

# WIGAN DIGGERS



The Earth was  
made a common  
treasury for all!

Gerrard Winstanley 1609-1678  
Commemorating Gerrard  
Winstanley & The 17th Century  
Diggers' Movement

**FREE OPEN AIR EVENT**

## 9<sup>TH</sup> ANNUAL FESTIVAL

*featuring...*

**HARP AND A MONKEY  
ALICE MAE  
VISION THING  
TONY HARPER  
WOSKI  
WIGAN TRUE LEVELLERS  
SAMBA BAND  
ATTILA THE STOCKBROKER  
JOHN D REVELATOR  
SKINNER & T'WITCH  
FINE LINES  
JAMES BAR BOWEN  
JOHN THE BAPTIST &  
THE SECOND COMING  
DARREN POYZER  
RANAGRI  
JESS SILK**



*headliners...*

### THE MEN THEY COULDN'T HANG

# SATURDAY 7<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER

11AM - 9.30PM

*"There is more that unites  
than divides us"*



**LIVE MUSIC • POETRY • COMEDY • EDUCATIONAL TALKS • EXHIBITIONS  
CHILDREN'S ENTERTAINMENT • BEER TENT • 50+ FOOD & OTHER STALLS**

**wigandiggersfestival.org**

GERRARD WINSTANLEY GARDENS, THE WIEND, WIGAN

- KEY**
- 1 DOROTHY FRYMAN SONG & STORY STAGE
  - 2 HEADQUARTERS & MERCHANDISE
  - 3 BAR

**STALL HOLDERS**

- 4 OCCUPIE WIGAN BEER TENT
- 5 WIGAN DIGGERS FESTIVAL HQ AND PRODUCT STALL
- 6 STEAM - CHILDREN'S ART CENTRE
- 7 RUMBA CARIBBEAN CUISINE (WITH VEGETARIAN OPTION)
- 8 GALLIMORES BURGERS
- 9 INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES MEMORIAL TRUST
- 10 R.S.P.B
- 11 G.M.A.T.U.C
- 12 JENGBA CAMPAIGN - JOINT ENTERPRISE NOT GUILTY BY ASSOCIATION
- 13 INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE
- 14 WIGAN CONSTITUENCY LABOUR PARTY
- 15 RAIL MARITIME & TRANSPORT UNION - NORTH WEST AND NORTH WALES
- 16 GREATER MANCHESTER ASSOCIATION OF TRADE UNION COUNCILS
- 17 SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
- 18 WIGAN HERITAGE AND MINING MONUMENT (WHAMM)
- 19 BAKERS, FOOD & ALLIED WORKERS UNION
- 20 WIGAN NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS
- 21 UNISON NORTH WEST REGION
- 22 MORNING STAR NEWSPAPER
- 23 G.M.B.U
- 24 JUSTICE FOR MINERWORKERS
- 25 GREATER MANCHESTER CND (PLACARD MAKING WORKSHOPS)
- 26 MANCHESTER TRADES UNION COUNCIL
- 27 COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN (MARXIST LENINIST)
- 28 INTERNATIONAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
- 29 SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY
- 30 NORTH WEST ANTI NUCLEAR POWER
- 31 WIGAN SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
- 32 FRACK FREE WIGAN, LEIGH AND MAKERFIELD INFORMATION
- 33 JUSTICE FOR THE SHREWSBURY 24 BUILDING WORKERS
- 34 BOOKCYCLE
- 35 MANCHESTER CUBA SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN
- 36 COMMUNITY ACTION ON PRISON EXPANSION
- 37 EAST MEETS WEST AN ARTS AND CRAFTS STALL FEATURING JEWELLERY AND NATURAL BEAUTY PRODUCTS
- 38 LABOUR PARTY MARXISTS SELLING BADGES PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS
- 39 WIGAN GREEN PARTY
- 40 COMMUNICATION WORKERS UNION



**CAFE SELECT**  
*@Hallgate*

28 HALLGATE  
WIGAN TOWN CENTRE

TEL:  
01942 821678

FAX:  
08444 126987

LICENCED FOR BEERS AND WINES

"My mind was not at rest because nothing was acted, and thoughts ran in me that **Words and Writings were Nothing and must Die,** for **Action is the Life of all,** and if thou dost not **Act** thou doest nothing."

**Gerrard Winstanley**  
"Digger" and "True Leveller"  
(1609-1676)

**WIGAN PARISH CHURCH**

"The Wisdom of Winstanley's Words"

A Talk by

**DOUG NICHOLLS**

General Secretary, General Federation of Trade Unions

**WIGAN PARISH CHURCH**

**12.30PM - 2.00PM**  
(Just 200 yards from festival site)



# Welcome to our 9th Wigan Diggers' festival

*The celebration of the life and values of Gerrard Winstanley, one of our country's most influential writer and activist, is now a firm fixture in the socialist calendar*

**T**HE perfect antidote to those of us who are thoroughly fed up with mendacious self-indulgent politicians, media bias, vested interests, prancing lords and pantomime dames.

It's a day to relax and enjoy the company of like-minded comrades and campaigners for a just society.

Whatever the weather, we've a great day long package of entertainment and education, with music and poetry across 2 stages, fringe events and community stalls, plus our famous bar and merchandise counter.

We are indebted to our sponsors from the trade union movement, local labour councillors,

business and community groups, who help finance the cost of staging this event, and to the artists and stall holders who provide the excitement and atmosphere to help give everyone a great day out.

Most of all though, it's through the hard work and dedication of the volunteers, those involved in the year long planning and fund raising, and those who give their time up on the day, to provide a safe and enjoyable experience for all.

This complimentary magazine, which advertisers have helped to finance, so give them your support, is packed with information on performers and activities, plus articles which we hope you'll find

informative, and wanting to find out more about our socialist history and influencers.

Doug Nicholls examines the relevance of Winstanley's words today, Andy Fincham and Jessica Millar have researched the experiences that fashioned Winstanley's ideals.

The Manchester Peace Trail celebrates the city's role in the struggle against injustice and for peace.

We have articles on the Bolton Socialist club, now in its 132nd year, the campaign against the unjust joint enterprise law, and last year's spade award winner Joe Solo speaks of his eventful time since getting the award, and pays tribute to this years' award winner Pauline Town.

Have a great day, and remember we are always grateful for donations and volunteers.

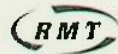
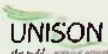
PAUL HILTON



Enjoy your festival drinks and help cut down on plastic waste!  
Purchase a Diggers' reusable plastic beaker in pint and half pint sizes. A great souvenir of your day, for £1.00 per beaker, all funds raised to support next years event.

**f** facebook.com/wigandiggersfestival

**@WiganDigger**



# PERFORMERS

**12:00**

**MAIN STAGE**

**HARP AND A MONKEY**



**S**ongs about cuckolded molecatchers, a lone English oak tree that grows at Gallipoli, care in the community and medieval pilgrims... we can only be talking about the folk experimentalists Harp and a Monkey. Their harp 'n' banjo driven contemporary-folk-storytelling is imbued with a deep Lancashire sensibility that shines through in their beautifully crafted and sometimes spooky vignettes of northern life, love and remembrance. Formed in 2008, they have been friends for more than 20 years, ask them about their influences and they are as likely to cite Ordnance Survey maps and the Commonwealth War Graves Commission as they are Chris Woods, Bjork or The Oldham Tinkers.  
[harpandamonkey.com](http://harpandamonkey.com)

**12:40**

**SONG & STORY STAGE**

**ALICE MAE**



**A**lice Mae is a talented 20 year old singer-songwriter from Wigan, currently studying Popular Music at Edge Hill University. She is passionate about the folk-oriented music she creates and thrives playing to audiences who respond and enjoy it. She's a regular performer at The Old Courts and played at the International Women's Day Celebrating Women in Music event there this year.  
[instagram.com/allcemaemusic](https://www.instagram.com/allcemaemusic)

**13:00**

**MAIN STAGE**

**VISION THING**



**H**ailing from Wigan, Vision Thing exists because they love to write, record and perform music. Their latest album "When We Were Astronauts" received great reviews from FATEA, Folk North West and Folking.com. Songs from it have been featured on most of the UK's acoustic and folk-leaning radio shows. Recent appearances have been at Liverpool Folk on the Dock, Hebden Bridge Roots Festival, and Coppull Folk Festival, to name a few.  
[visionthingband.com](http://visionthingband.com)

**13:40**

**SONG & STORY STAGE**

**TONY HARPER**



**T**ony is a singer/songwriter with an Americana/folk feel focusing on contemporary and traditional songs of resistance. He writes songs about contemporary events and movements that affect us all here and now - from the plight of refugees, the effects of Universal Credit to anti fascism.  
[facebook.com/tony.harper.315](https://www.facebook.com/tony.harper.315)

**14:00**

**MAIN STAGE**

**WOSKI**



**W**oski are a 5 piece melodic rock/folk band with a psychedelic edge formed in Manchester in 2017 by family members Harl, Wiz & Helena joined by their close friends Marty & Max. The band have been gigging regularly since the summer of 2017 and in December went in the studio to record their debut EP. In 2018 they played their first festival - the Northern Green Gathering and went down a storm.  
[woskimusic.com](http://woskimusic.com)

**14:40**

**BELIEVE SQUARE STAGE**

**WIGAN TRUE**

**LEVELLERS**

**SAMBA BAND**



**W**igan based community samba band, with around 40 members, they have an average of 25 players who attend all kinds of events including marches, demonstrations and festivals, drumming a message of resistance, people power and love.  
[facebook.com/WiganTrueLevellersCommunitySambaBand](https://www.facebook.com/WiganTrueLevellersCommunitySambaBand)

**14:55**

**SONG & STORY STAGE**

**POET - EVE NORTLEY**



**E**ve is a Bury based poet and activist, writing and performing across the North West since 2016. She has had a career in the NHS and academia and has more recently been involved in work with asylum seekers and refugees, and social justice campaigns. Eve has performed in support of Bolton Diggers, We Shall Overcome and Frack-Free Lancs.

