **England** announced in June 2018, but also on the funding settlements covering NHS capital, education and training, social care and public health. A detailed national implementation programme, due this autumn (2019), was intended to take account of decisions made on these four areas in the Government's Spending Review. The Spending Review has been delayed due to Brexit and the change in Prime Minister and there is currently no indication of when it will take place or the time period it will cover.



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**Commons Select Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy Committee**

Inquiry into growth and investment region-by-region across the UK. (*Do they mean England! Ed.*)

The 11 members include: Stephen Kerr (Scottish MP); and Albert Owen (Welsh MP); Drew Hendry SNP; So a quarter of the Committee have constituents who have no interest in these deliberations!

*(Editor's question submitted to House of Commons enquiries: The enquiry's remit is the UK. Does it include the UK regions of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland? If not then how can it be democratically justified that a quarter of the members are from regions where the result of their deliberations will have no affect their constituents? Since devolution Parliamentary procedure is no longer democratically justified.*

*Reply: Thank you for your enquiry. Reading the scope of the [Committee's inquiry on supporting regional investment and growth](#), it seems to suggest that the inquiry covers the UK, so would include Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. If you have concerns about the inquiry, you may wish to contact the Committee staff directly. Contact details can be found via the link below:*

<https://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/business-energy-industrial-strategy/contact-us/> *I will do so! Ed.)*

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18 July 2019: **Commons Select Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee**

In a report on the governance of official statistics, PACAC argues that the dual role of the UK Statistics Authority in both producing and regulating official statistics has compromised its ability to ensure statistics serve the public good and recommends it is split into two separate bodies.

## **Key conclusions**

**Independence and accountability:** The report argues that UKSA has not made itself sufficiently independent of the Government, particularly the Treasury, and is therefore shying away from its responsibility to be accountable to Parliament and the public. For almost a decade now there has been concern about the discrepancy between UKSA's calculation of RPI and CPI (consumer prices index), but UKSA has refused to account for its RPI figure.

As a result of overestimated RPI, commuters face higher rail fares and students are dealt higher student loan interest rates. In January 2019 the Economic Affairs Committee of the House of Lords reported that by failing to fix RPI, UKSA risks breaching its statutory duties. PACAC concludes that through its continued mishandling of RPI UKSA has allowed what was "originally a simple mistake in price collection of inflation data to snowball into a major unresolved issue for a decade."

The report recommends that UKSA demonstrate more proactive, quicker responses to concerns about the accuracy and misuse of statistics and should more clearly demonstrate its independence from key stakeholders, when it has significant disagreements with producers of statistics.

The Committee also expresses concern about UKSA's openness to parliamentary and public scrutiny. The report finds that UKSA is slow to respond to, or take action on, correspondence and reports from parliamentary committees. PACAC therefore urges UKSA to attend an annual hearing with the Committee to improve its accountability to parliament and make its governance more transparent so it can be scrutinised by the public.

**Dividing the role of UK Statistics Authority:** The UK Statistics Authority (UKSA) was created in 2008 as a statutory body to promote and safeguard the production and publication of official statistics that serve the public good. UKSA was given the dual function of being both the main provider of national statistics

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(through the Office for National Statistics) and the sole regulator of UK statistics. In its report, PACAC found that this dual role has led to a conflict and as a result UKSA is performing neither role adequately. The report recommends that the Government introduce legislation to divide UKSA into two separate bodies – one for production and one for regulation.

Availability and usefulness of statistics: UKSA's statutory objective commits it to "informing the public about social and economic matters" and "assisting in the development and evaluation of public policy", however the report finds that UKSA's governance of statistics does not always serve the public good. UKSA does not have a complete understanding of who uses statistics, what for, and what statistics are in demand. The report concludes that "with only a modest sense of how the public uses data and no evidence of the unmet needs, UKSA is unable to work towards delivering public good as required under the legislation."

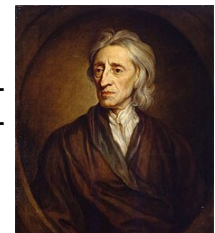
The Committee recommends that UKSA should lead cross-government research to build an evidence base of how statistics are used in practice, taking into account the full breadth of stakeholders (not just users) and to investigate where data gaps persist.

