"This Northamptonshire is a most pleasant Shire"
(John Norden)

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST & PRESENT

COURTEENHALL HOUSE AND PARK

Published by
THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY
LAMPORT HALL, NORTHAMPTON
ENGLAND
1953

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NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST AND PRESENT

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1953

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Printed by John Dickens & Co. Ltd., Northampton.

THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY

(FOUNDED IN 1920)

LAMPORT HALL, NORTHAMPTON

President:
The Marquess of Exeter, K.G.

Hon. Secretary
Miss Joan Wake, HON. M.A., OXON.
Lamport Hall, Northampton.

Chairman of Council:
The Lord Hesketh.

Hon. Treasurer:
Charles E. Burton, Esq.,
3 Spencer Parade, Northampton.

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, which has not been raised in thirty-three years, is ONE GUINEA only. This entitles members to free copies of publications issued for the period in respect of which they have subscribed. Forms of membership may be had from the Hon. Secretary.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

With prices to members and non-members. See also page 58.

Vol. I "QUARTER SESSIONS RECORDS OF THE COUNTY OF NORTHAMPTON, A.D. 1630, 1657, 1657-8." Edited by Joan Wake. Introduction by S. A. Peyton. £1 1 0, £1 5 0. (*Out of Print*).

Vol. II "THE BOOK OF FEES OF HENRY OF PYTCHLEY." (1086-1415). Edited by W. T. Mellows. £1 10 0, £1 17 6.

Vol. III "MUSTERS, BEACONS, SUBSIDIES, ETC., IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHAMPTON, 1586—1623." Edited by Joan Wake. Introduction by John E. Morris. £1 1 0, £1 5 0. (*Out of print*).

Vol. IV "FACSIMILES OF EARLY CHARTERS FROM NORTHAMPTONSHIRE COLLECTIONS." Edited by F. M. Stenton. £1 10 0, £1 17 6.

Vol. V "THE EARLIEST NORTHAMPTONSHIRE ASSIZE ROLLS, A.D. 1202 and 1203." Edited by Doris M. Stenton. £1 1 0, £1 5 0.

Vol. VI "KETTERING VESTRY MINUTES." Edited by S. A. Peyton. £1 1 0, £1 5 0.

Vol. VII "THE MONTAGU MUSTERS BOOK, A.D. 1602—1623." Edited by Joan Wake. £1 1 0, £1 5 0.

Vol. VIII "WELLINGBOROUGH MANORIAL ACCOUNTS, A.D. 1258—1323." Edited by Frances M. Page. £1 1 0, £1 5 0. (*Out of Print*).

Vol. IX "PETERBOROUGH LOCAL ADMINISTRATION. GUILD CHARTERS AND CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS, A.D. 1100—1572." Edited by W. T. Mellows. £1 1 0, £1 5 0.

Vol. X "PETERBOROUGH LOCAL ADMINISTRATION. FEOFFEES' ACCOUNTS, A.D. 1614—1674." Edited by W. T. Mellows. £1 1 0, £1 5 0.

Vol. XI "SESSIONS ROLLS OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE SUPERVISORS AND KEEPERS OF THE PEACE, A.D. 1314—1320." Edited by Marguerite Gollancz. £1 1 0, £1 5 0.

Vol. XII "THE LAST DAYS OF PETERBOROUGH MONASTERY." Edited by W. T. Mellows. £1 1 0, £1 5 0.

Vol. XIII "THE FOUNDATION OF PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL, A.D. 1541." Edited by W. T. Mellows. £1 1 0, £1 5 0. (*out of Print*).

Vol. XIV "A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE PRINTED MAPS OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, A.D. 1576—1900." By Harold Whitaker. £1 1 0, £1 5 0.

Vol. XV "SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON'S BOOK OF SEALS." Edited by Lewis C. Loyd and Doris Mary Stenton. A few copies of this important book are on sale to members only, at the special price of £3 3 0.

Note.—It is possible in some cases to supply second-hand copies of out-of-print volumes.

NOTES AND NEWS

Thanks once more to the friendship and support of Northamptonshire industrialists we are able to continue the publication of this Journal, and are the more encouraged to do so by some letters of appreciation received after the issue of our last number. " You maintain its high standard marvellously," writes Professor David Knowles from Cambridge ; " I have just been enjoying your third batch of ' Tales from Whittlebury Forest'," says Mr. David Palmer; and from the late Mr. L. G. Horton-Smith in London, came the following tribute : " So many thanks to you for *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, which I am already reading, and reading with intense interest."

OBITUARY. It is with deep regret that we record the death of Mr. W. B. Shoosmith and Mr. W. T. Pearse, both of Northampton. Mr. Shoosmith was Clerk of the Peace for the Borough of Northampton for many years, an artist in black and white of no mean distinction, and an original member of our Society on whose Council he had served for 32 years. Mr. Pearse was also a member of Council, and the kindest of friends to the Society.

PUBLICATIONS. " The Book of William Morton," almoner of Peterborough Abbey in the 15th century, is nearing completion and should be in the hands of members early next year. This will be followed by a volume illustrating the government of Peterborough by the Dean and Chapter in the reign of Elizabeth I. These two books, on which Mr. W. T. Mellows was working at the time of his death, will be issued in memory of his son, Captain Anthony Mellows, who fell fighting in France in 1944.

Another volume in preparation is the correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa with Sir Justinian Isham between 1650 and 1660, which will be edited with an Introduction by Sir Gyles Isham. Sir George Clark, Provost of Oriel College, is contributing the Preface.[1]

OUR ANNUAL MEETING was held on September 24th, 1953, at Lamport Hall, when the Society, as in 1952, was the guest of Sir Gyles Isham. Mr. Hugh Trevor-Roper lectured to a crowded audience on " The Midland Counties and the Great Rebellion." A lively discussion followed on the relation between the economic and religious troubles of the period.

MEMBERSHIP. This remains at about 600, including 120 Libraries and other institutions. New members will be warmly welcomed (see page ii).

THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE ARCHIVES COMMITTEE issued its first annual report (from which we are permitted to quote) last June. It draws attention to the desirability in spite of many advantages at Lamport, of moving the Record Office nearer to Northampton on which grounds enquiries have been made of Northampton Borough Council about the possibility of leasing part of Delapre Abbey. To have this important educational institution containing such abundance of material for the history of both the Borough and the Shire, only a mile from the centre of the town, would be of tremendous advantage to everyone concerned. And all lovers of fine architecture with great historic associations such as are so happily combined in Delapre Abbey, would rejoice that such an appropriate use should have been found for this beautiful and dignified mansion.

Congratulations to the County Archivist and his staff for the excellent report which appears as an appendix to that of the Committee. Students will be glad to know that cataloguing and indexing of the MSS. goes on apace ; that the survey of parish records, started by the Record Society, is being continued ; and that several important collections relating to landed estates have come in during the year. A repair room has been set up, and a *Guide* to the collections is in contemplation. In the meantime much information concerning the contents of the County Record Office will be found in Mr. King's article on page 11 below.

ARCHAEOLOGY. The Royal Archaeological Institute held their Summer Meeting (1953) in the County, previous Meetings having been held here in 1879 and 1912. The Mayor of Northampton held an evening reception at the Town Hall on July 6th, and in the ensuing week visits were paid to our architectural treasures in 23 different parishes. Those of us who were privileged to join some of these excursions greatly enjoyed them.

1. This volume will be published with financial assistance from the Trustees of the Crompton Bequest and the Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

(Continued on page 3)

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

Alexander-Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.
All Souls' College, Oxford.
The Society of Antiquaries of London.
Ashby, E. J. & R. S., F.V.I., Northampton.
Commonwealth of Australia National Library.
Banbury Public Library.
Barker, A., & Sons, Ltd., Earls Barton.
Bedfordshire County Library.
Berry Bros. & Bagshaw, Kettering.
Birkbeck College, University of London.
Birmingham Library, Margaret Street.
Birmingham Public Libraries.
Birmingham University Library.
Boston Public Library, U.S.A.
Bristol & Gloucestershire Archæological Society.
Bristol University Library.
Brown University Library, U.S.A.
Buckinghamshire County Library.
Burnham Son and Lewin, Messrs., Kettering.
California University General Library, U.S.A.
Chamberlain, W. W., & Sons, Higham Ferrers.
Chicago University Library, U.S.A.
The City Press, Northampton.
Cleveland Public Library, U.S.A.
Columbia University Library, U.S.A.
The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
The Royal Library of Copenhagen.
Cornell University Library, U.S.A.
Edinburgh University Library.
The Society of Genealogists.
General Theological Seminary, N.Y., U.S.A.
Glasgow University Library.
The Guildhall Library, London.
Hammersmith Public Libraries.
The Library of Harvard College, U.S.A.
Harvard University Law School Library, U.S.A.
Haverford College Library, U.S.A.
The Henry E. Huntington Library, U.S.A.
Higham Ferrers and District History Society.
Huntingdon County Library.
Illinois University Library, U.S.A.
Inner Temple Library, London.
The Institute of Historical Research (University of London).
Iowa State University, U.S.A.
The John Rylands Library, Manchester.
The Library of Johns Hopkins University, U.S.A.
Kettering High School.
Kettering Public Library.
King's School, Peterborough.
Leeds University Library.
Leicester City Libraries.
Leicester County Archives Department.
Leicester University College Library.
Lincoln City Public Library.
Parts of Lindsey County Library.
Liverpool City Public Libraries.
Liverpool University Library.
The London Library.
London School of Economics and Political Science.
Library of the University of London.
Public Library of the City of Los Angeles, U.S.A.
Lund University Library, Sweden.
Magdalen College School, Brackley.
Manchester Public Libraries.
Manchester University.
Manfield & Sons, Ltd., Northampton.
Merchant Venturers, The Society of
The Library of the University of Michigan, U.S.A.
The Library of the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, U.S.A.
Missouri University Library, U.S.A.
Newberry Library, Chicago, U.S.A.
New College, Oxford.
The New England Historical and Genealogical Society, U.S.A.
The New Hampshire State Library, U.S.A.
The New York Historical Society, U.S.A.
The New York Public Library, U.S.A.
Northampton Business and Professional Women's Club.
Northampton Central Townswomen's Guild.
Northampton Grammar School for Girls.
Northampton Grammar School.
Northampton High School.
Northampton Public Library.
Northampton County Historical and Genealogical Society (U.S.A.).
Northamptonshire County Council.
Northamptonshire County Library.
Northamptonshire Printing and Publishing Co.
Notre Dame University Library, Indiana, U.S.A.
Nottingham Central Public Library,
Nottingham University Library.
Oundle School.
Overstone School.
Oxford City Libraries.
Oxfordshire County Library.
Pennsylvania University Library, U.S.A.
The Dean and Chapter of Peterborough.
Peterborough Museum Society.
Peterborough Public Library.
The Public Record Office, London.
Raunds History Society.
Reading University Library.
The Royal Historical Society.
Rugby Public Library.
Rushden Public Library.
The Soroptimist Club of Northampton.
Smethwick Public Libraries.
Stanford University Library, U.S.A.
Sydney University Law School Library, N.S.W
Texas University Library, U.S.A.
Toronto University Library Canada.
University College, London, Library.
The Genealogical Society of Utah.
Victoria Public Library, Melbourne, Australia.
Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, U.S.A.
Virginia State Library, U.S.A.
Washington University Library, U.S.A.
Wellingborough Grammar School.
Wellingborough County High School.
Wellingborough Public Library.
Wilson & Wilson, Kettering.
Wisconsin University Library, U.S.A.
Yale University Library, U.S.A.

(Continued from page 1).

The Roman pavement at Weldon, of which an 18th century description was given in our last issue (p. 17), was explored last summer under the auspices of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments. The Archaeological Section of the Natural History Society has excavated a portion of a Roman site in Harpole parish, and a Romano-British pottery kiln, discovered at Weston Favell, has been recorded by Mr. B. Bunch, the Borough Architect.

Discoveries of wall-paintings have been made at Faxton Church.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS. The motto on our cover is from *Speculi Britanniae*, by John Norden, published in 1610. The photograph of Courteenhall, looking north-west, was taken from the top of the church tower by Major Hereward Wake, to whom our thanks are due. Brington Clump and Nobottle Wood can be distinguished on the horizon.[1]

We offer our best thanks to the Northants Architectural Society, Messrs. Cassell and Co., Ltd., the proprietors of the Bedfordshire Magazine, and the Rev. H. E. Ruddy for the loan of blocks for the illustrations of Stoke Park, Deene Park, the Cranfield lace-makers, and the four rectors of Braunston. Also to the Rector of Abington for permission to photograph the Thursby monuments in his church. We find it difficult to express our sense of gratitude to our kind contributors.

GREETINGS. The Society salutes its friends and supporters at home and overseas, and wishes them a merry Christmas and a happy New Year.

1. The figures in the photograph of Queen's Cross on the cover of one 1952 Journal, have turned out to be those of Mrs. Henry Cooper, and her daughter, Nellie, now Mrs. S. S. Campion of Northampton,

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(Continued from page 10).

Another bell by Eayre not in North is in the Bede-house at Higham Ferrers : " The bell-cote has a trefoiled opening, and canopied niches facing north and south ; it contains a bell by Thomas Eayre of Kettering, 1737." (*Victoria County History,* Vol. III, p. 263, quoting *Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton*, 1849, p. 26, where the name is given wrongly as T. Eager. I am indebted to Miss Joan Wake for this reference.)

Finally, Mr. H. Colvin has been very kind and pointed out some further references to work of Thomas and Joseph Eayre. Thomas Eayre gave some advice about a Gothic bridge designed by William Stukeley for Boughton Park, of which the wooden model still exists at Boughton. (The Family Memoirs of William Stukeley, Surtees Society, I, pp. 368-9 & II, p. 220). He also gave advice about repairing the steeple at St. Mary's, Stamford in 1741 (Ibid., II, p. 329). Mr. Colvin has also found in the Bodleian an engraved view of Bluntisham Church, Cambridgeshire, signed " Jos. Eayre delin. 1738 " (*Gough Maps,* 12, f.9 and 41A, f.28), and in Vol. II of the Stover Collection in Eton College Library a rather crude " Design of a stone bridge for Blackfriars being the middle arch and one next the middle by Joseph Eayre, St. Neots, Oct. 3d. 1759." The vestry minutes of St. Michael's, Stamford, show that when the tower was rebuilt in 1762, Joseph Eayre contracted to supply a new peal of 6 bells, and the churchwardens " to finish the steeple with a neat tower and six bells agreeable to Mr. Eayre's plan dated 12 April, 1762," which seems to indicate that he designed the tower. Several references to church bells by Thomas and Joseph Eayre in Stamford churches are to be found in T. North's *Church Bells of the County and City of Lincoln*, 1882. Joseph Eyres, spelt that way, was a subscriber to Bridge's *History of Northamptonshire.*

THE TUDOR MONARCHS AND THEIR LORD LIEUTENANTS[1]

IT was Strype in his *Ecclesiastical Memoirs* who assigned the first appointment of Lieutenants of counties to a year of " routs and uproars " ; and Harrison, in his *Description of England*, who defined them as " noblemen set over the shire in time of need."

Both statements are true enough regarding the actual beginnings of the County Lieutenancies under the Tudors. Even taking their history no further than the close of the reign of Elizabeth any description of the office requires considerable further expansion.

Looking back on the spacious days of the Tudor era it is necessary always to bear in mind the insecurity of the throne. When the founder of the dynasty rode to London after the victory on Bosworth Field it would have been a bold man indeed who could have prophesied that the struggle for the crown between rival families was over and done with. Nor was the title of Henry VII anything but at the best a dubious one. Yet he strengthened the monarchy and passed on the crown triumphantly to his only surviving son. Henry VIII proved a king indeed, under whom the crown surmounted a tremendous religious upheaval. But lying on his death bed he showed himself well aware of the dangers that lurked ready to pounce on his own heir, a boy of ten years and a sickly boy at that. Could he have foreseen that the young Edward would die with no direct heir and would be succeeded first by one step-sister and then by another the dying king might have shown himself still more uneasy. Yet under the young King Edward the crown again surmounted an upheaval of no small magnitude, this time an economic crisis. When the succession passed first to Mary and then to Elizabeth it was remarked that no woman had reigned in England since the day of Matilda, who was not a conspicuously successful model. Both queens had to face religious and economic trouble within and, markedly, towards the end, attacks from without, backed by the stark fact that in the Latin and Catholic countries of Europe Elizabeth was never recognized as legitimate either by birth or in her claim to the throne.

The pressure of circumstances thus forced the Tudors, monarchs having, it must be remembered, no standing army, to take anxious consideration for the control of the country in times of discontent, of incipient rebellion, of intrigue, of actual war.

The answer found to the problem was to use the shire or county, whose boundary was, as Sidney and Beatrice Webb wrote, the deepest and most enduring of divisions, as the administrative unit ; and to give authority over that unit, in times of emergency, to a local magnate who on the one hand could be trusted to be loyal to the crown and on the other could command the confidence of those over whom he was called to preside. It was the use of a principle long embedded in the functioning of local government in England.

1. This paper is the substance of an address given at the Annual Meeting of the Northamptonshire Record Society on September 20th, 1952.

So then did the Lieutenants emerge, really as an adaptation of the old system of Commissioners of Array, who had been required to raise local levies, but becoming distinct in themselves by the Act of 1549, Strype's year of riots and rebellions, when men designated now as " the King's Lieutenants " were required to deal with such offences as treason and rebellion and " other evil deeds, whatsoever they be."

This legislation, however, contained no suggestion that these appointments were to be anything but temporary in character, constituted merely to meet a state of emergency. The office of His or Her Majesty's Lieutenant began in fact as a short-termed post, mainly military in character. As such it remained in theory and to some extent in practice until the close of the era. Commissions were issued, and not necessarily renewed, as the Crown, acting through the Council, judged best. Moreover there was an arbitrary and far from uniform grouping of counties. At varying times some counties, not always the same ones, might have each its own single Lieutenant. In other cases several counties would be joined together with one Lieutenant over all. Thus in 1551 the Marquess of Northampton was commissioned as Lieutenant for the counties or shires of Northampton, Bedford, Buckingham, Hertford and Cambridge. It is however important to notice that this grouping together did not, in actual fact, destroy the county boundary. Even when thus placed together, each county was regarded as a separate administrative unit and so retained its own identity. Another expedient was to give some one county or shire more than one Lieutenant. This more often occurred in the maritime counties, at a moment when careful watch and ward had to be kept. But it also sometimes happened that the Lieutenant would be judged young and inexperienced and in need of an older coadjutor. Or, as for example in the case of Burghley, who held several lieutenancies at different times, he might be holding high office at court and so be frequently called away. This system of more than one Lieutenant for a single county could never, given human nature as it is, have been completely satisfactory ; and by the middle of Mary's reign it had been replaced by the institution of deputies. By no means all lieutenants were allowed these, and when they were appointed their office was as temporary as that of their chief. But they were even more essentially of the county than he. From the beginning the jurisdiction of a deputy was confined to a single county, one in which he was a landowner and nearly always a Justice of the Peace.

The opening words of the Commission are in some respects the most significant : " Know ye that for the great and singular trust and confidence we have in your approved fidelity, wisdom and circumspection, we have assigned....you to be our Lieutenant ...."

It is a tribute to the discernment of those who advised the Crown in the appointments that, these being the requirements, they so seldom made a mistake in choosing their men. Here tribute must be paid first to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and then to his son Robert. Nothing is more remarkable than the way in which both contrived to keep in touch with what was going on, not only in the counties with which they themselves were most closely connected but in all the counties. They were excellent judges of character and few districts in England and but few men called on to take office could have hoped to escape their penetrating scrutiny.

And the system worked. We see the lieutenants and their deputies making plans for

the summer musters in times of peace. We see them quelling disorders. We see them in 1585 and the following years, when it was known that Philip was preparing his great Armada, riding along the coasts, consulting as to vulnerable points, considering how local forces under their command might best be deployed to meet landing parties. Defence in the sixteenth century was still a local affair, and primarily the business of the maritime counties.