**POET - CHRIS BAINBRIDGE**



**A**nother Bury based performance poet, Chris pens thought-provoking political rhyming; subjects include Left-wing history; calls for direct/extraparliamentary action; wry observations on love and romance, using humour and wordplay to deliver some very serious points about social justice.

**POET - JANEY COLBOURNE**



**P**oet, Author, nature writer, musician, feminist and philosopher. Janey also writes about health and wellbeing.  
[instagram.com/janeycolbourneplantner](https://www.instagram.com/janeycolbourneplantner)

**15:20**

**MAIN STAGE**

**ATTILA THE STOCKBROKER**



**P**owerful, Passionate, Political, Personal Punk Performance Poetry And Songs - Attila The Stockbroker - Undaunted! The world is changing fast, Attila the Stockbroker is writing about it - and

he is more fired up than he has ever been in 39 years as a performance poet. At his gigs all over Europe you'll hear his humorous and hard-hitting take on the momentous events of recent times - and a whole lot more besides, for Attila has developed a deeply personal side to his work these days. Alongside the high-energy political satire for which he is best known, he writes movingly about his family and his recent cancer diagnosis. There'll also be some stirring music for Levellers, Diggers and Ranters! [attilathestockbroker.com](http://attilathestockbroker.com)

**16:00**

**SONG & STORY STAGE  
JOHN D REVELATOR**



**G**lastonbury town's own, John D Revelator play original upbeat toe-tapping tunes about Love, Loss, Death, Rhymes & Revolution! Formed in 2014 they have grown into a flexible 5-piece band of Revelators that have been all over the country entertaining folk with their infectious tunes and calls to action.

[johnd Revelator.com](http://johnd Revelator.com)

**16:25**

**MAIN STAGE  
GERRARD  
WINSTANLEY SPADE  
PRESENTATION TO  
PAULINE TOWN**



**E**ach year the Wigan Diggers Festival awards a ceremonial spade to someone who has made an outstanding contribution to Socialism. This year we are pleased to present community activist and anti-austerity warrior Pauline Town with this accolade.

**16:35**

**SONG & STORY STAGE  
SKINNER & T'WITCH**



**S**kinner & T'witch are an original, contemporary folk acoustic duo, performing folk, flamenco, and theatre style songs, gigging since 2014. Drawing on music-hall and vaudeville traditions, they combine comedy and satire with music to melt the heart. Individually, Steve Skinner has worked as a professional song-writer in theatres and an excellent guitarist, performing with a flash of flamenco. Sandra

Twitchell (T'witch) is a classically trained singer with a background in choirs, folk and folk-rock music. Three albums released, they have performed widely around the UK, recently toured the States and in 2019 they are en route to Australia... [skinnerandtwitch.com](http://skinnerandtwitch.com)

**17:00**

**MAIN STAGE  
FINE LINES**



**F**ine Lines is a Cheshire based acoustic folk/Americana collective featuring David Boardman on lead guitar and vocals, Zoe Blythe on vocals and harmonica, Gary O'Brien on Keyboards, Mark Radcliffe on drums, Emily Doggett on fiddle and Alex Berry on bass. Influenced by the likes of Bob Dylan, The Band, Rod Stewart and also modern day troubadours such as Ray La Montagne and Ryan Adams, these stripped back, mature songs deal in heartbreak and soul baring. Centered around the core duo of David and co vocalist Zoe and accompanied by a cast of strolling players these fine songs shine through. [wearefinelines.com](http://wearefinelines.com)

**17:40**

**SONG & STORY STAGE  
JAMES BAR BOWEN**



**J**ames Bar Bowen is an original acoustic folk-punk singer/songwriter from the north of England. His poetic, thought-provoking songs tell personal and political stories from a variety of perspectives, with an enthusiastic (and at times even optimistic) engagement with bigger social, political and philosophical ideas. With an individual guitar style and a powerful, evocative and unique voice, a James Bar Bowen performance is a striking combination of intelligently worked lyrics, engaging melodies and dynamic atmospherics (from gobsmacking to goosebumps, sensitive to singalong, heartfelt to humorous). [jamesbarbowen2014.wordpress.com](http://jamesbarbowen2014.wordpress.com)

**18:05**

**MAIN STAGE  
JOHN THE BAPTIST &  
THE SECOND COMING**



**W**igan based John The Baptist & The Second Coming started in 2012 and have evolved into a hard to define, yet innovative and original band. Against a background of catchy electronic dance hooks, Krautrock rhythms and grooves and

spellbinding prog guitar, a growling, Waltian poet muses on our place in the world, politics, the dilapidation of our lives, dementia, and how shoulders without freckles are like skies without stars. [johnthebaptist.johntogher80.wixsite.com/johnthebaptist](http://johnthebaptist.johntogher80.wixsite.com/johnthebaptist)

**18:45**

**SONG & STORY STAGE  
DARREN POYZER**



**D**arren Poyzer is a rare songwriting talent, as entertaining as he is inspirational. A singer/songwriter of many a poetic anthem and cutting edge love song, he is a resident performer and compere at Belladrum Tartan Heart, has been a popular performer at previous Diggers Festivals, and has lined up in concert alongside the likes of New Model Army, John Cooper Clarke, Eddi Reader and Steve Coogan. [poyzer.com](http://poyzer.com)

**19:10**

**MAIN STAGE  
RANAGRI**



**A**lt folk band Ranagri are a combination of Irish and English musicians; Dónal Rogers (Vocals/ Guitar), Eilza Marshall (Flutes/ Whistles), Ellie Turner (Electric Harp) and Joe Danks (Bodhrán/ Guitar). Since forming in 2013, Ranagri have recorded 3 studio albums at Grammy Award Winning Record Label Stockfish Records, with their latest record 'Playing For Luck' released in January 2019. A band who exude good times and happiness but are not afraid to tackle serious issues like homelessness and the current trend for fake news which surrounds us... [ranagri.com](http://ranagri.com)

**19:50**

**SONG & STORY STAGE  
JESS SILK**



**J**ess Silk is a guitarist, singer and songwriter from the Black Country. Her shouty but melodic brand of folk/punk music often has her being likened to a female Frank Turner or Billy Bragg, and it gets people sitting up and listening. Armed only with an increasingly sticker-covered acoustic guitar and a distinctive, gravelly voice that many don't expect, Jess plays to audiences up and down the UK and has shared stages with many well known names among the folk/punk scene. [jesssilk.bandcamp.com](http://jesssilk.bandcamp.com)

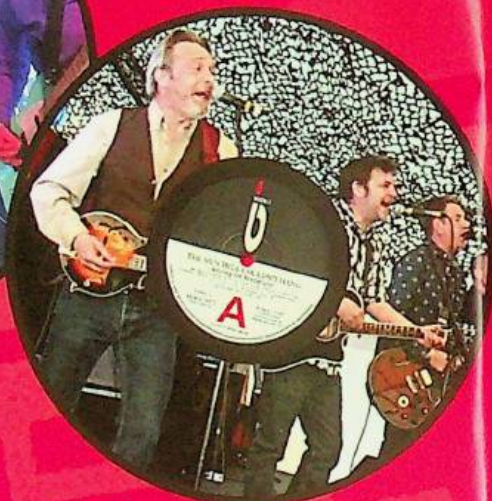
# HEADLINE

20:30

MAIN STAGE

## THE MEN THEY COULDN'T HANG

[tmtch.co.uk](http://tmtch.co.uk)



**RECORDS**

**THE MEN THEY COULDN'T HANG**  
NIGHT OF A THOUSAND CANDLES

SIDE ONE  
33 1/3 RPM

FIEND 50  
FIEND 50 A  
Manufactured  
in England

1 THE DAY AFTER  
IP, Odgers/TMTCHI Aurora Music

# MEMORIES

**T**HE MEN THEY COULDN'T HANG came together in 1984

to perform at the alternative music festival in Camden town alongside the legendary Pogues and the Boot Hill Foot-Tappers.

Paul Simmonds, Philip 'Swill' Odgers and his brother Jon, veterans of the Southampton based pop-punk band 'Catch 22', met

Pogues roadie Stefan Cush whilst busking in Shepherds Bush in London. Their early line up was Stefan Cush (Vocals, Guitar), Paul Simmonds (Guitar, Bouzouki, and Keyboards), Philip Odgers (Vocals, Guitar, Tin Whistle, and Melodica), Jon Odgers (Drums, Percussion) and Shanne Bradley (Bass, Flute). Championed by the late John Peel their first single, a cover of Eric Bogle's 'Green Fields of France' (1984),

became a big hit on the UK Indie charts and a staple of Peel's festive 50.

Their first album, "Night of a Thousand Candles", was released in 1985. It includes the singles 'Ironmasters' and 'Greenback Dollar'.

Signing for MCA the following year, they recorded their second album, "How Green Is the Valley", produced by Mick Glossop. Included on this album are the singles 'Gold

Rush', 'Shirt of Blue' and 'Ghosts of Cable Street'.

**1987** Shanne Bradley left the band and was replaced by Ricky McGuire, famous for touring with punk legends the UK Subs at the tender age of 17. With their third release in 1988, "Waiting for Bonaparte", The Men They Couldn't Hang were starting to achieve recognition across Europe for their political comment and raucous live shows.

**1988** They followed up the success of "Waiting for Bonaparte" with their fourth album, "Silvertown". In 1989 they played to over 250,000 people in Estonia as communism started to crumble and followed this with an unforgettable Reading Festival appearance. At the height of their career, TMTCH recorded the brilliant "Domino Club" (1990) produced by Pat Collier however, this was to be their last studio album for a while as in early 1991, after a blistering farewell tour the band called it a day.

**1994** The split didn't last long as the band were invited by Vince Power to appear at his 10th anniversary celebrations for the Mean Fiddler venue in London and the band performed occasional gigs including a fantastic 2 1/2 hour 10th anniversary gig of their own.

