NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST & PRESENT

BLAST FURNACE AT CORBY BEFORE 1914

Published by
THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY
DELAPRE ABBEY, NORTHAMPTON, ENGLAND
1963

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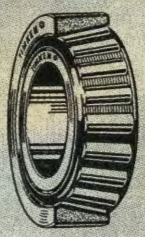

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NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST AND PRESENT, 1963

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1963

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THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY

(FOUNDED IN 1920)

DELAPRE ABBEY, NORTHAMPTON

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AIMS AND OBJECTS

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

MEMBERSHIP

THE ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, which has not been raised in over forty 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. Forms of membership will be gladly sent on application.

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Thanks are expressed to
Lt.-Colonel J. Chandos-Pole, Colonel Stopford-Sackville, C.B.E.,
Sir Frederick Scopes and the British Museum for the use of photographs,
some of pictures or drawings in their possession.

Notes and News

The Northamptonshire Record Society

The influence and membership of the Northamptonshire Record Society continue to increase. Of our 1,100 members over 350 are not resident in Northamptonshire. The scope of the Society's activities has been broadened this year with the organisation of a 'Young Historians' Competition'. Sales of N. R. S. volumes during 1963 have already exceeded those of any previous year. As there has been considerable demand for Volume VIII, *Wellingborough Manorial Accounts*, 1258-1323, which has been long out-of-print, the Society has decided to reprint this important volume. Details of this book and of other books and pamphlets offered for sale may be found on the enclosed notice.

The Annual General Meeting

The forty-second annual General Meeting of the Society was held this year on May 25th. Members were sad to learn that Miss Joan Wake felt impelled to resign from the office of honorary secretary, although she will continue to act as General Editor of our publications. She has been the inspiration and author of many of the Society's pioneer achievements since its inception, yet she modestly disclaimed credit and stated that the Society had kindly allowed her to indulge in the absorbing hobby of studying Northamptonshire history. The Society elected Dr. P. A. Pettit as her successor.

Professor J. Simmons of the University of Leicester then gave a lecture entitled "Three Midland Towns". With great lucidity he compared and contrasted Northampton, Leicester and Nottingham. His Worship, the Mayor of Northampton, proposed a vote of thanks. Professor Simmons' lecture appears on p. 136 of this issue of *Northamptonshire Past and Present*.

Autumn Lecture

This was given on October 19th, by Mr. A. N. Marlow. Although Mr. Marlow is now a Senior Lecturer in Latin in the University of Manchester, he claimed pride in descending from a family with at least two centuries of residence in Northamptonshire. His subject, "The Coming of Railways to Northamptonshire", was not without topical significance. The charming literary allusions which added colour to his lecture were much appreciated. Again we are deeply indebted to the staff of the Northamptonshire Record Office for arranging the excellent exhibitions which have illustrated both lectures this year.

Donations

Amongst donations received this year have been volumes describing and illustrating Sir Arthur de Capell Brooke's journeys to Scandinavia and Lapland in the 1820s. We appreciate Sir Edward de Capell Brooke's generosity in giving these volumes. Mr. V. Hatley (with the assistance of other voluntary helpers), has been arranging and indexing the Society's Library, and gifts of books relating to Northamptonshire history are always welcome.

Young Historians' Competition

The Society has this year sponsored a new venture designed to stimulate research into local history amongst senior pupils in Northamptonshire schools. They are invited to submit essays on a wide range of subjects of Northamptonshire history which impinge on national history. Sir Gyles Isham introduced the competition in lectures given at Delapré Abbey and at Magdalen College School, Brackley. Anyone interested in the competition may obtain further details from the Honorary Secretary.

Local History Research Class

We congratulate the Department of Adult Education in the University of Leicester for organising a Local History Research class this winter. The course is intended to give the students, many of whom are members of our Society, a deeper insight into the sources and techniques for research into local history. The

class is being held in the Society's Library at Delapré Abbey and is made possible by the helpful co-operation of the staff of the Northamptonshire Record Office. The students are working under the expert guidance of Dr. G. Martin, a Lecturer in History in the University of Leicester.

Our Contributors

Most of our contributors to this year's issue are familiar to our readers, but Sir Frederick Scopes, the author of the article on p. 125 on the development of Corby has not written for us before. A further article of his will appear in next year's issue. He was a history scholar at Corpus Christi College, Oxford and joined Stewarts and Lloyds Ltd. in Glasgow in 1914; he spent the whole of his business career with Stewarts and Lloyds, except for the years 1939-41, when he was Director of Home Ore in the Iron and Steel Control (Ministry of Supply). He was actively concerned with the development of iron ore production in Northamptonshire from 1932 to 1939. He retired from the Board of Stewarts and Lloyds in 1962, having been knighted ten years earlier. Incidentally he is a Northamptonshire man, having been born in Kettering.

Mr. Derek Hall is a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and Sub-Rector of the College. His special field is mediaeval law, so he is well fitted to explain the complexities of the legal document about Drayton in the fourteenth century (p. 163).

Mr. Malcolm Seaborne has unhappily left this County. His article on p. 141 is based on the lecture which he gave at Delapré in 1962. He is now on the staff of the University of Leicester, school of education, and would be most happy to hear of any interesting buildings in the County of Northamptonshire, especially any due for demolition. His address is 152 Upper New Walk, Leicester.

Kettering Memories

Mr. Laurence Gotch, a member of the well-known Kettering family, and nephew of the late Mr. J. A. Gotch, the Society's chairman, has been writing a series of articles during the present year on the Kettering of his youth—an evocative tribute to the town as it was. These articles appeared in our contemporary *The Kettering Leader*. Mr. Gotch confesses that these articles are "no more than the rambling thoughts of an old man", but says that "they do *record* facts and personalities of Kettering and district which can only be recorded by someone who lived there 70 years ago". This is certainly true, and any local reader who missed them should certainly consult a copy in one of the public libraries. The first series ran from May 31st-August 9th, and a second series began in September.