Challenging disinformation and data concerns: The report outlines that technology and innovation can make statistics more robust and also more accessible to decision makers and the public. However, the Committee heard that Government progress to capitalise on data innovations has been slow and there remains significant work to do. There is also work to do on reassuring citizens about the use of their data. The report recommends that UKSA should request data sets so that it can take a lead in using the potential of data to transform government, at the same time demonstrating how the public will be protected from misuse of data. The Committee also calls on UKSA to take a stronger leading role across technology, data science, data ethics and influencing improved sharing of data.

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### England's heroes/heroines:

John Locke FRS was an English philosopher – 'all knowledge is founded on and ultimately derives from sense...or sensation' and physician, widely regarded as one of the most influential of Enlightenment thinkers and commonly known as the "Father of Liberalism". Considered one of the first of the English empiricists, following the tradition of Sir Francis Bacon, he is equally important to social contract theory. His work greatly affected the development of epistemology and political philosophy. His writings influenced Voltaire and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, many Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, as well as the American revolutionaries. His contributions to classical republicanism and liberal theory are reflected in the United States Declaration of Independence.



Portrait of Locke in 1697 by Godfrey Kneller

Locke's theory of mind is often cited as the origin of modern conceptions of identity and the self, figuring prominently in the work of later philosophers such as David Hume, Rousseau, and Immanuel Kant. Locke was the first to define the self through a continuity of consciousness. He postulated that, at birth, the mind was a blank slate or *tabula rasa*. Contrary to Cartesian philosophy based on pre-existing concepts, he maintained that we are born without innate ideas, and that knowledge is instead determined only by experience derived from sense perception. This is now known as empiricism. An example of Locke's belief in empiricism can be seen in his quote, "whatever I write, as soon as I discover it not to be true, my hand shall be the forwardest to throw it into the fire." This shows the ideology of science in his observations in that something must be capable of being tested repeatedly and that nothing is exempt from being disproven. Challenging the work of others, Locke is said to have established the method of introspection, or observing the emotions and behaviours of one's self.

Locke was born on 29 August 1632, in a small thatched cottage by the church in Wrington, Somerset, about 12 miles from Bristol. Soon after Locke's birth, the family moved to the market town of Pensford, about seven miles south of Bristol, where Locke grew up in a rural Tudor house in Belluton.

In 1647, Locke was sent to the prestigious Westminster School in London under the sponsorship of Alexander Popham, a member of Parliament and his father's former commander. After completing studies there, he was admitted to Christ Church, Oxford, in the autumn of 1652 at the age of twenty. Although a capable student, Locke was irritated by the undergraduate curriculum of the time. He found the works of modern philosophers, such as René Descartes, more interesting than the classical material taught at the university. Through his friend Richard Lower, whom he knew from the Westminster School, Locke was introduced to medicine and the experimental philosophy being pursued at other universities and in the Royal Society, of which he eventually became a member.

Locke was awarded a bachelor's degree in February 1656 and a master's degree in June 1658. He obtained

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a bachelor of medicine in February 1675, having studied medicine extensively during his time at Oxford and worked with such noted scientists and thinkers as Robert Boyle, Thomas Willis, Robert Hooke and Richard Lower. In 1666, he met Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper, 1st Earl of Shaftesbury, who had come to Oxford seeking treatment for a liver infection. Cooper was impressed with Locke and persuaded him to become part of his retinue.

John Locke's most famous works are *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689), in which he developed his theory of ideas and his account of the origins of human knowledge in experience, and *Two Treatises of Government* (first edition published in 1690 but substantially composed before 1683).

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### England's history: Plague in Eyam

Eyam is an English village and civil parish in the Derbyshire Dales. The history of the plague in the village began in 1665 when a flea-infested bundle of cloth arrived from London for the local tailor. Within a week his assistant George Vicars was dead and more began dying in the household soon after. As the disease spread, the villagers turned for leadership to their rector, the Reverend William Mompesson, and the Puritan Minister Thomas Stanley. These introduced a number of precautions to slow the spread of the illness from May 1666. They included the arrangement that families were to bury their own dead and relocation of church services to the natural amphitheatre of Cucklett Delph, allowing villagers to separate themselves and so reducing the risk of infection. Perhaps the best-known decision was to quarantine the entire village to prevent further spread of the disease.

The plague ran its course over 14 months and one account states that it killed at least 260 villagers, with only 83 surviving out of a population of 350. This figure has been challenged on a number of occasions with alternative figures of 430 survivors from a population of around 800 being given. The church in Eyam has a record of 273 individuals who were victims of the plague. Survival among those affected appeared random, as many who remained alive had had close contact with those who died but never caught the disease. For example, Elizabeth Hancock was uninfected despite burying six children and her husband in eight days (the graves are known as the Riley graves after the farm where they lived). The unofficial village gravedigger, Marshall Howe, also survived despite handling many infected bodies.

