GLENDON HALL
The home of the Lanes, showing the work added in the 19th century from the demolished Pytchley Hall

Published by
THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY
DELAPRE ABBEY, NORTHAMPTON, ENGLAND
1960

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CONTENTS

Particulars of the Society .................................................. ii
Institutional Members of the Society .................................. ii
Notes and News ............................................................... 1
Brackley Charter Celebrations .......................................... 3
Cromwell's Head ............................................................. 3
Sanderson of Oundle.  S. G. Squire .................................... 4
The Penury of Christ's Maidservants.  Christopher Brooke ..... 10
A Royalist Squire's letter on the Eve of the Restoration.  Gyles Isham ............................... 11
Two Scholars—Hope Emily Allen and Lewis Namier.  Joan Wake ............................. 15
The Recording of Village Tombstones.  M. V. J. Seaborne ........ 20
A Quincentenary: the Battle of Northampton, July 10th, 1460.  R. Ian Jack .............. 21
Book Reviews: Prince Charles's Puritan Chaplain ................. 25
  The Pictorial History of Peterborough Cathedral ............ 26
  Death of a Theatre ..................................................... 29
  Index to Wills of the Peculiar Court of Banbury ............. 29
The Inhuman Taskmaster.  Victor A. Hatley ................. 30

ILLUSTRATIONS

Sanderson of Oundle ....................................................... 5
Hope Emily Allen ............................................................ 15
Sir Lewis Namier ............................................................. 18
Tombstone in Corby churchyard ....................................... 20
Map of the Battle of Northampton ...................................... 22
Peterborough Cathedral—West front ................................. 27
  The Choir facing East ................................................. 28
The former silk manufactory at Weedon ......................... 31
Initials of James England, a silk manufactory .................... 34

Published by the Northamptonshire Record Society
Delapré Abbey, Northampton, England
1960

Vol. III  No. 1

PRINTED IN ENGLAND BY DALKEITH PRESS LIMITED, KETTERING, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE
THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY
(FOUNDED IN 1920)
DELAPRE ABBEY, NORTHAMPTON

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The objects of the Society are the furtherance of the science of history and of historical
literature by the publication of historical records relating to Northamptonshire, and the
stimulation of interest in historical studies by exhibitions, lectures, etc.

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THE EDITOR wishes to thank the following publishers for permission to use photographs, blocks etc. from their publications:
Northamptonshire Evening Telegraph for "Glendon Hall" (Frontispiece); also Mr. and Mrs. F. Vincent Gompertz for permission.
Messrs. Chatto & Windus Ltd. for the photograph of F. W. Sanderson from Sanderson of Oundle (1923), p. 5.
Pitkin Pictorials Ltd. for two photographs of Peterborough Cathedral (by A. F. Kersting) from The Pictorial History of Peterborough Cathedral, pp. 27, 28.
Fortieth Birthday

We are sure that our readers in all parts of the world will rejoice with the Northamptonshire Record Society at having reached the 40th anniversary of its foundation. A meeting was held in the Town Hall, Northampton, on 19th October, 1920, followed by another at Peterborough two days later. Both were addressed by Professor F. M. Stenton and the late Canon C. W. Foster, the founder ten years earlier of the Lincoln Record Society.

At Northampton it was resolved that in the interests of historical study it was desirable to form such a Society, and the Peterborough meeting unanimously agreed to “co-operate with the residue of the County”. The first General Meeting was held on 10th December following, when the then Marquess of Exeter and Earl Spencer were elected joint Presidents; Mr. James Manfield, honorary treasurer; and Messrs. W. T. Mellows, R. W. Brown, and Miss Joan Wake, honorary secretaries. Ninety-six members joined in the first year.

In the intervening years since then the Society has had its ups and downs, but it has survived the great financial depression of the 1930's and six years of a major war; it has published twenty volumes, and twelve numbers of this Journal. Eight years ago it handed over the custody of its large collection of historical MSS. to the Northamptonshire Record Office, and both institutions are now working closely and happily together under the same roof at Delapre Abbey. The membership which had risen to over 300 in 1936, and remained at about that figure for the next ten years, reached the six hundreds in 1952, and took a sudden leap forward last year. It now stands at about nine hundred and fifty.

It may here be added that at the Annual General Meeting last May, Miss Joan Wake was presented by the members of the Society with a gold watch bracelet, a dictating machine and between 40 and 50 books, “in appreciation of her forty years’ service as Honorary Secretary”.

Carte Nativorum

We are pleased to announce the publication on November 20th of Carte Nativorum, a mid-14th century cartulary of Peterborough Abbey, which records transactions in land by the peasant tenants, both free and unfree, of the monastic estates. The outstanding interest of the MS. is that it shews the villein tenants conveying land by the same methods which in law were available only to free men. The book is edited with a learned introduction by Professor M. M. Postan, F.B.A. and Professor C. N. L. Brooke, to whom the Society is deeply indebted for the great amount of time and labour which they have so generously devoted to this task. The MS. was transcribed and partly prepared for the press by the late Mr. W. T. Mellows to whom it then belonged.

The Northamptonshire Record Office at Delapré Abbey

We are here permitted to mention some records recently acquired by the Archives Committee. The most important of these is the Cartwright Collection, deposited by Miss Elizabeth Cartwright on the sale earlier in the year of the Aynho estate. This extensive collection covers seven centuries of records relating chiefly to the land, but includes besides family diaries and other miscellanea, much interesting correspondence of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Another but smaller family collection deposited is that of the Jacksons of Duddington in the Soke of Peterborough.

Some records (c.1890-1920) of the famous stone-quarry at Weldon, which were found lying in a neglected heap in a derelict shed in the village, are an acquisition of an unusual kind. The trustees of “Kislingbury Town Charity” have deposited a long series of deeds running back to the 14th century. The increasing use now being made of the records, especially by local students, must be very gratifying to Mr. King and his staff.

Northamptonshire Historians

The County Village History Committee, a very live and independent body under the chairmanship of Mrs. John Tynan, held its annual meeting of local history correspondents at Delapré last spring, when Mr. King spoke on the material for village history in the Record
Office to an enthusiastic audience of about a hundred from all over the County.

Churches in Trust

In the article on this subject in our last issue it was stated on page 302 that Cold Ashby church had been closed. This is an error for Claycotton, where this action has very regretfully been taken.

Nonconformist Records

Dr. P. A. J. Pettit has raised the matter of the preservation of the records of Nonconformist Churches in the County, about which a great deal does not appear to be known, and this is engaging the attention of the Archives Committee. In the meantime should any of such records be in need of a home, temporary or permanent, or require setting in order, there is room for them at Delapré Abbey. Application should be made to the Archivist, Mr. P. T. King.

English Counties

Some of the proposals of the Parliamentary Boundary Commission at the local inquiries held last summer, are causing serious concern amongst all sections of the population, and not only in the areas which might be affected. The proposals of the Commissioners in the East Midlands are to wipe the three Counties of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Rutland off the map of England; to dismember Northamptonshire by cutting off the Soke of Peterborough which from time immemorial has been part of the Shire; to create a new county with no roots and no convenient and natural centre; and to make other drastic and unacceptable changes such as the separation of the ancient borough of Stamford from Lincolnshire—all in the alleged interest of "effective and convenient local government", though no charges of ineffective government have been made, and there has been no local demand whatever for these revolutionary changes.

This attack on whole counties is something altogether new and has been met by strenuous, well-argued, and spirited opposition by the local Councils. The following resolutions have been passed by the Northamptonshire Record Society and forwarded to the Minister of Local Government and to the Commissioners:

"The Northamptonshire Record Society wishes to protest emphatically against the proposed abolition of the ancient boundaries of the Counties and in particular of those adjacent to Northamptonshire.

The Society is convinced:

(1) That these proposals would interrupt a long-standing historical continuity and tradition which underlie not only the organisation of local historical records, but also deep-rooted communal loyalties.

(2) That the Counties of England are a great deal more than mere units of local government and that for the most part they have existed as effective units of administration since the era before the Norman Conquest, and that their age-long historical traditions and local loyalties in many other spheres of life—judicial, social, cultural, military, sporting, etc.—are an intangible but priceless asset to the country, which should be fostered rather than destroyed.

(3) That though from the administrative point of view there are advantages and disadvantages in both large and small areas no good reasons have been shewn why effective local government should not continue as hitherto to be superimposed upon the traditional pattern of County Communities".

It is expected that the final recommendations of the Commissioners with regard to this area will be made known in the near future, when opportunities for objections by the public will be given. As the proposals can be brought into force by Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament without any further Act being passed, preventive action will have to be swift and determined.

New Members

The Honorary Secretary will be delighted to receive the names of those wishing to help on our good work by joining the Society. We greatly hope to be a thousand strong by the end of 1961. Particulars of the Society will be found on page ii.

We deeply regret to announce the death on December 16th of Mr. W. W. Hadley, aged 94, a foundation member of the Society and a valued contributor to this Journal, the news reaching us too late for more than this brief notice.
"'Tis opportune to look back upon old times and contemplate our forefathers", said Sir Thomas Browne, and this is what the ancient Borough of Brackley did last spring, to the joy of Northamptonshire and the delight of travellers as they drove along the gaily decorated thoroughfare. The great event in its history which Brackley celebrated with such pride and fervour was the grant of its privileges as a Borough seven centuries ago by its overlord, Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, whose original charter, complete with seal, was on view at the Town Hall.

The sun shone and visits from the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, the Bishop of Peterborough, and the Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire; civic ceremonies; church services; dances; sporting events; dramatic performances; an agricultural show; bands of music; a wonderful exhibition of historical records; and other events filled up a breathless fortnight. The roasting of an ox on the market place on June 4th marked the culmination of a most memorable occasion.

Her Majesty the Queen sent her congratulations and thanks to “the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Ancient Borough of Brackley” for the expression of “their loyal devotion to Her Majesty”.

CROMWELL’S HEAD

Many years ago, before the first World War, the present writer was staying with some friends at Stoke-by-Nayland in Suffolk. She was taken one morning to call on the Rector, the Rev. Horace Wilkinson, who took her into his study, gave her a chair, and pulling a box out of the knee-hole of his writing desk, opened it, and took out an object wrapped in a cloth. He unwrapped it and handed to her the head of Oliver Cromwell. She held the gruesome thing by the sawn-off end of the pike on which it still remained, and managed to conceal her feelings while the following story—here briefly summarised—was read out to her.

Oliver’s body, as our readers will doubtless remember, was, after embalmment, buried in great state in Westminster Abbey in 1658. After the Restoration two years later it was disinterred, the head was struck off, stuck on to a pike and set up on the roof of Westminster Hall, where it remained for five and twenty years. One night, during a storm, it was blown down at the feet of a soldier doing sentry-go on the roof. He picked it up, took it home and hid it up the chimney. There is now a gap in the story, but during the 18th century it was exhibited in a shop window in Piccadilly, and was eventually sold to the ancestor of Mr. Wilkinson.

The skin of the head, as the writer remembers it, was dark brown and mummified; some hair remained on the skull, and there was a hole where the famous wart had once been. About twenty-six years ago an exhaustive examination of the relic was made by scientists who published their conclusions. After careful measurements and comparison with Oliver’s death-mask and portraits, and taking into account the fact that only the great were at that date embalmed and only the heads of felons and traitors set up on pikes, it was decided, though the evidence was not entirely conclusive, to be beyond reasonable doubt that the head was that of the Protector.

It has recently been reported in the press that it has been reburied after an exhumation lasting nearly 300 years, in Oliver’s own College of Sidney Sussex, Cambridge. One would have thought that, failing re-burial in the Abbey (surely appropriate for one of the greatest of Englishmen), the head might have been interred at Northborough Church in the Soke of Peterborough, where his widow was buried, close to the beautiful fortified manor-house in the village where Oliver is on good authority said to have stayed on more than one occasion with his favourite daughter, Elizabeth Cleypole,1 and in the Shire where the Battle of Naseby was fought.

J.W.

1 See Northamptonshire Past and Present, Vol. I, No. 4, article entitled “Oliver Cromwell’s Master of the Horse” by M. Urwick Smith.
SANDERSON OF Oundle

FREDERICK WILLIAM SANDERSON (1857-1922) was Headmaster of Oundle School from 1892 until his sudden death in London, after the delivery of a lecture to the National Union of Scientific Workers, in 1922. Oundle was an ancient school, which owed its existence to a bequest of 1485, and its real endowment to Sir William Laxton, an Oundle man who became Lord Mayor of London in 1544. Laxton was a grocer, and it was to the Grocers' Company that Laxton bequeathed his London property on condition that they maintained a school and almshouse at Oundle. By the middle of the 17th Century the school had become, in Fuller's words, "a fair nursery of scholars", but like most such foundations, it had varying fortunes.

