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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 NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY
(FOUNDED IN 1920)
DELAPRE ABBEY, NORTHAMPTON

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

MEMBERSHIP
The ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION for Individual Members is £2.10, and for Institutional Members, £3.15. Associate Membership, up to 25 years of age, is 50p. per annum. These subscriptions, payable each January, entitle members to free copies of publications issued for the period in respect of which they have subscribed and give the right to attend meetings and lectures. Forms of application for membership will gladly be sent on request to the Secretary, Delapré Abbey, Northampton.

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Thanks are expressed to . . .

Mr. Anthony Wootton for photographs of King’s School, Peterborough; Dr. Edmund King for map of Wake estates; the British Library Board for photographs of medieval charters; The Northamptonshire Record Office for maps of Weldon and Drayton Parks, photographs of Knuston, Overstone; Mr. A. E. Brown and Mr. C. C. Taylor for maps of four deserted villages; Mr. Fred. A. Moore, Mr. Frank Thompson, Kettering Civic Society and Kettering Public Library for illustrations of Kettering buildings, personalities and posters; Mr. Edward Parry and the National Monuments Record for photographs of Helmdon; Mr. James Barfoot for photographs of Higham Ferrers tiles; Mr. Ron. Greenall for map of Kettering; Mrs. Helen Belgion for photographs of Titchmarsh, and Mr. S. J. Harris of Kettering Grammar School for assistance with figures and lettering.

The pastel portrait reproduced on page 156 was executed in 1963 by Mrs. Arthur Harris in Rhodesia. It was given to the society by Joan Wake and hangs in the library at Delapré Abbey.

The cover illustration is a Victorian engraving by Edward Blore of “The Remains of the Palace at Holdenby”. It is reproduced by kind permission of Northampton County Library.
As many members already know this issue of *Northamptonshire Past & Present* is in special commemorative form as a tribute to the late Miss Joan Wake, a founder of the Society, who died in her 90th year in January 1974. Her life and work are fully described in articles within, but it is fitting to note here that it was she, as Editor of the first two volumes of this journal, from 1948 to 1959, who set it firmly on the path to success as a widely read and valued local history journal. She expressed in the Preface to the first number of Vol. I her hope that it and the other publications of the Northamptonshire Record Society might be of use 'wherever there are students of the English way of life'. This has indeed proved to be the case, possibly to an even greater degree than Miss Wake had foreseen. Membership now exceeds 1,100, and includes individuals and institutions from not only Canada, the United States, and Australasia, South Africa, and Rhodesia, but also from Sweden, Denmark, Western Germany, Belgium and Japan. We hope it would have pleased her that the Society's tribute to her tireless work for it should take this particular form.

The Society prides itself on the high standard of its lectures, and was fortunate in November 1973 to hear Professor J. H. Plumb, Professor of Modern English History at Cambridge, speak on 'The growth of leisure in the Eighteenth Century'. In a brilliant exposition he showed how the vast commercial industry of today had its roots in the eighteenth century, taking the three examples of printing, the theatre, and as an outdoor sport, horse-racing, to illustrate his theme. At the Annual General Meeting in June 1974 Dr. Joan Thirsk, Reader in Economic History at Oxford, also talked about horses, but in the context of horse breeding in the seventeenth century, demonstrating that Northamptonshire's reputation in this industry must go well back into the Middle Ages. Henry VIII, for example, had obtained 298 horses for his wars from one purchasing expedition by his servants to Northamptonshire villages.

The Autumn Lecture for 1974 is to be given after this has gone to press, by the Richmond Herald of Arms, Mr. J. C. Brooke-Little, on the duties and functions of Heralds throughout the ages. This event, for members only, is to be held at Lamport Hall, by kind invitation of its owner, Sir Gyles Isham, President of the Society. It will have been a return visit for some, since the Society had its headquarters at Lamport from 1946-1958. The Hall has been the seat of the Isham family since 1560, and the present house, built in 1655, was partly the work of Inigo Jones' son-in-law, John Webb. It suffered serious damage from dry rot after use as a prisoner-of-war camp in World War II, and the huge and costly task of restoring it was only completed in the spring of 1974. The house, with its many art treasures, a fine Library, and a beautiful Music Room, as well as the lovely gardens landscaped in the reign of George IV, are open to the public on certain days during the summer. A trust is being formed to look after the house, and visitors can see and appreciate the immense care with which the owner has restored it, making it a welcome addition to the list of stately homes which can be visited in this County.

Local government changes on April 1st 1974 have meant the disappearance of Northampton Borough Council as such, the banishment of aldermanic robes to mothballs, and the coming into being of a new District Council in Northampton, some of its functions being controlled by the County Council. Similar changes have taken place in other towns. Northampton itself has an increase of 7,000 in population due to the absorption of certain parishes south of the town. Inevitably there have been changes in personalities, and not a few arguments as to the merits of all this. Northampton however retains its Mayorality under the grant of a Charter from the Queen, and the Society was very pleased to
welcome the newly elected Mayor of the town, Councillor J. L. Rawlings, accompanied by the Mayoress, to the Annual General Meeting and lecture in June.

Local government reform also means that a new and enlarged Cambridgeshire, with the former Huntingdonshire and the Isle of Ely added to it, came into being on 1st April 1974. In consequence the Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire Archives Committee ceased to exist on that date, and a new Archives Service for Northamptonshire has been formed, with a Technical and Advisory Panel on which the Record Society has four representatives, thus preserving the close contact with the County Archivist and his staff which has existed hitherto. The Northamptonshire County Council is now responsible for records relating to the county itself, including Northampton, and also the records for the Soke of Peterborough other than those needed by the Cambridgeshire County Council for administrative purposes.

In the Society’s Annual Report for 1972 reference was made to a plan for a large sports centre on the Delapré Estate. Full plans for this were made known during 1974, and were discussed at a Council meeting in March. These plans included a proposal to turn Delapré Abbey itself into a Folk Museum at some future date. Aghast at this idea the Council instructed its Chairman to write the following letter to the local press—

‘I have been asked by the Council of the Northamptonshire Record Society to point out that in 1957, thanks to the efforts of the late Miss Joan Wake, the sum of £15,000 was raised by public subscription for the express purpose of saving Delapré Abbey from demolition, and for the establishment of the Abbey as an archives repository and as premises for the Northamptonshire Record Society.

A trust deed was drawn up for the purpose, and the Society’s premises are now held on a lease from the County Council for 99 years, dating from 1958’.

The letter appeared in the Chronicle & Echo of April 10th. It was also read to the Annual General Meeting by the President, who pointed out that no direct approach had been made to the Record Society, a tenant of the Abbey, about this plan, which seemed strange. He also reminded the assembled company that quite apart from the lease the Society holds, the building would not have been standing had it not been for the efforts of the late Miss Wake in raising the funds needed to save it. These matters will be carefully watched by the Council of the Record Society.

From the end of the summer session 1974 the Northampton College of Technology is gradually closing down its Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Department, which has pioneered day release and full-time classes for employees in the footwear industry since immediately after World War I. The local press described this as marking ‘the end of an epoch in the history of the footwear industry’. This 300 year old industry was first based on Northampton, but now with new techniques in the making of shoes it has dispersed to other towns as well, and the need for the courses has diminished. But training of students in the footwear industry will continue to be given at the Rushden Boot and Shoe College.