When, indeed, in the fateful month of June, 1588, messages were sent out to the Lieutenants of a selected list of counties, including Dorset and Devon, that they were to despatch a specified number of men to London for the defence of that city and the person of the queen, the reply was that since the Spanish fleet was bound to sail through the English Channel and would reach the south-west long before it ever sighted Tilbury, it would be desirable to keep the men at home to guard their own district. The matter was settled not unamicably. But the reply is of importance because it represents the strength and no less the weakness of a system of administration based on local units and, it may be added, local patriotisms. But it was always recognized by Crown and Council as of first class importance that the lieutenant and his deputies should have intimate knowledge of their county or counties ; its geography ; its inhabitants.

So we see these representatives of the Crown riding along the country lanes they knew so well, in intimate and friendly fashion. One surviving document has had a handful of leaves in its seal, broken off the tree, doubtless by the clerk, to give substance to the wax. Venison and wine are conveyed to the meeting places, contributions from the neighbouring land-owners. There were quarrels too, as at Winchester in 1588 when the Lord Bishop and the Lord Marquess, the only Marquess in England, hurled insults at each other. But these men, created His or Her Majesty's Lieutenants for purely military purposes, presently found that a number of other duties were being expected of them.

The Tudors, above perhaps all other sovereigns, had the knack of piling responsibility upon the local gentry. It was not only the Justice of the Peace who was their maid-of-all-work. It was their Lieutenant also. He and his deputies were gradually called upon to undertake such duties as the collection of subsidies, the enforcement of such Acts as those of Supremacy and Uniformity, and often the general supervision of the economic organizations of their county or counties. The Tudor Crown was a first rate educator of the English gentry in the art of administration. And it obtained response. Perhaps the most striking characteristic revealed in the letters and papers relating to the Lieutenancy is the sense of responsibility—and a dual responsibility at that—to the Crown and to the County.

The Tudors accomplished their object—to keep themselves on the throne. It was the peculiar merit of a rule which enforced the supremacy of the Crown as it had never been enforced in England before, that at the same time it engendered this sense of responsibility.

GLADYS SCOTT THOMSON.

SOME REMINISCENCES OF THE AGE OF DUVEEN

READING S. N. Behrman's *Duveen*, has recalled to me a few meetings with some of the principals in the story of the 'twenties. I never met Duveen himself, but I went to his house on Fifth Avenue, and I think I had better tell my story by means of the houses which I visited.

First, in time, and most interesting in retrospect, is my visit in 1926 to the house and library of Henry E. Huntington, not long before his death brought the entire Huntington collection into the hands of the State of California.

My own interest in Henry E. Huntington had nothing to do with pictures. In 1867, Charles Edmonds of the firm of Willis and Sotheran, discovered at the house of my great-uncle Sir Charles Isham, of Lamport Hall (where I now live), a great many literary rarities of the Elizabethan period. After the building of the classical library in 1732, these small volumes were apparently consigned to an attic to make way for the folios proper to a gentleman's library in the classic taste. Successive rebuildings of portions of the house saw the Elizabethan volumes moved from attic to attic. A more utilitarian age would have consigned them to the bonfire. About 1840, they were shown to Mr. Dash, a Kettering bookseller, who declined to purchase them, and dismissed them after a cursory examination as valueless. The story goes that Charles Edmonds, after going through and arranging the library, missed his train, whereupon the Dowager Lady Isham, who came to Lamport as mistress in 1818, recalled the books in the attic, and suggested to Mr. Edmonds that he might fill in his time by examining them. By this means, Edmonds was enabled to make, perhaps, the great bibliographical discovery of all time. For there, grimy, but perfect in other respects, was a copy, a unique copy of the *Venus and Adonis* of Shakespeare in the 1599 edition, which the Bishop of London had ordered to be burned. Only less sensational was the discovery of Marlowe and Chapman's *Hero and Leander* (1597), and other unknown or very rare works.

In 1893, Sir Charles Isham sold most of these books to Mr. Christie-Millar of Britwell Court, and to the British Museum, for £4,000—the value set on them by Dr. Garnett of the Museum. The lion's share, including the *Venus and Adonis*, went to Mr. Christie-Millar who put up £3,000 of the purchase money. That he made a good investment on Dr. Garnett's advice there can be no doubt, for after his death, when the Britwell Court Library was dispersed, from 1910 to 1927, the books which he had bought from Sir Charles Isham for £3,000 realised £51,725. The story has been fully told by Mr. William A. Jackson, Associate Professor of Bibliography in Harvard University, in an essay, *The Lamport Hall, Britwell Court Books,* printed in the Joseph Quincey Adams Memorial Studies issued by the Folger Library in Washington in 1948.[1]

In 1919, the *Venus and Adonis,* and other books from Britwell Court were sold to Mr. Smith, for Henry E. Huntington, and sent to his growing library at San Marino. The *Venus and Adonis* cost him £15,000.

1. Though correct in bibliographical details, this account, based on printed sources, should not be relied on in details, since the author has several times been misled by his sources.

In 1926, finding myself in Los Angeles as a member of a debating team from the Oxford Union, I determined to try and see at least the *Venus and Adonis,* as the opportunity might not recur. I accordingly telephoned to the librarian, who after enquiries at the house, gave me permission to come and see the books. During Mr. Huntington's lifetime the collections were not open to the Public.

I well remember the November day on which I set out with my two English colleagues for San Marino. For one thing it was very wet. It was rain of a peculiar intensity. I suppose it rains so little in California, that when it does rain, some compensation is required. The hired car was not allowed to enter the Huntington Gates, and I recall a thorough wetting on the way up the drive to the Library, where we arrived about 10.30. I remember the extreme efficiency of the staff, and handling *Venus and Adonis, Hero and Leander* and other books, and the explanation of the special arrangements necessitated by the Californian climate for the preservation of these treasures.

About half-past twelve, a message arrived from the house, that Mr. Huntington would see us. I think if I had known then what I know now, I should have been much more excited than I was. I simply knew that Huntington was an elderly rail-road king, who had used his vast wealth to acquire expensive pictures and books. I was not prepared for what followed.

To describe the atmosphere of Mr. Huntington and his house as gloomy, would be to give altogether too cheerful an impression. Not Charles II of Spain in his last days at the Escorial can have conveyed quite so much world-weariness as the eyes of Mr. Huntington. The rooms, with their large chandeliers, heavy hangings, and Aubusson carpets, the dark wet day, the vast canvases, and the tired old man, weighted by the loneliness of his position and his possessions are not lightly forgotten. We were first taken to see the portrait of his wife (lately deceased), by Oswald Birley. Arabella Huntington was a remarkable woman. Successively the wife of Collis P. Huntington, and his nephew, Henry, she formed a fine collection of Italian cinquecento paintings, but objected to Henry's buying from Duveen, Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture " Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse," when she discovered that Mrs. Siddons had been an actress. She did not look happy in Oswald Birley's picture.

The other pictures were fine, of course. Reynolds' " Tragic Muse " is perhaps his masterpiece. Gainsborough's " Blue Boy " and " Cottage Door " are charming things. Huntington is said to have been attracted to the former through a coloured print in his suite on the " Aquitania," and to have been disappointed with the original when Duveen had obtained it for him at no small cost, on the ground that the blue of the dress was not so bright as in the " Aquitania " print, a defect which Duveen's cleaners quickly remedied.

Mr. Huntington welcomed me (and my friends too) as the origin as it were, of his greatest literary catch, and explained with care his aims as a collector. America, he said, had the background of English culture, but no part in her heritage. It was right that in a country—California—made prosperous by the enterprise of people of English origin, the people should have visible reminders of their heritage. It was impracticable to bring over a cathedral, but English books and pictures could be bought, and he had

the means and the desire to do so. He collected the English School of the 18th Century because he liked it. After his death, the people of California could enjoy these things. It was his contribution. All this had the ring of sincerity, and was oddly touching. He was specially apologetic about " The Blue Boy." He had offered to withdraw from the purchase, if any Englishman would agree to put up an equivalent sum of money ; but his offer was not accepted. He hoped we thought he had done right. Prince William of Sweden, who had visited him, had thought so. Prince William was quite democratic ; he had shaken hands quite informally. His wife (Huntington's not Prince William's) had been a most artistic woman, though her tastes had been mainly for Italian paintings. Her death had been a great blow. He himself only wanted to join her. The time would not be long before the people of California could enjoy his bequest.

It was a long monologue punctuated by polite comments, as we wandered over the Savonnerie or Aubusson carpets, or sat on the French chairs in sombre magnificence. It was getting dark when we left with a strong feeling of depression, heightened by hunger, for the sole refreshment offered (perhaps in deference to our nationality) had been a cup of weak tea.

The lonely old man died the next year, and the house became a Museum and Public Library. I went to see it again on a brilliant May day in 1935. When a private house becomes a museum it usually assumes rather a funereal aspect. Not so the Huntington Museum which seemed a much more living place than it had in the last year of the millionaire's life. This time I was more interested in the Italian pictures collected by Arabella Huntington, and the English painters seemed less impressive. Perhaps it was the brilliant light of a Californian summer day, so much more congenial to the quattrocento and cinquecento painters than to the English Masters, who painted in the damp and gloom of their countryside.

My next house was the French mansion of Duveen on 5th Avenue, New York, where I went to tea with his daughter in the winter of 1927. She had a sitting room on the top floor. After tea, she said there were some rather nice pictures in the drawing room. Would her guests care to see them ? But a disappointment awaited us after descending in the lift. Lady Duveen was having a singing lesson, and the drawing room was not available. So I left Duveen's house without seeing a single picture ; a fate usually reserved for intending purchasers deemed unworthy of the Master's patronage.

Lastly, another 5th Avenue Mansion, where I took tea that same winter, the Edward S. Harkness home. The Harkness family did not, as Mr. Behrman reminds us, patronise Duveen, but his principal rival, Knoedlers. The result went far to invalidate Duveen's claim that the best pictures could only be bought through him. For the pictures were magnificent. There was a glowing Pinturiccio (placed somewhat inappropriately on the top of the piano) ; a Holbein ; the routine English 18th century portraits, very highly varnished. But I was specially struck by a Goya portrait in the library, one of the pictures at a then recent loan exhibition (with anonymous lenders) at the Metropolitan Museum in New York. " Ah ! " said I, " I see, Mrs. Harkness, you are the owner of that charming Goya I so admired at the Metropolitan Museum." " Why, yes," said my hostess, " we had the picture on approval here, and Edward didn't like it so he sent it back to Knoedler's. But I kind-a-missed it. ' Edward,' I said, ' I miss that little man

in brown.' ' Do you, my dear,' he said, ' we'll have him back,'—and there he is." In such a fashion did masterpieces find their owners in the 'twenties on Fifth Avenue. But there is this to be said. Pictures were not acquired solely for their names, but were bought for the best of reasons, their purchasers liked them. Mrs. Harkness was homely[1] and pleasant. Her Louis XVI drawing room—a room very much for state occasions—was full of French drawings. " Edward would be mad with me ; I always mix up Boucher and Fragonard."

That phase of art collection, the Age of Duveen, will never recur. It is as remote from to-day as the collections of the Tyrants of Renaissance Italy, or the civilised buying of Charles I. Duveen, as Mr. Behrman notes, was clever enough to realise he was offering not only his wares but a form of immortality to his clients. We can be thankful that these purchasers had such a qualified guide on hand. The Art Galleries of America are their Memorial, and his.

GYLES ISHAM.

1. In the English not the American sense.

THE EAYRES OF KETTERING (ADDENDA).

SINCE writing an article on Thomas Eayre of Kettering and other Members of his Family published in *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, Vol. I, No. 5, correspondents have kindly written to inform me of further Eayre items. Entries in Kettering Parish records for instance, sent me by Mr. Patrick Chapman, record payments of twopence to " Geo. (Bro. of T. II) Eayres daughter for heads," and to " Geo. Eayres boy for heads "; as Mr. Chapman says, these will be the heads of vermin for which churchwardens could pay small sums under an Act of 1532-3 so as to induce people to kill them. (W. E. Tate, *The Parish Chest*, 1946, p. 105).

Whilst examining the catalogue of documents in the muniment room at Rockingham Castle I noticed an entry of ' a proposal by G. Eayres of Kettering, brother of Thomas II, to construct an engine to throw water, in case of fire, at Rockingham Castle, 1741.' One cannot help wondering whether the Eayres had a hand in designing the Geddington fire engine which can pump a column of water over the Eleanor Cross there to this day.

Mr. Richard Peplow tells me of a clock by George Eayre at Brigstock dated 1745 and of another, identical, though unnamed, at Stanion. He has also noticed a turret clock by Thomas Eayre at Stoke Doyle, and Mr. W. H. March writes of a clock by Eayre on Cransley church. In the accounts of the churchwardens of Great Oxendon appears an entry under 4 July, 1747 : " paid Mr. Thos. Ares of Kettring an other part of his money for casting the bells £14 0 0." North (p. 359) records a bell at Oxendon by Eayre dated 1744. The others have since been recast. The most exciting news however is of a 30 hour long case clock by Thomas Eayre in the possession of Mr. L. W. M. Husbands at Street in Somerset, which came there, minus its case which was lost in a fire, from Warkton near Kettering about 90 years ago. The clock has one hand only, is well made and in original condition. A bell by Thomas Eayre dated 1753, and a turret clock belongs to Mr. A. T. Ringrose of Belton near Uppingham. They came from Loddington Hall. Mr. Ringrose writes of the bell, " it is shaped like a bowl weighing about ¾-cwt. and not the usual church bell type.....the clock is of earlier date than 1753 and was originally fitted with a ' foliot and verge escapement.' It was probably bought by Eayre.....and converted by him to anchor escapement and 1½ second pendulum added. Another interesting feature is no centre gear train for driving hands and....this points to it having been made before dials were used." Mr. Ringrose also tells me there is a grandfather clock by Joseph Eayre in the possession of Mr. C. Leys of Odell, Bedfordshire. In an account book of Sir Justinian Isham of Lamport there is this entry, 19 Aug. 1735, " To Mr. Eyres for cleaning and setting ye dial, 1*s.* 6*d.*". (I.L. 5279).

(Continued on page 3)

THE HISTORIAN'S EVIDENCE

FAMILY AND ESTATE RECORDS IN THE NORTHAMTONSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

STUDENTS coming into the Library at Lamport Hall pass, just outside the door, a large framed map hanging on the wall. This is a coloured copy of Eyre and Jefferys' map of the County of Northampton[1] which, apart from being the earliest on a large scale—it was first published in 1779—also has the great advantage of having marked on it the names of a large number of the owners of the bigger country houses and estates. It seems to me that this conjunction of names and places enables the map to represent in a significant and satisfactory way the importance of country houses at a time when each of them was to a greater or lesser degree the centre of the life and activities of the surrounding hamlets and villages, and in an age before the vast growth in the size of the towns had given the urban communities an overwhelming importance in comparison with the rural centres of population. Each of these houses was, from one point of view, and in many cases still is, a ' records repository,' a place where muniments of title, the documents which accumulate in the course of transacting the necessary business of an estate, family papers and letters, and often the official papers of owners who have held public office are kept, perhaps in a muniment room, perhaps in a croquet box, a trunk in the attic, or a cupboard in the library. Some of these accumulations of documents, known to students and archivists as private collections, have disappeared ; others have been taken to another county when the family has moved to another estate, or in more recent times have gone perhaps to a bank or into a solicitor's strong room in London. Those, on the other hand, which have been sent to the Northamptonshire Record Office at Lamport Hall, have taken on a new lease of life as material for the historian. Private collections, indeed, form the largest and most important class of the records preserved there. This article will be limited to an attempt to give a general idea of their contents, but I hope at a later date to deal with other classes of records in the custody of the Archives Committee.

There are now over thirty such private collections in the Record Office, about half of which may be described as large collections amounting to 3,000 documents or over.

THE FITZWILLIAM COLLECTION is perhaps the largest of all and comprises both estate and family papers. These include a long run of correspondence from c.1530 to c.1860 in which may be found some instructions to the English ambassador at the French court at the time when Henry VIII was trying for an annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, copies of letters written by Cardinal Wolsey after his fall to Stephen Gardiner, a book of copies of letters of Sir William Paget to Protector Somerset, 1547-1549, instructions to Sir William Fitzwilliam as Lord Deputy of Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (as well as 71 volumes of his accounts, reported on in *Analecta Hibernica* Vol. IV, Oct., 1932), and, of a later date, political and private correspondence

1. Thomas Eyre or Eayre of Kettering who made this map, died in 1757 or 1758. It was engraved by Thomas Jefferys. (See *Northamptonshire Past and Present* for 1952, pp. 19, 20).

of the 4th and 5th Earls Fitzwilliam, the former being Viceroy of Ireland in 1795 and the latter an important Whig magnate with wide interests who died in 1857. In addition, as one of the literary executors of Edmund Burke, the 4th earl took over a great mass of Burke's letters and papers of which a part is at Lamport and the rest in Sheffield Public Library where there is another complementary Fitzwilliam collection which came from Wentworth Woodhouse, the Marquess of Rockingham's estate, inherited by the Fitzwilliams in 1782.

The son of the Lord Deputy of Elizabeth's reign appears to have acted as a sort of secretary to his father-in-law, Sir Walter Mildmay, which may explain the presence in the Fitzwilliam collection of a group of copies and drafts of state papers, a short Parliamentary diary of 1584, copies of speeches of Bacon, the Queen, Mildmay and others, treatises on the succession question, the Mint, and other papers of the same sort. Of more local interest are a number of speeches made by the same Fitzwilliam as a Commissioner for levying subsidies in the Peterborough district, with a mass of subsidy assessments and accounts and some papers connected with the same Fitzwilliam's office as joint Aulnager of the New Draperies.[1]

The estate records cover the Milton estate in the Soke of Peterborough, stretching also into Huntingdonshire, the extensive Cremer family property in Norfolk near North Runcton inherited in about 1660 and sold in 1788, small estates in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, and the Higham Ferrers and Harrowden estate inherited from the Marquess of Rockingham at the same time as Wentworth Woodhouse in 1782. Apart from the accounts of which there is a good run from 1660, there are a number of detailed surveys and maps, and a very long series of letters from the agent Francis Guybon to Lord Fitzwilliam with the latter's replies (1678-1709). Earlier records include a stock book, 1582-1594, and three very detailed household account books, covering the years 1592 to 1598 and 1605 to 1615. There are a good many architectural plans and drawings of Milton Hall of 18th and 19th century date. As in most large collections there are also some miscellaneous volumes such as a 16th century copy of Cavendish's Life of Wolsey,[2] and a treatise by "W.G." on Trade between England and Friesland, 1564.[3]

THE GRAFTON COLLECTION. Estate records form a great part of this collection which in the main relates to the Northamptonshire estates of the Dukes of Grafton, centred on Wakefield Lodge in Whittlebury Forest from the 17th to the 19th century. There is a long series of accounts, including household accounts from about 1750 onwards together with in many cases the vouchers, of which there is also an enormous quantity in the Fitzwilliam collection. The deeds in the Grafton collection include leases from about 1700 as well as a number of bundles of title deeds of small freeholds bought from time to time, and a quantity of Cornish deeds of the 17th century and other legal papers connected with the Earl of Bath and his claim to the

1. William Fitzwilliam and George Delves were appointed joint aulnagers in July, 1578, to measure, try, search and seal all new cloths made in the realm which were put to sale, that is, to pass them as up to standard and collect a fee for so doing. See *Two Documents concerning the New Draperies* by N. J. Williams in the *Economic History Review* (second series), Vol. IV, No. 3, page 353 (1952). 2. This work was first printed in 1641 ; there have been many subsequent editions. 3. The medieval portion of this collection is at Milton, of which there is a five volume type-written catalogue at Lamport.

Dukedom of Albemarle. There is also a good series of manorial court files for Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire manors from 1723 to 1781, and a number of surveys and maps from 1726.