Its modern history may be said to date from Sanderson's appointment in 1892. He was a big man (in every sense of the word).

In 1923 there appeared "Sanderson of Oundle", a very interesting book compiled from various sources; there is also the book, written by H. G. Wells, who had a high regard for Sanderson, "The Story of a Great Headmaster".

The following impression of Sanderson is based on a paper written by Mr. S. G. Squire in 1947, and read to some of the governors, boys and staff in March of that year.

Mr. S. G. Squire, who lives at Fotheringay, was a master at Oundle for forty years from 1908. He was, in his early years at Oundle, housemaster of School House, where the Sandersons lived, and so was in the position to know the subject of this paper well.

The paper now appears in Northamptonshire Past and Present in a somewhat shortened form, by permission of the author.

I CANNOT hope to do justice to the full story of all that Sanderson did for the School. A mere list of the buildings that grew up in the thirty years of his headmastership is an impressive tribute to his success, and the raising of the numbers from ninety to nearly five hundred and forty. These are visible monuments and are some evidence of his pioneering work in broadening the basis of education, especially in the direction of Science and Engineering.

But buildings alone do not make a School great. More than one envious critic has remarked that any man could have built up a School with the wealth of the Grocers' Company behind him. The answer is that while it is difficult to build without money, many other things are needed, assets of mind and character, to use funds so wisely that they result in the creation of a great and living institution.

My aim in this paper is something more difficult than to describe the material growth of the School. It is rather an attempt to indicate to you (1) the chief principles and beliefs on which Sanderson's ideas were based, ideas which have had no little influence on education in the country at large, and (2) the spirit with which he inspired the School, that intangible something which makes all the difference to the atmosphere of a School, whether it shows itself in an attitude to life, or in the energy and vigour that its members put into their work. It is something which others besides myself believe to have survived through the years since Sanderson died, so that 'he being dead yet speaketh'.

Some may think this a fanciful belief, and that our product differs little from that of other Schools. It is probably an exaggeration to attribute to all boys the spirit I am trying to describe but I have had evidence, not only in previous years, but in the late war when comparisons could
readily be made between School products, that there was a distinct type produced by Oundle, and that it was one which met with wide approval in the Services as well as outside.

Just before his marriage in 1885 to Jane Hodgson, Sanderson was appointed Senior Physics master at Dulwich College. It was there that he made his first ventures in the use of practical science in Education, which he made attractive for boys to whom literary studies, which had long been the chief vogue in public schools, did not appeal.

He had been seven years at Dulwich when, in 1892, the Grocers' Company were looking out for someone to infuse a fresh spirit into their school at Oundle. Some sixteen years previously the School had been divided. The Laxton Grammar School was to serve local needs as a day school, while Oundle was to be the boarding school. The school had done well in mathematics under Dr. Stansbury, and under Dr. St. J. Reade its classical scholarship was good. But in 1892
the numbers had declined from two hundred to ninety, when a new headmaster was sought. The selected candidates were required to draw up a scheme showing how they proposed to reorganise the curriculum. The Governors were evidently impressed by Sanderson’s proposals and though not without considerable opposition in the Court, elected him Headmaster. He carried out his scheme (so he once told me) just as he had devised it.

But he had many and grave difficulties to contend with in his early days. On one occasion he actually wrote out his resignation, and only changed his mind just before reaching the Post Office. He felt he could not desert those who had so far given him loyal support. But he had met with strong opposition from the staff, and antagonism from the boys—that most conservative race. Even many of the local residents gave him the cold shoulder. Sanderson was always keen to know all that was going on in the School, and some of the older staff resented what they regarded as interference in their province. Then he expected the whole school to join in the hymn sung on certain mornings at prayers—not the Choir only. Boys in the Upper School resented this.

These are instances of the opposition with which the new Headmaster had to contend. Such of the staff as refused to co-operate left in course of time, and the boys gradually fell into line, especially as the new generation grew up. It is possible he would have found his earlier years at Oundle easier if he had been more articulate. He was never a ready speaker—doing, in fact, came to him far easier. He might have found a more ready following in the School if he had explained the purpose of the changes he made, and persuaded the boys to see that there was reason behind seemingly strange enactments. But he did inspire respect, not to say fear, from early days. There would be explosions of wrath, and the boys never knew when the explosions were coming. He would flare up suddenly and without warning, and when this occurred the victims did not forget it in a hurry. In later days too, though rarely towards the end of his time, one never knew whether there might not be some “incident” at prayers—followed by “Wait for me outside Mr. Squire’s room afterwards”. The ‘floggatorium’ is now the cinema apparatus storehouse. CVA would listen breathless to the closing of the incident—‘voces et verbera saeva’—as Aeneas describes what he heard in the Inferno.

While on the subject of corporal punishment, I would recall a dictum of his that was in direct opposition to the opinion of most experts on education. They said, “Never punish in anger lest you may, in a temper, exceed justice”. Sanderson said, “Never punish except in anger”. For one thing an outburst of righteous indignation is far more impressive and lasting in its effects, whereas a postponement breaks the connection of crime and retribution, apart from the cold weighing-up and judicial atmosphere which are often unsuitable except for grave offences. Most offences of boys he regarded as of the nuisance variety.

Much depended on the particular offender and the master. He knew his boys, and if the offender were a sound harmless youth, he might get away with his misdemeanour. But if the boy were one who needed to be dealt with—some boys he considered required drastic treatment (a favourite expression) as a kind of tonic, then he would flare up at the smallest offence—“Blowing his nose in class, was he? You send him along to me”.

Together with this shrewd diagnosis of the individual boy, there was in Sanderson a firm belief that boys in the mass were sound at heart. The doctrine of original sin found little favour with him. Not that he considered they were all little angels. Needs must that offences come. But the master’s job was to be vigilant and not to give, more than could possibly be helped, opportunities for going astray. He was a great believer, not only in trusting the boy, but in letting him see whether you cared if he did the wrong thing—cared whether he worked or was idle. Such an attitude made all the difference to the boy. If the master cared, the boy soon came to care too. His aim was to make boys of the type that Oliver Cromwell sought when he was raising his army of Ironsides—“men that made some conscience of what they did”, men of whom he said “that from that day forward they were never beaten”.

This is one aspect of that spirit that I referred to which he infused in his boys. Another can be illustrated from a favourite text of his—“I came that ye might have life, and have it more abundantly”. It was, incidentally, the text on which the impressive address at his funeral service was given by Bishop Woods, the Bishop of Peterborough, whom Sanderson admired more than
any other during his headmastership. 'I came that ye might have life'—it was certainly true of Sanderson. He sought to make a live school, full of boys who were alive, keen on whatever they took in hand. Some kinds of authority he used to refer to with abhorrence as 'the dead hand'. I suspect it was the kind he would have feared if the school came under State control. For he had no great regard for Government Inspectors of schools. He believed that many of these too often came to adopt a doctrinaire attitude from having lost touch with the life of boys. Only those who are constantly dealing at first hand with boys or girls, he considered, are fitted to judge and inspect them, and this was largely true of examiners too. But if all boys are to be kept keen and alive, there must be in a school a great variety of interests. And this was one side of education in which Sanderson was certainly a pioneer of his generation. The old regime had been for long years too exclusively confined to Classics and Mathematics, especially the former. Even the Classics in the Victorian Age, owing to a slavish imitation of German scholarship, had suffered from excess of emphasis on the linguistic side rather than on the far more interesting human aspect. But there is always a large number of boys to whom the Classics make little appeal and the same is true of Mathematics. It was for these neglected elements that Sanderson set out to cater. He began the experiment at Dulwich before he came to Oundle. He brought with him Mr. King from Dulwich who helped him to carry out his ideas.

Among these was the introduction of Science (very little was taught before) and in particular, practical work both in Science and Mathematics. With Science, Engineering was also added, so that the School was re-divided soon after he came into the new groups of Classics, Modern Languages, Science and Engineering, and the Junior School. For the practical side Laboratories were needed and these came in due time, at first of course on a small scale. Other varieties of interests followed—workshops, a photographic club, a revival of the literary and debating societies, natural history outings, the institution of a choral society. Later still came agriculture and a school farm and dramatic work, a school play every year and, on the music side, an Oratorio in the Winter Term.

The present generation of boys is so familiar with these things and takes them as a matter of course, but there was a time when they were new ideas and the purpose behind them was to provide so wide a variety of interests that everybody could find at least one form of activity which appealed to him. Many found more than one. Sanderson said, "Find out what a boy can do and likes doing, and he will do it with enthusiasm and joy". Keenness on one interest re-acts on his other work and his education may be said to have begun. In the old days, when a boy's interest was not roused, he was readily accounted 'dull'. Sanderson did not believe the dull boy existed. When one of his staff reported a boy as dull, he said, "It's not the boy that is dull, Mr. Smith, it is you".

You may perhaps wonder what he was like in the classroom. He had, as I have mentioned, little natural gift of expression. His sermons were neither eloquent nor appealing, though when he was moved or felt deeply, he could rouse and hold the attention of his hearers. When he was preaching or reading a lesson, if a boy coughed he would stop, and wait for him to finish. He said the boy would not cough if he was listening as he should.

From early days his most regular teaching period was the Scripture lesson, so-called, for it was certainly not confined to Scripture. The class consisted of boys from all the senior forms and all house prefects. The numbers were anything up to 90 or 100. In my early days it was held in the Upper Room, above what was then the Gym—now the Masters’ Common Room, etc. He would range over widely different themes, even in any one lesson. Among actual subjects taken was Assyrian, Babylonian and Egyptian history. He would order copies of the British Museum Catalogues for his class, or a translation of Herodotus, partly as a background for Old Testament History. He had procured a series of slides of Greek Sculpture, Spenser's Faery Queen, and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and others, which he would show on Sunday evenings to the school as well. His favourite Bible commentary was Driver's "Genesis" which he greatly admired. He bought up the whole stock from the publishers. But he would refer to the Bible as the only book for which he had any respect. He would sometimes set for preparation the 40th chapter of Isaiah to learn by heart. One of the Gospels was always dealt with in the Summer term. He compiled a Synopsis of the Gospels, referred to by the boys as 'the Snock'. It contained a special grouping
of the events of the Gospel story, with comments and quotations, and passages of his sermons. It had no index. He did not wish to save his readers trouble. He wanted the boy to search through the book and so become more familiar with its contents.

By thus taking a class of all the Senior boys, he had the opportunity of exercising his influence and spreading his ideas and his ideals through the school. He may have brought the system from Dulwich, where Gilkes, another great headmaster, whom in other ways Sanderson resembled, introduced the same principle.

There are other sides of Sanderson's character that I should have liked to illustrate. The good of the School was the great criterion by which he judged men and measures. He would even on occasion carry out ideas he had suggested to the Governors and begin taking steps, if he thought them urgent, without waiting for their permission. They did not all of them appreciate his riding rough-shod over them, and he certainly antagonised some members of the Court. When a name was sought for the first new house to be built after the war, they turned down the suggestion 'Sanderson' and chose 'St. Anthony'. It was not until ten years later when feeling had died down and a younger generation of the Court were coming to the front that 'Sanderson House' was so named. But if one takes the whole of his career in relation to his Governors, one can truthfully say that no headmaster ever had a finer backing than the Grocers' Company gave Sanderson.

What was his attitude to games? He was never himself a games addict. But he can fairly be described as a sportsman. Otherwise with his massive build and increasing years he would not have turned out for the 'Masters and Boys' hockey match. Cameras were busy on the touchline on those occasions. A picture of 'Old Beans' in action of this kind was not to be had every day. He used to play back and his methods were unorthodox, not to say, at times, illegal. He would turn round on the ball, and opposing forwards were sent flying.

Once in the early hours of a summer morning, he heard the sound of fives being played in the School House Court, and there was shortly seen the spectacle of a bulky figure in pink pyjamas chasing the players back to bed. Later in the day he listened with hardly veiled incredulity to the housemaster's protest that he had heard nothing.

Not many of his weight would have taken so late to rock-climbing as a hobby, as he did to share his sons' activities. When Roy brought home a motor-bicycle, after a few instructions on what to pull or push, he got on and rode up the Glapthorne Road.

