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# Northamptonshire Past and Present

1974

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The cover shows part of Winstanley’s engraving of Rushton Hall and its grounds in 1750. At the bottom left is St. Peter’s church, demolished in 1790 (see Clemence Tresham of Rushton and Syon, in this issue). Behind it is the servants’ hall and kitchen adjoining the great house of the Tresham family. The horse on the right was a celebrated steeplechaser in its day. The dogs were two noted hounds which were buried in the wilderness at Rushton.

All communications regarding articles in this issue and future issues should be addressed to the Honorary Editor, Mr. J. M. Steane, The Grammar School, Kettering

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Thanks are expressed to

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1973 saw the publication of the Society's twenty-fifth volume—*Northamptonshire Militia Lists 1777*—edited by Victor Hatley, which has been well received, and is of interest to genealogists as well as social and economic historians of the period. One member has written to say that she has traced several names connected with her ancestors, and no doubt others will be able to do the same. It is hoped that Vol. XXVI—*Luffield Priory Charters Part II*, edited by G. R. Elvey, and produced jointly with the Bucks Record Society, will be ready in 1974.

The lecture given after the Annual General Meeting in June was delivered by Sir Philip Magnus-Allcroft, who is well known as a biographer writing under the name of Philip Magnus. His talk on William Ewart Gladstone, the great nineteenth century statesman, in which he described both Gladstone's political activities as well as his private enterprises in the realm of social work, was much enjoyed by his audience. The Autumn Lecture being scheduled for November this year, rather later than usual, this journal will have gone to press before the Society's members have listened to Professor J. H. Plumb, of Christ's College, Cambridge, on 'The growth of leisure in the eighteenth century'.

*Northampton* itself and other towns in the County are seeing many changes as redevelopment takes place. The demolition of some old cottages near St. Peter's Church in Northampton has revealed a particularly interesting and important site for archaeological work, and volunteers and others worked hard during the summer months on the site of medieval houses there. *This is regarded by experts as a very exciting project, and it is hoped that earlier Saxon or even Danish settlements may later be uncovered.*

Reference was made in the last issue of the journal to the demolition and subsequent restoration of Welsh House, in Northampton's Market Square; by August the building was well and truly demolished, and the staircase within the house, which had been thought to be of Jacobean oak was found instead to be made of Japanese wood, of a later period. It would be interesting to know how the wood came to Northampton, and when.

*With the reorganisation of local government due to be implemented in April 1974 a number of towns in the County are to be granted parish status, instead of becoming part of larger district councils. These are Brackley, Higham Ferrers, Burton Latimer, Desborough, Irthlingborough, Oundle, Raunds, and Rothwell. Existing borough and urban Councillors will form the new parish councils, and continue in office until local elections in 1976.*

*During the course of 1973 the Council agreed to protest to the Director of Ordnance Surveys and local M.P.'s about the threat to discontinue the production of 2½" Ordnance Survey Maps. This question has since provoked a lot of correspondence in the 'Times', not only from historians but also ramblers associations and others who find the maps invaluable, and it is understood that the government are considering representations made to them before reaching a final decision.*

*It is perhaps fitting to conclude these notes by quoting from a letter to the former editor, Sir Gyles Isham, from a member of the Society who is revising the Nicholas Pevsner *Buildings of England* volume for Northamptonshire. She wrote—'... It is by far the most enjoyable and interesting local publication of its kind that I have come across ... and reading it was one of the things that made me feel interested in so many aspects of the county when I started revising the *Buildings of England* volume.'*
TO OVERSEAS MEMBERS

Would any overseas members who expect to be in the United Kingdom in May or June, and who would like to have the notice about the Annual General Meeting and Summer Lecture (generally held early in June) sent to them at an address in this country please let the Secretary know where they will be during May, so that she may send the notices to them. The notices are usually posted during April, and often do not reach overseas addresses for six weeks or so, as they are sent by surface mail.

THE REBUILDING OF NORTHAMPTON: A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

Mr. Howard Colvin's positive identification of Henry Bell, the King's Lynn architect, with the design of All Saints' Church, Northampton, is a welcome addition to our knowledge of Northampton's reconstruction after the terrible fire of 20 September 1675, the tercentenary of which will occur in just under two years (Northamptonshire Past & Present, V, 1 (1973), 3).

It is worth-while, therefore, to draw attention to the fact that John Conant, the Vicar of All Saints from 1671 to 1689, had strong links with the county of Norfolk and the diocese of Norwich, the home territory of Henry Bell. Conant married in 1651 the daughter of Dr. Edward Reynolds, himself a former Vicar of All Saints (1628-9), who was consecrated Bishop of Norwich in 1661. Reynolds died in July 1676, having a short time previously appointed Conant as Archdeacon of Norwich. Moreover, Reynold's son, also Dr. Edward Reynolds, was the Rector of St. Peter's Church, Northampton, from 1658 to 1698, his father appointing him as Archdeacon of Norfolk in 1661. John Conant may have known about Henry Bell before 1675, or, more likely, had the young architect recommended to him, perhaps by the Bishop of Norwich or the Archdeacon of Norfolk, after the destruction of All Saints in the 1675 fire.

More information about John Conant and the two Dr. Edward Reynolds will be found in the Dictionary of National Biography and in two of the late Rev. R. M. Serjeantson's invaluable books, History of the Church of All Saints, Northampton (1901), and History of the Church of St. Peter, Northampton (1904). During the Civil War and the troubled period following it, Edward Reynolds the elder was a leading Presbyterian divine, but conformed to the Church of England after the Restoration; according to a Royalist writer (quoted by Serjeantson), 'it was verily thought by his contemporaries that he would never have been given to change, had it not been to please a covetous and politic consort who put him upon those things he did.' However, it is only fair to the memory of Mrs. Reynolds, who may have been a seventeenth century edition in real life of Anthony Trollope's Mrs. Proudie, to mention that in 1677 she made a handsome donation of communion plate, all of which is still in existence, to All Saints, her son-in-law's stricken church. Her husband's durable monument is the magnificent General Thanksgiving in the Book of Common Prayer, which he composed in 1661.

Victor A. Hatley.
In 1970 the Parochial Church Council authorised restoration works inside Rushden Church. This involved replastering the aisle walls and renewing the wooden platforms of the pews in the nave and aisles. During these restorations it was possible to examine the stonework, and to search for footings of early walls. The tight building programme did not allow a proper archaeological investigation, but the evidence obtained, along with careful observation of existing architectural details, allows a more confident interpretation of the history of the building than has been possible before.

The following is not intended to be a full detailed account of each architectural feature, but rather an outline of the development of the church in the light of recent evidence. The principal descriptions of the church are given by Bridges, Coles, Parker, Victoria County History, and Pevsner. The architectural style of each wall is marked on the plan (Fig. I).

The oldest walls in the church are represented by two sets of footings lying along and under the nave arcades. These walls have rubble foundations 10 inches deep and 3ft. 6in. wide. At their full width they were 4ft. 9in. thick; a short length with both faces intact was preserved under the plinth of the SW pier (plate I). The restoration works were not sufficiently extensive to establish the positions of the E or W walls of this early building properly. There was some indication of an eastern wall much disturbed by burials, as marked on the plan (Fig. I); the tower E wall almost certainly represents the westernmost extent of the building. It was clear that there was never any cross-wall continuing the line of the transept W walls N and S across the nave. The massive nature of the footings indicates clearly that they belong to the Norman period of architecture. The earliest stage of the church is thus likely to be a simple rectangular construction 35 ft. by 16½ ft., corresponding approximately to the present nave and dating to the 12th century.

In the 13th century a tower, the chancel, and the N and S aisles were added in the Early English style. The dating of chancel sedilia and N aisle door is not in doubt, but the remaining structures need some comment. The rounded W windows of the aisles have caused much confusion; the walls containing the windows were given an outer 'skin' in 1718 and it had been assumed that the windows also dated from the 18th century. The stone work inside, visible when the plaster was off, showed that the windows were not inserts, and that the walls were medieval. This was evident from the old lean-to roof line left when the wall had been built up further to accommodate the present late 15th century roof (Plate II). These windows are likely to be transitional between Norman and Early English, but in all probability contemporary with the north door. The Early English character of the aisle walls is therefore taken as proved; from the outside the long walls can be seen to be different from the rest of the building in that there are no string courses or plinths.

Both aisles had hearths in the W ends; that of the S aisle seems never to have been completed as there is no lintel and no sign of a chimney on the roof. The N aisle hearth was still

---

1 J. Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, (1791) ii 191-194.
in use in 1849 and was blocked up during the restoration of 1872, although the chimney was still used as a flue for a stove. The stopped-up chimney still survives at roof level.

The nave arcade at this time would be Early English with piers in the present pier positions. The large blocks of stone forming the present plinths are probably the originals; they are placed directly on the footings of the earlier Norman church.

There is no direct dating evidence for an Early English tower. The present tower and spire are substantially Decorated, but there is a vertical joint between differing types of stonework rising some 40ft. on the N and S sides of the tower. It is therefore clear that there was a tower before the Decorated (14th century) period, which is most likely to be Early English rather than Norman.

In the early 14th century the tower and spire assumed their present form and the north and south porches and transepts were added. The transepts are well dated by the Decorated windows; most of them early in the period. Distinguishing features of this building phase are the use of ironstone and a thin string course outside (Plate III). The priest's door in the S aisle or chapel of the chancel has this same string course as an arch label, and is a re-used Decorated door; no doubt it once occupied a similar position on the south side of the chancel. Underneath the plaster on the inside of the N transept E wall a blocked-up piscina was found (Plate IV).
The W door of this transept was blocked in 1872. Later in the Decorated period the south transept roof was raised and a square-framed window built on the W side, now blocked-up. These changes are very clear from the outside: horizontal bands of ironstone in the old gable end were not continued in the new (Plate III). The N transept roof was similarly raised and two more small Decorated windows added. The additional masonry is slightly more even than the older. The arches of the E bay of the nave arcade were raised to match the high arches of the transepts.

In the 15th century the church received alterations in the Perpendicular style of architecture.

Chapels or aisles were added to the chancel, not necessarily at the same time even though the four-centered arches of the chancel N and S arcades are very similar. The stonework of this period is quite distinctive, being of even courses of dressed masonry with three thick string courses outside. The three E windows are all Perpendicular but that of the chancel is older than the aisles; the top part of the original chancel wall is clear and the crenellations are in ironstone in contrast to the all-limestone of the aisles. Both these chancel aisles had lean-to roofs originally; the cornices of both the transept E walls are cut away from the present roof-line, visible from the roof level only.

The nave aisles had their lean-to roofs removed and the walls raised for the present roofs. This was very clear when the plaster was removed from the inside. The large Perpendicular windows of the N and S aisles were inserted at the same time, since their upper parts penetrate into the new stonework.

The precise sequence of building in the present nave arcade is not quite clear. The piers and capitals are Perpendicular, Pevsner suggests the whole arcade and clerestorey was rebuilt, whilst Parker thinks the piers only were replaced. This problem could be resolved if the plaster
were stripped off the nave. The arcade was built before the present late 15th century aisle roofs because the arch labels have been cut away at the top to accommodate the woodwork.

It is very likely that all the present roofs of the church were built together. The steep roof line of the Early English nave can be seen inside on the tower E wall.

The strainer arch is Perpendicular. There were a few modifications to the tower and spire, such as the insertion of windows. The N porch was substantially rebuilt, but the E wall is of the earlier period. A Perpendicular window was inserted in the E side of the S transept.

In the 18th century there were the repairs to the W ends of the aisles, mentioned previously.

In 1872 there was an extensive restoration; the strainer arch of the tower was inserted, and all the floor dug out and relaid. It is likely that the medieval floors were earthen. Most of the building was replastered at this time.

During the recent restoration, all the plaster of the nave, aisles, and the lower part of the N transept was replaced. Only two very small areas of plain medieval plaster survived—high in the N aisle. In the N transept there were traces of red and black paint on the N side string course.

Plate III
View of the S transept showing the raising of the roof in the 14th century.
The principal findings from the recent study are the existence of a Norman church, the discovery that the aisles are substantially Early English, and the absence of a cross wall under the E piers showing that the church was not originally cruciform. The present plan was reached by addition to the primary structure over several centuries. Since Rushden is mentioned in Domesday Book (1086), there is the possibility of a Saxon church existing before the Norman, but a proper archaeological excavation would be required to establish this.

D. N. Hall.

Notes on Contributors

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A Gallant Husband!

The Northampton Mercury, 28th June 1784, carries the following item of local news, although what Mrs. Clark said to Mr. Clark when they were re-united is unfortunately not recorded:—

'On Friday night, about 10 o'clock, as Mr. Clark, hatter, of this town [Northampton] was returning with his wife in a one-horse chaise, from Boughton [Green] Fair, he was stopped near Boughton by two footpads, who robbed him of a few shillings; but not content with their booty, one of them attempted to get into the chaise to search Mr. Clark, upon which he jumped out on the other side, and made the best of his way to Boughton. They then demanded Mrs. Clark's money, which she was proceeding to deliver, but luckily a person coming in sight, they decamped in great haste.'

The Northampton poll book for the General Election of 1784 contains the name of Joseph Clark, The Drapery, hatter, who voted for Lord Lucan, the defeated Foxite-Whig candidate.

A long and interesting account of Boughton Green Fair as it was a few years before the Clarks made their memorable visit is to be found in 'Boughton Green: a Poem in Three Cantos' written in 1775 by the Rev. Robert Lucas, a local clergyman (see George Baker, The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton (1822-41), vol. 2, 300), and included in his Poems on Various Subjects published at Tewkesbury in 1810. Here are some verses from Canto 1:—

Lo! industry, from far, begins to spread,
And drowsy trade again lifts up his head;
And while his greedy mind the gain forebodes,
With skilful hands he builds th' enormous loads,
Till creaking waggons scarce their burthens bear,
And groaning roads confess the Fair is near.

The brittle ware, incurvated and bent
Ten thousand ways, from Staffordshire is sent;
And Warwicks' plundered heaths now frequent comes
The vast, tremendous load of birchen brooms;
Hundreds on hundreds piled, they proudly rise,
And rods and broomsticks seem to threat the skies!
From every part, stretched o'er the sultry way,
Long were the list, and tedious to relate,
Of wooden ware, and tin as bright as plate;
Of cottons, hose and linen, brought in packs,
By puffing pedlars on their bending backs;
Of ribbons, nick-knacks and a thousand toys,
To catch the women and their girls and boys;
Of cakes and fruits, at which the school-boy gapes,
Indignant cyder! strugglest hard for vent;
And oft, expelled, up fly thy prison doors,
And at the foamy mouth thy fury pours:
So liquid rage, in /Etna/ bottled up,
Relieves itself and bursts away at top.

Loads after loads, thus, on the tortured ground,
Triumphant pass, in one successive round;
And, through each gate, pours in the copious store,
Till Boughton's verdant plain is covered o'er.

The labouring teams the various stores convey:
Vessels of wood and brass, all bright and new,
In merry mixture rise upon the view:
See! pots capacious lesser pots entomb,
And hogheads barrels gorge, for want of room;
From their broad base, part in each other hid,
The lessening tubs shoot up a pyramid:
Pitchforks, and axes, and the deepening spade,
Beneath the pressing load, are harmless laid;
Whilst out behind, where pliant poles prevail,
The merry waggons seem to wag his tail.

John Bridges, writing about sixty years earlier than the Rev. Robert Lucas, stated that Boughton Green Fair 'is famous for its trade in brooms, and wooden-ware, for variety of shops and booths for entertainment' (The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire, Vol. 1, 411). During the nineteenth century, however, it dwindled in scope and importance, and was abolished in 1916.

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The right-angled length of ditch with the substantial earthen bank inside it which lies to the east of College Street and south of Kimbolton Road in Higham Ferrers has for a great many years been regarded as part of the defended area of the castle of Higham Ferrers. In the early eighteenth century Bridges commented on the strength and extent of these defences and in 1838 his remarks were endorsed by J. Cole.\footnote{Both are quoted by W. J. B. Kerr, *Higham Ferrers and its Ducal and Royal Castle and Park* (1925), 98-99.}

In his careful account of Higham Ferrers W. J. B. Kerr regarded these earthworks as belonging to the original castle of William Peverel, but left unfinished by him.\footnote{Kerr, pp. 117-8.} On the Ordnance Survey maps (Fig. I) the earthworks are marked as representing the site of the castle, and for many years they have been scheduled as an ancient monument, appearing in the lists issued by the Inspectorate of Ancient Monu-

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**FIG. I** THE SITE OF HIGHAM FERRERS CASTLE IN 1591, 1789 AND 1885.
AERIAL VIEW OF HIGHAM FERRERS, LOOKING NORTH.

The Castle site is now occupied by the group of almshouses set around a courtyard in the centre of the photograph. The warren and fishponds are represented by the wooded area just to the north of this.

ments as Higham Ferrers Castle. The purpose of this note is to suggest that while these earthworks undoubtedly formed part of the castle property, they were never part of the defences, and are best thought of as having originated as a set of fish-ponds and a rabbit warren.

The character of the earthworks is in itself sufficient to suggest that the traditional ascription might be questioned. It is known from the accounts of Camden, Norden, Bridges and Cole and from other sources that the castle was near the church and that it was just to the north of the churchyard that foundations and hollows indicative of former buildings were to be seen. Norden’s map of Higham Ferrers of 1591 in fact shows this area covered with tumbled heaps of masonry (Fig. I). The site now regarded as that of the castle lies to the north of this, and is cut off from it by a wide ditch; and the fact that this ditch has a very substantial bank on its northern side—away from the castle site—makes it even more difficult to accept as part of a set


4 Reproduced as Plate 13 in M. Beresford, History on the Ground (1957).
of defensive works. Moreover, the supposed earthwork enclosure of which it forms part was demonstrably never completed, a point which disturbed Kerr; there was no sign that any bank and ditch ever existed on the west side and only a small depression or pond is attested along the north.

These anomalies are clarified by the map of John Norden already referred to, which shows that the site then differed in some important respects from its state today. Instead of the L-shaped moat which now exists he shows two rectangular ponds at right-angles to each other but connected only by a narrow ditch. The easternmost pond does not extend so far to the north as the corresponding area of the present moat, but stops at a field boundary which then bisected the open area enclosed by the moat today. In Norden's drawing there is also a small squarish pond in the middle of the field in which the two larger ponds lie, linked to one of them by a narrow ditch. These are not and could not have been defensive works and in fact Norden describes them as "very fayre fishe ponds in some measure replenished with fishe".

There is evidence to show that this area had for centuries been used as a rabbit warren belonging to the castle and also that the fish ponds had been present from an early date. Kerr regarded the warren as having been created out of the unfinished earthworks of a Peverel castle, but the evidence of Norden's map shows that the earthworks can hardly ever have had a military purpose; both warren and ponds are best thought of as fresh creations of the medieval period. The earliest specific reference to a pond comes in the Inquisition Post Mortem of Edmund Earl of Lancaster of 1298, when the capital messuage (i.e. the castle) is referred to, "with garden, dovehous and fish pond". The earliest reference to the warren is in the accounts of the bailiff and reeve of Higham Ferrers for 1313-14, when the repair of its gate and the payment of the warren are mentioned.

Thereafter the manorial accounts and court rolls of Higham Ferrers are full of references to the warren enclosure and its gates and to cases of trespass and poaching; sometimes the warren is clearly described as "within the castle". We cannot say very much about its appearance from the extant records, except that it was walled and had "alleys". The fishponds associated with it are also mentioned from time to time; in 1409 for example the pond in the coneygarth was cleaned out and a boat brought specially to Higham for the purpose. In 1463 a complaint was made at the Duchy Court that a stream of water running out of the connyger pond was causing annoyance to the tenants. In 1492 "the close called le coneygarth, together with a fish pond, was leased to Richard Wylleys, Warden of the College of Higham Ferrers, for 20 years at a rent of 10s a year".

The pond and warren continue to figure in the sixteenth and seventeenth century records of Higham. In a detailed survey of 1590-1 Robert Kedale is said to hold "one close and a pool called the Connger with the warren of conneys and certain other closes, viz the castell-yaerde (i.e. the site of the castle proper), the haie house, the dove house, the mallards close, the vines close with the pools and other things to the same belonging" and the running water and the fishing thereof, with a piece of land called the vicar's piece. A survey made during the Commonwealth describes the warren in a way which makes its position in relation to the site of the castle very clear: "All that capital messuage or manor place commonly called the Castle Yard situate lying and beeing in the manor and parish of Higham Ferrers in the county of Northampton now in the occupation of John Rudd . . . consisting of one moulting house containing eight bayes and one hay house containing three bayes with a large dove house well floored all standing within the Castle Yard. The Castle Yard is bounded on the south with ye churchyard and on the east with a lane leading from Mr. Freeman's house. One close conceivably relate to these ponds.

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5 This boundary may well correspond with the depression noted by Kerr (Kerr, pp. 114 and 118).
6 Beresford, p. 160.
7 Kerr, p. 33; also R. M. Sergeantson, “The Court Rolls of Higham Ferrers”, Associated Architectural Societies Reports and Papers XXXIII (1916), 139. There is a generalised reference to “meadows and pastures, waters and mills, parks and fishponds, roads, footpaths and passages” in King John's charter to William de Ferrers of 1199 (Kerr, p. 18), which may possibly refer to these ponds.
8 Kerr, pp. 55-6; Sergeantson, p. 134.
9 Kerr, pp. 115-7; Sergeantson, pp. 135-7.
10 P.R.O. DL. 42. 117; also SC 12 13/33.
11 This refers to another set of fishponds at Higham Ferrers, distinct from the Castle ponds and shown on the Ordnance Survey maps at SP 956693. These ponds are possibly referred to in the Higham Ferrers accounts of 1313-14, Kerr, p. 52.
of pasture ground called the Coneygarth bounded on the south with the Castle Yard and west with the town... In the Coneygarth sixty six trees valued at 17s. 12. It looks as if the warren had ceased to be used for the keeping of rabbits and had simply become an area of pasture land.

Eighteenth and nineteenth century maps and surveys continue to maintain the distinction between the Castle Yard and the warren area. A map drawn in 1787 clearly shows that the ponds in the Coneygarth have been joined together to make the L-shaped arrangement now extant and that the eastern limb has been extended further to the north to its present position (Fig. I). The internal bank is not specifically drawn, although its site is shown as studded with trees, but it must have existed much as now. When these changes occurred is not known, but Bridges was the first to describe these earthworks in the form they now have in the early eighteenth century. A survey of 1839 and a map of 1841 both show the site under discussion on the Great Coneygarth, and the narrow field between it and the Castle Yard is given as the Little Coneygarth in the document of 1839. But the remarks of Bridges, who regarded the warren earthworks as defensive, and the fact that a map of 1737 gives both the warren and the true site of the Castle the same name—Castle Yard—is an indication that the real nature of these earthworks was beginning to be forgotten.