In Rushden too the death occurred in June 1974 of Mr. John White, founder in 1919 of a one-man firm called John White (Impregnable Boots) Ltd., later known as John White Footwear Ltd., which grew into a huge enterprise with 9,000 employees in nine countries. The Northamptonshire Record Society has cause to be particularly grateful to this highly successful firm, as for 25 years, from the appearance of the first issue of this journal in 1948, until 1973, it has regularly every year advertised on the back cover, in a pleasing series of designs based on the historic group of ecclesiastical buildings in Higham Ferrers, adjacent to Rushden. Further expansion and reorganisation of John White Footwear Holdings, as it had become, has made it impossible for the Ward White Group (the present title of the firm) to advertise this year. But it has a hitherto unrivalled record, and we hope to see it back again another year. The Society is grateful for such steady support from this firm, and for help from other advertisers, without which it would be difficult to continue publication.
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JOAN WAKE

JOAN WAKE was the second daughter of Sir Herewald Wake, the 12th baronet, by his wife Catherine, daughter of Sir Edward St. Aubyn, Bart. of St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall. She was born on 29th February at Courteenhall, her father's home, in 1884 (leap year). She could rightly claim that she had had only twenty-one birthdays at the age of 84, so that she had the vigour of mind of a young woman. She died at Northampton on 15th January 1974, six weeks before reaching the age of 90.

She had three older brothers, and two sisters, one older and one younger. Her eldest brother, Hereward, who succeeded to the baronetcy in 1916, served in the South African War, and the first World War with distinction, and in the early part of the second World War was in France at Lord Gort's headquarters; he was a major-general and Colonel Commandant of the King's Royal Rifle Corps. Her second brother, Godwin, also served in the K.R.R.C. as a major and fought in South Africa and France, went to Rhodesia, where he built a house with African labour on the classic lines of Courteenhall. Her third brother, Baldwin, was in the navy, and retired as an admiral. Her elder sister Thurilda was a famous trainer of gun-dogs. Her younger sister Phyllis married Richard Archdale, and settled in Rhodesia.

Joan Wake brought many of the martial qualities of her family into her life's work, the preservation, custody, and publication where justified of the records of the County of Northamptonshire. She had a strong, almost a fierce love of her native county ("of course, there is only one county"), but no obsession with her own family and its long history. She could reckon twenty-seven generations of Wakes in a right line from that Geoffrey Wac, who held lands in Normandy and Guernsey, and was the father of Hugh Wac of Bourne in Lincolnshire, who married the heir of Baldwin Fitz Gilbert of the great house of Clare, and was the founder of a Benedictine Abbey near Bayeux. It would not be true to say that this history meant nothing to her. Historically, she was interested, but she had little pride in her genealogy, or any trace of snobbishness. She was mildly irritated when the Public Orator in his address, when presenting her for her honorary degree at Oxford, alluded to her as springing from a very ancient Northamptonshire family ("what's that got to do with it?"). Her father, a man of liberal views, with interests in natural history, encouraged his children to take their own line, and his was a singularly united and active family. Formal education was not in those days thought necessary for a squire's daughter, and Joan Wake's education was entrusted to governesses. At home, her main interest was in music. Her father said that it would be too expensive to find a mount for such a stalwart girl, so she did not hunt. She conducted the Courteenhall choir, and (in 1911) wrote an article on the singing of Christmas carols. In 1913 Joan Wake decided, in her own words, to use her brain and began to attend courses at the London School of Economics and Political Science. Here one of her tutors was Eileen Power, then studying the economic position of women in the middle ages. In 1914 she met Frank Stenton, the historian of Saxon England at Reading, and began a lifelong friendship with him and his wife. She considered his greatest message to the historical world was that there was no distinction between national and local history. It was in these years at the age of thirty that she mastered Latin, and really learnt the business of scholarship. She transcribed in extenso hundreds of medieval charters in the Hesketh Collection at Easton Neston.

In 1916, her father died, and her brother Hereward and his wife took over Courteenhall, which henceforth was no longer her home, although she was often a welcome guest. As war-work she took on the honorary secretariaship of the County Nursing Association, and was for the next three years divorced from her historical studies; but not entirely for her work involved much
travelling to villages in the county, and she realised what valuable historical material was hidden in parish chests, country parsonages and manor houses, material the value of which was not appreciated by the custodians, and which was in danger of destruction. After the war in 1918 she became a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and with Frank Stenton and others began to collect documents and to prepare the ground for the formation in 1920 of the Northamptonshire Record Society. She enlisted the help of Mr. James Manfield, and always appreciated the great financial help he was to her in those early days.

She was the Society’s first honorary secretary—a position which she held for 43 years, and also for most of this time general editor of the Society’s publications. The first of these, *The Quarter Sessions Records* (1924) she edited herself as well as *Musters Beacons and Subsidies* (Vol. III) and *The Montagu Musters Book* (Vol. VII).

Only two years ago she edited *The Letters of Daniel Eaton*, an illuminating correspondence between the steward of the Brudenell Estates and his master, the 3rd Earl of Cardigan in the early 18th century. Apart from the work she did herself, it was she who selected the subjects for the volumes, chose the editors, a distinguished band of historians, and she gave close personal attention to each work. The selection of printers, the format of the books with their green bindings, all these came within her scope, and it is not too much to say that she produced volumes of which any society might have been proud.

Her first aim, of course, was to seek out and present the Records themselves, often lying neglected in country houses or lawyer’s offices. Her next, to calendar the records and make them available to students, and lastly to publish them, when their importance justified such a course. The Records themselves were housed in rather a depressing part of the County Hall (originally part of the gaol) but this did not deter her, although she always realized that eventually the Records would need a home of their own. She used to say that to discover a 12th century charter could only be matched in excitement by fox hunting!

The outbreak of the 2nd World War led to a dispersal of the Records, some to Brixworth Hall, others to a house at Cosgrove, which she had leased from Captain Philip Atkinson in 1937, and which was her home until she moved to Oxford in 1955. The publication of volumes was suspended, but she kept up the membership of the Society by promising that after the war she would make up the volumes they had missed.

She was largely responsible for inducing the Master of the Rolls, Lord Greene, to take up the question of the danger to records by the salvage campaigns and to get him to appeal to solicitors all over the country to have regard to what they were patriotically sending for salvage. She condemned a letter to *The Times* from the Director of Salvage as “footling and dangerous”. She herself visited 36 solicitors’ firms in Northamptonshire and the neighbouring towns, and rescued many records from destruction. She also co-operated with the local advisers formed by the British Records Association which could be consulted by authorities and institutions as to what to exclude from salvage. When the war was over she began the work of collecting the records together again, and resuming the Society’s work generally. It was obvious that she must find a new home for the Society’s work.

The writer was able to promise her the use of several rooms on the ground floor of Lamport Hall, if only the requisitioning order on the house could be rescinded. In 1942 the War Office had taken the Hall over and in 1944 it was transferred to the Ministry of Works for Italian prisoners. On the conclusion of the War in Europe, it was intended to transfer German prisoners there. She herself went to see Mr. George Tomlinson, then Minister of Works in Mr. Attlee’s government, and secured his assistance in transferring the prisoners from Lamport to Brixworth and (in the words of the Annual Report for 1946) “in expediting the settlement of compensation for damages and the issue of licenses for repairs and redecoration”. Exemption from rates under the Scientific and Literary Societies Act of 1843 was secured and annual grants were made from the local authorities of £371. The publication of volumes was resumed, and luckily Mr. W. T. Mellows of Peterborough had prepared two specially interesting volumes, *The Last Days of Peterborough*.
A new venture was the annual issue of *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, under her editorship, which not only provided local historians with the opportunity of publishing their work, but did much to attract members to join the Society. She herself wrote many of the articles—notably "The Tales of Whittlebury Forest" under the pseudonym of 'Wimersley Bush'—and found the authors for the varied subjects dealt with. She remained editor until 1959. She also induced such people as Professor Jacob, Professor Trevor Roper, Miss Gladys Scott-Thomson, Dr. Leslie Rouse and Mr. Arthur Bryant to lecture to the Society. The Society prospered, and the membership rose from 319 in 1946 to over a thousand a few years later. The peak year was 1967—1200, and since then it has been about the 1100 mark. Miss Wake was greatly assisted in her membership drive by Mrs. Hubbard (now Mrs. Lewis), who was formally appointed Assistant Secretary in 1963, and others. It had become obvious that the Society alone could not be responsible for the custody of the Records, and, after long negotiations, the local authorities concerned, the Northamptonshire County Council, the Northampton Borough Council and the Peterborough Council, took over the custody of the Records, and the lease of part of Lamport Hall. They took over the resident archivist, Mr. P. I. King, and henceforth appointed and paid his assistants. The Record Society continued as before mainly as a publishing Society, with the yearly issue of *Northamptonshire Past and Present* and the volumes in green cloth, with two annual lectures in the summer and the autumn. On the death of Lord Exeter (1956), Sir George Clarke became President, a former regius professor at Cambridge, and Provost of Oriel College, Oxford. Largely at Miss Wake’s insistence a technical and advisory Committee was appointed, on which the Record Society was strongly represented to give the necessary academic support to the Archives Committee, on which, of course, the Record Society representatives sat as advisers.