He certainly did not neglect to take interest in the games of the School. On one of the first occasions when Oundle played Bedford at rugger, he told our boys that of course they were no good and they would be beaten. This remark so stung the team that they played as they never had before—and won—for the first time in the history of the matches. And the victory was really due to the Headmaster.

On the morning of the 15th of June 1922 he left Oundle with his wife, to address the National Union of Scientific Workers, presided over by H. G. Wells, and at the close of which he collapsed with tragic suddenness and died. Several of us saw him just before he left. I thought he looked tired and ill. On the way to town he called at Rothamsted Experimental Station and was shown round by Sir John Russell, the head of it, whose boys were in School House. Then he went on to London to give the address, in a crowded Hall on a close afternoon.

The address might almost be described as "The Gospel according to Sanderson". He had devoted to its composition an incredible amount of time and trouble. What was at least the eighth draft he had printed, and he did not speak from it, but used a fresh set of notes.

In brief, Sanderson illustrates his principles and ideals by giving an account of what he calls "an experiment which, it is dawning upon me, I have unconsciously been trying for at least 30 years, an experiment on the application of Science". And that experiment is his work at Oundle School. In fact, he shows how a School, as he conceived and created it, can be a copy in miniature of his ideals for the world at large. In that pattern of his School he sets forth his conception of "The Duty and Service of Science in the New Era"—which was the title of his address. Here are some of his points.

"A modern school is not created by the process of abandoning ancient studies. Far from
it. Nor is it made by converting it into a technical school or by adding science to the number of subjects taught.

“A modern school is a school in which the spirit of Science permeates all its life and aims, including work for the welfare of men of all races, languages and countries.

“The modern school’s business is to make the fullest use of all branches of knowledge, and of all the faculties of all its members. It will have constantly in mind as its highest duty, the welfare and development of all its workers, and its aim will be to do service for the community. In the language of the book of Genesis the School must be a garden, full of all manner of trees, and here man is placed, and his purpose is to know his garden and to dress it and keep it”.

I should like to quote an eye-witness’s account of what followed. It is taken from a letter to me on the evening by H. R. Palmer (Sir Richard Palmer, K.C.M.G. etc.), an old boy who was at Cambridge in my time and gained his blue for rugger at the University. He became Governor of Northern Nigeria and, later, of Cyprus. He had visited Oundle just previously, stayed with me at Laxton House, and had a talk with Sanderson. Here is the letter:

Travellers’ Club,
Pall Mall, S.W.1.

Dear Squire,

June 1922.

I think that I was probably the only Oundelian present at the tragic occurrence this afternoon. From the outset of the lecture I could see that Sanderson was far from well. He seemed to be struggling with himself, struggling for expression, and after a time he drew a chair towards him and made an apology for leaning against it as, he said, he had had a heavy day. He appeared also to feel that the lecture was not as he wanted it, and at times made jests not at all in his style as I used to know it. He was evidently feeling ill and trying to appear gay.

Towards the end of the lecture, however, he seemed to be more fluent, but somehow, though he said many interesting and suggestive things, I felt glad on his account that he had finished.

Then H. G. Wells got up, and was comparing the lecture to an impressionist picture, when suddenly Sanderson, who was sitting in a chair somewhat higher than the others, fell over backwards, taking his chair with him, on to the platform. Wells, of course, immediately stopped. I think at first people thought that he had simply overbalanced, but evidently the people on the platform saw that it was more than that, for they called for a doctor. Several men went forward, and then within a few seconds, H. G. Wells asked the audience to disperse.

I hung about some time in case I could be of any use, but I saw Dr. Singer who told me that he was afraid that all was over. But he returned again only to come back and tell me that there was nothing to be done.

Though for those who were present it was one of the most painful things I have ever seen, one must, I think, feel that he was “felix opportunitate” for the latter part of his lecture was practically a sketch of his life’s work, and the end was an expression of his educational and social faith. I should imagine that he was quite unconscious from the moment he fell. Curiously enough, he went out of his way to impress on the audience his own Christianity—his belief, though he did not put it that way, that Science was the handmaid of Christianity. (He meant, I think, that practical Christianity was not distinguishable from practical ‘Socialism’, or service, as he called it). That part seemed to surprise the audience very much, as also his very fine epigram that “Modern Education did not consist in dropping Greek”.

I am more than glad I acted on my impulse to go to Oundle, and had the very interesting conversation I had with Sanderson the morning I left—a conversation which amazed me. It was so unlike what one would have expected from a pre-eminently successful headmaster, and so near what one hopes for, but never reaches, in the Colonial Service, but the ideal that animates the best work done in that service.

I fear that Sanderson will be hard to replace.

Yours very sincerely,

H. R. Palmer.
The editors of Volume II of the *Victoria County History*, in their account of the religious house of Delapré, relate its foundation by Simon de St. Liz, its endowment, and the confirmation of its charter under Edward III. They add: "Little is recorded of the history of the nunnery beyond entries relating to the election or appointment of superiors". This, at best, can form but a bare list of names.

Professor Christopher Brooke, however, the writer of the introduction to the Society's XVIth volume, * has recently drawn attention to a letter of Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London under Henry II, which sheds a little light on the early history of the Abbey.

The letter, as Professor Brooke points out, cannot be more precisely dated than the years of Foliot's episcopate, 1163-87; it cannot, however, belong to his last years since the ms. was probably written in his scriptorium some years before his death. It is a formal "letter of introduction"; really an early and unspecific indulgence, for use by the nuns, when collecting alms. The duty of Christian charity, and the idea of property as a trust is very clearly expressed in the Bishop's letter; the promise of spiritual benefits for the giver is not as precisely stated as it is in other documents of this date; later indulgences enlarged these benefits in such a way that there were possibilities of corruption, which led to criticism.

The nuns would probably collect such letters as this one from friendly diocesan bishops, and Gilbert Foliot was a particularly suitable patron, as he had at one time been prior of Cluny, and so had a special interest in Cluniac houses; among which Delapré was the sole nunnery in Northamptonshire.

The Latin text that follows is taken from the edition of Foliot's *Epistolae* by J. A. Giles (London, 1846) I, No. 230, corrected by Bodl. MS. E.Mus.249, fo.193; the translation is Professor Brooke's.

\[
\text{G(ilebertus) Dei gratia Lundoniensis episcopus dilectis sibi in Domino archidiaconis, decanis, clericis, per episcopatum Lundoniensem constitutis, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem.}
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\[
\text{Que in usus pauperum misericorditer inpenduntur, donantibus non percutunt, immo ad eterne retributionis gloriom conservantur, et temporalium pia largitio vitam eternam operatur.}
\]

\[
\text{Unde nos de salutis vestre profectu solliciti, propensius caritatem vestram exhortamur in Domino, quatinus piis operationibus provide Deo concessis, dum tempus habetis, et dum licet, eternitatis fructum mereamini. Nos itaque ancillarum Christi Deo et beatissime Marie de Norhamt(onia) iugiter servientium egestati compatientes, rogamus, monemus et vos exortamur in Domino, ut cum ad vos venerint suam proponente miseriam, eas benignius suscipiatis, et de facultatum vestrarum copia earum relevetis inopiam, ut bonorum que tam in nostras quam sua sunt ecclesia, auctore Domino sitis participes. Valete.}
\]

*Translation:*

Gilbert by the grace of God bishop of London to his dear sons in the Lord the archdeacons, [rural] deans and clerks of the diocese of London, greetings, grace and blessing.

Money spent for the use of the poor, out of mercy, is not lost to the giver, but preserved for an eternal reward; and pious generosity with earthly goods leads to life eternal. And so we who have a care for your salvation, earnestly exhort you in the Lord to be lavish in good works in good time, so that from the goods allotted to you with God’s permission, while you have time, and so long as it is permitted, you may earn the fruit of eternity. Since we feel for the penury of Christ's maidservants who constantly give service to God and the most blessed Mary in Northampton, we ask, admonish and exhort you in the Lord that when they come to you showing their misery, you receive them kindly, and relieve their want according to your means, so that you may, under God, have a share in the benefits [i.e. spiritual benefits and prayers] both of their church and of ours. Farewell.

* The Book of William Morton.
Pepys’ Diary has recorded what a shrewd observer saw of the excitements of those spring months of 1660; from the time that the enigmatic General Monk marched into London until that memorable twenty-ninth day of May when King Charles returned from exile, and London welcomed its King. In the words of the contemporary diarist, John Evelyn, this was a welcome “with a Triumph of above 20000 horse & foot, brandishing their swords and shouting with unexpressable joy: ‘The wayes straw’d with flowers, the bells ringing, the streetes hung with Tapiessry, fountaines running with wine’.

Both diarists captured the enthusiasm of the moment, and their accounts have formed the core of many later historians’ narratives.1

Among the Isham correspondence, now preserved at Delapré, is a letter which vividly recalls that hectic time. It was written by a Northamptonshire squire, Francis Lane of Glendon (1627-89), to his cousin Sir Justinian Isham of Lamport from London. The Lanes were an old, and, at one time, wealthy family. They recorded a pedigree of respectable antiquity in the Visitation of Northamptonshire in 1564.2 Their fortunes were much improved by the marriage of Sir Ralph Lane with the heiress of William, Lord Parr of Horton, the uncle and chamberlain of Henry VIII’s last wife, Queen Catherine. William Lane, the father of Francis who wrote the letter which is the subject of this article, was third in direct descent from Sir Robert, eldest son of the Sir Ralph Lane who married Maud Parr. He inherited the estates of Horton and Glendon on the death of his grandfather, Sir William Lane, in 1616. He married Anne, the daughter and heiress of John Isham of Pytchley, by his first wife, Anne, daughter of Sir William Fitzwilliam of Milton. There seems, at this distance of time, no objection to such a marriage, but it was not pleasing to the bride’s father, who had other plans for his only child.3 Indeed in his will, John Isham did not hesitate to call her “undutiful”.

William Lane and Anne Isham had four sons and four daughters. William sold his estate at Horton, and thereafter lived at Glendon, where he died in 1637. His widow remarried (before 1650) an Irishman, Pierce Walsh, son of Sir James Walsh of Little Island and Ballygunner, Co. Waterford, who was created a baronet by Charles I in 1645.4 Francis Lane, the eldest son of her former marriage, by no means approved the manner in which his mother and her Irish husband managed the Glendon estate during his minority. On May 9th, 1651 he complained to the Commissioners of the Great Seal of England that she had permitted the pasture to be ploughed, cut down the woods, and allowed the manor house to “fall into ruin and decay”. She had failed to provide for his brothers and sisters, and had conveyed the manor, for the term of her life, to Lords Westmorland and Montagu and Justinian Isham Esq., to the great detriment of her children’s interest (I.L. 1391). As a result, Francis gained possession of the manor and estate at Glendon, although his mother continued to live there. Francis was evidently a strong supporter of the Stuarts, since he was nominated one of the Knights of the Royal Oak, when his estate was valued at £600 per annum.5 He married Mary, the daughter of

1 That is, of course, after the publication in the 19th century of these two Diaries.
2 Visitation of Northamptonshire, 1564, etc., ed. Metcalfe (1887), p. 32.
3 A marriage had actually been arranged for her with Isaac Johnson, grandson of Archdeacon Robert Johnson, the founder of Uppingham School.
4 Oswald Barron (Northamptonshire Families, 1906) noted the second marriage of Anne Isham to Pierce Walsh, but, beyond stating that he was an Irishman, gave no account of him. From his will (P.C.C. Bunce 28), proved on November 28th, 1674, it is clear that he and his wife had a daughter, Mary, who married “Robert Walsh of the Mountain in the County of Kilkenny”: that he was engaged in a lawsuit with Thomas Roane: that he was a Catholic: and that his wife (who is not mentioned) must have been dead. He describes himself as “late of Gunner Castle in the Kingdome of Ireland”.
5 Wotton, Baronetage (1741), Vol. IV, p. 371. The project of the Order of Knights of the Royal Oak was not proceeded with by Charles II, who feared that it might perpetuate the divisions of the Civil War.
Sir Thomas Hartopp of Burton Lazars, Leics., by whom he had seventeen children. It is worth noting that his third son, Thomas, remained faithful to the Stuarts after 1689, being wounded and taken prisoner at the Battle of the Boyne, when in command of a troop of horse in James II’s army (D.N.B.).