But what of the castle itself? All that can be said for certain is that it must have been small, occupying an area some 400 feet square, about
the same size as Fotheringhay castle. The medieval documents and later topographical accounts enable only the most general picture to be given of it. Cole’s description mentions an elevated mound encompassed by a deep moat which he regarded as the site of the keep, and which could have been a motte. However there is no certain medieval record of any stone building ever having been regarded as a keep—the “tower” or “tower house” mentioned in medieval accounts and thought by Kerr to be the keep could have stood elsewhere in the castle. Cole’s “mound” might have been simply a compact defended inner enclosure, which in some ways would fit what is known about the size and plan of the place rather better. There seem to have been two baileys or wards; this is suggested by occasional references to a “lower ward”—which implies the existence of an upper ward—and by references to an important “Middle Gate”, with the steward’s chamber above, which could have led from one ward to another and was distinct from the main outer gates of the castle. These were the Town Gate, located by Kerr close to the present entry to the castle area from College Street, and an East or Field Gate on the east side of the castle. There was also a postern. Within the castle was an impressive array of buildings which must have been tightly packed together—chapel, hall, lodgings, kitchen and other offices, but we have no idea precisely where they stood. There are occasional references to the defences, as when in 1464 the Duchy court ordered that no one should put “any nuisance into the castle ditch”. It is possible that the rectangular pond shown until recently on the Ordnance Survey maps lying south of the supposed castle earthworks might have been a pool of water or a moat.

This and most of the following references to the appearance of the castle are taken from Chapter XI of Kerr’s book, note 1.

have represented part of it and might have been related to the watercourse mentioned in the Halmote proceedings in 1469.

The demolition of the castle has been thorough and presumably began after 1523 when Henry VIII allowed Sir Richard Wingfield to remove stone and lead from Higham Ferrers for his work at Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire. Leland at some time between 1532 and 1542 described it as “of late clene faullen and taken downe” and references to destruction and ruins appear regularly in the topographical literature up to the time of Cole, who records the levelling of the mound and the filling in of the moat. The site is now largely built over and the most impressive relic of the castle in addition to the warren and fishponds is the dovecote, possibly the new one built in 1406-7, and which is frequently referred to in subsequent accounts and surveys.

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LITERACY AT NORTHAMPTON, 1761-1900: FURTHER INTERIM FIGURES

During the past two years, work has continued on the above project (N.P. & P., IV, 6 (1971-72), 379-81). The marriage registers for all Church of England churches within the County Borough of Northampton as it existed immediately after the 1900 boundary extension have now been examined for evidence of literacy among bridegrooms and brides. The additional churches are St. James (register commences in 1873), St. Andrew (1879), St. Lawrence (1879), St. John the Baptist, Kingsthorpe (ancient register, examined from 1881), St. Michael (register commences in 1883), St. Mary (1886), St. Paul (1890), St. Peter & St. Paul, Abington (ancient register, examined from 1891), and St. Matthew (register commences in 1893). Kingsthorpe and Abington were parishes adjoining the pre-1900 boundaries of Northampton, and each was much affected by late-Victorian ‘overspill’ from the borough, Kingsthorpe earlier than Abington.

Curiously enough, the new aggregates of name-signing bridegrooms and brides do not alter any of the percentages, 1871-1900, which appear in Table 1 (p. 379), although there are considerable differences in the figures obtained from individual parishes. St. Andrew’s, ‘Bradlaugh’s stronghold’ according to the Rev. Pascal Lamb who was the vicar there from 1875 to 1885 (N.R.O., M.L. 598), was slummy in general tone, much of it having been built before 1850; St. Lawrence’s, on the other hand, had been developed almost entirely after 1870 and was mostly ‘respectable artisan’, but also included a few terraces of houses in which lived persons of higher social status. At St. Lawrence’s Church between 1881 and 1890, 5% of the bridegrooms and 6% of the brides did not sign their names; but at St. Andrew’s, less than half a mile away, the figures were 11% and 14% respectively.

Thus the only alterations to be recorded in Table 1 are the number of marriages which took place during each decade between 1871 and 1900. The new figures are 2,536 for 1871-80, 2,970 for 1881-90, and 4,015 for 1891-1900.

Mr. Joseph Rajczonek and Mr. Brian G. Statham have each given me much help in the second stage of this project, and I am grateful to both of them. The Revs. A. J. Howitt (St. Mary’s), C. Moxon (St. Matthew’s) and A. W. Wintersgill (St. James’) kindly allowed me to examine the marriage registers for their churches; the other registers mentioned in this note were examined in the copies held at the Register Office, Northampton. Mr. John P. Kingston, the Superintendent Registrar for Northampton, has afforded me every facility for working on the pre-1901 marriage registers in his care; and I acknowledge my error (p. 380) in referring to the office which is his headquarters as a ‘registry office’ instead of the correct ‘register office’. Mea culpa!

Victor A. Hatley.
My purpose is to discuss, in an inevitably cursory way, what happened to your county during the reign of Henry VIII; and in particular, how it reacted to the Henrician Reformation.

If I am to describe a reaction, perhaps I should begin by saying a little about the thing reacted to.

The Reformation was of profound importance in England's history. It left a deep and enduring mark on the mind, heart and face of this land. This is true of the whole complex movement and it is true of the first phase, accomplished in Henry VIII's reign: even though England was not yet finally committed to European Protestantism, she had terminated her ancient allegiance to Rome, declared the king to be head of the English Church and carried out the destruction of the hundreds of religious houses—an event which entailed the dispersal of thousands of monks, friars, canons and nuns, and the redistribution of the enormous landed wealth previously enjoyed by their houses.

It is easy at this distance from the events to make the Henrician Reformation too easy, too straightforward. The truth is that it, too, was 'a damned nice thing'. We must remember that, for all the anticlericalism and desire for radical change, English conservatism was strong, as too regionalism. Furthermore, we have heard too much about 'the Tudor peace'. England in the early sixteenth century possessed a highly volatile, armed society contained by a very thin shell of law and order. Violence and rebellion were always at hand. Tudor monarchs ruled as much by bluff as anything else, and could never afford seriously to disregard the will of the political nation. Between them, Henry and Thomas Cromwell accomplished a religious and political revolution thanks to a mixture of high skill and even higher good luck. Their enterprise could easily have failed. It nearly did.

The supreme crisis came in 1536—after six years of very nervous cajolery and manipulation. Parliament had completed the Breach with Rome, declared the royal supremacy and agreed to the dissolution of the smaller monasteries. On 1 October the explosion occurred. First Lincolnshire, then the West Riding and thence neighbouring areas rose in rebellion. The government was unprepared for this sudden and large-scale rising and badly shaken by the rebels' demands—that (among other things) Henry put away Anne Boleyn, name Mary as his heir, eject Cromwell and heretical bishops like Cranmer, punish those involved in surveying and suppressing monasteries, halt the suppression and even restore dissolved houses, and—from some lips—return to the Roman fold. True, many of the demands of the rebels (or 'Pilgrims', as they called themselves) were socio-economic. True, there was much more to this so-called Pilgrimage of Grace than high-minded loyalty to the old Faith. But it is still just to describe it as a conservative protest, as a primarily religious one (in the largest sense of the word), and as the greatest challenge from within that Tudor monarchy ever faced. It could have undone Henry. The major reason why it did not was because the Pilgrims had come to plead with him rather than to fight.

Could it have spread? Could it have fired the South, or at any rate areas further south? Quite probably. Could it have spread to Northampton? Quite possibly.
In 1532 Sir William Spencer died. His heir was a minor. Because he was alleged to have held land of the Crown by knight service, royal custody during the minority of all his lands and of the heir himself was claimed by the Crown. The Spencers were already a major territorial power in the south west of the county (as also, of course, in south-east Warwickshire) and lands worth about £3,500 p.a. were at stake. Moreover, since the Crown commonly farmed out to other local worthies the lands which thus came into its hands by virtue of its feudal rights, Spencer’s death was inevitably a matter which would engage the keen interest of neighbours.

As it happened, however, the Crown’s feudal right was challenged by a leading figure in that part of the county, namely, Edmund Knightley of Fawsley. Spencer had been married to Edmund’s sister Susan; and to add to the connection, Edmund’s brother was married to a Spencer girl. Edmund, his brother and his sister (Spencer’s relict) were able to get a local jury to swear that Spencer had not held any land by knight service after all, and laid claim to the dead man’s possessions during the minority. Edmund had been very busy gathering support for his cause—so busy and so successful, indeed, that he swiftly drew royal displeasure upon his head and found himself in prison, in the Fleet.

Shortly after this counter-stroke, the Crown had the case of the Spencer lands brought to Westminster to be heard before the Exchequer. Once again, however, things began to go awry. The sheriff of Northamptonshire, David Cecil, had gathered a new jury, but had foolishly relied upon no less a person than Sir George Throckmorton of Coughton Court for help; and Sir George was a friend and relative of the Knightleys, as well as being a serious opponent of the royal policies in Parliament. It was therefore quickly apparent that the Crown would lose its case in the Exchequer—which it did, despite efforts to manipulate the proceedings.

It is not clear what happened next. All we know is that the lord keeper Audley intervened, and that eventually the Crown’s claims were upheld. At the last minute, therefore, and in a high-handed way, the Crown frustrated the designs of the Knightley dynasty and made off with the prize.

The Knightleys were among the most important of the 40-odd major gentry families of the shire. They were related, of course, to a considerable number of them, like the Andrews, and allied to others, like the Newnhams or the Barnards of Abington. There is evidence (albeit scrappy) that they and their friends formed a faction of a kind very familiar to the student of Tudor politics. Here was just the sort of issue to generate a faction-struggle; and Edmund Knightley, ambitious, belligerent and disaffected, was just the sort of man to indulge in it, all the more when the Crown granted custody of the Spencer lands to members of the opposing faction (of whom Anthony Cope of Canons Ashby was a leading member). Knightley had reason to feel alienated. He had the ability to stir a not inconsiderable body of men of ‘substance and worship’ in the south west of the county. Had the Pilgrimage spread thither, had his part of the shire caught fire, we would have little hesitation in explaining how Knightley became involved in the arson. The motive and the ability would be plain to see.

A little genealogy would clinch the charge. One of Knightley’s nieces was married to George

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2 ibid., v, 1051 is a letter from Sir George to Cromwell written a few days after Spencer’s death and suggesting that the writer was eager to serve the king. A few months later (November 1532) Sir Thomas Audley told Cromwell that he had not been as ‘hearty’ as had been hoped. *Ibid.*, 1518. Another described him to Cromwell as secretly working against the king. See ibid., vi, 128.
3 When it became clear that the Exchequer case would not succeed, Audley had it sent back to Warwickshire under a writ of supersedeas; and only then did the Crown win. *Ibid.*, 1542. It was a measure of the extent to which royal interests were engaged that, despite the fact that the judges said that David Cecil—a loyal servant indeed—could not be sheriff for Northants for a second year running, the king should himself have added his name to the list and pricked him for 1532/3. See *ibid.*, 1598 (10).
4 The major piece of evidence is a letter of Sir William Parr to Cromwell which speaks of ‘the open grudge’ that the Knightleys had long borne towards him and asks that the office of sheriff be not bestowed on them, Sir William Newnham, the Andrews family, Thomas Lovet, or John Barnard. See P.R.O., S.P. 1/80, fo.22-v (*L.P.*, vi, 1337). Marriages provide some further hints of alliance, as do sales, etc., of land, especially ex-monastic, later on.
5 *L.P.*, vii, 922 (20). They received custody in June 1534 and enjoyed it for four years.
Lumley, who, with his father, was executed for his part in the Pilgrimage. His sister Dorothy had been married to Lord Latimer, another leading figure in the rising. Edmund was a serjeant-at-law and in 1535 did legal business in London for none other than Lord Darcy, the foremost aristocrat in the Pilgrimage of Grace and perhaps (after Sir Thomas More) Henry's most dangerous lay opponent.

Northamptonshire seems to have been favourably disposed, on balance, towards its religious houses. We may deduce this from the second set of visitation reports—produced in 1536 by a group of mainly local gentlemen—which here as elsewhere conflicted seriously with the vicious and hostile returns made by the notorious royal visitors shortly before. Thus there was praise for Chalcombe priory and for the nunnery at Catesby (reported as a den of vice a little while previously); St. James's, Northampton, received enthusiastic commendation. The abbot, the gentlemen said, was a godly man and loved by all. 60 to 80 poor folk were daily relieved at the abbey gates and the buildings were in good repair. They begged that the house be allowed to stand. They wrote so favourably about these houses and then the Benedictine nunnery at Wothorpe, declaring its five inmates virtuous in life and skilled at embroidery, bookmaking, sewing, carving, painting and drawing, that Henry VIII angrily concluded that they had been bribed. And who were these gentlemen? Edmund Knightley himself, John Lane (one of his clientele), George Gifford (a son of the Staffordshire family, related by marriage to the Knightleys and a royal official), and Robert Burgoyne (a Northamptonshire man).

Of course, their enthusiasm for these religious houses must not be taken as necessarily evidence of zeal for monasticism itself. Those who pleaded for the monasteries in part did so (often enough) to protect the offices and leases they held from them and rights they might enjoy as descendants of the founders, etc. The religious houses were so much part of the socio-economic fabric that anyone of substance would be anxious when there was talk of suppression—not least, perhaps, lest local rivals or complete outsiders thrust in by the king or his favourites should make off with the spoils faster than he could.

But this is scarcely the whole truth here. The reports have a ring of disinterestedness about them. The words of praise seem sincerely meant. There were evidently men of standing in Northamptonshire who were ready to speak out on behalf of some of their religious houses—in defiance of what they must have known to be royal wishes and at the very time when dissolution was imminent. If the Pilgrimage of Grace had spread to this county would we not point to these reports to provide some of the explanation of what happened?

We have been concerned with laymen apparently sympathetic towards the old order. We must look at another one—and his chaplain.

Richard Fermor of Easton Neston and Walton was a very successful wool merchant (he had, among other things, married the daughter of a lord mayor of London) and was now building up considerable landed possessions in the south of the county. But he had a chaplain, Nicholas Thayne, who appeared before the Justices at Northampton Castle at Michaelmas 1539 charged with serious dissidence. Allegedly in the previous July he had preached a vigorous sermon in support of the papal primacy (making considerable use of the text 'Feed my sheep'), and on the following 1st of December had interrupted the vicar of Easton while the latter, in obedience to the recent royal Injunctions, preached against Rome, veneration of images, pilgrimages, etc. Thayne had stood up and cried, 'Well, well, master Vicar, be not too hasty, for this will come...'

Ibid., xii, ii, 186 (64).
8 Ibid., x, 916, 917.
9 Ibid., 1166.
It is interesting that two months after Gifford had written in praise of St. James's he had changed his tune. The abbot had died, leaving the house in debt, and the presumption was that it would now certainly be suppressed. Gifford therefore quickly put in a bid to receive the lease of the lands (offering Cromwell a £20 douceur) and spoke frankly of his fear lest Knightley beat him to the post. So L.P., xi, 87. But this does not mean that what he had previously said was insincere. Like others, Gifford put in his bid as soon as it was certain that, despite what had been said locally, the religious houses were doomed. If they had to fall, he and his like wanted to be sure of their share of the spoils.
home again, and go no further than ye may call back again'. Furthermore, instead of erasing or obliterating the word 'pope' (or 'papa') wherever it appeared in any liturgical or prayer book, Thayne had merely covered it with wax, which could obviously be cracked off whenever England's allegiance to Rome came 'home again'.

Fermor had supported Thayne and encouraged him. Thayne was found guilty and sent to prison. Fermor was brought before King's Bench on a praemunire charge—for abetting his chaplain in his disloyalty, and for visiting him in prison and comforting him with the gift of a shirt and eight pence. Fermor was found guilty and suffered loss of lands and goods.

He is a most interesting figure. I cannot think of any other layman so actively dissident as late as 1538/9. He was a powerful man and had powerful connections: his son was married to a daughter of Lord Vaux, one daughter had married into the Lovetts of Astwell (also of the Knightley faction) and another was the wife of Edmund Knightley's nephew.

Presumably what he and his chaplain thought in 1538 they had also thought in 1536. Thayne might well have emerged then as a leader of discontented rank-and-file clergy who had been hit by harsh clerical taxation and faced (among other things) the threat of losing jobs or promotion when ex-monks began to appear on the market—and who played an important part in the Pilgrimage of Grace. And if Thayne might have been Northampton's Vicar of Louth, might Richard Fermor have been its Robert Aske?

We need not enter into the debate as to whether the risings of 1536 began from below and (as some subsequently claimed) then 'captured' the gentlemen-leaders, or whether—as seems rather more probable—it had noble and gentle direction from the start. Whichever it was, the commons would inevitably be much involved sooner or later. If rebellion had spread to Northampton there would have been no shortage of popular support, and support which went beyond that of leaders' tenants and retainers.

The county had undergone a considerable amount of enclosure to make way for sheep (and also park and forest), which had certainly caused some depopulation and hence added to the numbers of landless men who had little to do save seek casual rural employment, or to forage, or to drift to nearby village or town. We must remember how much desperate poverty there was and how much unemployment or semi-unemployment in early Tudor England: how many there were, in other words, who had little to lose and perhaps much to gain from violence and insurrection.

Like many of the old corporate towns (e.g. York or Coventry) Northampton in the early sixteenth century had fallen on hard times. It was a paradox that while many of the local landowners were enjoying the boom in cloth production (especially for export)—like Vaux, Spencer, Knightley, Andrews, Catesby, Lovett, Brudenell, Fitzwilliam, etc.—and were encouraged thereby to enclose more and more land for wool production, Northampton itself suffered the economic decay that afflicted many provincial towns. We need not discuss here the national reasons for this. But we should note some peculiar local features which made conditions worse than they might have been. First, by 1536 most of the religious houses in the area had begun to see the writing on the wall and had given up maintaining the dwellings which they owned in the town. Some, including the friars, were fairly substantial landlords. Understandably, they had little incentive to keep their properties from falling into decay. Secondly, Northampton seems to have had a heavy financial burden to carry. The royal fee farm allegedly pressed hard and the upkeep of town hall, prison, walls, roads and bridges was onerous. Though the town bore the cost of

10 All this comes from the indictment of Fermor in King's Bench (P.R.O., K.B.9/544, rot.12). Thayne's Christian name is given here as James, but I have preferred to follow tradition and call him Nicholas. Cf. DNB, Baker, Antiquities of Northants., p.707.
11 The story goes that he returned to Wapenham, near Easton, and lived there quietly. Later, Henry VIII's jester, Will Somers, is said to have pleaded successfully for him with the king, who ordered that he be restored to his lands; but he does not seem to have been rehabilitated until 1550. He died in 1552. He is a remarkable (and neglected) man.
12 Cf. the list of nineteen enclosing landlords (compiled in 1526) in P.R.O., C47(7)2-3, fo.7. L.P. Addenda, ii, 917 names some more.
maintaining bridges, the tolls exacted thereon were not vested in the town itself—and they were heavy enough to deter traffic both in and out. A vicious circle had developed: declining commerce and high taxes tending to depress trade and fairs still further and increase the fiscal burden upon those who survived. There was serious unemployment in the town and all the familiar signs of that demoralisation which accompanies it. Dr. John London, one of the royal visitors of the religious houses, wrote eloquently to Cromwell about how folk were being ‘drowned’ in idleness and how ‘the number of artificers sore decayeth here and the number of tipplers and alehouses increaseth daily’. Meanwhile the dispossessed folk from villages abandoned to sheep-raising often made their way to towns in search of work, food and alcohol—to swell the ranks of the urban ‘proletariat’.

There is here an almost text-book example of a social tinder-box. Northampton would not have needed much to set it alight; and it probably would not have mattered to the rank-and-file if their leaders had been the very men whose long-term interests were most opposed to their own.

When rebellion broke out at Louth in Lincolnshire on 1 October 1536 it found the government unprepared and vulnerable. The insurrection spread like fire through dry grass across the county, to Spalding and beyond. By 6 October it seemed that nothing could turn the rebels back, for the men of Stamford and Peterborough, for instance, were ‘very faint’ and every district that was overrun apparently rose wholly with the rebels. The prior of Spalding was reported to be preparing to join them; a bailiff of the abbot of Peterborough was among them; their leader, Lord Hussey, was his high bailiff. The rebel army was reckoned to number perhaps thirty or forty thousand; on 8 October a muster of the king’s forces near Peterborough consisted of only one thousand men, of whom only half were able to fight and few had armour or weapons.

Then the rising began to collapse (partly because the king seemed to be ready to listen and to pardon). But had the rebels taken Stamford and continued in a south-westerly direction, there would have been little to halt them. On 12 October the Crown still had no more than two thousand men at hand, and these were seriously short of harness, weapons and artillery. Peterborough folk were going over to the insurgents and there can be little doubt that further support would have been forthcoming from other parts of the county. Instead, of course, the centre of the rising passed northwards, to the West Riding.

When Henry heard of the rising in Yorkshire his first plan was to lead an army thither himself, using Northampton as a main base. On 19 October a letter was accordingly sent to the town bidding it to prepare to receive the king and an army of 30,000. But it is a measure of the government’s frenzy and the difficulties which it faced that the letter did not reach Northampton until 31 October, that it somewhat baffled its recipients because it failed to indicate when the royal army would arrive, how long it would stay or what route it would take northwards, and that those to whom the king now turned for this vital support were none other than Edmund Knightley and his friends Andrews and Lovett, and (incredibly) Richard Fermor.

Northamptonshire lacked a great magnate. There was no earl and only one nobleman (Lord Vaux, who was not an activist). The county had no Darcy or Neville to stir it. Knightley was aggressive enough, but he was too ‘wilful and full of fond inventions’, that is, too pig-headed and bent on personal gain, to become a leader. It was typical of him that not long afterwards his furious energy should have been taken up in squabbling with his widowed mother when he inherited the family estates in 1538, and that he should by then have made his peace with the king.

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13 This account of Northampton’s plight comes from a letter written by London in January 1539. P.R.O., S.P.1/142, fos 31-2 (L.P., xiv, i, 42). Of course, every town bemoaned its poverty and exaggerated its tax burden—to escape further impositions. But Dr. London was an outsider with no obvious axe to grind.
14 L.P., xi, p.567, 619, etc. For further detail, see Mellows, *Elizabethan Peterborough*, etc. Northants Record Society, 18 (1956), intro.
15 L.P., xi, 931.
16 ‘No shire within this land is so plentifully stored with gentry’, said Norden in 1591—remarking a feature of Northamptonshire which had been present sixty years before.
17 So Lord Audley described him to Cromwell in 1537. L.P., xii, ii, 805.
Very little of the county, surprisingly little, was in the hands of ‘foreigners’. The earl of Derby had a few manors in the south west; the Poles in the north east, as, too, had the Crown. Eton, Shene, the abbeys of Leicester and Dunstable—to name some religious foundations—had scattered possessions in the county, but for the rest, the impression is of a compact, self-contained community. There was plenty of social movement within, but not many parvenus, intruders or carpet-baggers. The Crown’s properties—some of them attained lands of the duke of Buckingham, others previously held by Henry VIII’s grandmother, Lady Margaret, or his illegitimate son or belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster, largely remained with the Crown and were not distributed to courtiers or favourites. Henry VIII himself, of course, energetically built up the royal parks and forests which formed the Honour of Grafton; but this was mainly on the edge of the county and after 1536. In short, there had been no serious disruption of the pattern of land-owning and, apart from what happened when Spencer died, no serious royal intervention in local affairs which would irritate or alienate the local possessing classes.