**1996** Much to the delight of their fans, TMTCH reunited permanently. They returned with a new power and excitement to their music. "Never Born to Follow" is an excellent work which includes the single, 'The Eye'. Shortly after this, they released the "Six Pack EP" (1997), followed by their 'Best Of' collections, "Majestic Grill" and "The Mud, The Blood And The Beer" (both 1998). In 2003 the band released the self-produced album "The Cherry Red Jukebox" to much critical acclaim and this was followed by the Pat Collier produced "Devil on the Wind" in 2009 featuring long-time associate Bobby Valentino on fiddle and introducing Tom Spencer of the YoYos and the Loyalties fame, son of musician and author the late John B Spencer on banjo. The band spent much of 2010 and 11 touring this across the U.K. and Europe including festival appearances alongside The Levellers and headlining a roots festival in Slovenia.

**2012** The release of an album from Stefan Cush's new band, "The Feral Family" and Paul Simmonds was recording and touring with renowned roots singer Naomi Bedford as well as numerous live dates for TMTCH. The latter including appearances at Mike Peter's "The Gathering", and festival appearances alongside Billy Bragg and Adam Ant to name but a few. They headlined the 10th anniversary commemoration of Joe Strummer's Acton Town Hall show which also featured a special guest appearance by Hard Fi.

**2013** The release in March of Swill's solo album - The Godforsaken Voyage - produced by the legendary Mick Glossop. As well as appearances by the band at several festivals, including the Folkpunkrock festival in Berlin in February, they were pleased to do a tour of the UK in the Spring supporting Siff Little Fingers which included St Patrick's Night at Glasgow Barrowlands.

**2014** The band's 30th anniversary and the band saw out their anniversary year with the release of their ninth album, 'The Defiant' which was funded via a successful Pledge campaign that raised over 200% of its target and was produced by Pat Collier. Recorded during savage bouts of drinking, mess, ribald reminiscence, raucous recreation and a week of bed and board at a South London flophouse, it features such traditional themes as piracy, fascism, fishing and a little touch of romance in Henry V's Invasion force of 1415. It undoubtedly reinforces the band's reputation as both originators and unique pillar of the roots rock renaissance, as well as one of Britain's finest ever bands. Previewed with a sold out London show at Shepherds Bush Empire in April that won rave reviews in The Guardian and on The Arts Desk, the teaser 'Night Ferry' EP that saw significant specialist airplay on BBC Radio 2, 6 Music, BBC Scotland and BBC Wales, plus a number of summer festival appearances. They closed their 30th anniversary year with another show at the Shepherds Bush Empire on Easter Saturday 2015 before launching into various festival appearances during the summer, finishing in December with 2 sell out shows at the Borderline and the return of Jon Odgers on drums.

**2016** More shows and festival appearances including a return to the Rebellion festival in Blackpool during August and sold out shows in Glasgow, Derby, Manchester, Perth and Winchester before ending the year with 2 shows at London's Borderline where a mix of songs old and new were performed, some for the first time in 20 years. Swill also launched his own successful Pledge campaign to make an 18 track album available to Pledgers, the commercial version of which has just been released called Roll to the Left the album is available via Amazon and all good music retailers. The band celebrated their 33rd anniversary with a show at London's Shepherds Bush Empire.

**2017** The launch of another Pledge Music campaign to record the follow up to The Defiant. The album, which is their 10th studio LP, Cock-a-Hoop was released in September 2018 to critical acclaim being described as some of their best work. The LP has received airplay across the UK with Steve Lamacq on BBC 6 music championing the track Sirens on his afternoon show. The release was followed by a tour with shows selling out faster than ever and the band finishing the year with 2 storming shows at The Borderline in London.

**2019** The band won Best Live Band in folkling.com's annual awards voted for by 10000 registered subscribers to the popular folk website.



# Wigan Diggers' 2019 GOLD SPADE AWARD

with her on a level that transcends a normal friendship; and this is part of the reason she is so successful at turning lives around. You believe in her, you trust her, and you want to help. There's zero artifice, zero pretension, zero trickery, just two rolled-up sleeves and a world that needs changing; and in an age of sound-bites and situation-management from set-piece politicians, Pauline is the antithesis. She is a genuinely 'human' human being. And we love her for it.

The Station Hotel, Ashton-Under-Lyne is, for me, not only a second home, but one of the most important places in the UK today. It represents the will of ordinary people to carry on, to look out for each other, to leave no-one behind. It is so much more than just a pub. It's a place you can get everything from a food parcel to a dry pair of socks, but most of all it's a place you can get something too often in short supply these days, hope.

Those daily packed lunches; the hug she will unquestioningly offer the most filthy and derelict human soul; the late night treks out into the freezing cold because word has reached her someone has had their tent burned, or thrown in the canal; the Christmas dinners down the shelter; the constant knocking on doors at all hours of the day and night in the cause of others; all this is the tip of the iceberg. People often talk about Socialism, Pauline IS Socialism.

More than 280 homeless men, women and children have now left her pub with the keys to a new home and the chance of a fresh start. In years to come, when austerity has finally been consigned to the dustbin of history where it belongs, and the vicious and vindictive ideology which drives it discredited forever, there will be hundreds of people up and down this country who owe their very existence to Pauline Town.

She is a genuine legend, and it will be one of the proudest moments of my life to hand her the Gold Spade Award for 2019.

If anyone can save the world one life at a time, then it's Pauline.

And I for one will be with her all the way.

JOE SOLO



**E**ach year the Wigan Diggers Festival awards a ceremonial spade to someone who has made an outstanding contribution to Socialism. This year we are pleased to present community activist and anti-austerity warrior Pauline Town with this accolade. Last years award winner Joe Solo, pays tribute to Pauline...

Like many involved in We Shall Overcome, in grassroots Socialism, and in the wider fight against austerity, I was delighted to learn this year's Gerard Winstanley Gold Spade Award was being presented to Pauline Town. There can be no-one more deserving of the accolade, and Wigan Diggers Festival 2019 will be rewarding a true warrior for the downtrodden and dispossessed, a genuine Working-Class Hero.

I know she doesn't like the spotlight and will shrink from the attention, but Pauline is a daily inspiration to

thousands, shining like a beacon of hope in the darkest of times. Hers is a tireless quest to feed and house the homeless of Greater Manchester, to engage with those society has already written-off, to remind the world that everyone has a story, and to give those crumpled lives curled up in the corners of late night shop doorways back something the wider world has stripped them of their names.

I call her my Big Sis. We're not related, not really, in fact we only encountered each other in the days after We Shall Overcome took off in May 2015, and only actually met months later, but Pauline is, and always will be, family to me because our bond runs so much deeper than mere Facebook friends or passing acquaintances.

I'm not alone in that. Her compassion, her dedication, and her indefatigable efforts to save the world one life at a time, mean you are drawn to her and connect



**C**an't believe it's a year since I was handed the Gerrard Winstanley Gold Spade Award by my friend and comrade Attila the Stockbroker. Time really does fly.

I promised to live up to the faith placed in me by all at Wigan Diggers' Festival, and I hope I haven't let you down.

It is getting increasingly difficult out there with attacks coming from all sides and good news in short supply, but hope shines brightest in the darkest places, and I have worked my poor car and the UK motorway system to the bone at all hours of day and night trying to keep that flame alive.

Music does that. Everywhere I go I am told the same thing, that the mass singing and the raised fists helps press the reset button for activists beaten down by the daily grind, and helps send them back out into the world to try again, and again, until the battle is won.

I say music does that, perhaps ONLY music can do that; perhaps it is something in the conveying of a message by melody that helps stamp it in our hearts; perhaps there is a purity of purpose in a song that transcends the weariness and cynicism which beat us down in the so-called real world.

Whatever it is, I'm out there as much as I can encouraging as many folk as I can to keep going. Some of you reading this may have been to a gig or two and know what I mean.

I hope so.

*Through We Shall Overcome*

I have been working very hard raising donations of food, cash, warm clothing,

# joe solo

a year in the life

toiletries and sanitary towels which I've helped distribute around various grassroots organisations working at the front line of need in some of our most desperate communities. I've been using my weekly radio show to conduct telephone interviews with activists up and down the land helping highlight their causes and the politics which created the need

for them to exist in the first place.

Through crowdfunding a re-issue of my Miner's Strike album 'Never Be Defeated'

I have been able to give every single penny raised to the DN7 Hardship Fund and the Save The Hatfield Main Headgear Campaign, both



incredible community organisations in the pit villages whose stories those songs tell.

And every CD sale at every gig raises a fiver to help Pauline Town over in Ashton-Under-Lyne as she battles the impacts of austerity on the streets of Greater Manchester.

I've played picket lines, village halls, theatres, pubs, festivals, union meetings, Labour Party fundraisers... you name it, I have been there trying to raise help and raise spirits.

And yes, I am absolutely knackered. But now is the time to dig deep and to fight harder than ever.

When I sing 'No Pasaran' I talk of an impossibly brave man who walked into a hail of machine gun bullets dying for what he believed in.

We can't do that.

But we can LIVE for it.

So let's. Hope your faith is being repaid.

If not, I'm on it.

JOE SOLO





Manchester City Centre

# Peace Trail

Young People's Trail

## Manchester – a true 'City of Peace'

It is the world's first industrial city, where many people came to work in the new cotton mills and factories in the 18th and 19th centuries. It is also famous for people taking a leading role in the struggle against injustice and for peace, for the good of Manchester and the wider world. The Manchester City Centre Peace Trail highlights some of their stories.

