Delapre Abbey Campaign
See Notes and News

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST & PRESENT

DELAPRE ABBEY
Part of the West Front, 1956

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LAMPORT HALL, NORTHAMPTON
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NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST AND PRESENT

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Institutional Members of the Northamptonshire Record Society	ii
Particulars of the Society	iv
Notes and News	113
William Thomas Brownlow Cecil, fifth Marquess of Exeter, K.G., C.M.G.	117
The Garter Records	121
In Praise of Northamptonshire	122
Northamptonshire Memories. By W. W. Hadley	123
Books and Pamphlets for Sale	130
Early Northamptonshire Cricket. By James D. Coldham	131
Adam Baynes of Leeds and Holdenby. By Gyles Isham	138
Thomas Stokke of Easton-on-the-Hill. By the Rev. J. S. Reynolds	147
Recent Books	154
Alice Dryden (Mrs. John Marcon)	157
Queen Elizabeth's Sheets	159
A Clerical Character	160
The Publications of the Record Society	161

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of William, Marquess of Exeter, K.G.	116
Harvest at Lamport, 1933	122
Little Holmby, Northampton	139
Mr. Munday's House in Gold Street	141
Miss Fawcett's House in The Drapery	142
Holdenby House, (early 19th Century)	146
Seal of Browne's Hospital at Stamford	153
Alice Dryden, c. 1890	157
A Drover's Lad at Canons Ashby, c. 1894	158

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AIMS AND OBJECTS

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

MEMBERSHIP

THE ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, which has not been raised in thirty-five years, is ONE GUINEA only. This entitles members to free copies of publications issued for the period in respect of which they have subscribed and the right to attend meetings and lectures. Members can also buy back publications at reduced prices. (See complete list on page 161).

New Members will be most welcome from all parts of the world. The necessary forms will gladly be sent on application to the Hon. Secretary.

Notes and News

It is with great sorrow that we have to record the death at Burghley House on August 6th last of the Marquess of Exeter, K.G., who, from its foundation thirty-six years ago, was the President and staunchest friend of this Society. Rarely, indeed, if ever, in the history of Northamptonshire, has there been one who gave himself and his great abilities so wholeheartedly in the course of a long life, to the service of his neighbours, or who was so widely esteemed and beloved. A short account of his life will be found on page 117.

The Record Society. The Society continues to grow and we offer a cordial welcome to the fifty new subscribers who have joined our ranks since January 1st. Our total membership is now well over six hundred. The Annual Meeting was held last June by kind permission in that very pleasant room, the Council Chamber at the County Hall, Northampton, Mr. Ewart Marlow, M.C., Chairman of the County Council, presiding. The transaction of business was followed by a general discussion on Northamptonshire Place-Names and their pronunciation. Though some were for pronouncing all the names as now spelt, regret was expresssed at the loss of the traditional pronunciations (chiefly through imported railway-men and school-teachers who think they know better), and a hopeful tendency to retain and even to recapture the old ways was reported. Natives of Rothwell, we were told, now say "Rowell" as their grandparents did, but will not allow "foreigners" to do so until they have qualified by ten years' residence in that delectable, sturdy little town.

The Delapre Abbey Campaign has certainly been the outstanding event of 1956. The situation as regards the fate of this fine old house and of the future of our historical records a year ago was gloomy in the extreme, for, owing to the serious economic situation the Local Authorities were unable to shoulder the cost of the necessary repairs to this, the only suitable building for the purpose. Encouraged, however, by the promise of £5,000 from the Minister of Works (on the advice of his Historic Buildings Council), if the requisite balance could be found, the Record Society last December offered to try and raise a further £15,000 before June 30th, 1956, and to put the Abbey into a state of repair for use as the Northamptonshire Record Office. The offer was accepted by the Northamptonshire Archives Committee; and Northampton Corporation—the owners of the house—agreed to suspend demolition. The Delapré Abbey Campaign was thereupon launched with great enthusiasm at a public meeting at Northampton on January 6th, at which messages of good will and encouragement were received from Lord Exeter, the Mayor of Northampton, and others. A working Committee was appointed and the project was immediately put in hand.

Owing to the printers' strike, the fearful weather after Christmas, and the illness of the Campaign Secretary, an unavoidable delay occurred, and by June 30th only £7,000 had been collected, to which, however, the Pilgrim Trust had promised to contribute £3,000 if the balance could be raised before December 31st. The Town Council kindly agreed to extend their time-limit to this date, and in the interval—though things were very dead and dull during and for some time after the holiday season—a further £4,253 has been raised to date (Nov. 29th), so that we are now within £747 of the £15,000 needed to qualify for the £8,000 offered in grants. But an additional amount of about £250 will be needed towards the expenses of the appeal.

Mrs. William Hubbard's morning coffee party at the Angel Hotel, Northampton, in February, was the first of a successful series of twenty-one functions all over the County. In May the Squire and Mrs. Brudenell, with their well-known hospitality, gave a wonderful reception at Deene to over three hundred people; the Master of the Rolls was among the speakers, and £300 was added to the fund. To the great regret of all, Lord Exeter, who had promised to preside, was too ill to come. Major and Mrs. Wake gave a sherry party at Courteenhall early in June, and during

the summer lectures were given at Northampton by Mr. James Fisher on his Rockall adventure, and at Peterborough and Kettering by Mr. Roger Banks, the Antarctic explorer. In June Mr. John Betjeman came all the way from Wantage and Dr. W. O. Hassall from Oxford to speak for us at Northampton Town Hall, with Lady Hesketh in the chair; and on June 28th Northampton Repertory Company gave a brilliant performance of Shaw's *Pygmalion* to a packed and enthusiastic house. This most successful and lucrative event was organised by Mrs. Wilfrid Fox and her Committee.

The Treasure Sale at Northampton on November 23rd, organised by Mr. G. S. Gilbert and his Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Gyles Isham, and with the very kind help and services of Mr. Kenyon Abell, was the last big effort of the campaign. Over £500 was raised, and our gratitude is indeed due to Mr. Gilbert and all concerned, including those who generously sent gifts for sale.

Whist drives, jumble sales, coffee parties, concerts, exhibitions, sales of work, etc. etc. have been held at Hardingstone, Far Cotton, Northampton, Duston, Castle Ashby, Bozeat, Brafield-on-the-Green, Cotterstock, Church Brampton, Potterspury, Milton, Cosgrove, Benefield and Blisworth. Miss M. Stockdale's Village Place-name competition was a great popular success.

From our office in Bridge Street, Northampton, very kindly placed at our disposal by the Northampton Borough Committee of the National Council of Social Service, over 11,000 pamphlets have been distributed all over the country as well as in Northamptonshire, and profound gratitude is due to the staunch band of packers who never failed to turn up to address, pack, and stamp each batch as they went out—monotonous labour indeed, but what wonderful results, and who will ever forget the red-letter day when Mr. Margary of East Grinstead's munificent cheque for £2,000 arrived! In addition to over 1,200 donations from individuals (many of them members of Universities or learned Societies all over the country), over 80 firms, 18 clubs and societies, 8 schools, upwards of 30 Women's Institutes and Townswomen's Guilds, 7 Co-operative Societies, 3 London banks, 3 City Companies, Oxford University and 15 colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, as well as Leicester University College, have sent donations.

One of the most exciting moments of the Campaign was when we opened the brown paper parcel containing the solid gold snuff-box embossed in diamonds with the crown and monogram of King Louis-Philippe, which he gave to his friend General Bouverie of Delapré. It was kindly sent to us by Miss Pleydell-Bouverie of Whissendine, to be sold for the benefit of the fund. How can we find words in which to express our thanks to her and all our other benefactors for their abundant generosity and interest in our cause?—or to all the many people who have given so freely of their time, their labour and their talents, or to Mr. Pascoe and British Timken and their Mr. Dorricott who have given us untold help, or to the press who have supported us so nobly throughout, to enable us to achieve success?

Except for Mr. Margary's £2,000, four sums of £500, nine of £100, and twelve of £50, nearly all the rest has come in much smaller but no less generous sums. One day there was nothing at all in the post, and consequent gloom in the office, when the door opened and a little old lady who lives by herself in a bungalow, brought 3/- from the sale of her cabbages, and gave us another red-letter day. A man who was stationed at Delapré during the last war, sent a cheque from Hong Kong; an old pensioner has brought in from time to time nearly £10. "It is quite easy," he said when we protested, "I just stop smoking cigarettes." The response has indeed been most wonderful and is highly encouraging evidence of the great public interest there is in the preservation of beautiful things and in the study of English history.

And now we must make the final effort to finish the job, save Delapré Abbey, the visible link between Northampton and eight centuries of its history, and in so doing enable the Northamptonshire Archives Committee and this Society to provide a centre of research into English history which shall constitute a worthy contribution to the advancement of learning in this country. If any of our readers who have not already subscribed would like to help us to do this, it will not be too late if their letters are posted early in the New Year. Cheques should be made out to Delapré Abbey Preservation Fund, and addressed to the Hon. Treasurer, 44 Bridge Street, Northampton.

A CORRECTION. Mr. H. P. R. Finberg kindly points out a mistake in last year's Notes and News. There is no chair of local history at Oxford, or in any other English University. "Leicester University College," he adds, "has set up a department of English Local History parallel with and independent of, its Department of [general] History." This example will no doubt soon be followed elsewhere.

THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD OFFICE. Valuable accessions at Lamport Hall are announced by the County Archivist in his Annual Report for 1955-56, of which the most important is the deposit by Earl Fitzwilliam of the medieval portion of his collection from Milton. In addition to 2,000 deeds (12th-16th century) there are some 13th and 14th century account rolls of Peterborough Abbey, Quarter Sessions files of the Soke of Peterborough between 1699 and 1710, and three agreements by which knights bound themselves in the Wars of the Roses to fight for Richard Nevill, the Yorkist Earl of Salisbury, father of Warwick, the King-maker.

Account books may sound dull, but are among the most revealing of documents. A Peterborough draper's ledger (1776-1796); the private accounts of the 4th Earl Fitzwilliam (from 1772), and the account books of Samuel Taylor of Little Bowden (1658-71), of Charles Howe of Greatworth (1707-24), and of Thomas Dash of Kettering, father of William Dash the bookseller, (1800-48) are other acquisitions. With the second batch of documents from Ecton came some proofs of Bishop Thomas Percy's edition of 16th century English poets which never saw the light of publication through the destruction of the printer's stock in a disastrous fire. Percy held the benefices of Easton Maudit and Wilby, acted as host to Dr. Johnson, and married the daughter of Squire Isted of Ecton, where it is claimed he compiled his *Reliques of English Poetry*.

Mr. King refers also to the acute lack of space at Lamport; to the increasing difficulty of students in getting over there owing to a further deterioration of both 'bus and train services; and to the regrettable inability of the Archives Committee to take over the probate records awaiting transfer from Peterborough and Birmingham, thus depriving many students of a most valuable source of material. All of which underlines the imperative need to get the records into Delapré Abbey as soon as possible.

HISTORIANS AT WARWICK. A very delightful conference organised by the Dugdale Society and the County Council was held in the beautiful County Town of Warwick from July 18th to 20th. Its object was to celebrate the ter-centenary of the publication of Sir William Dugdale's *History and Antiquities of Warwickshire*, and the theme of the conference was appropriately: "English Historical Scholarship in the 16th and 17th centuries." Papers on many aspects of the subject from archaeology to genealogy and heraldry were read by distinguished scholars; over 200 attended and as the first meeting at a County Records Centre of historians and archivists from all over the country it was an important and significant event. For one thing it was a welcome public recognition of the work in recent years of local archivists, and for another it was evidence of the modern trend in historical scholarship back towards topographical and local studies, of which Dugdale would have greatly approved. The history of England is still very largely waiting to be unearthed in our counties and villages.

WE DESIRE to express our warmest thanks to our kind contributors, and also to our advertisers without whose generous support our journal could not exist. The editor wishes also to acknowledge the help received in the preparation of articles from Mr. P. G. Ward, Major V. H. Bailey, Mr. Maurice Bond, and Mr. P. I. King. The photograph on our cover of the Jacobean part of the west front of Delapré Abbey is by Mr. Griffin of British Timken Ltd. The drawing reproduced on the inside of our back cover shows the west front as it was before the unfortunate Victorian addition at the south-west corner.

We wish all our readers all over the world a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

WILLIAM, Fifth MARQUESS OF EXETER, K.G., C.M.G.,
OF BURGHLEY HOUSE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.
Hereditary Grand Almoner
Born 27th October, 1876, *died 6th August*, 1956.

WILLIAM THOMAS BROWNLOW CECIL
FIFTH MARQUESS OF EXETER, K.G., C.M.G.
1876 - 1956

THE late Lord Exeter was born on October 27th, 1876. He was the only child of the 4th Marquess by his wife, Isabella, only child of Sir Thomas Whichcote, Bart., of Aswarby, Lincolnshire. In his childhood he was delicate, but proceeded to Eton and afterwards to Magdalene College, Cambridge. His grandfather, the 3rd Marquess, who had reigned at Burghley for 28 years, died in 1895, and his father less than three years later (on April 9th, 1898), so that at the age of two-and-twenty Lord Exeter inherited, with all their privileges and responsibilities, the family honours and wide estates in Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire and Rutland, which for the most part had been handed down from father to son since the days of his famous ancestor, Lord Burghley, Queen Elizabeth I's Lord Treasurer. His marriage to the Hon. Myra Orde-Powlett, only daughter of Lord Bolton, took place on April 16th, 1901, and was the occasion of great rejoicing at Burghley, still remembered by elderly people in the district.

When Lord Exeter succeeded, the 5th Earl Spencer was Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire, including the Soke of Peterborough,[1] but Custos Rotulorum of the County of Northampton only. With rare exceptions, for four centuries the Cecils had held the Custos Rotulorumship of the Soke of Peterborough and it had, in fact, become by custom, but not by right, hereditary in the family. One of Lord Exeter's first acts after his father's death, was to apply to, and obtain from the Lord Chancellor his Commission appointing him to that office in the Soke, —an act of greater significance than he could have realised at the time, for it is safe to say that it will be chiefly for the outstanding work that he did in this capacity that his name will go down to history.

The Custos Rotulorum, says Lambarde (*Eirenarcha*, (1608), p. 382), is one on the Commission of the Peace "especially picked out either for wisdome, countenace, or credite," for, from the earliest days, more was expected of him than a due regard to the safe custody of the rolls of the court. The Justices for the Soke, from the days of the Abbots, have had very special powers, for, in addition to the normal Commission of the Peace, they held Commissions of Oyer and Terminer and of Gaol Delivery, normally only issued to Justices of Assize, who were, and still are, excluded from the Soke. Thus, in his own Court, in which he was careful always to appoint an experienced barrister as Chairman, Lord Exeter had from an early age an unrivalled opportunity to gain experience in the administration of justice. He was also a J.P. for the Counties of Northampton and Rutland and for the Kesteven Division of Lincolnshire.

The great tradition of public service in generations of the Northamptonshire Cecils was

[1] The Soke or Liberty of Peterborough is an area of Northamptonshire comprising the City of Peterborough and 25 civil parishes, over which the Abbots of Peterborough held the paramountcy. The judicial powers formerly belonging to them were granted by Queen Elizabeth I to Lord Burghley, from whom they have descended to the present Marquess of Exeter, who, as Lord Paramount of the Soke, has his own court of Quarter Sessions in the area. By the Local Government Act of 1888, the Soke was given its own County Council.

one which, young as he was, Lord Exeter was eager and diligent to maintain. In 1898 he was made an alderman of the Soke County Council, retiring in 1949 after over 50 years of service, for 39 of which he was chairman. He was chairman of Stamford Board of Guardians from 1898 until its abolition in 1929; of Barnack Rural District Council from 1906 to 1950; of Stamford Endowed Schools from 1899 to 1955.

But life was not by any means nothing but a perpetual round of work and meetings. He and Lady Exeter took their full share in the social life of the time, though it is safe to say that they both greatly preferred the country to London. They hospitably entertained their friends and neighbours at Burghley, notably filling the house each January for the Stamford Infirmary Ball. Shooting and hunting—especially hunting—were Lord Exeter's favourite recreations, and for some years before 1913 he kept his own pack of fox-hounds, carrying out his duties as huntsman with, as I have been told, a most infectious *joie de vivre*. In 1912 he broke his pelvis in a hunting accident, which resulted some years later in the permanent lameness from which he never recovered.

In those good old days the county militia trainings were almost as much a social as a military event. Lord Exeter received his first commission in the Northamptonshire Militia as Lord Burghley in 1895, and was promoted Captain in 1899. After the Haldane reforms he became Major commanding the Northants Battery of the 4th East Anglian Brigade, R.F.A., and was Lt. Colonel of the whole Brigade on the outbreak of war. He served with it in France in 1915 and in Egypt in 1916 and 1917, and left it to command the Royal Artillery of the Imperial Mounted Division in Palestine, going into action with his Brigade in the first Battle of Gaza. After a spell of leave in England, and on promotion to full Colonel he went to France in August, 1918, in command of the Ammunition Column of the 19th Division until after the end of the war. He was twice mentioned in despatches, was awarded the C.M.G. in 1919, and was A.D.C. to H.M. King George V from 1920 to 1931.

During those war years, Burghley House was turned into a hospital for wounded soldiers under the general superintendence of Lady Exeter, who was also in Lord Exeter's own words: "responsible for a great part of my work at home, besides her own, including the bringing up of our family."[2] Between 1903 and 1915 two sons and two daughters had been born to them. When Lord Exeter settled down again at Burghley after the war, he had returned to a changed world. He was now 42, and the most important part of his work lay before him. The management of a very large farm, in addition to the ownership and maintenance of a great estate and of one of the finest houses in England, (always a serious responsibility even though a source of delight and satisfaction to its owner), must have become to him as to other landowners, an increasingly exacting and worrying problem, greatly intensified, of course, after 1939. But all this he kept to himself.

In 1922, on the death of the 6th Earl Spencer, Lord Exeter was appointed to succeed him in the Lord Lieutenancy of Northamptonshire, and it was in this great office that, already equipped with a wide knowledge of men and of affairs, his natural powers of mind, his character, and his most attractive personality reached their full maturity. As President of the County Territorial Association he exercised the military function for which the county lieutenancies were originally created, and as leaders in the general life of the County he and Lady Exeter, fulfilled their multifarious duties and engagements with evident enjoyment, and, in the words of the

[2] *Peterborough Citizen*, 25th September, 1934.