What discontent there was seems to have lain in the south west of the county, where, as has been said, the outlines of a faction can be discerned. But between here and the rebels in Lincolnshire stood not just the Fens (which obviously brought some communication problems) but what looks like a counter-faction containing such names as Parr, Vaux, Fitzwilliam, Griffiths—a sufficiently formidable array to neutralise the Knightley bloc and perhaps to hold the county steady.

And perhaps the Crown, wittingly or otherwise, helped them. Having maybe scented that the local support for some of the condemned religious houses was dangerously strong, Henry and Cromwell allowed stays of execution for some lucky ones, in return for cash. Among them was St. James’s, Northampton, about which Edmund Knightley and his colleagues had written so fulsomely. For the considerable sum of £333 6s. 8d. it was exempted from dissolution under the Act of 1536. Local feeling was perhaps thus placated at a critical moment; the Crown received a useful windfall; two years later the house was quietly suppressed after all.

By the early 1540s the new order was fairly secure. A revolution had been accomplished and its enemies either removed or won over.

In Northamptonshire—as elsewhere—we see the rewards being distributed. There were enormous grants (at a good price, on the whole) of ex-monastic land to the Andrews family, the Treshams, and Fitzwilliams, to George Gifford and John Fermor, and above all to Parr. The Knightleys seem to have got very little. Indeed, so did most of their friends, except for the Andrews.

The real victor was Knightley’s keenest opponent, Parr, who was not only the county’s most loyal servant to the king during the Lincolnshire rebellion and after, but was, of course, to enjoy exceptional favour as brother of the king’s sixth and last wife. Parr led the way by which Northamptonshire became (not for the first time) a nursery of men of national stature—front-rank politicians and statesmen of Elizabethan England like Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Mildmay and, of course, William Cecil himself.

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18 I have, of course, picked out here just a few examples. A number of other outsiders (laymen), including Sandys and Lisle, could be named. I have counted 24 other religious foundations (including Durham priory and the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds) which had possessions in the county. But none seems to have been extensive.

19 The Dissolution of the monasteries, of course, brought into the county such well-endowed favourites as Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, ministers like Cromwell himself, as well as several courtiers and lesser officials.

20 For which, of course, see Pettit, Royal Forests of Northamptonshire, 1558-1714, Northants Record Society, 23 (1968).

21 Possibly, too, plans for an exchange of lands between Knightley and the Crown (involving some monastic property) may, by the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, have done something to assuage the former’s disappointment over the Spencer inheritance. See L.P., x, 572.

22 L.P., xiii, ii, 457 (i); xiii, ii, 183.

23 For which, see L.P., xvii-xx, passim.
Clemence Tresham, of Rushton and Syon

On September 9th 1717 Justinian Isham recorded in his diary a visit to St. Peter's Church Rushton. Among the monuments he noted there was “a grave-stone for Mrs. Clementia Tresham upon which she is portrayed with Latin verses at her feet and this inscription round the Verge: ‘Clementia Tresham Domini Thomas Tresham Soror quondam in Monast — * desion dum id consistit monialis obiit sexto die Septembris anno dni 1567 (letters were away here as in other places) cuius animi propitietur Deus Amen (Clementia Tresham sister of Sir Thomas Tresham once in the Monastery of Syon, while the nuns lived there; died September 6th, 1567, on whose soul may God have mercy Amen.) The Parsonage house for this Church was built for her when she retired from Syon . . .”

David Lysons elaborates a little further in his Environs of London, 1792-96; the memorial, he says, was “upon a white marble on the floor . . . the figure of a nun in black and white habit.”

We have special reason to be grateful to these observers. For at the end of the eighteenth century, when the parishes of St. Peter's and All Saints' Rushton were united, St. Peter's Church was pulled down, and the parsonage with it. Though the splendid monument to Sir Thomas Tresham was first moved to neighbouring All Saints', his sister's memorial was not similarly preserved, presumably because its historical interest was not then recognised.

Its destruction leaves a number of questions unanswered. In particular, did the memorial to “Mrs. Clementia Tresham”—Clemence in its English form—really portray her in the full authentic habit of her order? If so, it was the last recorded monument in England to a former nun to do so—and this, eight years after the establishment of Elizabethan Anglicanism. Indeed, the only two other known pictorial memorials to English Bridgetines do not attempt to show the distinctive Bridgetine headdress, with its white crown on which bands in the form of a cross contained five insets denoting the Five Wounds of Christ's Passion. Lysons' reference to a black and white habit suggests that the Rushton memorial may have done so. Sir Thomas Tresham's monument, depicting a robed Grand Prior of the Knights of St. John, is the only one of its kind in this country; could his sister's have been as exceptional, in its way? The only complete Bridgetine representation?

The Bridgetine Order was itself exceptional. At the Reformation it was of comparatively recent origin, having been founded by the Swedish mystic, St. Bridget (d. 1373). Syon Abbey in Middlesex was the sole English Bridgetine house—founded in 1414 by Henry V, first at Twickenham, then moving 18 years later to Isleworth. Its lands were donated by the Crown; it was the wealthiest of all English convents. Though it was a double foundation, the Abbess exercised temporal authority over both sexes. The brethren had to be at least 25 before being professed, the sisters 18, and such was its reputation that it recruited on a national scale, unlike the majority of women's houses. It attracted women of high social standing, and also—as its post-Reformation history shows—of exceptional calibre; while many of the men were University graduates. Under the early Tudors, with their Lancastrian sympathies, Syon basked in royal favour, and was renowned for its spiritual and intellectual vigour. It survived involvement in the Maid of Kent affair in.

1 The later memorial brass (1577) to a former Clerkenwell Augustinian nun, Ann Boroghe, also in Northamptonshire (at Dingley) portrays her wearing a costume of a type often shown on female figures of the early Elizabethan period, and has an inscription in English to which no Protestant of the day would have objected.
2 Brasces of Agnes Jordan, Abbess, 1547, at Denham, Bucks, and Margaret Dely, Treasurer, at Isleworth, Middlesex, 1561—the latter destroyed, 1943, but rubbings still in existence.
3 Syon House, seat of the Dukes of Northumberland, now stands on the site.
4 Thomas Cromwell was its last Steward, before the Dissolution—a largely honorary office.
1533, and the execution of one of its leading brethren, Richard Reynolds in 1535, and was one of the last convents to be suppressed.

At the Suppression, Clemence Tresham, daughter of John Tresham of Rushton, and granddaughter of Sir Thomas Tresham, Speaker of the House of Commons, executed by the Yorkists after Tewkesbury in 1471, had been a nun at Syon for at least twentyone years. She is recorded as being present at the election of Constancia Browne as Abbess in 1518, and so must have been born before 1500. The Treshams' Lancastrian loyalties may have helped draw her to Syon rather than to the local convents of Delapre or Catesby, both of which had good reputations. But she must have had a genuine vocation for the spiritual, too; Syon's Rule was demanding, and in an age when many houses had relaxed their original disciplines, Syon's observances were meticulous, the rules of enclosure and silence rigorously applied.

In all her years at Syon, Clemence never seems to have held any convent office. At the Dissolution she would already have reached middle-age. All the Syon nuns were awarded relatively high pensions; the Abbess received £200 per annum and Clemence fell into a fairly high bracket on account of her seniority, and received £6.13.4d. This was more than some heads of small houses received; nevertheless, even by sixteenth century standards, it would have allowed for little more than subsistence; and it might have been expected that at this point Clemence Tresham would have returned to the family home at Rushton.

Surprisingly—in view of her later actions—she did not. For her pension, together with that of two other Syon sisters, Bridget Belgrave and Mary Denham, was drawn on her behalf by Richard Whytford, "the Wretch of Syon", a Cambridge scholar who was the friend of Erasmus, who before entering Syon had been tutor to the Mountjoys and chaplain to Bishop Foxe of Winchester, and whose mystical and polemical treatises, and translations, were widely acclaimed by his contemporaries. Whytford was given refuge by the fourth Lord Mountjoy in his London house; in view of the pension arrangements made, the three Syon nuns, Clemence included, must have gone there with him.

A high proportion of the Syon community remained together in this way, attempting to continue their religious life as best they could. The Abbess herself maintained a community at Denham originally numbering at least 10 until her death there; the future abbess, Catherine Palmer, went to Flanders with another group. There were other similar groupings scattered throughout the Home Counties. But Clemence's attachment to one led by Whytford is interesting as suggesting a special preoccupation with the mystical, which is marked in other members of her family.

Richard Whytford died in 1542. There is no record of what then happened to the nuns whose pensions he had drawn, except that all three names appear on the 1555-56 Pension List drawn up for Cardinal Pole. Without Whytford, they may have lost heart; significantly, Clemence herself is named on the 1555-56 list as "late religious", as if implying that she had abandoned hope of a return to convent life, and neither Bridget Belgrave nor Mary Denham returned to Syon on its subsequent restoration. It seems most likely that Clemence went back to Rushton after 1542, but we do not know if the house near St. Peter's was built for her then or after 1559. Her brother, Sir Thomas (d.1559) served both Henry VIII and Edward VI loyally and remuneratively, being one of Henry's Commissioners for the surrender of monastic lands, and only withdrew support from the Protestant Northumberland when the latter attempted to procure the succession of Lady Jane Grey. Could Clemence have watched his career and decided that Syon's revival was a lost cause?

In 1553 the break came. Sir Thomas Tresham proclaimed Mary Tudor at Northampton. Her accession meant the restoration of Catholicism, and in 1557, his second wife being dead, Thomas was to become Grand Prior of the Order of St.

5 For denying the royal supremacy; canonised, 1971.
6 There is no Surrender Deed for Syon in the Augmentation Office records. Wriothesley's Chronicle gives 25th November, 1539, however.
7 The Dictionary of National Biography gives "(fl. 1495-1555)" but in fact Whytford died 16th September 1542. His works included an English translation of the Martyrologe after the use of the church of Salisbury (1526) which he explained that he had written for "certain religious persons unlearned"—presumably, the Syon sisters, whose Latin may have been less than perfect. Also Pomander of Prayer (1532), a translation of The Mirror of Our Lady, (1530), The Following of Christ (printed 1536) etc.
John. A few nuns had already returned to Syon with Mary's blessing in November 1556; in March 1557 Catherine Palmer was appointed Abbess, and the community was officially re-enclosed on 1st August. Clemence Tresham's name is among those in the Restoration Charter; her brother's example in "entering religion", and the traditional Tresham loyalty to the Crown—Syon's restoration owed much to Mary Tudor's personal initiative and generosity—may have convinced her that she was not "late religious" after all.

But within the next year Mary Tudor was dead, and Syon redissolved. The bulk of the community went into exile abroad, surviving numerous vicissitudes and several changes of residence before returning finally to England in the mid-nineteenth century, the only English religious community with an unbroken record stretching back to Pre-Reformation times.

A few of the re-enclosed nuns remained in England. Margaret Dely was one, dying at Isleworth in 1561; Clemence Tresham was another. In both cases, age or ill-health may have been the deciding factor; but for a Tresham, the family habit of adhering to the legitimate sovereign at whatever personal cost could well have played a part. Again Clemence retired to Rushton, to the house by the church in which she was to be buried eight years later. Her great-nephew, Thomas "the Builder" (d.1605) who had inherited Rushton in 1559 and who, at his aunt's death, still conformed at least outwardly to the Elizabethan Settlement, evidently esteemed her sufficiently to erect a memorial expressing very clearly what she had been; and its Catholic appearance and inscription suggest a rector and congregation prepared to accept such an expression at a fairly late date in what was after all the Established parish church as well as a family chapel.

The impression of Clemence Tresham from the existing fragmentary records suggests a somewhat self-effacing woman. There is no documentary evidence that she helped in the shaping of her great-nephew, Thomas's spiritual development. Yet it is surely not insignificant that his unique New Building at Lyveden (1594 ff.) was to have as its theme that Passion of Christ which was such a particular Bridgettine devotion, linked with the honouring of the Virgin Mary, for whom the Bridgettines also had a very special attachment.

Audrey Butler.

8 The Venetian ambassador wrote, 16th November 1556: "Today the Cardinal (Pole) accompanied by the Lord High Treasurer and the Bishop of Ely has replaced . . . at Syon Abbey some of the Bridgettine nuns who had remained in England."

9 This remarkable woman was the youngest daughter of Sir Edward Palmer of New Place, Angmering, Sussex. Her three brothers were all favoured by Henry VIII and all became Protestants. The eldest acquired Syon's Sussex property after the Dissolution, enclosing it to the detriment of the tenants who brought a suit against him in the Star Chamber. He was later executed, but why or exactly when is uncertain. The youngest brother, Thomas Palmer, was beheaded with Northumberland in 1553. Catherine died at Mechlin, 1576.

10 Mary Tudor's Will contained bequests to the restored religious houses of Syon and Sheen: "Which said houses are by my said dear lord and husband, and by me, revived and newly erected according to their several ancient foundations, orders and statutes, and we have restored and endowed them severally with diverse manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments, sometime parcel of their several possession. For a further increase of their living, and to the intent that the said religious persons may be more liable to re-edify some part of their necessary houses that were so subverted and defaced . . . I will and give unto either of the said religious houses of Sheen and Syon the sum of five hundred pounds of lawful money of England . . . " (30th April 1558). It seems unlikely that the communities ever received their bequests.

11 At South Brent, Devon, since 1925. The writer is indebted to the community for information from the Syon records which has greatly helped the compilation of this article.

12 Presumably—there is, however, no record of her burial in the Rushton Parish Records for 1567. (Cf. Parish Register of Rushton 1558-1537, ed. P. A. F. Stephenson, 1929).
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1973 sees the quatercentenary of the birth of Inigo Jones, the genius of English architecture. Mr. John Harris, writing in *The Times* (7 July, 1973) says that Jones's pupil and son-in-law John Webb was “perhaps alone in comprehending that unique protean man, whose life and knowledge must be seen as a cross section through the whole spectrum of the arts, humanities and sciences. With all due respect, Wren and Robert Adam pale into insignificance beside him.” This verdict certainly does not rest on his own undoubted buildings, which have survived into our own time, the Banqueting House at Whitehall, the Queen's Chapel at St. James’s, the Queen's House at Greenwich. Much alas, has been destroyed, and many of the buildings once attributed to Jones cannot now be assigned to him. Mr. Harris, for instance, considers that Jones was responsible for work at Houghton Conquest, Beds., and Raynham in Norfolk, but “of the country houses built for courtiers”, he says “None is by Jones, although the myth of Jones and the country house is still very much with us.”

It might be well to consider the Northamptonshire Buildings usually attributed to Inigo Jones, and to see what, if any, substance remains in the old claims. It is not necessary to discuss such attributions as the demolished Pytchley Hall, the gateway of which survived until this year at Overstone,¹ when it was almost totally knocked down by a car. Wakeling Dry, in his otherwise excellent small guide (*The Little Guides Series*, 1906) confidently attributed the design of Pytchley to Jones, a claim it is now impossible to discuss seriously. Other attributions are, however, worth serious consideration.

1. Castle Ashby; the two-storeyed screen of Weldon stone on the south front of the house in classical style. This was attributed to Jones by John Bridges (1665-1724), the county historian, who was usually accurate and reliable, and by Colin Campbell in his *Vitrueius Britannicus* (1720), who was neither. Mr. James Lees-Milne (The Age of Inigo Jones, 1953, p. 116) rejects Jones’s authorship both of the screen and the East front on what seem to be sufficient grounds. He points out that the work was done for the 1st Earl of Northampton, who died in 1630, and “the designs of both suggest a French provenance and indeed the slightly thin quality of the Castle Ashby screen is not Italian”. More recently, it has been suggested that the screen is part of the post-Restoration alterations, but in this case it is difficult to explain the presence of the coat of arms of the 1st Earl of Northampton (O. Hill and J. Cornforth, *English Country Houses*, Caroline, 1966 p. 226).

2. Kirby Hall; the main house is, of course, Elizabethan, but the third Sir Christopher Hatton, a scholar and antiquary, considerably altered the appearance of the building by additions and improvements in 1638-9. The official handbook (*Kirby Hall* by G. H. Chettle 1955) accepts the tradition that this new work is by Jones. Hatton was appointed Comptroller of the household by Charles I, and was high in the King's favour, being raised to the peerage in 1643. As Mr. J. A. Gotch remarked (Inigo Jones, 1928, p. 209) “the tradition [that Jones was responsible] satisfies one of the tests presently to be indicated as being desirable in such cases, namely, that Hatton was a person of great influence at Court, and one for whom the services of the King’s surveyor might be available”. At the same time, Mr. Gotch was careful to point out that “there is no direct evidence that he was employed”. The only name that is definitely connected with the work of this period is that of Nicholas Stone, to whom a payment of £4 was made in 1638 perhaps for the bust above the central opening of the Loggia, which bears that date. Stone was “capable of architectural design as well as mere Mason’s work” (Lees-Milne, op. cit., p. 128). Stone is known

¹ It is hoped that the archway of stone may be restored.
to have supplied certain chimney-pieces and window cases in 1638 as well as the bust. Whether Stone could have achieved the sophistication of the north elevation at Kirby is doubtful, but his position as the King’s master-mason meant, necessarily, a close association, and there is no reason why Jones should not have given Stone some assistance. The garden door-way and entrance archway into the forecourt look much more like Stone’s own work and are too clumsy for Jones. Mr. Bruce Bailey in a lecture to the Northamptonshire National Trust Centre (5th September, 1973) suggested that John Webb was responsible for the “Inigo Jones” alterations at Kirby in 1638-40. The official guide suggests that the gallery in the Great Hall (done after Jones’s death) is Webb’s. Webb corresponded with Sir Christopher Hatton III although not about Kirby, or, indeed, architecture. Hatton was a friend of Sir Justinian Isham, who employed Webb under the Commonwealth, when Hatton was in exile in France. The work at Kirby is so like Jones, and yet not quite of his standard that Mr. Bailey’s suggestion of Webb as the architect deserves serious consideration.

3. Stoke Bruerne; the two pavilions at Stoke, which with the broken colonnade, are all that survives of the house built by Sir Francis Crane in 1630-6, were described by Mr. Gotch as “one of the few country houses that can with any assurance be attributed to Inigo Jones”. Crane indeed, was closely associated with the Court. He was lay chancellor of the Order of the Garter and was granted the Manor of Stoke in 1629 in recognition of his services to the crown. He was the owner of the Mortlake Tapestry factory, and a protegée of the Duke of Buckingham. In the published edition of Bridges’s History (ed. Whalley, 1791) it is stated that Crane brought the design from Italy, and “in the execution of it had the assistance of Inigo Jones.” In his notes, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Bridges wrote “the House at Stoke Parke was built by Inigo Jones wth a body & 2 wings joined by corridors or galleries as may be seen by ye view of it to ye gardens taken by Tillemans. The Pillars red of a different Colour from ye house. It was built at ye
charge of Sr Francis Crane from whom by his gift it came to ye Arundels” [the owners when Bridges was writing].² Tillemans’ drawing to which Bridges alludes, happily exists among the collection of drawings made by Peter Tillemans and Thomas Eayre for Bridges, which were, however, not used when his work was published.³

Modern writers, however, tend to dispute the attribution to Jones, on stylistic grounds. Mr. Lees-Milne says “there is a pictorial quality about the composition of plan and elevations which is less Palladian than manneristic.” Mr. John Harris comments that “the famous pavilions at Stoke” fail to pass the test when compared with Jones’s designs for Newmarket and Hyde Park Lodge, but allows that “Jones may have superintended the building which is probably by an Italian architect”.

These three buildings are the only ones in Northamptonshire that have any serious claims to be considered as the work of Inigo Jones, and, as we have seen, there is some doubt about all of them. Mention should, perhaps, be made of the delightful summer-house at Ecton, which has been linked with the name of Jones without any supporting evidence. This dates from the 1630s and is “purely classical” (N. Pevsner, Northamptonshire, Buildings of England series, 1961). The extreme unlikelihood of even prosperous country gentlemen like the Catesbys of Whiston and Ecton being able to employ the King’s Surveyor make the attribution to Jones hardly worth discussion. Mr. Gotch’s conclusion “pleasing enough, but hardly up to Jones’s standard”⁴ may suffice.

It may be noted that there are two buildings in Northamptonshire which, although both built long after Inigo Jones’s death, betray his influence, and indeed are modelled on his known work. The first is the portico of All Saints Church, Northampton, (1701), which is a modest tribute to Inigo Jones’s west portico of St. Paul’s Cathedral in London, which Wren reluctantly had to sacrifice for his new building after the great fire. Jones’s magnificent west portico had been “hacked and mutilated” by the Roundhead troops (John Summerson, Christopher Wren, 1953, p. 99). Although the new church of All Saints Northampton, was completed and opened for worship in 1680, the west portico was not built until twenty years later (Rev. R. M. Serjeantson, History of All Saints, Northampton, 1901 p. 247).

The second building, clearly inspired by a Jones original, is the Stables at Althorp (1730). This is unmistakably derived from St. Paul’s, Covent Garden, where his employer, the Earl of Bedford, had asked for a “barn” to save expense, and Jones had promised him “the handsomest barn in England” (J. A. Gotch, Inigo Jones, p. 178). The adoption of the Tuscan style “suitable for agricultural buildings” was indeed more appropriate to stables than to a church⁵

Mr. John Harris writes that “the sheer beauty of Wilton or the apparent classical content of Castle Ashby may blind one to their defects when compared with Jones’s canon of composition”. Wilton, he unhesitatingly ascribes to Isaac de Caux and John Webb, and of the latter’s work at Wilton he says “His are the famous interiors, and we should not deny him the credit”. John Webb was from the age of seventeen trained by Jones, and worked closely with him. He married Anne Jones, “a kinswoman” of Inigo, and probably his natural daughter (Jones was never married). Webb was entirely devoted to his master, and his own reputation has suffered from his self-effacement.

Webb’s own works have survived even to a less degree than Jones’s, and the issue has been confused by the attribution to him of houses (like Thorpe Hall, Peterborough) with which he had nothing to do. His connection, however, with Lamport Hall, where he built the centre

² I am grateful to Miss Joan Wake for pointing this out, and obtaining a photostatic copy of the page in Bridges’s notes on Stoke (MS. Top. Northants).
³ The drawings are in the British Museum. Add. MSS. 32467.
⁴ Squires Homes, 1939, p. 31.
⁵ The resemblances of the portico of All Saints, and the Stables at Althorp to Jones’s originals was noted by Sir John Summerson in an (unpublished) lecture to the Northamptonshire Antiquarian Society some years ago.
OLD ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON FROM THE EAST BY WENCESLAUS HOLLAR.

ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, NORTHAMPTON BY HENRY BURN.
St. Paul's and the Piazza, Covent Garden in the 17th Century.

The Stables at Althorp (1730).
Unmistakably derived from the design of St. Paul's Covent Garden by Inigo Jones.
portion of the existing S.W. front in 1655, is impeccably documented by his letters and plans, now at the Northamptonshire Record Office.⁶

Sir Justinian Isham, 2nd Bart., Webb’s employer and friend, may well have become acquainted with him, and with Jones too, through Henry Cogan, a minor literary figure and assiduous translator of the period. Sir Justinian, when in London just after the Civil War, frequently stayed at “Mr. Cogan’s house near Charing X”, which is very near Inigo Jones’s house in St. Martin’s parish. Cogan was named in Jones’s Will (dated 22 July, 1650) as one of the two overseers, and left a legacy of £10 (The Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justinian Isham, N.R.S., Vol. xvii, pp. 61 n.1,70, n.2). There is, however, an even earlier connection of Inigo Jones with the Isham family that has not been noticed. In the accounts of John Isham, the London mercer, and great-grandfather of Sir Justinian, is this entry—

“Inego Jones of London cloth worker owith to give £1.12s.6d. and is fer somych monays he doth owe me in my olde accumpte come from F[olio] 4 dew dayes long paste.” Under this entry of 1558 is written thys is quitt and cler.⁷ The father of the great Inigo is an obscure figure. All that is known of him is that he lived in the parish of St. Paul’s Wharf, that he was a clothworker by trade, that he was not rich, that he had an only son, also called Inigo, baptised at St. Bartholomew the Less on 19 July 1573, and three daughters. When his Will was proved on 5 April, 1597, he had little to leave his children. The entry in John Isham’s account book shows him to have been a slow payer of a rather small debt, which, however, he eventually discharged. In his Will, he directed his children to “pay my debts so far forth as they may be received”, evidence that, although poor, he was conscientious. It is possible that these business dealings between the prosperous mercer and the poor clothworker were not forgotten, and may have led to the acquaintance which resulted in John Webb’s employment at Lamport.

GYLES ISHAM.

⁶ For the most recent account, see Oliver Hill and John Cornforth, English Country Houses, Caroline, 1966 pp. 97-101.

THE POET AND THE RAILWAY SURVEYORS
AN INCIDENT IN THE LIFE OF JOHN CLARE

JOHN CLARE, the Northamptonshire poet, kept a journal from 6 September 1824 to 11 September 1825. On 4 June in the latter year, he recorded the following incident which had obviously disturbed him considerably:

"Saw 3 fellows at the end of Royce Wood [Rice Wood in Helpston, Clare's native village] who I found were laying out the plan for an 'Iron Railway' from Manchester to London it is to cross over Round Oak Spring by Royce Wood corner for Woodcroft Castle I little thought that fresh intrusions would interrupt my solitudes after the Enclosure they will despoil a boggy place that is famous for Orchises at Royce Wood end." 1

What was this "plan for an 'Iron railway' from Manchester to London" for which the "3 fellows" encountered by Clare were surveying a route? In my opinion it was the "London Northern Rail Road", an ambitious project which has been almost completely overlooked by historians of the early railway movement in Great Britian. 2

* * * * * * * * * *

The London Northern Rail Road Company was formed in 1824 with a proposed capital of £2,500,000 (25,000 shares at £100 each), and its principal object was to build a railway between London and Manchester. 3 The directors of the London Northern, who employed George Stephenson as their engineer, decided to investigate two possible routes for their line. The first, and by far the longer, route proceeded from London up the valley of the River Lea to Ware, thence to Cambridge, Peterborough, Oakham, the neighbourhood of Loughborough, and into Derbyshire where it would join the projected Derby Peak Railway (i.e. Cromford & High Peak Railway) at Cromford, whence Manchester would be reached by way of Stockport. Branches were to be made to Derby and Nottingham. The second route ran from London to Northampton, with a branch through Coventry to Birmingham, from Northampton through Leicester to Derby, with a branch to Nottingham, and from Derby to Cromford where, as before, the Derby Peak Railway would provide access to Manchester. Whichever route were chosen, it was also proposed to build a line from Manchester to Hull, and another line from Derby through Sheffield to Leeds.

Within a few weeks the directors of the London Northern were able to announce that "having received and considered the reports of several of the most eminent engineers", they had decided "that the line of communication between London and Manchester commence at the River Thames, below [London] Bridge, and pass through the Vale of the Lea, near Ware, through Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, to the Vale of the River Soar, and from thence to Manchester, by such route, as may, upon the future report of our engineers, be deemed most eligible." 4 No reasons were given for this choice. However, compared with the route through Northampton, the Lea Valley route avoided the Chiltern Hills and the Northamptonshire Up­lands, both of which caused the builders of the London & Birmingham Railway many headaches when that line was constructed during the 1830's. 5 High ground in Rutland and Leicestershire

1 J. W. & Anne Tibble, The Prose of John Clare, (1951) 151.
4 Northampton Mercury, 5 Mar. 1825; see also 5 & 19 Feb. 1825. Derby Mercury, 9 Mar. 1825.
5 E.g. the Tring Cutting (Chilterns) and the Roade Cutting and the Kilsby Tunnel (Northants. Uplands). There are also long tunnels on the line at Primrose Hill (London) and Watford (Herts.), and a substantial cutting at Bushey (Herts.).
HELPSTON FROM THE AIR LOOKING NORTH.

At the bottom is Rice Wood. Round Oak Spring, mentioned in the diary is to the south of the wood and not shown here. In the background the beginning of the fen crossed by the former Midland railway opened in 1846 joined at the level crossing by the former Great Northern main line, opened in 1852. Clare's cottage lies halfway up the central village street on the left; he is buried in the churchyard, right centre. The enclosed fields, which Clare so much deplored, can be seen surrounding the village.

(i.e. between Stamford and Loughborough) could be negotiated, somewhat circuitously, by way of the Vale of Catmose and the valley of the River Wreak. A terminus on the north bank of the River Thames at a point below London Bridge would have afforded easy access to the Lea Valley. Assuming that the directors had in mind steam locomotives to haul trains on their railway—and their association with George Stephenson, the leading locomotive engineer at that time, suggests that such was the case—then, given the primitive machines available in 1825, a route as near level as possible would have been essential for the success of the London Northern.6

Alas! the financial crisis which broke on the nation towards the end of 1825 caused this ambitious project to be shelved for the time being. However, in the autumn of 1830 the directors

6 Stationary engines and ropes were used to haul trains up the inclines on the Cromford & High Peak Railway, Hodgkins, 44-5, 49-50.
(or those of them who still remained in association with the Company), encouraged by the success of the recently-opened Liverpool & Manchester Railway, decided that a revival should be attempted; and so, in the face of more recent projects for building railways linking London with Lancashire (i.e. the London & Birmingham Railway, and a railway between Birmingham and the Liverpool & Manchester Railway), they announced a revised scheme for what they now called the “London Northern Railway”, on which steam locomotives were to be used. Commencing “near the East and West India Docks, in London, and passing through the level country [i.e. the Lea Valley]”, once again their railway would run by way of Ware, Cambridge and Peterborough; but this time it was proposed to form a junction at Stamford, “and while one line will communicate with Leicester, Nottingham and Derby on its way to Cromford, another will pass to Lincoln, Thorne, Selby and York, uniting in its course with the Leeds & Selby Railway, and effecting the most direct communication between London and York.” The directors admitted

7 *Derby Mercury*, 27 Oct. 1830; see also 17 Nov. 1830 (speech of “Mr. Jessop of Butterley”).
that “the attempt to accomplish so great a work at once would be hopeless; and, proceeding by degrees, it is proposed to go to Parliament in the coming session, to obtain leave to make the line, commencing at Cromford and proceeding south to Leicester ... it is intended to carry the line from Leicester to London in the following year; and at a subsequent period to extend it from Stamford to York.” (Most likely it would have been a branch line which ran to Leicester, the main line of the London Northern swinging eastwards in the direction of Melton Mowbray and Oakham at some point a few miles north of Leicester itself.) Applications for £400,000 of London Northern shares had been received in 1825 and not subsequently withdrawn, and the directors calculated that, if paid up in full, this sum would be sufficient to build a railway between Cromford and Leicester. They proposed “to take subscriptions to the extent of two millions to cover the whole work”, seemingly a very small sum for the size of the London Northern project, but perhaps based on an unrevised Stephenson estimate of c.1825.

According to the directors of the 1830 version of the London Northern, “the surveys were made—the line [on which the railway would be built] was laid down, and the plans prepared,
when the further progress of the measure was suspended, in consequence of the altered state of public credit and public feeling which took place in 1825.” In the light of this statement, I do not doubt that the three men whom Clare came across at the end of Royce Wood on 4 June 1825 were surveying in detail a route for the London Northern Rail Road. Helpston lies halfway between Stamford and Peterborough; and from Clare’s description it seems that the London Northern was intended to run about half a mile to the south of the village, whereas the Stamford-Peterborough branch of the former Midland Railway, which was opened in 1846 and is still (1973) used by trains, passes rather nearer on the north side. The entry in Clare’s journal is, indeed, useful confirmation of the statement in 1830 by the directors of the London Northern Railway Company that surveys had been made and a route prepared before the financial crisis of 1825 caused by the original project to be suspended. I need hardly add that their latter-day attempt to breathe new life into it was completely unsuccessful.

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It is also possible to hazard a guess at the identity of the three surveyors who were working at Helpston on 4 June 1825. On the last day of 1824 a company had been formed known as George Stephenson & Son, consisting of “Old George” himself, his son Robert, and two other partners, Edward Pease, a Quaker industrialist from Darlington, and Michael Longridge, owner of the Bedlington Ironworks in Northumberland. Its purpose was to execute railway surveys and to superintend railway construction. Surveys for four railways were envisaged, one of which was the London Northern Rail Road. Robert Stephenson was to be in charge of preparing a route for the London Northern, and seven assistants were detailed to work under him; Joseph Locke, Robert Tayler, Elijah Galloway, — Blackett, — Pain, — Smith and — Seward. Of these men, Joseph Locke is historically by far the most significant; for, with Robert Stephenson and Isambard K. Brunel, he formed the third member of the illustrious triumvirate of engineers who laid the pattern of the British railway system during the twenty-five years after 1830. Robert Stephenson was in South America throughout 1825 so he cannot have been one of Clare’s “3 fellows”, but we may assume that the surveying party was made up from his assistants, and that one of its members, perhaps, was Locke who was only nineteen years old at the time. George Stephenson is known to have employed Locke on several other projects during 1825,9 and there is (it seems) no evidence that the latter was actually engaged on the London Northern main-line survey; however, it would not have been unreasonable for Stephenson to have directed him, at least for a short while, to assist on the difficult section of the route which lay north-west of Peterborough. It is sad to have to conclude this article by reflecting that if John Clare and Joseph Locke did meet in that chance encounter recorded so poignantly in Clare’s journal, it is unlikely that either of these men of genius caught even the slightest glimpse of the true worth of the other.

VICTOR A. HATLEY.

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APPENDIX

The board of directors of the London Northern Rail Road Company consisted of the following persons (Northampton Mercury, 15 Jan. 1825):—


This list of names is confirmation that the London Northern Rail Road Company was no thing of straw, but a project backed by able and experienced men drawn from the contemporary world of politics, finance and industry. In a journal devoted primarily to the history of Northamptonshire, it is not practicable to cover the activities of all the members of the board, but a few notes, taken mostly from the invaluable Dictionary of National Biography, may be interesting to readers of this article.
George Hibbert, the chairman, was a West India merchant in London who was "mainly instrumental in originating and maturing the scheme for establishing the West India Docks." Pascoe Grenfell, M.P. for Penryn, "in Parliament a zealous supporter of William Wilberforce . . ., was a vigilant observer of the actions of the Bank of England, and a great authority on finance"; he had been a merchant in tin and copper ores, and took a leading part in developing the tin and copper industries in Anglesey and Cornwall. Edward Ellice, M.P. for Coventry, was connected with the Hudson Bay Company (hence his nickname, "Bear" Ellice). George Warde Norman was a director of the Bank of England; Lewis Loyd, who purchased the Overstone estate in Northamptonshire in 1844, was a London banker; and Ichabod Wright was a banker at Nottingham. Joseph Strutt was the third son of Jedediah Strutt, the celebrated cotton-spinner at Belper. He was a partner in the firm established by his father, devoting his activities mainly to commercial matters, and a generous benefactor to Derby, the town where he resided.

The most significant man on the board so far as railway history is concerned was Thomas Richardson. He was a Quaker and a cousin of Edward Pease, one of the partners in George Stephenson & Co. As a young man, Richardson came to London from Darlington and was an original partner in the bank which later became known as Overend, Gurney & Co. Richardson gave financial support to the railway enterprises of George Stephenson, and invested £5,500 in the Stockton & Darlington Railway, the largest single holding. In 1829 he was one of six partners who purchased a 500 acre estate at the mouth of the River Tees, on which the town of Middlesborough was subsequently developed.

The advertisement describing the revived project in 1830 (Derby Mercury, 27 Oct. 1830) does not, unfortunately, carry a list of the directors of the London Northern Railway Company.
THE GEOGRAPHY OF COACHING IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

I

The small market towns of Northamptonshire in the early nineteenth century each supported their own local coach to London. They did so with a fierce local pride, jealously guarding their right to individual treatment. The inhabitants would patronise their own service in preference to that of another town, provided that the cost of travel was not placed at too exorbitant a level. These local services were essentially organised between equal, or more usually unequal, partners in different towns, often innkeepers or wine merchants looking for a secondary investment. The partners agreed to supply capital, and frequently to organise horses and repair services. In exchange they expected an economic return. Their business history is difficult to relate. These were each a scattered concern. Archival material rarely survives with the small business in any field of commercial, industrial or agricultural activity. Yet the small business was the mainstay of economic life in earlier centuries as it still is in certain industries, (e.g. the building industry), today.

It is not proposed in this paper to examine the business history of any coaching service though we are fortunate to possess one extremely detailed set of papers for a coach between Kettering and London between 1808 and 1815. This economic study will be presented elsewhere in due course. Rather this paper seeks by using the available directories for the period to sketch the background for such a study and to present in its own right, the geography of coaching in early nineteenth century Northamptonshire.

The present survey, mainly based on sources mentioned in the appendix on the available documentation, is designed to demonstrate the variety of coaching routes in Northamptonshire. These would be the same for any other midland county and with suitable modifications the process could be repeated for areas in different parts of England and Wales. One can distinguish three aspects of coaching routes in early nineteenth century Northamptonshire. Firstly there are the long distance routes which cross the county from north Wales, the north-west and northern England. Secondly there are the routes which while they traversed great distances did not touch London. In Northamptonshire, these non-metropolitan routes were basically those within an area covered by Oxford, Birmingham, Leicester and Cambridge. Finally there are the local

1 These remarks derive from the author’s study of the Rawlins papers in Bedfordshire County Record Office (documents catalogued as X 37). Their detailed context will be presented in the forthcoming study, ‘The Kettering Coach, 1808-1815’.

2 Farming records can be easily gauged from the guide to any county record office. The same source is the most accessible means of building up a picture of commercial and industrial papers, though these may still be in private hands. A perceptive comment of interest is that ‘except for some letters and notebooks from Gotch of Kettering, there seem to be no records earlier than about 1880 surviving from any Northamptonshire shoe firm’, V. A. Hatley and J. Rajczonak, Shoemakers in Northamptonshire 1762-1911 (Northampton Historical Series 6, 1971), 2. The remark could be repeated ad infinitum for most locally based industries.

3 The author has in preparation an examination of the building industry in Luton, Bedfordshire, 1890-1950. Conversations with builders reveal that it is regarded as more usual for a firm to be small.

4 Bedfordshire County Record Office documents catalogued as X 37. These papers are those of John Rawlins of Bedford, wine merchant, who had an interest in the Kettering coach and in a coach between Bedford and London. See David H. Kennett, ‘The Kettering Coach, 1808-1815’ and ‘An early nineteenth century coaching enterprise in Bedford’, both forthcoming.

5 See note on the sources, p. 120 below.

6 The author has in preparation a paper on coaching routes in Norfolk using the same resources as this paper, and from the 1830 Directory is hoping to prepare a map of coaching in Monmouthshire and Herefordshire.
Fig. 1. Mail Coaches in Northamptonshire.
B = Bedford; C = Coventry; D = Daventry; K = Kettering;
L = Leicester; N = Northampton; T = Towcester.

Fig. 2. Coaches going North from Northampton.
coaches to London. In this context, Northamptonshire has to be taken with an area to the north and west: Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutland and south Lincolnshire. It is not easy to discuss the fabric of coaching in the county, or any county, without reference to these, essentially local, services. Finally the decline of coaching is sketched. Though quoted in the discussion of various routes, it is worth emphasising how far this does dovetail into the growth of railways. Once the speedier form of travel arrived, the age of coaching was quickly finished. But until an individual town was served by the railway, it retained its local coaches. It was not until the trains came that it finally lost the last vestige of coaching England. With a suitable flourish, the local coach took its final bow.  

II

The coaching routes of Northamptonshire, as for any midland county, may be briefly grouped under the three headings mentioned. The most important to the nation, and doubtless to the county, were those coaches which plied between London and the larger cities and ports of midland and northern England. These carried the royal mails between London and beyond and often these were called the Royal Mail. Their place in the scheme will be seen in due course and is mapped on Fig. 1. Challenging these on the longer routes were coaches from these northern towns to London, themselves organised as partnerships, as a chance reference to a coach from Boston to London, which was intended to go through Peterborough and Hitchin shows. They provided the twenty coaches a day which passed through Towcester between Birmingham and London in 1830. The Birmingham Royal Mail went through Banbury and Aylesbury but Royal Mail coaches both to Liverpool and to Shrewsbury and Holyhead went through Towcester. These locally based coaches from distant towns frequently had colourful names. Boston, for example, rated a Perseverence through Peterborough and Huntingdon to London; a Monarch which ran alternate days through Huntingdon north and south and used a route to London via Cambridge and Royston, rather than the Biggleswade, Baldock route of the Perseverence. The Boston Royal Mail favoured the route taken by the Monarch. A similar diversity of routes can be seen with Leeds, or Liverpool, or Manchester. To Leeds from London in these years it was possible to cross Northamptonshire at any one of three points. The Royal Mail fairly consistently used a route north from London through Hitchin and Bedford to Higham Ferrers, Rushden and Kettering before journeying on through Oakham, Melton Mowbray, Nottingham, Mansfield, Chesterfield and Sheffield. Northampton had at least two coaches to Leeds, fairly consistently throughout the period we are considering. Both the Express and the Courier had come north through St. Albans, Dunstable, Woburn and Newport Pagnell. They left Northampton in 1830 for Market Harborough, Melton Mowbray, Nottingham and Sheffield to Leeds. Very much the same route was used by the Hope which in 1830 went to Sheffield from London and thence to Northampton before going on via Leicester, Nottingham, Mansfield and Chesterfield. Later in 1836 this coach ran on to Halifax. At the other end of the county, coaches to Leeds ran through Stilton, Stamford, Grantham, Newark, Bawtry, Ferrybridge and Doncaster, crossing Northamptonshire on the Great North Road in the extreme north-east of the county. Manchester and Liverpool had a wider diversity of routes including some which did not touch Northamptonshire at all. Manchester was the destination of five coaches from Northampton in 1830. The Royal Mail left at 03.00 as did the Independent. The Bruce went north at 12.00 and the Telegraph at 23.30. The time of the Defiance is not recorded but seven years earlier it had left at 02.00. Each went via Leicester, Derby and Macclesfield. There had been five coaches to Manchester in 1823. Apart from the Defiance at 02.00, there was the Independent at 02.30, an unnamed coach at 03.30 and two others earlier in the night: the Regulator at 23.30 and the Telegraph at 24.00. By 1836, these had been reduced to three: the Telegraph, the Royal Bruce and the Royal Defiance. In 1839, after the railway was opened there was only the Defiance, an aptly named enterprise, plying the route north through Leicester, Derby and Ashbourne to Manchester. It was soon gone.

7 The demise of the Bedford Times coach from London to Bedford is particularly well documented. See articles in Bedford Times 28 November 1846, reproduced Bedfordshire Times and Standard 22 November 1946. The Northamptonshire Mercury and other county newspapers, not known to the author, doubtless have similar pieces of county interest.

8 S. Hill to J. Rawlins, 6 April, 1814, (Rawlins papers, Beds.C.R.O. document X 37/9/5).
FIG. 3. LONG DISTANCE COACH ROUTES IN 1831.

B = Bedford; D = Daventry; K = Kettering; N = Northampton; T = Towcester.

1. Mail Coaches; 2. The Peveril of the Peak to Edinburgh.
The railway was the great death knell of the coaching trade. As the *Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography* of 1839 observed of Dunstable:

'It is doubtful if all of these coaches will be running when this work is published.'

But until they were killed by the newer and more speedy transport, the steam train, the coaches survived. Their vigour in numbers is matched by their diversity of routes. Apart from Northampton, the county had a coach to Manchester through Kettering and others through Towcester. The coach through Kettering was the *Peveril of the Peak*, an ambitious project if ever there was one. It had begun its short life, almost certainly not more than a decade of existence, as another of the coaches through Dunstable and Northampton for Manchester via Leicester and Derby. This initial existence was short-lived for by 1830–31 it had transferred to the route to Manchester from London which went north through Edgeware, St. Albans, Luton, Bedford, Rushden, Kettering, Market Harborough, Leicester, Loughborough, Derby, Matlock, Bakewell, Buxton and Stockport. In 1831, though, William Gilbert, the proprietor, had ambitiously announced that his coach, the *Peveril of the Peak*, would be extended from Manchester to Edinburgh.9 Not only would it do a much longer journey, it would do this journey in an unprecedented time of forty-four hours, leaving London each evening at 20.00 and arriving on the evening of the second day in Edinburgh at 19.00. It was billed to run north from Manchester via Bolton, Chorley, Preston, Lancaster, Milnthorpe, Kendall and Penrith to Carlisle and thence via Hawick, and Selkirk to Edinburgh. The duration of the project is unknown. By 1836, it had reverted to being a coach between London and Manchester. It left Charing Cross, London, daily at 07.45 and Manchester at 12.00. The journey took 21 hours. But by then its days were short-lived. It does not appear in the 1839 directory.