THE ISHAM COLLECTION. The earliest map in the Isham collection is attached to an agreement of 1598 for the inclosure of Haselbeech, and there are later maps of the rest of the estate which lay round Lamport, and of Shangton in Leicestershire, purchased in 1637.[1] The estate records, however, which include a number of 18th and 19th century accounts do not compare in importance with the correspondence which is the outstanding feature of this collection and of which the limits of date are roughly between 1660 and 1740. These letters are chiefly interesting because of the great part played by members of the Isham family in local affairs for many generations. They were M.P.'s for the borough of Northampton or for the Shire from 1661 to 1675 and from 1684 to 1773, and sheriffs, commissioners for levying subsidies, deputy lieutenants and active justices of the peace in the late 16th and 17th centuries. Moreover, the Ishams were a family with great intellectual interests, the second baronet, who died in 1675, being a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in touch with such men as Comenius, Hartlib, Dury, Bishop Duppa, Dr. Joseph Mead, and Dr. Fell. In the collection also are treatises and notes of subjects discussed by the Royal Society in the time of Sir Justinian Isham (d. 1675), and manuscript works of Charles Thynne, F.R.S., on economic subjects such as foreign trade. Detailed private accounts and diaries are extant from 1681-1736, and some further private accounts of the early 19th century. Apart from a great many deeds, there is a large volume recording exchanges of land and the building up of the Lamport Estate between 1560 and 1595, by John Isham who had been a London mercer. Several long detailed inventories of 16th century members of the family have survived and an important series of plans of Lamport Hall together with architects' letters and detailed accounts and bills from 1655 to 1867.

There are also Gregory King's notes and particulars for his map of Staffordshire (c. 1680), with several printed maps annotated by him, and a run of mid-17th century newspapers. The collection also contains numerous medieval charters acquired with later title deeds as the Ishams bought out the smaller freeholders on their estates, and estate accounts of the period 1832 to 1875 which turned up during the 1939-1945 war in a land-agent's office. A group of papal bulls of the 13th century is obviously not an integral part of this collection.

THE WESTMORLAND COLLECTION contains a rather uneven series of estate accounts of the Apethorpe estate beginning in 1643, though there are some rolls of accounts of Elizabethan date. Apart from deeds and court rolls, the latter mainly of the 16th to the 18th century, the collection contains some late Fotheringay College account rolls, deeds of Mildmay or Fane properties in other counties, some Sharlston colliery accounts and agents' letters (c. 1730), Lyme Regis election papers (1780), a large quantity of papers connected with the claim to the Bergavenny peerage, and some

1. There is an interesting group of early charters of Hardwick near Shangton which belonged to Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire.

books of accounts of John Scroope, Secretary to the Treasury, 1724-1752, for secret service money. A portion of this collection was acquired by the British Museum in 1892, including the papers of Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1566 to 1589. The diplomatic correspondence of the 10th and 11th Earls of Westmorland passed through a London sale room in 1951.

THE KNIGHTLEY COLLECTION. More than half of this collection consists of deeds mainly relating to the Fawsley estate from about 1200 onwards, though there are a few relating to places in other counties. One may hazard that one cause of the predominance of deeds in this collection has been the frequent passing of the property from cousin to cousin rather than from father to son, by which process most of the private papers and correspondence which usually occur in such a collection, have in this instance failed to survive. In the remainder of the collection there are a number of papers, correspondence, plans, rentals and accounts relating to the Woodborough Estate in Nottinghamshire (1827-1864), and a few Northamptonshire estate papers, including some 19th century farming accounts (1825-1859). The manorial records consist mainly of court rolls of Dodford and Preston Capes mostly from the 15th to the 17th century, and a run of bailiffs' account rolls for the manor of Dodford from 1471 to 1482. Miscellaneous items include Sheriffs' quietus rolls for 1659, 1660, and 1685 (most collections contain at least one of these), Northamptonshire election accounts for 1747 and 1748, seven account books of Sir Charles Knightley (1807-1864), papers and correspondence relating to the establishment of the *Northampton Herald* and its ownership by Sir Charles Knightley from 1831 to 1860, and a few 19th century election letters, papers and accounts. There are some family letters of the 18th and 19th centuries, including two from the Duke of Wellington (1820), and a few household papers, bills, and receipts (c. 1827-1868).

THE FINCH-HATTON collection is[1] a good example of a thorough mix-up of papers of different dates and of unevenness in the contents of a collection, caused both by complicated descent of property and by the decision of an owner some 80 years ago to send part of his records (mostly correspondence and political papers (17th century) and medieval charters) to the British Museum.[2] An analysis of this collection of 4,250 documents, which includes 350 volumes, makes it clear that the collection is made up of a number of smaller units. Apart from the main bulk of Hatton deeds and papers of the Kirby Hall and Holdenby estates of the 16th to 18th centuries, letters and papers of Hattons as Governors of Guernsey (1662-1706) and as Stewards of the Duchy of Lancaster in Northamptonshire (all of which might be expected), there are, for instance, a quantity of deeds and papers of the Jenisons, later Jenison Gordon, of Newark (1603-1863), which came into the collection in the 19th century, a thousand papers of the Fanshawe family, mainly legal cases (c. 1660-1690) but many connected in some way with their official positions in the Kings Remembrancer's department of the

1. This collection was catalogued by Miss E. S. Scroggs in 1931, and a bound copy of the catalogue has been sent to the Institute of Historical Research (it is in the Local History room). 2. Where they now form Additional Charters 19788-22613 and Additional MSS. 29548-29596. A member of the family who became interested in the records in the early years of the present century and tried to re-arrange them, without expert knowledge, undoubtedly added to the confusion.

Exchequer and with their interests in the Customs,[1] a collection of deeds, court rolls and account rolls of Maidwell, Draughton, and Kelmarsh and certain Lincolnshire estates (13th to 17th centuries), which were brought into the family by the marriage in 1685 of Elizabeth, the Haselwood heiress, with Viscount Hatton, the documents being retained when they sold the estates soon afterwards ; also a few Finch papers, including some 17th century court books of Wye in Kent, a Kent musters book (1585-1599), and some official letter books and miscellaneous papers of Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham (1647-1730). Three items, two volumes and a notebook, concern ' Ardelia ' (Anne, Countess of Winchilsea), a poetess of the early eighteenth century, two of which were probably inherited, the other, a volume of her poems, actually purchased by a nineteenth century owner, just as the twelve 13th century papal bulls in the Isham collection were probably acquired by gift or purchase in the 17th or 18th century and were not amongst the inherited title-deeds. Another isolated group consists of court rolls and account rolls of the Holt family (mainly 1388-1448) relating to Brampton Ash, Carlton, Rothwell, Gayton and Islip, whose appearance in this collection is difficult to explain satisfactorily. There are a great many other small groups which, with the three hundred and fifty 17th century volumes of copies of public records and antiquarian works,[2] cannot be described here.

THE STOPFORD SACKVILLE collection from Drayton House consists very largely of deeds,[3] the present estate having gradually grown by marriages, inheritance and purchase from small beginnings in the 13th century, successive Mordaunts of Turvey adding to their Bedfordshire acres in each succeeding century. Only after the deaths in 1493 of Henry Vere of Addington and in 1499 of the Earl of Wiltshire did they acquire by inheritance their Drayton and neighbouring estates in Northamptonshire. The natural result is that it is chiefly remarkable for the thousands of medieval charters contained in it. There is one (c.1150) of Malcolm, King of Scots and several others of the period 1138 to 1300 relating chiefly to Turvey, as well as a roll of copies of 202 grants to Master Warin de Bois (late 13th century), and a very rare document, a County Court roll for Bedfordshire for the year 1334.[4]

THE OVERSTONE COLLECTION. This estate on the other hand was acquired mainly by purchase of small properties by Samuel Jones Loyd, a successful banker and railway magnate of the 19th century. The collection consists very largely of 17th to 19th century deeds of properties in some 35 parishes in Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, but is also notable for a run of estate accounts, maps, agent's notebooks, and papers for the forty years after the death of Lord Overstone in 1883, though there are a few earlier ledgers. There are also some 18th century business accounts of a London merchant, Benjamin Champion.

1. The Fanshawes were related to the Hattons and parties to Hatton family settlements. 2. Among these are Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals, (N.R.S. XV), copies of parliamentary journals, transcripts made by or for Dugdale, a copy of Leland's works, of Lambarde's Archeion, of Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, etc., being the result of the antiquarian labours of Sir Christopher Hatton, 1st Lord Hatton of Kirby. 3. The 18th century correspondence in this collection, which was reported on by the H.M.C. in 1884, 1904, and 1910, is not in the N.R.O. 4. This was printed by the Beds. Historical Record Society in 1929 ; several of the 12th century charters are reproduced in N.R.S. Vol. IV.

THE TRYON COLLECTION. In this are a certain number of medieval deeds of small properties bought up by the Tryons in the 17th century, court rolls or files of Bulwick, Harringworth and Seaton (mostly 17th century), leases of London property (St. Giles' in the Fields, 17th and 18th centuries), and a number of private and estate bills (1730's and 1770's).

SUNDRY COLLECTIONS. Other large private collections include that from Great Oakley, the home of the de Capell Brookes, containing Rockingham Forest documents ; the Marquess of Ormonde's collection relating to his English estates in Northamptonshire, Derbyshire, and other counties (13th to 18th centuries) ; the manorial documents of the Duke of Buccleuch's estates (formerly Montagu properties) and including Brigstock which was ancient demesne of the Crown and a long series of medieval deeds of land acquired in the vicinity of Boughton in the 16th century by Sir Edward Montagu, chief justice ; the Langton (Teeton), and Young (Orlingbury), two smaller but varied collections. The Wake collection consists principally of estate and manorial records of the Courteenhall and Essex (Waltham Abbey and Nazeing) estates, whilst the Hanbury (Kelmarsh) collection contains a good many deeds and papers of their Essex and London properties. There are also a number of smaller collections known for reference purposes as the Sotheby (Ecton), Dolben (Finedon), Clarke (Welton), Ward Hunt (Wadenhoe), Cockayne (Rushton), Elwes (Billing), Gunning (Horton), Thursby (Abington), Wood (Brixworth), and Andrew (Harlestone) collections, the latter containing some very early deeds of property formerly belonging to St. James's Abbey and St. Andrew's priory, Northampton.

Facsimiles of the earliest charters in the Fitzwilliam, Knightley, Stopford Sackville, and Andrew collections have been published in N.R.S. IV, *Facsimiles of Early Charters*.

From the necessarily short and inadequate descriptions just given it will be clear that most of these collections overstep the boundaries of Northamptonshire ; several families had estates in Ireland (*e.g.* the Brookes, Gunnings, and Fitzwilliams). Nevertheless, the estates, however widespread, were controlled by one brain at the centre, and the records, reflecting the economic power and social and political influence of each successive owner, are therefore worth keeping together for that reason alone.

Catalogues or lists in varying stages of completion for all collections described above are available in the Record Office. Some of these catalogues have been indexed under persons and places. Students wishing to consult them and to inspect records are advised to write to the archivist beforehand, addressing their letters to him at The Northamptonshire Record Office, Lamport Hall, Northampton. The office is open on all week-days (except on the statutory holidays) between 9-30 a.m. and 5-0 p.m.

P. I. KING.

* * *

DESIDERATA. We should be extremely grateful for the following books :— the *Dictionary of National Biography ;* and *the Oxford English Dictionary*. Back volumes in the Society's series of publications are much appreciated, to complete sets for other libraries.

THOMAS ALEYNE'S GRANT OF ARMS

IN the Peterborough Museum is an interesting grant of arms of early date. The document, written on a piece of parchment measuring 6⅜ in. by 12¼ in. gives authority for Thomas Aleyne of the County of Northampton to bear arms which may be emblazoned, in modern heraldic terms, as :—

Per fesse gules and sable, a chevron rompu between three griffins' heads erased ermine.

This grant was made on 9th December, 1458 by ' Guyan Kyng of Armes ' and is signed accordingly. The identity of this officer is established from the seal attached to the document. It is of red wax, just over one inch in diameter, and bears a shield, *On a fess between three fleurs-de-lys as many stags' heads caboshed*, surmounted by a helmet on which is a crest, *A stag's head.* On either side of the shield, but scarcely supporting it, is a savage (or ' wildman ') armed with a club. The legend, commencing on the sinister side of the seal and partly broken away, reads, S.[J]OHAN. WREXWORTH. On the reverse of the official seal is a poor impression of a privy seal, half an inch in diameter, showing part of a crown with three fleurs-de-lys and part of an indecipherable legend.

John Wrexworth has been recorded by Mr. H. Stanford London, F.S.A., as Guyenne King of Arms on or before 6th February, 1446, an office he was occupying as late as 13th May, 1463.[1] This King of Arms, more fully styled as of Guyenne and Aquitaine (the latter territorial name being usually employed in the 14th century and the former in the 15th century) was appointed to serve the English dominion in south-west France.

Nothing is known of the Thomas Aleyne so tantalizingly described simply as of the County of Northampton. Mr. P. I. King, M.A., has kindly made a search on my behalf and suggests that Thomas Alen (d. 12th March, 1491), whose brass formerly at Blakesley and mentioned by John Bridges in *The History and Antiquities of . . . Northamptonshire* (1791), (vol. 1, p. 233) is perhaps the person concerned. In 1620, a Sheriff of London, Edward Allen, is recorded as bearing the same arms as granted to Thomas Aleyne but with the addition of a crest, *A griffin's head erased per fess ermine and gules.*[2] Edward Allen, Citizen and Fishmonger of London, was elected to the aldermanry of Bread Street ward on 7th November, 1620 ; he served the office of second sheriff 1620-1, and died in April, 1626. He was on the Committee of the East India Company, 1622-25 and Prime Warden (*i.e.*, Master) of the Fishmongers' Company also in 1620-1.[3]

The grant is endorsed :—' A Grant of Armes to Thomas Aleyn of the County of Northt', and in two later hands (*a*) the date, ' 1459,' and (*b*) ' 37th Henry 6th.' This interesting document, with the painting of the arms practically as fresh as when it was done nearly five hundred years ago, was presented to Peterborough Museum in 1914 by the late Mr. William Le Queux, the novelist, who used to live at Castor.

The following rules have been observed in transcribing the document. Where no doubt exists as to the correct spelling of a contracted word, the missing letters have been

1. ' A Catalogue of the English Officers of Arms from the earliest times to the present day,' compiled by H. Stanford London, F.S.A., and included in *Burke's Landed Gentry*, ed. by L. G. Pine (1952), pp. cvii-cxxi. 2. J. and J. B. Burke, *A General Armory of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1842). 3. Thanks are due to Dr. A. E. J. Hollaender, F.S.A., of the Guildhall Library Muniment Room, Corporation of London, for this information.

THOMAS ALEYNE'S ARMS

inserted within square brackets, otherwise an apostrophe indicates omissions. Capital letters and punctuation are given according to modern usuage ; words whose meanings are not readily apparent are in italic type enclosed in round brackets. The transcript and illustration are published by kind permission of the Peterborough Museum Society. I am indebted to Mr. M. Urwick Smith, Curator of Peterborough Museum, for obtaining the photograph from which the block has been made.

" To alle gentilmen and wymen these presentz l'res (*letters*) huyryng (*hearing*) or seyng (*seeing*), Humble reco[m]mendacion by me Guyan Kyng of Armes of the Duchie of Guyan. Hit is so that many p[er]sones meved (*moved*) of noble corage p[ro]posing to ex[er]cise and use v[er]tuous man[er]s and condicions by the abilite of whiche condicions and noble conv[er]sacion with goddes grace they shull come to the p[er]feccion' of grete honour, of whiche p[er]sones oon (*one*) sp[eci]ally entendyng to alle gentillesse is comen to me the forsaid Guyan King of Armes, a discrete and a notable man called Thomas Aleyn[e] of the Counte of North[amp]t[on], requiring and p[ra]yeng me to devyse a signe and a conysance in fo[r]me of armes for him and the issue of his body laufully begoten, to bere and use in werr (*war*) and in pees (*peace*) for p[er]petuell memorie, at the request of him considering the worshipfull disposicion of his p[er]sone and abilite in all gentillesse I have deuysed yoven (*given*) and g[ra]unted unto the said Thomas Aleyn[e] a signe and a conysance of armes, that is to say, after the fourme of blasoune : Goules and Sable p[ar]tie enfers (*in fess*) a Chiueron' Ermyn broken betwene iij Gryffyth' hedes rasshed (*interlined*) of the same. To have use and holde unto the said Thomas [and] to the issue and p[ro]creacion' of his body laufully begoten' in all worshipp' and gentillesse eu[er]lastyngly and hem (*them*) to bere and enioye (*enjoy*) withoute clayme or empechement of eny p[er]sone foreu[er]more, the whiche blason, I the forsaid Guyan King of armes witnesse thus born[e] of non[e] other p[er]sone what so euere he be withinne the Reaume (*realm*) of England otherwyse called the Ile of grete Britayne. In witnesse of the whiche I haue do write these p[re]sentes sealled with the Seall' of myn[e] armes and signed with my signe manuell' the ix^e^ day of the moneth of December In the xxxvij^th^ yere of the regne of our[e] souu[er]ain Lord King Henry the vj^te^. p[er] gyan Kyng of Armes." [The last four words are in a cursive hand and presumably the autograph signature of the King of Arms].

FRANCIS W. STEER.

A FAMILY OF STONE-CARVERS,
THE COXES OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

THERE has recently been a spectacular increase of interest in seventeenth and eighteenth century English sculpture, and a new appreciation of its artistic value. This revolution in taste is largely due to the inspiring pioneer work of the late Mrs. Esdaile, who has directed our gaze from medieval and foreign work to that of our later native stone carvers and sculptors,[1a] much of whose finest work can be studied in the monuments executed by them in thousands of churches, both great and small, throughout the country.

Interest has inevitably tended to be concentrated on the sculptors of national or international fame, such as Roubiliac, who carved the monuments to the second Duke and Duchess of Montagu (erected in 1752 and 1753) in Warkton church,[1b] and Nicholas Stone, who, in 1638, carved the lovely altar tomb to Lord and Lady Spencer at Brington, and the effigy of Dame Elizabeth Carey at Stowe-nine-churches in about 1619. In addition to these great figures, however, there were many lesser statuaries and stone-carvers, who had their yards in provincial towns all over the country, and who worked for the local gentry and clergy who could not afford to employ London sculptors. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the wide-spread practice of signing monuments enables us to distinguish the work of different carvers, to differentiate between local and London work, and to see how son tended to follow father in the family business, for several generations.

Much light has been thrown, not only on the lives and personalities of these seventeenth and eighteenth century sculptors, but also on their methods, by the accounts, letters, drafts and plans, often fortunately preserved in their clients' archives, and by the rarer records of the artists themselves, as in the case of the note-book and account book of Nicholas Stone.[2] Mrs. Esdaile's work on Roubiliac [3] and her book on the monuments in the Temple Church [4] shew the fascination of the study of monumental sculpture, when closely allied with the use of documentary evidence.

This article is an attempt to sketch the lives, and to examine the work, of the members of a local family of stone carvers—that of Cox of Northampton and Daventry, examples of whose work cover the period 1722-1850. The study of their lives and work derives additional historical interest from the fact that they may be regarded as the spiritual descendants of the anonymous carvers and masons of our local medieval churches. Though not in the first flight, even of local sculptors, their monuments exhibit a high level of craftsmanship and the best have considerable artistic value.