Prayer-Book, with "grace, wisdom, and understanding." Lord Exeter possessed to the full that quality of the English aristocracy at its best—the ability to recognise a worthy cause, and, this done, to follow it up by giving to those who were working for it unswerving support.

But it was to the administration of justice in his capacity as Custos Rotulorum (now for the County as well as for the Soke) that Lord Exeter gave his greatest attention. In addition to the duty of making recommendations to the Lord Chancellor for the appointment of Justices of the Peace, he imposed upon himself the task of paying periodical visits to the magistrates in Petty Sessions,—sitting with them on the Bench, watching, but not interfering with, their work, and when that was over, discussing with them problems about the management of their court, consulting them about the distribution of Justices in their area, the suitability of persons for appointment, and other matters concerning the efficiency of the court. As he went out, he would always have a word with the Clerk, asking him for suggestions, or for any information that might be useful "for my work as Custos Rotulorum." These visits, which were greatly appreciated by all concerned, were an innovation in the work of a Custos, but by them Lord Exeter acquired a detailed knowledge of the work of the magistrates which it is safe to say was unequalled in the country, and which led to his appointment by the Labour Government in 1946 to the Royal Commission on the Justices of the Peace. Lord Jowitt (Lord Chancellor in the Labour Government), writes:

> "The Lord Chancellor is brought into very close touch with the Custos Rotulorum of the various counties. Lord Exeter was undoubtedly the ideal Custos from the Lord Chancellor's point of view. He took infinite trouble about the work of the magistrates' courts in his area. He knew the character, capacity and idiosyncracies of every magistrate within his jurisdiction. He was most fertile in his suggestions as to how the Bench could be improved and with regard to new recruitment. If only there were more like him, how much easier the Lord Chancellor's task would be. He never let politics interfere in his selection of candidates for the Bench, realising that the Bench must be a cross-section of the entire community. As a man I had a profound regard for him and a great respect for his wisdom."

When the Justices of the Peace Bill, introducing many changes in local Commissions of the Peace, came before Parliament in 1949, Lord Exeter moved an amendment safeguarding the special jurisdiction of the Justices of the Peace in the Liberty of Peterborough, which was accepted by the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords in these words:—

> "I think this is a strange historical incident, and perhaps one without parallel. The Soke of Peterborough is unique—and, as the Noble Marquess is the Custos, perhaps it is right that it should be unique. Apart from the fact that the Noble Marquess is the Custos, I can think of no other adequate reason for accepting this amendment; but, unless any of your Lordships tells me that I ought not to do so, I will accept it."

Parliaments' decision was matter for jubilation at Peterborough and is gratefully referred to in a presentation book—"The Soke of Peterborough," given to Lord Exeter by the Soke County Council in 1950 "in profound appreciation of his services" as alderman for over half a century. Already in 1934 Lord Exeter had been made an honorary Freeman of the City of Peterborough. In 1937 he received the highest honour of all in his creation as a Knight of the Garter.

Lord Exeter was the most modest and unassuming of men, but as, with the passing of the years, he ripened in wisdom and experience, the country at large began to realise his worth, and in later life he was drawn into activities on a national scale. In 1943, as representing the smallest County area in England, he was elected Chairman of the County Councils' Association. "Little Benjamin their ruler," was how he described himself. From 1938 to 1951 he was Chairman of the Lieutenants of Counties Association, a position of great influence and importance. His

attendances at the House of Lords became more frequent, and he took an influential part in its proceedings, particularly with regard to the powers of the House in connection with the attendance of peers. He wished the right to vote of those who had not given a minimum of attendance to be limited, and initiated a discussion on the subject by moving a resolution to this effect on March 17th, 1953. This led to a formal inquiry and to the publication in 1955 of an important Report on the Powers of the House, in which Lord Exeter's Memorandum and Minutes of evidence are included.

But it was in Northamptonshire and in the neighbourhood of Burghley and Stamford that his influence was most fully felt and will last the longest. In April, 1951, Lord and Lady Exeter celebrated their Golden Wedding in their much-loved home, with their children, grandchildren and a great assembly of their tenantry and employees around them. A multitude of friends were only too glad to have this opportunity of expressing their congratulations, gratitude, and affection.

One by one, as old age approached, Lord Exeter retired from many of his activities, but still took the keenest interest in all that was going on around him. He was taken ill in the spring of this year and died at Burghley on August 6th, within three months of his 80th birthday. The heartfelt sympathy of us all goes out to his widow and their children. Not since the death of the 3rd Earl Spencer ("the Lord Althorp of the Reform Bill") has Northamptonshire known a greater man.

It is difficult—impossible—to convey in words his personality and the wonderful effect of his presence. Good humour and friendliness walked with him into the room, and immediately the atmosphere was changed. Presiding at a public meeting, he would at once break through all formality and stiffness—he had not a trace of arrogance about him—and his first words would bring the whole roomful into the happiest and friendliest relations with him and with each other. At a business meeting his light-hearted manner concealed a deadly seriousness and a complete grasp of the problems to be dealt with. Everyone was not only allowed, but encouraged, to put his point of view. Under his guidance a difficult meeting with important issues at stake was sometimes carried through to a successful conclusion to the accompaniment of roars of laughter. In politics a staunch Conservative, his fairness and impartiality were such that he was regarded with as much confidence and affection by members of the Labour party as by those of his own colour. Though recognising its shortcomings, he was a firm believer in democratic government by "the elected representatives of the people," with the help of their clerks and departmental assistants, to whom he was always the soul of courtesy, appreciating their labours for the public good. He recognised, and accepted, the vast and fundamental changes in society of the last forty years and did his utmost to secure the willing and good-humoured adjustment of the public to the new state of affairs.

With regard to religion he was as reserved as most Englishmen, but that it was the mainspring of his life, the source of a serenity of mind that seldom seemed disturbed, no-one who knew him could doubt for a moment. Family prayers, read daily by the chaplain in the private chapel at Burghley during his reign of 58 years, long after they had gone out of fashion in every other country house, were here no perfunctory ritual.

As President of the Record Society for over thirty-five years he gave us his whole-hearted support, allowed us to publish documents from his muniment room, was always ready with the soundest advice, and carried through the long negotiations leading to the establishment in 1952 of the Northamptonshire Archives Committee. Early this year he drafted the letter which went

out with our Delapré Abbey Appeal, and ensured its success. Indeed the cause of history owes him much. Most sorely shall we miss him in our counsels, and his presence with Lady Exeter at our Annual Meetings.

To the many and wonderful tributes which appeared in the press at the time of his death, we would add, in gratitude for a great example and for all that he gave to our generation, that line from Leigh Hunt's poem which seems so well to explain the secret of his life and character:

WRITE HIM AS ONE THAT LOVED HIS FELLOW MEN.

J.W.

THE GARTER RECORDS

In October, 1785, Sir William Dolben, Bart., of Finedon in this County, made a journey into the south of England, during which he stayed at Salisbury and visited Shute Barrington, the Bishop, who was making alterations and additions to his Palace. The following extract is from a letter to his son, John English Dolben, written on October 28th, 1785. As Bishop of Salisbury, Barrington was Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. He was subsequently Bishop of Durham.

"My dear Son,
. . . . He [the Bishop of Salisbury] has made one Sacrifice of a venerable Walnut tree that was a noble Ornament to the Palace, but unfortunately stood in a situation that was thought to retain and promote great damps that affected the rooms where all the Archives of the See and of the Order of the Garter are kept and should be preserved; but so little care has been taken of them, that they are in the greatest confusion and the worst preservation. He has therefore undertaken the very laborious but very necessary work of examining and arranging them all; a work which would totally discourage any man who had not the genuine Spirit of Virtu' and love of Antiquity in him:. When therefore He has completed this business His Successors will have reason to bless his memory." (N.R.O., Dolben (Finedon) Collection, No. 46).

HARVEST AT LAMPORT, 1933
John Wood in charge

IN PRAISE OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

SOON after Mr. John Betjeman's visit to Northampton last June to help us with the Delapré Campaign, the following paragraph appeared in his City and Suburban column in the *Spectator* of June 29th, 1956. It is here reprinted with the very kind permission of the Editor and of Mr. Betjeman.

ENGLAND'S BEST MARKET SQUARE

I never hear of anyone saying they are going to Northamptonshire for their holidays. Northamptonshire is far too little regarded a county. It contains some of the most attractive villages in England, places like Fotheringay and Rockingham and Plumpton, and some of the best towns, like Oundle and Thrapston. Its churches and cottages in all the variety of brown ironstone and pale limestone are full of originality and good craftsmanship. The county town of Northampton is full of treasures, Romanesque, seventeenth-century and late-Victorian—that is to say St. Peter's and St. Sepulchre's for the first, the Assize Courts and All Saints' Church for the second, and St. Mary's, St. Matthew's and St. Lawrence's for the third. But it has what must be the best market square left in England, now that Norwich has ruined its own with the new Town Hall. The cobbled square at Northampton, with its stalls and varied seventeenth- and eighteenth-century houses in brick, ironstone and stucco, is a thing to see of a fine evening when the stalls are still there to hide the ground-floor shop-fronts, the motor-cars are out of the way and Cowper, Clare and Doddridge seem to be near. Northampton is lucky in having pasture in its midst, with cattle grazing in the public parks of Abington and Delapré.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE MEMORIES

THE editor has asked me for reminiscences of Northamptonshire. I am in my ninety-first year and my memory (except for what has occurred lately) is still good. Moreover, there were two periods in which I had exceptional opportunities of observing men and things in nearly all parts of the county except the Soke. In both, journalism was my base of observation: in the 1880's as a reporter on the staff of the *Northampton Mercury* and, twenty years later, as editor of the same paper and its evening satellite. Putting first what I know best, I will begin with the development of the local press. And here, to make the story plain, I must in a paragraph or two look back beyond the reach of memory.

The *Mercury*, founded in 1720, is one of the oldest English newspapers.[1] There were newspapers at Worcester, Stamford, and Leeds before the *Northampton Mercury* appeared, but in none of those cases was regular publication unbroken. Our *Mercury* may rightly claim the longest continuous issue of any newspaper.[2] It was published by one family, the Diceys, for 165 years. For ten years they occupied premises in George Row, next to the George Hotel,[3] and for 169 years the paper was printed in the old building[4] in the Parade on the north side of the Market Square, where I began my training in 1881. During most of that time it preserved a monopoly position in an area which in some directions extended far beyond the county. As it took no side in politics it appealed equally to all who then read newspapers : that is, to the families in great houses, to squires and parsons, the more intelligent farmers, and the rising urban middle-class. It was the only paper in which they could advertise, and for a long time provided the only general printing works.

That enviable position was lost in 1831. The proprietor then, T. E. Dicey, was of a new type. His predecessors had been shrewd and successful traders ; T. E., a Senior Wrangler and a good man of business, was profoundly religious and developed a strong sense of public duty. It must have been with his eyes open that he sacrificed the *Mercury's* valuable monopoly. When, in 1831, it supported the Whig Reform Bill, the Tory leaders in the county founded and for many years financed the *Northampton Herald*.[5] Other competitors soon appeared in smaller towns within the circulation area. The *Mercury's* second century brought frustrations and crises.

The Diceys became absentees. For forty years up to his death in 1871, the editor was George James de Wilde, son of a theatrical portrait painter whose works are still occasionally sold, and father of the de Wilde who, as a church architect, did distinguished work in the Peterborough diocese. He was an accomplished editor with two first-class intellects always available

[1] There are two short histories of the *Northampton Mercury:* (1) by Arthur Adcock (1891); (2) by W. W. Hadley, (1920), both published by the Mercury Press.

[2] This is proved by its files in the British Museum and in Northampton Public Library. The set at Northampton, given by Professor A. V. Dicey, is to a considerable extent indexed; and this, of course, adds greatly to its value.

[3] The George was demolished in 1921, and Lloyds Bank now stands on the site.

[4] The site is now occupied by the Arcade. There were two shops between the *Mercury* Office and the then corner of Newland. The large square garden at the back of the office had gone out of cultivation.

[5] The *Herald* was founded by Sir Charles Knightley of Fawsley, William Cartwright, the Squire of Aynhoe, Sir Robert Gunning of Horton, and William Wills, the Squire of Astrop, in 1831, for the advocation of "High Tory politics." The deeds and papers relating to its foundation are in the Knightley Collection at the Northants Record Office.

for consultation. I say two, because T. E. Dicey had married a daughter of James Stephen, one of Wilberforce's chief collaborators in the anti-slavery movement. From him sprang generations of intellectuals, and Mrs. Dicey was one of them. Leslie Stephen, the author, and FitzJames Stephen, the judge, were her nephews. She died in 1879, having owned the paper during twenty years of widowhood.

Through those two decades two of her sons were in turn what would now be called editor-in-chief. Both are no doubt remembered by some of my readers. The first was Edward, one of the ablest London journalists of his time. He helped to make the reputation of the *Daily Telegraph*, was editor of the *Daily News* for a short time and of the *Observer* for many years. Professor A. V. Dicey, who succeeded him in control of the *Mercury*, was the highest academic authority on English constitutional law.

I remember the Professor well, for he was frequently in Northampton during my early years there, wrote the chief leading article every week and took charge of the paper during the editor's absence. All his life he suffered from a muscular disability which made his walk a shamble and his handwriting (when his secretary was off duty, for only then did we see it) the most illegible I ever tried to decipher. But the leaders which came from Oxford every Friday morning were of a quality that has never been equalled in the local Press since his day. I am the only survivor of those who received his farewell message when, in 1885—he being an old man and the last of his family—the *Mercury* was sold to S. S. Campion.[6]

This ended a feud that had bedevilled the position of the Liberal Press in Northamptonshire for many years. When J. G. de Wilde died the paper's chief reporter was Campion, then a young man. He very much desired the editorship and, when it was given to another he started the Radical *Guardian* which was sold for a penny while the two other papers remained at twopence. Gossip said he was the victim of religious intolerance. The Diceys were Church folk ; there was a "*Mercury* pew" in All Saints Church ; and Campion was rejected, we were told, because he was a Nonconformist. This was, I am sure, an idle tale. The reason for the appointment of D. A. Peachey—my first editor—was that his political and general outlook coincided with the Diceys'.

Campion was a first-rate reporter and a pungent political writer, but he had some weaknesses as an editor and was not a good newspaper manager. Early in 1880 when political feeling was running high, he founded an evening paper, the *Mail*. The Diceys at once replied with the *Daily Reporter* (afterwards the *Daily Echo*), and the *Chronicle* came from the *Herald* office a week later. Three evening papers in a town with less than 50,000 people ! They could not all live, and the *Mail* died within a year.

The *Herald*, by this time substantially prosperous, was owned by three successive Butterfields, the first of whom acquired it, I believe, from Sir Rainald Knightley. James the father, Henry the son, and Cleveland the grandson—I knew them all. They were alike in being industrious and successful business men and in never acquiring even modest distinction as journalists. This was reflected in the staff and, of course, in the news columns. Reporters of quality rarely stayed long. One in my early time was Robert Donald, a young Scotsman, who halted in Northampton for a few months on his way to London where he won fame as editor of the *Daily Chronicle*. One other deserves honourable mention. It was a *Herald* reporter,

[6] Samuel Smith Campion. He died in 1938, aged 90.

G. W. E. Stone, afterwards a Worcester editor, who recited whole pages of *Paradise Lost* to me as we sat on a five-barred gate at a ploughing match on the Rutland border.

The reporter who was best known throughout the county, W. F. Skinner, was of a different class. He had little education and no cultural interests, but was of imposing physical presence and a gusto that attracted attention everywhere : he was much better known than the proprietor who paid his modest salary. From morning till night he was a great beer drinker but never touched spirits before the day's work was done. I remember him as a man of character and a tender heart. We both attended a series of big Temperance meetings and every night he wept copiously as the evils of strong drink were emotionally exposed. His colleague, C. M. Purvis, was a fanatical teetotaller whose racing notes and tips were far more influential than politics in building up the *Chronicle's* circulation.

One of my early recollections is of a few lively young Radicals who exercised their wits in trying to bring the *Chronicle* into ridicule. This was attempted and occasionally done by short contributions, either in prose or verse, which contained some offensive vulgarity that, it was hoped, would not be discovered before publication. One was a letter from Hookey Walker (I think that was the name) who, giving an Oxford College as his address, reported a recent find of Roman remains at Brixworth. One article was particularly described and the "Latin" quotation on its rim quoted. When the words were properly spaced this became a description in naked Saxon of a common domestic utensil. "It looked like Latin", pleaded the man who passed the letter to the printers. A young solicitor sent in a poem that, at first reading, appeared to be a contribution which a Conservative paper might welcome from a political opponent. It didn't go through the whole of the day's issue, for the initial letters in each line, read from top to bottom were soon found to be an insolent affront to Henry Butterfield.

I cannot remember that any such vulgarities got into the *Mercury* or its evening offshoot under either the Diceys or Campion. On the management side they were inferior to the Butterfields. The Diceys, being absentees, had no close knowledge of the declining business organisation : their chief concern was for the paper's character, public spirit, and honourable dealing. These were deep-rooted and persisted after their ownership had ceased. Campion, in turn, was a cultured man who knew good writing from bad and helped to makes some excellent journalists.

In my first period there the liveliest reporter was Ernest Scott. He was versatile, wrote with distinction and his best work was talked about. There was one occasion, indeed, on which it led to violence. An actor who was incensed by Scott's criticism called at the office and there was an exciting scene in which the staff's athlete, Arthur Croxton Smith, appeared in the nick of time and deposited the visitor on the Parade side-path. Smith afterwards had a long and successful career as a writer about dogs. Scott went to Australia as a journalist, made a great reputation there and became Professor of History in Melbourne University. (His first wife was a daughter of Annie Besant). Two others who were colleagues of Scott in 1885-6 were Leonard Rees and myself. Rees was editor of *The Sunday Times* for thirty years, and I, who succeeded him in that position, for nearly twenty.