Its history may be typical of the longer-routes. It was not without competition. Apart from the five coaches through Northampton for Manchester, there were two others in the county. Both the *Red Rover* and the *Beehive* in 1836 went first to Birmingham on the journey between London and Manchester and so formed two of the twenty coaches passing through Towcester en route to the Warwickshire city. But from Birmingham their routes diverged. The *Beehive* took a route between Stafford and Macclesfield; the *Red Rover* went via Lichfield, Stafford and Wilmslow. Routes to Liverpool were equally complex in their diversity. The *Royal Mail* sped through Daventry at 04.00. It had been preceded by the *Standard* at 01.30 and the *Express* at 02.00. The *Express* in 1836 used a route from Daventry via Leamington, Birmingham, Stafford and Warrington but its earlier route is not known. The Liverpool *Royal Mail* on the other hand in 1830 is well-documented. From Daventry it progressed to Coventry, Coleshill, Lichfield, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Knutsford and Warrington on its journey to Liverpool. The route of the *Albion* in 1836 took it through Dunstable and Towcester to Birmingham and thence via Chester and Woodside to Liverpool. But these were not all the coaches to Liverpool. Two using very different routes plied via Northampton in 1830. The *Umpire*, which is recorded in 1823 as going through Hinckley and Lichfield, in 1830 has a more detailed route recorded. It left Northampton at 22.00, but not on Sundays, for Welford, Lutterworth, Hinckley, Atherstone and Lichfield. From the cathedral city, it went on to Wolsey Bridge, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Congleton, Knutsford and Warrington before reaching Liverpool. The *Sovereign* in 1830 is a new coach at Northampton, though a Light Post Coach had been noted seven years earlier. The route of the *Sovereign* seems to have replaced that of the earlier coach, which is recorded as going through Leicester. The *Sovereign* left Northampton, except on Mondays, at 17.00 for Welford, Leicester, Ashby-de-la-Zouche, Burton-on-Trent, Uttoxeter, Middlewich and Warrington as it travelled to Liverpool. By 1836 the picture had changed. All these coaches had gone to London from Northamptonshire via Dunstable, either going from Northampton via Woburn, or down the Watling Street from Towcester. Yet then, with the railways looming as an image on the horizon the mirage of coaching speed was fading fast. Only three coaches went through Dunstable for Liverpool. They were the *Albion*, the *Express* and the *Umpire*. Each took a different route, as has been mentioned. They did not survive until 1839.

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Fig. 4. Northamptonshire Coaches in 1830: The cross-country routes.

There was only one coach through Dunstable for Liverpool in 1839 and the route of the Star is not recorded. Coaching by then was essentially dead. Yet at its height Northampton had boasted a variety of connections. 1830 may be taken as a year for which there is convenient documentation. There were five to Manchester, two to Liverpool and two to Leeds. But this is not all. A Royal Mail ran to Chester and on to Holyhead: one of two leaving Dunstable at 23.45. The one through Northampton went north at 03.30 and travelled via Hinckley, Tamworth, Lichfield, Stafford and Chester. Its rival took the route through Daventry, Coventry, Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Shrewsbury and over the Welsh mountains. There was yet another route to Holyhead from London, avoiding the county and going via Oxford and Birmingham. These routes from Northampton join others more due north. The Times left at 14.00 for Derby and Nottingham and the Union at 16.00 for Leicester. And then there were the more local routes. Two coaches to Oxford, running alternate days by differing routes, were part of the fabric of non-metropolitan journeys which coaching England encompassed. Another part of that fabric was the Rising Sun between Birmingham and Cambridge, which ran on only four days of the week apparently there was no traffic on Tuesdays or Thursdays. There was too the Northampton which as its name implies travelled between London and the county town. These latter, the local routes to London and the cross-country ways, we shall consider in due course as the second and third segments of the fabric of coaching in early nineteenth century Northamptonshire.

III

The fabric of coaching England, and thus of coaching in the county of Northamptonshire, may have been laid by the long-distance routes but an essential part of that fabric was held by routes which did not even touch London. These are the coaches between provincial centres. In Northamptonshire in 1830 we can see six that either pass through the county or affect it (Fig. 4). Their history, as we have mentioned, is difficult, not to say impossible, to reconstruct in detail. We can only outline their routes at a stated time and indicate briefly where they have an antecedent or a successor.

The Rising Sun between Birmingham and Cambridge is first recorded in 1823 and survived until 1839, as far as the record goes, and probably for some years more, though not beyond 1847. It ran in both directions on the same four days of the week both in 1823 and in 1830. Journeys were made on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays. The coach left Cambridge at 06.00 to set out on a course which took it through Huntingdon at 08.00, Thrapston at 10.00, Wellingborough at 11.30 and Northampton at 14.00. The return coach left the county town at the same hour and it is probable that the drivers changed coaches here, very much as country bus crews in the twentieth century may change buses so as to return to their base depot. From Northampton the coach went on to Daventry which it left at 16.00 on a journey which took it through Coventry to Birmingham. The return coach entered the county west of Daventry where it arrived at 11.00 from Birmingham. From the 14.00 start at Northampton, it progressed to Wellingborough at 15.30 and Thrapston at 17.00. It left Huntingdon at 19.00 and may be presumed to have been scheduled to arrive in Cambridge at 21.00 or thereabouts. It could be, however, that it was a 20.00 arrival in Cambridge or some hour such as 20.30, for it seems generous to assume that it took two hours to cover the short distance between these two towns. There is only some 30 kilometres (16 miles) at the most between these centres. There may have been a short break in the journey for breakfast at Huntingdon. Certainly the disparity of journey times between Daventry and Northampton, as between Wellingborough and the county town, suggests most strongly that travellers on the Rising Sun were permitted an hour's break in their journey for luncheon in Northampton. There are many imponderables in reconstructing the life of coaching England. Breaks in the journey is one of them.

Northampton, too, had other routes not going to London. In 1830 it boasted two coaches by different routes on alternate days to Oxford. The Triumph left at 10.00 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and went via Towcester, which it reached at 11.30, and on through Brackley to Oxford. Its rival, the Rising Sun, ran later in the day. It left Northampton at 14.00 on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays for Towcester and thence to Buckingham, Bicester and Oxford. Towcester was reached at 15.00 and Oxford at 20.30. On the alternate days, both coaches left Oxford...
at 08.00 on their north-bound journey, leaving Towcester at 13.30. One at least had a predecessor. In 1823, the Reindeer had left Northampton at 10.00 for Oxford via Brackley on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays and returned on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

Later the county town was to attract another cross-country coach. Like the Rising Sun this ran between Birmingham and Cambridge, but except for the Northampton to Daventry section, the route of the Eagle in 1839 was very different. On Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, it went west from Cambridge on a route via St. Neots and Eaton Socon to Bedford before going on at 10.45 to Northampton, Daventry, Southam, Leamington Spa, Warwick and Birmingham. The eastward journey was taken on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and the coach left Bedford at 15.30 on the journey to Cambridge which avoided Huntingdon. How long this coach lasted is not known. 1839 is the only entry we have for it. By 1847, it had gone.

Gone too by 1847, was any vestige of routes plied by coaches between Oxford and Cambridge. This had attracted a number of enterprises, all apparently short-lived until some newcomer decided to try his hand at a difficult journey. In 1830, there was one enterprise, the Lark. It ran alternate days, leaving Oxford at 07.00 Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays for a journey through Thame, Aylesbury, Leighton Buzzard, Woburn, Ampthill, Bedford, Eaton Socon and St. Neots for Cambridge. It had earlier run each day, leaving Cambridge at 05.00 on Mondays and an hour later each other day, except Sunday. In 1823, there had been a rival on very much the same route, as far as one can reconstruct. The Rocket, however, was less ambitious. It had gone south-west on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and returned to Cambridge on the alternate days. Like the Lark it did not run on Sundays. By 1839, there was still one coach left, a post coach leaving Bedford for Cambridge at 16.00 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and thus providing a daily service each afternoon to Cambridge with the Eagle. Like the Lark in 1830, the south-western journey had left Bedford at 11.00 on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays; it had reached Oxford late in the day.

Oxford was the origin of another coach, too, which if it did not traverse Northamptonshire, certainly affected its coaching relations and was part of the fabric of coaching routes in the county. This was the Regulator which left at 08.30 for Leicester and Birmingham. It went north through Woodstock, Deddington, Banbury, Southam, Rugby and Lutterworth. It did not touch Northamptonshire, nor did its branch leaving Southam for Leamington, Warwick, Knowle, Solihull and Birmingham. It was however a coach which Northamptonshire people might be expected to have used, certainly those living in the south-west of the county.

Leicester was the origin of another coach which though it traversed only a small part of the county provided a piece of the jigsaw. The Wellington ran from Cambridge to Leicester, each day except Sundays. Daily, it left Huntingdon at 09.00 for Stamford via Stilton and Wansford. After Stamford the route varied. On Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, it went through Uppingham for Leicester. On the alternate days, it used a route through Oakham and Melton Mowbray. The return journey left Huntingdon at 16.30 for Cambridge, providing one of the three local coaches between the two. The Rising Sun from Birmingham was a second and a purely local affair, the Blucher, the third.

The final non-metropolitan route also involved Leicester in 1823. Then there was a Royal Mail from Leicester to Yarmouth. By 1830, this had gone, but in that year, a coach called the Union ran between Stamford and Norwich. Its route took in Peterborough and went on through Wisbech, King’s Lynn, Swaffham and Dereham to reach its destination in the early evening. The return coach left Peterborough at 17.00 for Stamford.

These routes, either crossing the county as with the Cambridge to Birmingham coach, or skirting it as with Oxford to Leicester may seem marginal to the study of coaching in the time. They are difficult to trace and tortuous to place in their context, but like the long distance routes to London, they provide a strand in the triple-turned hawser which makes the rigging framework of Northamptonshire coaching in the early nineteenth century.
The final strand in the hawser is given by those coaches which originate in Northamptonshire and travel southwards to London. They are, like their cross-country counterparts, difficult to document and liable to fluctuate in their appearances. They exist in each of the counties near to the metropolis and in those of middling distance from it. In this context, Northamptonshire is best considered more widely with the eastern towns of Warwickshire, but not Birmingham, with the market towns of Leicestershire and Rutland and with Stamford, and to a lesser extent Boston, in south Lincolnshire. Here each of the towns supported its own coaching enterprise. The Northampton has already been mentioned. Often like it, the enterprise was named after the town in which it originated, The Wellingborough is a case in point, as are the Old Oundle and the Old Kettering as they came to be known.

Beginning in the south-west and proceeding northwards to traverse the county and its neighbours, we come first to Brackley, with which we may group Banbury, in Oxfordshire. The Union left Banbury at 08.00 daily and Brackley an hour later. It went on to London via Buckingham, Winslow, Aylesbury, Wendover, Great Missenden and Uxbridge. The return journey from London was overnight. The coach went through Brackley at 05.00 for Banbury. An unusual arrangement this, it was more normal to find the coach staying overnight in London and making the return journey the next day as had been the case with the Banbury in 1823 which left Brackley at 08.00 for London on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays and returned at 17.30 on alternate days for Banbury. Seven years later besides its own coach, and the Birmingham Royal Mail, Banbury had another of these small concerns. This was the Britannia from Kidderminster which left Banbury for London on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 12.00. The return journey on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays went via Edgehill, Stratford-on-Avon, Alcester, Redditch and Bromsgrove to reach Kidderminster. It left at 14.45.

The minor coaches through Daventry, the next town north, which we may consider with Towcester, in 1830 also originated outside the county, in Rugby and Warwick. The Crown Prince in 1823 went through Towcester, Daventry and Dunstable on its journey from Warwick, Leamington Spa and Southam, but by 1830 it had become a coach between Birmingham and London using the same route. By 1836 it was no more. In 1836, the Daventry Accommodation ran alternate days north and south between Daventry and London via Towcester and Dunstable. It went up on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and returned on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. Six years earlier, it had originated in Rugby, leaving Daventry at 08.30. Before that, in 1823, the Accommodation had run south on Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 07.00 from Daventry.

The Northampton was in existence as early as 1823, when in fact two coaches plied between Northampton and London. One left the Dolphin Inn at 07.00 and the other Levi's coach office at 06.30. Both ran daily. By 1830, there was only one and this survived at least until 1839. Competition from coaches from further afield must have been considerable and locally it was in opposition to the Union from Leicester which went to London through Market Harborough and Northampton. One of three coaches in 1823, it was alone in 1830 and survived until at least 1839, when it left Dunstable at 16.00 for London and 11.30 for Leicester. The Union had left Northampton at 10.30 for London in 1823, moving to 11.15 seven years later.

The Wellingborough had a long history. A chance reference¹⁰ implies its existence at least as early as 1814 and probably it had been going for some years before that. By 1823, it was well-established. It left the Hind Inn at 05.00 in summer and an hour later in winter. It returned each evening at 19.00, though whether this is an arrival time at Wellingborough or the departure time from London is not known. By 1830, it had competition both from Wellingborough itself, but by a different route to London, and on part of its own route. The Woburn Telegraph ran daily except Sundays from Woburn at 06.15 via Hockliffe, Dunstable, Market Street (now Markyate), Redbourn, St. Albans, Colney (now London Colney), Mimms (now South Mimms) and Barnet to London. The Wellingborough took the same route after its journey through Olney.

¹⁰ T. Field to J. Rawlins, 19 April, 1814, (Rawlins papers, Beds.C.R.O. document X 37/12/17).
and Newport Pagnell. It kept to this route but from 1830 seems only to have gone south on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. The journey took nine hours, leaving Wellingborough at 06.00 in 1830 but two hours later in 1836. Three years later the coach had picked up sufficient fortunes to traverse the route in both directions daily.

Its fortunes, though, were intertwined with those of other coaches in south Northamptonshire, and beyond, which traversed the same lanes. The small town of Uppingham in Rutland has an interesting coaching history. It thought itself of sufficient importance to boast a coach to London, which through vicissitudes kept going until after 1839. It is first known in 1830 as running south through Wellingborough at 11.00 on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. The route it took was through Rushden, Bedford, Shefford, Hitchin, Welwyn and Barnet to London. It returned north on the alternate days at 17.00 through Wellingborough and an hour later

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**FIG. 5.** LOCAL COACHES, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE AND BEYOND TO LONDON IN 1824-1830.
through Kettering. It was still running alternate days in 1836, but the directions were reversed so that the coach travelled south on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and north on the alternate days. It kept to the same route as before between Rushden and London, but now avoided Wellingborough going via Higham Ferrers to Kettering, Rockingham and Uppingham. Both journeys were timed to begin at 08.00 and to take eleven hours. A similar arrangement seems to have applied in 1839.

The town of Kettering was on this route and was served by a coach to London as early as 1808, and probably this was extant before we have documentary record of it. It went through a number of changes in the next thirty years, but seems not to have survived until the compilation of the 1839 directory. Perhaps it had merged with the Uppingham coach, and therefore would not appear in a directory as a separate entry. In 1836, both coaches were part of B. W. Horne & Co’s empire though they took different routes to Kettering. The one to Kettering ran north on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and took ten hours for its journey via Edgeware, St. Albans, Luton, Bedford, and Wellingborough to Kettering. The south-bound journeys on the alternate days gave a daily service to London when taken in conjunction with the Uppingham coach. Six years earlier the post coach from Kettering to London had left daily at 10.00 on the route through Higham Ferrers, Bedford, Shefford, Hitchin, Welwyn and Barnet to London. However, one may surmise that though a daily service was provided, the alternate days were those of the coach from Uppingham. Earlier still in 1823, the Old Kettering left the George and Blue Boar Inn, Holborn, at 07.30 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. It would seem this was the post coach which left the White Hart, Kettering, at 06.00 on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. However, there is evidence also of another coach to Kettering, leaving the White Hart Inn, Smithfield, at 07.30 on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. At the period for which the documentation is ample, the situation maybe have been that of a coach doing the alternate journeys in two days. There is evidence that only one coach was in use, though two could have been licensed. Passengers are recorded as preferring to wait a day rather than pay the higher fares imposed at one point. The fortunes of the Kettering coach between 1808 and 1815, when no directories exist to provide a county background, will be charted in their more complete detail elsewhere. Suffice it to say that they provide the clearest evidence of the long history before 1823 of the local coaching enterprises of Northamptonshire’s market towns.

Oundle, too, seems to have long boasted its own coach to London. In 1823, there were two. One was the Old Oundle; the other the Regulator. Both left at 06.00. The Regulator plied a southwards trade on Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays. The Old Oundle was reduced to Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays. Both took the same route, through Thrapston, Kimbolton, St. Neots, Biggleswade, Baldock, Stevenage and Hatfield to London. By 1830 there was only the Old Oundle left and it survived until after 1839. In 1830, the Old Oundle left on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays from Oundle at 06.30 and Thrapston at 07.30. It reached Biggleswade at 11.00 on the south-bound run. The north-bound journey on the alternate days was timed at 13.00 from Biggleswade and 17.00 at Thrapston and presumably reached Oundle an hour later.

The Old Oundle, like the Wellingborough, is perhaps a typical example of the coach provided by a country market town. It was not ambitious. Never did it try to run daily, but it kept going when its competitor was forced to give up. Certainly this would seem to be the case with the Regulator. Perhaps its name may be taken to imply the temporary existence of a third coach in the trade, but this is not at all documented.

The north-east of the county is less easy to document. One must look not merely at Peterborough, but also at coaches originating in Melton Mowbray and Stamford as providing transport for the inhabitants living beside the Great North Road. Peterborough, itself, was served much more by coaches passing through than by ones originating in the town. The small towns of

11 See notes 1 and 4.
12 The strength of this, and other coaching empires, can be gauged from directories and A. Bates Directory of Stage Coach Services 1836 (Newton Abbot, 1969).
13 G. Wright to J. Rawlins, 14 May 1813 (Rawlins papers, Beds.C.R.O. document X 37/10/8); see also declaration of duties payable 7 September, 1812 (Rawlins papers, Beds.C.R.O. document X 37/1).
Lincolnshire provide the starting points for coaches going through the cathedral city. Hull, even, was the origin of one Royal Mail coach both in 1823 and in 1830. The same route attracted another coach, called the Express, which did not run south on Sundays nor north on Mondays. Both went to London through Buckden, Biggleswade, Hatfield and Waltham Cross. Their north-bound route was the same through Deeping, Sleaford, Lincoln and Barton Humberside. The other Royal Mail in 1830 came from Louth. It arrived at Peterborough via Spilsby, Boston, Spalding and Deeping and went south via Huntingdon, Cambridge, Royston, Buntingford, Ware and Waltham Cross. This was the route in 1830 of the only local coach, the Diligent, which left at 07.15 each weekday. Yet a third route to London from Peterborough was that taken by the Perseverence from Boston in 1830. It journeyed south via Huntingdon, St. Neots, Biggleswade and Baldock. Its timing in 1830 was unusual. On Tuesdays and Fridays it ran north at 06.00, but on other days it was timed at 17.30. The south-bound journey went through Peterborough at 10.30, Huntingdon at 12.45 and Biggleswade at 15.15.

Peterborough, of course, is placed off the Great North Road. The coaches to Glasgow, Leeds and York which passed along it did not go into the city. They passed through Stamford, though, as did some of more local origin. The Regent from Melton Mowbray in 1823, ran through Oakham, Stamford, Wansford, Norman Cross, Stilton and Alconbury to arrive at Huntingdon. From there it went south through Brampton, Buckden, St. Neots, Biggleswade and Baldock to join the route through Stevenage, Welwyn, Hatfield and Barnet to London. By 1830, this had become a coach from Stamford to London plying its trade on the same route. But by then it had a rival. The Defiance used the route through Huntingdon, Cambridge, Royston, Buntingford, Ware and Hoddesdon on its journey to London, but it seems to have been short-lived. In 1836 and 1839, only the Regent is known. In 1839 it went north on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and returned south on alternate days.

The local coaches of Northamptonshire provide a chequered background. Their patterns show some which survived intact as small scale enterprises. Others became too ambitious and were liable to collapse as quickly as they arose. Some attracted rivals which did not last. Others, more rarely among the long-established enterprises, were swallowed by their rivals. However, it seems to have been the upstarts rather than the old stagers who did not survive the competition.

There was one competition, however, which none of the coaches found it easy to resist: the railway.

Railways came early to Northamptonshire. The mainline between London and Manchester was operational by 1838. By 1845, the larger towns were served by the Northampton and Peterborough railway, with the exception of Kettering. There was then no great need for individual coach services to London. The trains were much quicker. The exact history of the end of coaching services and its dovetailing into the growth of individual railway lines is a matter as much for the railway historian as for the historian of coaching services. The contrast can be noted though between the two ends of Northamptonshire. In 1839 the railway had definitely triumphed over the coach in the south-west. In the north-east the coach was still going strong.

The coaching routes of eastern England, crossing Northamptonshire in the Great North Road were still very much alive in 1839. Edinburgh, Hull, Leeds, York, Lincoln, Stamford and Boston all had coaches to London going through Biggleswade and using the Great North Road to cross Northamptonshire. It was with minor variations the same picture as in 1830 or 1836.

Contrast Dunstable, also in Bedfordshire, but on a route which was already served by a railway. Its glories as a coaching centre had passed. Like Woburn, to the north, it experienced a

15 Little appears to be available on this line; see Industrial Archaeology in Northamptonshire (Northampton Museum, 1970) 25.
16 The picture is apparent from the 1839 directory.
generation of hardship when coaching declined.17 By 1839, it was reduced to local routes: the Northampton and the Wellingborough each struggled on for a few years more. Only the Birmingham Star, which originally had gone to Liverpool survived for the long distance routes. Neither a Rapid Coach to Sheffield via Northampton nor the Leeds Express would have had much to offer in a world rapidly becoming accustomed to faster travel. In this world, the Manchester coach in 1839 was aptly named, the Defiance. In all probability, its defiance was short-lived. Once customers went to the railway, they were unlikely to return to the stage coach.

The settled pattern of the geography of coaching in early nineteenth century Northamptonshire could only remain while there was no faster form of travel. When this came, it brought a different pattern of routes. With a different pattern of travel, new places gained in importance, old places declined. This has been mentioned for one town, Woburn in Bedfordshire, which still retains the atmosphere of a coaching town. It would have been equally true of towns in Northamptonshire which had an importance in the fabric of coaching England, but to which the railway came late, if at all. In this context the local history both of Towcester and Daventry would be worth individual attention. The same could be advanced of Southam, Warwickshire, which never had a railway but which was served by more than one through route to London, by the Eagle between Cambridge, Northampton and Birmingham, and was the junction for the two branches of the Regulator from Oxford to Leicester and Birmingham. There are other factors involved in the detailed history of Higham Ferrers and Rushden in relation to that of Wellingborough, but the history of each would repay greater study in the light of the slightly better position of the two first mentioned towns on coaching routes and the much more favourable railway communications of Wellingborough.