A Bouquet

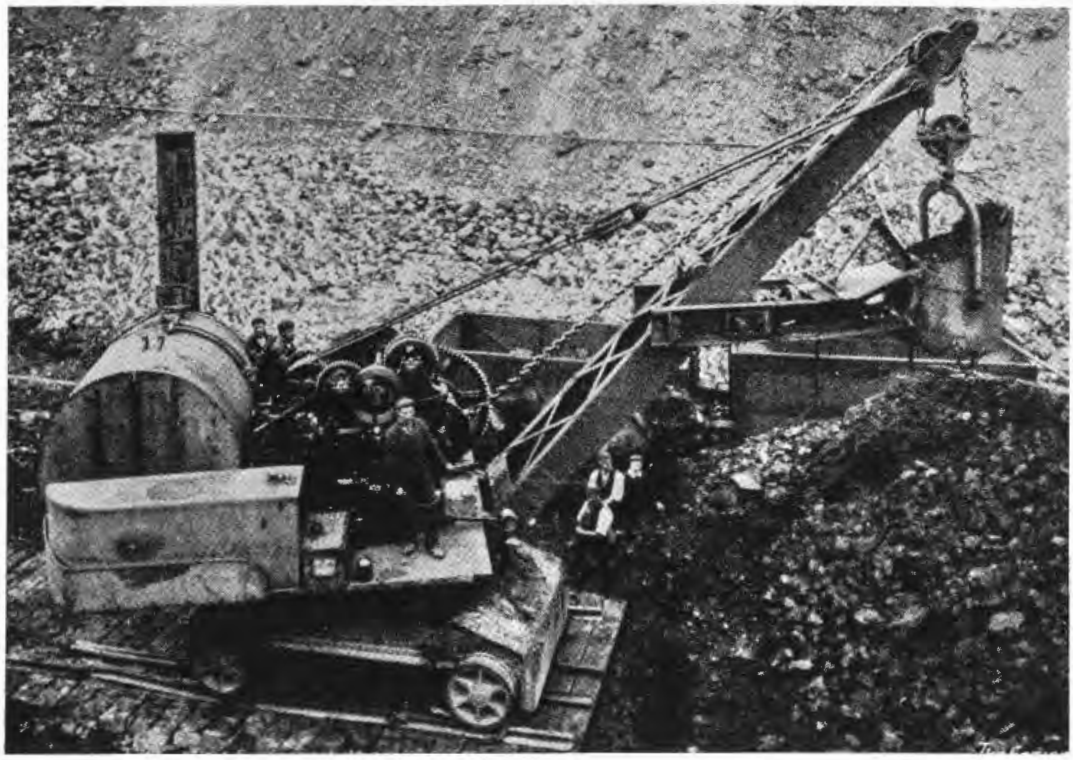
If we may indulge in a mixed metaphor, we have strong objections to blowing our own trumpet, but our contemporary *The Book Exchange* in its January issue. described our last issue in these terms: "The reduced price of 2/6 at which this issue is published should ensure a very wide distribution for probably the most attractive and inexpensive publication of all comparable county societies in Great Britain". We can only hope that our members agree! *The Book Exchange* singled out for special comment Miss Margaret Toynbee's first article on the "Andrew Family of Daventry", which is concluded in this issue with a full account of the unfortunate Colonel Euseby Andrew.

It is with great regret that members of the Record Society will hear of the serious illness of Mr. Patrick King, the County Archivist. At the moment of writing, he is making steady progress, and all members of the Society will wish him a speedy return to full health and activity.

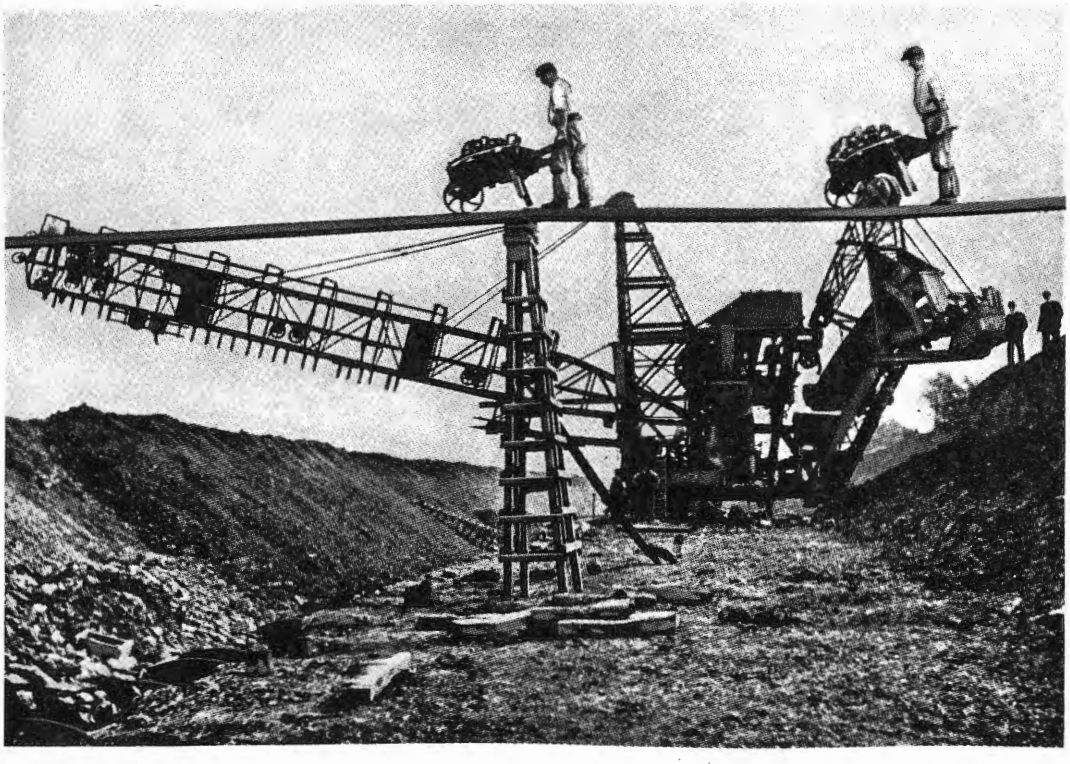
PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN AT DELAPRE ABBEY, MAY 25, 1963, ON THE OCCASION OF MISS JOAN WAKE'S RESIGNATION AS HON. SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