Francis Lane’s later history is a sad one. Thomas Isham, in the diary which he kept as a boy, records (February 14th, 1673) how Francis Lane went to see his brother-in-law, Thomas Roane, “in a coach and six with twenty-two horsemen, and had a fowl and bacon for dinner”. Thomas Roane lived in Wellingborough at that fine old house, now the “Golden Lion”, in Sheep Street, and must have been disconcerted by this sumptuous train. It is clear that Francis Lane’s mind was beginning to give way. Thomas Isham later records how Francis’ wife wrote to Sir Justinian to report that her husband “was out of his mind, and had gone off to London, and had spent eight pounds in a single night at Northampton, though he had with him only his son Francis and a boy. He had assembled all the musicians and a great crowd of common people”. Francis Lane survived until 1689. There is a monument to his memory in Rothwell Church, which gives the date of his burial as November 29th, and his age as sixty-one (this is inaccurate; Francis Lane was born 1626/7, baptised at Rothwell on January 15th).

But these sad events were in the future in 1660, when Charles II came home, and Francis Lane, the ardent Royalist, wrote this letter to his mother’s third cousin, Sir Justinian Isham of Lamport (I.C. 4769).

I could not send this messenger into the country without rendering my particular acknowledgements to you for the great Honour you was pleased to doe me by your letter to my Lord Bishop. I found both his Lordship and his Lady in an excellent degree of health both of them expressing very great regards for you, and high resentments of your Favor to them; I perceive every thing that proceeds from you is acceptable to his Lordship, and upon that account I might presume myself not ingrateful to him.

For this time his Lordship desires to be excused that he does not write to you; but I have in command from his Lordship to let you know that he hopes to finde you in the great Quire of rejoicing here in towne, and at least to beare your part in that great Antheme of joy that is like suddenly to be performed upon his Majesty’s coronation, who is expected in England the latter end of this weeke and not sooner, and ’tis presumed the Commissioners either yesterday or this day arrived his Majestie at Breda the winds serving very favourably that designe.

Mr. Hollis went from hence but on Satterday last by reason of some indisposition of health upon him, he carrys the letter of the House of Commons though the other Commissioners are like to be before him. Never was there any prince that came in with a more universall spirit of desire and consent of the people then his Majestie will doe, every day his Fame growes by the constant report of his Vertues in generale and in particular of his clemency and discreet carriage and conduct of these present touchy affaires.

Several interests have already applyed themselves to him, som of the highest offenders for pardon amongst others Okey, who threw himself at his Majesty’s feet for mercy: But for

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6 This is Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, then living at Richmond, Surrey, deprived of his see. In his reply to a letter of Bishop Duppa (then translated by his old pupil, Charles II, to the see of Winchester), dated December 12th, 1660, Sir Justinian wrote that “My cosen Lane, Mr. Walsh’s son was importunate with me to recommend a brother of his to your Lordship’s service” (Duppa-Isham Correspondence, N.R.S. Vol. XVII, p. 189).

7 Denzil Holles (1599-1680) was one of the Five Members of the Commons charged with treason by Charles I in 1641. He was a Presbyterian, and one of the Commissioners sent by Parliament to wait on Charles II at The Hague. He acted as spokesman for the Commons’ deputation. He was created Baron Holles in 1661 at Charles’ Coronation.

8 John Okey (d. 1662), said to have been a drayman, rose to be a Colonel of Dragoons in the Parliamentary army. His dragoons lined Sulby hedge and fired on Rupert’s charging horse at Naseby from the flank. He signed Charles I’s death-warrant. In a letter dated May 12th, 1660, of Andrew Newport, the Royalist, it is stated that “Coll. Okay (sic) went to the King t’other day, and was on his knees to ask the King’s pardon for being one of his father’s judges, but the King referred him to the Parliament” (Hist. MSS. Commission, Fifth Report, p. 207). Francis Lane’s letter is valuable confirmation of this otherwise unsupported statement of Newport’s.
that his Majestie told him he feared his relation was too neere to that business for him to be indifferent of it; and therefore he should only refer him to God and the parliament for their pardon.

Others there are who have applied themselves to the King for offices and places of preferment; but to such his answer is he does not think it fit for him to give anything till he knows more distinctly what he hath to give, and that he cannot do till he come into England, and then he may have better opportunity to informe himself of his own rights and their merits. The course I heare intended to be taken in preferments is this; in the first place, the servants to the late King are to be considered such who have continued faithful and loyal; in the next place, his Majestie's owne servants, and then, as desert and favor shall govern.

Last night I heard Sir Edward Hide9 had writ a letter for England to desire in the King's name that there might be some stop made to the infinite concourse and resort of his subjects daily made towards him; and though his Majestie was very well pleas'd to observe the Affections of his people, yet these great numbers that do repaire to him might prove some impediment to the present affairs and consultations in hand.

Here have been various reports of some desperat attacks that would be made upon the Sacred person either in his passage or upon his arrival into England, and 'tis now confidently reported that some of these villainies are already discovered and sent up from the Fleet to receive condigne punishment.10 Whether upon these or other reasons I cannot tell, but 'tis beleived the King will only adventure his owne person at present among us and leave his brothers York and Gloucester behind. The House of Lords are allmost starved for want of business and this you may the rather believe if you consider the untimely order lately put out by them to exempt their horses from our present Militia.11

Hartford, Southampton nor Lindsey12 doe not yet sit though invited to it; but with this complement if the House shall think it necessary they are ready to waite on them. My Lord Lindsey sues for his patent of high chamberlaine and 'tis supposed will not be denyed him.13

The Commons are now up, reading the journall of the late King's Tryale. Strange things are discovered, the very originall warrant by which the unfortunate King was executed is openly produced; whereupon Satterday last there was a great deale of crying and asking foregiveness in the House by the offending members. Commissioner Lisle14 sent his petition but it was throwne by and would not be admitted; he with some others are reported to be since fled and gone to the King; I suppose neither this nor any other matter of import will be absolutely determined till please God to blesse his Majestie amongst us, for the Parliament seems to referre all things to the House as Cavaliers. William Seymour, 1st Mar­quess of Hertford (1588-1660) had been Governor of the Prince of Wales 1641-3; Thomas Wriothesley, 4th Earl of Southampton (1607-67) was a staunch supporter of Charles I and was made Lord Treasurer of England at the Restoration; Montagu Bertie, 2nd Earl of Lindsey (1608-66) commanded the King's Guards at Edgehill, and was wounded at Naseby. 15 His request was granted, and he did, in fact, act as Lord High Chamberlain at the Coronation of Charles II in 1661. Lord Lindsey would have been of special interest to the correspondents, in view of his Northamptonshire connections. His mother was a daughter of the 1st Lord Montagu of Boughton, and his first wife was a daughter of Sir William Cockayne of Rushton.

9 Sir Edward Hyde (1609-74) as M.P. for Saltash in the Long Parliament took a leading part in the impeachment of Strafford, but later became Charles I's political adviser. He joined Charles II in exile, where he was made Lord Chancellor; was created Earl of Clarendon in 1661, and was dismissed in 1667. In retirement he wrote the History of the Rebellion.

10 Pepys, when with the Fleet off the Dutch coast, heard a story that "a Portuguese had been taken yesterday at the Hague, that had a design to kill the King. But this I heard afterward was only the mistake upon one being observed to walk with his sword naked, he having lost his scabbard". Some such rumour had evidently reached Francis Lane (S. Pepys, Diary, May 17th, 1660).

11 The House of Lords considered the question of the Militia on May 6th: subsequently they were in touch with the Commons on the matter; on May 9th they issued an Ordinance for settling the Militia by a Committee of both Houses, but nothing further seems to have been done (Journals of the House of Lords, Vol. XI, 1660-6, pp. 9, 10, 19).

12 These were three Loyalist peers excluded from the House as Cavaliers. William Seymour, 1st Marquess of Hertford (1588-1660) had been Governor of the Prince of Wales 1641-3; Thomas Wriothesley, 4th Earl of Southampton (1607-67) was a staunch supporter of Charles I and was made Lord Treasurer of England at the Restoration; Montagu Bertie, 2nd Earl of Lindsey (1608-66) commanded the King's Guards at Edgehill, and was wounded at Naseby. 15 His request was granted, and he did, in fact, act as Lord High Chamberlain at the Coronation of Charles II in 1661. Lord Lindsey would have been of special interest to the correspondents, in view of his Northamptonshire connections. His mother was a daughter of the 1st Lord Montagu of Boughton, and his first wife was a daughter of Sir William Cockayne of Rushton.

14 John Lisle (1610-64) was one of the Managers of Charles I's trial. He was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, and placed on the Council of State in 1649, and was made Commissioner of the Navy in 1660. At the Restoration, he fled to Switzerland, where he was eventually murdered.
him and he referrs all back again to the parliament. Some things must be done or offered at least for the present to coole the boiling spirits of faction; but we hope all will settle well. Major Gen. Browne nor Robinson doe not goe with the Commissioners beyond sea as was intended, but are desired to stay behind for the security of the city. Okey is reported this morning to be taken at Yarmouth. Calamy is gone with letters to the King, 'tis conceived someweis in favor to the presbytery, and by particular recommendation from the Lady Monke to his Majesty that he will please to honor him and Doctor Reynolds so far as to admit them amongst the number of his chaplains.

Sir I am tedious, but if I might be worthy to advise you I would have you clap a good horse betwixt your legs and come to London as soone as you can. For my Lord B [rudenell?]
did merrily bid me tell you otherwise it might be looked upon as a marke of disaffection; and the truth is, Sir, many things may arise which cannot be forseene, and for which you may have reason to repent of your not being here. Thousands of my thanks for all your kindnesses, and assure your self I am, as I ought to be

Sir, your affectionate servant

F. Lane

Fleet Street
May the 14th [1660]
At the signe of the holy Lambe over against St. Dunstan's Church.

Gyles Isham.

13 Sir Richard Browne (d. 1669), citizen and woollmonger of London, was a Parliamentary general, present at the surrender of Oxford in 1646, and also at the seizure of Charles I at Holdenby. He was afterwards favourable to the King, expelled from Parliament, and imprisoned for five years. He intrigued for Charles II's recall, and became Lord Mayor of London in 1660.

14 Sir John Robinson (1615-79), citizen and clothworker of London, and a nephew of Archbishop Laud, as an Alderman of London took a leading part in welcoming General Monk into the City and promoting the Restoration. He was knighted at Canterbury by the King on his way to London, and was subsequently Lieutenant of the Tower, Lord Mayor, and a baronet. He is the ancestor of the Robinsons of Cranford, Northants.

15 This was false. Okey had joined Lambert at Daventry, and, as reported above, gone to Holland. He then fled to Germany, but returned to Holland where he was arrested, brought to England and executed in 1662.

16 Edmund Calamy (1600-66) was a leading Puritan divine, who opposed Charles I's trial, and was minister of St. Mary Aldermanbury from 1639 until his ejection in 1662. He was in favour of the Restoration, but compelled by his wife to refuse the bishopric of Lichfield. His grandson was the chronicler of the ministers ejected in 1662.

17 General Monk's wife was Anne Clarges, described by Pepys as 'a plain homely dowdy'. Her brother, Dr. Philip Clarges, was entrusted by Monk with his letter from the Army to the King, who knighted him, and eventually created his son a baronet. Both Monk and his wife favoured the Presbyterians.

18 The Revd. Edward Reynolds, D.D. (1599-1676) had been vicar of All Saints, Northampton, and rector of Braunston. He turned Presbyterian, and in 1645 was intruded as vicar of St. Lawrence Jewry, a living which he still held at this time. Less scrupulous than Edward Calamy, he accepted the bishopric of Norwich at the Restoration, and remained in occupation of the see until his death.

19 This is perhaps Thomas, Lord Brudenell of Deene (1578-1663). He was "under guard" at Northampton Castle in 1658 with Sir Justinian Isham, who wrote to describe their incarceration to Sir Ralph Verney (Memoirs of the Verney Family, Vol. III, pp. 414, 415). Lord Brudenell was an old man, and was not in London himself when Charles returned, but he was busy getting his status as a Popish Recusant altered, and petitioning for the earldom promised him by Charles I (Joan Wake, The Brudenells of Deene (1953), pp. 164-5).

20 In his reply to a letter of Bishop Duppa, dated May 8th, 1660, Sir Justinian wrote: "Your Lordship is not mistaken to think mee no lover of crowds, and truly I conceive a decent distance in my attendance upon His Majestie be best, not to forbare so long as to shew a neglect of duty, nor so suddaine as to make it troublesome, believing indeed there be som cause of restraint of multitudes flocking about him this hott season...". Sir Justinian was made a Deputy Lieutenant, and, in 1661, elected as Knight of the Shire to the Cavalier Parliament.