The Campion proprietorship lasted about twenty years. There were at first some signs of new enterprise. The evening paper was brightened ; the *Mercury* was freed from competition except from the *Herald*. This meant killing two penny papers, Campion's *Guardian* and the Dicey's *Weekly Reporter*. Bernard Campion, ardent and energetic, joined his father as assistant editor but soon left journalism for a successful career at the Bar. Then it was that the circulation of the *Chronicle* began to shoot ahead most sharply. The Butterfields were at their office early

and late : their managerial direction, plodding and unseen, was never relaxed. Campion was not a practical man on the business side. Nor did he give full editorial service to his papers. He had become a very busy public man. No one in the town did more public work ; and by 1905 he had decided to give his whole time to it.

The *Mercury* and its associated papers were then bought by a company in which the Spencers were for some years the chief shareholders. Ryland Adkins[7] was the first chairman; A. E. Marlow[8] and Edward Lewis[9] were his successors. Other directors included Harry Manfield[10] and, after him, his brother James.[11] Arthur Adcock,[12] the chief of Campion's staff, was appointed editor and held the position until 1908 when he was succeeded by the present writer. It is not for me to pass judgment on my own happy and exhilarating work, though I ought to confess that at the end of it the *Chronicle's* circulation was still much the larger. The Kettering papers were doing well on their side of the county and it became obvious that the remainder of the circulation area could not adequately support two evening papers, the cost of producing which was steadily rising.

Cleveland Butterfield occasionally expressed a strong desire to acquire the Mercury Company. I always replied that it was he who would be bought out, though I was not able to bring that about. After fifteen years I was tired ; it was—really it was !—as a rest cure, that at fifty-eight, I joined the political staff of the London *Daily Chronicle*. Mr. Francis Graves succeeded me in Northampton.

As the only person now living who knows the whole story perhaps I ought to report the strange proceedings that led to all the Northampton papers being gobbled by a London syndicate. I remained a director of the Mercury Company for six years after removing to London. The largest shareholders then were Edward Lewis and his brother Thomas. Though willing to leave their money, or part of it, in the business, they thought the controlling interest should be held by someone with practical knowledge of newspaper management. They asked me early in 1929 if I could find such a man, one who would maintain the Liberal character of the papers. I did find him. He was Sir Charles Starmer, head of what was called the Starmer Group of daily and weekly papers, largely owned by the Rowntrees.

Starmer was willing to buy but only if he could also acquire the Conservative papers and bring about a merger. He saw Cleveland Butterfield and found him ready to sell at the price tentatively offered. It was the eve of a general election in which Starmer was a candidate ; and they agreed to meet a month later to complete the transaction.

A few days before the month was up, Butterfield heard gossip that the Mercury Company had been bought by Mr. William Harrison, whose newspaper deals were then notorious. It was untrue : such a sale had not been suggested on one side or the other, directly or indirectly. But Butterfield believed it. Afraid of being left in the lurch, he saw Mr. Harrison (who had previously

[7] Sir Ryland Adkins, Kt., K.C., of Northampton, (1862-1925) Chairman of Northants County Council from 1920 to 1925.

[8] A. E. Marlow, (1870-1922), shoe manufacturer, son of John Marlow, founder of the firm of John Marlow & Sons, Northampton.

[9] Edward Lewis, (1861-1927), shoe manufacturer and founder of the firm of C. & E. Lewis of Northampton.

[10] Harry Manfield, (1855-1923), son of Sir M. P. Manfield, M.P. for Mid-Northants, 1906-1918. Partner in Manfield & Sons.

[11] James Manfield, younger brother of Harry Manfield, and also partner in Manfield & Sons. Died aged 69 in 1925. First chairman and hon. treasurer of the Northants Record Society.

[12] Arthur Adcock, editor, for the six years of its existence, of the *Northamptonshire County Magazine* (1928-1933). He went to Australia in 1935 and died there, aged 87, in 1949.

approached him) and agreed to sell the *Herald* and *Chronicle* to him for £175,000. Starmer was both surprised and disappointed that the bargain at the price he offered—£200,000—had fallen through. Butterfield, of course, was intensely annoyed to find that he had needlessly sacrificed £25,000.

It was the Mercury Company that was left in the lurch. Within a few weeks Mr. Harrison, on behalf of the interests he represented, bought all the Northampton newspapers. His connection with them was very short. They are now part of the highly prosperous Provincial Newspapers, Ltd.

Though the public heard nothing of this at the time, the *Mercury* very nearly lost its name as well as its local owners. When the papers came to be merged, the new directors were concerned more with lucre than with titles, and the *Herald* earned the most from advertising. It was a letter from the Marquess of Exeter, Conservative Lord Lieutenant, which persuaded them to retain the title of the 210 years old Liberal paper.

While still in my teens, I watched with eager interest the passing of an ancient ruling class. For hundreds of years the large landowners were supreme in Parliament and, as Justices of the Peace, monopolised county administration. The Reform Act of 1832 left them in possession of the House of Lords but destroyed their control of the House of Commons, though their influence remained decisive in many rural constituencies. There also they were disestablished in 1885; a few years later their powers in local government were given to the new County Councils ; and the bench at Petty Sessions soon ceased to be their exclusive possession.

These successive changes, which came about with general assent, transferred power in local government from nominees of the Crown to publicly elected persons. How it was done, and the part which some leading Northamptonshire men took in it, I will deal with in another article. Here I confine myself to the political changes.

In the first general election I remember, that of 1880, the two divisions of the county returned four members to the House of Commons—Burghley[13] and Spencer[14] for the North, Knightley[15] and Cartwright[16] for the South. For centuries before the same names had appeared from time to time on the rolls of Parliament. To be an M.P. was still, in my early years, a perquisite of great families in many rural areas. But not after 1880. At the next elections five years later ruling conditions were very different : the labourers had the vote, party organisations were finding middle-class leaders and these were soon firm in the saddle. Burghley House, Althorp, Fawsley, and Aynho still possessed great influence, but it was no longer decisive.

The Conservative demand for redistribution of seats being conceded, our two county divisions became four—North, East, Mid, and South. I well remember the official inquiries before the boundaries were fixed. Though the new constituencies were about half the size of the old, the burden on candidates was much more than doubled. With the small electorate before 1885 they need address only a few meetings in the market towns and these could be held in daytime when the farmers were there. With household suffrage all the villages must be visited. This meant several meetings a night, for the candidate was expected to go to the larger places more than once. There was no transport except in horse-drawn vehicles. Where to meet was sometimes

[13] The Hon. Brownlow Henry George Cecil, Lord Burghley, afterwards 4th Marquess of Exeter, (1849-1898), M.P. for North Northants, 1877-1895.

[14] The Hon. Charles Robert Spencer, afterwards 6th Earl Spencer, (1857-1922), M.P. for North Northants 1880-1885, for Mid-Northants 1885-1895, 1900-1905.

[15] Sir Rainald Knightley, Bart. (1819-1895), M.P. for South Northants 1852-1892, created Lord Knightley of Fawsley, 1892.

[16] Fairfax William Cartwright, grandson of William Ralph Cartwright of Aynho. He died in 1881.

a difficulty. The use of public houses had been made illegal by a recent Act and some authorities were reluctant to allow political gatherings in their school buildings. Barns were occasionally used.[17] The first meeting I attended in the 1885 election campaign was in the old market hall which stands in the middle of the main street at Brackley ; the last, on the eve of the poll there, was in Oundle's similar hall.

Rainald Knightley, who had been in Parliament for over thirty years, pluckily fought the South again. It was a cruel strain for one who no longer found speech-making easy and who was more likely to be distressed than inspired by new policies. But he was not the man to turn away from what he thought a duty because it might be disagreeable.

The two most popular candidates were, like Knightley, representatives of the old order. Robert Spencer—"Bobby"—who won the Mid had not then fully acquired the facility of speech which many remember, but his political knowledge won respect ; and he was an exceptionally cultured man. Though not so well informed politically, Burghley was liked by all and the new North Division gave him a safe seat. I do not forget how charming he was to me at a meeting where my presence was not desired. Francis Channing,[18] a new type of candidate with interesting American associations, began a long connection with the East, the only one of the new constituencies which could always be counted safe for the Liberals. As it included Kettering, Wellingborough and Rushden it was mainly urban.

Much the ablest Conservative in the county—perhaps the best equipped local politician of any colour—was Stopford Sackville.[19] In 1880 he lost his seat in the North, and the party adopted Burghley in 1885 when the Division returned only one member. Sackville sat again for the North from 1900 to 1906. Though skilful in the give-and-take of local government, he was in national politics too independent and sensitive to make an ideal candidate. In turn he distrusted Disraeli, disliked the influence of Randolph Churchill and Joseph Chamberlain on the Conservative party, and found Lloyd George intolerable. Perhaps I may say here that some men of such independent minds ought to be in Parliament. But Westminster's loss in Sackville's case was great gain in Northampton County Hall.

I need say nothing of Lord Spencer's[20] high place in the Liberal hierarchy. Being Lord Lieutenant he did not publicly discuss politics in the county.

There was no Labour party then ; nor did trade unions take part in politics. In our own county a few natural orators who would probably have been local Labour leaders if they had been born a generation later were content to be Radicals. Kettering possessed the chief of them : Charles Pollard, a power on the platform. No election audience was worried by the late arrival of the candidate if Pollard was holding forth. Another was Thomas Judge, a Brackley grocer whose voice was familiar in all the villages between Towcester and Banbury. I do not remember any Conservatives of the same type. One of their coming young men then was A. J. ("Pat") Darnell[21] whom I heard speak out of doors at Roade when he still looked a schoolboy.

When I returned to Northampton in 1908, after an absence of more than twenty years, I found many changes. The old parties still preferred local men as Parliamentary candidates, but

[17] The 6th Earl Spencer once told me that he was sometimes obliged to take a tent with him in which to hold his meetings. Ed.

[18] Sir Francis Channing, afterwards 1st Baron Channing of Wellingborough (1841-1926), M.P. for E. Northants 1885-1910.

[19] Sackville George Stopford Sackville, of Drayton House, Northants, (1840-1926), M.P. for North Northants, 1867-1880, 1900-1906.

[20] John Poyntz, 5th Earl Spencer, (1835-1910), Lord Lieutenant of Northants, 1872-1908; M.P. for South Northants 1857, known as "the Red Earl."

chose them from a fuller field. The first of a new type locally was Philip Manfield[22] (afterwards Sir Philip) who was elected for the county town on the death of Bradlaugh. When Labouchere[23] retired without warning in 1905 the Liberals chose Herbert Paul,[24] son of a vicar of Finedon and a man of shining gifts ; historian, journalist and a brilliant speaker. Failing health excluded him from politics ; in his last phase he was a Civil Service Commissioner. Paul's colleague in the representation of Northampton was another local man, J. G. Shipman, whose family long owned the wine vaults in the Drapery. Though he had no share in the management of the business, it told against him with many Temperance electors. "Nothing will induce me," he once said to me, "to utter a word against a business to which I owe so much !"

The Labour Party was still undeveloped ; its writ did not run in all constituencies. In Northampton, for example, the extremist Social Democratic Federation chose Parliamentary candidates. There were two in the field in 1909, one a Londoner, the other James Gribble,[25] a popular local trade unionist. Afraid of losing both seats, the Liberals offered to run only one candidate if the S.D.F. withdrew the Londoner. Much to Gribble's disgust this offer was refused. He would have made a good Labour member.

When Robert Spencer went to the House of Lords, Harry Manfield took his place in the Mid Division, which he held in two fierce fights with Guy Paget. The closest interests of both were outside politics : Manfield thought more of his camera than of Blue Books ; Paget was most concerned with the annals of hunting.[26] He was an unbending Tory, and it was a painful shock when he learned that his son Reginald had turned Socialist. But political differences did not weaken family affection. I was told that, though he opened a bottle of champagne when the young man was defeated at Northampton, two bottles were opened after the next contest, which he won.

All the FitzRoys did not leave Northamptonshire when the Dukes of Grafton departed from Wakefield Lawn ; and Captain FitzRoy[27] sat in the House of Commons for many years as member for the South. He was a party man who never forgot that he was a gentleman. In one election I caused him much trouble which one would have expected him to resent ; instead, when the election was over he came to thank me for my fairness.

It was a great pleasure years afterwards to witness his election as Speaker of the House of Commons. He had never been a conspicuous member, and had no great political influence. It was his character that inspired confidence and he justified it by complete impartiality. His preferences, of course, still survived within the inner recesses of his mind. For a time while he was Speaker I had a seat in the front row of the Gallery immediately above the Chair. Occasionally, when debate was dull, one heard the faint rumbling of a voice below. It was Captain FitzRoy, who was probably telling himself what he thought of the speech then being delivered;

[21] A. J. Darnell of Northampton, Borough Coroner for 40 years, and a great cricket enthusiast. He died, aged 90, in 1955. He was a tall burly man and was a striking figure in the top hat and frock coat which he wore daily to the end of his life.

[22] Sir Moses Philip Manfield of Northampton, (1819-1899), shoe-manufacturer, M.P. for the Borough (succeeding Bradlaugh), from 1891 to 1895.

[23] Henry Labouchere, 1885-1900, M.P. for Northampton, 1880-1906.

[24] Herbert Paul, (1853-1935), son of Rev. G. W. Paul, vicar of Finedon. M.P. for Northampton 1906-1909.

[25] James Gribble, (1868-1934).

[26] Guy Paget, of Sulby Hall, author of *The History of the Pytchley Hunt*, and many other books, was killed in the hunting field in 1952.

[27] Captain the Hon. Edward Algernon FitzRoy, (1869-1943), 2nd son of 3rd Baron Southampton, of West Haddon, M.P. for South Northants, 1900-1906, 1910-1918, and for the Daventry Division of Northants 1918-1943, Speaker of the House of Commons, 1928-1943.

a downright word—with no context—sometimes reached ears nearest to him on the Treasury Bench. However sudden the call, though, there was no echo of these self-communings in any rulings he gave to the House. As Speaker he earned the confidence of all parties.

I add one curious early recollection. It is that wherever men were gathered together they presented a seriousness and gravity of aspect that is missing today. In all grades of society they wore beards, kept short by the young but lengthening and widening with the years until the chest was nearly covered. Mouth and chin were concealed and until quality was revealed by speech one could not judge who was intelligent and who stupid. If only he kept silence any full-bearded man might long maintain a reputation for sagacity.

The nearest local contemporary evidence of the prevalence of this hirsute habit is in a book published in 1893—"Our County"—in which there are appreciations of forty Northamptonshire men by Ryland Adkins with excellent pen-and-ink drawings of them all by W. B. Shoosmith. Of the forty only three were clean-shaven, six wore a moustache, nine were side-whiskered and twenty-two had full beards. The three who used the razor most were Dr. Greene, the Medical Superintendent of Berry Wood Asylum ; E. C. Burton, the Daventry solicitor ; and Will Goodall, the Pytchley Huntsman.

W. W. HADLEY.

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EARLY NORTHAMPTONSHIRE CRICKET

ALTHOUGH the most midland of English counties is the home of a very lengthy cricket tradition, this tradition has been comparatively quiet, lacking both bold publicity and great associations, and evocative of persevering and homely ways which know more of struggle and retrenchment than vivid success and vast wealth.

The origin of cricket in the county is a matter of conjecture. In days of yore records were not preserved and newspapers paid little attention to the game. Probably the earliest reference was in August, 1741, when "*The Northampton Mercury*" reported that "on Tuesday August 18th, in the Cow Meadow near this town, the Gentlemen of Northants [played] Those of Buckinghamshire for twenty guineas a side, wickets pitched at 10." We read that during the same month "the cricket match played at Woburn Park [in Bedfordshire] on Monday, the 10th, inst., between Eleven Gentlemen of Bedfordshire (his Grace the Duke of Bedford[1] being engaged on one side and the Earls of Sandwich[2] and Halifax[3] on the other) was won by the latter. That Northampton had an organised club before the American War of Independence can be understood from the following notice in 1775 : " The members of the Northampton Cricket Club have chosen eleven of the Society [i.e. Club] against the towns of East and West Haddon and Guilsborough ; to play for a silver cup value £5 at Gayton, near Northampton . . . . The Laws of the Game are to be strictly observed in playing". Those were years of great gambling fever; sometimes the stake was small, sometimes it was alarmingly big. On one occasion "Bets are 5 to 4 against Northampton", several hats being at stake ; on another, in 1811, when a game was arranged between Thorney (in Cambridgeshire) and Peterborough, the stake was *one hundred guineas* a side.

It was not until the first three decades of the nineteenth century, however, that the game can be said to have really spread. Peterborough had a very active club; played matches as far afield as Boston and Spalding in Lincolnshire, St. Ives and Orton in Huntingdonshire and Wisbech in Cambridgeshire ; and was, perhaps, the most important cricketing centre. Quite frequent references to the game at Chipping Warden, Cosgrove, Blatherwick, Ufford, Rockingham, Pitsford, Hollowell, Naseby, Cottesbrooke, Creaton, Sulby and Wellingborough can be found before 1835. A new Northampton club was formed in 1820, with a membership of under fifty and a fixture-list

[1] John, 4th Duke of Bedford, K.G. (1710-71).
[2] John, 4th Earl of Sandwich (1718-92), of Hinchinbroke, Hunts., (1718-92).
[3] George Montagu-Dunk, 5th Earl of Halifax, of Horton, died 1771. Lord-Lieutenant of Northants., 1749-71.

of some six matches. On July 22nd, 1826, "*The Huntingdon Journal*" reported with a period flavour, that "the gentlemen and tradesmen of Oundle lately formed a cricket club. They play for suitable refreshment—a rump and dozen." In September, 1833, the Gentlemen of Northampton visited Lees Court[4] in Kent, and lost by 6 wickets ; a longish journey for a defeat in those days.

Patrons during this period included the Lord Sondes,[5] who permitted the Rockingham club to use his ground, especially for their fixtures with Oakham School. One, at least, of these games (in 1819) must have commenced uncommonly early, for there were four completed innings before "Lord Sondes with his accustomed liberality entertained the whole of the players with a most sumptuous dinner at four o'clock, and the day was passed with the greatest conviviality." Other patrons were Arthur Annesley of Ufford, who led his team on tours of Rutland; the Reverend E. C. Wright[6] of Pitsford; and Sir Robert Gunning[7] and Mr. George Payne.[8] Indeed, "*The Leicester Journal*" of September 21st, 1832, reported that the two latter gentlemen, together with the Northampton Corporation, "will make a cricket ground at Northampton and establish a County Club in proper form by next season." Although there is no record, apparently, of this course of action having been undertaken, the game must have been in a healthy state at that time. If the proposed County Club had been founded in 1833 it would have been the first of its kind. As it is, the honour rests with Sussex (1836).