Front Row (left to right)—Miss P. Brudenell, Dr. P. A. J. Pettit, Mr. C. E. Mumby, Professor J. Simmons, Sir George Clark, Miss Joan Wake, Mr. S. L. Elborne, Mr. C. V. Davidge, Miss R. M. Marsden, Sir Gyles Isham and Mr. A. Ireson

Back Row (left to right)—Mr. R. J. Kitchin, Mr. V. A. Hatley, Mr. M. V. J. Seaborne, Canon E. J. A. Dunn, Lt.-Col. G. T. H. Capron, Mr. J. Waters and Mr. A. Norman Groome



THE FIRST MECHANICAL DIGGER — 1895



PLANK AND BARROW METHOD OF WORKING IRONSTONE

The Development of Corby

Part I — Before 1918

When you pass the Albert Memorial in Kensington does it ever occur to you to think of the development of iron and steel manufacture at Corby? At first glance the connection might seem remote or far-fetched. Nevertheless, it is in fact direct and important. It was the display of samples of Northamptonshire ironstone at the Great Exhibition of 1851 that called attention to the mineral wealth of the county after a lapse of many centuries.

The iron ores of Northamptonshire were well-known to the Romans and Domesday Book records the presence of iron forges (*ferraria*) at Corby, Gretton and Castle Bytham in Edward the Confessor's reign. Later records show that Royal furnaces were at work at Geddington in the reigns of Henry II and Henry III. Rockingham Forest, like the Weald of Kent and Sussex, was, in medieval times, a great iron producing district. Its decline was due to the same causes, i.e., the prevention of further destruction of timber for charcoal-burning and the discovery that coal could be used for smelting, with consequent transference of the industry to the coalfields.

From available records it would seem that before the rediscovery of the value of the Northamptonshire ironstone as an ore in the second half of the nineteenth century, only two people had taken an interest in its existence. In about 1815 (according to a letter over the pseudonym "Young Iron" in the Mining Journal of 1st December, 1855) a Mr. Comfield, of Northampton, sent specimens of the ore to Mr. David Mushet, who discovered the Scottish "blackband" ore measures in 1800. There is no evidence of any response from Mr. Mushet and apparently Mr. Comfield did not follow the matter up. The next reference is a circumstantial account of a visit to Northampton in May 1828 by Charles Attwood, an ironmaster who in 1830 also noticed the upper seam of the Cleveland ore in the neighbourhood of Thirsk, and who a little later built blast furnaces at Tow Law in Weardale. According to J. S. Jeans, writing many years afterwards, Attwood discussed in 1828 the possible development of the Northamptonshire ironstone with his brother-in-law, William Matthews, a Staffordshire ironmaster, but was dissuaded from pursuing the matter because of the probable cost of transport of the ironstone by canal from Northamptonshire to Staffordshire—this being of course some years before the development of railways in the Midlands. Nothing therefore came of this discovery by Attwood.

The samples of ironstone from Northamptonshire at the Great Exhibition of 1851 came from the estate of General Arbuthnot at Woodford. In the Exhibition Catalogue there is a note 'at present of no commercial value' but in a lecture dated April 7th, 1852, by S. H. Blackwell, F.G.S., of Dudley, on "The Iron making resources of the United Kingdom", which was one of a series of Lectures on Results of the Great Exhibition, the importance of the discoveries was strongly emphasised. Blackwell describes the ore deposit as being "for all practical purposes and for a long series of years perfectly inexhaustible and one the importance of which it is scarcely possible to estimate". Early in 1852 the first consignments were forwarded to Staffordshire. The blast furnace operators in Staffordshire not unnaturally found considerable difficulty in smelting the Northamptonshire ironstone which was different from anything they had previously used and it was not until the end of the decade that Northamptonshire ironstone began to move in any quantity into the Black Country. Meantime experiments were being made in smelting the ironstone locally. The credit for the establishment of the pig iron industry in Northamptonshire is due to William Butlin. After experimenting in 1852 he erected a small cold-blast furnace at Wellingborough in 1853 and by perseverance and careful management he solved most of the immediate problems of smelting the Northamptonshire ironstone. His works occupied a site alongside the Midland Railway.

The impression must not be given, however, that the Northamptonshire Sand Ironstone is difficult to reduce. This, of course, is not the case. Even in Roman times it was accomplished

with charcoal in a primitive furnace, blown with simple bellows, but in those early days neither the metal nor the slag was ever wholly molten. In the blast furnace of the nineteenth century the high proportion of earthy matter to be melted down and dealt with caused considerable operational difficulties which Butlin surmounted as stated and progress resulted from the knowledge gained.

The development of ironstone working in the county was entirely conditioned by the railway system and its relation to the outcrops of ironstone and proceeded almost regardless of the quality or quantity of the reserves available for working in any particular area. The earliest quarries were at Blisworth, Gayton, Duston, Wellingborough and Desborough. A second furnace plant was built at Heyford not far from Weedon on the main line of the London & North Western Railway. The third blast furnace plant was not erected until 1866: this was at Stowe, also near Weedon. In relation to the rest of Britain the ore production was only about 2% of the total and the pig iron output was a mere 10,000 tons per annum out of a total of almost four million. Between 1863 and 1873 the annual output of ore from Northamptonshire increased from just over 120,000 tons to nearly 1½ million tons, whilst the pig iron output rose from about 15,000 tons to 60,000 tons a year. Numerous new quarries were opened in the Finedon and Desborough districts and on both sides of the Nene valley between Wellingborough and Thrapston, whilst the construction of the Northampton and Market Harborough line in 1859 had permitted the commencement of quarrying at Brixworth and the completion of the Kettering and Cambridge branch in 1866 opened up the Cranford-Islip area. In some years nearly 90% of the ore raised went out of the county, mainly to Staffordshire, Derbyshire and South Wales. As far as pig iron production in the county was concerned, in 1866 the Glendon Iron Company commenced the erection of a furnace near Finedon and by 1869 they had three furnaces there. About the same time Thos. Butlin & Company planned a second works, on the Irthlingborough side of the Midland Railway at Wellingborough (these furnaces did not finally go out of operation until 1932). This can be said to have completed the first phase of blast furnace development in Northamptonshire.