The growth of the collection of records, and the distance of Lamport from the County town made everyone conscious that the Record Office would sooner or later have to move to new premises. At a meeting at the County Hall, Lord Exeter in the chair posed a series of questions. The first was “where ideally should the Record Office be?” and the answer was “undoubtedly Northampton, and on a town bus route”. Joan Wake had no doubt where this ideal home of the Record Society should be, Delapré Abbey. The ancient home of the Bouveries had been bought by the Borough during the war, and after Miss Bouverie’s death, became the headquarters of the War Agricultural Committee. On the disbanding of that body, it was empty and deteriorating. It was the intention of the owners, the Borough, to pull it down. Neither the Borough nor the County authorities contemplated spending ratepayers’ money to restore it as a Record Office. They were deterred by the high cost estimated by their officials, and were ignorant of the fact that it was a building of historical and architectural importance. Joan Wake, with the help of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments, obtained a lower estimate of what restoration would cost, and inspired the Record Society to set about raising the money. To the surprise, and even incredulity of many she did so and arranged for Delapré to become the County Record Office, and also the headquarters of the Record Society. By this time the Society had a considerable library, and this was also housed at Delapré. On 9th May 1959 when the building was opened by the Master of the Rolls, Lord Evershed, it could truly have been said “Si Monumentum requiris, circumspice”. Time was going on, and Joan Wake gave up first the honorary secretariship, then the post of General Editor, and as her infirmity increased, her visits became less and less frequent. It was a great satisfaction to all that she was able to attend the 50th birthday of the Society at Delapré in 1970. This account of her work however, is incomplete. Joan Wake exercised an influence on the preservation of Records, not only in Northamptonshire, but nationally. As long ago as 1923, she was successfully urging the annual conference of the Library Association to pass a resolution on the need for action to be taken to prevent the dispersal of records following the sales of landed estates, and stressing the need for co-operation between libraries, record societies, universities and other bodies. She did not cease to press her cause at the Historical Association, the British Record Society, the British Records Association and all other bodies. Her close association with successive Masters of the Rolls was of great assistance, and Lord Hanworth in person lent her his support by coming to Northampton to open the Record Rooms in 1930. The War stimulated...
her to fresh efforts both locally and nationally. As Mr. King has remarked in an article to be published shortly in The Journal of the Society of Archivists she never departed from her conviction that the counties were the proper area which local record offices should serve despite the blandishments of some professors who might have preferred a lesser number of larger regional offices.

Late in her life many honours came to her. She was created an Hon. M.A. by the University of Oxford in 1953, an Hon. L.L.D. by the University of Leicester in 1959 and was made a C.B.E. in 1960.

Her literary work was considerable. Here it may be mentioned that unlike many antiquaries, who, as Professor Trevor Roper has noted were often disagreeable people and dreary writers, Joan Wake wrote with real humanity, but in an easy but always correct English style. Two of her writings stand out in memory. The last chapter of her book on the Brudenells of Deene (1955) in which she described Lady Cardigan, widow of the hero of Balaclava, whom she remembered; and the life of her friend, Henry Isham Longden, prefixed to a volume of Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy the great work of his life, the successful completion of which was due to her alone. Harry Longden had for years collected the material, and begun printing his researches, but, as his health failed, Joan Wake took over the work, and enabled him to die in the knowledge that it would all be published, indexed and circulated just as he wanted it to be. Her study of the old clergyman, whom she held in such affection, although she was much out of sympathy with his high church views, was indeed a model of what such a memoir should be.

The truth is that her interest in history derived from her interest in people, and that is what humanised her work as editor, archivist and historian. She was equally successful in getting people to work for her; witness the historians whom she induced to edit the Record Society volumes, but equally the recruiting of archivists, and the writers of articles for the Society’s journal. As Professor Galbraith wrote in 1965 “Good historian as she is, and architect of one of the two model record societies in Great Britain, her services to local records were equalled by no other individual, unless perhaps by her friend, Miss Ethel Stokes”. Thirty-six hours before her death the writer spent half an hour with Joan Wake in the nursing home, where she died. Her critical faculties were unimpaired, and she said after our discussion “I feel I’m in the swim again”.

At her death, the writer felt he could say in Shakespeare’s words “There’s a great spirit gone”.


GYLES ISHAM.

The writer of the article wishes to express his thanks to Mr. Patrick King and others for great assistance in writing this account of Joan Wake.

MR. PATRICK KING writes:

Miss Wake was, apart from being a friend and companion, the most stimulating person I have known well. Other historians whose lectures I attended may have been equally lively, Professor Galbraith or A. L. Rowse for instance. It is not therefore with the intention of being frivolous that I write these few lines but because others have and will, and I have in another place, written something more considered about Miss Wake’s achievement in her chosen field. From the very first moment that I met her, her interest in early medieval charters was impressed on me for at my interview we had a tussle over quitclaims and whether that was a term of art in diplomatic. I did not know too much about such documents but I fancy I must have stuck to my guns for eventually I found myself appointed assistant secretary of the Record Society in August 1948.

The Library at Lamport Hall served then both as search room and office. Down the middle was set the elmtop refectory table Lord Brassey gave the Society and in the middle of it from time to time stood that Quimper pottery jug that Miss Wake was apt to thrust full with flowers from her garden. I have always eyed that vase with mixed feelings for once it very nearly rose in my hands seemingly of its own volition preparatory to imminent destruction after a particularly exasperating hour of contradictory demands and exacting instructions. Not that the Library
frequently witnessed such heights of feeling. Most times a more scholarly atmosphere prevailed though when a new volume was delivered from the printer the room became a hive of activity. Volunteers were marshalled to parcel up the volumes, the capacity of each to make a good job of it being tested by the simple expedient of seeing their efforts thrown vigorously across the room to see how the packing and knots survived. Miss Wake was not going to have the recipients or the Post Office complain of any laxity in that direction.

Indeed in every aspect of her professional activities Miss Wake had divined the essentials. If one was carrying a valuable manuscript to London it might be mislaid: therefore it must be wrapped and on the wrapping her name and full address written so that it could be returned. For, for writing on brown paper, Miss Wake had long realized that 2B or even 3B pencils made a better more legible mark than the ordinary HB and no one can complain that parcels and boxes of documents that the Record Society received were not clearly labelled with the name of the donor and the date of receipt. Again the greatest danger to documents is fire and Miss Wake was absolutely insistent on adequate precautions being taken: notices were printed in red and black, displayed in every room the Society leased and stirrup pumps inspected and kept at the ready. It was all very good training for a young recruit.