Eventually the County Cricket Club was founded "about 1843"; and particulars of its origin are naturally meagre. We know that it grew out of the Northampton Town Club, and that teams of amateurs styled either "The Gentlemen of Northamptonshire" or "The County"—often versus "The Town"—did battle for the County during its earliest years. The first inter-county matches of which we have details took place in 1847, Bedfordshire being the opponents, Northants winning at Northampton by an innings and 65 runs and Bedfordshire at Bedford by 168 runs. It was not strange for five or more clergymen to be included in the ranks of the County, and very useful cricketers some of them were, notably, J. Randolph,[9] F. Thursby[10] and the Hon. F. Spencer,[11] a member of the eminent Whig family. The Fourth Earl Spencer became President in the 'forties, and thus commenced the family patronage, which has endured to the present day. Matches were frequently

[4] See note 5.

[5] Lewis Richard Monson-Watson, 3rd baron Sondes, of Lees Court, Kent, and Rockingham Castle, Northants; died 1836. "A gentleman of rather eccentric habits and a great patron of sport." (C. Wise, *Rockingham Castle and the Watsons*, p. 115). Lord Sondes was a great patron of cricket in Kent.

[6] The Rev. Edward Collins Wright, died 1842, aged 65. Curate at Pitsford from 1807; rector, 1824-42 (H.I.L.).

[7] Sir Robert Gunning, 3rd Bart., of Horton, (1795-1862).

[8] George Payne of Sulby Hall, Northants, (1803-78); Master of the Pytchley Hounds, 1835-38, 1844-48; a great sporting character and spendthrift. (D.N.B.).

[9] The Rev. John Randolph (1821-1881) was successively between 1849 and 1866, rector of Tyringham, curate of Bradwell, and incumbent of Tattenhoe all of which places are in Bucks. He was rector of Sanderstead 1866-81, and auditor of the M.C.C. 1875-81.

[10] The Rev. M. W. F. Thursby, 2nd son of John Harvey Thursby, the last squire of Abington. He was rector of Abington from 1847 until his death aged 48 in 1869. (H.I.L.).

[11] Charles Frederick Octavius Spencer, 6th son of the 1st Lord Churchill, born 1824.

played on Lord Spencer's private cricket-ground at Althorp. Another well-used ground was the race-course at Northampton.

The County could not always muster their full strength, tended to begin too late in the season and venture too few matches away from home. Weakness was sometimes apparent, as in 1849, when, against Northampton Town, they "gave up the match", the town requiring only 10 runs to win. In 1850 it was promised, however, that the County would be "prepared to play Rugby, Leicestershire, Bedfordshire, or any of the Clubs around."

The All-England Touring Team, which was founded by William Clarke in 1846, gave a tremendous fillip to the game, not least in Northamptonshire. Twenty-two of Peterborough held the powerful combination to a draw in August, 1850 ; and the Tourists first played Twenty-two of Northamptonshire in August, 1852, winning by 44 runs. Until 1877, either the All-England Eleven or one or more of its various offshoots, visited the county at least twenty times, not always outplaying the combinations opposing them. A number of eminent professionals often played as 'given' men for the home sides. W. G. Grace played at Northampton in 1870 and 1873, without achieving anything of note.

The Reverend J. Randolph, an old Oxford blue and a useful batsman, selected the Twenty-two's of Northamptonshire for the early matches, while he was Incumbent of Tattenhoe, but "*Lillywhite's Cricketer's Guide*" noted, with a degree of shock, that the team for 1854 contained *four players from other counties;* a reminder that not only *present-day* Northamptonshire sides have been cosmopolitan !

The first professional produced by the County is believed to have been one Jacob Abraham,[12] who appeared occasionally against the All-England Teams, and was coach at Exeter College, Oxford, for several years. A sturdy type, he married four times, and died in March, 1914 at the age of 82.

Although during the 'sixties and early 'seventies there were a number of excellent individual performances, representative cricket, despite the visits of the "missionary" teams, was at a lower ebb than it should have been. Inter-county matches were still few and far between, only occasional fixtures with Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire filling the void. In 1867 Twelve of I Zingari defeated Eighteen of the County at Althorp Park by 7 wickets, and in 1870 on the same ground an I Zingari Eleven had the better of a drawn game with Fourteen Gentlemen of Northamptonshire. In 1875 the County defeated Uppingham Rovers by 8 wickets, and "*Scores and Biographies*" commented : "A club playing a county is rather derogatory to the latter." When the County met Huntingdonshire in 1861, and lost by 31 runs, all the players engaged were unknown to fame. A number of heavy defeats were suffered at the hands of the Gentlemen of Warwickshire and the Gentlemen of Huntingdonshire ;

[12] A Jacob Abraham, "machinist," occurs as living in Clare Street, Northampton, in 1884. (Robert's *Northampton Directory*). A machinist was an operative in a shoe factory.

but the tables were turned on August 17th and 18th, 1865, when the former were overwhelmed by an innings and 148 runs, thanks to some brilliant all-round play. When the County defeated Oxford University in 1862 by an innings and 50 runs, the win was not wholly by their proficiency, for in the only Northants innings, the 'Varsity gave away 37 byes, 13 wides and 6 leg byes.

Nevertheless, Northamptonshire cricket had its heroes, and several officials worked hard to infuse enthusiasm. Messrs. W. G. Hollis,[13] H. Butterfield,[14] J. H. Becke[15] and T. S. Muddeman[16] were a succession of energetic honorary secretaries ; and in 1873, in his twentieth year, Frederick Thomas Tebbutt[17] was appointed to the post. A wholly admirable choice, he was, for many years, captain of the St. Katherine's club of Northampton, a keen Churchman and a great helper of youth, and played for the County—sometimes captaining the side—as a fast-scoring batsman until 1893. James Henry Becke was a keen athlete and a long-distance runner. When at Oxford he used to walk the 40 miles back to Northampton in a day.

Two early professionals were Thomas Plumb, Junior, and Joseph Potter. The former was a son of the landlord of "The Cricketers" at Northampton, himself captain of the Northampton Tradesmen's club and a County player. The famous sporting paper of those times, "*Bell's Life*," for September 12th, 1841, recorded that Thomas Plumb, Junior, 8 years of age, was ready to play cricket with any boy in the County of his age for from £1 to £5 a side. Such enthusiasm reaped its own reward ; Plumb became one of the finest wicket-keepers in the British Isles, often playing in the great matches of the day at Lord's and the Oval. Although as a batsman, in his younger days he was instructed to "pay more attention to 'judgement' rather than play so much by eye and guess," he became a "fine and free hitter"—once, however, commencing an innings with 19 singles—and could bowl fast if required. A popular cricketer of sterling merit and tall and well-built, Tom Plumb's career for Northants extended until 1884. Unhappily, he died in straitened circumstances on March 29th, 1905, in his seventy-second year.

Joseph Potter was born at Northampton, and first played against the various Touring Teams about 1860. Of under average height he was a round-armed medium-paced bowler, an occasionally useful, if not attractive, batsman, and good field at point. He too had a long career, appearing in turn for Northants, Kent, Surrey, Wiltshire and then Northants again, making his

[13] William Griffiths Hollis of 1 Sheep Street, Northampton; shoe manufacturer. He served in the Northamptonshire Volunteers (1860-89), retiring with the rank of Major (*Northampton Directory*; Volunteer Records at Northants Record Office; and information from Miss M. E. Hern).

[14] Henry Butterfield, for many years editor of the *Northampton Herald.*

[15] J. H. Becke was son of John Becke, solicitor, and grandson of Henry, founder of the present firm of Becke, Green & Stops, Northampton. He took holy orders and was rector of Beckingham, Lincs. (*Ex. inf.* Mr. J. F. Gammage).

[16] Thomas S. Muddeman or Muddiman, auctioneer, of Newland, and later of 11 St. Giles's Street, Northampton. (*Ex inf.* Miss M. E. Hern, and Whellan's *Directory*, 1874).

[17] Frederick Thomas Tebbutt kept a shoe shop in George Row, Northampton. His brother was a shoe manufacturer.

last appearance for his native shire in 1888. For several years a coach at Marlborough and a First-Class umpire, Potter died at Northampton on June 2nd, 1906, at the age of 67.

Amateurs still dominated the scene. The best of them was the Reverend Hugh Hodgson Gillett,[18] a native of Melton Mowbray and a brilliant all-rounder. A Wykehamist and an Oxford blue, he appeared for the County while serving as a curate at Finedon (1862-5). A very hard-hitter, a medium-paced round-arm bowler and a cover point or long on with a very good throw, his performances included :—

141 not out for North Northamptonshire v. Stamford in 1864.
107 not out for North Northamptonshire v. Bedfordshire in 1864.
126 not out and 10 wickets for Gentlemen of Northamptonshire v. Gentlemen of Warwickshire in 1865.

The Rev. H. H. Gillett, who also represented Leicestershire, died on January 22nd, 1915, at the age of 79.

Henry Edward Bull, an Oxford blue who was a brilliant forward-playing batsman and, strange to our modern ears, "a first-rate long-stop", was, perhaps, better known in connection with Buckinghamshire C.C.C. An excellent opening bat, he scored 39 not out (out of 56 - 11 wickets) for Twenty-two of Northampton v. The United England Eleven in 1861; and for North Northamptonshire v. Northampton in 1863, he carried his bat through both innings, reaching 63 (out of 145) and 77 (out of 136).

C. E.—later Sir Courtenay Edmund—Boyle, sometime Permanent Secretary to the Board of Trade, played occasionally while Private Secretary to the 5th Earl Spencer. A "pretty bat, sure, steady and confident" and "a splendid field at point," he was an old Carthusian and another Oxford blue. Canon William Bury,[19] known as "deerfoot," for many years rector of Haselbeech, made a few fugitive appearances. A Cambridge blue, he was a fine, free and powerful hitter and, as his nickname suggests, a magnificent field. He also played for Notts.

Between 1873 and 1877 Northants played a very quiet part in minor cricket. Thanks to the initiative of Mr. Tebbutt, the M.C.C. were met for the first time in 1873 at Lord's, and, after a tussle, the County were worsted by 4 wickets, despite John Furley's 8 - 93. Furley, incidentally, was an amateur hailing from Oakham, and often played under the assumed name of "A. Yorker, Esq." The M.C.C. won again in 1876, although Potter claimed 5 - 3 in the course of 92 balls in their second innings; and again in 1877, but by the small margin of 15 runs, pulling the match "out of the fire." In this game Furley scored 72 and 51 and Potter captured 9 - 101. At Northampton, how-

[18] The Rev. Hugh Hodgson Gillett, (1836-1915,) a Leicestershire man, was son of the Rev. G. E. Gillett, hon. canon of Peterborough. He was curate of Finedon, 1862-65, and of Wadenhoe, 1871-77. (H.I.L.). He played for Leicestershire and married a sister of S. S. Campion, editor of the *Northampton Mercury*.

[19] The Rev. William Bury, (b. 1839), rector of Haselbeech, 1867-82, and of Harlestone, 1882-1907, when he went to Middlesex. He was canon of Peterborough Cathedral. (H.I.L.).

ever, a month later the home side turned the tables by winning by 100 runs, J. Turner and J. P. Kingston batting skilfully, and Charles Johnson, one of the rarely engaged professionals, and Potter sharing 18 wickets between them. It should be noted that Joseph Potter was invariably at his best in the fixtures with the reasonably strong M.C.C. sides. Mixed fortune was enjoyed against Bedfordshire. Dismissing them for scores of 51 and 117 at Northampton in May, 1876, Northants proved victorious by 7 wickets (Tom Plumb contributing 68 not out); in the return at Bedford, however, in August, the visitors were routed for scores of 66 and 22 and lost by an innings.

The 'seventies witnessed the initial appearances of the eldest members of the Kingston brotherhood, Frederick William and James Phillip. Eight of the nine sons of Mr. William Kingston, Headmaster of Abington House School, Northampton, played for the County. "Kingston" became a household name; between 1873 and 1909 few sides went into the field without at least one Kingston in them. The two youngest brothers, W. H. and H. E., were members of the Eleven when First-Class status was attained in 1905. Frederick William won his blue at Cambridge as a batsman and deputy wicket-keeper; but James Phillip, a batsman of splendid style and the most brilliant punishing powers, a useful leg-break bowler, and a fielder "whose lightning catches at point are almost a monopoly of his own," was probably the most gifted cricketer of the family. He captained the County from 1877-1887 and again in 1891, and was elected the first paid Secretary in the latter year, resigning in 1893. He later played for Warwickshire. J. P. was also a versatile writer, and, like his brothers, an expert Rugby footballer. None of the Kingstons were professional cricketers.[20] Three of the brothers—Frederick, Herbert and Walter—took Holy Orders, Frederick becoming headmaster of Guilsborough Grammar School.

Mr. F. T. Tebbutt had been in office for five years when, through his exertions, the Club was reconstructed in 1878 on a more popular basis and the committee of twenty was extended to *all* divisions of the County. Although there were continuing financial difficulties, the membership rose to over 300, the fixture-list was extended and more professionals were engaged. Sir Herewald Wake,[21] for many years a generous supporter of Northants cricket and a member of the M.C.C., was amongst those who deplored the increase of the professional element. Counties such as Leicestershire, Hertfordshire, Rutland, Essex, Norfolk, Warwickshire and Lancashire, were met for the first time in the course of the next few years; and, very ambitiously, the Australians were played at Northampton in 1882. The Club had a new lease of life.

By 1878 matches were regularly played on the Northampton Race-Course, but the Committee were looking to the future when the Club would have a ground of its own. In the meantime, however, a small body of freemen of the Borough, who imagined that they possessed the freehold of the ground,

[20] G. H. Kingston, now living at Kilsby, is the sole survivor of the brothers. An account of the Kingston brothers, by the author of this article, will appear in the Year Book of the Northants C.C.C. for 1957.

[21] Sir Herewald Wake, Bart., of Courteenhall, (1852-1916).

tried unsuccessfully to remove the Club from its site; and, some years later, J. P. Kingston wrote a stirring letter to the Press advocating "State-Aided Cricket and Football Grounds."

At the Annual General Meeting in April, 1885, presided over by Sir Herewald Wake, who had found a suitable field in Abington parish, it was reported that "a new ground was in course of formation in the vicinity of Northampton," and that a Company had been formed to raise the necessary funds. The prospectus[22] opens with the words: "The imperative necessity for an enclosed Cricket Ground, in or near the Town, ... has long been admitted," and goes on to announce that a contract for the purchase, from Sir R. Loyd Lindsay,[23] of ten acres in Abington parish, "on the highest ground in the neighbourhood of Northampton," had been entered into, Sir Herewald Wake and Mr. J. Hill[24] having "already advanced the amounts necessary [£2,000] for the purchase of the ground," then a ploughed field. The capital was to be £5,000 for which promises of £1,500 had already been received, and the ground became the property of the Northamptonshire County Cricket and Recreation Grounds Company Ltd. In addition to the cricket ground there was to be a "Bicycle Track" 650 yards in length and 15 in width. Provision was also to be made for lawn tennis and bowls, football and athletics. The enterprise would surely result "in our County Cricket being advanced in a manner never before possible." This prophecy came true. At that time the County's cricket was very much on the upgrade. Between 1881 and 1884 inclusive, 29 matches had been played, of which 15 had been won and only 5 lost. The tide had turned.

It remains to be said that in 1923 Mr. Alfred Cockerill,[25] having spent £10,000 in acquiring the ground, gave it to the Club for use in perpetuity for cricket.

JAMES D. COLDHAM

Places mentioned in the above article are in Northamptonshire unless otherwise stated. Mr. J. F. Gammage, Mr. V. Hatley, Miss M. E. Hern, Mr. P. I. King, and Lord Spencer are thanked for their labours in running to ground the identifications printed in the footnotes. Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy, by H. I. Longden, is quoted therein as "H.I.L."

It is much to be regretted that the records of the Northants Cricket Club only go back a few years, all those earlier ones in the possession of the Club in 1939 *having been lost during the late war, when the Pavilion and ground were taken over by the Civil Defence Authority.*

[22] Recently discovered, and now in the Northants Record Office. The Directors of the Company were: Sir Herewald Wake, V. Cary-Elwes, (of Billing), Dr. Buszard, J. M. Markham, J. Trench, W. Pitts, the Hon. F. Henley, (of Watford Court), H. O. Nethercote, (of Moulton Grange), Joseph Hill, (of Wollaston) R. Turner, G. Vials, and C. E. Thorpe. The Secretary was A. C. Pearson, of Northampton, (afterwards County Treasurer), and the Solicitors, Messrs. Vials & Kingston of Northampton.

[23] Sir R. Loyd Lindsay, afterwards Lord Wantage. He married Harriet, only child of Lord Overstone, who inherited much property in Northamptonshire and elsewhere.

[24] Joseph Hill, squire of Wollaston, and county cricketer, sometimes captaining Northants. He subsequently commanded the Northamptonshire Militia.

[25] Alfred Cockerill, market-gardener and greengrocer, with his burly figure, rubicund face, and cheery smile, was a very popular figure locally. His spacious shop on the east side of the Drapery, Northampton is still missed. He died in 1927.

ADAM BAYNES
OF LEEDS AND HOLDENBY
Soldier, Politician, Justice of the Peace, Land Speculator, Demolition Contractor and Prisoner in the Tower

NATIONAL revolutions have always affected the ownership of land profoundly. The dissolution of the Monasteries, and the confiscation of their lands by the Crown was such a revolution. Experience shows that even powerful governments are not able to put the clock back, and revolutions are not easily undone, and the former state of affairs is not restored. The Civil Wars of the 17th century were another revolution, with a considerable effect on the structure of land-ownership.

These revolutions always produce people who can profit by them. The 16th century revolution allowed merchants and yeomen to acquire land, and found landed families. In Ireland, the successive wars of Elizabethan, Stuart, and Cromwellian times, effected a transfer of land-ownership into the hands of a new and alien class of owners.