The ironstone production, which in the boom year 1873 had reached 1.4 million tons, fell somewhat in the succeeding years and except for the year 1880 stood at a level of about 1¼ million tons per annum. The increasing quantities smelted in the county meant that the tonnage sent out of the county for smelting elsewhere fell to about 70% of the production. Considerable tonnages went to South Wales especially from the Blisworth/Gayton district.

In 1872 the Northampton and Banbury Junction railway from Blisworth via Towcester and Banbury was opened, tapping the Blisworth quarries, and in 1879 the connection from Towcester via Stratford to Broom Junction was completed giving a much more direct route to South Wales. The demands of Derbyshire were also increasing and during this period Derbyshire was importing from Northamptonshire more than it produced in its own mines.

The second phase of blast furnace development in Northamptonshire began in 1871 when C. H. Plevins, a Derbyshire coal-owner, who in the previous year had acquired the Heyford plant, proposed to erect four furnaces near Islip, on the north side of the Kettering and Cambridge branch of the Midland Railway. In 1873 the first furnace was blown in and the plant was completed in 1879, when the concern became known as the Islip Iron Company. Also in 1873 the erection of a new two-furnace plant at Hunsbury Hill, about a mile south-west of Northampton, alongside the Northampton and Blisworth line of railway, was commenced, both furnaces being blown in towards the end of 1874. In 1875 the Cransley works were planned, on a site about a mile south-west of Kettering and connected with the Midland Railway by a private branch line. The plant was completed in 1878. Finally, in 1877 the works of the Kettering Iron & Coal Company at Warren Hill on the north-west outskirts of the town and adjoining the Midland Railway were commenced and two furnaces were blown in during the summer of 1878. This can be said to have completed the second phase of blast furnace development in the county.

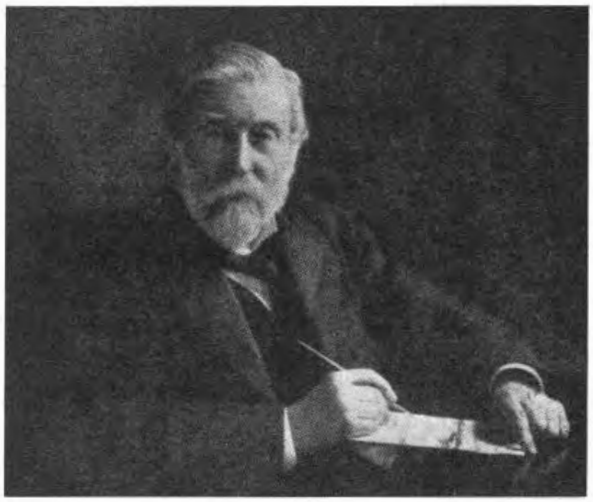
Thus in 1880 there were 23 furnaces built (and two building) on eight sites in Northamptonshire and 17 of these furnaces were in blast. In that year the pig iron made was 178,714 tons and the ironstone smelted 528,501 tons. The total ironstone production was 1,550,103 tons with

a value of £231, 358. This output came from about 30 quarries, several of which, e.g. Glendon, Wollaston, Cransley and Wellingborough (Stanton Ironworks Company) produced over 100,000 tons each. Duston was still important, producing over 95,000 tons, but the balance was rapidly changing and the importance of the south western area (Duston and Blisworth) and of the eastern area (Newbridge and Ringstead) was diminishing and the Kettering, Cranford and Brixworth areas were becoming more important.

In 1879 the Midland Railway connection between Kettering and Manton was opened. This made possible the developments at Corby and Weldon and the working of the outcrop ore along the escarpment overlooking the Welland valley near Gretton. It marks the start of the next phase.

On July 6th, 1880, Mr. Samuel Lloyd, in a personal notebook which has fortunately survived, records the details of what I believe was his first visit to Corby. This is the event from which the enormous developments of Stewarts and Lloyds at Corby have flowed. Mr. Samuel Lloyd, who was born in 1827 and was therefore 53 years of age when he first became interested in ironstone developments in the Corby district, had already had a remarkable career in Birmingham and South Staffordshire. He was an original partner in Lloyd & Lloyd, the tube makers, from 1859 until 1903 (when by the amalgamation of A. & J. Stewart and Menzies, Ltd. with Lloyd & Lloyd, Ltd., Stewarts and Lloyds, Limited, came into existence) and he was a partner in Lloyds, Foster & Company, Old Park, Wednesbury, who were a most important and flourishing concern in the 1860's and 1870's. This firm built Blackfriars Bridge.

Mr. Samuel Lloyd and his brother, Wilson Lloyd, M.P., developed the ironstone quarrying business at Corby in the energetic fashion which



THE LATE MR. SAMUEL LLOYD

THE LATE MR. S. J. LLOYD

characterised the innumerable activities of the Lloyd family for many generations. Mr. Samuel Lloyd remained Chairman of the private family-owned company of Lloyds Ironstone Company until his death in 1918 at the age of 91, though the last Board meeting he is recorded as attending was in November, 1912. Like most of the Lloyds he had a large family; they were mostly daughters who remained spinsters. His two sons, who were both closely associated with him in Lloyds Ironstone Company, were Samuel Janson Lloyd (1870-1943) and Albert William Lloyd (1871-1952).

