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Michaelmas Term 2002

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A message from the President

For my first message in the Escutcheon as President, I thought it would be appropriate for me to give some background of my interest in Heraldry and Genealogy. From an early age I have been interested in history and was fortunate at School to have a Master who encouraged this interest. I think I was probably acquainted with Heraldry and certainly Coats of Arms and pedigrees used to grab my eye whenever I saw them. However it was probably reading Fox-Davies which properly sparked my interest off. So when I came up to Cambridge it was entirely natural for me to join CUH&GS, I had a most enjoyable year of Talks and Dinners and was honoured and somewhat surprised to be asked to stand as President. I sincerely hope that I will be able to fulfill my role in the manner of previous Presidents and that the high standards that the Society has been accustomed to will continue.

This first Michaelmas term I hope has been successful. We recruited some new members at the Fresher's Squash and listened to a most enjoyable introduction to Heraldry by David Broomfield and to Genealogy by Barbara Megson, who illustrated it with a fascinating account of her Mother's family. The first speaker meeting was given by Lida Kindersley on the subject of heraldic carving titled 'It remains to be seen: why we cut stone'. This was illustrated by some marvellous slides of commissioned pieces and showed us how heraldry and stonemasonry can be combined to give a lasting memorial to a person, place or significant event. Next we had Wlodek Lesiecki giving us a talk on 'Polish Heraldry', this offered us a refreshingly new perspective on a heraldic system very different to our own. The final speaker meeting was the Eve Logan Memorial Lecture, given by Dr Robin Glasscock, a historical geographer and fellow of St John's. This was on 'Town, Gown and Crown' and offered us a fascinating insight into the early history of Cambridge. The preview copy of Eve Logan's Transcript of the College Marriage Registers was presented to the speaker, and the society is grateful to Barry Logan for his provision of the wine to drink the toast with. In addition to all this there was a very successful visit to the College of Arms and I particularly look forward to the St Nicholas Feast at the time of writing. I hope you all have a very happy Christmas and I look forward to seeing you in the Lent term.

Simon Burton

HEATHER ELINOR PEEK 1916-2002

HEATHER E. PEEK was Keeper of the Cambridge University Archives when they were still housed, in very cramped quarters, at the Old Schools, the historic centre of the University. An excellent scholar, but no politician, she strenuously resisted their removal in 1972 to their present home in Cambridge University Library.

The central administration desperately needed more space, and the decision had been made to move the archives to Sir Giles Gilbert Scott's 1934 building well out, "to the west of the river and Queens' Road. Peek opposed the move, especially on the grounds that, at a time of profound change, it was essential to look back as well as forward, so the archives should be close at hand for consultation. She was doomed to lose the argument.

In retrospect, whatever the merits of the case, a traditionalist might sourly reflect that in any ancient institution the present-day management must be tempted to think its history valuable only for the "wooing" of potential benefactors, whilst in all other respects a confounded nuisance. We forget at our peril that the word muniments, now meaning just records, documents, originally meant "defences".

Heather Elinor Peek was born in the Rectory at Drewsteignton, Devon, in 1916, the elder of the two children of the Rector — whose father, too, had been Rector. It mattered much to her that the Peeks had deep roots in Devon, as *farmers* near Kingsbridge who had been armigerous since 1832.

As daughter of a rector, having a rural upbringing and being educated at Poltimore College near Exeter and also privately, she grew up with uncomplicated values and beliefs which she never abandoned. From a sickly 4lb 4oz breech baby she turned into a vigorous, athletic swimmer, and an organiser of tennis parties. However at 15 a serious illness, never satisfactorily diagnosed, struck that turned *l'allegria* into *la penserosa* and was to have far-reaching effects.

