Ancient and MODERN

... large or small. Fine building is synonymous with Robert Marriott Ltd., a member of the Robert Marriott Group, famous for quality building since 1890. In the past 80 years Marriotts have established a reputation for meticulous craftsmanship on the largest and smallest scales.

Whether it is a £7,000,000 housing contract near Bletchley, a new headquarters for Buckinghamshire County Council at Aylesbury (right) or restoration and alterations to Easton Maudit Church (left) Marriotts have the experience, the expertise and the men to carry out work of the most exacting standards and to a strict schedule.

In the last century Marriotts made a name for itself by the skill of its craftsmen employed on restoring buildings of great historical importance. A remarkable tribute to the firm's founder, the late Mr. Robert Marriott was paid in 1948 by Sir Albert Richardson, later President of the Royal Academy, when he said: "He was a master builder of the calibre of the Grimbolds and other famous country men. He spared no pains and placed ultimate good before financial gain. No mean craftsman himself, he demanded similar excellence from his helpers."

Three-quarters of a century later Marriotts' highly specialised Special Projects Division displays the same inherent skills in the same delicate work on buildings throughout the Midlands. To date Hatfield House, Long Melford Hall in Suffolk, the Branch Library at Earls Barton, the restoration of Castle Cottage at Higham Ferrers, Fisons Ltd., Cambridge, Greens Norton School, Woburn Abbey restorations and the Falcon Inn, Castle Ashby, all bear witness to the craftsmanship of Marriotts.

While building for the future, Marriotts are maintaining the glories of the past.
# Northamptonshire Past and Present

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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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The objects of the Society are the furtherance of the science of history and of historical literature 
by the publication of historical records relating to Northamptonshire, and the stimulation of 
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Thanks are expressed to

Earl Spencer for lending a slide of the Stables at Althorp, the trustees of the British Museum for the photograph of Covent Garden; Northampton Borough Library for the loan of engravings of Rushton Hall (front cover) All Saints’ Northampton and Stoke Park, Dr. J. K. St. Joseph and the Cambridge Committee for Aerial Photography for the photographs of Helpston, Higham Ferrers, and the Welsh Road, the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery for the photographs of their portraits of John Clare and Joseph Locke, The National Monuments Record for the photographs of the Rabbit Warren and Dovecot at Higham Ferrers, Dame Mary Cartwright and Sir Geoffrey Agnew for securing the photograph of Astrop Spa, Mr. D. N. Hall for photographs of Rushden Church, the Royal Institute of British Architects for the photograph of St. Paul’s Cathedral and Mr. John Marshall of Kettering Grammar School for assistance with photographs.
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'.

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, Reynolds'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.
RUSHDEN CHURCH,
A REAPPRAISAL OF THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

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 Ill). 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

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**Plate I**
Nave SW pier standing on the remains of a Norman wall.

**Plate II**
Upper part of the SW corner of the S aisle showing the raising of the walls in the 15th century.
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.

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A GALANT 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 Wor’ster too, that boasts her finer clay,
Whose skilful sons are nobly seen
To strive in art with Canton and Nankin;
But strive in vain, while fashion gives her smiles
On what can boast a journey of most miles.

From 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,
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 pyramidal:
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.

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,
And gold-laced gingerbread of various shapes:
Hams too and rumps of beef would join the link,
And countless bottles of fermenting drink;
But chiefly thou, in glassy prisons pent,
Indignant cyder! strugglet 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 wonderous sights, from distant regions brought:
See! pots capacious lesser pots entomb,
Here, numerous herds of gathering gamsters meet,
And hogsheads barrels gorge, for want of room;
From their broad base, part in each other hid,
The lessening tubs shoot up a pyramidal:
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.

Nor shall the careful muse forget to note
The wonderous sights, from distant regions brought:
Here, numerous herds of gathering gamsters meet,
To spread the various play, that all may cheat:
The juggler, here, prepares deceitful pranks;
And puppet-shows arrive, and mountebanks;
Here begging rogues contrive their tattered dress
Should hide their roguery—not their wretchedness:
All try, by various arts, to catch the eye,
And tax our folly or humanity.

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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HIGHAM FERRERS CASTLE—OR OTHERWISE

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.¹

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.² 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-

¹ Both are quoted by W. J. B. Kerr, Higham Ferrers and its Ducal and Royal Castle and Park (1925), 98-99.
² Kerr, pp. 117-8.
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.

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. 1). 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

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Aerial view of Higham Ferrers, looking north.


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, dovehouse 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 Conniger with the warren of conneys and certain other closes, viz the castell-yarde (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 being 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

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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 conceivably relate 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 12d. 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

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13 P.R.O. E. 317, Parliamentary Surveys Northants 32.
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 one—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

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17 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.\(^{19}\)

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20 As notes 10 and 11.

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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.