This article is concerned with the career of a Captain of the Parliamentary Army, Adam Baynes, in so far as it affected his acquisitions of Northamptonshire land. These were of a temporary nature, and no new Northamptonshire landed family was founded[1] despite the fact that Baynes had sixteen children. The land-speculator and demolition contractor, as will be seen, are not peculiar to the 20th century.

The Palace of Holdenby was "one of the largest of the great mansions built in Elizabeth's day".[2] Its builder was Sir Christopher Hatton, the Queen's Lord Chancellor, who entertained his sovereign there. It was described by a contemporary as holding "the pre-eminence of all the modern houses I have known or heard of in England."[3] Sir Christopher's Godson and heir, Sir Christopher Hatton II, sold the Palace to King James I, and it was here that his son, Charles I, was confined in 1647, when the Scots had handed over the King to his victorious Parliament, and it was from here that he was removed by Cornet Joyce to the control of the Army.

After the King's death, Holdenby was sold to Adam Baynes, a Yorkshire merchant of good family, who had been a captain in the Parliamentary Army, and successively commissioner of excise and customs, and whose biography appears in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.[4] It is now possible to fill in one or two gaps, and to correct an important mis-statement, which has often been repeated.

Captain Baynes was a man of considerable importance under the Commonwealth. Ten volumes of letters addressed to him, chiefly on army or his own mercantile affairs in Yorkshire,

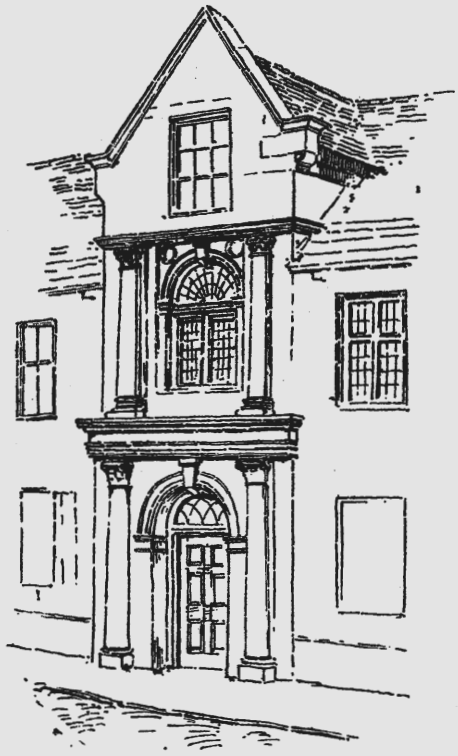
[1] Baynes's son, Robert, married Dorothy, daughter of Sir William Lowther. The Lowther family are the present possessors of Holdenby House.

[2] J. A. Gotch, *The Old Halls and Manor Houses of Northamptonshire*, (1936), p. 66.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

[4] His career is there fully treated, and certain inaccuracies that appear in the first edition of that great work, were deleted in subsequent editions. For example, the date of his birth is wrongly given. He was baptised at Leeds on December 22nd, 1621, son of Robert Baynes of "Knostrop," Leeds.

are in the British Museum.[5] He was M.P. for Leeds 1654-5 and 1656 (the only time the town was represented before the Reform Act of 1832), and for Appleby in 1659. In addition, he was a Justice of the Peace for the County of Northampton in 1657, and his name is mentioned several times on the Quarter Sessions Rolls.[6] He was one of two Justices appointed from outside the County during the Commonwealth, the other being John Parker, a Buckinghamshire man, who was M.P. for Rochester in 1654 and 1656, and a baron of the Exchequer before 1655 until the Restoration, when he was deprived. Parker lived in St. Giles's parish in Northampton. Their colleagues were all natives of the County, although Colonel George Benson's father was also a Buckinghamshire man. John Thornton, John Maunsell, Edward Farmer, John Cartwright, and William Ward were all Northamptonshire land-owners.[7]



LITTLE HOLMBY
Mr. Markham's house in St. Giles's Street, Northampton

Adam Baynes bought Holdenby from the Commission appointed by Parliament for the sale of Crown lands, by deed dated January 27th, 1650/1.[8] The purchase price was £22,299.6.10. He acquired "All that Capitall Messuage or Royal Mansion house with the appurtenances, scituate lying or being in the towne or parish of Holdenby," with all houses, dovecotes, stables, greens, orchards, gardens, "water houses, cisternes, pipes," and other appurtenances. The area of the house and grounds surrounding it was given in this document as 38 acres, 1 rood. The materials of the house were valued to be worth over £6,000, "over and above the charge of taking them downe." Included in the purchase price were the Park, woods, estate, and village, and the reversion of the lands leased to Sir Thomas Hatton.

Adam Baynes is described in this document as "of Knowstropp, co. York, Esq." The property, with the exception of "all such things as are by the said Act (of Parliament) appointed to be excepted and not to be sold," was to be held by Adam Baynes "his heirs and assigns for ever, for his and their only use, and discharged of all incumbrances." When, after the Restoration, the Crown sued Baynes in an action of trover and conversion,[8a] Baynes's case was that he was employed "by divers officers and souldiers of the Armie to procure of the then Powers satisfaction

[5] Add. MSS. 21,417-27. Some of these letters have been published in *Letters from Roundhead Officers written from Scotland and chiefly addressed to Captain Adam Baines*, 1650-1660, ed. J. Y. Akerman for the Bannatyne Club, Vol. 108 (1856).

[6] *Quarter Sessions Records of the County of Northampton*, 1630, 1657/8, (N.R.S. Vol. I) ed. Joan Wake, (1924). He may have been on the Commission before 1657, but the rolls between 1631 and 1657 are missing and those after the Epiphany Sessions, 1658, have not been printed.

[7] *Ibid.* App. II, pp. 251-3, where a list of the active J.P.'s in 1657-8 (not all of them land-owners) is given.

[8] B.M. Add. Ch. 12,629.

[8a] An action at law to recover the value of personal property illegally converted by another to his own use. O.E.D.

for their arreares of Pay and towardes satisfaction thereof the Trustees (then appointed to make sale of the Crowne lands and to satisfie the Arreares of the Armie) did convey Holdenby House and Parke, 200 deere, 11 wild Cowes, Lordshipp and Woodes and all thinges that were part of or affixed to the ffreehold of the said House Parke and Lordshipp in trust for the use of such officers and souldiers whose arreares were paid in upon the said purchase."[9] There is, however, no suggestion in the original deed of purchase that Baynes was acting as trustee for the army, or that the purchase was effected for any other use than his own. Undoubtedly, the sale of Crown property was ordered by Parliament to provide the army with their arrears of pay.

In their case against Baynes, the Crown rehearsed the items on which recovery was sought, and these items included the deer in the Park ("500 Bucks, 500 Does, 500 Fawnes and 100 Red Deere") and a vast quantity of materials from the house, including 50 iron chimney backs, "1,500 Tunn of Lead" and "10,000 Tunn of Stone". The Crown claimed £3,600 as the value, and asked for £6,000 damages. Baynes, in his defence, disputed the items of household goods. He said there were "one Copper, 3 brewing kives or coolers, two or three ffattes, some dresser boards and some inconsiderable lumber that is conceived were there before the House came to the Crowne, and were never removed into the Court but were fixed into and part of the ffreehold." The Crown claimed, *inter alia*, 20 Copper ffornisses, 40 brewing fattes, 40 brewing kives, and 20 Dresser boards." Baynes did not dispute the quantity of stone and timber, which gives an idea of the vast size of the house, when he assumed possession in 1651.

There is at Lamport Hall an important document,[10] which I have thought fit to transcribe in full. It is accurately described as an "Estimate of Holdenby in Captain Baines' hands" in the endorsement by Sir Justinian Isham, 5th Bart. (1687-1737), who first arranged the Isham muniments in some sort of order. By the time this document was written, Baynes had evidently completed his work of demolition.

"Holdenby howse with the Spinneys adjoyning the orchard gardens yards with a smale parke about 30^{tie} Acres as it is nowe contracted with by y^{e} year 60^{li}- 0^{s}- 0^{d}.

The divisions of the parke now in Capt. Baines his occupation some part thereof by him letten to plowe worth p^{r} Ann. 340^{li}- 0 - 0.

The severall closes late Lett to Mr. Manley to Graze att about 360^{li} p^{r} Ann. nowe lett by Captaine Baines to plowe att aboue 40$^{[s]}$ the acre are worth in All p^{r} Ann at least 600^{li}- 0 - 0 The severall closes late lett to Mr. Ffurnis to Graze nowe Lett by the said Captaine att aboue 40^{s} the acre worth p^{r} ann att p^{r}sent— 300^{li}- 0 - 0.

Mr. Olliff as owner of about 200 ^{acres} of Holdenby worth p^{r} ann. 200^{li}- 0 - 0

Mrs. Talbott as owner of 160 acres or thereabouts p^{r} cell [parcell] of the park being lately plowed worth p^{r} Ann 080^{li}- 0 - 0 Mr. Henry Lucas severall closes to Graze att about p^{r} Ann 200^{li}- 0 - 0.

Thomas Tomkins as Tenant to some small closes or holmes[11] worth p^{r} Ann 020^{li}- 0 - 0.

The mills and Mill holmes worth p^{r} Ann 010^{li}- 0 - 0

1800^{li}- 10 - 0

Capt. Baines did not pay for Holdenby
with the appurtenncs— 10,000^{li}- 0 - 0

But his Rent hath not beine much att p^{r}sent in regard of a Lease of all or the most part, saving the parke to S^{r} Thomas Hatton yett in being He sold the materialls of the Howse for 3,500^{li}- 0 - 0 And Wood for about 0,500 - 0 - 0."

[9] B.M. Add. MS. 21, 127 fo. 135. This document consists of notes for a Counsel's brief, presumably in the case brought against Baynes by the Crown, probably in the King's Bench. It is undated except for "At Westminster on Wednesday 3rd of May in the afternoon." It must be 1665. May 3rd on that year fell on a Wednesday.

[10] I.C. 4525.

[11] A holme was a small meadow, often near a mill.

This document was printed in *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*, Vol. I (1886), p.182. The editor's comment was that "the items do not add up to the sum as given in the paper, but to £1,810." But nothing else was said about this document.

It will be seen that the value of the materials of the demolished house was over estimated as Captain Baynes only got £3,500 for them, but he "reserved only a portion of the attached offices (probably for his own occupation)".[12] In considering the date of the document, it must be some time after the demolition of the Palace. It may be an "estimate" made for the Crown when they resumed possession. The estate was then handed over to the Queen-Mother (Henrietta-Maria) as part of her jointure and administered by her trustees. In August, 1660, Anne Talbot, "late widow of Lieut. Col. Henry Lilburne," petitioned the Queen-Mother for a lease of 166 acres of Holdenby Park, "which she was admitted by her enemies to purchase," and claimed she had been ruined by her late husband's devotion to the crown, which had cost him his life when Governor of Tynemouth Castle (Hartshorne, p.cxviii). This is the "Mrs. Talbot" of the Isham document, who is there stated to be the purchaser of part of the park. She is named in the "Counsel's brief" mentioned above to be called as a witness "to prove the premisses to be bought by the defendant with the pay of divers officers and soldiers in trust for them."

MR. MUNDAY'S HOUSE
in Gold Street, Northampton

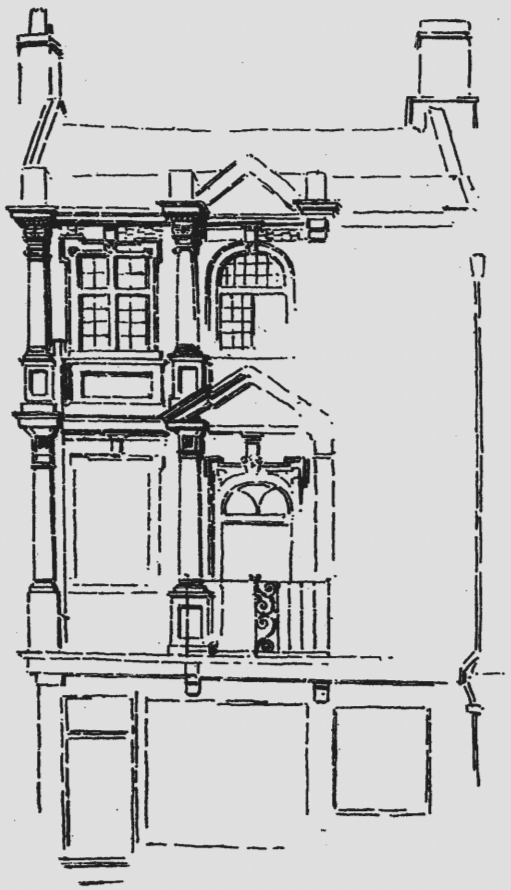
The indenture of sale of 1651 sheds some light on the lease of the estate to Sir Thomas Hatton,[13] mentioned in the Isham document. From this it appears that by Letters Patent of July, 1635, Charles I demised the land to the Earl of Elgin and Sir Thomas Fanshawe, "in trust for the use of Sir Thomas Hatton, Kt. for 17 years," to commence from the determination of a former lease of the premises granted in 1627 for 21 years, at an annual rent of £180.15.10. This

[12] Emily S. Hartshorne, *Memorials of Holdenby*, (1868), p. 45.

[13] This Sir Thomas Hatton was brother of the Sir Christopher, who sold Holdenby to the Crown, and he died on September 23rd, 1658. This would certainly suggest that when the "Isham document" was drawn up, Sir Thomas Hatton was still alive. It may have been that Sir Justinian Isham contemplated purchasing the Holdenby estate, and had the paper prepared. (I.C.3210). He did in fact purchase Ragon's Manor at East Haddon, which adjoins Holdenby, in 1661. Another Isham MS. (I.C.3210) contains an undated note "whether Sr. Justinian Isham if Sir Thomas Hatton be willing to sell his Estat in Gretton or Brampton will buy it and satisfie him his sum' of money and take that Estat upon him which Sir Tho. Hatton now has.

meant that Hatton's Trustees' lease would have run until 1665—the year apparently of the action brought by the Crown against Adam Baynes.

The lease holders mentioned in the Isham document, (Laurence Manley of Spratton, Esq., Francis Furnis of Holdenby, and Henry Lucas of Guilsborough, gent.) on January 11th 1655/6 covenanted with Adam Baynes of Holdenby, Esq., who had begun proceedings in Chancery against them, to pay £5 per acre every year for every acre of pasture they might plough or put in tillage. In this covenant (N.R.O., YZ, 1077) it is stated that their leases had been made with Thomas, Earl of Elgin,[14] Sir Thomas Fanshawe and Sir Thomas Hatton for the term of about nine years unexpired,[15] and the reversion of these lands had been purchased by Adam Baynes some time previously. The covenant has an addition in Laurence Manley's hand "conditionally that our charges be repayed to us agayne by the aforesayd Adam Bannes Esq. in respect of or by reason wee had not comited any offence." One can imagine that Adam Baynes's behaviour in threatening Chancery proceedings against the tenants of the estate can hardly have added to his popularity! Baynes's object (which he achieved) was to prevent the pasture being tilled, a common precaution of landlords until recently, as it was thought that good pasture was the product of time. "Ley-farming" is a recent invention.



MISS FAWCETT'S HOUSE
in The Drapery, Northampton

Some of the materials from Holdenby House were used for houses in Northampton,[16] and three of them could be recognised in the early nineteenth century. One of them in St. Giles's Street belonged to the Markham family and was known as "Little Holmby." It was pulled down in 1841, although the doorway was "carefully preserved and erected in the garden." This doorway was given to Lady Clifden, who restored it to Holdenby, where it was incorporated in the restored building.[17]

[14] Thomas (Bruce), Lord Kinloss, was created Earl of Elgin in 1633 by Charles I. Sir Thomas Fanshawe was a relation and trustee of the Hattons. Their leases, as we have seen, were made for a term of years, so that the fact that Hatton died in 1658 is not conclusive evidence that he was alive when the document was drawn up, although it is probable that his death would have been indicated.

[15] This agrees with the date of the lease granted by Charles I, of which Baynes acquired the reversion in 1651.

[16] G. Baker, *History of Northamptonshire*, Vol. I., p. 207.

[17] According to C. A. Markham's article quoted below. If so, and Mr. Pretty's accompanying drawing is correct, it was much altered in the process. The present North Porch at Holdenby may contain part of the "Markham" Arch.

Of the two other houses, mentioned by Baker, one was in Gold Street, the other in the Drapery. Sketches of all three houses "by the late Mr. Pretty" were reproduced in *Northants Notes and Queries* (Vol. I, 1886, p.217) with an accompanying article by C. A. Markham. Mr. Markham mentions that both the other houses had been pulled down forty or fifty years before he wrote, and that the Holdenby fragments were not preserved.[18] Mr. Markham wrongly stated in his article that Baynes represented Leeds in the Long Parliament. Leeds had no member in that Parliament, and Baynes did not sit for any other constituency at that time (1640).[19]

The only remaining relic of Baynes's occupation at Holdenby is an arch into the forecourt of the present house on the north side, which has the date "1659," probably indicating when the demolitions were complete, and the remains of the Palace ready for occupation. This arch was noticed by Justinian Isham[20] in his diary in 1717. He wrote (September 2nd): "I went to see Holdenby, where the ruins show its former magnificence. The first thing that occurred was a gate-way, with arms quartered at the top, but not very distinguishable. I take them to be of the Hattons but know not what to make of the date, 1659."[21] From this it would seem that Baynes simply put a date on an existing or reconstructed arch. The arms (now quite worn away) were hardly likely to be his own, if they were already "not very distinguishable "in 1717. It is possible, of course, that the arch was put up by Baynes with his own achievement, and that this was deliberately defaced after his deprivation in 1660. It is different in style (although reminiscent) from Hatton's Elizabethan archways, the arms of which Justinian Isham was able to read.[22]

In 1666, Holdenby, "now in jointure to the Queen-Mother, containing 1,100 acres and valued at £1,162 a year, besides the £44 a year given by King James [I] to the incumbent of the parish," (Hartshorne, p.cxvii), was granted to James, Duke of York. With its subsequent history we are not here concerned.