[manchesterpeacetrail.org.uk](http://manchesterpeacetrail.org.uk)

**1 Albert Square / Manchester Town Hall**  
Manchester City Council/Mayors for Peace

Manchester City Council works to promote peace and friendship among all the different groups of peoples, cultures and faiths in our city. Manchester Town Hall, designed by Alfred Waterhouse, opened in 1877 but is closed while the building is being modernised and it will reopen in 2024. In the square, the statue of John Bright honours one of the most important MPs (Members of Parliament) of the 19th Century. He was MP for Manchester from 1847-57, a Quaker and a well-known orator (speaker) and campaigner for peace. He campaigned against the Crimean War, opposing general public opinion of the time. Albert Square is where the city comes together for remembrance or vigils. It is also where citizens hold protests against injustice or unfairness.

**2 Abraham Lincoln Statue**  
Lincoln Square, Brazennose Street

This statue of the famous American president commemorates the abolition of slavery in the United States. During the American Civil War of the 1860s, President Lincoln

was pleased at the support he got from the cotton mill workers of Manchester and Lancashire, who refused to take cotton that was grown and picked by slaves. This meant the workers had no work or wages and suffered temporary hardship. The statue was brought to Manchester in 1919 and reminds us how the city and its people supported the anti-slavery movement. The movement began at a meeting in Manchester Cathedral in 1787, and led to the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833. The square will be shortly transformed to be a new Contemplative Peace Garden. It will include gingko trees that derive from an original tree in Hiroshima that was damaged by the atomic bombing of the city on the 6th August 1945, but regrew the following spring. Many Manchester children took part in a peace education programme – Project G – and other gingko peace trees can be found at schools in Rusholme, Moss Side, Burnage, Heald Green, Moston and at Manchester Children's Hospital. In nearby Peter Street are the offices of MAG - the Mines Advisory Group, which shared the Nobel Peace Prize in 1997 for their work in encouraging the nations of the world to ban landmines. They still

work in many countries that are recovering from armed conflict to help the local people to clear landmines from the ground

**3 Peterloo Massacre Plaque**  
Free Trade Hall (Now the Redissen Hotel), Peter Street

In 1819 Manchester did not have any MPs and only a few rich people in Britain had the right to vote. On August 16th, where the hotel is now, the 'Peterloo' Massacre took place. About 60,000 men, women and children from around the region walked peacefully to St. Peter's Field to ask for the right to vote to choose the government. But soldiers on horseback, who were sent by magistrates to stop the meeting, rode at the people with their swords drawn. 15 people died that day, including one child. After a long campaign, in 1832 a fair distribution of MPs was provided to the new industrial towns, and also gave the right to vote for more men. However, it was not until 1928 before all men and women were given the vote. A plaque to remember Peterloo can be seen on the front of the building. A Peterloo memorial will be erected in the area on the 200th anniversary, 16th August, 2019.

**4 Manchester Central Library**  
St Peter's Square

The oldest public library in the English-speaking world is Chelnam's library next to Victoria Station, founded in 1653. Manchester opened the first lending library in Britain without subscription in 1852. This meant that all citizens could go there to find out and learn things that interested them, and to borrow the books. The new Central Library was built to provide employment during the Great Depression and opened in 1934. It was modernised in 2014 with a combined Archive Centre that includes important city and Greater Manchester county documents, historic films, family history resources and the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. There are also several exhibition spaces, which often host peace-related exhibitions and work produced by schools and young people.

**5 St Peter's Square and votes for women**

Manchester was a very important city in the fight to get votes for women. For a long time women were not allowed to vote for members of parliament in

elections. Only some men were allowed to vote. In 1867 Lydia Becker and others set up the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage, which was based at the Onward Building on Deansgate. They were Suffragists. Lydia had been the first woman to be elected in 1870 to the new Manchester School Board which set up schools for the first time for the majority of children. Three other famous women in this campaign were Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters Sylvia and Christabel. They formed the Women's Social and Political Union and were called Suffragettes. The first statue of a woman in the city centre, apart from Queen Victoria and the 'Messenger of Peace' which was in the old Peace Garden here, will be of Emmeline Pankhurst and will be erected in St. Peter's Square. You can visit the Pankhurst Centre near the city centre to find out more on the suffragette movement and the campaign of equal rights for women.

**6 The Cenotaph**  
St Peter's Square

War memorials are a way to help us think about the causes of war and to remember those in the armed forces who died in the



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First World War and other wars and, from the Second World War onwards, the much larger number of civilians who are killed in war. One of the plaques relocated from the original Peace Garden on this site was rededicated in a multi-faith ceremony in 2017 to commemorate soldiers and sailors who witnessed atom bomb tests around the world.

**7 International Friendship Arch, Faulkner Street Chinatown**

For a long time Manchester has welcomed migrants (people from other countries) and refugees (people driven out of their countries) - people either seeking a better life or avoiding persecution. This includes Irish and Jewish migrants from the nineteenth century onwards; Italians, Poles and Ukrainians after World War II, and migrants from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, West Africa and the Caribbean from the 1960s onwards, and more recently from other countries across Europe. Manchester is one of the most cosmopolitan (mixed) cities in the UK. Refugees and others from overseas, including Roma, and from the Middle East and countries in Africa still arrive

here. Manchester has a large Chinese community. Its Friendship Arch is a bridge of friendship between Manchester and the world. It was a gift to Manchester from the city of Shanghai in China. In Chinese culture, the dragon means strength and the phoenix means grace.

**8 Sackville Park and Alan Turing**

Alan Turing, mathematician and famous Second World War codebreaker, is regarded as the father of Computer Science. His work led to the world's first stored-program computer which first ran at Manchester University on 21st June 1948. Turing was a victim of prejudice against gay men and his statue reminds us of the campaign begun in Manchester to change the law to allow people to express their love regardless of their gender.

**9 Memorial Tree Piccadilly Gardens**

This memorial remembers the civilians killed and injured in war. It has the names of hundreds of people from Manchester and surrounding areas who were killed by bombs during the Second World War, and

particularly what is known as "the Christmas Blitz" - between 22 and 24 December 1940

**10 St Ann's Square and social reform**

The statue of Richard Cobden honours another of the most important MPs in the 19th Century. He and John Bright led the campaign to remove import tariffs on corn so that bread would be cheaper for ordinary people; poor people lived mostly on oatmeal, bread and potatoes. He also worked for peace between nations. A plaque next to the Royal Exchange Theatre remembers the famous social reformer Robert Owen, who lived and worked in Manchester for 12 years in the 1790s. A social reformer is someone who wants to make life better for others. His idea was for people to work together and own everything between them. That way they could all share the rewards of their hard work fairly. His ideas became popular and lots of people followed them. Working together, sharing and helping each other is called co-operation and thanks to Robert Owen many co-operatives such as shops, farms and businesses, were set up. The first Co-op shop opened in 1844 in Toad Lane, Rochdale,

and is now the Pioneers Museum. In front of St Ann's Church is a new statue of Jesus as a homeless man. The statue has been placed there to make you think about the problem of homelessness in the city.

**11 The Hidden Gem St Mary's Church, Mulberry Street**

For several centuries Roman Catholics were persecuted in Britain, and were not allowed to worship in church. They had to meet in secret to worship together. But in 1791, laws began changing which gave Catholics more freedom, allowing them to worship openly. St Mary's Church, often referred to as the "Hidden Gem", was one of the first Catholic churches to be built in Manchester. The church is an example of the need for tolerance of other people. Today, people of many different religious faiths live in Manchester and often cooperate closely together. Some of them came here to escape persecution in their own countries. Across the city, there is the Jewish Museum and the British Muslim Heritage Centre and various synagogues, Buddhist centres, Hindu temples, Sikh gurdwaras, Jain temples, many different Muslim mosques and a wide range of Christian

churches. In the city centre, the Friends Meeting House, Manchester Cathedral and Cross Street Unitarian Chapel also have rich histories of peacemaking.

**12 People's History Museum Left Bank, Spinningfields**

The People's History Museum holds the largest collection of political material in Britain. As the national museum of democracy, its objects relating to the campaign for the vote make up a core part of the collection. It also includes information on the positive role of trade unions to provide working people with more rights and better wages. The objects are hugely varied. Here you can find out about the famous and the ordinary people who worked for peace, social justice and to get people the vote. There are permanent and temporary exhibitions for all the family. The bust of Erinna Bell (which will be moved to the Central Library in 2019) honours her efforts to reduce gun crime and promote peace in the community. It is made from gun metal from guns seized by the police. Outside the Museum is the 'Doves of Peace' sculpture by Michael Lyons. The dove is often seen as a symbol of peace.



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Town Hall



4

Manchester Art Gallery



6

Chinatown Arch



5

St Peter's Square



7

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Piccadilly Gardens



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Sackville Gardens

Market Street

City Tower

Piccadilly Gardens

Central Coach Station

Sackville Street



# The wisdom of Winstanley's words

**K**eeping history live is one of the most important political priorities in the Movement. It's the live music and words that still speak to us today. Trade unionists used to study politics, philosophy, economics and history. They don't so much any more. This partly explains some of the decline in the Movement.

Even at primary school, as I once did, you would get a taste of the people's history and the struggles to get children into school and out of chimneys and coal mines.

My friend proudly keeps his 1972 Blue Peter Annual which has four pages on the Tolpuddle Martyrs.

Our history has been deliberately rubbed out. It's all now now now, the dash for cash, the hidden hand of the market, the intensification of work, the exhaustion of super exploitation. It's all as if history did not exist and all our rights and freedoms were somehow just always there like the sky.

Keeping history alive is therefore vital to inspire a new generation. You simply do not know where you are going if you do not know where you have come from.

The hidden hands reach out across the centuries still firm and strong, encouraging us to wake up like the sleeping giant from our slumbers.

At the GFTU, itself established 120 years ago at a time of fierce struggles, we have also sponsored the fantastic *Shout Out* project to bring political literacy to schools again. <https://education.shoutoutuk.org>

We sponsored a series of films on women's organising over the years. We want to do more.

We've also transformed our

education programme by adopting a statement on political education to underpin all of our work.

Keeping Winstanley's and the Diggers' words and action in front of people is a really major part of this political priority.