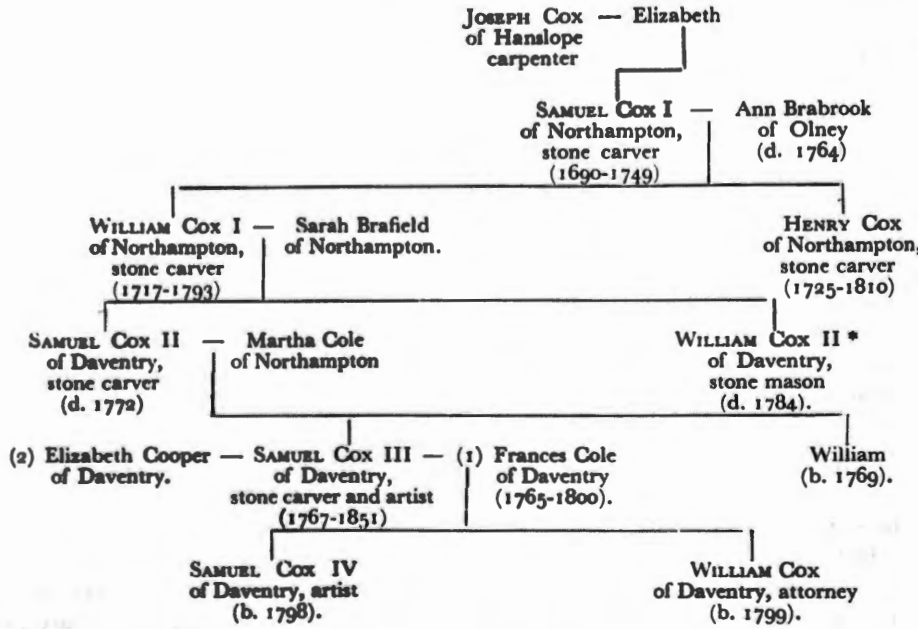
No Cox family records survive, and information for their lives is extremely scanty

1*a*. For example, in *English Church Monuments, 1510-1840*, by K. A. Esdaile (1946). Since this article was written, Mr. Rupert Gunnis has published his *Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660—1851* (1953). This contains short articles on some members of the Cox family. 1*b*. All places mentioned in the text are in Northamptonshire unless otherwise stated. 2. Walpole Society, Vol. VII, *The Note-book and Account book of Nicholas Stone*, edited by Walter Lewis Spiers (1919). 3. *The Life and Works of Louis Francois Roubiliac* (1928). 4. *Temple Church Monuments* (1933). See also Mrs. Esdaile's article on 'The Stantons of Holborn' in *The Archaeological Journal*, Vol. LXXXV (2nd Series) 1928.

(Continued on page 21).

THE COX FAMILY OF NORTHAMPTON AND DAVENTRY.

(Only those mentioned in the article are included in the pedigree).



*There is no direct evidence that William II was the son of William I or the brother of Samuel II, but the court rolls shew that William II became a resident in 1773, and that he was succeeded after his death in 1784 by Samuel III (see page 25, note 2).

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES.

G.N. The Parish Records of St. Giles's, Northampton, kept in the Church.

N.B.R. Northampton Borough Records, in the Guildhall.

N.R.O. Northamptonshire Record Office.

P.R.T. The Bishop's Parish Register Transcripts, now on deposit at the Northamptonshire Record Office.

and lies scattered in various manuscript sources, and in the columns of the local newspaper. In the Appendix to this article is a list of the eighty-eight monuments which I have found, signed by various members of the family, in thirty-six churches (all except three in Northamptonshire). I have visited over one hundred and fifty churches, but the search has not been exhaustive, and perhaps half as many more signed monuments still wait to be discovered, in addition to some which may be tentatively ascribed on stylistic grounds.

The Cox family were, of course, not the only stone-carvers in Northamptonshire in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but they are responsible for the greater proportion of monuments signed by local craftsmen, which have survived to our own day in the county. Their most notable rival, whose work is probably of greater artistic value, was " John Hunt of Northampton, Statuary and Carver in Wood and Stone, who served his apprenticeship with the noted and famous Mr. Grinling Gibbons, Carver to the Crown " who " Makes Monuments and all sorts of Ornaments for Houses and Gardens."[1] In addition to nineteen monuments signed by him (by no means a complete list), he executed the statue of Charles II on All Saints' Church, Northampton, for which he was made a freeman of the borough gratis in 1712.[2] Other masons worked in a smaller area, such as Edward Bingham of Peterborough, described in about 1760 as " a top workman for best mason work "[3] whose monuments survive in Cotterstock church and Peterborough Cathedral, and John Middleton and his son John who worked in Towcester from about 1760 to just past the turn of the century. The Cox family, however, undertook commissions up to twenty miles from their home and six of them were carvers. They are clearly the dominant family in the county within this field.

Samuel Cox, the son of Joseph Cox, of Hanslope, in the county of Buckingham, carpenter,[4] was the first member of the Cox family to become a stone carver. He was born in 1690, spent his working life in Northampton, and died at the age of 59 on 19th November, 1749,[5] ten years before his father. His parents were indeed remarkable, for their tombstone in Hanslope churchyard, ornamented with carpenter's tools, perhaps carved by a descendant, proudly records not only that Joseph died at the age of 92 and his wife Elizabeth at 101, but that they had 10 children, 62 grandchildren, and 102 great grandchildren.

When Samuel was fourteen, he left Hanslope and went to Northampton, ten miles away, where he served his apprenticeship for eight years with John Lumley, a freemason[6] and a member of a well-known family which had lived in Harlestone from the late thirteenth century.[7] The competence of Samuel's work probably owes much to his early training under Lumley, who was considered able enough by Lord Ashburnham to be employed by him as master mason in his building of Ampthill Park.[8] By his will, Lumley, who died in 1721, left half his alabaster and marble stone and all his working

1. Advertisement in the *Northampton Mercury*, 1st July, 1751. 2. N.B.R.6/1 (Freemen's Register) p. 140. 3. N.R.O., Mellows Transcripts, Vol. 3, p. 102 (an extract from the estate book of Prebendary John Russell, p. 389). 4. See note 6. 5. P.R.T. for St. Giles's, Northampton. His monument is on the right of the altar in that church. 6. N.B.R. 6/1 (Apprenticehip Register) p. 219. (20th November, 1704). 7. *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 192, nos. 24, 25 and 26, for 29th November, and 13th and 27th December, 1947, L.G.H. Horton-Smith, 'The Ancient Northern family of Lumley and its Northamptonshire Branch.' See also *Northamptonshire Natural History Society and Field Club Journal*, Vol. XXX, no. 227, December, 1943, 'The Later Lumleys of Harlestone' by the same author. 8. I am indebted to Mr. Rupert Gunnis for this information.

tools to his apprentice, William Swann, and the other half to his " loving kinsman, Samuel Cox."[1]

Little is known of Samuel's private life. A year after he had finished his apprenticeship, on 11th November, 1713, at the age of 23, he married Ann Brabrook of Olney in Buckinghamshire.[2] They had eight children,[3] two of whom, Henry (born on 14th August, 1725) and William (born on 29th June, 1717) followed their father's business. Samuel lived in Northampton, on the north side of Derngate, near the present Castilian Street, in a house in which, after his death in 1749, his son Henry lived from 1750 until his own death in 1810.[4] This house was in St. Giles's parish, in the life of which Samuel took a small part, for he signed with others the vestry minutes for 30th December, 1735 and 3rd March, 1745/6 and the churchwardens' accounts for 1734 and 1739.[5]

Samuel Cox was admitted to the freedom of the borough of Northampton on 25th May, 1715,[6] being described as late apprentice of John Lumley, and he perhaps spent the next few years, until he received Lumley's legacy, in working for another mason, for the earliest signed work we have by him is after 1722. Sixteen of his monuments have come to light, and he may have done other more general work, for there is an entry in the account book of Sir Justinian Isham of Lamport for 4th March, 1731-2 which records " Pd. Cox the stone cutter a Bill for £010–17–00." [7] This was a time of much building activity at Lamport both at the Hall and at the Rectory.

Samuel was succeeded in the business after his death by his son Henry,[8] then aged 24, of whose life almost nothing is known.[9] There is no record of where he learnt his trade, though we may conjecture that he was trained by his father. From 1745 to 1750, we find Henry living in his own house,[10] but he returned to Derngate after his father's death. He occasionally signed, with a more literate hand than his father, the vestry minutes of St. Giles, served as people's churchwarden in 1755, and was on a Committee set up by the parish for dealing with charities in 1786.[11]

Just over a month after Samuel's death, Henry inserted an advertisement in the *Northampton Mercury*,[12] which shews the wide range of a stone-carver's work at this date :—

> " By Henry Cox, of Northampton, Carver (Son and Successor of Samuel Cox, lately deceas'd) Are Designed and Executed all Sorts of Monumental Structures, Chimney-Pieces, etc., also Figures Human or Animal, Alto and Basso Relievo's, Compartments of Drapery, Leatherwork Shields and Mantling, Arms and Supporters, Trophies, Festoons, Foliage, and all other Ornaments, Enrichments, and Decorations of Sculpture for Churches, Houses, Gardens, etc., in History and Architecture, either in Marble, other Stone, or Wood, according to the most strict and approved Rules of Beauty and Proportion, either antique or modern and after more compleat and elegant Manner and Taste than hath been hitherto practis'd in this Country."

Nineteen signed monuments by Henry Cox survive. In 1751, he drew the Palmer

1. N.R.O., manuscript notes of L. G. H. Horton-Smith. The relationship is not known. William Swann was apprenticed to John Lumley on 25th June, 1717. (N.B.R. 6/1 (Apprenticeship Register), p. 269). 2. G.N.1 (Parish Register). 3. *Ibid.* 4. G.N.28 and 30 (Rate Books) ; N.R.O., map 1114, shewing Northampton in 1768 with names of electors. Henry was buried on 26th April, 1810 (P.R.T. for St. Giles's, Northampton). 5. G.N.30 and 113. 6. N.B.R.6 1 (Freemen's Register) p. 150. 7. N.R.O., Isham (Lamport) Collection, 3945. p.22. 8. See note 12. 9. It may be that he was the Henry Cox, described as a bachelor of All Saints', Northampton, who married Hannah Kingston, a widow, of Kislingbury, in 1742 (P.R.T. for Kislingbury), but there is no proof of this. 10. G.N.30. 11. G.N.113 and 25. 30, 113. 12. *Northampton Mercury*, 25th December, 1749 and 1st January, 1749/50.

monument in Ecton church (the work of Rysbrack) which was engraved by T. Jefferys,[1] and it is possible that he may have done other work of this kind, though no other examples have come to light. He was admitted a freeman of the borough of Northampton by right of his birth, on 26th September, 1752.[2] An unfortunate gap in the register of apprentices of Northampton makes it impossible to tell who answered his advertisement of 16th September, 1754[3] :—

" Wanted as an Apprentice, a Strong, active willing Lad, of a mild and quiet Disposition, descended from sober, honest Parents : Such a one may hear of a Master, by applying to Henry Cox, of Northampton, Carver and Stone cutter."

Henry's elder brother, William, was also a carver, but again we cannot tell where he was trained, though it would appear from the following advertisement in the *Northampton Mercury* of 29th March, 1762, that he spent some time in London.

" William Cox, Carver, from London, At the Urn in Cock-Lane, Northampton, Performs all Sorts of Statuary, Monuments, Tombs and Gravestones, Chimneypieces, etc., or any other ornaments in Stone or Wood ; also Figures Human or Animal, Alto and Basso-Relievo's for decorating Houses and Gardens compleated in the neatest Manner according to the antient or modern taste.

Young Gentlemen instructed in the polite Art of Drawing, by Command of Hand.

N.B.—The above Business is still continued by his Brother HENRY COX at his usual Residence in Vigo-Lane, Northampton."

In addition to thirty-nine monuments, somewhat stereotyped in design, which have survived, he erected three mantelpieces (which have now disappeared) for Sir Justinian Isham at Lamport Hall. The bill[4] for these is still preserved among the Isham family papers, and is of great interest not only as the only surviving bill for mason's work by a Cox, but also as shewing the methods employed by a mason at the time. William's handwriting and spelling suggest that he was a man of good education.

" March 20th 1775. Sr Justinian Isham Bart. to Wm. Cox

	£	s.	d.
To a Journey to Lamport by Lady Isham's Orders	0	5	0
March 31st To 12 feet of Dove Marble Slab at 9*s* pr foot	5	8	0
To a Journey to Lamport to Assisting to Laying of Ditto	0	5	0
May 9th To a Journey to Lamport to Cleaning 2 Old Marble Slabs	0	5	0
Sepr 6th To a Journey to Lamport to give Directions to the Mason to Make the Chimneys Smaller	0	5	0
Sepr 26th To 27 feet of New Marble Chimney Peice in the Great Parlour at 7*s* 6*d* pr foot	10	2	6
To 3 Days Worke to Assisting to fixing of Ditto at 5s pr day	0	15	0
Octr 5th To 24 feet 6½-in of New Marble Chimney Peice in the Drawing Room at 7*s*–6*d* pr foot	9	3	9
To 3 Days Worke to Assisting of Ditto at 5*s* pr day	0	15	0
Octr 20th To 23 feet of New Marble Chimney Peice in the Spriged Room at 7*s*–6*d* pr foot	8	12	6
To 3 Days Worke to Assisting to fixing of Ditto at 5*s* pr day	0	15	0
To 1 Days Worke to polishing 2 Old Black Marble Covings for Ditto	0	5	0
	£36	16	9
On Acct Recd by Note	10		

March 11th, 1776, Recd the Contents in full of all Demands pr Wm. Cox 26 – 16 – 9 "

1. There is an engraving in the N.R.O., Isham (Lamport) Collection, 5235/73. 2. N.B.R. 7/1 (Freemen's Register) p. 89. 3. *Northampton Mercury*, 16th September, 1754. 4. N.R.O., Isham (Lamport) Collection, 4156.

William may also have provided mouldings for church windows, as is suggested by an entry in the churchwardens' account book for Great Oxendon for 1788 " pd. Mr. Wm. Cox for Mould 8–12–0."[1]

Although the details of his private life are obscure, his character emerges more clearly than does that of his brother. The clerk of All Saints' Church, Northampton, named John Cox (though no relation to our family), used to accompany the annual Bills of Mortality with verses. In 1787 he asked William Cowper the poet to write some verses for him. Cowper, writing to Lady Hesketh on 27th November, 1787, describing the interview with John Cox, says that he referred the clerk " to a namesake Cox, a statuary, who, as everybody knows, is a first rate maker of verses." John Cox, however, said : " Alas, Sir, I have heretofore borrowed help from him, but he is a gentleman of so much reading that the people of our town cannot understand him."[2] William Cox was described after his death as " a man of great integrity and universally esteemed for his professional merit."[3]

William Cox was succeeded after his death [4] by his grandson who inserted a courteous notice, typical of such advertisements at this time, in the *Northampton Mercury* of 23rd November, 1793 :—

> " Samuel Cox, Carver, Grandson and Successor to the late Mr. William Cox Wishes to assure the Nobility, Gentry and others by whose commands he may be honoured that their orders will be thankfully received ; and executed with all that taste accuracy and Dispatch which distinguished his predecessor. And at the same time acquaints his patrons in Daventry and its vicinity that having engaged some able assistants he will endeavour so to conduct Business there as to merit a continuance of those favours already conferred."

The Cox family was, by the middle of the eighteenth century, well established in Northampton. Henry was working from his yard in Derngate, and William had set up at the Urn in Cock Lane in 1762. The time had come to extend their field, and in 1766 Samuel Cox (Samuel II) presumably the son of William,[5] when in his early twenties, took up his residence in Daventry,[6] a small borough twelve miles from Northampton. In the same year he married Martha Cole,[7] of Northampton, by whom he had two sons, Samuel (hereafter called Samuel III), born on 8th May, 1767, and William, born on 23rd January, 1769.[8] He was made a freeman of the borough of Daventry on 30th April, 1767,[9] but died five years later, in 1772.[10] He was succeeded by William, whom I conjecture, for there is no evidence, to be his younger brother, but William, after being admitted a freeman of Daventry in 1772,[11] died in 1784.[12] By his will, dated 1st August, 1783, he left all to his wife Eleanor.[13] It is most likely that he is the Mr. Cox

1. N.R.O., Great Oxendon Parish Records, O.M.1. 2. Quoted in Rev. R. M. Serjeantson's *History of the Church of All Saints'* (1901), on page 175. 3. *Northampton Mercury*, 16th November, 1793. 4. G.N.2 (Parish Register). He was buried on 14th November, 1793. 5. N.R.O., Peterborough Marriage Licence Bonds, and P.R.T. for St. Giles's, Northampton. William Cox of Northampton, carver, married Sarah Brafield of All Saints', Northampton, on 21st May, 1741, but no record of their children can be found. If William spent some time in London, they may have been born there. Samuel II's son, Samuel III described himself as William's grandson. 6. N.R.O., Daventry Collection, Box 884 (Poor Levy, 1766). 7. N.R.O. Peterborough Marriage Licence Bonds, 7th May, 1766. 8. P.R.T. for Daventry. 9. N.R.O., Rev. H. I. Longden's Transcripts, Vol. XXXVII (Daventry Freemen's Register). 10. N.R.O., Rev. H. I. Longden's Transcripts, Vol. XXIV (Administrations of Archdeaconry of Northampton). Admon. was granted to his widow, Martha, and William Cox of Northampton, carver, was one of the sureties. 11. As note 9. He was admitted on 25th June, 1772, and was described as " stone mason." 12. P.R.T. for Daventry. He was buried at Northampton on 14th May. 13. Birmingham Probate Registry. Wills proved in Northampton Archdeaconry. His will was proved on 19th June, 1784.

in Cow Lane, Daventry, who bought "6 sheets of Sup Royl paper stitched in Cartridge and marble paper" for 1/10 from Mr. Clay, the Daventry bookseller and stationer on 25th August, 1774.[1]

Daventry court rolls shew that Samuel III took the place of his uncle William in 1784 as a resident in the borough,[2] and when he was twenty-one he was admitted a freeman of Daventry.[3] By his first wife, Frances,[4] who died when only 35 in 1800,[5] he had five children, Frances, Ann, Rhoda, Samuel (hereafter called Samuel IV) and William.[6] There were no children of his second marriage.[7] As we have seen, he succeeded his grandfather William in the Northampton business, but continued to live in Daventry,[8] and came to take a considerable part in the affairs of his parish [9] and also of the borough, for which he was a J.P. in 1824, and bailiff in 1825.[10] In addition to executing monuments, he was agent for the Sun Fire Office in Daventry and its vicinity from 1819 until at least 1833.[11] He was not a rich man, for the Tax Assessment for 1829 [12] records that he had no servants or carriage. In the 1823 Assessment [13] he paid £1 duty on seven windows, and had a horse for riding, exceeding thirteen hands. He still had his horse in 1829, and in addition, paid 8*s*. tax on a house dog.