Baynes's career, however, in the days of his adversity, has received only the briefest mention from the historians, and it is now possible to trace it in more detail. Baker, whose account of Holdenby, with its good illustrations, is unexcelled by later writers, says: "The alienated Crown lands being resumed at the restoration he retired to his paternal estate in Yorkshire, where he died in December 1670".[23] This, however, is incorrect, and his connection with Northamptonshire did not end with the Restoration, and his deprivation of Holdenby.

Not unnaturally, Baynes, as a leading supporter of the Commonwealth, was suspect to the Restored Monarchy from the first. He was in custody in April, 1660, before Charles II had actually returned. Perhaps it was feared that he might join Lambert, with whom he was known to be on intimate terms, in opposing the expected settlement.[24] The *Calendars of State Papers Domestic* for Charles II's reign make clear that Baynes was carefully watched, and that he did

[18] Mr. Markham, in his article, mentioned that he had received information from Mr. E. R. Baynes, clerk of the peace for Buckinghamshire, "a direct descendant of Captain Baynes," who had, however, no record of the Northampton houses mentioned by Baker.

[19] D. Brunton and D. H. Pennington, *Members of the Long Parliament*. 1954.

[20] Afterwards 5th Baronet.

[21] *Northants Past and Present*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 43. This account is contemporary with Bridges' description of the ruins.

[22] This archway is illustrated in *Country Life*, (Oct. 19th, 1912), in an article on Holdenby by Alice Dryden.

[23] Baker, *op. cit.*, I, p. 197. This statement has been many times repeated, e.g., by Mrs. Hartshorne, J. Y. Akerman, and in D.N.B.

[24] Lambert, on his escape from imprisonment, made for Northamptonshire, and was captured at Daventry on April 22nd, 1660. (*Duppa-Isham Correspondence*, N.R.S. Vol. XVII, p. 181.)

not return to Yorkshire permanently as Baker stated, but lived at Teeton in Northamptonshire. Now Teeton is a tiny hamlet in the Parish of Ravensthorpe, which adjoins Holdenby. The charming Manor House belonged to the ancient family of Breton, of whom Baker gives a pedigree and an excellent account (Vol. I, p.220). Francis Breton of Teeton was buried at Ravensthorpe on July 10th, 1659, leaving a widow and several young children. She was in embarrassed circumstances. The Revd. Andrew Pawling, who was instituted to the Rectory of Ravensthorpe in 1664, sued her for £40 in respect of tithes unpaid by her for the land she owned in Teeton. In the document recording the case[25] she is described as "nuper" (lately) of Teeton. As Adam Baynes is described in the State Papers always as "of Teeton," and in his will, made on September 5th, 1670,[26] he describes himself as "of Teeton in the County of Northampton," there can be little doubt that he leased the Manor House from Mrs. Breton, while her sons were under age, and made it his home. Although he was deprived of Holdenby, he was not (as his will shows) without means, being the owner of a valuable colliery. (See note 38).

When he was in prison in 1660, Rushworth wrote in April to one Leadbetter: "I heare that Captain Baines his wife is in labour. I know shee is a woman subject to feares in that condition, and her husband's absence may increase them." Rushworth then gave permission for Baynes to visit his wife under surveillance.[27] This surveillance was not relaxed as the years went by. On November 21st, 1664, General Monck, now Duke of Albermarle, granted Baynes permission to remain in the cities of London and Westminster for twenty days "and then to returne into Northamptonshire without their lett or hindrance." He was, from time to time, allowed to visit his Yorkshire estates, and on August 11th, 1666, the Sheriff of Yorkshire issued a certificate that "Adam Baynes of Teeton, co. Northampton, is now at York on his necessary business, and has always demeaned himself civilly."[28] Reports from elsewhere were not so favourable, however, and on April 1st, 1664, Secretary Bennet (later, Earl of Arlington) received information from Yarmouth that "Thos. Wills, sen., confessed that he was sent by the collector for the port to assure Capt. Baynes, of Holmby, Northamptonshire, that if he miscarried, the collector would conceal and send him away."[29] On July 17th, 1666 a warrant was issued for his apprehension and arrest "to convey him in safe custody to Northampton . . . to be brought prisoner to the Tower."[30]

He had not long before set out from Teeton to go with his wife and servants into Yorkshire via Stamford, where the Mayor certified he had not come from any place affected by contagious disease "and may safely go to York, and elsewhere, and return to Ireton" [*sic* for Teeton].[31] The warrant for his arrest was duly executed, and on September 11th, 1666, Lord Cullen reported to Sir Joseph Williamson that he had held Baynes a prisoner in his house at Rushton for 10 days, and asked leave to release him, on security for his appearance and good behaviour.[32] The reply was in the form of a warrant ordering Lord Cullen to send Baynes up to London.[33] On September 18th Cullen repeated his request to allow Baynes "to be heard before he is sent to prison, having a large family; he will be undone if he remain long a prisoner . . . His frank coming in to surrender, on hearing of a search made for him in the north, makes this

[25] N.R.O., Langton (Teeton) collection, No. 165.
[26] P.C.C., 74 Duke.
[27] *Letters from Roundhead Officers.*
[28] Cal. S.P.D. 1666-7, p. 29.
[29] *Ibid.*, 1663-4, p. 540.
[30] *Ibid.*, 1665-6, p. 544.
[31] *Ibid.*, 1665-6, p. 498.
[32] *Ibid.*, 1666-7, p. 115.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

favour desired. Lady Cullen pleads for him, for his poor wife's sake."[34] Brien (Cokayne) 2nd Viscount Cullen, of Rushton had married a great heiress, Elizabeth Trentham, who was known as the "beautiful Lady Cullen," whose fame has survived through her extravagance, and the notorious portrait which Lely painted of her (in the nude) as Venus. It is pleasant to think that she had this kind side to her nature. Mrs. Baynes, for whom she here showed solicitude, was Martha, daughter of Richard Dawson of Heworth, Yorks. She bore her husband sixteen children[35] and from the letters written by her, preserved in the British Museum with the rest of her husband's papers, appears to have been much devoted to him. Writing from Leeds, on June 24th, 1654, to her brother-in-law, she refers to him as "poor Adde." In other letters she calls him "dear Adde," and, on one occasion, "dearest Adde,"

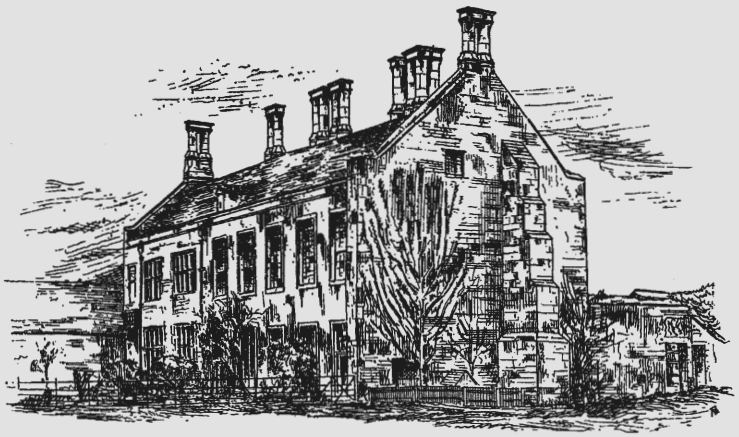
Despite Lord Cullen's plea, however, Baynes was imprisoned in the Tower for "treasonable practices."[36] He must have been grateful to Lord Cullen for keeping him so long at Rushton, as, if he had been sent up to London at once, he would have been in the Tower during the Fire of London, which could not have been a comfortable experience, as the Tower itself was only saved from destruction in the Fire, which began on September 2nd, "by destroying the neighbouring houses with cannon".[37]

It may seem strange that the Government took so much trouble to secure Baynes. But 1666 was a critical year. The second Dutch War, into which the nation had entered with such enthusiasm, and which opened auspiciously with the victory of Lowestoft, had run into difficulties, and the Plague of 1665 had weakened English morale. There were Republican exiles in Holland, whom it was expected the Dutch would encourage to combine with their friends in England. Baynes was an obvious man to be a leader of revolt against the Monarchy.

Adam Baynes made his will on September 5th, 1670. Baker, deriving the date from Thoresby, says he died in Yorkshire, in December 1670. There is no trace of his burial at Leeds, or indeed at Ravensthorpe where there is an unfortunate lacuna in the registers just at this time, but it is likely that he died, where he made his will, at Teeton. His wife, Martha, was the executrix of the will, which was proved on June 21st, 1671.[38]

A glimpse of his wife is given in the Latin diary of Thomas Isham of Lamport, which he kept as a boy. On August 8th, 1672, Thomas says: "Father [Sir Justinian Isham, 2nd Bart.] bought four tables from Mrs. Baines, whose husband is dead, and also a wardrobe and a pestle and mortar." Perhaps, like Lady Cullen, Sir Justinian felt sorry for poor Mrs. Baynes, and became a purchaser at her sale to help her. She may, of course, have had some of the Holdenby furniture. She must have given up the lease of Teeton and returned to her native county of Yorkshire after the sale. She died on July 14th, 1713 aged eighty-seven.[39] The Bretons returned to Teeton, and, it is to be hoped, had no further trouble over tithes. Robert Breton, the heir, was a barrister, and he became Deputy-Recorder of Northampton. At his death in 1715 without male issue, the estate was sold by his daughters to John Langton of London, whose descendants still

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 137.
[35] Ralph Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis. The Topography of the . . . Town and Parish of Leeds* (1715), p. 106.
[36] Cal. S.P.D., 1666-7, p. 531. Thoresby, *op. cit.*, p. 577.
[37] David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, Vol. I, p. 304 (1955).
[38] He left land in the parish of Leeds to be sold for the benefit of his daughters Francis (*sic*) and Elizabeth, and other lands in the same parish, including "a considerable collyery" to be divided into 12 shares —11 for his wife and 10 children, and the 12th share for his brother Robert, who was to manage the colliery, (P.C.C. 74 Duke).
[39] Thoresby, *op. cit.*, p. 571.



HOLDENBY HOUSE IN 1868.

Before additions of 1873. (*See Kelly's* Directory 1877). *Reproduced from Hartshorne's* Memorials of Holdenby, *p.* 45.

possess land in the parish, though the Manor House was sold in 1954. That the Langton muniments are now in the care of the Northamptonshire Record Office has proved a fortunate circumstance for the present writer. Indeed it may be seen that it is only by the collation of different collections of MSS., that such a contribution to local history as the present can be attempted. The historians of the past, such as Baker, had no Record Office to aid them, and it is not surprising if occasionally they fell into error through this lack. Nor, it may be added, had the great national collections of State Papers been calendared and published. These two sources, national and local, are now available and many of our historical characters can be re-assessed in the light of this new knowledge.[40]

GYLES ISHAM.

[40] I am indebted to Miss Margaret Toynbee for drawing my attention to the references to Adam Baynes in the *Calendars of State Papers*, and for transcribing them for me, as well as for much other help. Mr. P. I. King produced for my inspection the documents in the Langton (Teeton) Collection in the Northamptonshire Record Office, of which, otherwise, I should have known nothing. I wish also to express my thanks to the Revd. J. S. Purvis of the Institute of Historical Research, York, for reading the MS., and for making suggestions. Finally, I must thank Miss Joan Wake for transcribing documents in the British Museum, and for various suggestions for the final form of the article. G.I.

An old Receipt for Pot-pourri

(The Editor had this receipt many years ago from her cousin, the late Miss Georgiana Newcome, who was born at Courteenhall and lived some time at Hardingstone).

Gather Rose Leaves [i.e. petals] when quite dry. Put them in a large Basin or foot pan. Between each Layer sprinkle *common* and *Bay Salt* (equal quantities). Pick the Leaves over daily, as they are apt to adhere & Cause Mould. In a week after add 1 oz. *Gum Benjamin*—1 oz. *Oris Root Powder*—½ oz. *Cinnamon*—½ oz. *Mace*—½ oz. *Cloves* and ½ oz. *Nutmeg*. The Spices to be well pounded together. Add 1/- worth of Musk. The Rose Leaves are *not* to be dried—put them straight off the tree into the footpan. They must not be wet from dew or rain—Bay and Salt just enough to make the Leaves damp. *Never* stir it—Only pick the *Leaves Over*. (Oris Root best got at Apothecaries' Hall).

MASTER THOMAS STOKKE OF EASTON-ON-THE-HILL
A FIFTEENTH CENTURY NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PARSON

FIVE hundred years have passed since, on 23rd August 1456, Thomas Stokke (otherwise Stok or Stokes), a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, was instituted, on the presentation of the Abbot and Convent of Crowland, to the benefice of Easton-on-the-Hill (Eston prope Stanford), the northernmost parish in the county of Northampton.[1] He had reached little more than the canonical age of twenty-three, and he held the living until his death in 1495.[2] Like a number of his successors as rectors of Easton, he had local associations, for he hailed from Warmington, a village some ten miles distant, near the borders of Huntingdonshire.

Thomas was a younger son of John Stokke 'esquire,' who in 1434 obtained a grant of land in Warmington, which in 1441 was confirmed to him for life.[3] It seems probable that John was the son of that Thomas de Stokkes[4] who in 1391 surrendered lands in Warmington.[5] There had been Stokkes at Warmington since 1125, and it is not improbable that their name derived from the nearby village of Stoke Doyle.[6] The present vicarage at Warmington, a late Victorian house, was built in a field still known as Stock's Close.[7] By his wife Agnes, John Stokke had, besides Thomas, an elder son William, who became a soldier, and another son, called John, who died a member of King's College, Cambridge, in 1458. He also had a daughter, Margaret, and, according to Bridges, two other daughters, Isabel and Elizabeth.[8] But when Agnes Stokke, widow, died in 1465,[9] her heir to property in Warmington, Tansor and Oundle was her son Thomas Stokke, clerk.[10] Clearly the Stokke family was one of some substance. Their social position, in a world of easily recognised distinctions, is hinted at by the fact that they possessed a coat of arms: "Ermine, on three bars sable, fifteen elm leaves or."[11] It is thus interesting to notice that in the person of Thomas Stokke at least, the peasant priest characteristic of earlier centuries had already been replaced by a man from a more cultivated

[1] Register, Chedworth, (at Lincoln Diocesan Registry), xx, fo. 126 v.

[2] Reg. Smith, Linc. xxiii, fo. 163.

[3] J. Bridges *History of Northamptonshire* (1791), vol. II, p. 479.

[4] Perhaps identifiable with Thomas Stokes, 'armiger,' commemorated, with his wife, by a brass in Ashby St. Legers Church. A Latin inscription records that he died in 1416. Cf. Bridges (who does not note any connection), *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 18.

[5] Bridges, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 479.

[6] *Victoria County Hist. Northamptonshire*, vol. III, (1930), p. 116: art. on Warmington by J. Brownbill.

[7] Information from present vicar, the Revd. F. Whittle.

[8] Bridges, *ibid.* Isabel (Fazakerley), possibly, and Elizabeth (Elmes), more certainly, were nieces and not sisters, of Margaret.

[9] *V.C.H. Northants., ibid.*

[10] Bridges, *ibid.*

[11] H. P. Wright, *The Story of the "Domus Dei" of Stamford*, (1890), p. 66. This blazon, however, does not altogether correspond with contemporary representations of the Stokke arms on the seal of Browne's Hospital, Stamford, and in armorial glass there.

and prosperous background. For though, in accordance with the custom of the day, he later held other and higher preferment as well, it seems that Stokke was primarily a parish clergyman.

Of no less interest is the fact that from such a family came two of the earliest scholars of Eton College. Thomas Stokke's elder brother, Sir William, was one of the two original scholars mentioned by name (nothing more is known of the other) in the foundation charter of 1440.[12] Thus one at least of those chosen personally by the King was not in straitened circumstances, nor by any means a typical 'poor scholar,' as the early scholars of Eton have sometimes been supposed to have been. The point is certainly overlooked in Sir Wasey Sterry's *Register* of Etonians,—where also the post-Cambridge career of Thomas Stokke remains completely untraced. Sir William Stokke was at Eton from 1441 to 1445. He became a Scholar of King's 1445-7, and a Fellow 1447-8. Thereafter he served as a soldier. In 1454 he was Sergeant of the Porter's Transport in the Royal Household. After being attainted in 1466 as an adherent of Henry VI,[13] he was granted a general pardon in 1469 as of Temple Newsam, York.[14] Henry VII appointed him Keeper of Rockingham Forest and Justice of the Peace for Northamptonshire.[15]

Thomas Stokke was admitted on the foundation of King Henry VI at Eton in about 1445, within four years of the founding of the school.[16] In 1447 he was elected a Scholar of the sister foundation of King's College, Cambridge, and was admitted there in the following year.[17] He became a Fellow of King's in 1451, and proceeded Master of Arts.[18] Thomas Rotherham, afterwards Archbishop of York and Chancellor of England, whom Stokke later served as chaplain, was already a Fellow of the College.[19] Stokke held his fellowship until 1458,[20] when presumably it lapsed in consequence of his having taken a living.

Thomas Stokke was still a layman, or in the lower grades of minor orders, when he was presented to the rectory of Easton. He was made acolyte in the diocese of Ely, probably on the title of his Fellowship, in the following December,[21] sub-deacon in March,[22] and deacon in April 1457.[23] It is likely that he was ordained to the priesthood by the Bishop of Lincoln, John Chadworth, in whose diocese Easton was then situated, and who had been Provost of King's from 1446 to 1452. But the Lincoln ordination registers from 1452 to 1471 are missing, and we are not surprised to find Stokke described as priest at his subsequent institution,[24] at about the age of thirty-four, in 1468, to a second benefice, that of All Saints, Stamford, some two miles from Easton,

[12] *The Eton College Register*, 1441-1698, by Sir W. Sterry (1943), pp. xv,322.
[13] *V.C.H. Northants.*, vol. III, p. 116.
[14] Sterry, *op. cit.*, p. 322.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 322-3. Sterry gives the date of Henry VII's appointment as 1486. According to *V.C.H.*, Sir William Stokke died in 1485.
[16] Sterry, *op. cit.*, p. 322.
[17] *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, ed. J. & J. A. Venn, Pt. i, vol. IV, (1927), p. 167. Venn does not trace Stokke's post-Cambridge career.
[18] Sterry, *ibid.*, Venn, *ibid.*
[19] *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. G. G. C. Boase.
[20] Sterry, *ibid.* [21] Venn, *ibid.*; Sterry, *ibid.* [22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] Reg. Chedworth, Linc. xx, fo. 148.

across the Lincolnshire border, to which he was presented by St. Michael's Priory, and which he held with Easton until 1479. In the latter year he presented a successor to All Saints in the person of Henry Wyks,[25] and himself took instead the rectory of Buckworth in Huntingdonshire, to which he was presented by William Witulbury and Richard Welby,[26] and which he held with Easton until his death.[27] In 1475, as Thomas Hewet, alias Stok, he was installed prebendary of St. Martin's in Lincoln (Thomas Rotherham became Bishop of Lincoln in 1472), vacating only by death.[28] Ten years later he was collated to a canonry in Southwell Minster and to the prebendal stall of South Muskham,[29] being then near fifty. This preferment he vacated in 1488, on appointment as canon of York and prebendary of Bugthorpe.[30] For some reason unexplained, but perhaps because he had become incapable of fulfilling the requirements of residence, he resigned this stall at least a year before his death in 1495.[31] His promotion to York, and probably also to Southwell, he owed, it may be surmised, to Archbishop Rotherham.