At the GFTU we have a series of history courses, see our *Education for Action* programme on [www.gftu.org.uk](http://www.gftu.org.uk)

We also have a joint partnership publishing imprint with New Internationalist called *Workable Books*.

We have published a collection of plays about key moments in the trade union struggles since the formation of unions. It's called *Workers' Play Time*.

We have just published a great illustrated history of the working class struggles since 1381 in graphic novel format. I hope you will buy one at the special Festival price of £7.00. Its fantastic and has a foreword by Jeremy Corbyn.

In the chaos of social media with so much competing for our attention it is hard to imagine how the socialist traditions established in the Medieval period which erupted in the late fourteenth century peasant rebellions, were kept alive for generations to blossom again in the great revolt of 1549, the so called Kett rebellion in Norfolk.

Following the suppression of this, underground traditions in song and poetry kept the spirit and politics alive to bloom again in the English



Revolution of 1649 and the beauty of the words of Winstanley.

Winstanley inherited a long radical tradition and concentrated the experience and insight of previous generations going right back to the illegal 'conventicles' of the earlier periods when groups would

meet in secret to advance ideas of a society free of inequality.

Our double CD *Voice and Vision Songs of Resistance Democracy and Peace* celebrates the great singing tradition that has kept our socialist history alive. Topic Records TSCD774D. Get one at the ethical shop. <https://ethicalshop.org>

Working class history and knowledge of the struggles for democracy and workplace rights and the political franchise should be compulsory primary and secondary schools subjects.

All trade union reps should get a grounding in where we came from, the sacrifices, the struggles, the bravery and tenacious campaigning that made Britain the democratic, working class place it once predominantly was. Remember the long struggle for the vote was only won in 1969 with votes for all over 18.

Nothing has ever been given away. All we have of any value has been fought for.

We have a responsibility not just to build a better society for our grandchildren, but to fulfil the great struggles of our grandparents for a better world.

Tragically the attacks on us since 1979 have been so severe and unprecedented that our generation

is in danger of forgetting the great progress made by our grandparents and tolerating the growth of a Britain less fit for our grandchildren.

Winstanley inspires us to lift our heads again and have a vision for the future and a renewed determination in the present.

There is no such thing as a defeated struggle. The great General Strike of 1926 is often depicted as a defeat. But what was the year in which wage inequality first started to narrow? 1926.

Winstanley and the Diggers were never defeated in the sense that their words and courage and ideas of human value grounded in the collective are at the centre of all progressive movements throughout the world from the Brazilians seeking to defend their rain forest lands to the green movements seeking to save the planet from climate change.

Our earth is a common treasury for all and Winstanley expresses this both poetically and entirely convincingly.

His beautiful common English plain style appeals still today and communicates better than a lot of high fallutin' language. Some talk about 'praxis' these days, or the unity of theory and practice.

Winstanley is more down to earth and common sensical: Action without thought, he says, is blind, and thought without action leads nowhere. How true and how important to remember if we are to rebuild our country anew out of the dominance of the US and EU and multinational corporations.

When I first read Winstanley in the mid-seventies I wrote a poem about the radicals like him and the Diggers and Levellers, here it is, it is not about a famous person, but about one of those extraordinary people who have made up all the goodness in Britain.

Half our problem is a lack of confidence. The main problem with the other side is they have too much confidence. Public schools teach arrogance and an ability to talk about everything without knowing

## Radical

Sometime in the 1640s Martin Stephenson  
Was busy at his ploughing, guiding the straining flanks,  
Slashing hooves and leaning tugs which wrenched  
The fields to pull out furrows. Gulls blared out  
Their usual following and sods flipped over ready for the new  
Martin was thick in labour.

Running true, aiming for ease and muscular efficiency  
To finish off his master's acres in time to start his own,  
When a few of Foxe's words came back:

Not stretching hands, or having any outward shape,  
Or voice, they were feelings in his mind of the change  
God's seed working out through men would make  
When the time would come for the world to improve.

He smelt the glorious lily curling open like lips  
Calling in a liberated generation.  
The pure white symmetry of his kind, harmonious nation  
Stood for a minute in his imagination.

He was sweating for the man who raised his rents,  
But this perfumed moment gave him a sense

That all would soon be well  
And the covetous would burn in Hell,  
And all the lands would be held in common,  
And all people would be prophets  
Creating wisdom as they worked outside the Church  
Developing an everyday democracy.

Lurching carelessly by the hedge, he stumbled  
In the evil nettles, the warning, subtle laws  
Of stinging tongued correction, the hot brands  
Put on by those who need protection.

The little digs that say:  
'Now now, obey.'

He had to carry on more swiftly and attentively,  
Face down the stinking bed of worms,  
Ignore the cuts and bruises and his fine plans,  
Yet for how long could visions and ignorance  
Keep him at his slavish plough?

Not long. When he saw his products so abused  
And the painful sacrifices of the wild rose, the lily  
Waiting in some engraving uselessly

He knew he had to dare to struggle where he worked  
And dare to win as we must now,  
For it's impossible to give in,  
And Gradually is a sacred cow of sin.

anything. Some feel born to rule and this conveys a sense of superiority and confidence.

But think about it. If we had been in power in Britain since 1979 would we be in this mess today?

Of course not.

We are good enough to create all

the wealth of the country and run it every day despite the best endeavours of politicians, so we are easily good enough to govern it.

Come and join me for a session in the Church to feel how powerful and relevant Winstanley's words are today.

DOUG NICHOLLS

Doug Nicholls, has been General Secretary of the General Federation of trade unions since 2012. Before that he was General Secretary from 1987 of the Community and Youth Workers' Union. Secretary of the Coventry Miners Support Committee in 1984/85 and Secretary of the Coventry Trade Union Council 1984-1994. He has written widely on working class history and culture and youth policies and youth work. He is currently Chair of the Chooseyouth campaign.

# STANDING ON THE SHOULDERS OF GIANTS



**J**ESSICA MILLAR is a Wigan 1st year student studying at the university of Manchester,

she wrote this essay as a study of how a single person can have an immeasurable effect on the history of humankind, choosing Gerrard Winstanley as her example.

**"If I have seen further, it is by standing on the shoulders of giants" (Isaac Newton 1676)**

Born in the Lancashire parish of Wigan in 1609, details of Winstanley's early life are sketchy, so it is hard to determine the influences around Winstanley and whether his radical communist ideas developed from his home-town or his later life, in London and Cobham. At 20 years old, Winstanley moved to London and became involved in the textile trading business. Initially having a thriving business, Winstanley became bankrupt as a result of the English Civil War and a corrupt King and Government. This led to Winstanley becoming bankrupt in 1643

With help from his father in law, Winstanley moved to Cobham, finding work as a cowherd. Writing about these events later in life, Winstanley stated that it was the good-will of friends that allowed him to live a country life after being beaten out of his home and his

work by the government and the war. These events led up to the year 1649 which signalled the beginning of the most significant period of Winstanley's life.

A particularly bad harvest in 1648 led to the already poor and struggling residents of Cobham to have cause to panic. This was seemingly the last push for Winstanley, who had already lost a great deal due to the political climate of England at the time. It is here that Winstanley put into practice the ideas and writings that give Historians cause to call him "a man of profound originality". On the Sunday 1st April 1649 Winstanley, along with a man named William Everard, took a small group of men out to St George's Hill to dig up the common land to repurpose it for sowing crops. This was after the publication of *The New Law Of Righteousness*, a pamphlet based upon the Book of Acts, that explored the idea of an early form of communism, as the bible stated, no one man was born to rule over another. Already, we are seeing the birth of Winstanleyan ideas that are parallel in eminence to other historical giants. It was Winstanley's belief that land should be made available to all to sow, as the poor were unable to own land and the rich owned land that largely

went to waste. The group dubbed themselves the 'True Levellers' whereas contemporaries coined the term 'Diggers' Winstanley was the "ideological driving force" of the Diggers. In such a chaotic and revolutionary period of time, Winstanley's ideas and applications of those ideas demonstrate a mind full of ideas beyond those of his contemporaries. His concepts and application of them are on a scale equal to that of other historical giants. It is his drastic attempt at undertaking the reclamation of the common land puts him beyond an average revolutionary thinker, especially of the seventeenth century.

When met with hostility from the local public, the Diggers continued to plant crops and dig the land. Winstanley showed tenacity and commitment despite the opposing of the populace of the town and the authorities. Furthermore, Winstanley was doing this amidst the transition from feudalism to capitalism, a time of major political unease, making his acts riskier and bolder.

The significance of Winstanley's actions are twofold. Firstly, they are political. They come at one of the worst periods in time to be of the lower classes and this motivates the need for a productive common land. Secondly, Winstanley's actions are religious. All of Winstanley's published pamphlets are religiously driven (although they



decrease in religious mysticism as Winstanley's thought evolves) and Winstanley expresses his belief that land was made to be "a common treasury for all" in the pamphlet *True Levellers Standard Advanced*. His religious motivations in fact pushed him to take his movement further than it may have gone otherwise. Though there may have been some political motivation behind choosing St George's Hill - the recent abolition of the monarchy created uncertainty as it was crown land. As Gurney wrote, the Diggers relied on "divine blessing" for the success of their venture, as St George's Hill was a notoriously unproductive patch of land. This meant that his actions would be "actual as well as metaphorical" as the restoration of the land and men would occur simultaneously with the earth becoming fruitful again. Winstanley's complex motivations demonstrate the complexities and intricacies of his movement.

Through much hardship, several beatings of the Diggers and general impracticality, the Digger colony barely lasted a year. Despite the short-lived nature of Winstanley's movement and its subsequent fade into history for two hundred years, the Diggers created a historically, culturally and politically significant movement that paved the way for the inclusion of Winstanley's name by Lenin, on the monument in Alexander Garden, Moscow, that commemorates the outstanding thinkers and personalities of the struggle for the liberation workers.