21 In this letter contractions have been written in full, but the original spelling has been retained.
TWO SCHOLARS

The deaths earlier this year of Hope Emily Alien and Lewis Namier have deprived the Record Society of two ardent supporters and the world of two very distinguished historians. So different in background, in outlook, and in their respective spheres of operation, they had much in common in their approach to the study of history. Both were perfectionists, and in consequence, though the contribution of each was very great, both left unfinished work which the world of scholarship had awaited with eager expectation.

HOPE EMILY ALLEN

Miss Hope Alien, who had been a member of the Northamptonshire Record Society for thirty-five years, was an American of purely English and partly of Northamptonshire descent. "Thank God every drop of blood in my body is British!" she wrote from America to an East Anglian friend after the fall of France in 1940.

Her parents in early life had belonged to the Oneida Community, one of those eccentric religious bodies which flourished at that period of American history.

Miss Alien was born on November 12th, 1883, at Kenwood, Oneida, in the north of New York State, five years after the dissolution of the Community and its subsequent transformation into a prosperous corporation run on idealistic lines for the manufacture of silverware. She was educated at Bryn Mawr College where her subject was English literature, proceeding thence to Radcliffe College. The quality of her work had led to a research fellowship which from 1910 brought her to Europe for long periods of study at Newnham College, Cambridge, and in London, where for many years she was a familiar figure at the British Museum and Public Record Office. She also worked at libraries in France and Italy, making the acquaintance of distinguished scholars—many of them priests—in her chosen field of English religious mysticism, contacts which in some instances led to lifelong friendships and correspondence.

In 1924 she needed someone to accompany her more or less as a courier on a pilgrimage to European libraries in search of manuscripts of or relating to Richard Rolle, the Yorkshire hermit and voluminous religious writer who died in 1349. Delicate from her college days her limited strength must be reserved for her research. The writer, who had first met her in London in about 1920, joined her at Vienna and travelled on with her to Buda-Pesth, Prague, Berlin, Stockholm, Linkoping, Lund, Vadstena (to see here the original house of the Brigittine Order) and Copenhagen. Later in England they explored Rolle’s country in Yorkshire; with Dr. G. G. and Mrs. Coulton visited the learned nuns of Syon in Devonshire; stayed at Newnham College, Cambridge, in the great days of Miss Strachey’s Principalship; and were much together in Chelsea during the next fifteen years, each engaged on her own research, except for the periods—sometimes a year or more—when Miss Allen would return to America.

1 Her Northamptonshire ancestors came from Denford on the banks of the Nene near Thrapston, where she and the writer found their names in the parish register.
Her first book, *Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle and Materials for his Biography,*—a comprehensive and definitive study—was published in 1927. She had been working at it for over twenty years, though in the meanwhile articles on related topics such as the Ancren Riwle (a rule of life for anchoresses) had appeared over her name in the learned periodicals. In the summer of 1934 she was in London, deeply engaged on the last-named subject, when she received a summons from Mr. A. Van de Put of the Victoria and Albert Museum. He shewed her a small manuscript volume, recently brought to him for a report by Colonel Butler-Bowdon, a north-country squire, which, from her knowledge of a few extracts from it printed in the 16th century, she immediately identified as "The Book of Margery Kempe" (wife of a burgher of Lynn and a "minor mystic," born c.1373), by centuries the earliest autobiography of a woman in the English tongue. No copy of this was then thought to have survived, and its previous existence was only known to scholars by the extracts above-mentioned.

Her eyes shining with excitement Miss Allen returned to the house which she shared with a friend in Cheyne Walk, where the writer was also staying, to tell of her great discovery—one of the most sensational in literary history for many years. The Ancren Riwle was put aside, and in 1940 appeared the Early English Text Society edition of Margery Kempe's book, jointly edited by Hope Allen and S. B. Meech, a fellow countryman. Unfortunately her contribution though of great value, was limited to a prefatory note, two brief appendixes, and 70 pages of notes on Margery's mysticism. Her passion for completeness and "the extremely wide range of subject" led her to postpone her Introduction to a second volume which was ardently and impatiently looked for by the scholarly world. For the next seventeen years of her life she devoted herself to what she intended to be "an inclusive and consecutive study of Margery in the light of continental feminine mysticism", but slowly and steadily deteriorating health prevented the fulfilment of the great design and the book was never written. She was staying with the writer at Cosgrove at the outbreak of war in 1939, and not wishing to be a burden on England, immediately returned to the United States which she never left again.

Hope Allen was small and slight, not much above five feet in height, pale, with fair straight hair and light blue eyes. She dressed quietly, was plain-spoken and entirely unaffected, and might easily have escaped notice in a crowd, but a second glance would surely have arrested attention, for she was a person of great independence and force of character. In the 1930's she was wearing a long black cape and a black beret. "I saw Hope Allen this morning," said one of the dons at Newnham, "flitting about Cambridge like the ghost of Erasmus".

She enjoyed pictures, sight-seeing, a good play or film, the flat Norfolk marshlands, walking in the rain, cats, and above all, wild flowers. She preferred tête-a-têtes to groups, but was happy at gatherings of scholars such as the Anglo-American Historical Conferences in London and the evening parties of the British Records Association. For real refreshment she turned to the novels of Jane Austen which she must have read scores and scores of times. She once told the writer that what she would really have best liked to have been was a novelist and, in fact, she published some excellent short stories in the *Atlantic Monthly.*

But sadly restricted by ill-health as her day's "stint" was, she "stepped on with pride, over men's pity," allowed herself few distractions and gave herself relentlessly to her research.

"Let me know all. Prate not of most or least,
   Painful or easy,
Even to the crumbs I'd fain eat up the feast,
   Ay, nor feel queasy.
Back to her studies, fresher than at first,
   Fierce as a dragon,
She, soul-hydroptic with a sacred thirst
   Sucked at the flagon."

*Oxford University Press. This was followed in 1931 by a smaller volume, English Writings of Richard Rolle, (O.U.P.), intended for a wider public.*
In a note in the leaves of a book found in her library after her death she had written: "It has been my good fortune to have spent forty years in research in medieval literary history, all to some degree concerning the characters and circumstances of individuals who once lived". In the long run it was human nature that interested her and the men and women whom she studied were to her very much alive, sometimes amusingly so to her friends as she would drop her voice in relating some scandal six centuries old. Though in life the most Christian of women, she was herself a reverent agnostic with a deep understanding of the religious mind. This detachment combined with sympathetic perception and also a due regard for the psychological interpretation of religious phenomena made her an ideal person to handle the subject of Christian mysticism.

Her principal characteristics in relation to her work were her scrupulous pursuit of the truth, her open-mindedness, her just though charitable judgments, a rare intellectual integrity. (She would hover for weeks like a hawk in mid-air over some difficult problem, discuss it with her friends, then suddenly swoop to an independent decision, which, however, if further evidence came to light she would at once reconsider.) These properties are evident in her summing up of the character of that most eccentric and often maddeningly irritating woman, Margery Kempe: "My method", she writes, "has been determined by the personal conditions of Margery as revealed by herself in her reminiscences: she was petty, neurotic, vain, illiterate, physically and nervously over-strained; devout, much-travelled, forceful and talented", and again she refers to Margery's "instinctive and zealous honesty ... in spite of all her own shortcomings, spiritual and physical". (The Book of Margery Kempe, pp. lxiv, lxv). She makes also the most interesting comment that Margery "in her accounts of the personal opposition which she encountered, often reflected back the highly spiritualised ideals of piety current in her world which she herself was incapable of making her own" (pp. lxv, lxvi). Here are shrewd and unbiased judgments.

The width of her interest in her subject and her passion for exploring the many tributaries of her main theme to their sources prevented her from completing the great synthesis of the massive learning she had accumulated over so many years, a synthesis which would have illuminated the great European commerce in religious ideas and influences from the 12th to the 15th century about which so little is known. But each scholar can only work in his own way, and she had at least emphasised the fact that literature must be studied in its environment of time and place.

By 1957 she had calmly accepted the fact that the task must be left to other hands to finish. "The time is not ripe", she said. "There is still a great deal of work to be done. In the meantime I have left my notes". She was by this time a chronic invalid, lying on a couch, surrounded by enormous piles of books, but still able to take a daily drive with her devoted nurse into the beautiful country which she loved. In 1959 she gave up her work, and thence until her death read little but Jane Austen, though as late as February of this year she was eagerly discussing research with a visiting scholar. But she was failing rapidly. She died on 30th June, 1960, in the house where 76 years earlier she was born.

She spent the last years and months of her life at Kenwood, in the care of a much-loved niece and supported by the affection of nephews and nieces of two generations and of several life-long friends. Two days before she went she asked for Sense and Sensibility and read a few pages, then gradually sank into the unconsciousness from which she did not recover. Her dedicated life brings Robert Browning's poem once more to mind:

"That low man seeks a little thing to do,
Sees it and does it;
This high man with a great thing to pursue
Dies ere he knows it".
By race a Jew, Lewis Namier was born in 1888 of Catholic parents in Austrian Poland. He came to England at the age of seventeen and after a short time at the London School of Economics, proceeded to Balliol College, Oxford. He soon became a naturalised British subject, and eventually a member of the Church of England. On the outbreak of war in 1914, he joined the Royal Fusiliers as a private soldier, but in the year following was transferred to the Civil Service. From 1918 to 1920 he did valuable work in the Political Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office. There was no more loyal and devoted servant of the Crown than he, though he never forgot that he was a Jew, and indeed the Jewish and Zionist cause led him in later life to interrupt his historical work for long periods.

For his true vocation was history, and it was in the 1930's at a meeting at the House of Commons of the Committee for the History of Parliament (which she had attended at the invitation of the late Josiah Wedgwood, M.P.) that the present writer first met him. Though he wrote much on the Continental history of the 19th century and on European politics of his own day, the subject nearest to his heart was the political history of England in the mid-18th century, and his magnum opus "The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III" (1929).¹

Namier's approach to the study of history was revolutionary. In the words of a critic since his death: "What he offered was a method of study which started from a clearing away of unverified assumptions and a new marshalling of evidence".² What he did was to go back to politicians and statesmen as individuals. He blew sky high the rigid conception of Parliament in the 18th century as consisting of two well-defined and organised political parties. His was the biographical approach, and his aim to get into the minds of the people he was writing about in the conditions and atmosphere of their own age.

For this he needed above all the correspondence of his period, of which he found much in the British Museum and Public Record Office, and to some extent in the newly founded local Record Offices in the Counties. Not content with this, himself of a land-owning ancestry, he won the sympathy of the descendants of the principal actors on his stage, and was driven by his wife to one after another of the great houses where still reposed the unexplored treasure so indispensable for his work, to receive most hospitable welcome and generous access to the documents. He came more than once to both Lamport Hall and to the Northamptonshire Record Office at Delapré Abbey on this quest, and repaid us by discovering the whereabouts (for which we had been searching for 20 years) of the records of the manorial borough of Brackley, since deposited by the Earl of Ellesmere and now at Delapré Abbey.

On his retirement in 1953 from the University of Manchester, where he had held the Professorship of Modern History for 22 years, Namier devoted himself entirely to his editorial work on the History of Parliament at the Institute of Historical Research in London. It is sad indeed, but perhaps in view of the immensity of the task, not surprising, that he did not live to see the publication of the biographies of the Members of Parliament for his period, which is nearing completion, and sadder still that he never wrote his commentary thereon which was seething in his mind at the time of his sudden death on 19th August, 1960. Nevertheless, his

¹ A revised edition was published in 1957.  
² J. P. Cooper in the Oxford Magazine.
achievements were very great, and as Miss Lucy Sutherland has written: “His influence on the writing of history has been probably greater than that of any other historian of his generation”.

And this in spite of a very serious handicap. He suffered so badly from writer's cramp that it was with difficulty that he could sign his name.

Namier was a realist, an assembler and interpreter of facts, the declared enemy of easy generalisations and slovenly work. The writer once heard him say at an historical conference that it was a pity historians could not be sued for libel by the dead, or they would be more careful what they wrote. His interest in his subject absorbed him utterly, and he found it difficult to stop talking about it when once he had got going. There is a story current about him in Oxford. He was walking home after dinner one evening with a companion who had to leave him in the middle of a conversation to catch a bus. “INFANTS! LUNATICS!! CATHOLICS!!! BASTARDS!!!!” he shouted after it to the amazement of the passengers. (He was merely reciting the classes of people disqualified from sitting in the House of Commons in the 18th century).