Stokke's presentation to All Saints, Stamford, was almost certainly due to his relationship with the Browne family of that town, and of Tolethorpe in Rutland, and it was this relationship which eventually afforded him his chief claim to notice. His sister Margaret married William Browne,[32] a wealthy merchant of the Staple of Calais, younger brother of John Browne of Tolethorpe,[33] who, succeeding to the plans of their father, William Browne, Alderman[34] of Stamford, were largely responsible for rebuilding in a splendid manner the church of All Saints, which had been ruined in the Wars of the Roses.[35] In 1476 Thomas Stokke and William Browne the younger were jointly given leave by the Corporation of Stamford to make a postern gate in the town wall for their mutual convenience.[36]

As early as 1483 this brother-in-law of Stokke conceived the idea of founding an almshouse in Stamford,[37] but he died in 1489 before he could bring it to fruition. Stokke was left in charge of the design,[38] and after six years' further delay, the Hospital of William Browne in Stamford, commonly called Browne's Hospital, was finally established.[39] It has continued, with modifications in statutes and building, to serve Stamford and its neighbourhood to this day. The fact that most of the deeds relating to the founding of the hospital refer to Stokke only as a canon of York or as chaplain to Rotherham, has resulted in his long association with Easton and his predominantly

[25] To whom there is a memorial brass in that church close to the grave of Stokke's sister Margaret.

[26] Information from present rector, the Revd. G. F. Davies.

[27] Reg. Smith, Linc. xxiii, fo. 12.

[28] Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, (1854 ed.), vol. II., p. 185.

[29] Reg. Rotherham, York xxiii, fo.99 v: Le Neve, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 432.

[30] Reg. Rotherham, York xxiii, p. 103; Le Neve, *op. cit.*, II, p. 185; III, p. 179.

[31] Le Neve, *ibidem.*

[32] Bridges, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 479-80; Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[33] Great-great grandfather of Robert Browne, the founder of Congregationalism. Cp. *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. on Robert Browne by A. Jessopp.

[34] The title by which the Mayor of Stamford was then known.

[35] Wright, *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

[36] Corporation *Hall Book*, i, fo. 19d.

[37] Wright, *ibid.*, p. 14. [38] *Ibid.*, p. 19, f. [39] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Northamptonshire background being entirely overlooked. For example, Wright, the voluminous historian of Browne's Hospital, makes no mention of his connection with the county.

A provisional petition for a charter had been drawn up before the death of King Edward IV. From this it seems that the small but beautiful chapel, with its unusual square ground-plan, in the design of which we may suppose that Thomas Stokke had a hand, had already been erected. Unhappily the contemporary stained glass with which the windows are still filled has been re-leaded in later times without much regard for the original patterns.

In 1485, Richard III granted a charter to William Browne, by which time other buildings had been added. There was to be a clerical warden, assisted by a confrater as chaplain, twelve poor men and two poor women. But some unknown difficulty arose, and the hospital was not yet established as an institution when William died in 1489, leaving his wife Margaret, Stokke's sister, to carry out his intentions.[40] He had, however, already in the previous year, made over to Thomas Stokke and other trustees, including Robert Fazakerley, probably the husband of Isabel Stokke, the property with which he proposed to endow his foundation.[41] His wife did not survive him a year. Both were buried in All Saints Church, where there are memorial brasses of their full-length figures inlaid in a blue marble slab, with an inscription in Latin verse, which, it has been suggested, may have been composed by Stokke. The stork badge over Margaret Browne's head seems more likely to bear a canting allusion to the Stokke family than to be, as has usually been asserted, without satisfactory authority, the crest of the Brownes.[42] If so, the stork worn on the uniform of Stamford Schoolboys, commemorating the endowment of the School from surplus funds of the hospital in the nineteenth century, bears an unintended testimony to the work of Thomas Stokke, who was thus left to bring the almshouse into commission.

For the next few years Stokke gave close attention to the Browne charity. At his own cost he procured fresh letters patent from King Henry VII, dated 28 November 1494, to incorporate the house, wherein he was himself charged with the local arrangements. The chapel was consecrated by the Bishop of Lincoln, John Russell, on 22nd December following,[43] eight days before his death.[44] Stokke proceeded to appoint a warden and a confrater; and in October 1495, shortly before his own death, he gave to the hospital its statutes, which, with certain alterations made necessary by the Reformation, remained in force until the nineteenth century. He reserved for himself complete control over the hospital for life, after which the chief authority was to rest, as it still does, with the Dean of Stamford and the Vicar of All Saints. By this time

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 19. [41] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-22.

[42] Cf. an article, unsigned, tracing the armorial usages of Stamford School, in a brochure produced in connection with a school fête (1956). It appears doubtful, too, whether the motto '+ Me Spede' has been correctly interpreted. This surely is intended to mean "Christ speed me" and corresponds with the other prayer inscribed on the brass, "Dere Lady help at nede."

[43] Wright, *ibid*, p. 71. [44] *D.N.B.*

Stokke seems to have been inclined to regard himself as the founder, William and Margaret Browne being mentioned somewhat incidentally. "Forasmuch," he says in his preamble to the Statutes, "as I have made, ordained, founded and established for ever, to endure and to remain, an Almshouse in Stamford . . ."[45] Stokke's Statutes, thirty-two in all, certainly show, as Wright remarks, "the greatest possible care for the well-being of the Hospital," and Wright has printed them in English in the body of his work, in Latin in an appendix. The officers and inmates may even have felt that Stokke's concern was a trifle exacting. The twelve poor men were to say the Lord's Prayer five times every morning and evening and to recite several psalms, in addition to attending the chapel services daily and those at All Saints' on Sundays. They were also to pray for the souls of William Browne and Dame Margaret his wife, and after his death for "the soul of Mr. Thomas Stokk, Founder of this Almshouse . ."[46] Meanwhile none were to sleep a single night outside the hospital without his leave. The constant references to Stokke's personal direction, "while I live," at least imply residence in the vicinity. It is only necessary, however, to recall the semi-civilized nature of the human material to be dealt with, to perceive that Stokke was wise to be firm and to provide in precise terms for every likely contingency.

Be that as it may, less than a month after the issue of his statutes, Stokke was dead.[47] In his will he desired, if he died within twelve miles of the parish, to be buried before the high altar at Easton.[48] There is no trace of his having been buried at Buckworth, and it seems probable that his remains lie, with those of several of his successors, beneath the chancel floor of the church to which he appears to have been chiefly devoted. In Bridges' time no monument survived, but it is possible that a small memorial stone set in the north wall of the chancel, from which a brass has long gone, dated about the year 1500 by Sir Charles Peers,[49] and which is in line with the prescribed position, may represent a memorial to him. From the matrix of the brass it is possible to discern that the figure represented thereon was wearing a shoulder cape, such as worn by canons, and knelt before a heavenly visitant. A shield of arms, which has also disappeared, occupied a central position in the lower part of the design. In a large window in the same wall are fragments of mediaeval glass, one of which is almost certainly a portion of the Stokke arms.[50]

By will, proved 14th November, 1495, Thomas Stokke made the usual priestly bequests of vestments to churches with which he had been associated: Easton, Buckworth and Bugthorpe; and left twelve pence each to the poor of the almshouse of William Browne. His principal heir was a nephew, Thomas Stokke, who inherited considerable property, including land bought by Sir

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
[47] He died, according to *V.C.H. Northants.*, vol. III, p. 116, on 23rd October, 1495.
[48] P.C.C., 29 Vox.
[49] *V.C.H. Northants.*, vol. II (1906), p. 568.
[50] A complete contemporary example is to be seen in the north window of the Audit Room at Browne's Hospital.

William Stokke in Rockingham, Brigstock, Warmington, and other places in the county. To Thomas he also left his largest feather-bed. His residuary legatee was his 'cousin' William Elmes,[51] whose family succeeded the Stokkes at Warmington.[52] His final bequest was the 'exhibition' of two priests, to say masses for his soul and those of his relations,—Master John Taylor (afterwards second Warden of Browne's Hospital) at Oxford, and Sir Robert Shipley at Easton.[53]

It is of interest to consider what tangible evidence of Stokke's earthly activities, apart from the hospital itself, still exist. At Easton, the south clerestory of the nave, and the font, date from his period. At Buckworth the handsome south aisle appears to do so. More certainly, both churches retain an ancient bell apiece, differently dated by the authors of the respective articles in the *Victoria County Histories*,[54] but the now significant fact that each bears the same Nottingham founders' mark is a coincidence which seems strong enough to suggest that Stokke had a hand in securing—perhaps gave—both. That at Easton bears the inscription: PERSONET HAEC CELIS DULCISSMA VOX GABRIELIS (May the sweet voice of Gabriel resound through the skies). A corresponding one at Buckworth reads: CELORUM XTE PLACEAT TIBI REXONUS ISTE.[55]

At Easton, too, by ancient fishponds, stands an Old Rectory, a small house, extensively restored in the mid-nineteenth century by Sir Thomas Graham Jackson (whose family lived, and still live, at Duddington close by), at present unfortunately used as a farm building on the glebe, but dating, according to Sir Charles Peers, from the early sixteenth century. In its day it would have represented a substantial advance in clergy dwellings, is likely to have been erected by a parson of some consequence, and perhaps was originally divided into the hall, white chamber and great chamber referred to in Stokke's will. It could have been built by then, but there is no positive evidence.

The most interesting and undoubted relic, however, of Stokke's influence and activity, is the silver seal which he gave to Browne's Hospital and which has been in use ever since. The other gifts which he presented to the infant foundation—"a silver chalice, several jewells, and many other utensills" —have gone, but his seal is in almost as good condition as when he compiled the statutes which refer to it. It is moreover remarkable in more than one way. It bears, under a rich canopy, a representation of the Holy Trinity: God the Father, an aged crowned figure with a crucifix between His knees, a Dove rising into His beard, holding a napkin, from the folds of which emerge the heads and shoulders of five persons, probably representing William Browne, Dame Margaret, and other members of their family. Below is a masonry

[51] William Elmes was in fact his great-nephew, a grandson of William and Margaret Browne, and immediate ancestor of the Elmses of Lilford. (Bridges, vol. II, p. 48.)

[52] It is possible that Clementina Stock, Abbess of Delapré at the time of the Dissolution, was one of the last members of the family. [53] P.C.C., *ibid.*

[54] *V.C.H. Northants.*, vol. II, p. 568; *V.C.H. Hunts.*, vol. III, p. 25. [55] *Ibid.*

design with a central niche containing the clearly outlined head and shoulders of a cleric robed as a canon. This can surely be none other than Thomas Stokke, particularly as the figure is placed above a shield bearing the Stokke arms. William Browne's name is not mentioned in the surrounding inscription. The significance of these idiosyncrasies does not seem to have occurred to the Revd. H. P. Wright. Yet it may be added that in modern times also, Stokke has been regarded as the virtual founder of the almshouse, for over the nineteenth century porch which leads to the mediaeval hall is a clerically robed statue holding a model of the hospital.[56]

Thomas Stokke was not a figure of major importance in history, and he died in the spiritual twilight before the dawn of the Reformation. Nevertheless his career is of sufficient interest to make it worthy of a connected record. He whose name is still daily the subject of thanksgiving at evening prayers in the chapel of the hospital he helped to found, was a person of consequence in the long story of Stamford. But he also ranks as one of the more notable rectors of Easton-on-the-Hill, and a genuine Northamptonshire worthy. One of his successors in office may be permitted to add, with apologies to Stokke's place of schooling,—*Floreat Estona!*

J. S. REYNOLDS

[56] Earlier prints shew that this replaced an older statue in a similar position. Cf. engraving reproduced by Wright, *op. cit.*, at p. 62.

RECENT BOOKS

A History of the Oundle Schools by William George Walker (printed for the Grocers' Company by Hazell Watson & Viney, Ltd. London).

The Story of Clipston Grammar School, Northamptonshire, by Sir Gyles Isham, Bart. (printed by Green & Co., Market Harborough).

These are two very welcome additions to local history which differ considerably in scope. Mr. Walker's is indeed a *magnum opus*, both in quality and quantity, running to 748 pages, produced to celebrate a quarter centenary, which will long be a definitive history of the Oundle Schools and a standard work of national importance in its genre. Sir Gyles Isham's pamphlet is of 54 pages, expanded from a lecture to a Women's Institute, but makes another valuable and characteristic contribution to local history.

Mr. Walker's work is more than a labour of love for a school which he served for 115 terms as Assistant Master. His enormous canvas is a masterpiece of its kind, depicting vividly the vicissitudes of ideas on education, the impact of personalities, the stresses of changing times and circumstances, the forging of new traditions, particularly that pioneering and almost crusading spirit that made Oundle a prototype in educational theory and practice, revitalising the public school system without discarding the classical tradition, and infusing into secondary education generally much that is modern and progressive.

The story starts with a religious gild converted into a free school with almshouses under the aegis of Sir William Laxton, bedevilled by early family quarrels and litigation, until it was taken over by the Grocers' Company, with a very lively record of ups and downs, (including such timeless comments as "a master's stipend is usually below envy"), varying largely with the fortunes of the Company, and reaching a nadir when Bullen in 1796 took over the school with no boys. There is a fascinating record of the "town v. gown" feeling that arose through the expansion of the boarding side, culminating in a historic law-suit and the eventual division of the School in Reade's time—Oundle School and Sir William Laxton's Grammar School. The Royal Charter, granted in 1930, significantly gives the date of Oundle's foundation as 1876.

Possibly the finest part of the book is the two chapters on the great Sanderson—"the years of conflict" (1892-1900), and "the years of achievement" (1901-1922). Here is a sound historical record, seasoned with criticism, appreciation without adulation. The situation and the approach to it were grim: "I have been surprised to find that the Assistant Masters, with hardly an exception, have no idea of what hard work means . . . . It will undoubtedly take some time to infuse a spirit of work throughout the school." His drive was at first ruthless, often unjust, but he was a successful revolutionary who built up a great School, great in all senses (he contemplated having 1,000 boys). "Learning by doing" and fearless experiment swept away a lot of cobwebs from the national education system. Sanderson was sometimes too much of a tornado rather than a new broom, yet, all things considered, a seer and prophet who died in harness, with the satisfaction of seeing his visions become facts.

Mr. Walker carries on the story of sustained achievement to the retirement and death of Dr. Fisher in 1945. It is a remarkably frank and fair history, laced with humour. The author's

industry and scholarship are impressive without being oppressive. His thoroughness leaves little hope for future gleaners, but it is a pity that there are few reliable signposts in this vast quarry of information: the index is miserably incomplete and inadequate, depriving a book of this size and type of much of its usefulness. Nor has the difficult problem of avoiding footnotes as much as possible always been happily resolved. Otherwise this is indeed a model history of its kind, full of fascinating detail, character studies, and the candid unfolding and explaining of developments over the centuries.

Sir Gyles Isham's vignette is of Sir George Buswell's foundation in 1667 of Clipston School and Hospital, which has less scope, but the same sort of background of a disputed will and quarrels over management and administration. For over two hundred years the Ishams were trustees, and Sir Gyles has made able and interesting use of family records and other hitherto unpublished material to give a coherent history down to the School's restoration and re-opening in 1928.

E.G.F.

Michael Rysbrack, Sculptor, by M. I. Webb. (Country Life, 42/- net).

Michael Rysbrack is less well-known than his contemporary Roubiliac, and he has certainly been less generally appreciated. Of the three foreign sculptors who practised in England during the first half of the 18th century and secured most of the commissions, Rysbrack has lacked a biographer, although there is no full-scale biography either of Roubiliac or of Scheemakers, the other Flemish sculptor who rivalled Rysbrack in the magnitude of his practice but scarcely in his skill.

Mrs. Webb's biography is complete, readable and extremely well illustrated. She makes the point that Rysbrack practised at a time when portrait painting was at rather a low ebb in England, so that the sculptors supplied what the portrait painter could not, a really good likeness. Opposite page 38 Mrs. Webb illustrates a painting by J. N. Williams of James Gibbs, the most gifted English architect of his day. This is a competent but very uninspiring piece of work. Next to that she places the marble bust of Gibbs by Rysbrack in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Gibbs' famous London Church. This is a bust of a man of genius.

Northamptonshire is not particularly rich in Rysbrack's work, and there is nothing to compare with Roubiliac's sculpture at Warkton. Stoke Doyle Church contains the best of his monuments in the county in the figure of Chief-Baron Ward. This is a charming and little-known 18th century church, where the baroque figure of the Judge seems completely in place. There are busts of the Palmers at Ecton church, and Ecton Vicarage has an excellent Rysbrack bust of Archdeacon Palmer. There is a terra-cotta bust of Van Dyck at Althorp. This completes the local list so far as is known, but it is possible that there are other works by him awaiting discovery in the county.

As Mrs. Webb would be the first to admit, it was Mrs. Esdaile's pioneering spirit which first drew attention to the sculptors of the 17th and 18th centuries whom the Gothic enthusiasm of the Victorian age had consigned to oblivion. It is to be hoped that some of the other sculptors will find biographers as painstaking and interesting as Mrs. Webb.