In these years Miss Wake’s home was at Cosgrove and later at Charlbury Road, Oxford. The journeys were for many years performed in her battered convertible Allegro ma non troppo which she crammed amongst other things with her ‘travelling office’. This consisted chiefly of a portable typewriter, one, two, sometimes even three attaché cases, occasionally cartons and always a large handbag in which she kept the rolls of postage stamps meant for slot machines that she thought so convenient and that she had discovered could be bought from often reluctant head postmasters. A watchmaker’s magnifying glass was also another prize possession, more than ever necessary no doubt during that period she went about with one of her spectacle lenses cracked in pieces and mended with selotape. Latterly clothes-peggs were adjudged a useful office adjunct too.

More recently the car was given up and one made the journey to Oxford to see her. I savour one visit to Charlbury Road in particular. It was in summer and I was invited to have tea before we got down to business. The tea was to be in the garden where two chairs and a table awaited us under an apple tree. I forget whether it was Miss Robinson or I that carried out the tray with the small Minton cups, teapot and the famous rockbuns. Having settled Miss Wake on her chair I sat down and tea was poured. As always animated chat and comment followed. I had drunk off my first cupful when the hot sun suddenly vanished and a heavy black cloud appeared over the ridge of the roof to be followed almost immediately by quite a heavy downpour. Jumping to my feet, agitated lest Miss Wake should get soaked, I was peremptorily ordered to sit down, so down I sat to some caustic comment and the reproof: “We’re not made of sugar, Mr. King”. My empty cup as well as our plates and saucers were full of rainwater when the sun reappeared as hot and warming as ever. The water was poured on the grass, our spectacles wiped dry, and I started on my second rockbun though secretly I felt decidedly wet. In retrospect I enjoyed the experience thoroughly, but it was many years before I discovered that I was not as I had thought the unique recipient of the remark about the sugar but that others it seems had had a similar experience.

Physically strong—there is a story about the aid she gave to two gentlewomen driving a trap home from the railway station sometime before the Great War when their trunks fell off and Miss Wake, happening to be by in the adjoining field, whilst they were discussing which of them should walk on to fetch a man to lift the trunks up, calmly and with apparent ease lifted them back herself—one must not forget too that Miss Wake was a woman of great courage and never more so than when confronting able men in powerful positions whose policies she felt were inimical to the records or other things she cared about so much. They knew it too and some were willing to take the easy way out by leaving by the back door of their offices as soon as her arrival was announced. She had the supreme good fortune to have a mind that became sharper the greater the opposition and was capable of annihilating ripostes. Lesser folk were generally more kindly treated, and there are many in all walks of life who retain memories of Miss Wake’s affection for them.
THE PUBLISHED WORKS OF JOAN WAKE

1911

1920-1962
The Annual Reports of the Northamptonshire Record Society were written by Miss Wake as Hon. Secretary.

1920

1921-23

1922
‘Communitas Villae’. English Historical Review. XXXVII. pp. 406-413.

1923
Rushton Hall. Written for the Northamptonshire Women’s Institutes who visited Rushton on 28th June.

1924-1964
As General Editor of the volumes of historical texts published by the Northamptonshire Record Society, Miss Wake contributed prefaces or indexes to volumes IV, V, VI, VIII, XI, XIII, XIV, XVI.

1924
How to Compile a History and Present Day Record of Village Life. Northamptonshire Federation of Women’s Institutes. 64 pp. 2nd and 3rd revised editions printed in November 1925 (68 pp.), and February 1935 (95 pp.).

1925

1926
Editor of Musters, Beacons, Subsidies, etc., in the County of Northampton, 1586-1623. Northamptonshire Record Society. III. pp. i-xii, xxvi-xxviii, 261.

1930
1931
'Several Centuries of Fashion'. Northampton County Magazine. IV. pp. 29-32.
'A Northamptonshire Recipe'. Northampton County Magazine. IV. p. 127.

1932

1933

1934
Guide to St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall. Published by Joan Wake, Cosgrove, Northants. 32 pp. This went into six editions between 1934-9.

1935
Northampton Vindicated, or Why the Main Line Missed the Town. Published by Joan Wake, Northampton. 31 pp.
Notes on Earls Barton Church, Northamptonshire. with A.B.C. Dover. 16 pp. Northampton.

1936

1937

1941

1942
St. Peter . . . . . . . himself a Married Man. Published by Joan Wake, Northampton. Originally written as a preface to Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy by the Rev. H. I. Longden. XIV. pp. ii-vii.

1943

1946

1948-1962
As Editor of Northamptonshire Past and Present from its commencement to Volume Three Number Three, Miss Wake was responsible for the ‘Notes and News’ pages and the author of many small unsigned pieces. She is also the ‘Wimersley Bush’ of the Whittlebury Forest tales.
1948

1949
‘The Place of the Public Library in the Care of Records’. A paper read at a conference in October. *Library Association—London and Home Counties Branch.* pp. 3-5.
‘Kirby Hall Receipts’. pp. 34-38.
‘A Fawsley Christening’. pp. 39-44.

1950
‘Tales of Whittlebury Forest, number two’. pp. 13-16.

1951
‘Inclosure of Open Fields in Northamptonshire’. p. 35.

1952

1953

1954
‘The Death of Francis Tresham’. pp. 31-41.

1955
Obituary—Mr. Frank Lee. pp. 104-105.

1956
Review: Reminiscences of Bert Drage. p. 156.
1957
‘Traveller’s Tale’ an Address to the N.R.S. pp. 184-188.
‘A Family of Shoemakers and Musicians’. pp. 204-206.

1958

1959


1960
‘Cromwell’s Head’. N.P.&P. III. No. 1. p. 3.

1961

1962

1964

1965

1968

1969

1971

1973

Acknowledgements to Patrick King, Sir Gyles Isham and V. A. Hatley for help.

Rosemary Eady.
Centres of Lordship

* Property held by Hugh Wake in 1166
THE ORIGINS OF THE WAKE FAMILY

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE BARONY OF BOURNE IN LINCOLNSHIRE

The copy of our journal published in Miss Joan Wake’s memory would seem a proper place to examine the history of the first Wake to become an English landowner, and the early fortunes of the estate which he inherited. It must be made clear that this was not in origin a Northamptonshire estate, but one that came to be centred on Bourne and a number of other villages then on the edges of the fen in southern Lincolnshire. But the county boundary between Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire has never been a geographical barrier; and nor in recent times has it been a barrier to scholars. At the time of the First World War, when the foundation of a Northamptonshire Record Society was being discussed, Sir Frank Stenton was much involved with the feudal history of eleventh and twelfth century Lincolnshire. Miss Wake, who attended his classes, the excitement of which she so vividly conveys, must there have discussed some of the problems involved in the early history of her own family. And in the twenties Miss Wake’s efforts in surveying and collecting the contents of Northamptonshire muniment rooms resulted in the discovery of a number of charters of crucial importance in elucidating that history.

The core of the property which came in the mid-twelfth century to the first Hugh Wake comprised three small Domesday tenancies-in-chief. Each of the three estates was compact, being almost entirely confined to a single wapentake. The first of them is that of Oger the Breton, in the south of Aveland wapentake and centred upon Bourne. The second is that of Godfrey of Cambrai, in Ness wapentake and centred on West Deeping. Both these estates were in the far south of Lincolnshire. Further north, in Graffoe wapentake and centred on Skellingthorpe, was the estate of Baldwin the Fleming. Here we have two men from Flanders and one from Brittany—the Flemings possibly connected in some way with Gilbert de Gant (Ghent), who held a very large estate in southern Lincolnshire. We have first to consider the descent of these three holdings, and the process by which they came to be amalgamated.