Samuel III's son, William, later an attorney, [14] seems to have worked in the office of Mr. Gery, a Daventry solicitor, for which he received 50 guineas a year, according to an account of 1819,[15] and in 1826, we again find him working for Gery :—" to fair copying 75 sheets of abstracting at 10d., £3–2–6." In the same account he claimed 7/6 :—" a wager of three half crowns *in re* the Corporation of Daventry *v.* Dickens " and ended his letter : " I am short of the needful just now, and shall be obliged by a remittance."[16]

Samuel III's other son, Samuel IV also did work for Mr. Gery, for various bills survive, from 1826 to 1832, which record " Lining and repairing a picture, *The Choice of Paris*, £2–5–0 ; Cleaning and repairing a set of family pictures as agreed, £8–8–0 ; Repairing picture, *Lucretia*, £1–10–0 ; and ditto *Oliver Cromwell*, £1–1–0 ; Half year's Instruction in drawing to the Master Geary, Materials, etc., £2–5–0 ; ¾ of years' Instruction on the flute to Mr. G. junior, £3–0–0." Like his brother, William, Samuel IV had money difficulties, and wrote to Mr. Gery in 1832 " I have just received one of the most abusive letters I ever read from a person to whom it is my misfortune to owe a few pounds. He kindly promises me an arrest. I must therefore trust to your kindness for a little help."[17]

In addition to cleaning and repairing pictures, and teaching the flute and drawing, Samuel IV was a professional artist, and in 1838 advertised prints at 2/6 each, lithographed by Hulmandell, of one of his drawings, *Scene on the Ice and Banks of*

1. N.R.O., Daventry Collection. Bookseller's Day Book (Misc. Volumes, 89). 2. N.R.O., Clarke (Welton) Collection, Box 937. William had been a resident from 1773. 3. See p. 24, n. 9. He was admitted on 8th October, 1788. 4. P.R.T. for Daventry. They were married on 23rd April, 1789. 5. *Ibid.* She was buried on 11th August, 1800. 6. *Ibid.* They were born on 17th October, 1789 ; 19th June, 1791 ; 23rd February, 1796 ; 16th January, 1798 ; and 1st April, 1799 respectively. 7. *Ibid.* On 4th July, 1804, he married Elizabeth Cooper of Daventry, spinster. 8. N.R.O., Daventry Collection, Manor Suit Roll, 1794 and 1796 (D 568a and 558) ; List of Residents, 1818 (D 1707) ; and Poor Levies (D 50, 51 and Box 884). 9. *Ibid*, Vestry Minute Book (D 63). 10. *Ibid* (D 50 and 62). 11. *Northampton Mercury*, 20th March, 1819, and 16th February, 1833. Also fire insurance policies for 1820 and 1822, signed by him, in the Daventry Collection, Box 1681. 12. N.R.O., Daventry Collection, Box 1149. 13. *Ibid.* 14. *Ibid.*, Box 1681. Notice of dissolution of partnership between William Cox and George Sandford Corser as attornies, solicitors and conveyancers at Daventry and Northampton, 17th February, 1843. 15. *Ibid.*, Box 1681. 16. *Ibid.* 17. *Ibid.*

the New Reservoir, near Daventry, Tuesday, February 13th." [1] The sketch might be seen at his house in Sheaf Street. He also surveyed a close in Norton in 1827, and made plans of Norton Hall (demolished in 1952) in January 1840.[2] Either he or his father had a picture gallery in Daventry, for there is an entry in the Daventry Poor Levy Book for March, 1828,[3] which records that Samuel Cox in the High Street, paid 16/3½*d.* for his house and picture gallery, etc. In the Levy Book for May, 1829,[4] Samuel Cox's property in the High Street is described as " void," but he paid 10/3 for a house, picture gallery, and close in Dog Lane. It would be of the greatest interest to trace some of the works so tantalisingly summarised in " A Catalogue of Original Paintings, Drawings, Prints, Casts, Court Cupboard, Shells, Minerals and Fossils. The Sole Property of Mr. Cox of Daventry, Consigned to him by Messrs. Enoch and Redfern, for sale by Public Auction, at the Picture Gallery, Daventry, on Monday, 5th of November, 1832 and following days." [5]

This brief sketch shews the establishment of the Coxes as carvers by Samuel I and the height of their prosperity reached in this sphere by William of Northampton. With the coming of the nineteenth century, and the transfer of the family to Daventry, their activity as stone carvers declined, but they turned their artistic talents with energy and versatility to drawing, painting and surveying.

It now remains to discuss their work as " stone carvers " and " stone cutters," as they described themselves, and to form some idea of their artistic style.[6]

The majority of the people to whose memory the various members of the Cox family carved monuments from 1722 to 1850 are described in their inscriptions as Esquire, Gentleman, Alderman, Rector or Vicar. The monuments fall, therefore, midway, both in subject, and as we shall see, in style also, between the fine and frequently lavish works erected for the great county families by such London artists as the Stantons, Rysbrack and Roubiliac, and the humbler, for the most part anonymous, churchyard slabs, carved for farmers and yeomen by the local mason.

In several instances, different members of the Cox family continued to be commissioned by the same family over a number of years. For example, the monument to Richard Thursby,[7] in Abington Church, states that he had " a generous care to Transmit to Posterity the Memory of His ancestors' virtues, Erecting Sumptuous monuments in this church upon that occasion." These "sumptuous monuments" (to his father Downhall Thursby and his uncle William Thursby, erected in 1735) were by Samuel Cox I, as also was Richard Thursby's own and the tablet to William's steward, Henry Lowth.[8] Samuel's son, William, carved the monuments to John Harvey Thursby and Honor Harvey Thursby, in 1781, and eleven years later, Henry was employed on one to a second John Harvey Thursby and his wife.[9]

The family papers of the clients of the Cox family have survived in very few cases, and then incompletely. There are, therefore, unfortunately, no entries in account books or receipted bills for the monuments, and the only way to form an estimate of their cost is

(Continued on page 31).

1. *Northampton Mercury*, 17th March, 1838. 2. N.R.O., Daventry Collection, Box 1681. 3. *Ibid.*, D 51. 4. *Ibid.*, D 52. 5. Recorded in John Taylor's *Bibliotheca Northantonensis*, on slips, of which there is a copy in N.R.O. The Catalogue was printed by John Potts, but no copy of it can be traced. A notice also appeared in the *Northampton Mercury* for 27th October and 3rd November, 1832. 6. See the Appendix for details about the monuments. Numbers in the text of the rest of the article refer to this list. 7. Appendix 3. 8. Appendix 1, 2, 3 and 4. 9. Appendix 36 and 17.

MONUMENT TO WILLIAM THURSBY, ESQ.
IN ABINGTON CHURCH. BY SAMUEL COX I.

MONUMENT TO JOHN HARVEY THURSBY, ESQ., AND HONOR HIS WIFE, IN ABINGTON CHURCH. BY WILLIAM COX I.

This John Harvey Thursby was succeeded by his eldest son, another John Harvey, who erected a tablet in Abington Church to the memory of his wife, with the following inscription : " Here lies the daughter of William Hanbury of Kelmarsh in the county of Northampton, and wife to John Harvey Thursby the Second. What sort of Woman she was the last Day will determine."

STOKE BRUERNE PARK

Stoke Park, near Towcester, illustrated on the opposite page, was built to the designs of Inigo Jones in the reign of Charles I. The centre block was burnt down in 1886 and of Jones' work only the two lower pavilions remain. These, however, " constitute a landmark in the evolution of Rennaissance architecture," anticipating the cult of Palladio in this country by about eighty years. (Arthur Oswald in *Country Life*). The building is at present empty and in disrepair.

STOKE BRUERNE PARK

The eastern Pavilion, with a gable of the modern house shewing to the left, from a negative by the late Mr. J. A. Gotch.

The original house was built for Sir Francis Crane, director of the Mortlake Tapestry works. An account of Stoke Park appeared in *Country Life* of July 23rd, 1953, with suggestions and plans for the conversion of the pavilion into a small and convenient modern house. It is greatly to be desired that this unique architectural treasure may in this way be preserved, and we heartily commend the suggestion to our readers. (See note on opposite page).

DEENE PARK

The home of the Brudenells. (See p. 50).

LACE-MAKERS AT CRANFIELD, BEDFORDSHIRE,
(See Tales of Whittlebury Forest, *pp.* 39, 40)
in 1904

(Continued from page 26).

by analogy. Readers of Parson Woodforde's Diary will recall that the diarist sent Mr. Ford, the Bath statuary, the inscription for the monument to his father who died in 1771. It was to cost £14–14–0, and is described as a "neat monument of white marble." [1] When Sir Justinian Isham wished to erect a monument to his wife, Elizabeth, Lady Isham, in 1714, " the Height is to be 8 foot, and 4 foot 4 inches broad in the widest place," John Hunt of Northampton estimated it would cost £55. " Therefore," wrote Sir Justinian " I think it much better to have Staunton make it." Seven months later, he entered in his account book " Pd Mr Stanton for a Momt for my poor spouse, *pietatis ergo* £55–00–00." [2] At a guess, therefore, the simpler tablets, erected by the Cox family, after the style of Samuel Woodforde's, might cost about £15, and the monuments in the architectural style of Stanton, perhaps twice or three times that amount, depending on the size. The majority of them were not as large as Lady Isham's, and were certainly of inferior workmanship. The statuary Guelfi, in 1730, at the time when Samuel Cox was carving the bust to Downhall Thursby in Abington church, charged £30 " a busto."[3] In 1730, John Fane wrote to the Earl of Westmorland : " I have heard that the usual price for that [the inscription] is a penny every letter ; but probably you may have it done as well and cheaper in the country." [4] In a very rough account book of a local mason, we find the same charge of a penny a letter in 1751.[5] Nothing can, however, be stated with certainty about the Cox's prices, until further evidence comes to light.

The monuments of the Cox family, erected over a period of a hundred and twenty years naturally shew the trends of changing taste, and column 5 in the Appendix is an attempt roughly to classify the monuments according to their style. No allowance is made for the considerable differences in detail and ornament. Their range, throughout the period, was limited, with the exception of a few miscellaneous examples, to the mural tablet of architectural design, the simpler plain tablet, the oval, the cartouche, and the pyramid. Their style was untouched by the Gothic revival and neo-Hellenism, and the tendency to conservatism, natural in provincial workmen, led them to an excessive use of a stereotyped pyramid design. Their later work is dull and uninspired.

Samuel Cox I, the earliest in date, followed in the footsteps of the Stantons and Marshalls, and seven of his monuments are executed with success in the architectural style of the late seventeenth century, with pillars and a pediment, usually broken. One of these, with a full length figure of William Thursby, is the most ambitious work of the whole family, and is illustrated on page 27. It is an extremely fine monument. The curtain, swept out of sight behind the capitals of the pilasters on each side, reappears in falling folds down each side of the monument, and this conceit is also employed in number 8 (in All Saints' church, Northampton). The figure gives the impression of being flat, rather than a piece of sculpture conceived in the round, and the same criticism may be made of Samuel's bust of Downhall Thursby, described by Baker as " a very indifferent bust." [6] Henry's most lavish work is also architectural in style—the monument in Preston Deanery church to Elizabeth Langham, with its decorative

1. World's Classics Edition, p. 78. 2. *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (Third Series), Vol. 58, no. 11, September, 1951. 'Edward Stanton's Monument to Elizabeth, Lady Isham in the Isham Chapel, All Saints' Church, Lamport,' by Sir Gyles Isham, Bart., where these documents are quoted. 3. N.R.O., Westmorland (Apethorpe) Collection, 4 IV 3. 4. *Ibid.* 5. N.R.O., X.Y.Z. 1333. 6. George Baker, *History and Antiquities of the County of Northamptonshire,* Vol. I, p. 15.

use of grey, white, and black marble. To the left and right of the broken pediment are flaming lamps and above the arms (placed in the middle of the pediment) is a large urn from which issue flames. There is a massive base of grey and black marble.

Only seven examples of the oval have been found, and two cartouches, one of which, erected to Thomas Lucas in Guilsborough church,[1] is a competent piece of work. There is a cherub's head below the canopy from which the curtains fall, and the whole is surmounted by a shield surrounded with leaves. Number 15, at Piddington, is a draped tablet, with five cherubs peeping out of the folds, and two trumpets rising from the top of the monument.

The most characteristic stylistic feature, adopted wholeheartedly by the family, is that of the pyramid. There is a photograph of a typical monument in this style on page 28. The pyramid surmounts two shaped sections, in the lower of which is written the inscription. The two small bases, one on each side of the pyramid, probably originally supported flaming lamps, as in the photograph on page 28, but these have been lost, as has part of the leaf bracket on the right of the section below. Twenty-one of the thirty-nine monuments erected by William of Northampton are basically of this design, often, as in numbers 48 (at Guilsborough) and 70 (at Welton), with the middle section omitted. The pyramid itself is frequently ornamented by a cherub's head as in number 57 (in Doddridge Chapel, Northampton) or a shield of arms as in the photograph. Henry used the pyramid in eleven of his nineteen monuments, but in seven of these an oval tablet, with the inscription, is imposed upon it. One of his monuments in this design (number 17) is in Abington church, near to the monument to William Thursby. In number 18 (at Bugbrooke) the place of the oval tablet is taken by a rectangle, and in number 26, (in St. Giles's church, Northampton) by a cartouche. In number 19 (at Guilsborough) the section below the pyramid takes the form of a rectangle, and is used for part of the inscription. This extremely ugly design, of a rectangle surmounted by a pyramid, is used four times by William Cox, in numbers 52, 73, 77 and 85. The use of the pyramid, continuing with but slight differences under Samuel III in the nineteenth century is so characteristic a feature that it is used as the basis of the majority of the attributions given in the Appendix (numbers 89-101).

In their use of emblems, the Cox family followed the fashion of the day. The closed urn, signifying mortality, or open with flames (immortality), and the flaming lamp (immortality), appear on the majority of their monuments. Cherubs' heads are to be found on many of their works, and William depicts a cherub with marble tears rolling from its eyes in number 40, at Cosgrove. The pyramid itself signified eternity. Other pictorial devices used by them are few. Flowers and leaves appear, and in the photograph on page 28 can be seen a low relief of palm leaves in the lowest section of the monument, and this space is frequently ornamented by leaves, or, as in number 17, at Abington, by the sun's rays flashing from clouds. Many monuments bear the family's arms on a shield, but in the course of time the colouring has become faint, as has the gilt of the flames issuing from urns and lamps. The lettering found on almost all their work is clear and William of Northampton had a pleasing italic style. Samuel frequently signed his name in cursive letters, as in number 11, in St. Giles's church, Northampton, and often

1. Appendix 5.

wrote a capital "A" with a shallow " v " for the cross stroke as in the photograph on page 27.

They used many different types of marble—often white for the inscription itself, as in number 32, or for the whole of the oval tablets in Dallington (numbers 43 and 44). In numbers 21 and 22 the tablet is black and the lettering gilt. The pyramids are often grey (as in numbers 35 and 49) or in veined grey (39). In some instances, several different marbles are used in one monument, as in number 41 (at Cosgrove), where the pyramid is veined white marble, the base of the pyramid, black, and the inscription tablet, white. The voluted brackets of the pyramid are of coloured marble.

The patchy use of different marbles, and the adherence to the sometimes weak design of the pyramid, may reveal a lack of the elegance and good taste to be found in the work of the Stantons and Marshalls, but the work of the Cox family stands high among other local work, and at its best can be compared with that of London. Their lettering is good, the style of their monuments restrained, and some of their work, as for example, the architectural tablet to Sir Charles Wake-Jones at Courteenhall (number 42) is of an extremely high standard both in design and execution. The pyramid type, at its best, is well proportioned, and successfully, sometimes charmingly, decorated with flaming lamps, leaves and cherubs. Their employment by so many in the county over so long a period of time shews the satisfaction which they must have afforded to their patrons. To form a complete picture of later English sculpture attention must not be confined merely to the works of London artists. There are in churches all over the country examples of the works of many vigorous schools of local stone-carvers, among whom the Cox family may be regarded as pre-eminent in Northamptonshire.

SHELAGH M. LEWIS.

APPENDIX

THE following is a list of all the signed monuments of the Cox family which I have found so far, with some thirteen which I attribute with reasonable confidence to some member of the family. They are given separately under each carver, arranged chronologically under the churches (which are in alphabetical order). The name in column 2 is the first name on the monument (for identification purposes), with the date of death. The word " etc." means that the monument is to more than one person. In column 3 is given the date of erection (in the few cases in which this is stated), or the latest date of death given in the inscription. In the case of an addition to the main inscription (detected on stylistic grounds, or bearing a date after the death of the carver who signed the monument) a + sign is inserted before the date in column 3. Column 4 gives the reference to a full printed text where this is available. Column 5 indicates the style of monument.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE APPENDIX.

BA. George Baker : *History and Antiquities of the County of Northamptonshire.* Vol. I (1822-30), Vol. II (1836-41).

RE. Ethel L. Renton, and Eleanor L. Renton : *Records of Guilsborough, Nortoft, and Hollowell, Northamptonshire.* (1929).

SA. Rev. R. M. Serjeantson, *History of the Church of All Saints, Northampton.* (1901).

(Abbreviations, continued :

SG. Rev. R. M. Serjeantson, *History of the Church of St. Giles, Northampton.* (1911).

SS. Rev. J. Charles Cox and Rev. R. M. Serjeantson, *History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Northampton.* (1897).

Arch : Architectural, *i.e.*, tablet with pillars or columns, and usually a broken pediment above.

Cart : Cartouche.

Oval : Oval tablet.

Pyramid : Inscription tablet, surmounted by a pyramid. See page 28 for a photograph of a typical monument of this type.

Pyramid* : Pyramid, on which is imposed an oval tablet, with inscription.

Pyramid† : Pyramid on which is imposed a rectangular tablet, rounded top and bottom, with inscription.

Pyramid‡ : Pyramid on which is imposed a cartouche with inscription.

Pyramid§ : Pyramid on which is imposed an open book with inscription.

Tablet : Tablet without architectural features.

Various : A miscellaneous class.

SAMUEL COX I (1690-1749) of Northampton.

1. Abington	Thursby, Downhall, gent., d. 1706	Erected 1733 [1]	BA.I.15	Arch.[2]
2. ,,	Thursby, William, Esq., d. 1701 *(See p. 27).*	before 1736 [3]	BA.I.15	Arch.[4]
3. ,,	Thursby, Richard, Esq., d. 1736		BA.I.16	Arch.
4. ,,	Lowth, Henry, gent., d. 1737		BA.I.17	Tablet
5. Guilsborough	Lucas, Thomas, gent., d. 1741 etc.	1741	RE.15	Cart.
6. Hanslope, Bucks.	Forster, Thomas, gent., d. 1745			Tablet
7. Kimbolton, Hunts.	Ashton, William, gent., d. 1722			Arch.
8. Northampton, All Saints	Sargeant, Dorcas, widow of Thomas Sargeant, Alderman, d. 1729			Arch.
9. ,,	Beckett, Dorothy, widow of Thomas Beckett, surgeon, d. 1748, etc.	1748	SA.285	Pyramid [5]
10. Northampton St. Giles's	Woolston, Ann, wife of John Woolston, d. 1726, etc.	? [6]		Pyramid
11. ,,	Price, Mr. William, d. 1727, etc.	1727		Tablet [7]
12. ,,	Stanyan, Mary, wife of Henry Stanyan, butcher, d. 1747, etc.	+1749		Tablet
13. Northampton, St. Peter's	Tompson, George, Alderman, d. 1753, etc.	1737		Arch.
14. ,,	Jeffcutt, Nicholas, Alderman, d. 1739, etc.	1740 +1757		Arch.
15. Piddington	Mercer, Mr. Roger, d. 1733			Tablet [7]
16. ,,	Mercer, Mr. Thomas, d. 1739, etc.	+1752		Pyramid

1. Erected, according to the inscription, by Richard Thursby, (No. 3) his son, in 1733. 2. With bust. 3. Erected, according to the inscription, by Richard Thursby, his nephew, who died in 1736 (See No. 3). 4. With full sized figure, said by Baker, *op. cit.* I.14 to be " a respectable specimen of provincial statuary by Cox of Northampton." 5. With small figure of a school girl imposed on the pyramid (Mrs. Beckett, and Mrs. Anne Sargeant founded the Blue Girls' School. See Serjeantson, *op. cit.* 284). 6. Too high to be read. 7. Draped tablet.

HENRY COX (1725-1810) of Northampton.

17. Abington	Thursby, John Harvey, Esq., d. 1798, etc.		BA.I.15	Pyramid*
18. Bugbrooke	Keynton, Samuel, Rector, d. 1753, etc.		BA.I.128	Pyramid†
19. Guilsborough	Ward, John, Esq., d. 1731		RE.89	Pyramid*
20. ,,	Lucas, Thomas, gent., d. 1756, etc.	1756 +1818	RE. 16	Pyramid*
21. East Haddon	Chester, Henry, Esq., d. 1726, etc.	1769 +1808	BA.I.165	Tablet
22. Northampton, All Saints	Locock, Henry, apothecary and alderman, d. 1761			Pyramid
23. ,,	Newcome, John, Alderman, d. 1765, etc.	1787		Various
24. Northampton, Doddridge Chapel	Rudsdell, Sarah, d. 1762			Pyramid
25. Northampton St. Giles's	Bateman, Edmund, Esq., d. 1731, etc.	1732	SG.148	Tablet
26. ,,	Mansel, Sarah, daughter of Rev. Mr. Mansel, d. 1751		SG.152	Pyramid‡
27. ,,	Palmer, George, gent., d. 1723	erected 1758 [1]	SG.151	Tablet
28. Northampton St. Peter's	Evans, Mr. George, d. 1757, etc.	1772		Tablet
29. Piddington	Mercer, Mr. Thomas, d. 1717, etc.	178? [2]		Pyramid*
30. Pitsford	Money, Colonel James, d. 1785, etc.	1785	BA.I.64	Pyramid*
31. Potterspury	Barrow, John, gent., d. 1744, etc.	1757	BA.II.223	Tablet
32. Preston Deanery	Langham, Elizabeth, wife of Purbeck Langham, Esq., d. 1756, etc.	1773		Arch.[3]
33. Walton, Bucks.	Pinfold, Charles, LL.D., d. 1754 [4]			
34. Warkton	Payne, Mrs. Hannah, widow of Rev. Samuel Payne, d. 1759			Pyramid*
35. Wollaston	Shipton, John, Esq., d. 1748			Pyramid*

WILLIAM COX I (1717-1793) of Northampton.