This paper has been intended to suggest not only the settled pattern of coaching as a form of communication in early nineteenth century Northamptonshire. It has also brought out the detailed nature of that pattern which changed only slowly. In so doing, it has raised points which require further elucidation, more than a preliminary survey can provide, particularly one which is based principally on directories. Individual studies are difficult to write. There is no point in denying it. Frequently the archival record does not survive to give a detailed business history of a coaching firm. For the Kettering coach, 1808-1815, it is possible to provide this and it will be interesting to see the results of that detailed investigation.18 Equally for a coach which ran through Northampton between 1832 and 1839, an account book is preserved in the Northamptonshire County Record Office at Delapré Abbey.19 From this, which has not so far been looked at in detail, it should be possible to provide a summary of another service. Local studies in the history of Northamptonshire towns in the early nineteenth century can look in detail both at the height of the coaching connections of the town and their, often rapid, decline. The economic consequences of that decline on individual towns needs much greater elucidation. This ideally can only be undertaken by someone who knows an individual town very well. It requires often a detailed knowledge of circumstances which only a local person will possess.20 The market status of a town may have made up for its decline as a transport centre. Alternatively this may have declined with the revision in transport arrangements. Another area of study is local inns, their history and architecture.21 These often have their origins in eighteenth century inns and their nineteenth century successors. Directories mention some of them. Fieldwork can reveal others, some not now used as hostleries. Their architecture, and where timber framed, their building, can be clearly investigated. They are often among the oldest buildings, particularly vernacular buildings, in a town. This is another area where work does need to be done, and it should be done by persons living close at hand to the towns and the inns.22

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18 See notes 1 and 4.
19 Northamptonshire County Record Office kindly informed me of this.
20 In this context, it should be pointed out that the author of this paper does not live in Northamptonshire; he resides on the Bedfordshire/Hertfordshire border, some 65 km. away.
22 The author and a colleague have in preparation a study of some inns at Hitchin, Hertfordshire.
The economic history and the social background for the fabric of coaching in nineteenth century Northamptonshire can only be examined in the requisite depth by using a variety of approaches. The counties of England have not so far been well served for the economic history of coaching. In this paper, it has not merely been the aim to provide a preliminary stab at the geography of coaching in early nineteenth century Northamptonshire, with glances at the adjacent counties. It has been intended to suggest areas where others, more locally placed, could examine in detail particular aspects of the subject. Using a variety of approaches a much more valid picture of fabric of coaching in early nineteenth century Northamptonshire can be built up. It would be valuable to have studies of the subject based on differing types of sources. Some have been suggested here: others are known, they will occur to the reader. Each has a valid contribution to make to the study of the economic history of coaching in early nineteenth century Northamptonshire. A basic aspect, the geography, has been presented in outline here. Other features will amplify, explain, amend and add to the picture. Gradually a more complete examination can be assembled of the fabric of coaching in early nineteenth century Northamptonshire.

NOTE ON THE SOURCES

Most of the information given in this paper has been assembled from various early nineteenth century directories. These have not been mentioned in the footnotes. They are listed here as a guide for further study; they are given in date order.

1830 Pigot and Co, London and Provincial Commercial Directory and Topography for 1830 (1830)
1847 I. Slater, Commercial Directory for 1847 (1847).

DAVID H. KENNETT


A NINETEENTH CENTURY WELSH CATTLE DEALER IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

There is a growing volume of evidence to suggest that the Welsh cattle trade with the Midland grazing pastures is of considerable antiquity. It may be confidently asserted that cattle from South Wales were being exported to England in the thirteenth century and there is strong circumstantial evidence indicating that the trade was in existence some four centuries prior to this.¹ By the nineteenth century, Welsh cattle, despite competition from the Irish trade, were still highly prized by the graziers of Northamptonshire and Leicestershire. Although many graziers travelled to Wales to purchase their beasts, the majority of the animals were driven to Northamptonshire by dealers and drovers from the northern and southern counties of Wales. The "Welsh Road" and "Banbury Lane", together with many "Welsh" type field names in western Northamptonshire bear witness to the importance and significance of this trade.

This brief contribution is concerned with the Johnathon family of Dihewlyd in Cardiganshire, whose account books in the National Library of Wales provide a valuable record of the cattle trade over a fifty year period, beginning in 1839.² While the account books contain a great deal of material relating to the operation and economics of the cattle trade, this short article is restricted to a consideration of the activities of the Johnathons in Northamptonshire and Southern Leicestershire. Unlike many Welsh dealers, who went to great lengths to avoid the payment of tolls on the highway, the Johnathons and their drovers apparently preferred to follow the turnpike roads which usually represented the most rapid and efficient means of conveying cattle over long distances. Thus, the overhead costs incurred in the payment of tolls could normally be recouped in the higher price gained by virtue of arriving in good time at the Midland markets and fairs. Evidence from other account books would seem to support the conclusion that capitalist dealers like the Johnathons, who, by the mid 1860's, were expending over £10,000 annually in the purchase of cattle, tended to use the turnpikes in preference to the cheaper, if more arduous, by-ways and green lanes. The following extracts from the accounts provide ample illustration of the use of the turnpike, in addition to highlighting two other major elements of expenditure; the cost of obtaining grazing en route and, equally important, that of procuring sustenance at local taverns.

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October 1839       s  d
Southam Tavern  18  0
Windmill (?) Tavern  18  0
Windmill gate  2  0
Daventry grass  14  6
Daventry tavern  3  7
Daventry  5  0
Northampton tavern  18  0
Northampton gates  2  6
Wellingborough gates  5  0
Wellingborough tavern  13  6
William Wells tavern  8  6
[Thence to Hertford, Ongar and Chelmsford]
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² N.L.W. MSS 9600-9614.
Drovers' Routes in the Midland Counties

SCALE: FOUR MILES TO ONE INCH

LEGEND

- TAVERNS
- EXPENDITURE ON GRASS
- TOLLGATES
- MARKETS AND FAIRS
### A NINETEENTH CENTURY WELSH CATTLE DEALER IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

#### November 1856

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fazeley tavern and gate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three gates to Three Potes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Potes tavern</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two gates to Rugby</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rugby tavern</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men at Rugby Fair</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two gates to Northampton</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northampton Tavern</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two gates to Turvey</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turvey tavern</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two gates to Clophill</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Thence to Stanstead, Harlow, Ongar, Ingatestone and Chelmsford]

[The heavy tavern expenses in this itinerary no doubt include grazing charges for beasts held overnight in the tavern compounds]

Throughout the early period covered by the accounts (1840-1857), the principal market outlets seem to have been Leicester and Market Harborough, cattle remaining unsold at these and other local fairs being driven to the Home counties for sale at Harlow, Chelmsford and Romford. The route to the home counties almost invariably passed through Northampton. After sales at Rugby, Hallaton, North Kilworth, Lutterworth, Gillmorton, Oadby, Ullesthorpe, Leicester and Hinkley, cattle which remained unsold were marshalled at Market Harborough and driven along the present A.508 via Lamport (where the Inn was regularly frequented), Brixworth and Kingsthorpe into Northampton. Alternatively, particularly in the early 1860's by which time the cattle were being off-loaded from railway trucks at Welford, the A.50 past Creaton and Spratton was used. From Northampton the drove passed along the route of the present A.426 through Yardley Hastings and Lavendon, thence to Bedford, Sandy and Royston. After 1864, however, cattle were no longer driven south from Northampton to the Home counties. They were taken instead to Blisworth, from whence they travelled with their drovers by rail to Brentwood or Watford. Occasionally the Johnathons deviated from these routes. This was particularly so during the late fifties and early sixties when increasing numbers of cattle were being sold at the fairs of Rothwell, Boughton Green, and from time to time at Kettering and Wellesbourne.

The account books show that up to 1850, the Johnathons themselves, having arrived in Northamptonshire, travelled to the various cattle fairs by coach, relying upon their regular drovers to ensure the safe arrival of their beasts. By 1850, however, there appear entries in the hand of the senior Johnathon (David) suggesting that he had begun to use the rail services for swiftly moving from fair to fair. Moreover, by 1856, the cattle themselves were being trucked from the Shrewsbury railhead to Nuneaton and Tamworth while after 1862, it was possible to convey animals directly to Welford by rail.

Thus transport “on the hoof” within the county was merely a matter of moving animals between fairs. This effectively reduced the overhead costs to be covered by the sale of the cattle, in the sense that gate charges were largely eliminated. The following extract from the account books illustrates some of the expenses incurred in the movement of 100 cattle through Northamptonshire and Southern Leicestershire during the railway period (1863).

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3 Writing to the Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala in 1794, the Rev. Thomas Jones of Creaton asked the former to, “...send me by some of the Welsh drovers a copy of the Curate of Ruthin's pamphlet...” D. E. Jenkins, *The Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala*, II, 1908, p. 138.
THE "WELSH ROAD"

A drovers' route from North Wales to London and the Home Counties via the Central Midlands. The section of the road in the illustration connects Southam and Culworth.
The village of Spratton, first mentioned in the 1840's, features frequently in the account books and appears to have been used as a collecting point for droves of cattle destined for the various Midland markets. It was ideally suited to this purpose by virtue of its close proximity to the major market centres. The importance of Spratton increased further in the mid 1860's when the dealers took on 149 acres of grazing land near the village at a rental of £450 per annum. The possession of this land provided them with an opportunity to hold cattle during low price periods and to await the advent of more profitable markets without being forced to buy expensive grass keeping. Furthermore it enabled them to avoid the trouble and expense of attending the smaller market centres by providing a “fall-back” area for cattle which remained unsold after the principal markets. In this context it is significant that the dealers’ visits to the smaller fairs of Hallaton and Rothwell became less frequent after the acquisition of the Spratton land.

The histogram below sets out the distribution of the mean percentage of sales of the Johnathon cattle at the various centres within the Midland grazing region. The histogram does not relate to total sales, for in many cases, the name of an individual purchaser rather than the locality of sale appears in the accounts. Nonetheless, the importance of the principal markets and fairs of Northampton, Leicester and Market Harborough is clearly emphasised. The account books suggest that the dealers usually attended at these centres in the first instance, only moving to the smaller fairs when demand was particularly favourable. Close inspection of the entries for individual years reveals that there was no consistent increase or decrease in sales at a given centre over the period covered by the accounts.

It is possible also, for the period 1856-69 where the accounts are particularly detailed, to trace the monthly pattern of cattle sales at the various outlets shown in the histogram. Such an exercise underlines the great importance of spring sales in the Midland area. Thus, more than two-thirds of the total annual sales in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire were made between April and June at a time when demand from graziers would be at its peak. Subsequently the volume of sales declined, only to increase again in October, thereby reflecting the demand for beasts for autumn depasturing. A large proportion of the animals sold at this latter end of the year were disposed of in the fairs of Rugby and Market Harborough, which lay deep in the heart of the “fattening pasture” country, where farmers were particularly insistent that their fields were grazed bare before the onset of the winter frosts.
The Johnathons were one of the many Welsh families concerned with the ancient cattle trade with the English Midlands. It would seem reasonable to suggest that some of these Welshmen, attracted by the potential of the rich grazing pastures in Northamptonshire, may have abandoned their cattle dealing activities and settled in the county. There is certainly some evidence to indicate that this was the case during the depression of the 1830’s and again during the 1930’s. Accordingly, the author would be particularly interested to hear from any readers whose antecedents arrived in Northamptonshire via their connections with the cattle trade.

R. J. Colyer.
READERS of Christopher Tongue's article 'Thomas Thornton at Astrop Spa' (Northamptonshire Past and Present, iv, 5 (1970/71), 281-285) will have wished for a contemporary illustration. Unfortunately no picture of the spa in its heyday is known. However the charming wash drawing by Thomas Rowlandson (1757-1827) illustrated above has recently come to public light. It is dated 1813 and entitled 'Aystrop Wells Buckinghamshire', although Astrop, in the parish of Kings Sutton, is of course actually in Northamptonshire.

The wells were evidently still patronised and of sufficient interest to attract Rowlandson's brush five years after the Great Room of the Spa is thought to have closed. The well itself is clearly identical with that in Astrop Park, recently restored, and illustrated in Mr. Tongue's article.

The picture was formerly in the possession of a younger branch of the Cartwright family. It was exhibited by Thomas Agnew and Sons in the Spring of 1973, and remains in a private collection in England. I am most grateful to Dame Mary Cartwright and Sir Geoffrey Agnew for their great help in securing a photograph of the picture and permission for its reproduction.

J. S. W. GIBSON.
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JUSTICES OF THE PEACE IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, 1830-1845

Part I The Men who Ruled the County

Part II The Work of the County Magistrates will appear in the next issue of Northamptonshire Past & Present

1. Introduction

The justice of the peace in early nineteenth century England occupied a place of central importance in both local government and provincial society. As a magistrate, acting in courts of criminal and civil jurisdiction, maintaining law and order within his county, levying county taxes, administering county services, he ruled over greater and lesser men alike, owners and occupiers, rich and poor. By virtue no less of his landed status than of his magisterial position the justice was a leader in the formation and expression of opinion within the county, opinion which frequently made itself heard throughout the country, in Parliament, and at Whitehall. He was often an active and influential participant in a wide range of county affairs.

What sort of men were the county justices and how did they view their work? Sidney and Beatrice Webb, in their monumental study of local government, attempted to carry the story of the justices into the first few decades of the nineteenth century. In the period between 1760 and 1830 they discovered three principal trends. The first was a vast increase in both the scale and the range of county services for which justices became responsible. The second was a “growth of social compunction and zeal” among the magistracy in the performance of their duties. The third trend, which the Webbs may have considered most important of all, was a growth of class exclusiveness within the commission of the peace, “a steady rise in the social status of those who actually took part in the routine administration of the county business,” and consequently a more selfish “class policy”. According to them this movement toward exclusiveness continued after 1830 as well.

It was, however, accompanied by a decline in the justices’ administrative relevance. “The uncontrolled power of the Rulers of the County stood, in 1815”, they wrote, “unchallenged either by Parliament or by public opinion. By 1835 the Justices had forfeited a great part of their administrative functions”. The justices survived but with their powers significantly reduced.

The true test of such assertions must lie in comprehensive studies on a county basis, studies which extend beyond the period covered by the Webbs, and which aim to piece together the mosaic of local or regional differences. The period 1830 to 1845 offers a suitable time for examining the role of justices of the peace in county government. These were years of widespread social unrest and political clamour, when the very fabric of traditional England seemed in danger of being torn asunder. The great transformation from agricultural to industrial society was well underway in many areas of the country. Emerging in the midst of it were new wealthy and influential groups: the industrial entrepreneurs, capitalists, and professionals. To accommodate such men, the political nation was broadened by the Reform Bill of 1832. In this period, marked by the new Poor Law of 1834, the Municipal Corporations and Prison Inspection Acts of 1835, and the County Police Act of 1839, the central government was rationalising and expanding the range

2 Webbs, Parish and County, 378.
3 Ibid., 378-382.
of its jurisdiction. It was, therefore, a period in which political, social, and economic change might have been reflected in changing composition, attitudes, and methods of the county bench.

Was it so in Northamptonshire? Part I of this paper will discuss those men who were active justices of the peace in this rural county between the years 1830 and 1845, relating their background and activity to the social and economic structure of the county, and seeking to determine to what degree the county bench was an exclusive and unified group. Part II, to follow, will consider their ideas and actions in the areas of crime and poverty as well as the way in which they conducted the county business. One purpose is to survey the justices' range of authority and describe any changes which occurred. Another is to assess how capable, efficient, and flexible as magistrates and administrators they were. Underlying the entire discussion is an attempt to see how, in this one county, power, privilege, and responsibility were united and dispersed.

2. Social and Economic Structure of the County

Northamptonshire in the early nineteenth century, as in centuries past, remained predominantly a tradition-oriented, agricultural society. A great county for squires, wrote H. J. Habbakuk, "the most important of them had bought estates in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, enclosed extensively and let out their lands to large farmers grazing sheep and cattle for the London market". The trend in Northamptonshire agriculture in the eighteenth century was toward the large estate and toward pasture over arable. But both processes were slow and the structure of society remained fairly stable.

Industry also played a significant role in the economy. William Pitt, the agriculturist, estimated that in 1797 over half the population of the county was engaged in commercial and manufacturing pursuits. His figure appears extraordinarily high. Yet a flourishing trade in leather goods—footwear, whips, and saddles—as well as in woollens, silk, and lace did employ a large number of persons in this early period. Of these only the footwear industry continued to grow and prosper through the following century.

The early decades of the nineteenth century in Northamptonshire witnessed considerable change in the economic and social composition of the county. But most of this change was confined to the growth of major towns. Northampton and the towns of the Ise Valley drew labour to their expanding industries from the surrounding countryside and especially from neighbouring counties. Between 1801 and 1851 the town of Northampton more than tripled its population. In rural areas change was much less evident. The period from the end of the Napoleonic wars to the mid-thirties was marked by sporadic depression and complaints of agricultural distress. Nonetheless there are clear signs that the county escaped the worst effects of the economic and social disruption within English agricultural society. The population of rural parishes increased slowly if at all. Mobility in the countryside was confined mostly to a small but periodic emigration of unemployed labourers in times of acute distress. No startling transition from agriculture to

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5 H. J. Habbakuk, "English Landownership, 1680-1740", Economic History Review, X (February 1940), 3.
8 Comparative population returns for 1801 to 1831 in Parliamentary Papers, 1833, V, 638-641 show that at no time during this period were there as many families engaged in trade, manufacture, and handicrafts as in agriculture.
11 "Many inhabitants of Northamptonshire and the adjoining counties are every day emigrating to America." Letter to Northampton Mercury, April 24, 1830; Parliamentary Papers, 1833, V. 463.
industry was perceptible. At a time when many northern and west midland counties were under­
going rapid industrialisation and severe economic dislocation, when southern and south-eastern counties were rocked by social disorder, Northamptonshire was continuing a long tradition of comparative stability with only gradual change.

Social perceptions change very slowly in such provincial societies. Where there has existed for many generations a class of local families, proprietors of the soil with social influence and economic power, whose duty it has long been to administer and protect county interests or to voice county needs, those families acquire and tend to maintain respect and obedience. They come to view themselves as the “natural rulers” of the county and are so regarded by others. The justices of the peace in Northamptonshire were largely people of this sort, and they performed their functions within the context of a dependent and deferential society.

3. Composition of the Bench

Between the years 1830 and 1845 in all 107 men sat on the Northamptonshire bench. This body of active magistrates comprised less than one in four of all justices in the commission of the peace. The number acting at any one time during these years appears to have remained constant. Samuel Lewis spoke of seventy-nine active magistrates in Northamptonshire in 1833. William Whellan’s Directory listed precisely the same number in 1849.

With respect to their social backgrounds, their association with the county, the family alliances they formed, their wealth, education, politics, and professional interests, the Northamptonshire magistrates were a reasonably diverse group. And yet it seems very likely that this county bench was at the time one of the most socially exclusive in the country. Ten of the magistrates were peers with large landed incomes. No fewer than thirty-seven were country gentlemen living primarily on rents from their estates and pursuing no regular endeavour other than landed proprietorship; five of these gentry were baronets. Professional men formed a second large group on the bench but, apart from the clergy, most of them were firmly entrenched in landed society. Five magistrates were barristers, one was a solicitor, and nine had embarked on careers in the military—seven in the army and two in the navy. One physician and one civil servant also sat on the bench. Clergymen, certainly the most diverse group of county magistrates and one meriting special attention, numbered forty-one. With the possible exception of two men who appear to have been farmers, men of business played no role on the commission of the peace in the 1830’s or early forties.

Most of the peers active on the bench were local grandees whose families had lived in Northamptonshire for centuries and had presided over the county’s affairs. The Spencers and Comptons were associated with the county from medieval times, the Fitzroys were seated there by the late seventeenth century, and the Powys were at Lilford Hall from 1711. Those peers whose direct interests in Northamptonshire were tenuous at least had contracted local alliances

12 By “active” I mean those men who actually took out their qualifications to act as magistrates and who appeared sometime during the period at quarter or petty sessions. In 1836 a total of 422 persons were listed in the commission of the peace for Northamptonshire: 44 peers or sons of peers, 13 baronets, 14 doctors of law or divinity, 187 esquires, and 164 clergymen. These latter figures, much higher than for many other counties of similar size and population, lend weight to that much overworked description of Northants as a county of “spires and squares”. Parliamentary Papers, 1836, XLIII, 210-213; in the ensuing decade appointments followed the pattern. Parliamentary Papers, 1842, XXXIII, 458; 1846, XXXIII, 356.


through marriage; the Evans-Freke family, Barons Carbery, were related to the Fitzwilliams, and the Hill-Trevors, Viscounts Dungannon, intermarried with a branch of the Fitzroys. Only two of the peers active as magistrates were new creations. William Hanbury, created Baron Bateman in 1837, was a descendant of an eminent family which, in addition to possessing large estates in Herefordshire, was located in Northamptonshire by the early seventeenth century. Robert Vernon Smith was the son of “Bobus” Smith, who had made his fortune as Judge Advocate General of Bengal, but the family was well connected in the great aristocratic circles. The younger Smith acquired his Northamptonshire estates through marriage, and in 1859 was rewarded with the title of Baron Lyveden for his services to the whig party, both as M.P. for Northampton for nearly two decades and in various junior cabinet posts. Through a social convention which had probably prevailed in Northamptonshire for more than a century, none of these aristocrats married within the county, but their sense of attachment to it was in most instances very strong.16

Broadly speaking, the same was true of the gentry. Nearly two-thirds of this group of thirty-seven magistrates were the offspring of Northamptonshire families and sons of resident country gentlemen. Although few could make the claim of two justices, Langham Rokeby of Arthingworth and Sir William Wake of Courteenhall, that their families dated to Saxon times, two others had, however, deduced their pedigrees in Northamptonshire from the Conquest.17 Perhaps a sixth of these men were descendants of families who had settled in the east midlands by the Elizabethan era. The largest number, nearly a quarter of the total and including such prominent families as the Cartwrights of Aynhoe, the Thorntons of Brockhall, and the Tryons of Bulwick Park, had acquired estates in the county during the early seventeenth century, while almost as many again were descendants of families which had moved into Northamptonshire in the early years of the eighteenth century.

Relative newcomers, only about a third of the gentry magistrates, often came from professional or business families. Such a man was Francis Dickins of Wollaston, whose father was a barrister and whose grandfather had lived in Covent Garden while he was Sergeant-Surgeon to the King, or Thomas Williams of Rushden Hall, scion of a family of prominent London and Dorchester bankers. The succession to local property through marriage was an obvious avenue into Northamptonshire society for a few families like the Carters of Edgecote and the Watson-Samwells of Upton Hall. Thomas Carter, one of the active magistrates during this period, was the son of a barrister who had married into the Chauncey family and acquired their Northamptonshire estates. In the early years of the nineteenth century the younger Carter distinguished himself as the member for Tamworth and later for Callington, was private secretary to the Duke of Portland when the latter was Prime Minister, and was a Superintendent of Aliens. The father of the magistrate Thomas Watson-Samwell, who came from the colliery regions of Northumberland, married the younger daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Samwell, the last representative of a family seated in Northamptonshire since the sixteenth century.