Plague Sunday has been celebrated in the village since the plague's bicentenary in 1866 and now takes place in Cucklett Delph on the last Sunday in August. Originally it was held in mid-August but now coincides with the much older Wakes Week and the well dressing ceremonies.

Today Eyam has various plague-related places of interest. One is the Coolstone in which money, usually soaked in vinegar, which was believed to kill the infection, was placed in exchange for food and medicine. It is just one of several 'plague stones' that served to make the boundary that should not be crossed by either inhabitant or outsider. Another site is the isolated enclosure of the Riley graves mentioned above, which is now under the guardianship of the National Trust.



*The Boundary Stone*

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### English culture: Ring a Ring o' Roses

"Ring a Ring o' Roses" or "Ring a Ring o' Rosie" is a nursery rhyme or folksong and playground singing game. It first appeared in print in 1881, but it is reported that a version was already being sung to the current tune in the 1790s. Urban legend says the song originally described the plague, specifically the Great Plague of London, or the Black Death, but folklorists reject this idea for several reasons:

The plague explanation did not appear until the mid-twentieth century.

The symptoms described do not fit especially well with the Great Plague.

The great variety of forms makes it unlikely that the modern form is the most ancient one, and the words on which the interpretation are based are not found in many of the earliest records of the rhyme.

European and 19th-century versions of the rhyme suggest that this "fall" was not a literal falling down, but a curtsy or other form of bending movement that was common in other dramatic singing games

It is unknown what the earliest version of the rhyme was or when it began. Many incarnations of the game have a group of children form a ring, dance in a circle around a person, and stoop or curtsy with the final line. The slowest child to do so is faced with a penalty or becomes the "rosie" (literally: rose tree, from



*Kate Greenaway's illustration from Mother Goose or the Old Nursery Rhymes (1881), showing children playing the game*

## IF YOU AGREE WITH US-JOIN US

the French *rosier*) and takes their place in the center of the ring.

Variations, corruptions, and vulgarized versions were noted to be in use long before the earliest printed publications. Common English versions include:

Ring-a-ring o' roses,  
A pocket full of posies,  
A-tishoo! A-tishoo!  
We all fall down.

The origins and meanings of the game have long been unknown and subject to speculation. In 1898, *A Dictionary of British Folklore* contained the belief that an explanation of the game was of pagan origin, based on the *Sheffield Glossary* comparison of Jacob Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*. The theory states that it is in reference to Pagan myths and cited a passage which states, "Gifted children of fortune have the power to laugh roses, as Freyja wept gold." Believing the first instance to be indicative of Pagan beings of light. Another suggestion is more literal, that it was making a "ring" around the roses and bowing with the all "fall down" as a curtsy.

There are similar rhymes in Germany, Switzerland and in the Croatian/Serbian/Bosnian language

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### Promotion: Crab fisheries

Crab is a good source of a number of trace minerals including selenium, which counteracts cancer and chromosome damage as well as increasing our resistance to viral and bacterial infections. It contains useful amounts of B vitamins, iron and zinc.

Crabs first evolved in the Jurassic period (the horseshoe crab dates back over 200 million years). They have been caught and eaten throughout human history. They are crustaceans belonging to the order *Decapoda* (which includes lobsters and prawns). There are around 4,500 species of crab, ranging in size from the 5mm wide *pea crab* to the *Japanese spider crab* with a leg span in excess of 2m.

Several species of wild crab are the subject of crab fisheries around the coasts of the British Isles. The most important are the brown crab or edible crab, *Cancer pagurus* (29,193 t), various swimming crabs (3,180 t), the spider crab *Maja squinado* (1,565 t), the shore crab or green crab *Carcinus maenas* (553 t) and the velvet crab *Necora puber* (193 t). Around 77% of the catch is landed in the United Kingdom, 19% in Ireland, 4% in the Channel Islands, and 1% in the Isle of Man.

The brown crab is extremely commercially valuable meaning that a significant fishery has built up to catch this species. It is by far the largest crab species in British waters, with the carapace of a fully grown adult being around 20cm across, and in exceptional specimens can be 30cm across and weigh 9lbs. Like all of the crab species they have eight legs and two, very large and powerful claws with the pincers usually being tipped black and which can cause a very painful nip to humans it comes across. One of the most distinguishable features of this species of crab is the pattern which runs along the edge of the carapace which is usually described as resembling a pie crust. The brown crab is distributed all around the British Isles and is found in areas where there are rocks and weed to provide cover. The crab will hide in cracks and under weed and emerge to forage for food.