36. Abington	Thursby, John Harvey, Esq., d. 1764, etc. *(See page 28).*	1781	BA.I.17	Pyramid
37. Brockhall	Thornton, Thomas, Esq., d. 1783, etc.	1791	BA.I.118	Tablet
38. Bugbrooke	Raynsford, Catharina-Maria, wife of Rev. Francis Raynsford d. 1777, etc.	1785	BA.I.128	Pyramid
39. Cosgrove	Knatchbull, Harriet, d. of Rev. Wadham Knatchbull, d. 1767		BA.II.134	Pyramid

1. Erected, according to the inscription, by John Palmer, his nephew. 2. Too high to be read. 3. This is very large, and stands on the ground. 4. Not inspected personally. See *Records of Buckinghamshire*, Vol. XV (1947) Centenary Number, where Mrs. K. A. Esdaile, in her article on " The Renaissance Monuments of Buckinghamshire " (pp. 32-45) describes it, on p. 43 as " a fine stone urn monument."

40. Cosgrove	Forester, Pulter, rector, d. 1778, etc.	+1799	BA.II.135	Pyramid§
41. ,,	Wadsworth, Richard, rector, d. 1781		BA.II.135	Pyramid
42. Courteenhall	Wake-Jones, Sir Charles, Bart., d. 1755	erected 1769 [1]		Arch.
43. Dallington	Tymms, George, Rector, d. 1781, etc.	+1802	BA.I.135	Oval
44. ,,	Tymms, George, Rector, d. 1782, etc.	+1809	BA.I.135	Oval
45. Faxton [2]	Raynsford, Mrs. Hester, relict of Francis Raynsford, Esq., d. 1763			Pyramid
46. Gayton	Kent, Richard, citizen of London, d. 1753		BA.II.283	Oval
47. ,,	Kent, Richard, Esq., d. 1780		BA.II.283	Oval
48. Guilsborough	Clarke, Frances, d. of John Gardner, d. 1728			Pyramid
49. East Haddon	Adams, Clarke, Esq., d. 1776		BA.I.165	Pyramid
50. Great Houghton	Brownsmith, Francis, Esq., d. 1778			Pyramid
51. ,, ,,	Goodfellow, Theophilus, rector, d. 1782			Pyramid
52. Little Houghton	Ward, William, Esq., d. 1737, etc.	erected 1775 [3] +1794		Pyramid
53. Northampton All Saints'	Backwell, Richard, Esq., d. 1765, etc.	1771		Pyramid
54. ,,	Whitton, Edward, Esq., d. 1774			Pyramid
55. ,,	Revell, Mr. John, d. 1741, etc.	1792		Tablet
56. ,,	Lacy, Mrs. Mary, wife of Alderman John Lacy, d. 1786, etc.	+1795		Various
57. Northampton, Doddridge Chapel	Holmes, Thomas, gent., d. 1765			Pyramid
58. Northampton, St. Giles'	Wodnoth, Edward, [Esq.] [4] d. 1755, etc.	1788		Tablet
59. ,,	Wodnoth, Miss Bridget, d. of 58, d. 1786			Tablet
60. Northampton, St. Peter's	Treslove, Mrs. Harriet, wife of 61, d. 1778			Pyramid
61. ,,	Treslove, Mr. Thomas, d. 1749, etc.	1790		Pyramid
62. Orlingbury	Sturges, Charles, [5] rector, d. 1745, etc.	1745		Tablet
63. ,,	Young, Mary, wife of Allen Young, Esq., d. 1761, etc.	1761		Tablet

1. Erected, according to the inscription, by " his affectionate kinsman, Sir William Wake." 2. The roof has now (1953) been taken off the church, and the monuments removed to Lamport. 3. Erected, according to the inscription, by two surviving daughters, Mary and Dorothy Ward, in 1775. 4. This tablet, although it is not signed, can be attributed to William Cox with certainty, as it is exactly the same as 59. Edward is described as " Esq." in 59. 5. See 88. These two monuments are of the same design.

64. Piddington	Mercer, Mrs. Elizabeth, d. 1782			Tablet
65. Spratton	Okell, Benjamin, Esq., d. 1743, etc.	1766	BA.I.	Pyramid
66. ,,	Malcher, Mr. Thomas, d. 1754			Tablet
67. ,,	Malcher, Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. Randal Malcher, d. 1767			Tablet
68. ,,	Beynon, Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of 69, d. 1770		BA.I.71	Pyramid
66. ,,	Beynon, Francis, Esq., d. 1778		BA.I.70	Pyramid
70. Welton	Ashley, Isaac, Esq., d. 1757, etc.	1779	BA.I.464	Pyramid
71. Weston Favell	Halford, Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Wm. Halford, citizen of London, d. 1769		BA.I.77	Pyramid
72. Yardley Hastings	Lye, Edward, Rector, d. 1767			Various
73. Yelvertoft	Plampin, Thomas, Esq., d. 1770, etc.	1770		Pyramid
74. ,,	Wills, Thomas, gent., d. 1774, etc.	1774		Cart.

WILLIAM COX (d. 1784) of Daventry.

75. Cold Higham	Nixon, John, rector, d. 1777		BA.II.290	Oval
76. Welton	Wainwright, John, vicar, d. 1778		BA.I.464	Pyramid*

SAMUEL COX III (1767-1851) of Daventry.

77. Brington	Mayo, William, Esq., d. 1801		BA.I.93	Pyramid
78. Daventry	Clay, Samuel, Esq., d. 1800, etc.	1803	BA.I.330	Pyramid*
79. ,,	Harrison, Henry Bagshaw, Esq., d. 1801, etc.	1820 +1850	BA.I.330 [1]	Pyramid*
80. Kingsthorpe	Fremeaux, James, Esq., d. 1799, etc.	1801	BA.I.42	Tablet
81. ,,	Fremeaux, Margaret, d. of 80, d. 1802, etc.	+1812	BA.I.42	Oval
82. ,,	Portington, Gertrude Joanna, d. of 80, and w. of Henry Portington, rector, d. 1803		BA.I.43	Oval
83. Northampton All Saints'	Portington, Mr. John, d. 1789, etc.	1827 +1849		Pyramid*
84. Northampton, St. Sepulchre	Steer, William, Esq., d. 1797, etc.	+1815		Pyramid*
85. Welton	Clarke, John, Esq., d. 1805, etc.	1816	BA.I.465	Pyramid

Signed "COX" without any initial.

86. Guilsborough	Bullivant, Penelope, w. of John Bullivant, vicar, d. 1756			Various

1. The second part of the inscription is not given in Baker.

87. Guilsborough	Ward, Mary, widow of John Ward, Esq., d. 1762		RE.90	Pyramid
88. Orlingbury	Sturges, Sarah, widow of 62, d. 1758 [1]			Tablet

CONJECTURAL COX.

89. Bugbrooke	Warren, James, Esq., d. 1797		BA.I.127	Pyramid*
90. Guilsborough	Ward, Richard, Esq., d. 1782		RE.92	Oval
91. Northampton, St. Giles's	Cox, Samuel, carver, d. 1749		SG.150	Pyramid
92. ,,	Woolston, John, d. 1761, etc.	1761		Various
93. ,,	Isham, Mrs. Edmunda, d. of Sir Justinian Isham, Bart., d. 1766		SG.147	Pyramid
94. ,,	Woolston, William, d. 1778			Pyramid
95. ,,	Watkin, John, Vicar, d. 1795, etc.	1821	SG.147	Pyramid
96. ,,	Goodday, William, S. T. P., d. 1797		SG.158	Pyramid
97. ,,	Russell, John, d. 1801			Pyramid
98. ,,	Plackett, Sarah, d. -? [2]			Pyramid
99. Northampton St. Sepulchre	Churchill, Fleetwood, S. T. P., d. 1780		SS.109	Pyramid
100. Welton	Plomer, John, Esq., d. 1788, etc.	1788	BA.I.465	Pyramid*
101. Yelvertoft	Watkin, John, rector, d. 1772, etc.	1772		Oval

1. See 62. These two monuments are of the same design, though it is possible that the initial on 88 is " S." It is difficult to see. 2. The inscription is almost entirely illegible, and the date is not decipherable.

(Continued from page 48).

ELECTIONS AT HIGHAM FERRERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

the above be the last resolution of the house of Commons touching the right of election in this Borough, and what may be depended upon, would it not be advisable upon the first contested election (if such a thing should ever happen again) to put that resolution in force by the Mayors suffering none to give their votes but who are so quallyfied ; it would certainly set aside not only a majority of the people who have hitherto been allowed to vote, but of those who have been most active against the Marquis's interest, and throw the right of election into fewer hands, and such as can be more depended upon ; and as the Marquis's Steward must allways be suppos'd to have a good deal of power in the making freemen or rejecting them, it seems as if such a measure would put it out of the power of any body to oppose the Marquis here with any probabillity of success, and as the Mayor is returning officer I would advise that every new steward at Higham, should on his first coming get into the body Corporate, and be made Alderman on the first vacancy, that he may take the Mayoralty when he sees occasion, which he should allways do, when there is to be an election for a member of Parliament, if he can have proper notice. The day for chusing the Mayor is the Monday after Saint Luke and a day, nay an hour's warning before that time, will allways be sufficient ; for the Marquis's steward will never want power to take that, or any other office when he pleases, or appoint whome he pleases, to that or any other office and to fill up as he pleases, every vacancy as they shall happen in the Corporation.

TALES OF WHITTLEBURY FOREST

NUMBER FIVE

LACE-MAKING.

FIFTY or sixty years ago it was a common sight on a summer's evening in our villages, to see the women in their black dresses and white aprons sitting outside their cottage-doors, working busily at their lace pillows.[1] Now the craft has almost completely disappeared, but even then it was a dying industry, partly kept alive by the efforts of charitable ladies who privately, or through Lace Associations, would organise the buying of lace from the makers and its sale to more or less wealthy clients. Mrs. John Butler Harrison, wife of the Rector of Paulerspury, and Mrs. Chettle of Potterspury, whose husband farmed on the Duke of Grafton's estate, were very active in their own neighbourhood, while Mrs. de Bless of Great Billing and Miss Phyllis Wake of Courteenhall (as she then was), kept the craft alive in Hackleton, Horton and Piddington for several years down to 1914. The Midland Lace Association worked on a larger scale in the area round Northampton, and came to an end at about the same time, largely, I was given to understand, through some desperate friction between the ladies who ran it, though what was at the bottom of the trouble I never heard.

In 1935, Mr. Frost wrote the following account of lace-making in Paulerspury at the turn of the century :—

" One of the industries of the village I must not omit to mention is the making of pillow lace. Paulerspury has always been justly celebrated for its lace-making. Years gone by it was much more widely made than it is today. It was most interesting to see a group of them at work at night. There would be the candle-stool in the centre of a group, this stool had wooden sockets set in holes, in each socket a globular glass filled with water and a candle or rushlight in the centre. These glasses focussed the light on the pillow.

Some of the laces made were most lovely. I have seen some of them with as many as four hundred bobbins on their pillow ; all the spare ones not wanted at the time were tied up in bundles till wanted. It seems wonderful how they knew when they were wanted. All sorts of lovely things were made, panels for ladies' dresses, embroidery for altar hangings, and other things too numerous to remember. Lace is still made, but in a small way in comparison to what it was thirty years ago. Most of the skilled workers of that time have gone."

Pillow lace always used to form one of the largest classes of exhibits at the Northamptonshire Home Arts and Industries Association exhibition, held annually by turns at Northampton, Daventry, Towcester, Kettering and Wellingborough, down to about 1910, and very lovely it was in the recollection of the present writer. Mr. Frost's account is supplemented by Mrs. Friday of Syresham, writing at about the same time.

" Pillow lace making was a good trade [at Syresham] and many men worked at it with the women at home ; as the agricultural wage was very low, they could earn more at lace-making. A man with the name of Somerton was the last man in the village to give up making lace.

Children were taught the art as early as six years of age. At seven years of age a girl named Whitlock was set down to her day's work and was not allowed any time to herself till she had finished it. There were several lace schools and old Bet at one of

1. See p. 30.

them was very strict, but to those who liked to learn to read, she was very good and taught them a little. The pupils paid 3*d.* for the week and some went for 2 or 3 years.

There was great interest taken in their lace pillows, clean cloths to keep it spotless. The pins that ran down the right hand side were called foot pins and were threaded with tiny coloured beads almost to the point, leaving just the very point to stick in the parchment as the pattern they worked upon was called. There was much jealousy as to who had the best bobbins- -a pretty sight they were. Bone, with names in all colours and wooden with names, and sweethearts would always give a bobbin with his name and glistening bead jingle to it, and it was greatly prized. This village was full of lace makers at that time, point linen, lisle worsted and cotton lace besides a more common called thread lace.

But Mrs. Friday has much to tell us about Syresham which is valuable to the historian, in addition to lace-making. In 1936 and 1937, instigated by Mr. C. D. Linnell, she ransacked her well-stored memory, fed from her youth up by an acute and intelligent interest in all that was going on around her, and wrote it all down. Incidentally she described her village as it was in the 'thirties in some detail, when the first world war and the many changes wrought by it were still vividly fresh in people's minds, and when, alas ! a new agricultural depression was setting in. Since World War II our memories of the results of both these cataclysms have tended to become telescoped in our minds and this adds to the usefulness and interest of Mrs. Friday's account. But let her tell her own story :—

THE TALLYMAN'S GHOST.

More than a century ago, when the tallyman[1] was very much in evidence, one was seen to enter a house at Syresham on business and was never seen to come out again and not any trace was heard of him. This house was haunted and people would not live in it very long.

At last people rented it who saw a man with a pack on his back at different parts of the house. There was a consultation and it was decided to lay the ghost.

Now it was the order to get a parson or the best living man to be known to say the prayers for a restless spirit and so Tailor Colman of Silson [Silverstone] was the chief in charge and the spirit of the tallyman was laid in a well unused at the time never more to trouble this world again.

BURIED TREASURE.

There are signs of an old Roman wall on the main road about one mile to the east of the village and a field close by which goes by the name of the Guinea Field as there have, for a great number of years, been guineas turned up when they ploughed it. I have myself seen three of them. I have heard it said they were buried when Cromwell came to the village. It is said that at the toll-gate, at the entrance from the main road, a witch lived and a man with a pair of horses and cart would not pay toll quick enough for her. She cast a spell over the horses and they would not move till the driver slashed till he fetched blood which was the only thing to break a spell. The horses afterwards went at a terrific speed towards Buckingham on their way to London.

1. A man who went round the villages selling things on account, payment being made by instalments. The term is still in use in the district.

ACCOMMODATION LANE.

An old couple told me about the times of their young days. It almost seemed incredible. In the days of their courtship there were dances held on the green and in the skittle alleys ; there was one at the *Bell Inn*. The music was supplied by a concertina and violin. It was customary to call the tune and pay the piper before the dance started : the musician came round with the hat, each dancer payed 1*d*., so payment was always sure.

The man, when he got on in life, took to having too much at times and when he was at work he had to pay up all his debts. One time he sent his wife to pay up at the shops. On doing this the shopkeeper put paid to the bill and on asking for more this Saturday night the shopkeeper refused, so she went empty away. The next day, Sunday, the man went into the Accommodation Lane for his dinner from the hedge—hips and haws and crab-apples, but it taught him a lesson : he always said afterwards, " Keep a shot for yourself, my gel."

THE MAN WITH THE BIG NOSE.

Some fifty years ago or more there lived in Syresham a little man with a very prominent nose dressed always the same—corduroys with gaiters—was always seen carrying an old tin can on a shoulder stick. He was an old quack vet and nicknamed Doctor. He used to pretend to cure everything in animal line. His wife used to help him when she wasn't gathering horse manure for her garden from the roads and streets. She used to go for it a mile away from home. She went one better than her old man. She dabbled in human ailments such as making poultices from crushed snails for applying to a carbuncle or boil, prolonging the agony of the patient just for a few pence. Almost in every case the doctor had to be called in at last to effect a cure.

Whooping cough remedy of hers—open a nut very carefully, catch a spider and put it in the place of kernel, bind the nut up in muslin tight and hang it round the neck for 6 weeks. As the spider took the cough it killed it and the child lost it.

The old man was at a farm attending a horse and cow. A ploughboy was told off to help him. The job hung on for some time. The boy got interested. He said one day when on the job " Doctor, I didn't know you gave the same stuff to a horse you do to a cow." He replied : " And, me lad, you *don't* know, you're born to it. You got a lot to larne. Dunt it shake it up and down for the horse, backwards and forwards for the coo." He used to tell people what he did'nt know weren't worth knowing.

THE LAW OUTWITTED.

On a winter night a long time ago a Syresham man was tracked back to the village by a keeper who swore he saw him poaching. He was summoned and in due course sentenced to six weeks. The man stoutly denied being anywhere near the place spoken of. All this the guilty man who lived near by quietly watched and waited. He could earn by his skilled labour twice as much as the imprisoned man and the victim was often short of work as he was at the present time, and also not caring anything about what people thought of him. Arrangement was made between them for the guilty man to keep his wife and children till he came out of prison again.

OYEZ ! OYEZ !! OYEZ !!!

I remember the Town Crier as he was called in the village, his name was James, shouting and ringing his bell and " Oh Yes, Oh Yes, A fire in a barn and premises in Bell Lane." The fee was 1*s.* to employ him. In some fields [which] they call Church Hell, witches used to ride hurdles and ghosts were very frequently seen also in Church End and Half Way Gutter, mostly in the shape of a Black Dog accompanied by the soughing of trees with a fearful wind following.

SYRESHAM BAND.

In this village there was once a Drum and Fife Band and it was a credit to the village. There was practice regularly and it was thought a great deal of. Several of the fifes are still in the village. They used to parade the village on a Saturday evening and march into a barn called Stocks Barn and play for dancing and most of the villagers would go up and see and hear them. They used to play on festive occasions. The last time they played was at Queen Victoria's Jubilee and the drums were given to finish up at the Armistice, the very end of Syresham Drum and Fife Band.

Armistice Day is always kept up by a service in the schools. It takes the place of a United Service and a poppy and laurel wreath is put on the memorial to the fallen. Almost the whole population attend. There is a British Legion and a Oddfellows Club which is strong for a village this size.

> " Where village statesmen talked with looks profound
> And news, much older than them all, went round."

Thus, with an apt quotation from Goldsmith, does Mrs. Friday end her tale. It is hoped, that by printing all these stories, *told by the villagers themselves, and in their own words*, that an authentic portrait of life as lived in the last century and a half in our south Northamptonshire villages has been put before our readers. The humdrum round of toil was always there of course as a background, as it always will be, but there was vigorous exuberance and a *joie de vivre* alongside the hardships and poverty, and a faultless touch on the aesthetic side. Would that I could present to the reader the songs the villagers sang and the tunes they danced to a century ago ! A dwarf-like cunning characterised their attitude to the twin giants of the law and the upper classes, which included the parson and the " gentlemen " farmers, as they called them. The tricks they played on them added a considerable zest to life. But to outwit anybody caused the most intense amusement, and stories of successful practical jokes lingered on for generations. On the whole, the forest villagers were of a philosophical turn of mind, ready to to make the best of life and to laugh at their own misfortunes as well as at those of other people. In very few of these stories is the subject of poverty dwelt on.