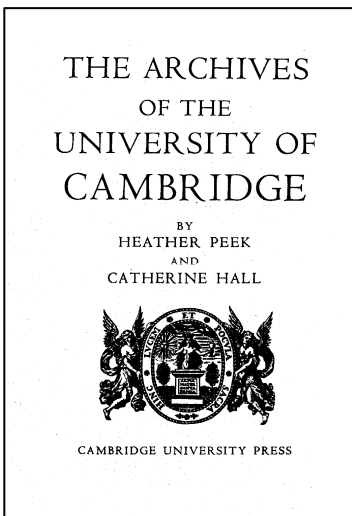
Heather and her sister Veronica were both academically able, but the family were not well-to-do, and opportunities had not yet been transformed by the 1944 Butler Education Act, so each had to make her own way.

When the Second World War came Heather was 23, still without a degree. On account of leg trouble she was deemed unfit for the Services. At home, she did much work towards an external London degree, before discovering that it was still possible to apply for Oxford entrance. She entered St Hilda's in 1942 and, largely at her own expense, read Modern History graduating BA in 1946. It

was a bitter disappointment that despite all her efforts she did not get a good degree: she was clearly still exhausted by the illness of a decade earlier.

'A variety of jobs in "reserved occupations"- teaching at St Michael's,

East Grinstead (an Anglican convent), acting as Vice-Warden and Librarian at Ashburne Hall, Manchester University and freelancing for the Place Names Society and the Public Record Office - led in due course to her appointment in 1955 as Deputy Keeper of the University Archives at Cambridge, and incorporation as MA, with membership of Girton College.



Three years later she was appointed Keeper of the Archives, a just recognition of her devoted care of the archives, of her unstinting help to many enquirers, and also of her own researches which led to the publication, in co-authorship with Catherine P Hall, of a book, *The Archives of the University of Cambridge: an historical introduction* (1962).

Elsewhere in Cambridge, she gave good support for many years to this Society, "C.U.H.A.G.S.", and she was one of the four editors of *The Cambridge Armorial* (1985). Many members of the society over the years, had collected material: Peek's very important contribution was to the longish historical introduction, and to the chapters on the university and the Regius Professors, all heavily dependent upon the rich material in the university archives. She was an honorary vice-president of our society.

In 1977 she took somewhat early retirement, moving back to Devon to be near her sister and their roots, and also to be able the better to work up her voluminous notes on the church at Drewsteignton. Increasing ill-health, aggravated by frightening experiences with burglars and conmen, made her last years empty and unhappy, so her death came as a release. Her final resting-place, beside her parents', is literally across the road from her place of birth.

In her Cambridge years, and after, Heather Peek appeared as an old-fashioned lady, from a bygone era, who never came to terms with present-day mores and manners, and was thus a constant reminder to us that not all change is progress.

Gordon Wright

ARMS OF THE SONS OF THE PRINCE OF WALES

John Horton

September 15th, 2002 saw the eighteenth birthday of Prince Henry of Wales and, with it, arms being granted to His Royal Highness. Unlike other male-line descendants of armigers, members of the Royal Family do not become entitled to arms automatically – they have to wait until the Queen requests that arms be granted to them. Furthermore, they do not difference their armigerous ancestor's arms with the standard English marks of cadency (label, crescent, mullet and so on). Instead, they use white labels decorated with heraldic devices. The one exception is that the heir apparent always has a *plain* label:

A label of three points argent.

Thus, to blazon an example of a charged label, the arms of the Duke of Gloucester (of Magdalene College, M.A. 1970) are the royal arms differenced by:

A label of five points argent, the centre and the two outer points charged with a cross gules, and the inner points with a lion passant guardant¹.

These labels are applied not only to the shield but also to the supporters (lion and unicorn) and to the crest (a lion statant). Additionally, the crown found in the Queen's arms is replaced by a coronet appropriate to the prince or princess in question. There are separate coronets for the heir apparent, for the other children and the brothers and sisters of the Sovereign, for the children of the heir apparent and for the other male-line grandchildren².

In general, labels of the children of a Sovereign have three points and those of grandchildren have five. The one exception is that the eldest son of the Prince of Wales also has a label of three points. (In the example quoted above, the Duke of Gloucester has a label of five points because he is a grandchild of King George V.) Of course, it is relatively unusual for there to be an adult son of the heir apparent alive during a monarch's reign. The last occasion was just over a hundred years ago when the Duke of York (later King George V) bore:

A label of three points argent the central point charged with an anchor azure.