It is thought that brown crabs have a natural lifespan of 30 to 40 years, and in exceptional circumstances could possibly live for significantly longer.

The brown crab fishery in British waters is one of the largest crab fisheries in the world, although a large proportion of the catch is exported to France and Spain. It provides white flesh from the claws and brown flesh from its body. Around one third of the overall weight of the crab is edible as crab meat. Despite the importance of this species there is very little known about overall stock numbers, or the extent to which current fishing intensity is depleting stocks.

Crabs are caught by lowering baited crab pots into the sea. This is one of the most selective methods of commercial fishing and allows small, undersized and berried (egg carrying) females to be returned to the sea. However, the brown crab fishery could be threatened by more mechanised methods of fishing which are less selective. Anywhere selling brown crabs with a carapace of 13cm or under should be boycotted as there is no possibility that crabs of this size would have been able to reproduce before capture and they should have been returned to the sea.

The brown crab is found around the coast of England but the main fisheries are in Norfolk and Cornwall. Crab fishing occurs along most of the south and south-west coast of **England** from Beachy Head to Land's End.



The brown or edible crab

## IF YOU AGREE WITH US-JOIN US

In sandwiches, with pasta, in salads, with chilli - there are a multitude of ways to enjoy this most versatile of seafoods. White crab meat (from the claws) rivals, or exceeds, lobster for flavour and succulence and needs very little fiddling with to create masterful dishes such as *Crab Salad*.

Purchasing a live crab will ensure maximum freshness. Whole cooked crabs or fresh crab meat from a trusted supplier are perfectly adequate alternatives.

Live crabs should be refrigerated and cooked on the day of purchase. Cooked fresh crab meat will be fine in the fridge for 3 or 4 days and can be frozen.

The RSPCA publishes detailed instructions on how to humanely kill crabs and other crustacea (dropping into boiling water is not recommended, some research suggests that crabs feel pain).

### Recipe: Crab cakes with dill mayonnaise

By James Martin

Preparation: 15 minutes, Cook: 30 minutes plus chilling, Serves 4, Freezable  
Little fish favourites, perfect for dipping at parties or as a smart starter

#### Ingredients:

250g potatoes, diced	300g white crabmeat
1 tbsp capers, drained and finely chopped	2 spring onions, finely chopped
zest and juice 1 lemon, plus extra wedges to serve	small bunch dill, finely chopped
4 tbsp good-quality mayonnaise	2 tbsp plain flour
85g dried breadcrumbs	1 egg, lightly beaten
	sunflower oil, for shallow frying



#### Method

Boil the potatoes in a large pan of salted water for about 15 mins, drain, then return to the pan and leave to steam dry for about 5 mins. Mash, then leave to cool.

In a large bowl mix the crabmeat, capers, spring onions, lemon zest and half the juice with half the dill. Stir in the mashed potato with some seasoning, then shape into 12 neat round patties. Transfer these to a plate and put in the fridge for 20 mins to firm up.

To make the dill mayonnaise, mix the mayo with the remaining lemon juice and dill. Put this in the fridge for later.

Put the flour, egg and breadcrumbs on 3 separate plates. Dust the crab cakes all over with the flour, then dip into the egg and finally coat with breadcrumbs.

Add enough sunflower oil to a shallow frying pan to come about 1cm up the side. Heat the oil, then carefully slide the crab cakes in; you might have to do this in batches. Cook for about 3 mins on each side until they are crisp and golden. Drain on kitchen paper. At this point you can pop the crab cakes into the oven to keep warm – or serve right away with dill mayonnaise and extra lemon wedges.

Recipe from Good Food magazine, July 2011

**The Scottish Claim of Right read:** We, gathered as the Scottish Constitutional Convention, do hereby acknowledge the sovereign right of the Scottish people to determine the form of Government best suited to their needs, and do hereby declare and pledge that in all our actions and deliberations their interests shall be paramount.

**OUR PRECIOUS UNION! Theresa May June 2017**  
(Sucking England dry)

Join at [www.thecep.org.uk](http://www.thecep.org.uk) or send name and address with cheque for £20 (£15 concessions) made out to The Campaign for an English Parliament to Ms P Cullen, 9 the Meadows, Breachwood Green, Hitchin, Herts., SG4 8PR

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