G.I.

The Medieval Floor Tiles of Leicestershire by Norma R. Whitcomb, B.A. (The Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, 1956. Price 25s.).

This attractively produced volume consists of an introductory study of medieval floor tiles in Leicestershire and an exhaustive catalogue of extant floor tiles of the period in the County.

Miss Whitcomb reviews the eight groups of decorated tiles which can be recognised in the County and assesses their chronological and geographical significance. Special attention is paid to the fourteenth century inlaid tiles of Warwickshire and Nottinghamshire type and five sites with floors of these tiles are described. Four of them are illustrated diagramatically. The distinctive Burton Lazars tiles are dated for the first time—to the fifteenth century. The interesting experiment of petrological examination of the fabric of a small number of tiles to determine their origin, though inconclusive, is worth further investigation.

The main portion of the volume is an illustrated catalogue of some 260 tile designs from Leicestershire. Full descriptions of the size, glaze, fabric and other features of each design supplement the illustrations, together with parallels and references from sites other than in Leicestershire. The drawings are careful and the logical arrangement of the descriptive text, together with an index of tiles listed under counties, makes the catalogue easy to handle. A distribution map of tiles in the County, distinguished by their date and not by their type, is included, but the reader is left to draw his own conclusions from it.

Miss Whitcomb is to be congratulated on having produced a scholarly corpus of Leicestershire medieval tiles which no student of the subject in any part of the country can afford to neglect. In addition the chronological assessment of these tiles will be of inestimable value to excavators of medieval ecclesiastical sites. A.W.

Footplate and Signal Cabin by Norman Marlow. (George Allen and Unwin, 20/-).

An interest in railway engines is natural to boys and, despite swifter forms of locomotion, seems to have held its appeal. But it cannot be often that the passionate interest of a boy in engines has been prolonged into what Mr. Marlow calls the continuing spell of the railway enthusiast. The enthusiasm is the more unexpected in one who has followed the calling of a teacher of Classics.

Mr. Marlow's interest is not only in engines and their working, but in the men who work them and contribute to their passage. No one can read this book without having more interest in railway trains, and, in future, when I see a small boy making notes on passing engines, I shall wonder whether he will ever know as much as Mr. Marlow. For the Northamptonshire reader the book is of particular interest since Mr. Marlow's childhood was spent at Desborough, and the old Midland line is studied in detail.

Books are sometimes advertised by their publishers as 'for boys of all ages.' Messrs. Allen and Unwin are more modest in their claims, but for once, the claim could have been truly made. G.I.

Reminiscences of Bert Drage. (David Green, Kettering, 1956).

"I have had a grand life—more hunting than any man living. I should think," exclaims Mr. Drage on the first page of his book—(68 years of it, in fact). This racy, pithily expressed account of a life, at least 99.9% of which has been devoted to THE HORSE, will not only be of interest to the sporting world whose pleasures Mr. Drage in such great measure shared and enhanced. For the social historian it is a lively morsel of a day that has vanished, when in Northamptonshire hunting was a great industry, on a level with shoe-making in the towns.

Mr. Drage gives us glimpses of departed heroes of the chase—of "Bay" Middleton, Lord Annaly, Lady Frederick, the Red Earl Spencer, one-time Master of the Pytchley, of whom there is, among many illustrations, an excellent photograph. The other day, we hear, Mr. Drage celebrated his 90th birthday. Congratulations, Mr. Drage, your very good health and thank you for your book. J.W.

Alice Dryden

Alice Dryden, c. 1890

The death at Oxford on 4th February last of Mrs. John Marcon at the age of 89 has removed one of the former personalities of Northamptonshire, who earned for herself a modest but well-deserved niche in the long gallery of our county antiquaries and historians. She was Alice, only child of Sir Henry Dryden, 7th baronet, of Canons Ashby, himself a distinguished antiquary and a great local "character," well-remembered by the present writer. He was High Sheriff in 1844, the year Queen Victoria and Prince Albert visited Northampton, and rode behind their carriage all the way from Northampton to Burghley House, before the local railways existed. Sir Henry was also one of the founders of Northampton Museum.

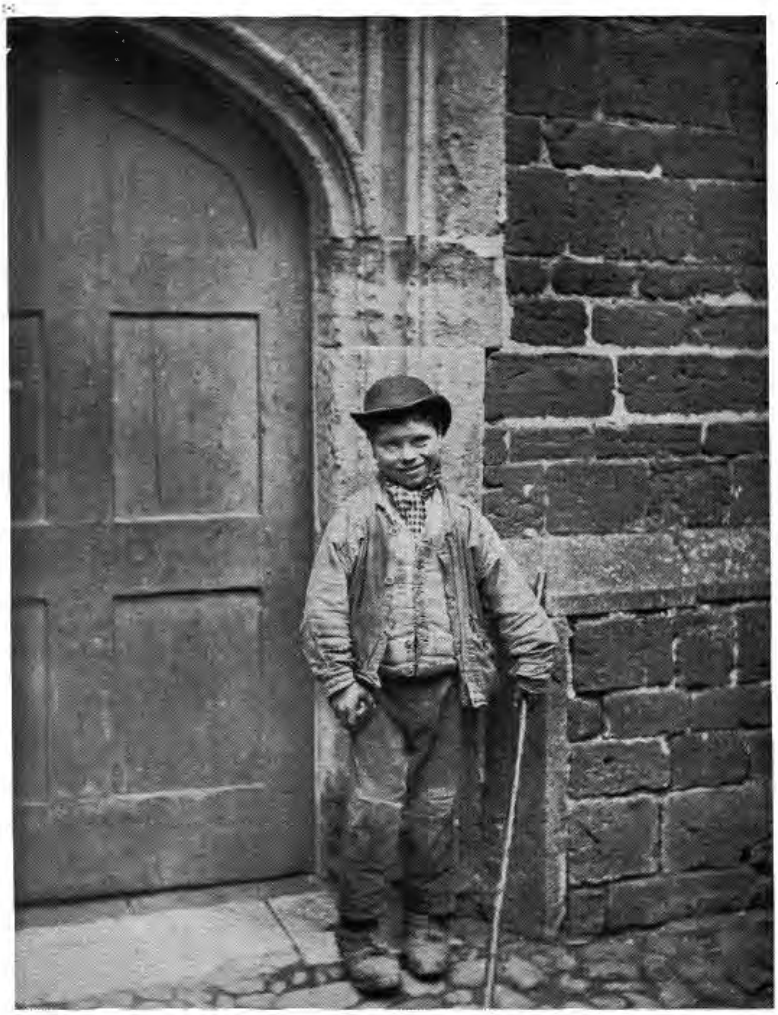
His daughter inherited his scholarly tastes, although only receiving the smattering of education in those days considered sufficient, for the daughters of the squirearchy. However, she thoroughly agreed with a distinguished woman friend of hers, who said: "We were educated at our fathers' tables." She spent the first thirty-three years of her life at Canons Ashby, that most lovely of Northamptonshire homes in perhaps the most beautiful corner of the County. She was a keen follower of the Grafton Hounds and always interested in racing, but gradually more serious interests developed and she founded and was Hon. Secretary of the Northamptonshire Home Arts and Industries Association, which for many years held exhibitions in various parts of the County.

Possibly as the result of the intimacy thus acquired with the beautiful pillow-lace of Northamptonshire, she, with her friend, Miss Margaret Jourdain, revised, partly re-wrote, enlarged and edited Mrs. Bury Palliser's *History of Lace*, the standard work on the subject. The book was published in 1902, and among the additional matter, is an interesting account of the village lace-school at Spratton. A few years later she did a little book—*Church Embroidery*—in the Rev. P. Dearmer's "Arts of the Church" series, which is a learned and succinct summary of the subject.

While still at home Alice Dryden's favourite hobby was photography, pursued in a thorough and systematic fashion. She made a photographic survey of many of the villages of the County, driving herself from place to place in a dog-cart. She also wrote a descriptive handbook of the Great Central Railway, then under construction and which passed through Woodford Halse, the next parish to Canons Ashby. Her work on this book first brought her into touch with Margaret Jourdain.

After her father's death in 1899 (her mother had died some years earlier), Alice was forced

to tear herself from the beloved home, and lived for a few years at Bradford-on-Avon, in London, and near Oxford, eventually settling at Boar's Hill. These were years of great literary activity,



A Drover's Lad at Canons Ashby c. 1894

Photograph by Alice Dryden

during which she edited, with much skill and discrimination, *Memorials of Old Northamptonshire* (1903), a book which she claimed "does not encroach upon the provinces of the county history or guide-book, but which seeks to illustrate certain objects of interest and association." (These are of course exactly the lines which *Northamptonshire Past and Present* endeavours to follow). This was followed by *Memorials of Old Wiltshire* (1906), and similar volumes for Warwickshire (1908) and Leicestershire (1911). She herself contributed articles to all these books, and one on

Honiton Lace to the Old Devonshire volume. She also wrote the chapter on Northamptonshire in *The Counties of England* (vol. I, 1912), as well as articles in *Country Life* and other periodicals. But her *magnum opus* was *The Art of Hunting, or Three Hunting MSS.*, which comprised in one volume three medieval manuscripts:

(1) a revised edition of her father's edition of "The Art of Hunting," by William Twici, huntsman to King Edward II.
(2) "The Craft of Venery."
(3) a translation of "La Chasse du Cerf."

This appeared in 1908, and was printed at the Old Swan Yard Works, Northampton, by William Mark.

Alice's very happy marriage to Mr. John Marcon took place in 1913. They lived at Highclere, Berks, until his death in 1928. In 1919 she had contracted infantile paralysis, which left her a cripple, only able to hobble slowly from room to room for the rest of her life. The twenty-six years of her widowhood were spent at 7 Hamilton Road, Oxford, where her chief interest was her garden. Her great intelligence, entertaining conversation, her sometimes caustic humour, and keen interest in the present as well as in the past, ensured her a constant supply of visitors. She had a few devoted and life-long friends and relations, who came to her help when she was in trouble. Sitting in her chair by the fire in her last years, as I used to see her on my visits to Oxford, she became strikingly like her father. There was nothing she enjoyed so much as a good gossip about the old days, and it was, I think, true, as her friend Lady Beaumont wrote to me after her death, that great as was the span of years since she had left it, "her heart was always in Northamptonshire." J.W.

Queen Elizabeth I's Sheets

Mary Nicholls, the spinster sister of Sir Edward Nicholls, 2nd Bart. of Faxton and Hardwicke, Northants., in her will dated July 30th, 1674, and proved in 1678, left "To my brother my grandmother Semors sheets she had of the Queene." Her grandfather was Francis Nicholls, governor of Tilbury Fort in 1588. His wife was Anne, daughter of David Seymour Esquire. 1588 was the year of the Armada, when Queen Elizabeth went to Tilbury to inspect the troops drawn up to resist the expected invasion. It was perhaps on this historic occasion that she gave the sheets to the Governor's wife. If so, it is a remarkable tribute to their quality that they should have been in a fit state to bequeath in a will drawn up eighty-six years later! G.I.

"The historian's occupational disease: inability to stop researching". Brian Inglis in the *Spectator* of October 19th, 1956.

A Clerical Character

When the London and Birmingham Railway (later the L.N.W.R., later still the L.M.S., and now part of "British Railways") was under construction, passengers from London to the north had to transfer themselves and luggage to horse-drawn coaches at Denbigh Hall, a few miles south of Wolverton, and proceed by road as far as Rugby where they rejoined the train. What must have been one of the earliest railway guide-books was published in 1838. It was by Arthur Freeling and was entitled *The London and Birmingham Railway Companion*, and a very entertaining companion it was, as the following extract, headed "Luncheon v. Sermon", will shew :—

> "As we descend the hill into Stony Stratford, we perceive Passenham on our left; it may be distinguished by the tower of its church. The population of this parish is 828, principally rural . . . The present incumbent is Loraine Smith, of sporting notoriety, about whom very many singular tales are told, which are indeed almost too extraordinary to be recorded. As a specimen, we shall only give one, which appears not very improbable, and which shows that if not a very spiritual parson, he is at any rate a very hospitable man.
>
> One morning, on coming to church on a bitterly cold day, he found that his usually not very large congregation was limited to some seven or eight persons; and having, it would appear, no very great opinion of the benefit to be derived from a sermon under such circumstances, he addressed the parties to the purport that if they would step up to his house, they should have a good luncheon of ale and beef, which would do their bodies more good than he could do their souls on such a wet morning. The *on dit* asserts, that they took his advice, and had the benefit of his kitchen, for the loss of his sermon.
>
> The sporting anecdotes of this gentleman would fill a volume; but as they are far more creditable to the sportsman than to the clergyman, we must withhold them; hoping, as he is now in possession of his family property, that he will enter upon the station in society, viz: that of a country gentleman, which he is so eminently qualified to adorn. A more liberal man, a kinder heart, and complete gentleman (when he pleases), does not exist among the squirearchy; but certainly nature never intended him to be a clergyman."

Rector of Passenham he remained, however, until his death nearly twenty years later (1857) at the age of 73. When on his death-bed, he was visited by three Dukes (presumably those of Grafton, Buckingham, and Bedford), which is said to have given him great satisfaction. His grand-daughters, the Misses Bevan of Spratton House, whom many still remember with affection, inherited his passion for fox-hunting.

Northamptonshire Proverb

Northamptonshire,—more spires, more haughtiness, and less hospitality than any other county in England. (C. A. MARKHAM, *Northamptonshire Proverbs*).

Old Northamptonshire Rhyme

Doddington dovecote,
Wilby hen,
Irthlingborough ploughboys,
And Wellingborough men.

Note: " Wilby hen " refers to the hen on the weathervane of the Church tower. (C. A. MARKHAM, *Op. cit.*)

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[*Continued on next page*]

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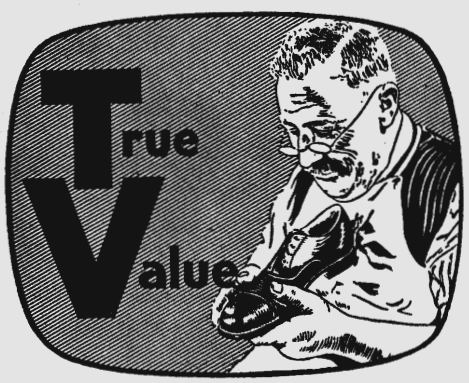

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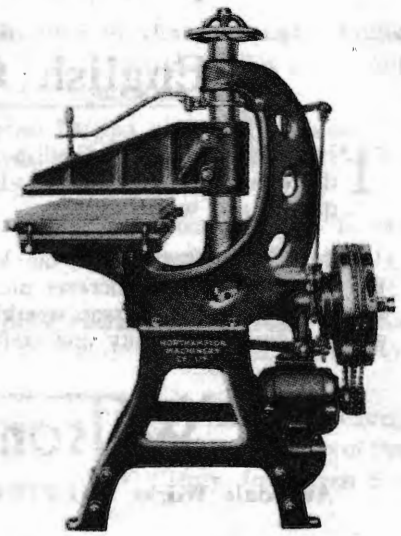

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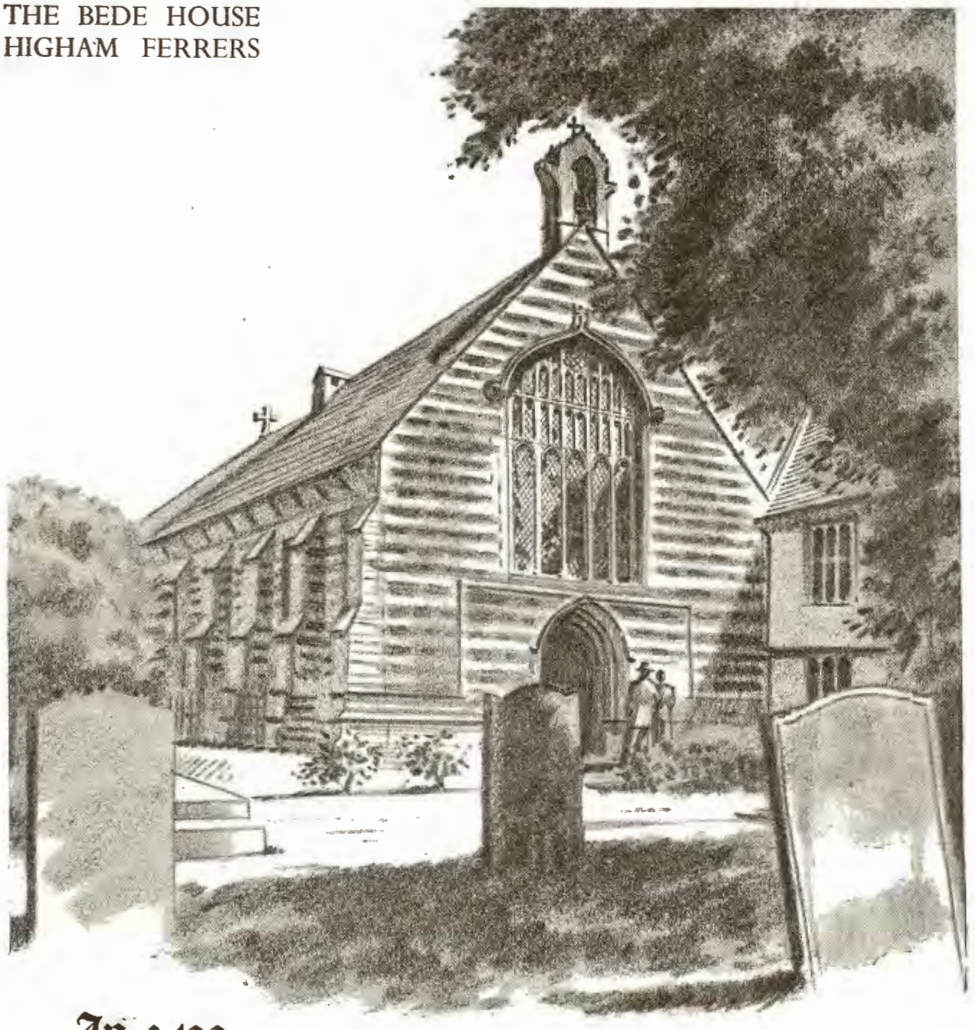

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