Mr. S. J. Lloyd went to Corby in 1891 and was responsible for the operation of the quarries. He had no personal connection with Lloyd & Lloyd, the tube makers in the Birmingham district. Mr. A. W. Lloyd was a partner in Lloyd & Lloyd from 1895 and on the formation of Stewarts and Lloyds, Limited, in 1903 became one of the Managing Directors of that Company. Until 1920 this was the only link between Stewarts and Lloyds, Limited, and Lloyds Ironstone Company, Limited; it was an important link but there was no financial connection at all between the rapidly growing—and primarily tube-making—public company, Stewarts and Lloyds, Limited, and the relatively small privately-owned Lloyds Ironstone Company, Limited.

We return now to the development of Lloyds Ironstone Company from the first lease of ironstone from the Cardigan estate which runs from 1st July, 1880, although production did not start until 1881. The lease itself is dated 11th August, 1881. The actual tonnages despatched by rail from Weldon and Corby were 4,140 tons in 1881 and 20,812 tons in 1882.

Development was gradual but progress was steady and output increased year by year.

For many years all ironstone in the Corby district and at all the other quarries in Northamptonshire was got by hand labour. The overburden was removed and the ironstone excavated and loaded entirely by hand. This was universal until about 1895 and hand methods employing wheelbarrows and planks persisted in many parts of Northamptonshire as late as 1930 when a survey showed that nineteen of the forty opencast workings in the area—representing about 20% of the total ironstone production of the county—still employed nothing but hand labour for the extraction and loading of the ore. Lloyds Ironstone Company was the first company to use mechanical diggers for working ironstone in this country. The experiments with steam diggers started by Mr. S. J. Lloyd in 1895 mark an important epoch in the development of ironstone working in Northamptonshire. According to Colonel P. H. Lloyd (son of Mr. S. J. Lloyd) the idea came from the excavators used in cutting the Panama Canal and the first machine, imported from America, was a failure. In 1895-96 a Wilson steam crane navvy with a $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubic yard bucket was used for digging the ironstone. This was followed by various steam navvies for stripping overburden. By way of comparison, the capacity of the buckets on the largest machines now used in the Corby area for this purpose is 30 cubic yards.

The Lloyds always looked to development beyond the production of ironstone. They had of course the example of the eight or nine blast furnace concerns in the county. After the opening of the Kettering furnaces in 1878 only one entirely new works was built. This was at Wellingborough, on the north side of the town, alongside the Midland Railway, in 1885. Three years later this became the Wellingborough Iron Company with two furnaces to which a third was added in 1898. At several of the other sites, e.g., Kettering (1889), Irthlingborough (1884), Cransley (1890) and Hunsbury Hill (1890), various improvements were made and some new furnaces erected, but between 1880 and 1910 Wellingborough was the only entirely new blast furnace plant erected in Northamptonshire.

The plans of the Lloyd family for the erection of blast furnaces at Corby culminated in the voluntary liquidation of the original Lloyds Ironstone Company, Limited (incorporated in 1893) in 1907 and the formation that year of a new Company of the same name. The nominal capital of the old Company was £50,000. The new Company had a capital of £200,000 made up of 150,000 ordinary shares (all issued) and 50,000 preference shares (20,000 issued).

Apart from the Lloyd family the only large shareholder in the new Company was the Bestwood Coal & Iron Company who held 20,000 shares. Mr. Andrew Crawford, Director and Manager of the blast furnaces of the Bestwood Company, held 1,000 shares and was appointed

a director of Lloyds Ironstone Company on September 25th, 1907. The object of the reconstruction of the Company was to enable two blast furnaces to be erected at Corby under his management. He was in charge of their operation until his retirement on March 31st, 1929. Mr. John Lancaster, also of the Bestwood Company, was elected a director on April 1st, 1908, and remained on the Board until his death in May, 1918, though he rarely attended any meetings.

It is of interest that on June 1st, 1910, ironstone contracts on the books were reported as 1,019,753 tons at an average price of 2/3.18d.

The first iron was made in early May, 1910. The grades of iron made were foundry and forge, as at all the other blast furnaces in Northamptonshire. There was a serious strike in the summer of 1911 which brought the furnaces to a standstill and it is recorded that No. 2 furnace was back in blast on August 1st and No. 1 furnace on September 20th.

At this time Stewarts and Lloyds, Limited, were becoming concerned about their dependence on purchased pig iron for their Clydesdale Steel Works in Scotland, and a minute of a Board meeting held on 27th April, 1911, records that the Steel Works Committee was instructed to investigate the question of the purchase of a pig iron works in Lincolnshire or other district in England with good ironstone deposits, and in particular to get expert advice on the field of the Appleby Iron Co. Ltd. and on the general question of iron ore supplies. Arising out of this, one of the Directors of Stewarts and Lloyds and the General Manager of their Clydesdale Steel Works visited Corby in the spring of 1911. This is the first mention of Corby in the records of Stewarts and Lloyds, Limited.

The first mention of Stewarts and Lloyds, Limited, in the records of Lloyds Ironstone Company, Limited, occurs in the minutes of a Board meeting held on 9th November, 1911, which state that Stewarts and Lloyds had made an offer of 52/6d. f.o.t. Grangemouth for the make of one blast furnace for one month to a specified basic iron analysis. The offer was accepted and by the end of January, 1912, Stewarts and Lloyds had received a total of 1,756 tons of iron. This was the first iron for steel making produced in Northamptonshire.

The iron was sent by sea via Kings Lynn or Boston to Grangemouth, but there is no surviving record of the results of this trial of Northamptonshire Basic Iron at the Clydesdale Steel Works of Stewarts and Lloyds, Limited. As the supply was not followed up it is likely that it was not particularly successful. Under ordinary competitive conditions iron made at Corby could not hope to replace supplies from the Frodingham district of North Lincolnshire, where basic iron was regularly made without the necessity of using any imported manganese ore and costs both of manufacture and of transport to Scotland were less.

As far as is known, basic iron was not made again at Corby until towards the end of 1915. On September 29th of that year the Board minutes of Lloyds Ironstone Company record that "The question of Basic Iron was thoroughly discussed and it was resolved that we should put one furnace on this class of iron, providing prices were admissible".