In the next generation, Oger the Breton was succeeded by his son Ralph. The other two tenancies were amalgamated, and held by Hugh of Envermeu. The evidence for his tenure is scattered, but cumulatively clear. With regard to the land of Godfrey of Cambrai, we know that Hugh gave Wilsford to Envermeu priory, and also that he succeeded Godfrey as tenant of two knights fees held of the abbey of Peterborough. That he was the successor of Godfrey of Cambrai is certain. And there is evidence also to link him with the tenancy of Baldwin the Fleming. The whole of Baldwin’s estate was in Domesday disputed by the abbey of Westminster. Hugh certainly inherited the dispute, so we may presume that he also inherited the land. He had to give up the manor of Doddington Picot, which Baldwin had held in 1086 as a tenant of Westminster, but he kept control over Baldwin’s demesne. Hugh of Envermeu occurs as a witness

2 F. M. Stenton (ed.), Facsimiles of Early Charters from Northamptonshire Collections (N.R.S., iv, 1930; hereafter cited as Northants Chs).
4 Lincs DB, no. 51, pp. 173-4.
5 Ibid., no. 65, pp. 196-7.
6 Ibid., no. 24, pp. 105-15.
8 W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum (1846 edn.; hereafter cited as Monasticon), vi. 1018; this is the land of Lincs DB, 51/12.
9 Below, App. no. 12(a).
10 Lincs DB, 65/5, 72/27.
to royal charters in the period from around 1090 to around 1115. His brother Turold was bishop of Bayeux from 1099 to 1106, succeeding the Conqueror’s half-brother Odo of Bayeux. This is all that we know of Hugh’s connexions; but the fact that he held two Domesday tenancies and not one suggests that his English estate came to him as a result of royal or other patronage and not through marriage.

Hugh of Envermeu was succeeded, probably around 1115, by William de Rullos, who held his lands for around ten years. The Rullos tenancy is the darkest period in the estate’s history; there is enough to establish the continuity, but little to give substance to the story. William gave to the abbey of Bec “all the land which he had in Hykeham”; he also sub-infeudated a knight’s fee to Osmund de Wasprey in Haddington and Witsby. Both these transactions relate to the Domesday tenancy of Baldwin the Fleming. There is no reason to doubt that he also succeeded to the estate of Godfrey of Cambrai. According to the pseudo-Ingulf, Richard de Rullos was a great fen coloniser, from his manor at Deeping; the story is dated to the Conqueror’s day, but it would fit the 1120s. Also, a Robert de Rullos occurs around 1145, one of whose descendants held land in Deeping.

The early twelfth century surveys of Lindsey, Northamptonshire and Leicestershire tantalisingly fail to help us very much. What we need is a Kesteven Survey, but none survives. As already noted, Ralf the son of Oger the Breton held Thrapston. In the Leicestershire Survey, (Baldwin) fitz Gilbert had Sproxton, the one Leicestershire property of Godfrey de Cambrai, but in the same document Richard de Rullos held land in Thorpe Sachville and Twyford, which has not been traced in Domesday, but which later was a Wake fee. It is interesting to find both Richard de Rullos and his successor Baldwin fitz Gilbert in the same document.

It must be emphasised here that no clear evidence has been found to connect either Hugh of Envermeu or William de Rullos with Bourne, the centre of the estate controlled by Baldwin fitz Gilbert and then by Hugh Wake. This does not constitute a compelling argument against their tenancy, for our evidence from this period is chiefly from the records of monastic patronage, and it was characteristically the outlying portions of an estate which were used for this purpose. Nonetheless, it seems unlikely that Hugh of Envermeu held Bourne; and that William de Rullos did cannot be proved. The evidence of the early records suggests a descent as follows.

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14 Since Hugh of Envermeu succeeded Godfrey de Cambrai, it is worth noting that a “Euremar”, the man of Godfrey, held in Greatford in 1086: Linus DB, 51/6.
15 For the families of Rullos see Early Yorkshire Charters, ed. Sir Charles Clay, v. 95-9.
16 Monasticon, vi. 1018.
17 Below, App. no. 7.
18 On this see H. E. Hallam, Settlement and Society (1965), pp. 115-18.
21 Ibid., p. 15; in addition to just under 9 carucates in Thorpe Sachville and Twyford, he also had land in Stockerston and Smeeton Westerby. For Thorpe Sachville and Twyford, see below, App. 1, no. 4; the other two tenancies have not been subsequently identified.
22 This might seem to cause some difficulties to those who seek a single date for these texts; see Round, Feudal England, pp. 196-7, and Slade, Leicester Survey, p. 12.
23 The only evidence of Hugh of Envermeu’s tenancy of Bourne is the pseudo-Ingulf (Feudal England, p. 165); for William de Rullos there is the additional evidence of Northants Chs, pp. 82-3. Aelina de Rullos was given Thrapston (Northants) and Skellingthorpe and Hykeham (Lincoln) as dower, on the death of Baldwin fitz Gilbert; she gave these manors to her daughter, and gave as her title that she was “heir to the whole inheritance of Richard de Rullos my father”. Thrapston was one of Oger the Breton’s manors, and Stenton took this as proving that William de Rullos inherited Oger’s estate; but I would prefer to read the phrase as a general rather than a specific statement of title.
THE ORIGINS OF THE WAKE FAMILY

BOURNE

1086
Oger the Breton

Godfrey de Cambrai

Baldwin the Fleming

c. 1105
Ralf the son of Oger

Hugh de Envermeu

c. 1120
Ralf, or his successor, or William de Rulos

William de Rulos

c. 1135
Baldwin fitz Gilbert de Clare

Hugh Wake

c. 1160

Baldwin fitz Gilbert is the first man who can be proved to have held the three Domesday estates which later formed the core of the barony of Bourne. Baldwin was a member of the important Anglo-Norman family of Clare. The main Clare tenants in this period were Richard (killed by the Welsh in 1136), who was Baldwin’s elder brother, and Gilbert (Earl of Hertford from 1138, who died in 1152), who was Baldwin’s nephew. It is important to note also that Baldwin’s sister-in-law was Adeliza, the sister of Ranulf de Gernons, earl of Chester from around 1129 to 1153. The earls of Chester during this period had a powerful influence in Lincolnshire affairs, and it seems likely that Hugh Wake’s marriage to Baldwin’s daughter is one result of that involvement.

Baldwin fitz Gilbert was a younger son; but younger sons of families of this eminence were important barons in their own right. Baldwin had a strong enough base to be able to give Bourne, his wife’s inheritance, to a daughter in his own lifetime, even though he had surviving sons at the time. Baldwin first appears in the early 1120s; he married in the mid 1120s; and from around 1129 we have the first document relating to his tenancy at Bourne, a royal charter confirming to the monks of Envermeu what Baldwin fitz Gilbert had given them of the lands of Hugh of Envermeu. From 1130 he is a fairly frequent witness to royal charters for a period of a quarter of a century. He had a military career in Stephen’s reign, if not a particularly successful one. In 1136 he led a large force into Wales to avenge his brother’s death. According to one chronicler, however, when he heard that he faced stiff opposition, “he was struck with fear and halted his march, and delaying there a long time, he gave himself over entirely to gluttony and sloth”; and we are told that he returned home “needy and discredited”. He lived to fight again, and he was much in Stephen’s company in the early part of the reign. He is reported to have