He did not adopt this three-pointed label, however, until the death in 1892 of his elder brother, the Duke of Clarence and Avondale who had borne:

A label of three points argent the central point charged with a cross gules.

Prior to these examples, we have to look as far back as Prince George of Wales (later King George III) who, according to Velde³ bore the very unusual label:

A label of three points azure [sic] the central point charged with a fleur de lys or.

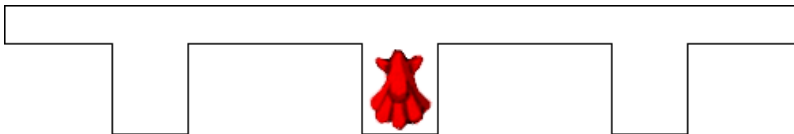
When his father, Frederick, Prince of Wales, died in 1751, Prince George became heir apparent to his grandfather King George II and accordingly adopted the heir apparent's plain label. Frederick, Prince of Wales had himself been an adult grandchild of a Sovereign (King George I) and had then used:

A label of three points argent the central point charged with a cross gules.

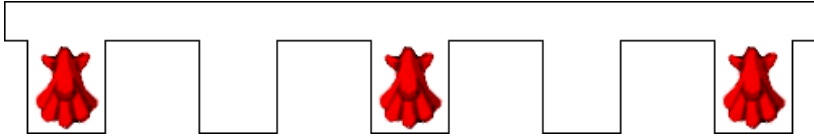
In 2000, therefore, when Prince William of Wales was granted:

A label of three points argent the central point charged with an escallop gules

the press made much of the break with tradition represented by the escallop. The interest of the iconoclastic media was excited further when it was learnt that this charge was derived from the arms of the late Diana, Princess of Wales. In fact, this grant, with its reference to maternal heraldry, is the revival of a far earlier *mediaeval* tradition. Edmund, Duke of York, for example, one of King Edward III's younger sons, married Isabella of Castile and their son Edward (1373–1415) bore a label showing the arms of Castile and Leon.



Label in the arms of Prince William of Wales



Label in the Arms of Prince Henry of Wales

When Prince Henry was granted arms earlier this year, the maternal theme was continued with:

A label of five points argent, the central and the two outer points charged with an escallop gules.

As already noted, the label of five points is determined by the Prince's position as a grandchild of the Sovereign. When the Prince of Wales succeeds to the throne, his sons will become children of the Sovereign, a higher rank than simply being grandchildren. Prince William will use the plain label of the heir apparent of course – in effect, he will drop the escallop gules from his present label. Prince Henry will become entitled to a label of *three* points. Intriguingly, the form of this has already been decided⁴:

A label of three points argent each point charged with an escallop gules.

In effect, therefore, he will dispense with the two blank points of his present label. This “fully charged” label will make an interesting contrast to the labels of Prince Henry's uncles. Both have labels charged on the central point only: an anchor azure for the Duke of York and a Tudor rose for the Earl of Wessex.

References

1. Moseley, C. [editor], *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*, Crans (Switzerland): Burke's Peerage, 106th edition, 1999 [2-940085-02-1]
2. Cox, N., *The Coronets of Members of the Royal Family and of the Peerage* – <http://www.geocities.com/noelcox/coronets.htm>
3. Velde, F., *Heraldica* – <http://www.heraldica.org/topics/britain/cadency.htm>
4. College of Arms – <http://www.college-of-arms.gov.uk/william.htm>

THE FIRST EVE LOGAN MEMORIAL LECTURE

When Eve Logan died, just under two years ago, her fellow members of the Executive Committee felt that it was important to acknowledge her outstanding contributions to the Society. They decided firstly, that there should be an Annual Lecture to honour her memory, and secondly that her transcripts of several Cambridge College Registers should be published in book form.