At this time pressure was developing from the Ministry of Munitions for substantial increases in the national production of basic pig iron for steel making. The ironworks of Lloyds Ironstone Company were declared a Controlled Establishment from January 1st, 1916. It was, however, not until March 1917 that the Ministry of Munitions really got down to the problem and not until September 1917 that arrangements were made for financial assistance to be given to various companies owning blast furnaces either to divert idle stacks to the production of basic pig iron or to erect additional ones and the necessary auxiliary plant. One of these was Lloyds Ironstone Company and so the third furnace at Corby came into being. This was the only new blast furnace built in Northamptonshire under the scheme sponsored by the Ministry of Munitions.

FREDERICK SCOPES.

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THE LEGEND OF ST. RUMBOLD[1]

THE name of St. Rumbold lingers in the south-west corner of Northamptonshire and in the adjoining part of Buckinghamshire, in the names of a house, a street and so on. Sometimes it has been attached where it does not rightly belong. The Ordnance Survey, for instance, gives it to the medicinal well in Astrop Park, which was discovered in the seventeenth century and round which the one-time spa grew up; but this seems to be a modern mistake.[2] There is only one piece of information about the saint which does not come down to us from a single written source. This is the statement that he was born at Walton Grounds. It may be true, but we cannot trace it back to any earlier authority than John Leland, the antiquary of Henry VIII's time. With this exception everything that we can know about St. Rumbold comes not from tradition but from an account of his life written many centuries ago by an educated man who knew very well how to express what he wanted to convey.

There are four medieval manuscripts of a certain collection of many lives of saints among which this life is found in its earliest form.[3] The oldest of these four manuscripts was written out in the eleventh century, possibly before the Norman Conquest.[4] Two later medieval writers, the monk John of Tinmouth in the fourteenth century, and the friar John Capgrave in the sixteenth, produced what may be called revised manuscript editions of the collection, and in 1516 it was printed for the first time by Wynkyn de Worde. Since then longer or shorter versions of the story of St. Rumbold have appeared in many collections of lives of saints, but they are all entirely derived from one or other of these books, and so nothing is known of St. Rumbold's life except what is to be found in the anonymous eleventh-century manuscript.[5]

Nothing else is known about his life. It is true that we have independent knowledge about his cult, about the honours that were paid to him, but this further knowledge is of such a nature that it can tell us only about St. Rumbold's reputation and how widely it spread, not about the person from whom this reputation radiated. There are two ways in which the cult has left its traces in England and even on the Continent. First is the evidence of ecclesiastical calendars. St. Rumbold's name was commemorated by the Church on November 3rd, and the earliest mention of St. Rumbold on that day in a calendar comes from Exeter in the second half of the twelfth century.

The second kind of evidence about the cult comes from the dedications of churches. There is a church dedicated to St. Rumbold at a place in Sussex called Rumbalds Wyke; there are two in Dorset, two in Kent and one at Colchester in Essex; the village of Romaldkirk in the North Riding of Yorkshire seems to have taken its name from another such church. The fishermen of Folkestone are said to have chosen St. Rumbold as their patron.[6] There may indeed possibly be some confusion in one or other of these cases with some other saint with a similar name;[7] but

[1] I have to thank Canon J. L. Cartwright, the Rev. A. S. Midgley, Dr. Richard Hunt, Mr. P. I. King, Mr. B. Bailey and my son, the Rev. Martin Clark, for information and advice used in the writing of this article.

[2] B. Thompson 'Peculiarities of Wells and Waters' in *Journal of the Northamptonshire Field Club*, xvii (1914) p. 117 falls into this error by reading John Leland's remarks on Brackley (see below p. 134 n. 13) as if they applied to King's Sutton.

[3] For a list of these, for the text and for the subject in general see *Acta Sanctorum: November*, vol. i (1887) 682-90.

[4] It is now at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: see M. R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College* (1912), no. 9.

[5] For anyone who does not need to go into minute points of detail the most convenient place to read the Latin text is not in the gigantic volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*, but in *Nova Legenda Angliae*, ed. C. Horstman (1901), ii. 345-50. This is a learned modern edition of Tinmouth's text.

[6] Camden, *Britannia*, ed. R. Gough (1789), i. 320 n. 2.

[7] St. Rumold or Rombaut of Malines who was martyred in 775 seems to be a possibility; less likely is St. Romuald, the founder of the Camaldolese Order in Italy, who died in the early eleventh century.

there is no reason to suspect it in the two Northamptonshire instances. One of these, the chapel at Walton Grounds, a mile or so south of King's Sutton on the line of an old road to Buckingham, disappeared long ago with the hamlet which used to stand there. The other is at Stoke Doyle, the last village which the River Nene passes before it reaches Oundle. Unfortunately we have no means of knowing whether any of these dedications goes back to an earlier time than the written biography.

This biography tells a story of times which were already in the distant past for its eleventh-century writer, times in which, as he explains to his readers at the outset, there were several kings reigning in different parts of Britain, some of them serving idols, others Christians. One of the Christian kings, Penda by name, had a daughter who was sought in marriage by the powerful pagan king of Northumbria. The lady insisted that her husband should be baptized, and this was done. When she was about to bear a child King Penda invited the pair to visit him, and the child was born while they were on the journey, in a certain meadow where the servants and soldiers had set up pavilions and tents. No sooner was the child born than he cried with a clear voice 'I am a Christian, I am a Christian', to which two priests, or a bishop and a priest, who were there, Widerin and Edwold, answered 'Thanks be to God'. The child then professed belief in the Holy Trinity, whereupon the whole company sang the Te Deum; then he asked to be held by Edwold and baptized by Widerin with the name of Rumbold. After the baptism he received communion. At this point we are told that the place where all this happened is called by the inhabitants Sutton (in the Latin *Suttunus*). After the mass Rumbold spoke to his parents and the priests about the faith, and then he addressed all those who were present. His sermon is reported at the length of about 1,000 words, and it may be called a well-constructed summary of Christian doctrine.