The renewal of modern interest in Winstanley can be traced back to Russian Marxists in the late 1800's. By the 1870's, when most traces of communal agriculture had left Britain, Russia was still largely communally farming land in way not dissimilar to that of peasants in Winstanley's time. Winstanley's comeback sparked interest lasting to the present day, inspiring socialists ever since.

We are now faced with the question of whether Winstanley's ideas were pre-Marxist, creating an interesting intersection between the two giants. Winstanley is an excellent example of Marx's famous class divisions and the suffering they create. Although 200 years earlier

than Marx and his examples of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, Winstanley illustratively depicts the struggle of the poor, working class against the rich who control the land, the money and the labour. At its most basic form, Winstanley's ideas are the definition of communism. The labour is split equally, and each person receives payment for the labour they invest. In Winstanley's case, food and shelter is provided for digging the land and sowing the crops. In fact, it is a common and reasonable view that parallels with modern socialism are frequent in the writings of Winstanley. Winstanley was "head and shoulders above other writers" who were in the same struggle during the English Civil War.

In regard to the time period in which Winstanley was operating, we are brought into the issue of religion surrounding Winstanley's motivation that I discussed earlier.



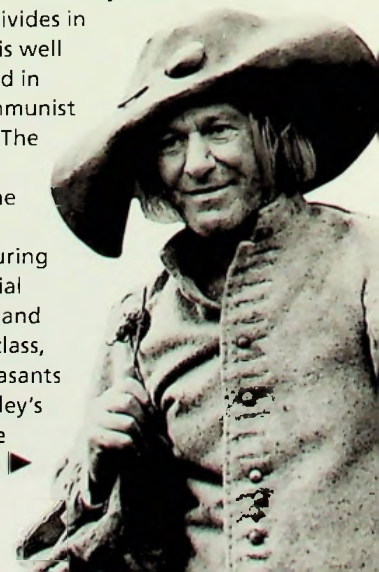
Consistently throughout his writings, Winstanley reiterates the importance of a common land for everyone in the eyes of God, as that was the purpose of land for people. While vexed by the political climate and his own personal losses, Winstanley's motives remain religious, as did Winstanley until his death. As Hudson concludes in his analysis of Winstanley as a seventeenth century Marxist, Marxist parallels have been overlaid onto Winstanley as a figure, when Winstanley was not interested in "a practical program of social reform but in the approaching reign of God. In this way we see an even deeper, complex image of Winstanley, as he has become a historical activist for left-wing radicals though in his own day, he was simply a religious reformer who was unsuccessful at his attempt of revolution following the abolition of the monarchy and the chaos of the English Civil War.

This does not mean, however, that

Winstanley, as a figure, is any less important historically or culturally. Winstanley's attempts at reform in his own day were a significant feat, causing disorder and confusion and scaring the upper classes enough for them to respond with violence. Moving past Winstanley's own day, his resurgence in nineteenth century Russia allowed the development of Winstanley as a socialist figure and a pre-Marx revolutionary in terms of anti-capitalism. Moving even further past the political significance, Winstanley is a recently rediscovered historical figure who gives modern historians an even deeper insight into seventeenth century class struggles and the aftermath of the English Civil War.

Therefore, I believe that Winstanley's significance is threefold. Firstly, Winstanley holds significance in his own context as a religious reformer. Winstanley viewed organised religion as a tool to abuse and control common people. Through several pamphlets, Winstanley expressed his discontent for organised religion, and his belief that common land should be available for all to use as this was what God had intended. Winstanley believed God was being held away from men by religious leaders when God had created everyone in oneness. In this way, Winstanley was a significant, outspoken religious reformist at one of the most chaotic periods of English history.

Secondly, Winstanley's resurrection from history allowed his initial exploits to be remembered, whilst also creating the figure of Winstanley as a significant pre-Marx socialist. As I have discussed, the Marxist parallels are strong. Winstanley dealt with class divides in a way that is well documented in Marx's Communist Manifesto. The similarities between the workers of factories during the Industrial Revolution and the upper class, and the peasants of Winstanley's day and the upper class ▶





are uncanny. The manipulation of labour forces and the poor in both examples are the building blocks of the development of Marxist communism and despite Winstanley's own motives not being equal to those of Marx, it does not deduct from the Winstanleyan figure of an original socialist.

Lastly, modern day scholarship

allows us to explore Winstanley in all of his contexts: a religious reformer, political icon and historical figure. The depth of Winstanley's character has developed and layered over time, creating a multi-faceted person who is of academic and social importance. Winstanley's influence can be seen all over scholarship and societies. There are annual festivals held in his honour

including his hometown of Wigan, and his name was inscribed by Lenin on a socialist landmark. His stamp on history is physical and obvious. The fact that this enormous legacy was created from a year-long siege of a small hilltop in Surrey surely enforces the remarkability of Winstanley and secures his spot as a giant.

JESSICA MILLAR

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# Greetings and solidarity from BOLTON SOCIALIST CLUB

**B**olton Socialist is the oldest independent socialist club in the country. It began in 1887 and moved into its 16 Wood Street premises in the centre of Bolton in 1905, and has been there ever since. Many significant figures in the history of struggle have visited over the years, including Mrs Pankhurst, Annie Kenney, Eleanor Marx,

more recent times, Irish civil rights campaigner Bernadette MacAlisky.

As well as providing a space for progressive groups to meet, the club has a regular roster of events which includes Red Cinema, (usually the 3rd Friday of each month) Red Friday discussion nights (usually the 4th Friday of each month) as well as music, drama and spoken word events, and ad hoc campaign related meetings. The club is also home to Bolton Clarion Choir, Wood St Writers and Write Out Loud.

The club is run entirely by volunteers and is home to many trades unions and progressive political and cultural groups, who meet at the club on a regular basis. Our political philosophy is broad church and we welcome all who regard themselves as socialists.

The club is a fundraiser for the Gaza Women's Education Fund and is twinned with the Al Jadeeqa centre in Gaza. For a number of years we've led the Peterloo commemorations in Bolton every August, (Sunday 18th in 2019)

marching down to Manchester in the footsteps of our radical forebears. Each July (Saturday 27th in 2019) the club stages a curtain-raiser for the Wigan Diggers' Festival, and is now an eagerly awaited event on our calendar. A somewhat longer tradition is the commemoration of the American poet Walt Whitman's birthday on 31st May. Bolton has a historic link with Whitman whose *Leaves of Grass* was an inspiration to many early socialists in Britain. 2019 is Whitman's bicentenary and the club is at the centre of celebrations in the town, staging live drama, spoken word performance, film, talks and our annual Whitman Walk on the moors, all in a spirit of "loving comradeship." The club is still the beating heart of radical Bolton and we're proud to continue its long tradition of education, protest, and political organisation.

Details of all our events are available on our website at [boltonsocialistclub.org.uk](http://boltonsocialistclub.org.uk) and on Facebook.



Unveiling the plaque commemorating Bolton's Spanish Civil War volunteers at 16 Wood Street, Bolton



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# JOINT ENTERPRISE

## Not Guilty by Association (JENGBA)

**Picture:** Some of the 21 unpaid JENGBA volunteers, who worked behind the Workers Beer Company bar during the four days of the Glastonbury Festival, serving an ocean of beer, enduring a record heat wave, water rationing and Kylie Minogue, to raise money for their campaign

**D**uring my time working at Glastonbury this year, I encountered an organisation volunteering there to raise funds for JENGBA. I was offered a wristband by one of the organisers with the words "JENGBA Not Guilty by Association" inscribed into the rubber, this immediately piqued my interest.

I asked exactly what the organisation was about, and I was told that they campaign against the unjust application of the Doctrine of Joint Enterprise (DoJE). I decided I would investigate this further and share some of my observations.

### THE DOCTRINE OF JOINT ENTERPRISE

The DoJE, otherwise known as common purpose, common design and joint criminal enterprise, has been a contentious area of law for many years, but developments within the last decade have highlighted several key issues with the common law principle and its application within the courts.

The DoJE broadly applies where the principal offender (Person A) has committed an offence and Person B has been involved in the commission of the offence, even if B was not the principal offender.

Prior to 2012, the House of Commons Justice Committee (HoCJC) found it difficult to establish complete statistical data in relation to convictions involving the DoJE. In a Parliamentary publication submitted in 2012, the HoCJC stated:

*"We were surprised to learn in the course of this inquiry that no record is made of the number of people charged under joint enterprise every year, or the outcomes of those cases. Given the evidence we heard that the doctrine is being applied inconsistently, together with the high number of cases involving joint enterprise being heard in the Court of Appeal, we would have expected that such data would have been collated to ascertain a true picture of the number of charges, convictions and appeals involving the joint enterprise doctrine. We have recommended such data be collated in future."*

Statistical data was not entirely absent however; through analysis of the number of defendants prosecuted for offences, it was reported in the Bureau of Investigative Journalism (BIJ) that between 2005 and 2013 approximately 1853 people were prosecuted for homicide involving four or more defendants (Group A) and 4590 people were prosecuted for homicides involving two or more defendants (Group B). It is probable that these cases involved the use of Joint Enterprise, due to the number of people prosecuted for each death.

### CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

The BIJ statistics suggest that nearly half of all prosecutions for homicide between 2005 and 2013 could have involved use of the DoJE, of these the average conviction rate for offences

in Group A was estimated at 73.3% and for Group B was estimated at 76.7%. The figures for both Groups A and B are 5.4% lower on average than the overall conviction rate for homicides during the period analysed. This suggests an anticipated degree of difficulty in establishing convictions in cases involving the DoJE.

Anticipation or foreseeability of the crime has been a pivotal issue in the application of Joint Enterprise because it is difficult to determine exactly where foreseeability begins and ends. The examples given by the HoCJC include where a more lethal weapon is used in the offence than agreed upon or anticipated by Person B; understandably there is a crucial difference between agreeing to assist in the burglary of a premises with a butter knife and agreeing to use a twelve gauge shotgun. The difficulty arises when attempting to define how much more lethal the weapon must be to limit Person B's liability for the satellite offence.