To sincere students of any age, and also (with the same qualification) to the ignorant, Namier was the soul of kindness and generosity as the present writer can testify. With gratitude for his friendship we offer our respectful sympathy to Lady Namier, his devoted companion, amanuensis, and fellow-labourer.

JOAN WAKE.

NOTE—The accompanying photograph was taken in Israel in 1958.

* In the Oxford Magazine.

DICK TURPIN IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

The Gentleman's Magazine of February 1850 recorded the death in December of the previous year of Mrs. Eliz. Freeman, aged 92 at Collyweston, relict of Mr. Fras. Freeman, butcher and publican.

“In the time of the celebrated Dick Turpin, she took a quart of ale to him at the door of "the Bull and Swan Inn, St. Martin's, Stamford; he drank off the ale, and, putting the "silver tankard in his pocket, galloped off on his favourite mare, Black Bess, to the wonder "and vexation of the landlord, Mr. Turtle. On her marriage with Mr. Freeman she became "landlady at the White Swan Inn at Collyweston, where she resided for upwards of 55 years".

The value of this notice, however, is somewhat lessened by the fact that Dick Turpin was hanged at York in 1739, so that an old lady of 92 in 1850 could hardly have served him with a quart of ale!
THE RECORDING OF VILLAGE TOMBS

Last Summer senior pupils of Corby Grammar School copied the inscriptions on the headstones in Corby Parish Churchyard. The transcriptions have been checked and are to be typed so that copies can be deposited at the Rectory and at the County Record Office.

The study of a local churchyard provides interesting insights into the artistic and literary tastes of our ancestors, as shown in the design and workmanship of the stones, and in the verses which invariably accompany the names and dates. From the historical point of view also, value may be obtained. Mr. King has pointed out that the civil registration of deaths, as distinct from the ecclesiastical registration in parish registers of burials, began only in 1837. Furthermore, before 1813, the age at death is usually only to be found on tombstones.

The following brief analysis of the Corby headstones may be of general interest and serve for comparison with analyses of other churchyards in the County. The Corby churchyard was closed in 1899 but it is well kept and the inscriptions do not appear to have suffered more than elsewhere by atmospheric pollution.

The total number of headstones now standing is 235. The material used for them is as follows: limestone 133, sandstone 58, slate 43 and marble 1. Of the 235, 54 no longer bear legible dates and are generally very worn. They consist almost entirely of limestone monuments of 18th century design, but there are a few sandstone monuments of Victorian design where the inscriptions have flaked away completely. In general, the sandstone monuments are the most worn for their age, while the slate stones are much the cleanest and best preserved.

The earliest monument is a table tomb of 15th century design which is traditionally associated with the Latimers, formerly Lords of the Manor of Corby. This, one suspects, originally stood in the Church. The earliest dated stone is that to Watson Bradshaw, 1690. There are 15 other legible limestone monuments dating from the second half of the 18th century, almost all of elaborate and pleasing design. Cross-lighting is a great help in reading faint inscriptions, and a senior pupil took a number of photographs of such inscriptions when the sun was in the best position, in order to supplement the record. One such photograph is attached.

Limestone was the commonest stone used and legible examples dated from 1746 to 1899. Slate was less common but the 43 examples ranged in date from 1768 to 1891. Sandstone did not come in until the 1850's, while the single marble headstone was dated 1898.

No doubt other points could be made about these stones, especially if the analysis at Corby could be compared with similar analyses for other churchyards in the area. For example, masons' names, which sometimes appear below the inscriptions, and also the designs and epitaphs could all be studied comparatively. But at least the inscriptions still remaining in Corby are now on record for the use of future local historians. As an educational project, the recording of such stones may be commended to other schools, provided that the pupils' transcriptions are carefully checked and question marks put where a word or date is doubtful. If a complete survey is to be done, the work will be greatly facilitated if a plan of the churchyard is first drawn on which the stones can be numbered. Certainly such a project provides valuable training for the pupils in close observation and careful recording. It also illustrates the point that much of the local historian's evidence is even now decaying away.

M. V. J. Seaborne.
A QUINCENTENARY:
THE BATTLE OF NORTHAMPTON, JULY 10TH, 1460

The story of the battle in which King Henry VI was captured and by which the way was paved for the Yorkist usurpation is no chronicle of chivalry, no set-piece of medieval tactical skill, but it is a good tale and deserves to be recalled at least once every five hundred years.

Events moved quickly on the return of the Yorkist leaders to England in June 1460. Led by the young Earl of March, soon to be King Edward IV, and by the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the Yorkists entered London on July 2nd. Leaving Salisbury and Cobham in charge of the city, where Lords Hungerford and Scales still held the Tower for King Henry, Edward and Warwick marched north to meet the Lancastrian army advancing from Coventry. On the morning of Thursday, July 10th the Yorkists found the Lancastrian host ready for battle near Northampton: the exact site is disputed, but Sir James Ramsay adopts the reasonable view that the battlefield was about half-way between the River Nene and Delapré Abbey.

As the Yorkist force approached, there were vain and probably not very serious attempts to avert the engagement. The Yorkists sent Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury, to Henry VI to treat for the mediation of the archbishop of Canterbury and Coppini, the Papal legate: Beauchamp approached with an armed guard, explaining to the Lancastrian Duke of Buckingham that "We come thus for suerte of oure persones, for they thet bethe aboute the kyng bythe nat oure frendes". But the archbishop had welcomed the returning earls when they landed at Sandwich and the legate had actually crossed the Channel with them, so such mediation was rejected by the Lancastrian advisers. They were confident, as Abbot Whethamstede says, "because of their engines of war and the strength of their fortification"; and Buckingham, their spokesman, replied haughtily, "Forsoe, the erle of Warrewyk shalle nat come to the kynges presence, and yef he come he shalle dye".

Warwick herald was next sent to treat with the king "but he myghte nat be herde" and Buckingham is said to have replied "very arrogantly, saying that he would not leave the field without fighting and that he would have no other answer". Finally the Earl of Warwick announced to the Lancastrians that at two o'clock in the afternoon he would speak with the king "or elles dye in the feeld".

Battle was accordingly joined early in the afternoon. The Lancastrians had erected the castremetatio to give security to their position, armed and arayed wyth gonnys: probably the defences were similar to the "grete depe dyche . . . fortefyde . . . with gonnys, cartys, and stakys" which the Duke of York had made at Ludlow the previous year.

The Yorkist army was divided, as usual, into three columns, the vanguard led by Lord

1 J. H. Ramsay Lancaster and York (1892) II 227 and n.4.
2 An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI, written before the year 1471 ed. J. S. Davies, Camden Society LXIV (1856) p. 96. English sources used in this article have been reproduced verbatim; Latin and Old French sources have, as a general rule, been translated.
4 English Chronicle p. 96.
6 English Chronicle p. 96.
7 Waurin V 299.
8 English Chronicle p. 97.
9 Ibid. p. 96.
BATTLE OF NORTHAMPTON.
10TH JULY 1460.

Scale of Statute Mile.

Oxford University Press.
Fauconberge, a brother of the Earl of Salisbury. Edward himself and Warwick led the other divisions. Although according to an account received by the Burgundian chronicler, Jehan Waurin, the battle was equal for some three hours, it is more likely that the English Chronicle is correct in saying that the armies "faughte togedre half an oure". The odds were against the Lancastrians. Their cannon was immobilised by a great rainstorm which, while making the Yorkist approach very uncomfortable, diminished the value of the Lancastrian defences.

But the turning-point of the battle came by no deed of arms: this field witnessed one of the most signal acts of treachery in the fifteenth century. The indignation of Mr. H. T. Evans is perhaps excessive—"in the sordid annals of even these sterile wars there is no deed of shame so foul"—but the assistance lent to the Yorkists by a Lancastrian captain caught the attention of the chroniclers and of posterity and was certainly decisive in the speedy settlement of the engagement. Edmund, fourth Lord Grey of Ruthin (created Earl of Kent in 1465) had, according to the best sources, been entrusted with command of the Lancastrian van. This trust was misplaced, for "his heart was not with the king" and perhaps John Leland, the Tudor antiquary, is correct in asserting that "a little afore the feeld he practisid with King Edward" for, in an obscure passage, Waurin describes how Warwick ordered his captains "that they should tell their men that all who bore le ravestoc noue were to be saved, for it was they who were to give them entry to the park". This curious expression ravestoc noue should probably be interpreted as "black ragged staff". The black ragged staff was the badge of the Greys of Ruthin and Warwick's order to spare those with such livery points to prior collusion. And this is the sort of detail which Waurin, a very unreliable source, is unlikely to have invented.

According to the English Chronicle Grey was "the kynges wawewarde" and Whethamstede says that he was "in acie belli positus" and Waurin in one account asserts that Grey allowed Edward of York to enter the Lancastrian entrenchment "par son coste". Waurin, however, gives another account a little later in his chronicle, obviously originating from a different source. This independent report tells how "le seigneur de Greffin" with thirteen or fourteen hundred men was given the guard of the town of Northampton, while the king, with the Dukes of Somerset, Buckingham and Exeter and the Earl of Northumberland marched to "a park outside the town by a little river" (a vague site consistent enough with "the medowys beside the Nonry" and "the Newfelde be twene Harsyngton (Hardingstone) and Sandy fforde (St. Peter's Bridge)". The Yorkist attack was first launched, according to this newsletter, against the town: after an hour and a half of skirmishing outside the town, Grey was driven back to the gate which the Yorkists entered half an hour later. Only then was there an attack on the main Lancastrian host and only then was there treachery, among some in the park occupied by the king who were "Warewics en corage": Grey's part is in this version so honourable that he is executed by the triumphant Yorkists.

The weight of evidence is against this second story interpolated by Waurin. It seems almost certain that Whethamstede's information is more accurate and that Grey was the villain of the piece, "for as the attacking squadrons came to the ditch before the royalist rampart and wanted to climb over it, which they could not quickly do because of the height . . . Lord Grey with his men met them and, seizing them by the hand, hauled them into the embattled field". This story is vivid and convincing. The brief statement by the English Chronicle that "The lorde Gray . . . brake the feelde and came to the erles party" confirms the basic facts of the story and Edward IV" ed. F. Madden, Archaeologia XXIX (1842) p. 345 n.L.  
19 "Political Poems of the Reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV" ed. F. Madden, Archaeologia XXIX (1842) p. 345 n.L.  
20 Whethamstede I 374.  
21 Waurin V 300.  
22 English Chronicle p. 96.  
24 See also J. Ramsay Lancaster and York II 227 n.4.  
25 Waurin V 323.  
26 Whethamstede I 374.  
27 English Chronicle p. 97.
the *Annales* attributed until recently to William Worcester mention the Yorkists winning the battle “by the treachery and aid of Lord Gray”.28 Edmund Grey's motives are not known: one can only suspect that, a shrewd, able and unscrupulous baron as he shewed himself to be both earlier and later in his long career, Grey sensed the turning of the tide and threw in his lot with the Yorkists in an inspired gamble.29

After the defection of the royal vanguard the battle quickly ended. Although this sudden conclusion may have, as the English Chronicler claimed in extenuation of Grey's action, “caused saucione of many a mansys lyfe”, he was obliged to admit also that “many were slayne, and many were fled, and were drowned in the ryuer Nene”.30 The casualties, of course, were mainly among the Lancastrian ranks. The orders which Warwick and Edward are said to have given to spare the king and the commoners but to spare not the lords, knights and esquires31 seem to have been carried out and noble blood was spilt upon the Northampton meadow. The great Duke of Buckingham; the second Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury (son of the famous soldier) and his brother, Sir Christopher; John Beaumont, the first viscount created in England; and Thomas Percy, Lord Egremont, a son of the Earl of Northumberland and a brother-in-law to Lord Grey of Ruthin, lay dead on the field,32 as is commemorated in a contemporary poem on the battle, telling of the Lancastrian dogs overcome by the bear of Warwick:33

*... the bear was hie, and fat of grease.*

According to the *Annales* the number of dead (excluding those drowned in the Nene) was three hundred,34 but little reliance can be placed on this figure. It appears probable that “many of the slain . . . were buried in the Abbey Church [of Delapré, now the home of the Northamptonshire Record Office] or in the church-yard to the east of it”.35

Henry VI was led a captive to Northampton and three days later the victorious Yorkists brought him to London.36 Queen Margaret had yet to be reckoned with and the Duke of York

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29 Grey's lack of scruple had already been shewn in September, 1450 by his organisation of the murder of the speaker of the House of Commons, William Tresham of Sywell, at Moulton in Northamptonshire (J. S. Roskell “William Tresham of Sywell” Northamptonshire Past and Present II iv. (1957) pp. 201-2): his motives require close examination, but Tresham's position as principal fecoffee of the Holt estate in Northamptonshire (P.R.O., Ancient Indictments, K.B.9/94) and his defrauding of Lord Edmund's uncle, Edward Grey, Lord Ferrers of Groby, out of £180 (P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, c.1/17/81a) were far more important than political considerations. Lord Edmund's ability was recognised by Edward IV, who appointed him Treasurer of England in June 1463 in succession to the famous John Tiptoft (Handbook of British Chronology ed. F. M. Powicke (1939) p. 85) and two years later created him Earl of Kent (*Complete Peerage* VII 164). It has been suggested (Itinerary of John Leland I 103; *Victoria County History*, Bedfordshire III 272; *Complete Peerage* orig. ed. IV 353, new ed. VII 164 n.J) that Grey received the castle of Ampthill as a reward for his treachery at Northampton, but he had in fact purchased Ampthill and other manors close by from the executors of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, in 1454 (Magdalen College, Oxford: Misc. Charter 303 m.1): the entire absence of grants to Grey in the first years of the Yorkist dynasty suggests that he had not been bribed by promises of lands or favour.