When his hearers had expressed their thanks for this bestowal of grace, the blessed Rumbold spoke again. He announced that he was about to die. After his passing he desired to be left at his birthplace for one year, then in Brackley for two years, and after these three years his bones were to rest at Buckingham for all time. These place-names were not in use then, but they were found out or known long afterwards, and in the writer's own time there were villages or towns (*ville*) there, with farming and a dense population.

At the end of the third day, November 3rd, St. Rumbold died.[8] After the subsequent death of Edwold the saint's remains were translated to another place by Widerin, and at the end of three years they were taken to Buckingham, where in the writer's time they were held in great veneration and many miracles were done.

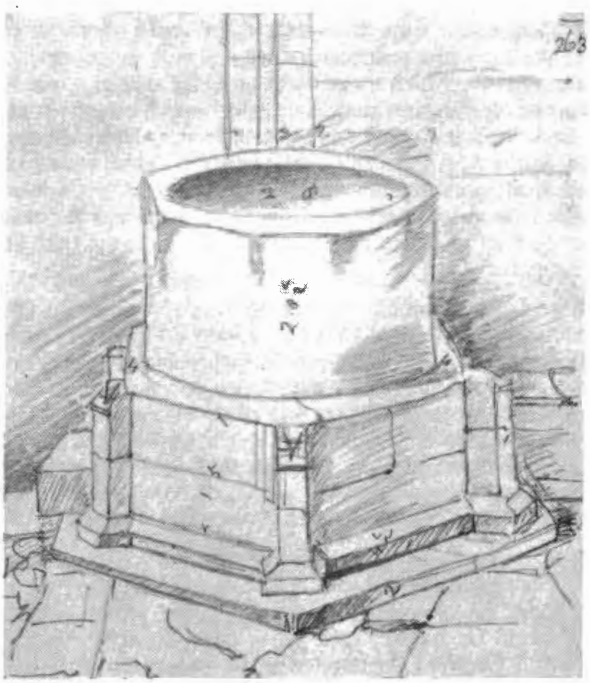
Such is the legend of St. Rumbold. When the writer twice draws attention to the differences between his own time and the much earlier age that he was writing about, the many kings and the undeveloped state of the country, it almost seems as if he feels that his narrative requires some kind of justification. The earliest criticism that we know of came from the monk John of Tinmouth, who knew a good deal about early English history. Penda, king of the Mercians, was a formidable figure in the seventh century, but he was not a Christian; far from it. John therefore altered the text and wrote that Penda was a pagan but had a Christian daughter. Later historians, however, were still not satisfied. In Penda's day the kings of Northumbria were not pagans but Christians. There were marriages between the two dynasties but none of them can be made to fit into this story. The incident of the husband's conversion is under suspicion of being more or less modelled on Bede's account of the marriage of Penda's son Peada.[9] Again, if the royal party was on a journey from Northumbria to Mercia, it is hard to see what it was doing in the Cherwell valley. The cult of St. Rumbold did indeed extend in early times to Yorkshire,[10] in the Northumbrian kingdom, but it is not too harsh to say that all the part about the kings and the princess represents an unsuccessful attempt to fix the story of the miraculously speaking child into an historical framework with known dates and persons.

[8] It should be noted that St. Rumbold would thus be born on All Saints Day. The morrow of All Souls Day is assigned also to some saints who are not associated with any definite anniversaries of known events such as their deaths.

[9] *Ecclesiastical History*, bk. III, l. 23.

[10] Romaldkirk is mentioned in Domesday Book.

This does not convict the writer of any intention to deceive. There is no room here for more than the briefest comment on the difficult theme of the difference between the attitudes of the medieval hagiographer and the modern historian; but fortunately the legend of St. Rumbold contains an example which illustrates the nature of the contrast. This is the report of the sermon. It was never meant to be accepted as a reproduction of something actually said, and we have other reasons for knowing this besides the obvious reason that there was no shorthand in the Middle Ages. This report is an instance of a literary device which was used by the ancient Greek historians and continued to be used by some veracious authors as late as the eighteenth century, the device of bringing out the significance of an event by an imaginary speech. No one was expected to believe that the Athenian statesmen used the precise words put into their mouths by Thucydides, and the biographer of St. Rumbold, inheriting this serviceable and indeed splendid literary convention, supplied a sermon in equally good faith. The literary tradition within which



FONT IN KINGS SUTTON CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE
Drawn by Buckler in 1824

he worked gave him an even ampler liberty. It permitted him to supply not only the speech, but the historical framework and what may be called stock features, of which one is the saint's prophecy of his own death, a feature common to many hagiographical works. It freed him from any subservience to probability, but no simple formula can be invented to explain how such writers regarded truth and fact. It would be too severe merely to say that their critical sense was in abeyance, but it would be too complimentary to say only that for them the exact sequence of mundane events had no significance comparable with that of permanent and edifying truths.[11]

[11] For introductory discussions of this subject see H. Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques* (1906), English translation *Legends, Introduction to Hagiography* (1907); and *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique* (1934).

Whether we find the story of St. Rumbold edifying is a matter for individual judgment. A story is not made miraculous simply by being extravagantly unlikely. If the literary modes of the time when it was written have overlaid some genuine story of precocious religion, they may have defaced something that would have impressed us if it had not been misrepresented. But it is useless to try to extract the original core of the legend from the later accretions. We may be almost certain that there was a person called Rumbold round whose memory a cult grew up in Anglo-Saxon times. Perhaps he died when he was still a child; or perhaps he was a grown man whose life as a Christian was cut short on the third day. Each of these explanations, however, accepts one part of the story and rejects the rest when we have nothing to guide us in deciding which parts ought to be retained and which discarded. We have no historical knowledge of St. Rumbold's life.