### AUTOMATIC AUTHORISATION

The mental element (mens rea) required for DoJE convictions was examined closely in the case of *R v Jogee* [2016] UKSC 8; here the Supreme Court (SC) distinguished between Joint Enterprise and Parasitic Accessory Liability (PAL). The press summary of the case indicated that, during the case, SC made it clear that taking Person B's foreseeability of Person A's offence as "automatic authorisation" set a lower conviction standard for Person B than for Person A. The ruling by the SC in this case established that for a conviction utilising the DoJE, there must be an intention to assist or encourage the secondary offence and that mere foreseeability on behalf of Person A could only be taken as evidence towards the intention to assist or encourage and not as automatic authorisation of the offence.

The need for some kind of DoJE is well established, without any kind of principle in place prosecutions could only be achieved in cases where offenders committed a crime directly, which would bring about a large number of serious consequences within the criminal justice system and make it very difficult for effective

justice to be obtained. The core issue which JENGBA appears to have identified is that broad application of the DoJE as a blunt force instrument to secure convictions, especially in cases where Person B has only a weak connection to the offence, can lead to injustice on a large scale.

## CHILD LIFERS AND POTENTIAL REFORMS

One of the more serious issues in need of reform, is the existence of "child lifers"; children sentenced to life imprisonment. Mr Jordan Cunliffe, just 15 years old at the time of his offence, was a legally blind teenager present during the fatal beating of Mr Gary Newlove. Mr Cunliffe was originally sentenced to life imprisonment with a term of 12 years, prosecutors used the DoJE to secure a conviction as they were unable to establish that Mr Cunliffe was involved in Mr Newlove's death.

Cunliffe's case does not represent the norm for DoJE prosecutions, but it does offer an example of how the doctrine can polarise both towards and away from justice. While it is rare for a 15 year old blind teenager to

be given a life sentence for a crime which he did not commit, this case is a clear example of a situation in which the prosecution may have used the DoJE to compensate for a lack of direct evidence. As this case occurred before the ruling in Jogee it is also possible that if the case were to be retried on the same evidence today, the prosecution would struggle to prove that Cunliffe's presence at the scene was sufficient to meet the requirement of assisting or encouraging the offence.

## AN INTIMATION OF VICTIM BLAMING

The prosecution would no doubt attempt to argue that the Cunliffe's presence encouraged boldness from the principal offenders, but this argument is fundamentally flawed in that it attributes the blame for the encouragement to the bystander and not the offender. Realistically, to blame a person present during the offence for the commission of the offence by another bears a strong intimation of victim blaming. There is little difference between blaming a woman for encouraging an offence

by wearing a low cut top, and blaming a blind child for encouraging an offence by being friends with the principal offender.

Using this example, one reform to the current law could be the requirement for more clear overt action on behalf of the defendant, to assist or encourage in the offence. The courts might ask whether Person B verbally instructed or suggested the offence or its escalation and whether Person B actively and voluntarily took part in the offence in any way.

The law should also distinguish between the action of a child and the actions of an adult more clearly, the criminal age of responsibility has been set at ten years old for several years, but this should perhaps only apply to the principal offender. If the law restricts a child from joining the military, consuming alcohol and consenting to sex because each of these things requires a degree of maturity that we would not expect to find in a 15 year old, then how can the law justify allowing a child to consent to an offence committed by another?

KRISTIAN PUTMAN



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# A sideways look at "The World Turned Upside Down"



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**A**NDREW FINCHAM is a doctoral researcher in Theology and Religion at the University of Birmingham, UK. He holds a Master's degree in Politics, Philosophy and Economics from the University of Oxford, UK. His current focus of research seeks to explain the links between Ethics and Quaker commercial success during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Interdisciplinary research work includes: a ground-breaking analysis of the origins of Transatlantic Quaker Discipline; an exploration of the relationship between c.18th Jewish and Quaker experience; and an innovative statistical model of Quaker populations (shortlisted for the 2019 Michael K. O'Rourke Research Publication Award).

Other recent publications include chapters on: Quakers and Enterprise (in *Quakers, Business and Industry* Angell, Stephen W. and Dandelion, Pink, eds. FAHE 2017); George Cadbury and Corporate Social Responsibility (in Burton, N. ed. *Quakers, Business and Corporate Responsibility* Springer 2018); and Transatlantic Discipline in the Long Eighteenth Century (in *Quakerism in the Atlantic World in the Long Eighteenth Century* ed. Robynne Healey, Penn State University Press; in press 2019). He edited *'Cadbury's Angels'*, a profile of the business practices of George Cadbury (IBIS, 2011).

With over thirty years' experience as an international management consultant, he is also the author of *'Service Excellence Strategies'* (Haymarket, 1999). A much anthologised poet, his collection *'Centre of Gravity'* (IBIS, 2004) received the *Poezja dzisiaj/UNESCO World Poetry Day Award*.

In March 2019, the London School of Economics installed a large, reversed globe as a symbol of 'progressive enquiry', and cited 'the well-known ballad from the English Revolution' as the source for the work's title: *'The World Turned Upside Down'*.<sup>1</sup> This ballad is not only unusual in becoming more popular with every century that passes, but as a protest song, has an interesting history.

While 'well-known' is perhaps an exaggeration, the ballad was initially a passionate protest against the Long Parliament – specifically, legal pressure to replace the twelve-day celebration of 'Christ-mass', (with its church-funded feasts), with the puritan sobriety of 'Christ-tide', and an enforced day of fasting and abstinence. Clearly, Christmas was for many worth fighting for, and the ballad was clear which side was to blame for its demise: *'Christmas*

*was kil'd at Naseby fight!*' If further evidence was required for the loyalty of the protesters, the tune was that of the Royalist Anthem entitled *'When the King enjoys his own again'* (which later evolved into the more conciliatory *'When the King comes home in peace again'*).<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps the LSE were thinking of a later pamphlet, which, while not a ballad, re-used the title, accompanied by the very well-known image of a topsy-turvy man. This was John Taylor's 'Brief description of the ridiculous Fashions of these distracted Times'. The picture includes an upside down church, and a wheelbarrow pushing a man, while gudgeon and eel fly past a candle flame pointing down, and the horse whipping the cart<sup>3</sup>, a cony chases a dog, and a rat hunts a cat. The image remains better known than the contents, or even the title above it: Taylor describes himself as a 'well-willer' to both King and Parliament, and it's easily forgotten that the verse is a warning to the authorities to take action against the dire threat posed by the *'Irish Devill... begirt with Romish Armes'*. This was the *Cónaidhm Chaitliceach na hÉireann*, the self-governing Irish confederacy at Kilkenny and formed in the revolt of 1641, which would shortly dissolve into its own civil war, to be destroyed by the bloody actions of the New Model Army in 1649. The Irish rebellion sent waves which would reach beyond nations, and past governments, to create ripples in St. Olave parish, Old Jewry, London, where young Gerrard Winstanley

## THE World turn'd upside down:

OR  
A briefe description of the ridiculous Fashions of these distracted Times.

By T. J. a well-willer to King, Parliament and Kingdom.



London: Printed for John Smiſh. 1647.

was driving up his business.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps frustrated by the slow growth of his fortunes, and despite the trade complaining of unpaid Irish debts,<sup>5</sup> in 1640 the twenty-one year-old merchant gambled with half his borrowed stock on Philip Peak of Dublin, losing £114 (perhaps £25,000 today) in the Ulster rebellion. Unable to pay his creditors, he became a bankrupt, and took his wife to live on her parents' estate at Cobham, about a mile from St. George's Hill.<sup>6</sup>

Mid-1640's was a troubled time for many. The Civil Wars created a vacuum in religious authority, and many ideas previously condemned as heretical flourished; people who shared these ideas would form local groups, which usually dispersed almost as quickly following disagreements: the membership was fluid as the doctrines of their preachers, who were often dissatisfied laymen as well as dissenting ministers.<sup>7</sup> Following his disappointments in the City, Winstanley may have become one of these itinerant 'preachers'.<sup>8</sup> Preacher may be a useful label; perhaps he should be termed simply a reformer; certainly he was an agitator, occasionally a populist, but Winstanley shared with his contemporaries a profound respect for the Bible as a source of authority, and his ideas, however 'radical' some tried to make them, were almost always supported by reference to biblical texts. His 1652 pamphlet on the Law of Freedom asks Cromwell to distribute lands won from the 'Norman Power' (Charles I and his allies) to soldiers and non-combatants alike, using the law King David instituted in Israel following his defeat of the Amelkites: all to share alike in the spoils given by the Lord, whether they fought or not.<sup>9</sup> Winstanley was never a demagogue: always reasonable, even rational, he does not ask for all land to be distributed, only such spoils of war; likewise his 'Law of Freedom' ensures the Commoner a right to his private property, in his private home, but does not insist on a uniformity of possessions; interestingly, he also sees a place for titles of honour – but based on a meritocratic system, and earned through achievements or public service.<sup>10</sup>

Many of his views shared a radical-



reforming centre ground which was being churned up by ideas far less practical than Winstanley's. Between the distorted doctrines of the extremist Ranters, who claimed spiritual license for every excess, and the rigid sobriety of the Puritans, were other groups – notably those often called 'Seekers', although some might possibly have found what they sought. These groups thought that they could see, in the turning of the world, indications that the biblical promise of a thousand-year Kingdom of 'King Jesus' was approaching, and looked for signs that the Biblical apocalypse was about to be fulfilled. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the nature and number of prophecies available, these 'millenarians' claimed plenty of evidence, and urged others to become aware. Their badge came from a biblical warning from St. Paul that 'the day of the Lord comes like a thief in the night', without warning; those who would be saved were the '*Children of the Light*'.<sup>11</sup> When Winstanley started to publish, he used the phrase almost as a code-name, to identify and encourage those of his readers keen to prepare for the new regime. In his interpretation of Christian doctrine, '*Truth Lifting Up Its Head Above Scandal*' (dated October 16th 1648), he promises helpfully, if rather ambitiously, to declare 'What God, Christ, Father, Son, Holy Ghost, Scriptures, Gospel, Prayer, Ordinances of God are.' Oxford historian Christopher Hill suggested that Winstanley was at best 'a very heretical Christian': since this work

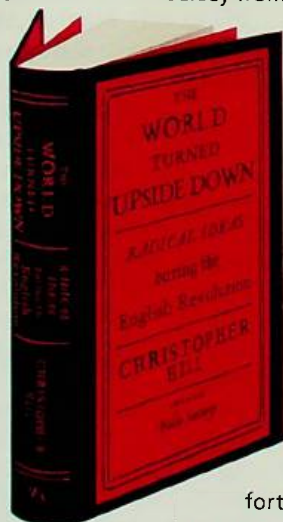
specifically refutes exactly that accusation 'by scholars of Oxford...' and is signed by 'A servant to the Father' such a claim seems particularly obtuse! Helpfully, Winstanley almost immediately published a further explanation; the same year as the dig at George Hill saw '*The Breaking of the Day of God*' appear in print to give the '*Children of the Light*' the 'glad tidings that your redemption draws near'. Like a lot of printed matter in the seventeenth century, neither work is particularly accessible – indeed it's doubtful they would have ever have been an easy-read.