Dr Robin Glasscock was invited to deliver the inaugural lecture in the Thirkill Room at Clare College Cambridge, on Thursday, 28th November, 2002. He was introduced by former President, Anando Mukerjee, who had been in office whilst Eve was serving on the Executive Committee during the year 2000. Anando spoke about the unique qualities Eve had brought to the Society and invited those present to drink a toast to her memory. He later presented a specimen copy of the Eve's book of transcripts to Dr Glasscock..

The lecture was devoted to the major changes which had taken place in Cambridge since the Roman occupation. The audience was shown a series of excellent maps and illustrations including several photographs, many of which had been taken either from the air or from high vantage points. The critical role of the river both as a physical constraint to building development and as a viable means of transport was explored in some detail. The lecturer pointed out that many of the open green spaces still seen in the town have been retained largely because of the ever-present risk of flooding.

Cambridge had very little in the way of good local building material and, although some chalk was used, it normally essential to protect it with a more durable coating. There were still several walls in situ which were dependent on this technique. However, most of the colleges had been constructed from imported stone much of which had been brought by water from Northamptonshire.

Quite apart from its prominence as a University town, Cambridge had always served its surrounding area by providing a regular market. A photograph showing cattle standing in the market place emphasised the importance such trading which, after all, went on until quite recent times.

Understanding our immediate environment together with that of our ancestors is an essential step in appreciating the significance of change. There is often a tendency to take for granted so much of what we see in our surroundings. Robin Glasscock's lecture was a salutary reminder of our heritage.

Derek Palgrave

SOCIETY VISIT TO THE COLLEGE OF ARMS

Through the good offices of David White, Rouge Croix, one of the Society's Vice Presidents, a small party from CUHAGS was privileged to visit the College of Arms on 16th November, 2002. We were particularly fortunate in that our visit coincided with the exhibition of Crests of Knights of the Garter which can be seen on the right hand side of Lester Hillman's photograph reproduced here.



From L to R: Pat Morrow, Berthold Kress, Gordon Wright, Paul Fox, Derek Palgrave, Pamela Palgrave, Arthur Henderson and David White

This most colourful display, enhanced by individual spotlights for each crest, was a most fitting introduction to our visit. However it in no way outshone the magnificently illuminated manuscripts in the College's Collection.

Our host had set out a representative selection of volumes illustrating the quite amazing variety of material which had been accumulated over several centuries. This included Rolls of Arms, Visitations, Funeral Certificates, Grants of Arms, etc. Our attention was drawn to the often substantial differences between the records of Visitations held by the College and the several printed versions including the extensive series which had been published by the Harleian Society.

Although we had the opportunity to examine quite a lot of early heraldry, it was also most instructive to be able see some recent grants with their unique combinations of ancient and modern charges. There is no doubt at all that Heraldry remains relevant in our modern world.

The Society wishes to express its thanks to David White for arranging this event and for providing such excellent hospitality.

Derek Palgrave

POLISH HERALDRY

At CUHAGS Speaker Meeting on 14th November, 2002, Mr. W. Lesiecki gave a fascinating talk, liberally illustrated by slides, on Polish Heraldry.



ARMS OF POLAND

Poland's noble caste, the *szlachta*, is known to have developed from the warrior class which, in the Middle Ages, became a land-owning class. However, the nobility did not abandon its particular clan system - or *rod* - to which belonged several families, originally all genealogically connected. In some cases the clan had its own Runic-looking signor mark but during the 13th and 14th centuries Polish nobiity began to adopt heraldic devices which developed into a *Herb*, meaning a coat-of-arms.

Differing from Western heraldry in which the object was to identify each individual, in Poland, several families, all members of a *Rod* (clan) but sometimes unrelated, used the same undifferenced arms. A peculiarity of Polish heraldry is that each coat-of-arms has its own name, usually, the ancient rallying cry or the name of the *Rod*. Furthermore, Ordinaries, sub-ordinaries and heraldic divisions of the shield are extremely rare in Polish heraldry.