The infusion of new blood into local landed society was a continuing process, but such instances should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the country gentlemen who sat on the bench in this period were principally the descendants of many generations of men who had likewise been the rulers of this county.

The Northamptonshire gentry also followed the pattern of the local aristocracy in the marriages they contracted, seldom deviating from their own social stratum, but occasionally marrying into titled families which opened new doors to aristocratic or squirearchical society. Many gentry were, of course, wealthy and long-established proprietors; it is certainly likely that such advantageous marriages worked in both directions. Cementing an alliance, sometimes political or economic, between county families through marriage was a commonly recognized practice of landed society in the period. But, while instances of this sort did occur—for example between the Willes and Cartwright, Stratton and Willes, and Rose and Wetherall families—they

17 For details on the Rokeby family, whose lineage is disputed, see Justin Simpson, Obituary and Records for the Counties of Lincoln, Rutland, and Northampton, 1800-1859, Stamford: William Newcomb, 1861.
were more the exception than the rule. Of the country gentlemen on the Northamptonshire bench between 1830 and 1845, four-fifths married outside the circle of local families.

Apart from the clergy those Northamptonshire magistrates who had entered the professions were scarcely otherwise distinguishable from the rest of the bench. A couple of them, like the solicitor Steed Girdlestone, or George Stone, an officer in the Royal Horse Guards, stood on the periphery of local landed society. Girdlestone had once been deputy clerk of the peace for the Isle of Ely, while Stone, whose modest landed property lay mostly in Middlesex, married into a Yorkshire business family. The barrister Thomas Cowper Hincks came from a family of bankers and aldermen in Cheshire. The remainder, however, had close ties with the county. Most magistrates who followed careers in the army or navy, for example, bore such names as Spencer, Fitzroy, Cartwright, and Watson, and were generally the younger sons of leading local families. Like the rest of the aristocracy and gentry, they married their social equals. Of the barristers on the bench, two were closely connected with the eminent Watson family, once the Earls of Rockingham, and were heirs to local baronetcies. A third was allied with the Stopford family, having married a daughter of one prominent clergyman active on the bench. Henry Barne Sawbridge, the recorder of Daventry from 1803 to 1821 and later the vice chairman of Northamptonshire quarter sessions, had family connections with the county going back to the sixteenth century. His grandfather had purchased the estate of East Haddon from the Isham family in the 1780’s and was high sheriff of the county in 1782.

Only among the large group of clerical magistrates was the pattern of social exclusiveness and local heritage broken, and even then only partially. Some of the forty-one clergymen on the bench closely resembled the lay magistrates in both county and family background. A large number, however, did not. As a group the clerical justices appear to have played in county government a role disproportionate to their numbers and interests.

According to the Webbs clerical justices first appeared in quantity on commissions of the peace shortly after 1750 when the need arose for greatly increasing the number of magistrates in outlying areas of the counties. These men were viewed as suitable county justices, qualified by freehold possession, and owners of glebe and tithe. Fulfilling this need played a part in the growing numbers of clergymen appointed to the Northamptonshire bench. As late as 1839 the Lord Lieutenant of the county, speaking of an area around Towcester, informed the Lord Chancellor that “there is a deficiency of persons for the Magistracy in that neighbourhood & no means of supplying these places except by the Clergymen I have recommended, who are all persons of Character & consideration”. By the 1830’s, however, Northamptonshire clergymen in general were not acting as magistrates only in remote parts of the county uninhabited by established proprietors. More often than not they were voicing opinions or making decisions on county matters in concert with the aristocracy and gentry of their neighbourhoods. Nor was it unusual for clerical magistrates to act alone in parishes and divisions where a multitude of prosperous and indigenous gentry resided. How was such extraordinary influence possible?

Certainly the clergymen were not entirely removed from traditions of governance and respectability firmly implanted in Northamptonshire society. All forty-one were ministers of the Established Church. All but one had attended either Oxford or Cambridge. Most had achieved at least the position of rector and a large majority held plural benefices. Furthermore, well over a third of the clerical magistrates were born in the county and most of these came from families established in Northamptonshire by at least the early eighteenth century. Men such as the Rev. Henry Longueville Mansel, of the Mansels of Cosgrove Hall, or the Rev. William Thornton, son of the magistrate Thomas Reeve Thornton of Brockhall, not only grew up within the charmed circle of county acquaintances but were also considerable landed proprietors in their own right. Similarly, several clerical magistrates who were newcomers to Northamptonshire society nevertheless came from highly respected landowning families outside the county. The Rev. George Edward Hanmer, for example, was a younger son of the Hanners of Flintshire, a wealthy family

18 Webbs, Parish and County, 351.
19 Northamptonshire County Record Office, Clerk of the Peace Miscellaneous Papers, Box X 1989, Earl of Westmorland to the Lord Chancellor, June 7, 1839.
of baronet rank owning over 11,000 acres in Wales and the west of England. Another was the Rev. Loraine Loraine-Smith, until 1836 the proprietor of Enderby Hall in Leicestershire, whose family was traced to the Norman period. The Rev. Mr. Loraine-Smith was one of that special breed of clergymen “whose costume, habits, and general lack of self-devotion to the things more immediately pertaining to his walk of life, rendered him, for full half a century a conspicuous member of society”.20 A passionate fox-hunter regularly associated with the Pytchley Hunt, he lived more as a country squire than a country parson, mingling on equal terms with other country gentlemen. Intermarriage smoothed the path into local society for clergymen like the Rev. Francis Clerke, whose father had had the foresight to marry a Cartwright long before his financial distress removed him from his Lancashire parish to the Fleet Prison where he died. The Rev. James, 4th Baron Douglas of Lanarkshire, was related on his mother’s side to the Dukes of Buccleuch, and it was through the patronage of the Dowager Duchess that he became the rector of Broughton. Some clerical magistrates therefore had long and respected association with county families and county affairs in Northamptonshire.

Most were of more obscure background. Nearly two-thirds of the clergymen on the bench between 1830 and 1845 were newcomers to the county. Sixteen were themselves sons of clerics very few of whom had any ties with Northamptonshire society. Three were sons of farmers and six others of professional men without landed interests. The Rev. Charles Arthur Sage was the younger son of an assay master at the Royal Mint, the Rev. George Halliley Capron of a wealthy Suffolk solicitor, the Rev. Francis Litchfield of a Northampton physician. Least established of them all was the Rev. James Hogg, the most active justice at petty sessions in the entire county. He was not educated at the universities. At the turn of the century he became master of the grammar school at Kettering, married one of the local spinsters and later, with the patronage of the Duke of Buccleuch, was made vicar of Geddington and Newton. He was appointed to the magistracy in 1818, at the comparatively late age of forty-four, and assiduously devoted his remaining twenty-six years to those duties. For several of those years he was chairman of his petty sessional division.21 It is indeed likely that many of these clergymen, like the Rev. Mr. Hogg, raised themselves to positions of prominence by displaying great energy and a more than usual willingness to participate.

One other road to local success and respectability lay through propitious marriages into the upper social strata. A case in point is the story of the Rev. Samuel Woodfield Paul. Born in Dorsetshire in 1778, Paul first became a barrister and travelled on the circuit. In 1806, however, he married the daughter of Sir John English Dolben of Finedon, patriarch of a long-settled Northamptonshire family and an inactive justice of the peace. With newly-formed connections among the local gentry and an estate of some 760 acres, Paul immediately abandoned his law practice and went to study for the ministry at Cambridge. In 1810 he became vicar of Finedon on his own presentation as patron, styling himself a “Student of Civil Law”.22 That same year he was appointed to the magistracy and actively served until his death in 1847.

The social position of Northamptonshire magistrates becomes clearer when set within the framework of landownership and income. Statistics in this area are neither contemporary nor complete and are subject to a wide margin of error. They must for the most part be taken from the published returns of the 1870’s.23 Despite their obvious deficiencies, the figures available nonetheless provide a useful clue to the distribution of economic power among the rulers of the county. While they suggest wide variations in income, they also indicate that, with the exception of most

21 Longden, Northants Clergy, VII, 55; Parliamentary Papers, 1840, XLI, 375. During some years in the 1830’s the Rev. Mr. Hogg was responsible for twenty per cent of all convictions and commitments at petty sessions in the county.
22 Longden, Northants Clergy, X, 201.
23 A few contemporary figures on landowning are noted in Baker’s History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire, London: J. B. Nichols, 1822-1830, 2 vols. Most, however, come from John Bateman, The Acreocracy of England, London: B. M. Pickering, 1876; Cokayne, Complete Peerage; and the original source for both of the latter, Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Return of Owners of Land, 1873, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1875.
clerical magistrates, these men were a prosperous group. In some cases it is also possible to recognize how status achieved by large incomes from land cut across that achieved by title.

No other magistrates in Northamptonshire could match in extent and wealth the estates of the greatest aristocratic landowners and justices of the county. Earl Spencer with nearly 17,000 acres, the Duke of Grafton with 14,500, and the Marquis of Northampton with close to 10,000 acres stood unquestionably in the forefront. Nor did their incomes rest entirely upon these estates. The Spencers owned an additional 10,000 acres in six other counties. The Comptons drew sizeable rents from estates totalling 13,000 acres in Warwickshire and Scotland. The Powys family, Barons Lilford, while owning about 8,000 acres in the county, had land almost as extensive and considerably more valuable in Lancashire. The Fitzroys possessed acres in Suffolk nearly as broad as those in Northamptonshire. The local estates of other active peers varied greatly, however, and some were less than 3,000 acres. Many established county families, the Knightleys and Cartwrights among them, far exceeded aristocrats like Lords Bateman, Carbery, and Lyveden in their Northamptonshire properties.

The gentry and lay professional groups on the bench were more strictly speaking "county men", whose estates lay entirely or primarily within Northamptonshire. A few magistrates, it is true, had only secondary associations with the county. Thomas Charles Higgins of Turvey House, the most notable among these, owned less than 200 acres in Northamptonshire. The bulk of his estates lay in neighbouring Bedfordshire, where he served for many years as chairman of that county's quarter sessions. Well over half the gentry owned lands outside Northamptonshire, but generally their family seats and the major portion of their wealth rested upon local property. At least eight gentry magistrates lived on Northamptonshire estates of more than 3,000 acres, and all of the barristers had lands totalling well above 1,000 acres. While many of these men played a leading role on the commission of the peace, others with far smaller interests were also prominent. Nearly a third of the gentry, for example, were proprietors of less than 750 acres. The "average" lay magistrate in this period probably owned an estate of from 750 to 2,000 acres, deriving from it an almost equivalent annual rent in pounds. Wide variations in landed income notwithstanding, most of these justices therefore had a considerable stake in the county itself and were able to command in their own neighbourhoods a good deal of influence.

Records on landowning among the clerical magistrates are sparse. Only about a third of these men appear to have owned estates. Clergymen like the Rev. H. L. Mansel of Cosgrove with over 1,000 acres, the Rev. Sir George Stamp Robinson of Cranford Hall with over 2,000, or the Rev. George Halliley Capron of Southwick Hall and Stoke Doyle, whose father had purchased and left to him estates approaching 4,000 acres, were rarities. Most clerical estates ranged from 200 to 500 acres. The evidence suggests that a majority of the clerical magistrates in Northamptonshire during this period probably depended principally upon modest clerical livings, and that in their case wealth was not a necessary prerequisite for entry into the local magistracy.

The Northamptonshire magistrates active in the 1830's and early forties shared to a remarkable degree a common educational experience. Most of the peers on the bench, at least a third of the gentry, a quarter of the clergy, and all but one of the barristers had attended one of the great public schools. In many cases intermingling at schools like Eton, Harrow, Westminster, or Rugby, they proceeded on to either Oxford or Cambridge, where the polish of polite society and habits of command were further imbibed. Only one of the clerical magistrates did not go the Oxbridge route; over half the gentry had been there, eleven at Oxford and nine at Cambridge, while for the peers at least a Cambridge M.A. rapidly acquired was pro forma. Legal training was not an important attribute in a county magistrate, and such professionalism was (and indeed still

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24 The amount of their incomes from land is admittedly conjectural. In the 1870's these estates normally rented at from £1 ⁴ to £2 per acre. For some indication of the improvement in agricultural productivity which may have brought higher rents by 1870 see G. E. Fussell, "High Farming" in the East Midlands and East Anglia, 1840-1880", Economic Geography, XXVII, no. 1 (January 1951), 76-79.
is viewed with some suspicion. Apart from the barristers on the bench, only about one in ten of the Northamptonshire magistrates had attended any of the Inns of Court. 25

But it was, perhaps, in the sphere of politics that the greatest degree of cohesion existed among the rulers of the county. Many of these county families had established a long tradition of parliamentary representation. The Knightleys, for example, had represented the county in Parliament since the fifteenth century and were especially prominent throughout the eighteenth. Sir Charles Knightley, as well as being an active magistrate, was also one of the members for South Northamptonshire from 1834 to 1852. His son Rainald took up the seat upon his father’s death and held it until 1892. 26 Members of the Cartwright family were county M.P.s throughout the later seventeenth and the eighteenth century. William Ralph Cartwright, a prominent man as chairman of quarter sessions from 1832 to 1837, was also an M.P. for nearly fifty years. Many other magistrates came from families with long parliamentary histories. In all nearly a fifth of the magistrates on the bench during these years had sat at one time or other in the House of Commons.

Through the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth, Northamptonshire country gentlemen steered a course of fierce independence in politics. Their principal aim was to thwart the rising ambitions of local aristocratic families like the Spencers and Fitzwilliams anxious to dominate the county representation. 27 Though such aristocratic intrusions into this traditional preserve of the gentry did occur, most notably in the case of Lord Althorp, the ordinary country gentry managed to retain the reins of county government very tightly in their own hands.

As a result the Northamptonshire bench of the 1830’s and early forties reflected more a uniformity of political sentiment than any even division of country gentlemen or clergymen into hostile political camps. 28 Alone among the magistrates, the grandees championed the cause of whiggery: the Spencers, the Watsons, the Powys, the Hanburys, the Vernon Smiths, the Fitzroys to some extent, the Comptons increasingly. A few magistrates among the gentry and clergy of the county allied themselves with such local whig aristocrats or with the whig party in general. Men with substantial interests like Edward Bouvier of Delapre Abbey and Sir William Wake of Courteenhall, as well as small owners like Charles Hill of Wollaston Hall, were consistent whigs. A considerable number of the smaller men on the bench such as John Nethercoat of Moulton Grange, a country gentleman active in the Pytchley Hunt and living on less than 1,000 acres, the farmer Thomas Wilkins, the physician William Landen Hopkinson, and the Rev. James Hogg possibly perceived that political neutrality was their wisest course. Wherever possible, they followed a pattern of strict independence, voting for both tory and whig candidates. The remainder of the bench, however, expressed “a consistent and enduring toryism”. 29 The Knightleys, Gunnings, Cartwrights, and Willes families, for example, contracted a close political alliance and financed a local tory paper catering to their views and interests. 30 Among the thirty-seven

25 School registers and the records of the Inns of Court have not, however, been combed exhaustively. It is certainly likely that a higher proportion of the magistrates than indicated here at least attended the public schools. The sources for university attendance are: Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxoniensis, Oxford: Parker and Co., Part 2 (1715-1888), 1888, 4 vols., and J. A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, Cambridge: University Press, Part 2 (1752-1900), 1940-1954, 6 vols. These works contain much additional biographical information.

26 “Sir Charles belonged to the old and extinct school of Tories who swore by Lord Eldon and at Sir Robert Peel. Sir Rainald ... has been content ... to support his party with equal silence and sedulosity.” Quote from London World, August 31, 1892, in C. H. Markham, ed. Northamptonshire Notes and Queries, V (1894), 82-83.

27 For a detailed account of such political alliances and contests, see Eric G. Forrester, Northamptonshire County Elections and Electioneering, 1695-1832, London: Oxford University Press, 1941.

28 The political careers and party allegiances of those magistrates who sat in the Lords or Commons have been traced in such additional sources as Cokayne, Complete Peerage, Charles R. Dod, The Parliamentary Companion, London: Whittaker & Co., annually from 1832, and Henry Stooks Smith, The Register of Parliamentary Contested Elections, London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1842. The political complexion of the bench in general, however, has been drawn from a study of voting behaviour recorded in the published poll-books for the county elections of 1806 and 1831, the North Northamptonshire election of 1835, and the South Northamptonshire contests of 1847 and 1857.

29 Forrester, Northamptonshire County Elections, 151.

30 Northamptonshire County Record Office, Knightley MSS, Papers and correspondence relating to the establishment of the Northampton Herald, K. 1391-1404.
gentry on the bench, no fewer than twenty-four were tories, while only four are known to have been whigs. Of the forty-one clergymen, only three supported whig candidates, while twenty-five voted consistently tory. All of the barristers and over half the magistrates with careers in the military likewise expressed tory sentiment. The political agreement existing within the Northamptonshire magistracy suggests, to some degree at least, a common social outlook, and helps to explain how the business of the county was carried on with a minimum of factional disputes during these years.

With some important variations the image of Northamptonshire justices in this period broadly conforms to that which the Webbs perceived. They were a closely-knit governing elite, tied together by mutual interests in land and a mutual tradition of proprietorship, interconnected by exclusive patterns of family association and marriage, and sharing a common political creed. The many exceptions modify that image from one of a closed and narrow ruling elite to one which was open through several channels and within which powers could be widely dispersed. In addition, it should be pointed out that, although these men may indeed have constituted a local oligarchy, their activities must be seen within the much broader perspective of historical continuity. Their dominance resulted as much from tradition as from a desire to retain power tightly in a few hands. They were ingrained with the traditions of county leadership and service. During the period 1830 to 1845, at county meetings, on boards of management, in agricultural, religious, and charitable societies, as high sheriffs or deputy lieutenants, the active justices of the peace also played a leading role. Most were more than mere magistrates; as lords of the manor or successful clergymen they were frequently wealthy and influential men, in touch with local conditions and local needs. They were products of a tradition-oriented county which for several generations had come to expect from this class decision and direction in local affairs.

R. W. SHORTHOUSE

ACTIVE JUSTICES IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE 1830-1845

Abstract of Estates, Family Backgrounds, Marriages, and Political Preferences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JUSTICES</th>
<th>ACREAGE COUNTY</th>
<th>FAMILY BACKGROUND</th>
<th>MARRIAGES</th>
<th>POLITICS</th>
</tr>
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1 Landownership is divided into two columns. The first is the size of the magistrate's Northamptonshire estates, the second the total amount of land he owned throughout the country. Those spaces left blank indicate either that the magistrate owned no land or that the extent of his possessions is unknown. The "+" sign indicates the magistrate owned an additional but undetermined amount of land above the figure shown. Figures are based upon the published returns of 1873.

The designation (L) or (NL) indicates whether the justice came from a "local" or "non-local" family and whether he married within the county. In a few instances the magistrate's family background and marriage ties are undetermined.

All those magistrates who at one time or other sat in the House of Commons are indicated by an asterisk (*) appearing after their political party affiliations.
### A. Peerage—continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
<th>County Total</th>
<th>Background</th>
<th>Marriages</th>
<th>Politics</th>
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### B. Landed Gentry

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<th>Politics</th>
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### JUSTICES OF THE PEACE IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, 1830-1845

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#### B. Landed Gentry—continued

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* tory
W. T. Mellows laid the foundations for the history of Peterborough Abbey some thirty years ago and Dr. King, a lecturer in the department of history in the University of Sheffield, has taken up the subject again. He brings to it the fresh insight of economic historians who have made such great progress in the last generation. His study covers the period from the re-foundation of the monastery in the tenth century; (an earlier start than the title suggests), to the check of economic expansion in the early 14th century. He reviews the sources which include the chronicles of Hugh Candidus, Robert of Swaffham, and Walter of Whittlesey; these are supplemented by Domesday Book, the Peterborough Descriptio Militum and the Northamptonshire Survey, and, perhaps most important, the Carte Nativorum, an early 14th century source which contains villein transactions in free land, almost all from the villages surrounding the monastery in the Soke of Peterborough.

The tremendous size of the endowments of one of these Pre-Conquest monasteries is emphasized. The abbey possessed practically the whole of the Soke of Peterborough, much of the middle and lower Nene valley including Ashton, Warmington and Oundle, Kettering and Cottingham and Great Easton on the Leicestershire border, Tinwell in Rutland, while 80 miles away there was Walcot, just South of the Humber, together with nineteen estates in Lincolnshire. This estate was founded by the original gift of Ethelwold and his subsequent purchases; the abbey then expanded into the neighbouring counties of Leicestershire, Rutland and Lincolnshire, so that by the time of Abbot Leofric (1052-66) it was named “the golden burgh”. Thorold, the first Norman abbot, broke up the estates to some extent. He ‘gave lands to his kinsfolk and the knights who came with them, so that scarcely one third of the abbey’s estate remained in demesne’. He mourned Hugh Candidus. Dr. King estimates that 46% of the abbey’s property was in the hands of its knights by 1080; perhaps this is hardly surprising in view of the phenomenally heavy burden of knight service inflicted on the abbey, that of sixty knights’ fees. It is suggested that it was seen as a bulwark against Hereward and the Danes.

In a chapter of great interest to the historian of the landscape Dr. King discusses the colonisation of new lands in the forest and fen. The abbey’s lands lay in the most densely wooded area of the county and he suggests that to counter the inflation of the 12th century and in an attempt to compensate for the decline of income from fixed rents, the monks were disafforesting on a large scale. They were making assarts and paying the royal foresters for these multitudinous clearings. The work of clearance started to gather pace in the mid-12th century and was at its peak c.1175-1225. Being situated on the western edge of the great fenlands, the abbey was again in a good position to reclaim fenland for pasture. Such place names as ‘Le Inham’ and ‘Le Newedike’ recall the colonising work, while granges such as at Oxney and Eye were centres of fenland exploitation. The work itself was done by the successors of Domesday sokemen.

Dr. King deals with the monastery tenants in a series of chapters about knights, freeholders and villeins. We see the knights making independent provision for their daughters and younger sons; they also emerge as benefactors to the abbey, the only generous phase of pious donation between the Conquest and the Reformation. He follows the fortunes of a number of 13th century
freeholding families who were in the van of the movement clearing new land. Much of this eventually was bought up by the abbey. The various monastic departments, the sacristy, almonry and cellarer were all engaged in building up estates, either purchasing property in the town of Peterborough or buying land outside the Soke. There were powerful villein families also engrossing estates in this very fluid market condition around 1300. These Dr. King calls the Peterborough 'kulaks'.

The book concludes with an account of the administration and organisation of the monastic estates. As in royal government professional administrators succeeded feudal. The abbey was served by stewards, such as Robert de Thorpe, whose family's building activities are still a noteworthy feature of the landscape at Longthorpe. The church they built still stands; by its side is the tower whose splendid wall paintings in the principal room 'give the most vivid impression of civilised life in a manor house'. The abbey backed up the services of its monk wardens and stewards by retaining local lawyers and even royal judges were bribed in the war against the needy and ever inventive royal administration.