But they do help show the passion and excitement of a great new beginning that marked Winstanley's state of mind just before he and the diggers broke the soil. Their fleeting appearance should be seen as part of a fabulously climactic moment: not ten weeks after the Commonwealth was established by the execution of the King, and less than a month since the abolished House of Lords and disestablished Church of England left the House of Commons as the sole seat of power.<sup>12</sup>

To the '*Children of the Light*', such events were all just further evidence that the 'end times' were approaching. The Archbishop of Canterbury had lost his head in 1645 (despite a Royal Pardon), while the civil wars which continued to erupt until 1651 offered even the least convinced something to think about. Winstanley was far from alone in writing for these '*Children of Light*',<sup>13</sup> and many used the same publisher; there was a busy, radical ►

press operating behind the doors of Giles Calvert, at the sign of the Black Spread Eagle, St. Pauls. One of his largest customers would go on to be the Religious Society of Friends, known to their opponents as the Quakers, but calling themselves 'Children of the Light'. The overlap between the beliefs of this emerging sect and those of Gerrard Winstanley is substantial, but at the time many held similar views – not least about personal freedom from political and religious obligations, and the right under God to follow one's conscience. That Winstanley later became a Quaker would not be unusual: on the contrary, those of his middling social status, holding his beliefs, and with a commercial bent would go on to form a significant majority of the Society's membership, particularly as Ranters, Levellers, Grindle- and Muggletonians dissolved amidst the confusion of the plague, the Great Fire of London, and the Restoration. In such a world, the spring and summer of 1649 perhaps appeared in hindsight as a heaven on earth to Winstanley's Diggers of George Hill.

It was Christopher Hill who popularised the 'The World Turned Upside Down', employing it as the title for his 1972 book on the roller-coaster history of the seventeenth century, while setting out events to illustrate a Marxist interpretation of what Hill liked to call 'The English Revolution'. While remaining a great read, the book is curiously ambivalent about the motivations of these various groups; even their names, he writes, were "a label applied by their enemies, rather like 'red' today: having no more precise meaning than that."<sup>14</sup> This particularly applies to the Quakers, a sect now formally associated with Winstanley through the finding of his name in their burial registers. Hill portrayed the early Quakers as 'world turners', suggesting they became disillusioned by failure, and then conformed, once they were tolerated. As with all his arguments, it is both possible, and plausible.



However, in his essential honesty as a historian, he seems not to entirely convince himself, concluding, In the last resort, perhaps, the Quakers did not want to overturn the world, any more than the constitutional Levellers wanted to overthrow the sanctity of private property. Quakers wanted life to be lived better, more honestly.<sup>15</sup>

However, as historian of Quakerism, I was surprised recently to find a rare error on Hill's part, which may help explain the confusion. As evidence for Quaker world-turning, he erroneously ascribes a very provocative pamphlet to the very well-known Quaker leader, Edward Burrough, stating "Burrough admitted that the Quaker preacher is considered 'a sower of sedition, or a subverter of the laws, a turner of the world upside down.'"<sup>16</sup> In fact, the 'E.B.' who authored the sentiment was Edward Billing, a fascinating (if unreliable and irascible) radical on the fringes of Levelling, Ranting and Quakerism – but certainly never a leader, nor a preacher. Not widely known, Billing (or Byllynge, indeed, any combination) continues to present a problem to those wanting to reconcile the conventional Quaker with a man who borrowed £1,000 while bankrupt in order for a bribed intermediary to acquire half of New Jersey from the Duke of York (later King James II), all in an attempt to restore his fortunes!

However, new research into the occupations of Quakers suggests strongly that ambition as a man of business was not unusual amongst his fellow Quakers: the great majority were in trade, relying on borrowed goods and long credit, and many looked to international ventures to make their fortune.<sup>17</sup> While some of them succeeded, Winstanley's unsuccessful commercial experience was by no means unknown.

The fact is, obviously not all Quakers either thought, believed, or behaved in the same way. Far more famous a Quaker than either Byllynge or Burrough was William Penn, who was friends with both, and indeed the Duke of York, and brokered the



**George Fox**

transaction. He too, was keen to see the world turned on its head, but was clear that he meant by this specifically (and precisely) the kind of reversal that turned Saul into Paul on the road to Damascus.<sup>18</sup> The Quaker leader George Fox called for the lands of the church to be used to generate money to support the poor, and for church buildings (and those of the dead king, including the 23-acre Whitehall Palace) be used to house the blind and the lame to prevent begging. Like Winstanley, Fox believed this was entirely reasonable, but would not have welcomed the label of Leveller. Taxation was - then as now - one of their chief complaints, not simply the tithes demanded by the church, but those Parliament imposed to sustain the commonwealth - made more frustrating in light of the back-pay owed to many former soldiers – which may at least in part account for Quaker pacifism.

So they protested, possibly with Winstanley's 'Diggers' Song' – although he may perhaps later have wished to modify the lyrics, when he himself became part of the gentry on inheriting his father-in-law's estate in 1657.

Not a bad song, but perhaps, had the community on St George's Hill heard Leon Rosselson's version, they might have held out longer. Re-using Hill's title, this was recorded in 1975, but perhaps gained widest recognition with Billy Bragg's version.<sup>19</sup> Rosselson manages to equal (perhaps even eclipse) Hill's effort by presenting each and every element that created the appalling atmosphere of injustice during the seventeenth century: the desire for peace; the need for work; the despair that followed bad harvests, no pay, and broken trust; the extremities of

church rites; the shackles of the laws, and lack of the reforms that had encouraged men to fight; ultimately, the emptiness of the promised 'Commonwealth'. As a song it remains a masterpiece, and the lyrics are not to be meddled with by historians.

What the song achieves, in its exceptionally wide appeal, is a unity in diversity; something that historians should learn from. Attempting to label such diversity as single views mis-represents both the ambiguity, and even contradiction, that

characterises the period - something that future historians might think about when defining the 'Brexit' years. What the protesting parties had in common was a desire to put a stop to the endless interference which was preventing people rebuilding their livelihoods. In that, as in many other areas, time changes less than some may think.

It may be worth suggesting to the LSE, in a spirit of progressive enquiry, that someone takes a look at the world map created by the Arab cartographical genius, al-Idrisi, in 1154, and known in English as the *Tabula Rogeriana*. They may consider it upside down, but it will ever remain one of the most remarkable maps in the world.

ANDY FINCHAM



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<sup>1</sup><http://www.lse.ac.uk/News/Latest-news-from-LSE/2019/03-Mar-19/LSE-unveils-new-sculpture-by-Mark-Wallinger>

<sup>2</sup>A version by The Druids, 'When the King comes home in peace again' can be found at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cMzP\\_zsf25k](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cMzP_zsf25k)

<sup>3</sup>Attributed to Thomas More in 1557; also used by Shakespeare, a well-known phrase

<sup>4</sup>See J. D. Alsop 'Gerrard Winstanley: A Reply' *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 38,

No. 4 (Dec., 1995), pp. 1013-1015

<sup>5</sup>March 1641, London petitioners argued that debts accruing in Ireland to London merchants were for the most part not being paid; see Joan Thirsk and J. P. Cooper, eds., *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents* (Oxford, 1972), p40

<sup>6</sup>James Alsop 'Gerrard Winstanley's Later Life' *Past & Present*, No. 82 (Feb., 1979), pp. 73-81, p75. GW inherited the estate in 1657

<sup>7</sup>Hudson, Winthrop 5. 'Gerrard Winstanley and the Early Quakers'

*Church History*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Sep., 1943), pp. 177-194, 178

<sup>8</sup>Hudson (1943) 181

<sup>9</sup>Samuel 30:9-24

<sup>10</sup>Law of Freedom 512-514

<sup>11</sup>Thessalonians 5:1-5

<sup>12</sup>Willard, Thomas, *The Free Enjoyment of the Earth: Gerrard Stanley and Land Reform in "Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time,"* ed. Albrecht Classen (2012), 867

<sup>13</sup>Hudson (1943) 182

<sup>14</sup>C. Hill 'Quakers and the English Revolution' *JFHs* Volume 56 Number 3

1992;p166

<sup>15</sup>C. Hill 'World turned upside down' 1972; p374

<sup>16</sup>Hill 1972; p245. The pamphlet is 'A word of Reproof' (1659); pp70-71

<sup>17</sup>See Andrew Fincham 'Establishing Quaker Commerce - Occupations.' *Quaker Connections - Number 73 - March 2018*. Pp23-35.

<sup>18</sup>Fox's Journal, Intro 1694. Penn was also (briefly) imprisoned for non-payment of debt.

<sup>19</sup>Not to mention Chumba... (actually, don't)

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