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25 Godfrey and Robert, the sons of Baldwin, witnessed Northants Chs, p. 19; Roger son of Baldwin issued Danelaw Chs, no. 470.
26 Regesta, ii, nos. 1222, 1283, entries which suggest that he was then a young man; Regesta, ii, no. 1038, which he witnessed, is dated to 1114, but the charter has several suspicious features, the date among them.
27 It is argued below that Hugh Wake was married to Baldwin’s daughter by 1146; it seems unlikely that Baldwin was married much, if at all, after 1126. For the dangers of assuming that too many holdings changed hands in c. 1129 see C. Warren Hollister in History, 58 (1973), pp. 21-3.
28 Regesta, ii, no. 1577.
29 Regesta, ii, nos. 1664, 1666, 1900-1; iii. ed. H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis, nos. 11, 114, 249, 276, 387, 413, 442, 494, 814, 835, 853, 855, 878-82, 892, 896, 920, 992.
given the oration to the king's troops before the battle of Lincoln in 1141: "as King Stephen's voice was not very powerful, Baldwin fitz Gilbert, a man of the highest rank and a brave soldier" took his stand upon a height, and "after arresting their attention by a short and modest pause" addressed the troops.\footnote{31} The speech, as reported, was long and eloquent, but the result was a victory for the earl of Chester, and Baldwin was captured. He is not mentioned again by the chroniclers, but a number of charters relate to the period up to his death in or shortly after 1154.\footnote{32}

It was the mid 1140s which saw the marriage of Hugh Wake to Emma, the daughter of Baldwin fitz Gilbert. The family of Wake is another Norman family, but hardly one of major standing in the first half of the twelfth century, for all that is known of Hugh's father is that he was called Geoffrey, held land in Guernsey and built a windmill in a place unspecified.\footnote{33} The sudden appearance of the Wakes in England in the middle of Stephen's reign is a useful reminder that the Norman settlement of Britain was not a single event but a long process: eighty years after the Conquest a Norman knight could enter the ranks of the baronage by a fortunate marriage. In the light of Hugh Wake's later career, there must be a strong possibility that he came to England as a knight of Ranulf of Chester. And in the light of other marriages into the Chester connexion which followed after the battle of Lincoln,\footnote{34} it is possible that a measure of dependence on the earl led to Baldwin's daughter marrying Hugh Wake. Certainly she did not marry above herself. The marriage most likely took place in 1145 or 1146, well before the date of Baldwin's death;\footnote{35} it is from this time on that we have clear evidence of Hugh's activity. All of his political career was in a Chester environment. At Stamford in 1146 he witnessed Stephen's grant to Ranulf's half-brother, William de Roumare, earl of Lincoln;\footnote{36} and he witnessed two of Ranulf's charters around the same time.\footnote{37} Towards the end of the reign he was at the Chester stronghold at Castle Donnington in Leicestershire, and in Ranulf's company at Devizes and Stamford in 1153.\footnote{38} With Ranulf's death in 1153 he leaves the national stage, on which he had only had a supporting role.

The strength of Hugh's local position is, however, very clear, and with the feudal returns of 1166 we can start to build up a full picture of the original base of the Wake family in England. He had three main demesne manors: at Bourne and Morton, at Deeping, and at Skellingthorpe and South Hykeham.\footnote{39} Other properties may have been in demesne, including the manors of Stenigot in Lincolnshire, Thrapston in Northamptonshire, and some property in Leicestershire.\footnote{40}

These manors would have been his main bases, and have provided most of the produce which sustained his household. He also had feudal rent from the other properties that had been subinfeudated, that is, granted by himself and his ancestors to their followers for feudal service. The

\footnote{31} Henry of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Ser., 74, 1879), pp. 271-4.
\footnote{32} Regesta, iii, no. 896; Stenton, Northants Chs, p. 20 note 1.
\footnote{33} Complete Peerage, xii, pt. 2, p. 295. A full analysis of Wake's Norman property might well throw up material of value for this period, but this has not been attempted here.
\footnote{34} See the valuable remarks of D. E. Greenway, Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107-1191 (1972), pp. xxvii-xxviii.
\footnote{35} If Baldwin had said half the rude things about Ranulf that are reported by Henry of Huntingdon (as cited above note 31), it must have been an interesting wedding, but better chroniclers than Henry take a lot of liberties with such speeches. Baldwin occurs in one of Ranulf's charters (F. M. Stenton, The First Century of English Feudalism, 2nd edn., pp. 271-2); and in his company elsewhere (Regesta, iii, nos. 494, 992). A difficulty with this date for the wedding lies in the fact that Baldwin is described as "of Bourne" in a charter of c. 1154: Charters relating to Gilbertine Houses, ed. Stenton (L.R.S. 18, 1922), p. 4; cf. Northants Chs, p. 20 note 1.
\footnote{36} Regesta, iii, no. 494, where Hugh Wake's presence supports the date of 1146; a Simon Wake held a knight's fee of William de Roumare in 1166, Red Book of the Exchequer, ed. H. Hall (Rolls Ser., 99, 1896 hereafter cited as R.B.E.), i. 378.
\footnote{38} Staffordshire Historical Collections, iii. 196 (probably also at Castle Donnington, he witnessed a charter of Richard Bacon, Monasticon, vi. 410-11; but if it must be dated to 1142-3, Hugh Wake's presence is another argument against its authenticity: see W. Farrer, Honors and Knights Fees, ii. 257-8); Regesta, iii, nos. 180, 492.
\footnote{39} In 1282 the Lincolnshire manors held in demesne were Bourne, Deeping, and Skellingthorpe, the centres in 1086 of the three estates which Hugh Wake had inherited, and Kelby, which had recently been exchanged: Cal. of Inquisitions Post Mortem, ii, pp. 261-2.
\footnote{40} Stenigot was surveyed as a demesne manor after the civil war of Henry III's reign, Calendar of Misc. Inquisitions, i. no. 784; for Thrapston, Northants Chs, pp. 82-3, 86-7; for other property see below, App. no. 11.
CHARTER OF ROGER SON OF BALDWIN DE CLARE
B.M. Harleian Ch. 50 A 9; printed Danelaw Chs., no. 470; reproduced by permission of the British Library Board. 8" x 5.1". For this tenancy see Appendix No. 8.

CHARTER OF HUGH WAKE
B.M. Add. Ch. 47632; printed Danelaw Chs., no. 333; reproduced by permission of the British Library Board. 6.9" x 2.5".
1166 return provides the key to the identification of these tenants and their holdings. William de Coleville, the lord of Castle Bytham, had the overlordship of two Wake fees, one of them close to his base, the other more distant. Ernald de Bosco, steward of the earl of Leicester, similarly controlled some at least of Wake's Leicestershire property. Renald de Tany was the chief tenant in Hertfordshire. Nearer to the centre of the Bourne honour, Hugh Wake exercised more direct lordship over a number of feudal tenants of lesser rank. An effort is made to trace the various properties granted for secular purposes in the Appendix. The subinfeudations on the honour of Bourne had taken place in the first half of the twelfth century," the more important of them in the time of the Rullos and Clare tenancies in the 1120s and 1130s.

From their demesne properties also, both Baldwin fitz Gilbert and Hugh Wake made numerous grants to religious foundations. Baldwin appears as the founder of two religious houses, and the patron of several others. We have the original foundation charter of the Augustinian house he established at Bourne in 1138, a document discovered by Miss Wake among the muniments at Burghley House. In 1139 or shortly thereafter, he also founded a small cell of Thorney abbey at Deeping St. James. He also gave Harstholt in Skellingthorpe to Bardney Abbey; rights in the fen at Morton to the Cistercian abbey of Vaudey three miles west of Bourne; and land in Normandy to the famous monasteries of Bec and Holy Trinity, Caen. Hugh Wake was the chief patron of the house of Longues, to which he gave four churches "of his fee" in Normandy. He also confirmed and added to Baldwin's endowments of the Lincolnshire houses of Bourne, Deeping and Vaudey. These religious endowments are important evidence of the position which the lords of Bourne held; the founding of a new house is the clearest evidence that a man considered he had "arrived". While we are confining our attention to the English lands, it is important to note that both Baldwin and Hugh had a base in Normandy, which still moved and influenced them.