Figure 1 The Herb of LELIWA

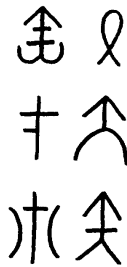


Figure 2 Earliest signs used by the *ród*



Figure 3 The Herb of LIS

During the 15th and 16th centuries there were three ways of joining the ranks of the nobility: firstly, by being enobled by the King who would either ask one of the clans to adopt a new member or would donate part of his arms to the new noble; secondly, by being accepted directly into a clan with the full agreement of the members and, thirdly, a foreign nobleman could have his nobility ratified. Once

accepted, he brought with him his own arms. Later there was a pre-condition that the foreign nobleman acquired a certain amount of land in Poland.



Figure 4 The Herb of ŁODZIA



Figure 5 The Herb of CIOŁEK



Figure 6 The Herb of NAŁĘCZ

There is no equivalent in Poland to the College of Arms but the nobility created a self-regulating mechanism to ensure “purity”. The poorest noble in the land was equal in status to the richest and most powerful. The King, although he had the power to issue titles to foreigners, had no authority to confer them on Poles. Poles could receive titles from other monarchs but were forbidden to use them in Poland.

With a handful of exceptions, titles used today by descendants of Polish nobility such as Baron, Count or Prince, were awarded either by the Pope, the ¹¹oy Roman Emperor or by the Prussians or Russians at the time of the partition of Poland.

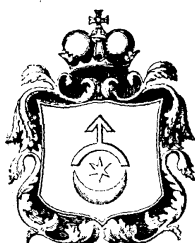


Figure 7 The Herb of OSTROGSKI



Figure 8 The Herb of TOPÓR

The foregoing is only a “taste” of the content of a most fascinating lecture but Mr. Lesiecki has produced a glossy, full-colour, 16 page, A4 booklet on Polish Heraldry. Any member requiring a copy, cost £4 including postage, should send a cheque (made out to CUHAGS) to the Junior Treasurer.

D.C. d'Arcy Orders

IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN: WHY WE CUT STONE

For a talk on 31st October, 2002, by a stone-cutter, CUHAGS members expected a solidly built speaker with over-developed arm muscles resulting from wielding a hammer for years and years. Instead a very attractive young lady with slender arms appeared. Apparently, brute force in the stone-cutting business is definitely out.

Lida Lopes Cardoso Kindersley, proprietor of The Cardoso Kindersley Workshop in Victoria Road, gave an absorbing talk, illustrated by colour slides, about the firm's work with memorial and other inscriptions and, of particular interest to the Society, the incorporation of Heraldic designs in addition to the high quality lettering of which she is justifiably proud.



After studying graphic design in Holland, Lida, in the 1970s gravitated to stone-cutting, becoming apprenticed in Cambridge to David Kindersley who had studied under Eric Gill. Following David Kindersley's death in 1995, Lida, ably supported by her husband, Graham Beck, took over the Workshop.

Most of the commissions are for plaques or carvings on buildings for recording events and/or occasions and sun-dials, using mostly, slate, limestone, marble or metal.. These are usually cut in Victoria Road but the larger in situ. Heraldic subjects present more of a challenge as the original shield must be accurately reproduced, three-dimensionally from a single piece of the material chosen. The firm always checks the drawing presented to them with the College of Arms to confirm that it is exactly as registered with that worthy body.



On a visit to the Workshop I was expecting to be overwhelmed by the noise of the

hammers (technical name for these tools is “Dummy”!); in fact, the technique requires such delicacy of touch that the decibel level is quite low. The firm has apprentices who, because of the firm’s international reputation, come from all over the world, at present from Japan, Sweden and Holland. The demand for places exceeds those available but Lida limits the number to three at any one time as she does not want to spend all of her time teaching, preferring to continue to exercise her undoubted gifts as a letter-cutter.

The question usually asked is “What happens if you make a mistake?” Lida’s answer: “We don’t”. If one is made, the only course is: start again! With a steady flow of commissions and a husband plus three teenage sons to look after, to say that Lida has a busy life would be somewhat of an understatement.