It was undoubtedly the agricultural depression starting in 1879 and lasting, except for a short break during and after the first world war, until 1939, which knocked the bottom out of village life and drove the young men overseas or into the large towns, and the introduction of machinery and large-scale industry which swept the cottages bare of home-made furniture and hand-made ornaments and filled them with mass-produced vulgarities from the factories or soul-less standardised suites of furniture. But with the need for food and a prosperous agriculture, the rural areas are looking up again, the Women's Institutes and Village Halls have done a great work, life is anything but dull, and with better times the villages are regaining their self-confidence and making their weight felt in the country once again.

WIMERSLEY BUSH.

A GLIMPSE OF SHAKESPEARE'S GRAND-DAUGHTER IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

In 1649, the year of King Charles I's execution, John Bernard of Abington, near Northampton married Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Nash, and daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Hall of Stratford-on-Avon. Mrs. Susannah Hall was the favourite daughter of William Shakespeare. Northampton can claim that Elizabeth Bernard, Shakespeare's last living descendant, died not only within what is now the Borough, but in a house which the Corporation now own and use as a Museum.

There is at Lamport a draft letter in the handwriting of Sir Justinian Isham, Bart. (1611-1675), written on the back of a letter from his daughter Elizabeth, dated 13th April, 1659 (I.L. Corr. 487), which gives a glimpse of the Bernards. This has escaped the attention of the researchers into Shakespeare's family.

It is clear from this letter that John Bernard, not yet a knight, was trying to raise money on his Abington property, on terms which Sir Justinian Isham did not consider favourable to the lender, and that his wife (Shakespeare's grand-daughter) had a jointure of £200 per annum. It must be emphasised that the letter is only a draft, and therefore incomplete. There is nothing to show to whom it is addressed—presumably to Sir Justinian's lawyer.

In 1669, John Bernard sold the manor and advowson of Abington for £13,750 to William Thursby, thus breaking his family connection with Abington, which had lasted for nearly 250 years.[1]

The draft letter now follows :—

'Sir,

Mr. Bar[nard] hath a desire to borrow 6000L upon his Land at Abington, for 7 yeares, for one thousand to pay 60L yearely by Interest, to pay nothing for the 5000L till 7 yeares are expired, wch being in the nature of a reversion [will[d]] is (as I am told) be cast up at compound Interest, & then that 5000L at 6 pr cent will come to about 7518L. I had rather have the Interest paid halfe yearely, for the wholle, & that to be called in upon 6 or 12 months notice on either side, but that Mr. Barnard [3] says he cannot doe, now whether all the land he hath at Abington (200 pr ann being for Jointure to his wife) wch in the whole he rates at [.....*left to be filled in*] but have not yet any particular of, can be sufficient security (though cleare) for so great a sum I somewhat doubt. However I should expect to have a prise according to a reasonable value sett, that I paying so much more mony at the end of 7 yeares in case my mony be not then pd [paid] in I may have an absolute sale of the land, my intent thereby being only to be maister of my mony againe wch els I know not wel how to be. But Mr. Barn. intending an improuvment I find some difficulties in his proposalls however hee is very importunat, & assures mee you are already acquainted what cloggs are on the estate & that you know the present value of it, so that I desire yr opinion both of the sufficiency [& clearness[i]] of the security wch he offers, or can be made out of that estate for such a sum as he desires & may amount to before it be payd.'

1. Victoria County History of Northampton, Volume IV, ed. Salzman, 1937, pp. 65 et seq. 2. Sir Justinian has written " will . . . be " crossed out the " will " & substituted " is," but not deleted the " be." 3. Bernard was pronounced Barnard (cf. Verney pronounced Varney). It was sometimes spelt phonetically.

In the margin of this draft are the following notes :— [1]

' scurvi grass seed sed q[*uaere*]
[?] ' mail roome '
' Flints Sir Hen mony Mar 4 q[uaere] '
' Carew marriage book discharged.'

Sir John Bernard remained friendly with the Lamport family, for on 4th September, 1673, Thomas Isham, then aged 17 recorded in his Latin diary (ed. Walter Rye, privately printed, Norwich, Miller & Leavins, 1875) :—

" Sir John Barnard with Mr. Garner the surgeon came to dinner. Sir John said the Swedes took it ill that the Ambassadors of the Dutch were not willing for peace, and for this reason, had sent an Embassy to France, to say they were ready when necessary, to send 16,000 or 20,000 auxiliaries." At this time, the Swedes had undertaken to mediate in the war between Holland, France and England, and Charles II after the comparative failure of the battle of the Texel, when Admiral Sir Edward Spragge was killed, was considering peace with Holland. It is a pity that Sir John Bernard instead of retailing this gossip about the war, did not let fall a remark about Shakespeare, in whose works young Thomas Isham appears elsewhere to have been interested. (L. von Ranke, *History of England in 17th Century*, Vol. III, Cap 8 and 10, 1875).

GYLES ISHAM.

(In the conveyance of Abington Manor in 1669 by Sir John Bernard, Dame Elizabeth, his wife and four others, including Henry Smith of Stratford-upon-Avon, gent., to the trustees of William Thursby (N.R.O., Overstone 544, 545) there is a covenant to levy a fine for the barring of Dame Elizabeth's claim to dower in the said manor. In the Clayton collection at the N.R.O. (MSS. 1—4) there is an abstract of title and a particular of the manor made for Sir John Langham, which includes the following description : " A faire new built house with three large gardens, a close [of 3 acres], two little courts and a great court, a barn and yard with a dovecoat and a backstable yard, all which cost above 2,500 *li.* and are now valued at.....1550 *li.*").

1. These notes may have no connection with the draft. Sir Justinian's daughter, Susannah, had married Nicholas Carew of Beddington in 1656. It was his habit to write one or more drafts on the back of letters received, and to make notes. There is another draft on the blank page of this letter which is obviously addressed to Elizabeth Murray, Countess of Dysart, an old friend. " My Lady Diser " had received Sir Justinian's daughter Elizabeth in Suffolk " with great civilytie," and this had been the main subject of her letter to her father.

A Kirby Hall Receipt.

HOW TO MAKE A RICE PUDDING MY LADY KILLMURRIES WAY.

Tak a quartr of a pound of Ric, pick it and wash it and put it in a flaggon of new milk wth cinamon, mace, and nutmegges, and stop it close and set it into a pot of boyling water to seeth it, and when it is all of a thicknes poure it into a dish and season it with rose-water and sugar and grated nutmeg and the yolks of 7 egges and the whites of two and a pretty size of fresh butter and butter your dish and bake itt.

The peerage of Kilmorey was created in 1625. See *Complete Peerage*.

ELECTIONS AT HIGHAM FERRERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(THE political power of the great landlords before the Reform Act of 1832, as well as the method of managing an unopposed election in a pocket borough in the 18th century, are well illustrated by the unusual document printed below by Mr. J. E. Tyler, of Sheffield University, at the end of his article. The following note may help to explain the local complexities of the situation.

Before 1832 there were two pocket boroughs in Northamptonshire : Brackley, represented in Parliament from 1547 by two members ; and Higham Ferrers. Higham, already at the time of the Conquest a considerable market town, achieved borough status in 1251 under William de Ferrers, 5th Earl of Derby, the lord of the manor. But it was not until after the grant of a charter of incorporation from Philip and Mary in 1556, that in 1557 the Borough had representation in Parliament, and then by one member only. The right of election, according to Bridges, was " in all the housekeepers who receive no alms." [1]

In 1684, Thomas Watson (later Watson-Wentworth) [2] a younger son of Edward Watson, the second Lord Rockingham of Rockingham Castle, started to acquire the political control of Higham Ferrers [3] by the purchase of thirty houses there. Thomas's son, another Thomas (who was created Lord Malton in 1728 and eventually Marquess of Rockingham in 1746), by 1737 was the owner of about eighty houses in Higham, and the lease-holder from the Duchy of Lancaster of perhaps a further fifteen. In addition to these ninety-five houses, there were at this time in Higham thirty-five houses owned by freeholders, some of whom were also tenants of considerable farms under Lord Malton. It may therefore be estimated that Lord Rockingham controlled about eighty per cent. of the voting power of the Borough. He died in 1750, and was succeeded as second Marquess by his son, Charles Watson-Wentworth, who was twice First Lord of the Treasury to George III (1765-6 and 1782) and the friend and patron of Edmund Burke.

On June 22nd, 1744, William, 3rd Earl Fitzwilliam of Milton, near Peterborough, married Lady Anne Watson-Wentworth, sister to the second Marquess of Rockingham, on whose death without issue in 1782, the Wentworth Woodhouse estate, and with it the political patronage of Higham Ferrers, passed to the Fitzwilliam family.—*Editor*).

THE nature of the document printed below is adequately described in the heading supplied by its writer. It is to be found among the letters and papers of the 2nd Marquess of Rockingham now in the City Library at Sheffield, and the fact that it is here and not among those of his father may throw some light on its otherwise undertain date.[4] It may have been drawn up for the Marquess's guidance when he succeeded to the title in 1750 or at the time of the first change in the representation of the borough after that event.[5]

Though not exactly unique, the document nevertheless possesses some interest as a straightforward account, on the part of those responsible for the management of the borough, of the procedure when (as was usual) the Marquess's nominee was un-opposed. In the unlikely event of opposition, the writer suggests two obvious precautions,

1. Vol. II, p. 170. 2. On inheriting from his mother, the eldest daughter of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, the Wentworth estates in Yorkshire. 3. For the rest of the information in this note, I am indebted to Mr. P. I. King's researches in the Fitzwilliam Collection. 4. It is under R-100 in this collection and is printed here by courtesy of the Earl Fitzwilliam and his trustees of the Wentworth Woodhouse Estates Co. 5. Higham Ferrers was represented in parliament by John Hill (1747-54) ; and by John Yorke (1754-68). Yorke was a son of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and died in 1801. (Venn, *Alumni Cant.*).

viz. : that only those really entitled to vote under the terms of the House of Commons' Resolution, to which he refers, should actually do so and that the steward of the Marquess should have put himself in a position to become Mayor when an election was impending. On the latter account it was important to have adequate notice of a dissolution. There were various advantages in the government's possessing the power to choose the exact moment of a dissolution (that of 1780 is an example), but in the case of boroughs held by the Opposition, the point made by the writer of this document could clearly possess some special importance.

Higham Ferrers, which was to lose its member in 1832, had a certain distinction among boroughs represented in the unreformed House. It was one of five sending only a single member to the House when the vast majority sent two. It provided one of the three M.P.'s who could be said to be under the influence of Lord Rockingham. The other two were those who sat for Malton, in Yorkshire, a borough which, on occasion, it will be recalled, provided Burke with a parliamentary seat.

From 1768 until 1790, during the time of the second Marquess of Rockingham, Higham Ferrers was represented by Frederic Montagu[1] (1733-1800), a politician of some importance though not of the first rank, of whom there is a good short account in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Montagu was a man of family and independent fortune who, we may presume, was not in politics, at least primarily, for material reasons. He was not, that is to say, one of the " professionals " of the period and if he is to be classified at all, it is rather as one of the " independent country gentlemen " than as anything else. It is true that he acted as a loyal member of the Rockingham " party " to which undoubtedly he belonged. But at the same time he was a relative of Lord North who appears both to have liked and respected him.[2] This no doubt helps to explain why he was employed by North during much of 1780 as an intermediary with the Rockinghamite section of the Opposition.

He probably acted in this capacity in April, 1780, during the period of uncertainty after Dunning's famous resolution on the power of the Crown had been carried in the House of Commons,[3] and he certainly did so at the end of the following June when North initiated a negotiation with Rockingham to discover whether and on what terms the latter and his friends would coalesce with the government. In this connection Montagu had two interviews with North, hearing the minister's views and bringing Rockingham's reply.[4]

1. Frederic Montagu's father Charles was M.P. for Northampton (1754-1759) and first cousin to George Montagu-Dunk, Earl of Halifax (1716-1771), whose seat was at Horton and who was Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster's manor of Higham Ferrers (1750-1771). Amongst the Fitzwilliam papers in the Northamptonshire Record Office are the accounts of the expenses in connection with the election of Frederic Montagu as M.P. for Higham in 1768. They include bills for supplying dinners, " tae and coffey," ale and punch, etc., for the aldermen, burgesses, and other voters, and also an account for £7 19*s.* 10*d.* for 270 yards of ribbon, evidently for the cockades. 2. Lord North's mother was Lady Lucy Montagu, da. of George, Earl of Halifax (died 1739). Montagu seems to have commanded a wide measure of respect in the House of Commons which was no doubt one reason why North could think of him in 1780 as a possible Speaker. Henry Dundas, for example, wrote of him on Nov. 3, 1780 as one in whom " both sides would concur in maintaining the decency, dignity and order of the House." (*H.M.C.* 10th Rep., App. VI, p. 38). 3. *H.M.C.*, 10th Rep., App. VI, p. 29 ; Fortescue, *Corr. George III*, Vol. V, No. 2996. 4. For this negotiation, the relevant items in Fortescue, *op. cit*, are Vol. V, Nos. 3080, 3092, 3098, 3099, 3100 (which is the " Minutes of Conversation to be held with Mr. M(ontagu)"), 3155. Horace Walpole's account is in *Last Journals*, Vol. II, p. 324. There is some account and commentary in Lord John Russell (ed.), *Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox*, London, 1853, Vol. I, p. 257. Two important letters (Robinson to Jenkinson) are in *H.M.C.*, 10th Rep., App. VI, p. 31.

This negotiation failed, but it did not put an end to North's contacts with Montagu nor, it may be suspected, to North's desire to maintain some sort of contact with this section of the Opposition. About the middle of October he asked Montagu to stand for the Speakership when the new parliament met on November 1st, 1780.[1]

North, like the King, had long been dissatisfied with the conduct of the Speaker in the old parliament, Sir Fletcher Norton, and as early as April, 1780, the names of two possible successors had been canvassed in government circles. One was Montagu himself and the other Charles Wolfran Cornwall (1735-1789) who was, in fact, destined to be elected to the office when the new parliament met.[2] It seems very probable that Montagu was North's personal preference and that Cornwall (Charles Jenkinson's brother-in-law) was the candidate favoured by Jenkinson and Robinson, whose correspondence with each other and with the King, as it were behind North's back, is well-known. The vacancy, which might have occurred in April (allegedly owing to the poor state of Norton's health), did not arise, Norton resuming the chair until the old parliament came to an end. But North was quite determined to have a change after the elections and, as was said, he wrote, in effect offering the Speakership to Montagu.

The latter, who, in view of the breakdown of the negotiation in June was evidently surprised by the offer, declined alleging the state of his own health. It is more likely, however, that his main reason was the difficulty he foresaw, being Lord Rockingham's member, if he accepted the chair as the government nominee. However, when he received the offer he immediately wrote to Lord Rockingham putting himself in his hands and an interesting correspondence ensued.[3] Rockingham was obviously anxious that Montagu should not decline without serious consideration and hastened to assure him that his acceptance would not make the slightest difference to his continuing as member for Higham Ferrers. Indeed, he thought it most desirable that he should so continue lest it should be suspected that he had parted political company with his " leader." He also suggested, no doubt in order to remove any apprehensions that Montagu might feel on the score of expense, that the net emolument of the Speakership should now be raised to £4,000 p.a.

Incidentally, the whole tone of this correspondence suggests nothing but a relationship of mutual esteem and respect (of which there can be no doubt on other grounds) [4] between the two men. There is no suggestion that Lord Rockingham ever regarded his member for Higham Ferrers as a mere puppet or tool conveniently placed for his benefit in the House of Commons.

J. E. TYLER.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENCE AND MANNER OF CONDUCTING AN ELECTION FOR A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AT HIGHAM FERRERS, WHEN THERE IS NO OPPOSITION TO THE PERSON RECOMENDED BY THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM

The candidate should never come to town sooner than the evening before the day of election ; at which time, the Mayor, Aldermen, Burgesses, and principal inhabitants, go 2 or 3 miles to meet him. They wait on him to the Marquis's stewards where he sups with a few neighbouring gentlemen invited on the occasion, and takes a bed.

1. A copy of North's letter to Montagu making the offer is under R-162 in the collection at Sheffield. 2. Fortescue, *Corr. George III*, Vol. V, No. 2996. 3. R-162. 4. When he rebuilt his seat at Papplewick, Notts., Montagu installed a bust of Rockingham in the Library (1787). Montagu appears among the political associates of Rockingham in the memorial mausoleum at Wentworth Woodhouse.

The same evening the Corporation have a supper provided for them at a publick house, where they spend the evening without their expenses being limmited, tho' it seldom much exceeds half a crown each ; none but the Corporation must be quarter'd at that house, either that night, or the next day, the day of election. The rest of the householders not receiving alms, who have hitherto been allowed to vote should be devided as equally as may be amongst the other publick houses, and the Marquis's steward will give each of them a ticket, which entitles them to spend two shillings and six pence that night and five shillings the next day (suppos'd the day of Election) at the same house.

The other householders receiving alms, the beadsmen, and poor widows, have tickets given them for one shilling each day. The Marquis's steward will recommend it to the members of the Corporation, and all the rest of the people who have votes, to assemble themselves at the severall publick houses appointed for their entertainment as soon as the candidate is come to town, that he may with more ease pay them the compliment of asking their votes.

And as much as possable to prevent disorder and drunkeness in the streets, strict orders should be given to all the publick houses not to give any liquor on account of tickets, till after the candidate be come to town, and the people assembled at their several quarters, nor the next day 'till after the election be over.

At the time appointed for the election, the Corporation and all the other voters meet at the Market Cross to chuse their representative, the ceremony of which being over, he dines with the Corporation, at a publick house and the Recorder at the same time attends to execute the indentures, and care should then be taken that none sign those indentures, but members of the body corporate, or freemen of the Borough, householders, and who do not receive alms. And to guard against the scandellous impositions of the landlords, in the exorbitant charge generally made on such occasions, I would advise the Marquis's steward to bespeak a handsome dinner himself, at so much per head, and above all things to take care to keep his whole company in one roome, and provide himself with proper tickets, to give for lunch, and wine, as they are brought in, and pay for no more than the landlord can produce such ticketts for the next day. In the afternoon of the day of election, the wives of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses, with all the widows of the late ones, are invited to the Marquis's stewards, where they are entertain'd with tea, etc., and a supper.

After the election is over cockades are given to all the voters, their wives and children, etc., etc., etc., and they cost only six pence each. The expence is generally about six pounds and every shop in the town that sells ribbons expects a share of the profit.

The other expences are :—

The Recorder's bill for the indentures and his attendance.
The Undersherriffe for returning the indentures, what yu please.
One guinea each day to the ringers.
One guinea to the young men who chair the Member.
One guinea betwixt the Mayor's Serjt. and Bayliff.

The Corporation consists of a Mayor, seven aldermen and thirteen capital burgesses, with a Recorder, and at present the number of voters (who have allways been allowed) including the Corporation, does not exceed one hundred and twenty.

Copy of a Vote of the House of Commons, Thursday, January the 28th, 1702.

" Resolv'd that the right of electing a burgess to serve in Parliament for the Borough of Higham Ferrers in the County of Northampton, is in the Mayor, Aldermen, Burgesses, and Freemen being householders and not receiving Alms."[1]

Meeting accidentally with the above vote of the house of Commons occasion'd the following reflections which are humbly submitted to the Marquis of Rockingham. If

1. *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. XIV, p. 146. (Thomas Wentworth petitioning against the election of Thomas Pemberton for Higham Ferrers).

(Concluded on page 38)

NEW BOOKS

VAUX OF HARROWDEN, by Godfrey Anstruther, O.P. (*Johns*, 25*s*.)