Hugh Wake had 10 1/2 fees enfeoffed in 1166, a small enough barony by any standards. In addition, however, he held at least as large an estate as the sub-tenant of other lords, both lay and ecclesiastical. Of ecclesiastical landowners he held two fees of the bishop of Durham, one of the abbot of St. Albans and five of the abbot of Peterborough. Of lay lords, there were one fee of the earl of Huntingdon, one of the earl of Gloucester, around one and a half of the earl of Chester, and two of Robert of Stafford. There was possibly a further fee held of Humphrey de Bohun. The sub-tenancies amount to at least thirteen and a half fees, and the whole estate to a little if at all under twenty-five fees. The whole lordship gained extra strength from its relative compactness. The various subordinate holdings have been listed, and identified so far as is possible, in the Appendix.

Feudal lordship was not a static thing, but a continuing struggle for the preservation of existing rights and lands, and for the acquisition of others. Our records are colourless, but the clues as to the struggle for lordship are nonetheless there. At its simplest, the successful extension of Wake authority is seen in Simon of Senlis's complaint in 1166 that "Hugh Wake has taken over Hanthorpe without any increase in service". Hugh had a demesne in Hanthorpe, but there was also a Gant tenancy there, which he had quietly engrossed. A different sort of extension of authority is found with the Peterborough sub-tenancies. Godfrey of Cambrai held of Peterborough Abbey in 1086; but two further tenancies in southern Lincolnshire were held by Robert of Gimiges and Ansford in c. 1105, in neither of which had any ancestor of the Wakes any lordship at all. Peterborough clearly had a good deal of trouble in keeping control over these two tenancies: it obtained a charter from Henry I confirming "the service due from the land of certain knights", and Ansford of Witham and Robert of Gimiges are the first two men named. The successors of

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41 R.B.E., i. 378-80; translated in the Appendix.
42 The Domesday tenancies were sufficiently small and compact to have been exploited directly. It was only with amalgamation that problems of control would have arisen, and holdings have been granted away.
43 Northants Chs, pp. 18-20.
46 Ibid., ii. 408-10.
47 Monasticon, vi. 371; iv. 169; v. 490.
48 Below, App. no. 18.
49 Below, App. nos. 12(a) and (b).
these men held of the lords of Bourne, who held of Peterborough Abbey: in return for a secure
title, the abbey was forced to share the profits of lordship with the Wakes. The arrangement was
due to Wake acquisitiveness, but it was advantageous to both parties; with the disintegration of
feudal tenures, it was an advantage to have scattered and subdivided holdings responsible to a
landowner on the spot.

As well as his Lincolnshire holdings, Hugh Wake had inherited property in Hertfordshire,
Northamptonshire and Leicestershire. In theory he controlled it; but in practise the changes of
the mid twelfth century confirmed the rights of tenants, and a distant landlord could not make up
with local influence what he lacked in legal authority. The factors, that is, that worked for Hugh
in his own area, and which we have seen enabling him to extend his influence in southern Lincoln­
shire, elsewhere worked against him. Hugh’s struggle for lordship on the frontiers of his authority
can also be seen, though less clearly, in the documents which survive. From around 1150 we have
the only surviving charter of the first Hugh Wake. It grants nine bovates of land at Waltham
on the Wolds in Leicestershire to a man called Bernard: “I ask all my friends and my lords, and
I order all my men and my officers to support and protect Bernard and his heirs as they love me
and my honour”. This is an interesting charter; and one of the more interesting things about it
is that Hugh does not seem to have had any land in Waltham, to give to anyone at all. Hugh
may have thought this was a good area for feudal take-over, and he may have been right; but the
man who was to do it was Ernald de Bosco, from his castle at Thorpe Arnold a mile or so away.
A similar impression of Hugh’s being out of his depth is given by the one other of his charters
to survive in a full copy. This gave Revesby Abbey a hundred acres of land in Kirkby, and other
rights; and confirmed earl William de Roumare’s gifts in Sibsey. Here again, the only unclear
part of the transaction is Hugh Wake’s title. The Chester-Roumare connexion may explain how
Hugh Wake had a hold here; and there were good opportunities for assarting and engrossing on
the frontiers of the fens. But there is no subsequent Wake association with either Waltham or
Kirkby. Hugh Wake had reached the frontiers of his lordship.

When the lands of the honour of Bourne, demesne and subinfeudated, are put alongside
those held of other honours, the picture is that given by the map. It shows the villages which
contained land held by the first Hugh Wake, or by his men. The greater part of this estate is
within Kesteven, the southern part of Lincolnshire, and within Kesteven in the very south of the
county. The changes in the period we have studied were considerable. A small barony composed
of three separate Domesday estates had gone through three different families before coming to
Hugh Wake. Hugh held of at least seven different lords, as well as of the king. In the process, the
confusion of Domesday lordship had been translated into a relatively compact and homogenous
feudal estate. The confident tone of Hugh Wake’s return to the enquiry of 1166 may well be an
accurate reflexion of personality; and the confidence was probably not misplaced. He cannot have
foreseen the marriages which would raise his house to prominence, and the many colourful
personalities who would distinguish his line. But his position was secure enough. He ran what
for the mid twelfth century was a “model” estate.

EDMUND KING.

To King Henry his most dear lord, Hugh Wake sends greeting and loyal service.

The lord William de Coleville holds of the barony which I hold of you a fee of two knights: namely, Roland de Creeton one knight (1) and Alexander of Watford one knight (2); and from my demesne of Bourne I gave him land for which he renders a quarter part of a knight's service. Ernald de Bosco holds a fee of two knights: namely, Ilbert de Kilby one knight (3), and Ivo Mauduit one knight (4). Renald de Tany has a fee of two knights which he holds of me in demesne (5). Elias of Ringstone holds a fee of one knight (6). When King Henry enfeoffed William de Rullos, then William de Rullos gave Osmund de Wasprey a fee of one knight from his demesne, which William his son holds of me (7). And Baldwin fitz Gilbert—after King Henry had for his service given him Bourne from his demesne—gave Robert the son of Gubold for his service a fee of one knight, which his son now holds of me (8). And to one of his stewards, Gerold of Deeping, he gave a fee of half a knight from his demesne in Deeping, which the same Gerold now holds of me (9). In Hertfordshire there are certain impoverished lords who hold of me: namely, Ilbert the son of Hamo the clerk for a quarter of a knight's fee; Henry de Hosselles for a quarter of a knight's fee; and the son of Hugh de Laceles for an eighth part of a knight's fee (10).

My lord, you wished to know what manner of service I owed to you from my demesne. This is the service which my predecessors rendered in their days to King Henry, who gave them land. And I owe the service of my body to you as my lord, who gave me all this, whenever it shall please you to take it. My lord, it is right that this charter should be made, and if I should be able to enquire further, I will send you word as my lord. Farewell.

The fees which Hugh Wake returned above may be identified as follows:


2. Watford and Welford, Northants. DB, i, fos. 227b, 229a. In the Northants Survey Baldwin fitz Gilbert had 4 hides in Watford and 1½ hides in Welford: VCH Northants, i, p. 379. The tenancy has not been subsequently identified, and Wake probably lost control of it.


5. In Eastwick and Bengoe, Herts. Wake tenants inherited property in and around Hertford held by Geoffrey de Bech in 1086; in all about 22 hides of a total of about 43 hides, suggesting a possible division of the property between two heiresses: DB, i, fo. 140a-b. Richard de Tany occurs in Clare charters of the late 1130s, and the family may have held of Clare in Normandy: Northants Chs, 19, 52; Loyd, Origins, p. 101. Reynald de Tany gave the monks of Bermondsey the advowson of Bengoe church in 1156: Annales Monastici, ed. H. R. Luard, iii (Rolls Ser., 36, 1866), p. 439. Richard de Tany held two fees of Wake in 1212: Fees, p. 123.