30 English Chronicle p. 97.

31 Ibid.

32 J. Ramsay Lancaster and York II 228: *Complete Peerage* XI 705.

33 The badge of the Earl of Warwick was the bear and ragged staff.

34 Edward, Earl of March, because of his association with Warwick.

35 A common pun on the title of Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.


37 Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France II ii 773.


39 J. Ramsay Lancaster and York II 229.
A QUINCENTENARY: THE BATTLE OF NORTHAMPTON, 1460

(Edward's father) was killed at Wakefield at the very end of the year; the Queen then marched on London, defeating Warwick at St. Albans on February 17th, 1461. Had she exploited her victory by a prompt attack on London, she might have regained political ascendancy, at least for a time, but the opportunity was missed, and the Lancastrian army plundered its way northwards again. Edward, now heir to York's claims, seized his chance and was crowned on March 4th, 1461; the decisive victory of Towton at the end of the month consolidated his usurpation, although a decade passed before the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury conclusively removed the menace of Queen Margaret. In the meanwhile, in May 1464 Northamptonshire, where the future Richard III had been born in 1452, had given England a queen, Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Woodville of Grafton Regis, Lord Rivers, and widow of Sir John Grey, Lord Edmund's cousin, who had been killed at St. Albans in 1461.

R. IAN JACK.

BOOK REVIEWS

PRINCE CHARLES'S PURITAN CHAPLAIN
by IRVONWY MORGAN
(George Allen & Unwin, 1957. Price 21s.)

The story of John Preston (1587-1628) should be of special interest to Northamptonshire readers since he is a local 'worthy'. Mr. Morgan has written a useful account of his career, first as Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, later as Master of Emmanuel. A clear picture emerges of Preston as an influential teacher, versed in the Schoolmen as well as Calvin, and a popular 'Spiritual' preacher both at Cambridge and in London: of his entry into the world of affairs as an opponent of the Spanish Match for Prince Charles, whose chaplain he surprisingly became, through the backing of the Marquess (later Duke) of Buckingham, who was cleverly worked upon by the Puritans. Although the association of Puritanism with the Court was brief, Mr. Morgan's biggest claim for Preston is his importance for the movement in the political sphere. Preston is unlikely to find another biographer, and it is therefore the more regrettable that Mr. Morgan has missed the opportunity of adding to our knowledge of his subject's family. Preston's life was first written by a former pupil, Thomas Ball, himself of local concern for he was vicar of All Saints', Northampton, from 1629 to 1659. Mr. Morgan has naturally relied greatly upon Ball's work (sometimes too implicitly), although he strangely ignores the complete text edited by E. W. Harcourt in 1885. Ball gives the essential particulars of Preston's parentage, which have been amplified for his mother by the Revd. H. I. Longden. His father, Thomas Preston (of Lancashire descent), was a farmer in the part of Upper Heyford included in the parish of Bugbrooke, where John was baptised on 27th October 1587—a fact omitted by Mr. Morgan. His mother was Alice, daughter of Lawrence Marsh of Northampton: soon after her husband's death in 1599 she married Thomas Almey of Badby, where she survived until 1638. Mr. Morgan attaches no importance to Badby (which he calls 'Badney'), but in view of her son's intimacy with Sir Richard Knightley and John Dod, it is surely significant that the parish borders on Fawsley and that the manor was owned by the Knightleys. At Fawsley, incidentally, Preston died, and he is buried there. John had an early benefactor, who educated him, first at Northampton Free School. Ball sufficiently identifies this person, Alice Preston's rich and childless 'Unkle by the mother's side whose name was Craswell, a man of good estate & Esteeme in Northampton, where he lived and had been several tymes Mayor'. From a V.C.H. reference which he cites, Mr. Morgan must know that the uncle's Christian name was
Thomas, but he is content to write of him (misleadingly) as 'Mr Creswell', failing to specify his years as mayor (1577, 1588, 1596 and 1604) and to make more than a cursory mention, based on Ball, of his will. By this document, which was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in 1607 and describes Craswell as a tanner, Ball says that Preston received property: it therefore deserved quotation.

Preston, we know, owed his advancement to Buckingham. Ball relates that the intermediary was Sir Ralph Freeman, a Master of Requests, who 'had married a kinswoman of ye Duke of Buckingham's, & was a kinsman unto Mr Preston'. Mr. Morgan dismisses this as a 'dim family connection', probably on the mother's side. But small ingenuity is needed to discover that the paternal grandmother of Freeman (who was of Northamptonshire extraction) was a Marsh and that his wife was of the Bretts of Rotherby in Leicestershire, who had intermarried with the Beaumonts, the family of Buckingham's mother.

These criticisms may sound captious, but they are made in order to stress the necessity of following up 'dim family connections' when studying an age in which the ability to claim cousinhood, however distant, with some established or rising personage, might shape, and may explain to posterity, the whole course of a man's career.

MARGARET TOYNBEE.

THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL
by CANON J. L. CARTWRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.
Price 2/6. 35 cents Canada & U.S.A., plus 15 cents postage)

This history of Peterborough Cathedral is one of a series which the publishers are issuing of Cathedrals, Churches, Palaces and stately homes. It is distinguished by a wealth of excellent photographs, both of the interior and the exterior of the Cathedral, and some of its more impressive detail and monuments.

The publishers are fortunate in having secured Canon Cartwright to write briefly the history of the Cathedral. It has been well said that it takes an expert to write briefly, although anyone can write a long account. Canon Cartwright has left out nothing essential and contrived to give, at the same time, some of the legends that give the history character.

The Norman building itself is said to owe its construction to the fire which destroyed its predecessor early in the 12th century: a fire, incidentally, due to the bad temper of an abbot, and the consequent remark of a servant "Devil take the fire". That rebuilding in the 12th century has remained, despite subsequent work, as the great monument of late Norman architecture: to some it may lack the richness of other Norman work, but it has a stateliness and solidity unequalled elsewhere. Later work has nowhere at Peterborough detracted from this magnificence: the Early English west front and the sumptuous "new building" of Abbot Kirton both add to, rather than detract from, the glories of Peterborough. Indeed, it is remarkable that buildings so different in style and spirit should appear in keeping with the original conception. Peterborough is essentially a Benedictine church: a place for the Opus Dei, the practice of the rule of St. Benedict, and this purpose has not been obscured in the centuries since the Monastery was suppressed. There is, of course, cause for regret in the disappearance of the 13th century Lady Chapel, as well as many of the monastic buildings, but at Peterborough the wonder is the preservation of the 12th century grandeur, and the Benedictine character of the building.

Canon Cartwright relates the unhappy destruction of organ, panelling, carved stone work, tombs, stained glass and books by Colonel Cromwell's regiment of horse, and the history of subsequent restorations. On the whole, the Victorians did well at Peterborough, the later generation relieving the Cathedral of some of Dean Monk's questionable "gothic" ornament.

He is also at pains to emphasise that in such a building as the Cathedral the task of reparation is a never ending one. "The contaminated atmosphere of an industrial neighbourhood" makes this task a heavier one than it might otherwise have been.

As a quick, accurate guide and a pleasurable book to take home and read, the present Pictorial History could not be bettered.
DEATH OF A THEATRE
by Lou Warwick
(11 Earl Street, Northampton. Price 25/-)

This book is both an essay in social history and an exercise in charity. The story of the birth, life and death of a provincial theatre, in the span of the last forty-eight years, might rightly be described as social history. The fact that the author, when dramatic critic of the Chronicle and Echo was barred from the theatre by the management in its last days, shows him to be of a forgiving nature. Mr. Warwick tells us that he could not bear to think that the "dear old place" could be allowed to go without at least having its story written". He is lucky to have had editorial assistance from Miss Meg Toyer, his predecessor in the Critic's Chair, who managed to retain her seat without being thrown out! Miss Toyer was fortunate, in that in her day the New Theatre presented interesting, and sometimes distinguished entertainment, whereas Mr. Warwick had to witness the "Newd" Theatre of the Butterworth regime, which, we suspect, may have made his exclusion a welcome relief.

Mr. Warwick has told the story in the manner and style of a journalist, and quite properly so, since it is a style well suited to the story he tells. Although the book will mainly appeal to Northampton play-goers, for whom memories will be revived, yet it is in little the story of the English Theatre in the Provinces.

In order to publish the book Mr. Warwick has revived the Eighteenth Century custom of enlisting subscribers, whose names are printed in the volume. He calls them patrons after the more snobbish fashion of the present, but whatever the name, the method is to be commended. It may well be the means by which works of local interest may again be produced, in the face of to-day's heavy printing costs. The book is not a dear one, and the great number of well chosen illustrations alone makes it well worth the money.

G.I.

INDEX TO WILLS PROVED IN THE PECULIAR COURT OF BANBURY 1542-1858
Edited by J. S. W. Gibson
(Joint publication of the Banbury Historical Society and the Oxfordshire Record Society, 1959)

This publication contains a good deal of Northamptonshire material, for the parishes of Kings Sutton and Newbottle were part of the group of parishes exempt from episcopal jurisdiction which formed the Peculiar of Banbury. This Peculiar had its own ecclesiastical court, in which among other business local wills were proved. The wills and/or copies thereof were transferred in 1959 to the Bodleian Library, and students interested in them and living at a distance will find this list, which is in alphabetical order, extremely useful. There is an index of places and an interesting index of trades (including a mole-catcher, a peruke-maker, a bobbin-maker and a bone-setter).

The Banbury Historical Society now enterprising publishes a quarterly magazine, neatly reproduced in typescript, entitled "Cake and Cockhorse". We wish a very prosperous career to the Society.

J.W.
THE INHUMAN TASKMASTER: A STORY OF WEEDON BEC

If a list could be compiled of Northamptonshire villages in order of historical interest, Weedon Bec would certainly occupy a place near the top. It has so much to offer: Watling Street; St. Werburga; a monastic cell of the Abbey of Bec; longstanding nonconformist traditions; the Grand Junction Canal; the great Ordnance Depot; the London and Birmingham Railway; a Court Baron which lasted into the 'twenties of the present century. Two hundred years ago it also had a silkweaving industry, background to the subject of this paper.

Unlike the weaving of wool, silkweaving was never widespread throughout Northamptonshire, although branches of the industry flourished in several towns and villages during the 18th and early 19th Centuries. Kettering, Rothwell, Desborough, Daventry, Towcester, Maidford and Middleton Cheney at some time or another were all dependent in part upon silk for their livelihood. Hence we need not be surprised to find silkweaving at Weedon, especially as Watling Street gave the village excellent communications with the outside world. When and by whom it was introduced is unknown, but it had certainly arrived by 1734 in which year Thomas Lee, silk stockinger of Weedon, offered a reward of £2 for the apprehension of a journeyman and three apprentices who had illegally withdrawn themselves from his employment, taking with them several skeins of silk wound on bobbins. Thirteen years later his widow, Elizabeth Lee, advertised the business for sale, including “all sorts of stocking Frames [looms] in the silk trade, and all other utensils thereunto belonging . . .”. She was also prepared to “let or sell the shop to anybody who shall buy the frames, the whole being a very convenient place for business”.