IN his review eighteen years ago of *The Montagu Musters Book* (N.R.S., Vol. VII), Father Anstruther observed that the introduction contained the only account in print of the Catholics of Northamptonshire in the penal times—and that was only a page or two. The Protestants certainly got in first with their martyrology, but " the boldness and assurance which the recusants have taken of late " [1] have led them in recent years to make up for lost time. Protestants as well as Catholics, however, will be grateful to Father Anstruther for so ably filling up this blank page in Northamptonshire history, painful reading though it often makes.

If our author had lived in the times of which he writes, he would undoubtedly have been proud to have been classed as " an obstinate Papist." Though he gives a comprehensive picture of events, mentioning, for example, the sole Northamptonshire Protestant martyr in Queen Mary's reign—John Kurde the Syresham shoemaker who was burnt to death at Northampton—his attitude is scarcely detached. He has no use for Elizabeth I, one of the very greatest of our English sovereigns, or for Lord Burghley, and as for Robert Cecil, he is " this unscrupulous little genius "—in his case, not perhaps, a bad description. To continue, burning of Protestants by Queen Mary I is just burning, execution for high treason in the next reign is " butchery," and so on. But since the Catholics were longing for Elizabeth's death and some of them trying to compass her deposition and the overthrow of the régîme which she represented and which had the great majority of Englishmen behind it, and there were others, as the author admits, " who were willing to go to the lengths of murdering Elizabeth in order to place Mary [of Scotland] on the throne," her government had obviously got to do something about it. What they did, in which the Vaux family was deeply concerned, is what Father Anstruther has to tell us.

The first few chapters give an excellent summary of the early history of the Vauxes, who first appear in the Borough of Northampton in the 13th century. Two centuries later there was a marriage between a Vaux and a Harrowden which brought the manor of Great Harrowden into the possession of the family, and when Nicholas Vaux was made a peer in 1523, he was summoned to Parliament as Lord Vaux of Harrowden. Twelve years previously he had entertained Henry VIII at Harrowden Hall.

But the real story of the book begins with William, 3rd Lord Vaux, who employed for several months as tutor to his eldest son, Edmund Campion, the hero of the Catholic resistance to persecution, before his secession from the Church of England in which he was at one time a beneficed clergyman. " What this friendship [with Campion] cost the Vaux family," writes Father Anstruther, " is the main burden of this book."

Then follows a well-documented narrative of amazing interest, most of it as regards the minor characters never told before, discovered piece by piece by prolonged and arduous research carried out over many years and under enormous difficulties, and now raising the ghost of long-forgotten tragedy in familiar places.

In 1580, Parsons and Campion, the Jesuit missionaries, landed in England, and in May, 1581, Lord Vaux first appears as a recusant. Campion was captured and tortured in July, and Vaux examined later at Boughton by Sir Edward Montagu and at Apethorpe by Sir Walter Mildmay on the charge of harbouring him. On Vaux's refusal to give evidence he was thrown into the Fleet prison for nearly two years.

In 1586, the laws against priests were greatly increased in severity and Henry Vaux, Lord Vaux's eldest son, became the leader of an underground movement. Then came the Babington Plot, and, at the urgent demand of Parliament, Mary's execution after Paulett had indignantly rejected the Queen's suggestion that he might quietly poison her. With Mary's death at Fotheringay, the Catholics were left without a rallying-point and a great round-up followed. Lord Vaux was for a time placed under detention and by 1593 was reduced to such straits that he was forced to pawn his Parliament robes and described himself to Burghley as " the unfortunatest peer of Parliament for povertie that ever was." He died at Irthlingborough in 1595.

1. Letter from the Council to Lord Exeter in 1613 (N.R.S. VII, p. 54). A recusant is one who refuses to go to church.

Staunch as he was, his daughters Eleanor and Anne outdid him in heroism. These two women, of whom Eleanor was the widow of Edward Brooksby and Anne a spinster, devoted themselves to the harbouring and succour of Fathers Garnett and Gerard and other Jesuit priests. In single-minded and selfless devotion to this object they moved from county to county, living often under assumed names, and in continual terror of the law, for to the priests discovery meant death. When their houses were searched, as they frequently were, they bestowed their guests into their hiding-holes, and then walked calmly downstairs and valiantly faced the pursuivants. It is an astonishing story and the more astonishing that it has never been told before.

Then comes the account of the Gunpowder Plot, frankly faced by the author (who, in fact, adduces fresh evidence in its support) ; Anne's suspicions :— " For God's sake talk with Mr. Catesby," she prayed Garnett—;Father Tesimond's revelation of the plot to Garnett in confession at Harrowden—" Garnett rode back to Gayhurst with the awful secret burning within him," writes Father Anstruther—; the eight days' search of Harrowden Hall by William Tate of Delapré with three other justices and 100 men and their failure to find Father Gerard, all the time safely in his hiding-hole ;—all is recorded as the tragedy moves on towards its close.

There follows the capture of Garnett after nine days' incarceration at Hindlip, Anne being in the house ; his terrible sufferings under torture in the Tower ; Anne's own imprisonment there ; her care in her own anguish to send him his handkerchiefs and his socks ; her letter, still at Hatfield :— " To live without you is not life but death—Oh ! that I might see you"; his final and unjust condemnation and execution, for he had never been implicated in the plot—this account of Garnett's martyrdom and of Anne Vaux's faithful devotion, reminding one of another scene on Calvary, is indeed the climax of this book.

There is much besides—the gallantry of Elizabeth Lady Vaux ; her attempt to make Kirby Hall into a refuge for the Jesuits ; and her success in turning Harrowden Hall into such a seminary, unknown, of course to the authorities ; the assiduous skill and courage of " Little John," Garnett's servant, in constructing hiding-holes in Catholic houses all over England, for only so could the Jesuit mission be carried on ; and the unimaginable horror of his death under torture—surely, if any of these men were to be canonised, it should have been Nicholas Owen.

To turn to lighter matters, there are scenes of rural life of great interest—bear-baiting ; strolling players ; brawls in the streets of Northampton ; and a really most delightful " brabble," vividly brought before us, between a Knightley and Vaux at the latter's house at Boughton near Northampton. All this and much more is to be found in Father Anstruther's book, not forgetting some poems by Thomas 2nd Lord Vaux, and his grandson Henry, which will be found in an appendix.

And now one or two inevitable slips must be pointed out. Topcliffe's sister married Thomas, not William Brudenell ; it was George, 3rd Earl of Cardigan (not Thomas Brudenell) who embraced the Protestant faith ; it was in 1597, not 1603, that the parish registers were copied into parchment books. It is implied (pp. 61, 62) that Great Houghton church was " purged of popery " by pulling it down in the 16th century. As a matter of fact the medieval church stood until it was rebuilt in 1753, (V.C.H., Vol. IV, p. 265). The system of references may please some but it nearly drove this reviewer mad. A complete index to the next edition would vastly enhance its value as a source for students.

But it would be churlish indeed to end on a note of criticism. To sum up, Father Anstruther has thrown a flood of light on a very dark place, and has earned our gratitude for this rich and important contribution to historical knowledge.

J.W.

THE BRUDENELLS OF DEENE, by Joan Wake (*Cassell and Co., Ltd.*, 21*s*.).

THE writing of a family history is not an easy task. It is a pre-requisite of success that the family should be an interesting one, and that it should have preserved sufficient records to make the narrative so. Moreover, the compiler of the record must possess sufficient historical background to fit the family's story into its appropriate frame of national, and local history.

All these elements for success are present in the volume under review, and the result is a book both distinguished and entertaining.

The Brudenells were not ' new men ' when in Henry VIII's time they acquired Deene. In the fifteenth century, and even at the end of the fourteenth, they had risen by one of the great ladders of advancement, the law, to some eminence in Buckinghamshire, and also had a footing in South Northamptonshire, but it was Robert Brudenell (born about 1461), a lawyer, who really made the family's fortunes, and set it on its career as one of the great landed houses of Northamptonshire. He became Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas early in Henry VIII's reign, purchaser of Deene and many other properties, and when he died in 1531, the way was open for the Brudenells to accumulate riches and titles, as their neighbours did, under the Tudors and Stuarts. But the Brudenells, by remaining, on the whole, steadfast in the " old religion," forfeited some of the honours they might have been expected to enjoy. The long life of Thomas Brudenell (1578-1663) is, indeed, the record of a Catholic gentleman, loyal to the Crown, who, although he was knighted, made a Baron, and eventually an Earl, suffered much for his obstinate attachment to his faith. He was essentially a scholar with antiquarian interests, whose interest in genealogy, in an age which Miss Wake rightly calls " the greatest period of historical research ever known in this country," has been of the greatest help in tracing the family's history. In 1627, he was made a Deputy Lieutenant, an appointment for one of his profession that would have been most unlikely under Queen Elizabeth or King James in his earlier years, and which was to cause him trouble when the Civil War broke out. Such a man, Royalist and Papist, was a natural target for the sequestrators and despoilers after the Civil War. His furniture was smashed or removed, his papers raided and his books stolen. But not all his books and manuscripts were destroyed. " Such things " as Miss Wake points out " were held in greater respect in the seventeenth century than they are to-day," and her own task has been lightened in consequence. After the Restoration, he was made, in consideration for the help he had given to the Royal cause, Earl of Cardigan, and died as secure and fortunate as in his earlier years. His son, the second Earl, lived to be ninety-six and, like his father, remained attached to his Catholic Faith, and these two men, whose occupation of Deene extended through the whole seventeenth century, are indeed in their loyalty, independence, obstinacy and tenacity, despite many adversities, the two great oaks in the Brudenell forest.

The third Earl, under the influence of his cousin the Duke of Shrewsbury, and the discouraging atmosphere of the Rome of Clement XI, abandoned his grandfather's faith, and was able to play a not inconsiderable part in the political life of the County in the early years of the eighteenth century. Despite his strong family feelings, the third Earl is rather a cold character, and, indeed, the history of the family for the rest of the century, despite, or perhaps, because of their attachment to the circles closest to the Court, is not as interesting as in the previous stormy century. The third Earl of Cardigan was devoted to the chase, and was Master of the Buckhounds to Queen Anne ; the fourth Earl was a figure in fashionable society, but " either uninterested in, or unqualified by ability for a part in high politics " ; his brother and nephew, the fifth and sixth Earls were not specially interesting characters, but with the seventh Earl the interest of the story rises to a fantastic climax. James Thomas Brudenell, seventh Earl of Cardigan, was not a pleasant man ; he was brutal, lascivious, overbearing, but brave, able and compelling. Miss Wake's chapter on the Crimean War, and the seventh Earl's part in it, is one of the best in the book, and her account of the Earl's second wife Adeline " if it were played upon a stage would be condemned as an improbable fiction." But this fantastic creature, who forfeited the family's old position as close intimates of the Court, and who lived into the present age (she died in 1915) might well deserve a book by herself.

The epilogue is no more than sketched in the present volume. Lady Cardigan was succeeded at Deene by her husband's second cousin twice removed, Ernest Brudenell-Bruce, and at his death in the war of 1914-18, was followed by his brother, the present Squire, who reverted to the plain Brudenell of his paternal ancestry. The book closes appropriately to the

festive music of the coming-of-age of Edmund Brudenell, twelfth in direct descent from Sir Robert Brudenell, the purchaser of Deene.

It is entirely appropriate that the annals of this great county family should have been written by Miss Joan Wake, so well known for her activities in preserving the County's written history. She can give the necessary understanding to the mediæval story, which, in default of personal letters, is often the bleakest part of a family chronicle. She knows all about the position occupied by such a family under the Tudors, and the local administration of militia, justice and property. Her familiarity with neighbouring families and their correspondence is everywhere apparent, and Deene has been lucky in its historian. The household accounts have been used to illustrate the workings of a great house at different periods, and Miss Wake, although she cannot pretend to admire all the Brudenells, does her best to be fair even to the egregious seventh Earl. The footnotes are valuable and extensive, and although here and there, there are minor errors—the Isham family, for instance being credited with two non-existent diarists—this is inevitable in a work of such complexity. It must have been a difficult task to know what to leave out, and here Miss Wake has shown a rare discrimination. There are few tedious episodes in the long chronicle, and to the social historian, the book will be of great value. To Miss Wake and to Mr. Brudenell for the freedom with which he has allowed the records to be used, much gratitude is due. It is, of course, possible to disagree with some of the verdicts given, and not all the book will please every reader, but " we must allow *vox*," and the voice of the writer to this reviewer is never dull or harsh.

G.I.

SACKVILLE OF DRAYTON by Louis Marlow published in 1948, is a life of Lord George Sackville, later (1770) known as Lord George Germain and finally (1782) Viscount Sackville of Drayton. Mr. Marlow, who seems to quote entirely from printed sources such as the H.M.C. Report on the Stopford Sackville MSS. and political memoirs of the time, thinks that Lord George has been unjustly condemned both for his supposed cowardice at the Battle of Minden and for his conduct as Secretary of State for the American Colonies at the time of the War of American Independence. Since Lord George lived mainly in London or at Buckhurst in Sussex, there is little in the book about Northamptonshire with the exception of some quotations from lively letters written to Mr. Gladwell for many years confidential steward at Drayton from Lord George's daughter the Countess of Glandore, and which mainly concern her difficulties in obtaining good beer in Ireland. " I want to consult with you," she writes " upon the possibility of taking over with us to Ardfert some Northamptonshire man or boy who you think understands brewing well," but it does not appear that she got her wish.

P.I.K.

FRENCH MACKAROONES.

Take a pound of Almonds blanched in cold water, dry them and beat them in a mortar, then put thereto 3 pound of sugar beaten to pouder, putting in now & then a spoonfull of Rosewater to keepe them from oyling. Then beat the whites of 3 new layed egges with a twig to froth them, put it into the beaten Almonds & sugar, lay Marchpain waffers upon paper and lay the stuff in spoonfulls, then set them into the oven as hott as for Manchet.[1] If you will you may put in muske & Ambargris.

1. A hot-cake, a muffin (Wright).

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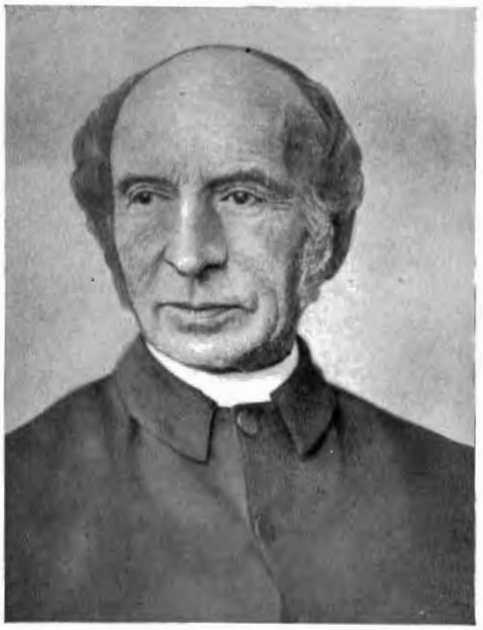
THE REV. A. B. CLOUGH, 1838–1870



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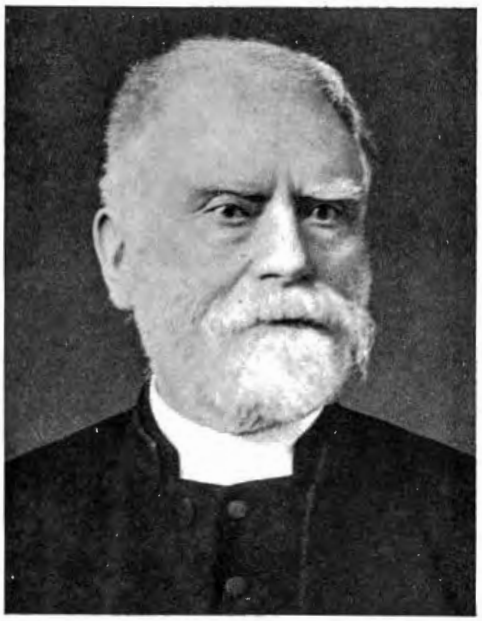


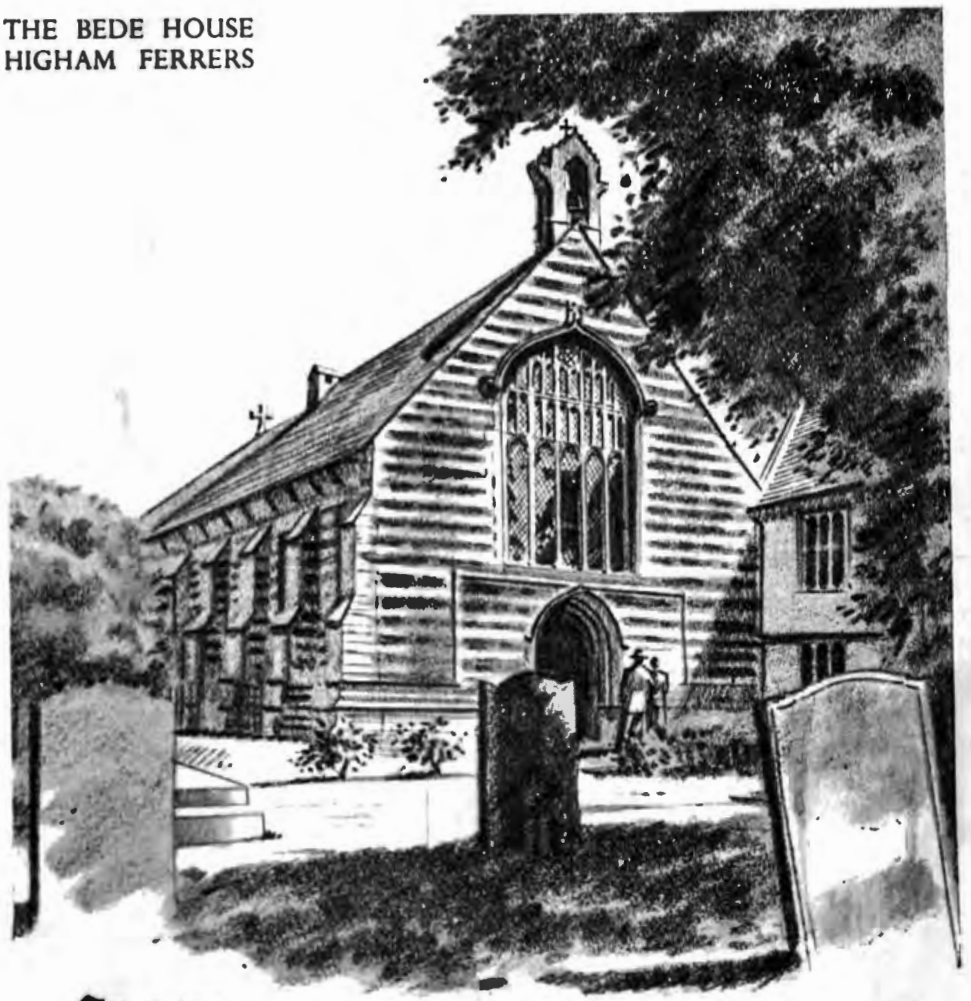
THE REV. CANON D. W. THOMAS, 1894–1895

THE REV. R. E. WILLIAMS, 1895–1906

SOME NORTHAMPTONSHIRE CLERGY

RECTORS OF BRAUNSTON, 1838—1906

THE BEDE HOUSE
HIGHAM FERRERS



In 1422... Archbishop Henry Chichele founded in his native HIGHAM FERRERS the famous BEDE HOUSE (Anglo-Saxon "bidden" to pray). Gone are the days when 12 poor men and one woman lived in the Bede House. But each Bedesman still receives a penny a day pension, certain clothes and other privileges. And on St. Thomas' Day they still attend the distribution of alms.

But following on the 700 years of ancient Higham Ferrers tradition is the twentieth century, as symbolised by John White Footwear Ltd., whose headquarters are only a hundred paces from the Bede House. This world-famous organisation was founded by Mr. John White, himself an Honorary Freeman and former Mayor of Northamptonshire's oldest Borough: Higham Ferrers.

royds 86