6. In Ringstone and Rippingale, Lincs. Lines DB, 42/11-12, and possibly elsewhere. Elias of Ringstone held five fees of the Bishop of Lincoln in 1166, and witnessed one of his charters shortly before that date: R.B.E., i, 374; Reg. Ant., ii, 309. Another Elias witnessed Danelaw Chs, no. 411, and Adam his son held half a knight's fee of Wake in 1212: Fees, p. 180.

7. In Haddington and Whisby, Lincs. Lines DB, 65/1-2. Osmund de Wasprey occurs in
charters of 1136-38 and 1138-c. 1150: Northants Chs, p. 52; Mowbray Chs, ed. Greenway, p. 259. Loyd says that the family came from a village close to the Clare centre of Orbec (Origins, p. 112), but it should be noted that Hugh Wake records this as a Rullos enfeoffment. The William of 1166 was seemingly succeeded by Baldwin, and Baldwin by another William, who held one knight's fee of Wake in 1212: Northants Chs, 86, 52; B. M. Harl. Ch. 57 D 27; B. M. Cotton Vesp. E. 20, fo. 208r-v; Fees, p. 187.

(8) In Rippingale and Haconby, Lincs. Lines DB, 42/13, and elsewhere. The grant of part of this fee is Danelaw Chs, no. 470—"9 bovates of land of the fee of Morton, and the service of Alured of Haconby of the fee of Robert of Stafford". The 9 bovates are either Lines DB, 42/14, disputed at 72/44, or more likely 42/17-18 (probably = 61/3), disputed at 72/42. The service of Alured of Haconby is from 59/17; for his fee of Stafford see R.B.E., i, 266. Robert son of Gubold witnessed the foundation charter of Bourne priory, and gave land to it, which Hugh Wake confirmed: Northants Chs, 19; Monasticon, vi. 371, confirming the land of Lines DB, 42/6 (in dispute, cf. 61/2, 72/41). A William Gubold, possibly Robert's son, occurs in Peterborough D & C MS. 23, fo. 33 (cited in Hallam, Settlement and Society, p. 108), and B. M. Add Chs. 21096-7. In 1212 John Gubbold held a fee of Wake: Fees, p. 180, and see Reg. Ant., vii. 126-7.

(9) In Deeping. Lines DB, 51/ possibly part of 3. Gerold gave 6 acres to Deeping priory between 1139 and 1148: Monasticon, iv. 169. John his son occurs in Danelaw Chs, no. 443. There were many small fees in Deeping, and this one cannot be clearly traced in any later record.

(10) The poor knights of Hertfordshire had part of the property held by Geoffrey de Bech in 1086; see above, no. 5.

Other fees may not have been acknowledged in 1166, including the following:

(11) In Sproxtton, Leics. Held by Godfrey de Cambrai in 1086, and by (Baldwin) fitz Gilbert at the time of the Leics Survey: DB, i, fo. 235b; Slade, Leicester Survey, pp. 21-2. This is not mentioned as subinfeudated in 1166, but it was later a Wake fee: Hugh de Boby held of Wake here in 1235-6, Fees, p. 517. The family seems closely identified with the Wakes: Northants Chs, p. 18; Danelaw Chs, pp. 315, 328; B. M. Harl. Ch. 57 D 27. In Danelaw Chs, no. 443, Hugh de Boby gives St. Michael's, Stamford an acre in East Deeping which his lord Baldwin Wake gave him.

Hugh Wake also held other estates, as the sub-tenant of the following lords:

(12) Peterborough Abbey.

There is no detailed list of Peterborough fees for 1166, but nonetheless a wealth of feudal information: see Henry of Pytchley's Book of Fees, ed. W. T. Mellows (N.R.S., ii, 1927), pp. 81-4.


(c) In Witham-on-the-Hill, Lincs. Lines DB, 8/6, 34-5, 37: the tenancy of Ansford, which had been held by Hereward in 1066 (hence the story of Hereward "the Wake", on which see Round, Feudal England, pp. 159-61; but this is possibly not the occasion to pursue the matter further). Held by Ansford in c. 1105, and also confirmed to the abbey by Henry I: Descriptio Militum, no. 44; Regesta, ii, no. 1038.

(13) St Albans Abbey.

In Aldenhamp and St. Michael's, Herts. Hugh Wake held one fee of the abbey, de veteri, i.e.
created before 1135 (R.B.E., i, p. 360); this is clearly the land held of the abbey by Geoffrey de Bech in 1086 (DB, i, fos. 135b-136a). Not subsequently identified; but cf. above, no. 5.

(14) BISHOP OF DURHAM
In Kelby and North and South Raucenby, Lincs. Lincs DB, 3/35, 57: held by Almod, the bishop’s man. In 1212 Geoffrey of Envermeu occurs as a tenant of the Bishop of Durham; in 1242 as a tenant of Wake, who held of the Bishop: Fees, pp. 179, 1030. In 1282 Wake had Kelby in demesne, having exchanged it with Reginald of Envermeu: C.Inq.P.M., ii, pp. 261-2. It may be presumed that this was an Envermeu tenancy throughout the twelfth century.

(15) EARL OF GLOUCESTER.
In Bracebridge, Canwick and Metheringham, Lincs. In Lincs DB, 6/1, Geoffrey of Coutances had 6 carucates in Canwick and Bracebridge, his only property in the county; the Metheringham estate is harder to identify, but may be part of Ibid., 68/4 the land of Ragenald. In 1212 and 1242 Wake had tenants holding one fee in Bracebridge and a third of a fee in Metheringham (Fees, pp. 177-8, 1041); but some land here must have been held in demesne (B.M. Harl. Ch. 57 D 27).

(16) ROBERT OF STAFFORD.
In Thurlby, Carlby, Braceborough and elsewhere in Lincs. Robert of Stafford’s return in 1166 makes no mention of a Wake sub-tenancy, but it can clearly be identified as the tenancy held of Stafford by Godfrey (of Cambrai) in 1086: Lincs DB, 59/4-8. In 1166 William de Wasteneis held a fee of two knights of Robert of Stafford; and in 1212 Philip de Wasteneis held two fees of Wake, who held of Stafford: R.B.E., i, p. 266; Fees, p. 181.

(17) EARL OF CHESTER.
There is no return from the earl of Chester in 1166, but two Wake holdings can be identified in Stenigot and Wilsthorpe, Lincs. Lincs DB, 14/51, 92: the land of Ivo Taillebois. For the descent of this property see I. J. Sanders, English Baronies (1960), pp. 17-18 and notes; and for these two properties see Farrer, Honors and Knights Fees, ii, pp. 169-71. Part of Farrer’s analysis, however, is vitiated by his association of 3 carucates in Glenthal (Lincs DB, 14/17) with the Stenigot and Wilsthorpe holdings; there is no evidence that the properties descended together.

(18) EARL OF HUNTINGDON.
In Hanthorpe, Lincs, and possibly Burley, Rutland. In 1166 Hugh Wake had one fee de veteri (i.e. created before 1135) of Simon of Senlis, and in addition he is stated to have engrossed Hanthorpe without increase of service. The land engrossed in Hanthorpe is Lincs DB, 24/77. The main fee is difficult to identify; the location is not stated in the 13th century returns, and is difficult to guess from Domesday, for Gilbert de Gant’s lands overlapped at numerous points with what later would be Wake tenancies. One possibility is the land which Godfrey (of Cambrai) held of Gilbert in Burley (DB, i, fo. 293b), for Hugh Wake issued a charter there (Danelaw Chs, no. 333).

(19) HUMPHREY DE BOHUN.
Hugh Wake held one fee de novo of Humphrey de Bohun in 1166: R.B.E., i, 244; cf. Sanders, Baronies, p. 91. This holding has not been identified.
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