When analysing the organisation of the monastic estates we are shown that the more distant manors sent cash only (their 'farm') while the others nearer Peterborough contributed grain as well. The latter manors had a heavier burden of labour services—nowhere under three days a week. An interesting geographical division is noted; the manors in areas dominated by heavy clays had eight oxen to each plough; in the lighter limestone uplands there were seven or even six oxen to each plough. Dr. King surmises that there was a movement towards direct farming towards the end of the 12th century and with it the value of the estates doubled between 1176 and 1211. Direct management and strong lordship paid off. Towards the middle of the 14th century, however, it is clear that arable farming was being run down because of poor soil and falling yields and sheep farming was coming into its own. The middle Nene area has a surprising number of deserted medieval villages, such as Woodcroft, Papley, Lilford, Perio and Kingsthorpe.

In short this book is an interesting comparative study to those we already have of the economic life of the medieval monasteries of Tavistock, Ely and Christchurch, Canterbury. Its importance and originality lies in its detailed unravelling of the market in land during the early middle ages.

J. M. Steane.

SHOEMAKERS IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, 1762-1911, A STATISTICAL SURVEY

by Victor A. Hatley and Joseph Rajczonek

Northampton Historical Series, No. 6

Obtainable from the General Editor, 14a The Crescent, Northampton, NN1 4SB. Price 60p (plus 5p postage), and from Northampton Museum

The latest addition to this most excellent series of short articles on aspects of Northampton's history is the largest and most ambitious so far. It is the result of four years work by the two authors, which must have been a labour of love, for it is not everyone who has the patience to search the records for the apparently dull statistics which should be the raw material of historians. Students of Northamptonshire history and in particular of the history of the shoe industry, and indeed students of the industry everywhere, will be eternally grateful. For during the period covered, the history of the industry in Northamptonshire was in some ways the history of the industry in England. It grew from a wholesale industry supplying the markets of the Midlands, London, the army and 'foreign plantations' to one which swamped the world with Northamptonshire footwear and made its name a household word in many countries. I would like to think it will inspire other shoemaking areas in England to produce similar statistics for comparison. The history of the shoe trade will then almost write itself.

Essentially the booklet consists of tables of most of the statistics available at the present time. In each case the authors have chosen towns and villages associated with shoe production.
First come the Militia Lists for the County from 1762 to 1802 which fortunately showed the occupations of all the men liable for military service. The tables list the percentage of shoemakers for each place for the appropriate years. Although the Militia Lists are incomplete, they are invaluable for providing some evidence of the early days of places important to the trade or which were to become centres later on.

The second set of tables is compiled from the Baptismal Registers, 1813-30, where again the father's occupation was given. Although shoemakers were notoriously non-conformist, this does give some evidence for the period of the great impetus of the Napoleonic Wars and its grim aftermath. The Registers were not examined beyond 1830 as more accurate evidence becomes available.

The third set of tables is taken from the Poll Books of the County town itself, which exist between 1768 and 1865, with some analysis of the divisions within the trade: clickers, closers, heelmakers, clog and patten makers (an added bonus here shows the disappearance of heelmakers with the demise of the wooden heel, and the change of terminology as clogs give way to pattens with changes in fashion). An additional tit-bit shows how the shoemakers voted (often radical), and there is a reproduction of a political poster of 1826.

The remaining tables are compiled from the Census Records from 1831 to 1911, and show the numbers of men and women, boys and girls, employed in shoemaking, with population tables from 1801. Altogether 73 places in the County, as well as Northampton itself, are analysed. One's admiration for the compilers grows, though there is the somewhat surprising omission of Weedon. Here is the raw material for many a parish history.

Each set of tables is preceded by a short introduction explaining the value of the figures, the compilers' methods of working and words of caution where necessary. A map of the shoemaking part of the County is helpful in locating the places concerned. Although the greater part of the booklet is taken up with the tables, there is a Commentary on them by Mr. Hatley. This consists of brief surveys of the industry in Wellingborough, Northampton, Kettering, Daventry, Towcester and the County in general, giving some background information in explanation of the changes shown in the statistics. Though brief, there is much good meat here, and historians and shoe students would be well advised to read it in preference to most of the rash generalisations which have appeared in histories of shoemaking hitherto.

Indeed the whole booklet is to be recommended. May I personally make a plea to village historians to use this excellent basis for a history of shoemaking in their areas and clothe the bare bones of statistics with the personalities they hide. There were strong reasons and perhaps even geniuses at work to cause sudden leaps in figures such as are shown for Wellingborough between 1841 and '51, at Towcester and Yardley Hastings between 1851 and '61, to mention but a few of those which spring out from the pages with a tantalizing "Why?")

In the Foreword the authors say they may consider making the similar counts from the 1871 Census figures when they are released. One can only appeal to them to do so: it will be well worth while. We hope they will be around to do the same for 1881 and beyond.

J. M. SWANN.

No. 2: "MILESTONES" NORTHAMPTONSHIRE ROADS AND TURNPIKES

Price 50p plus 22p (p. & p. and VAT)

No. 3: "A WOMAN'S WORK" HOUSEKEEPING IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

1600-1900

Price 50p plus 28p (p. & p. and VAT)

From County Record Office, Delapré House, Northampton and from museums and libraries, Northampton.

Northamptonshire's teachers will welcome the two latest productions in the Northampton County Record Office's series of Archive Teaching Units. The value of facsimile documents in
class is beyond doubt. They can give vivid insight into the past, they allow children the experience of “real history”; and they can provoke valuable discussions of many historical topics.

Teachers who wish to use these folders will find them good value for money. Each folder contains twenty-four documents covering up to four hundred years, a most informative commentary, transcriptions and illustrations. Book lists stimulate further research, and visits to Delapré Abbey are encouraged. To receive all this for only 50p is remarkable.

“Milestones” claims not to be a “comprehensive history of Turnpikes and roads”, yet the folder covers the period 1483 to 1871. It deals briefly with roads before the Turnpike era, showing the need for Turnpiking, and illustrates the history of the County’s Turnpikes from their inception to their demise, ruined by Railway competition, in the 1870’s.

A valuable feature of this folder is the detail it gives on little-considered aspects of Turnpikes—for instance the unpopularity of Turnpike administrators even with their fellow-gentry, and the eagerness with which Railway competition was welcomed for this reason. The folder is well illustrated by plans of the roads themselves, drawings of their gates and equipment, and of the vehicles that ran upon them. One could make an interesting comparison between today’s living standards and those represented by a toll-collector’s cottage of 1822, whose plan is reproduced here.

Apart from fieldwork, Turnpikes are a difficult subject to pursue outside the classroom. Even this well-researched folder can list only nine works for further reading, and two of these are for Junior Readers. Others are of considerable age, and might well deter even an enthusiastic student. One wishes this could be improved.

“A Woman’s Work” is crammed with fascinating detail of the domestic life of three centuries. Here are the details of the past that give life to the inevitable generalizations of textbooks. In themselves, the contents are enthralling. Fifteen recipes reveal the exotic and bizarre foods and medicines of long ago. Nothing distinguishes our life from that of the eighteenth century so well as formulae for forgotten dishes or remedies for vanished diseases. One could ponder for some time over “Egges in Moonshine”, but one is glad to have escaped desperate prescriptions such as one here recommended for gout: the roots of “hollehocke” well boiled in the fat of a dog.

Inevitably, as the introduction makes clear, these documents tell us more of the lives of servants, than of people in other occupations. Nevertheless, we can learn something of life in Victorian times from the beautifully-written exercise book of a schoolgirl of 1888. Even the pictures of a nineteenth-century kitchen and laundry tell us a good deal about the lives of people employed in them, from the humble housemaid to the Butler—who we see perusing Dodsley’s Original Cellar Book, the better to superintend his master’s cellar.

M. D. Eaton.

A WALK ROUND KETTERING

(Kettering Civic Society, 1972, 20p)

Copies may be obtained from Mrs. Heath, 95 Roundhill Road, Kettering.

Until comparatively recently it was the fashion among Kettering people to denigrate their town’s architecture. Even those who should have known better took the view that Kettering understood how to make shoes and how to make money, but that in some mysterious way industrial ugliness was the automatic penalty.

This was in spite of the work of J. A. Gotch and other able Kettering architects who for many years had been providing the town with some quite notable buildings for a place of its size.

In 1964 the loss of the whimsical Old Grammar School with its tall chimneys, high-pitched roofs, dormer windows and faintly Greyfriars atmosphere was a shock to Kettering people, who saw characterless shops rise in its place and glimpsed the ugliness of things to come.
Perhaps sparked off by this demolition, the last ten years have seen awakening of appreciation and interest in Kettering’s buildings and history on a quite remarkable scale. The Civic Society was formed and courageously assumed its role of watchdog. One of its activities has been arranging walks conducted by its architect members who gave on-the-spot talks on buildings along the route. Similar tours were undertaken by Mr. Ron Greenall who dealt with the historical aspects of the town as an extension of classes on Kettering’s history.

To supplement this, a taste of the modern “shoe box” style of architecture has brought home to Kettering people the fact that they have a rich heritage in their Victorian-Edwardian town, largely very well built of tough old Kettering-made bricks. In those days property owners felt they wanted to make a distinctive contribution to the townscape, and as a result Kettering has a great variety of buildings of human scale set in gently winding streets that still follow the line of the old village lanes.

Now, with its “Walk Round Kettering” the Civic Society, which for its enterprise is regarded as a model society by the Civic Trust, has caught this new spirit and enshrined it in a most enterprising publication, kept remarkably low in price by generous public contributions prior to publication.

A special project team volunteered to prepare the book, which runs to 16 pages and contains 50 skilful drawings of many of the main features of the town, with informative captions. In addition there are maps showing the extent of the town in 1587, 1728, 1826, 1900 and 1970. These have been transcribed for easy reference, but the central portion of Ralph Treswell’s 1587 map which shows individual houses, the old field names, and the three pre-Reformation crosses which stood at entrances to the town has been used as an attractive cover.

In ranging the town the artists selected their subjects both for attractiveness and historic interest, and sought out some little-known corners to add the spice of the unexpected. The church and the listed buildings naturally receive due importance, but there is a wide range of Victorian-Edwardian factories, shops and public buildings, with unusual features here and there in close-up, charming vistas along the central lanes, and—a stranger in this architectural paradise—the historic steam furnace locomotive preserved behind the Public Library.

With changes, alas, threatened soon in Kettering this book is not only an entertaining guide on a perambulation of the town, but in the future will be treasured as a record of buildings that have gone. There are a few slips in the captions, but they are relatively few and it would be churlish to dwell upon them. Rather let us congratulate those responsible for so much talented hard work—John Steane who took overall charge and with Brian Austin, Nina Carroll and Peter Taylor did the drawings; Ron Greenall, Fred Moore and Harold Williams who provided historical background, and Harry Bland who gave information on building materials and styles.

TONY IRESON.

BIRDS NEST: POEMS BY JOHN CLARE

*Available from Mid Northumberland Arts Group, Ashington, Northumberland.*

Price £2.10 (5 Dollars)

Edited from manuscripts in Peterborough Museum by Mrs. Anne Tibble, with an introductory essay by James Kirkup. Designed by Milson Bayliss with engravings from Thomas Bewick’s *A History of British Birds*.

This book in many ways is like a bird’s nest. Its randomly woven structure contains twenty fragile little eggs of poems. As a jay’s nest is adorned by scraps of bright colour so here and there this book is illustrated by exquisite engravings from John Clare’s contemporary Thomas Bewick, whose work Clare ‘must’ have admired according to James Kirkup. The prints are reproduced in sepia without further references.

Both coffee table browser and scholar will be as thrilled on finding this book as Clare on finding yet another nest, yet the browser will be puzzled by the blotched and badly photographed manuscripts, given without any idea of scale. The scholar will be sorry there is not a more syste-
matic approach to their reproduction, say one per poem, instead of arbitrary selection. We are
told that only one poem has been previously published, but have to search the notes to find
which one. Although the eleven manuscript photographs have been given their provenance in
the contents list, not so the remaining nine transcripts, either there or in the notes at the back.

James Kirkup seems stretching a point when he compares Clare’s unfinished pieces to
Japanese Haiku, though the comparison with the Japanese eighteenth century poet Issa is
interesting. This collection seems to indicate that Clare is closer to Thompson whose highly
wrought manner he seems to be striving for in the most enjoyable and finished pieces; the Black-
bird and The Cuckoo. The Turkey seems little more than random jottings. Impromptu on finding a
bird’s nest is first class album verse only.

Although this collection is so delightful, in striving to please too many people, it falls a
little short of the perfection it could have achieved by aiming at either the browser, or the scholar,
and some of the eggs in the nest are little more than potential fliers.

NINA STEANE.

LYVEDEN NEW BIELD
The National Trust 1973. 14 pp., 4 plates 25p

One of the most remarkable sights in Northamptonshire is the New Bield at Lyveden
built by Sir Thomas Tresham (1545-1605) as a garden house for the Manor of Lyveden. It stands
on the top of a windy hill between Briggstock and Oundle, roof-less and remote, its cruciform
building in the finest ashlar masonry, surrounded by moats and the remains of an extensive garden
layout. Sir Gyles Isham has written a new guide which gives a brief account of Sir Thomas and
the Treshams before launching into a detailed description of the building. He proves that the
designer was Robert Stickells and not John Thorpe as was previously thought. The plan was a
cruciform building with a vaulted roof and the fact that timber was sawn out of the walls at the
time of the civil war seems to show that it must have been roofed. The decoration was didactic,
the theme was the Passion of Christ and closely linked with this the Mother of Christ under her
title of the Mater Dolorosa, Our Lady of Sorrows. The gardens, moats and mounts covering the
slope between the Old and the New Bields have recently been the study of an interesting paper
by C. C. Taylor and A. E. Brown (Archaeological Journal Vol. 129, 1972 pp. 154-160) which was
published too late to be noticed by the author. Visitors to the Bield should equip themselves with
a copy of Sir Gyles’ valuable guide which can be obtained from the curator in the house next to
the Bield before beginning their visit. Further information will be found in the same author’s fuller
account “Sir Thomas Tresham and his Buildings”, (Reports and Papers of the Northamptonshire
Antiquarian Society vol. LXV, 1964/5).

THE PARISH CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, RUSHTON
Historical Notes compiled by Sir Gyles Isham, 1973 pp. 14, 4 plates. 15p

There were originally two settlements at Rushton, which Bridges referred to early in the
the 18th century as Rushton All Hallowes and Rushton St. Peter’s from the two churches that
served the villages. They are both shown on the cover illustration of this guide book, reproduced
a trifle indistinctly from a drawing by Tillemans or Eayre, now in the British Museum. Starting
with Bridges’ description of the remaining Church of All Saints, Sir Gyles combines an archi-
tectural analysis with an attempt to reconstruct the church’s medieval appearance. The monuments
include the exceptionally interesting alabaster effigy of Sir Thomas Tresham, Lord Prior of the
Order of St. John of Jerusalem (pictured on the front cover of N.P. & P. vol. IV no. 2). Further
sections on the advowson and rectors are followed by extracts from the rare early parish registers
which date from 1538. Rushton St. Peter’s which figures on the front cover of this issue was
destroyed in 1799 and the monument to Clementina Tresham lost. This informative guide which
is packed with valuable historical detail gives a short account of the Tresham and Cockayne
families. Sir Gyles ends by recalling the visit made by Justian Isham in 1717 observantly re-
corded in his diary; and he mentions that formerly there was a column in the gardens of Rusht on
Hall with an inscription “In Memory of Dryden who frequented these shades and here is said to
have composed his poem of ‘The Hind and the Panther’”. It can be obtained either from the
church or the rectory.

J.M.S.
BOOK REVIEWS

OLD NORTHAMPTON


There has been recently a remarkable burst of interest in publishing books of old photographs not only by London publishers but also by local amateurs and public libraries. They sell like hot cakes and it is not hard to see why. The past is being wiped off the face of England by the omnipotent planners with a thoroughness which makes the efforts of the Luftwaffe thirty years ago seem almost laughable. It is true that there is much wrong with the face of England: urban renewal is not only inevitable but essential. But people, the old, and the not-so-old, live as much in their memory as they do in the immediate present. The destruction of landmarks is a violence to their consciousness. It is a characteristic of aggressive modernism, of the era of mass-production and mass-distribution. Those who love the past especially dislike this, and there are a lot of us around.

Now in its second impression, with a third promised, Old Northampton is first and foremost a bargain. Here are 161 illustrations, prints as well as photographs, for less than half a penny each. The captions are informative and unfussy, and it is clearly printed, on good quality paper. Mr. Stafford and the Northampton Public Libraries are to be congratulated. For some time now they have been producing excellent and cheap reproductions of old maps and prints of the borough and county, but in Old Northampton have excelled themselves.

Here is the world just before Henry Ford and the mass produced motor car. Most, but not all, of the illustrations are of Victorian and Edwardian Northampton when life went at the speed of the pedestrian, then speeded up with first the horse tram, then the electric tram, that 'gondola of the people', and finally in the decade or so before the Great War, the early motor car. What was it about the tram that so captivated people, so that in 1904 a half-joking obituary card was printed 'In Affectionate Remembrance of the Northampton Horse Cars...Which Succumbed to an ELECTRIC SHOCK?' (page 68). Perhaps it is because although the pace of life was increasing the trams were still slow, people rubbed shoulders, faced each other, and even humdrum journeys had some element of the Sunday outing about them. Or perhaps it was connected with civic pride. The photographs illustrate a world in which townsmen smelt the country smells of horse manure and there were cattle in the streets, a world where men felt strongly enough about their religion or their atheism to riot over Bradlaugh, a world where you could tell a man's social class and even occupation by the clothes he wore.

After looking at these illustrations what historian can doubt the value of visual evidence in his researches? The texture of town life, of street life, cannot be recreated from documents alone. Illustrations, it is true, are man-made and contrived. And perhaps there is in this book an overemphasis on public buildings, and on transport, and not enough on people. The men who made Northampton scarcely appear. One misses the aggressive faces of the factory masters and brewers, the Nonconformist preachers, and the working shoemakers, and the poor are notably absent. Dare one hope that they may appear in another volume on Old Northampton?

R. L. GREENALL.
Some of the Trades and Trader Members of
THE NORTHAMPTON CHAMBER OF TRADE

**BOOKSELLERS & STATIONERS**

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**FIREPLACE SHOWROOMS AND TILE CENTRE**

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**OFFICE EQUIPMENT & TYPEWRITERS**

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**SOLID FUEL MERCHANTS**

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OBITUARIES

Mr. Charles Mumby

The sudden death of Charles Mumby was a sad event for the Record Society. He was a charming personality and very much liked by all who knew him.

The society will always be grateful for the work he put in from the time he became honorary Treasurer in succession to the late Mr. Burton.

When it was learned that the owners of Delapré Abbey proposed to demolish it, he with other members felt that it would be a great mistake and that the house would make an ideal home for county records. It was felt that an appeal should be made for donations to restore the house. This was done and over £20,000 was subscribed and the Abbey saved.

There was a great deal of legal work involved and I can personally vouch for the generous way he gave us the benefit of his valuable legal experience.

All the financial difficulties were overcome. The County Council later took over the responsibility for staffing and future maintenance of the building, with the result that we now have one of the finest county archives buildings in the country. The Record Society exclusively enjoys part of the house for its extensive library and as a home for its meetings.

Apart from his legal services he kept a careful watch on our investments and finances for which the society will always be grateful; thanks to him they are in excellent order. We shall all miss him very much.

S. L. ELBORNE.

Mr. Robert A. Riches, O.B.E.

Mr. Robert A. Riches, O.B.E., who died on 22nd January, 1973, was Chief Librarian at the Bar Library in the Royal Courts of Justice from 1917 until 1965. He succeeded his father as Chief Librarian, the first holder of that position from the opening of the Library in 1884. Robert Riches came as assistant Librarian in 1895, so he spent seventy years there. On his retirement at the age of 85 he was appointed Curator of the pictures in the Royal Courts of Justice. The late Mr. Riches was an enthusiastic member of the Northamptonshire Record Society and used frequently to travel to annual meetings and lectures in company with Miss Sylvia Riches, his daughter, to whom the Society has been indebted for making indexes, notably for Northamptonshire Past & Present.

We would like to express our sympathy to Miss Riches, who gave her father such devoted help over the years.

Writing in the New Law Journal (19th April, 1973) Mr. Patrick Purpoole said of Robert Riches:—

"Always helpful to members of the Bar, the obscure as well as the eminent, he had other standards in life besides success, and other interests besides law books. History, cricket, railways, he was knowledgeable about them all, but pictures were his main preoccupation. Himself a talented painter with a pleasant individual style, his long contact with the legal world had made him a specialist in legal portraiture, ancient and modern. The Inns of Court looked to him for help and advice in securing for them pictures of their distinguished members. It was, for example, to him that Gray's Inn owes the fine informal portrait of Lord Uthwatt by J. B. Manson.

But it was entirely to his zeal, his energy and his dedication that the Law Courts owe the decoration of their austere walls with judicial portraits. The impetus was wholly his. Discovery, identification, negotiation, often restoration (as in the case of the two Great Fire judges in the Central Hall) the whole process was for him a labour of love. If you seek his monument look around you."

G. ISHAM.
Mrs. Shelagh Mary Bond

The Society learned with regret of the death on September 11th of Mrs. Shelagh Mary Bond, Honorary Archivist of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The daughter of Mr. and Mrs. H. L. Lewis of Kingsthorpe, Northampton, Shelagh Bond read the Classical Tripos at Newnham College, Cambridge. After some numismatic research, she trained as an archivist in London. She worked with the Record Society from September 1950 until December 1951 and with the Archives Committee from January 1952 until March 1954 when the Committee took over from the Society the custody of the manuscripts at Lamport Hall. She was a most stimulating colleague who did much valuable work, especially in preparing a catalogue raisonné of the Isham (Lamport) manuscripts. She wrote a valuable article on the Cox family in *N. P. & P.* In 1954 on her marriage to Maurice Bond, Keeper of the House of Lords Record Office, she went to live in Windsor and took on the care of the rich archives of St. George's. Historians admire her work, not only as archivist and cataloguer, but as an editor of texts, sometimes in collaboration with her husband, as a diplomatist, and latterly as a student of municipal institutions. Her highly promising investigation of borough charters has been cut short by her death at the early age of 47. Her friends will be grateful for all that she accomplished.

P. I. King.

Dr. W. A. Pantin

Dr. W. A. Pantin died on 10th November 1973. Fellow and tutor of Oriel College, Oxford, Dr. Pantin was Keeper of the University Archives from 1946. He was a learned mediaevalist, and a great supporter of the Northamptonshire Record Society. He was joint author with Miss Joan Wake of the *Guide to Delapré Abbey*. His death was reported when this issue of *Northamptonshire Past & Present* was already in page proof, so that we can do no more than chronicle this great loss to mediaeval scholarship.

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