D.C. D'Arcy Orders

CLARE COLLEGE IN THE 1881 CENSUS

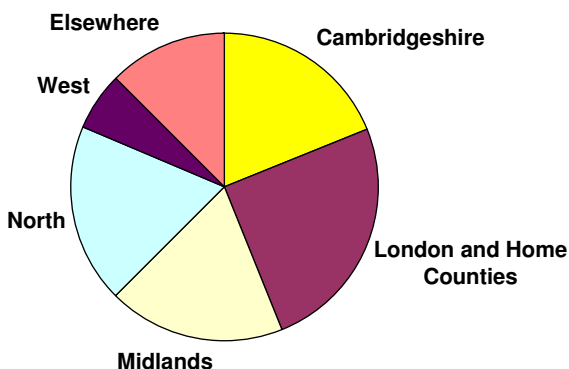
At the time of the Census there were a mere 16 undergraduates in residence, most of whom were in College rooms although 3 were in other accommodation elsewhere in the town. The following list shows their names, ages, birthplaces and addresses.

Henry	Allison	21	Louth, Lincs	In College
Cecil	Arnold	22	S Norwood, Surrey	In College
Samuel	Banks	20	Cottenham, Cambs	In College
Henry	Elder	21	London, Mddx	In College
Walter	Gardener	21	Brinkley, Cambs	In College
John	Gaskell	22	Kiddington, Oxon	In College
William	Hartley	22	Birkenhead, Ches	In College
Walter	Keess	23	India	In College
William	Lawson	21	Isle of Man	In College
Frederick	Marshall	23	London, Mddx	In College
James	Norman*	22	Northampton, Nthants	In College
Oliver	Pucridge	22	London, Mddx	in College
John Herbert	Riley	18	Halifax, Yorks	18, Rose Cres
Reginald R	Waraker	21	Cambridge, Cambs	5, Scope Terr
John	Wardale	22	Orcheston, Wilts	In College
Allen	Wayte	20	Meriden, Warwicks	11, Green Str

James Norman was actually entered as *B.A. Student* as opposed to *undergraduate*. The Master at the time was Professor Edward Atkinson, D.D., living in the Master’s Lodge with his wife and four servants. Also in College was Professor Lucas Ewbank, Fellow and Bursar, together with the College Butler, Henry Phipps, his wife, Elizabeth Phipps and son, Charles Phipps, aged 11. William

Miller was the College Porter assisted by William Humphrey. Professor James R Harris, another Fellow of the College, was living in Huntingdon Road, Chesterton, with his wife and sister. They had one servant, Annie Ward, age 27.

Student Origins



An overview of student places of birth is shown in the above diagram where it is interesting to note that about 25% originate from London and the Home Counties with a further 20% from Cambridgeshire

BOOK REVIEW

Surnames and Genealogy: a new approach; *George Redmonds*,
FFHS (Publications) Ltd., 2002. 292 pp 152 x 228 mm,
paperback, ISBN 0 86006 159 1 £11-95

This book was first published in the United States in 1997 but, in view of its strong emphasis on English surnames, it is most appropriate that this edition has been published and made available in this country by the Federation of Family History Societies.

George Redmonds had studied surnames in Yorkshire during the 1960s and this was the topic that he covered in his PhD Thesis, completed in 1970. Subsequently his work was featured in the *Yorkshire - West Riding* Volume of the English Surname Series sponsored by Leicester University. He has developed a multi-disciplinary approach to the study of surnames by focussing considerable attention on parish records and manor court documents. This microhistorical emphasis has enabled him to take into account not only specific influences, such as local topography and community tradition, on the origin of surnames, but also the way spelling variations, inadvertently introduced by inexperienced clerks, may have modified their subsequent evolution.

He points out that a particular surname may be so prone to change that, over the course of two or three generations, it is liable to become unrecognizable or, even more disturbingly, be transformed into another, wholly unrelated, surname. Consequently the onus is very much on the genealogist to uncover the necessary evidence. In this context he does draw the reader's attention to the not infrequent occurrence of aliases which often allow individuals to be reliably identified in spite of significant linguistic corruption.