No more is heard about silk at Weedon until 1768 when the following advertisement appeared in the issue of the Northampton Mercury for December 26th:

Weedon, Dec. 20th, 1768.

This is to give NOTICE,

To all Parishes which have got poor Boys and Girls, about thirteen or fourteen years of age, and want to ease their Parishes.

That there is now an opportunity of setting them, as yearly Servants, to the SILK MANUFACTORY at Weedon, Northamptonshire, to the Amount of Forty-score or an Hundred. Likewise are wanted, at the same place, ten or twelve Men, such as have served the King, either as Soldiers or Sailors, it matters not how large their families are, as none will be accepted, but such as the Parish-Officers cannot remove, meaning the Men and their Families. Let those apply to the Place above-mentioned.

Somebody was proposing to introduce silkweaving on a large scale (which branch of the industry is not stated, but a subsequent reference, which will be quoted, suggests that ribbon weaving was intended). The parish officers were hostile to the project, and had obviously threatened to remove as a potential pauper anybody who tried to settle in Weedon and work at the factory. Hence the appeal for ex-servicemen because only they could be employed in defiance of the churchwardens and the overseers of the poor. By an Act of 1762, passed towards the close of the account as the Weedon Parish Registers show that Thomas Lee was buried, 10-1-1735/36.

1 Northampton Mercury, 2-12-1734.
2 Ibid., 1-6-1747. Mrs. Lee must have been managing the business for over ten years on her own.
Seven Years War, discharged soldiers and sailors who obtained regular employment were not liable to be removed to their legal place of settlement unless they had actually applied for poor relief. The children were needed to perform the numerous subsidiary operations connected with weaving such as winding the silk on to the bobbins. Here was a tempting offer to overseers of the poor who found themselves responsible for the upkeep of pauper boys and girls: send them to the silk manufactory and ease the burden on the parish. The character of the person who had inserted the advertisement was no concern of the ratepayers.

Parochial objections notwithstanding, workpeople were certainly forthcoming for the manufactory. The Weedon militia list for 1771 includes James England, “silkweaver”, and seven “journeymen silkweavers”. As the militia was concerned only with able-bodied men between 18 and 45, it may reasonably be assumed that the labour force would also include several adults either over age or physically defective (a sedentary trade, weaving, like shoemaking, tended to attract men constitutionally unfitted for more strenuous occupations). The Weedon parish

It is likely that arrangements were made so that these children did not gain a legal settlement in Weedon (perhaps they were hired for short periods only). Those from surrounding villages such as Floore and Farthingstone may have tramped to and fro daily.

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3 Geo. 3, Cap.8.

4 The Director of the City of Coventry Libraries, Art Gallery and Museums Department, has expressed surprise at the large number of children employed in proportion to men at the Weedon silk manufactory according to the advertisement of 26-12-1768. (Letter to the author, 5-5-1960). Coventry was a centre of ribbon-weaving during the 18th Century.

registers at this time carry the names of two men who were engaged in silk but not included in the militia list.

In the same year that the militia list was compiled, James England apparently suffered a tragic bereavement. An advertisement inserted in the Northampton Mercury of August 12th made known publicly that his fourteen year old son William had set out homeward from London on the 1st and disappeared. The lad was wearing a blue great-coat, riding a bay mare, and carrying £25 upon his person in cash; it was feared that he had been robbed and murdered on the road. A reward of two guineas was offered for any information which would lead to the finding of William England, alive or dead.

What happened next is best told in the words of yet another advertisement in the Northampton Mercury, this time in the issue of April 6th, 1772 (note the reference to James England as a “ribbon-weaver”):

Saturday, March 28th, 1772.

Whereas James England, of Weedon-Beck, in the County of Northampton, Ribbon-Weaver, who stands charged with stealing Silks to the Amount of One Thousand pounds and upwards, and with many other atrocious Felonies, made his Escape early this Morning from a Constable at the Saracen’s Head at Daventry, in the same County. Any Person who will give information of him to Mr. Robert Clarke, at the Saracen’s Head aforesaid, or to Sir John Fielding, Knt. or to David Wilmot Esq., or any other of his Majesty’s Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex, so that he may be retaken, shall receive TEN GUINEAS over and above the Reward allowed on Conviction by Act of Parliament. And any Person who will discover where the said Silks are so that they may be recovered, shall receive a proper and adequate Reward for his Trouble. The said James England is about forty-seven years of age, five Feet five or six Inches high, has full hazel Eyes, thick-set and square, has a Sea-faring and Weather-beaten appearance, has many Wounds upon his Head and in different Parts of his Body, wears a Wig, and the general Turn of his Conversation is directed to Travelling, Voyages, Mechanics, and discovering Mines, and the North-West Passage, and he has declared (for some Time past) an Intention of going to North-America.

But James England was not recaptured. Irresistibly a suspicion will arise in the mind of every perceptive reader: did the ribbon weaver of Weedon Bec have an accomplice in his crimes? Had William England really been murdered in August 1771? or had he slipped away to an agreed hiding-place, perhaps taking with him very much more than £25, there to await the arrival of his father in due course? The records are silent on this tantalising point.

The evil memory of James England lingered on at Weedon. The contemporary schoolmaster of the village, Benjamin West, was also somewhat of a poet, and in 1780 published a book of verse. The contents are mostly fustian, but one poem differs totally from the rest by reason of the subject matter. It is entitled “On the DEPARTURE of an inhuman TASKMASTER”, and it tells us something about the fate of any child who was unfortunate enough to be sent to the silk manufactory. It runs thus:


In his opening poem, entitled “A Morning Invitation”, West writes that:

Philomel her fate deploiring
Charms the dear Weedonian plains” (l)
Ye helpless widows! Dry your weeping eyes,
Your pray'rs are heard—the desperado flies:
No more your sons in loathsome prisons moan,
Or bow'd beneath a tyrant's scourges, groan;
With cold and hunger pinch'd, no longer toil,
But bless'd with health and native freedom, smile.
E . . . . . d in England shews his face no more;
From justice fled, he seeks some distant shore,
But where, ah! where can such a wretch retire,
To shun the worm that never will expire?
If to a barb'rous region he is gone,
Where ne'er the glorious gospel-beams have shone:—
Where savage cannibals may blush to find
A monster—worse than any of their kind;
Yet, let him know, (what guilt may dread to hear)
The eye of heav'n will surely find him there;
That all-discerning eye, which sees aright,
The dark designs of each vile hypocrite;
Yes! let the miscreant know, howe'er secure,
Vengeance, tho' sometimes slow, is always sure;
Nor place can screen,—nor time his guilt excuse,
Whose steps the justice of a God pursues.

Somehow the conclusion that divine retribution would ultimately overtake the “desperado” seems to carry with it a note of regret that he had succeeded in making his escape. No doubt most Weedon people would have preferred the certain knowledge of James England’s execution at Northampton to the lurking suspicion that he might be living in comfort somewhere on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Being of a mechanical turn of mind and ruthless in forwarding his own interests, he would certainly have made a mark in any community throughout the English speaking world.

What may have been a part of the silk-manufactory was demolished in May 1960, a three-storied row of four tenements, each with three main rooms, Nos. 7-13 New Street, Weedon. Along the outer wall of each of the upper stories blank recesses alternated with the windows; the recesses on the first floor appeared to be part of the original design, but on the top floor they were obviously windows which had subsequently been blocked with bricks of a different colour from those used in the rest of the building. To judge from the roughly cemented north wall and the jaggled brickwork at the north corners, the row had once extended over the site now occupied by Late-Victorian Nos. 15 and 17. Internally, the considerable height of the rooms in comparison with the average village tenement, the substantial nature of the joists and floor boards, and the blocked windows on the top floor, all suggested that Nos. 7-13 had not been intended at first as just dwelling places. Ribbon frames were tall heavy machines which vibrated when in use; moreover, any form of weaving on a handloom requires good lighting arrangements if the operator is to produce accurate work. As domestic manufacture was common practice in all branches of the weaving industry throughout the 18th Century, the original occupier of each tenement may have been a weaver who used the topmost room as a workshop and lived with his family downstairs. High over each of the surviving front doors was an inscribed stone; one stone had weathered, but the lettering on the other three was still legible in 1960. Except for the original numbering of each tenement—running northward (illegible, presumably 6), 5, 4, 3 (another indication that the row once extended further than it did at the time of demolition)—the inscriptions were identical: J. E. 1771.?

If James England could repeat his initials at least three times on the facade of one building, this suggests that he must have been the owner and not just a salaried manager appointed by absentee proprietors. His family certainly seems to have acquired a title to property in the village. The *Northampton Mercury* of June 28th, 1784, carried an advertisement offering for sale at Weedon several tenements (among them Nos. 7—13 New Street?) and a public house called the Harp, enquiries either to Mr. Oakden, a Daventry attorney, or to John Harris of Weedon. Next week a second advertisement warned prospective buyers not to treat with John Harris.

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7 I am grateful to George Wallis, Esq., of Weedon Bec for drawing my attention to Nos. 7-13 New Street. Mr. Wallis, a native of the village and bailiff since 1920 of the Court Baron (the office has never been formally abrogated although the Court no longer meets), is a mine of information about old Weedon and has generously helped me over several points in this paper. Mrs. Wallis informs me that her grandmother, who died in 1926 aged 93, once told her that Nos. 7-13 New Street had been a “factory”.

In 1818 the estate of a Middleton Cheney silk-weaving proprietor included a workshop capable of holding 16 frames (*Northampton Mercury*, December 26th, 1818). James England may have had a similar workshop at Weedon, but examination of the party walls at Nos. 7-13 New Street did not suggest that the topmost floor had ever been such a place (i.e. one long room). It will be remembered that Mrs. Lee was advertising a “shop” in 1747.

One of the inscribed stones has been placed in the Northampton Museum, and it is hoped to incorporate another in some part of the primary school at Weedon.
because Sarah and George England, “wife or widow and eldest son of James England, who left Weedon-Beck... about twelve years ago, and is now supposed to be dead, having never been seen or heard of by any of his family”, asserted their right both to the tenements and to the Harp. Possibly an unsatisfied creditor of the manufactory was attempting to recoup his losses by depriving Mrs. England of a regular source of income. She had made a permanent connection with the village when Elizabeth England, presumably a daughter, married William Green of Weedon on December 1st, 1772. According to the advertisements of 1784, a William Green occupied one of the tenements and a Thomas Green was the licensee of the Harp. Green was not an uncommon surname in Weedon during the 19th and early 20th Centuries.

The story of the manufactory closes on a note of mystery. No more is heard of silk-weaving in the village, but according to the will of William Green, carpenter of Weedon, proved on August 22nd, 1800, part of the deceased’s estate consisted of four copyhold cottages, in one of which lived “James England.” A terse entry in the parish registers records that “James England” was buried on September 3rd, 1802. Who can this person have been? Was he a stranger with a coincidence of name? a son or a grandson? or the old sinner himself, back again, a patriarch full of years but not of honour? It seems very unlikely that James England, a reputed felon, would ever have dared to return to Weedon Bec. Nevertheless it is an intriguing thought that his bones may be lying in the same churchyard as those of Benjamin West and many others of the generation who remembered him as the “Inhuman Taskmaster”, a weather-beaten, hazel-eyed, pitiless man whose favourite conversation turned upon “Travelling, Voyages, Mechanics and discovering Mines, and the North-West Passage”.

Victor A. Hatley.

Documents and a map relating to the Weedon Tithe Award of 1845 (Northamptonshire Record Office, T. M. 202) reveal that at the time of the enclosure of the open fields in 1777, Nos. 7-13 New Street were in the occupation of “England” (Mrs. England?). “England” also occupied three other houses in the village, one of which may have been the Harp, but unfortunately the identification of this property is impossible from the documents. The map also appears to confirm that Nos. 7-13 once extended over the site now occupied by Nos. 15 and 17.

I have been unable to inspect the title deeds of Nos. 7-13 New Street, Weedon.

Weedon Parish Registers. These registers have been thoroughly searched between 1750 and 1820 for information about the England family. Mary, daughter of James and Sarah England, was baptised in 1768, and Thomas, a son, in 1770. There is no record of the burial of Mrs. England.

Kelly’s Directories of Northamptonshire, 1847-1940.

Northamptonshire Record Office, Arch. North­ampton Wills. The identity of these cottages is un­proven but once again it would seem likely that the row in New Street was the property in question.

The Christian name of William Green’s widow was Elizabeth.
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