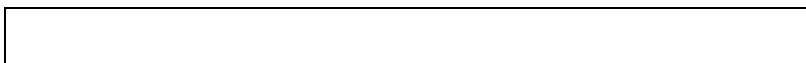
Although the book has a strong Yorkshire bias, as this is the area which the author has investigated in so much detail, there seems little doubt that the principles are of considerably more general application. It is worth stressing that the way the many examples are marshalled, to demonstrate each point, is masterful.

There are five major chapters supplemented with an introduction, method and conclusion. There are also five appendices plus surname and placename indices. The author has included over fifty illustrations, some of which feature extracts of local documents, maps, pedigree charts, monuments, local heraldry and a selection of line drawings and photographs appropriate to the text.

This book is of considerable importance not only to the surname specialist but also to every genealogist. George Redmonds has demonstrated that it is not enough to plot a surname distribution on the assumption that all the bearers of that surname in the vicinity are related. Each generation link needs to be checked against an original record and evaluated within the context of the corpus of other similar-sounding names in the area.

The author is to be congratulated on an outstanding compilation which is of practical relevance to all of us. I have no hesitation whatsoever in recommending this book to every reader of the Escutcheon.

Derek Palgrave



Forthcoming Conferences and Other Events

- 28-29 September, 2002** **FAMILY HISTORY EXPERIENCE**
Society of Genealogists
Stoneleigh Park, Warwickshire
- 26th October, 2002** **TAXES & TAXPAYERS IN ENGLAND**
- 10th December, 2002** **INDUCTION TO USING THE PRO**
Public Record Office
Kew, Richmond, Surrey
- 16th February, 2003** **FAMILY HISTORY FAIR**
Essex and East of London
Grays, Essex
- 29th March, 2003** **FAMILY HISTORY CONFERENCE**
Cambridgeshire Family History Society
Impington Village College
- 3rd to 6th April, 2003** **WESTWARD HO!**
MOVEMENT AND MIGRATION
Combined South West Family History Societies' Conference
Exeter University
- 25th to 27th April 2003** **CONFERENCE ON CIVIL REGISTRATION**
Guild of One-Name Studies
Liverpool
- 3rd-4th May, 2003** **FAMILY HISTORY FAIR**
Society of Genealogists
Westminster
- 29th to 31st August, 2003** **A LITTLE OF WHAT YOU FANCY!**
Essex Society for Family History Conference
University of Essex, Wivenhoe

Subscriptions

Reminders were sent out at the beginning of the Academic year together with a copy of the programme of events. The Membership Secretary, d'Arcy Orders, thanks those members who have renewed their subscriptions and hopes that those who may have overlooked this matter will take prompt remedial action. There are no changes in the annual rates which remain as £10-00 per head [£5-00 for those in statu pupillari]. Remittances should be forwarded to the Membership Secretary at 41, Halifax Road, Cambridge, CB4 3QB.

Editor's Postscript

I would like to thank those members of the Society who volunteered to write contributions for *The Escutcheon*, and I am very pleased that it has been possible to include some of them on this occasion. Although I still have one or two in hand I would welcome more for publication in the future.

As you can see from this issue we have been able to incorporate several illustrations and even some in colour. Although the use of the latter is very attractive, it does add very considerably to the production costs. Consequently we have not used it on every page but, where the subject matter was especially colourful, as in the case of the display at the College of Arms, it has been utilised to good effect.

The digital camera has revolutionized the incorporation of pictures because they generate graphics files which may be sent to me on disk or via the internet. There is little doubt that most heraldic subject matter is enhanced when reproduced in full colour, so, subject to adequate funds, I hope it will be possible to continue this policy.

During the last academic year we launched the Eve Logan Award to encourage young people to submit an essay or a presentation, in any other medium, reflecting some aspect of family heritage. Several schools in the Cambridge area were approached but, regrettably, we were unable to attract any participants. There will be another opportunity during this academic year so we hope it will be possible this time to generate an enthusiastic response. If any readers feel they can help to make this competition a success, please contact the Society.

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