The legend, however, does give us some knowledge about the local history of the cult. First of all, when the writer tells us of events which occurred in Sutton, Brackley and Buckingham but declares that there were no settlements in any of these places and that all three names came into existence after St. Rumbold's time, it is a fair inference that the cult was maintained in all three, but that there were no place-names in the story as he received it, or at least that he knew some version of the story in which there were none. It almost appears that he is supporting the claims of all three to receive pilgrims and their offerings. We know that St. Rumbold's shrine was in Buckingham church, and it may be that the holy well from which the Well Street there took its name was also connected with the local saint.[12] There was a St. Rumbold's well at Brackley.[13] At King's Sutton there was an altar to St. Rumbold.[14] It is worth noticing that all the three churches are dedicated to St. Peter, though St. Paul was included in the Buckingham dedication and probably in that of Sutton.[15] From all this it seems that St. Rumbold's cult was established early in these parts.

The main wonder of St. Rumbold's speaking was accompanied by a subsidiary miracle. When he asked to be baptized he pointed to a stone with a hollow (*concavus lapis*) which was in a hut or shelter (*tugurium*) near by, and ordered the servants to bring it quickly. They went, but they could neither move the stone nor lift it out of the ground. When they came back and said they were toiling to no effect, Rumbold's father told them to bring a wooden vessel, but Rumbold, when he saw them bringing this vessel filled with water, told Widerin and Edwold to go in the name of the Lord, only the two of them, to pick up the stone and bring it. They went at once, easily lifted the heavy stone from the ground and put it down before Rumbold. At it he was baptized.

It is not difficult to suggest a collateral motive for the inclusion of this detail in the legend. We saw that the writer perhaps intended to show that each of three places was connected with St. Rumbold. If one of them could point to a material object which actually figured in his story, the claim of that place would be secure, and, quite apart from any such claims, if there was a font in Sutton church which people associated with St. Rumbold, that would be an explanation. Now there is some reason to think that there was such a font. In Victorian times the medieval font was turned out of the church, but we have two printed descriptions of it and two drawings, all made between about 1820 and 1840. They do not agree on all the details, but there is no doubt about the relevant points. It stood at the west end of the south aisle, a normal position, but that was St. Rumbold's aisle. The font was tub-shaped, like many Norman fonts; but it was irregular and exceptionally large. It stood on a base which one antiquary said was square, while another said it was octagonal and both the drawings appear to show it as a hexagon. At each corner was a buttress. These buttresses were broken away at the top, but they looked as if they had terminated in pinnacles, or possibly in some more elaborate superstructure. One antiquary thought their style was Decorated: it seems safe to say that they were not older than the fourteenth

[12] G. Lipscomb, *History of the County of Buckingham*, ii (1831) 581-0, 584.

[13] J. Leland, *Itinerary*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith, ii (1908) 37; ed. T. Hearne vii (1744) fo. 12.

[14] Will of Thomas Westall, who left 8d. to it in 1525: R. M. Serjeantson and H. Isham Longden in *Archaeological Journal* lxx, 2nd. ser., xx (1913) 354.

[15] The current description of Sutton church as St. Peter and St. Paul, is based on a reference in the will of Thomas Westall.

century. This means that the bowl of the font could be as old as the written legend, and that, at some time more than two hundred years later, it was provided with a new, ornamental and expensive base, contrasting with its rude appearance.[16] Instead of providing themselves with a new font in the contemporary fashion the Sutton people preserved their old one and adorned it, which is what they might well do if they regarded it with reverence.

The Victorians put in an elaborately carved Gothic font, but this in its turn was ejected.[17] In 1923 the architect Temple Moore put up the present south altar, and at his instance the font which now stands in the church was put together. The base is a millstone from Twyford Mill. The stem is a cylindrical piece of white limestone, which some say was found in the church. The uppermost stone was brought in from the churchyard. At first sight it seems to have nothing to do with the medieval font. It is not tub-shaped but bowl-shaped. Instead of being slightly more than two feet high (the measurement noted on a drawing in 1824) it is ten or eleven inches short of that. But there are two things which suggest that it may be not indeed the medieval font but a remnant of it. Both were roughly circular at the top. The present font has a strangely rough and irregular appearance, partly because at some time seven vertical slices of various sizes have been cut away from the outside, so that it looks as if someone had begun and abandoned a clumsy attempt to reshape it as a heptagon merging downwards into the original round shape. It is very odd indeed that both the old drawings seem to indicate something resembling this deformity. It is equally strange that some of the measurements of 1824 are close to those of today. The old bowl at one point was six inches thick; the thickness of the present bowl is four to six inches; in 1824 the diameter at the top was given as 38 inches outside and 32 inches inside, and now the smallest outside diameter is about 39 inches (the greatest being more than 43) but the inside measures 32.

There is a puzzle here, and it may be solved if anyone can remember exactly what happened when the present font was fitted up only forty years ago, or if anyone can prove that the hollow in the medieval font was deeper than could possibly have been cut in the existing stone. Until the puzzle is solved a little harmless speculation is permissible. No archaeologist is likely to say firmly that this stone is one of the very few Anglo-Saxon fonts in the country, still less that it goes back to the seventh century; but few or none would deny that it may be as old as the oldest manuscript of the written legend. If the writer of that manuscript wrote his story of the miraculous font with a real font in mind, and if the subsequent embellishment of the font is a proof that it was held in special regard, then we may conclude that from the eleventh century to the fifteenth the people of Sutton believed that this great lump of stone from a local quarry was the *concavus lapis* that Widerin and Edwold carried.

G. N. CLARK.

[16] G. Baker, *History of the County of Northampton*, i (1822-30) 699; A. Beasley, *History of Banbury* [1841], p. 113 (perhaps supplied by Beasley's architectural collaborator, whose name was Derick); drawing dated 27 July 1824 by [? J.B.] Buckler in British Museum Additional MS 36371 fo. 263; drawing dated 24 October 1827, probably by George Baker's sister, in the Local Room of the Northampton Public Library.

[17] It is now in the church of the Holy Spirit at Beeston, Leeds, Yorkshire.

THREE MIDLAND TOWNS

NORTHAMPTON, LEICESTER, NOTTINGHAM

DURING the past thirty or forty years the study of local history in this country has developed very greatly both in scale and in scope, and much has been done to raise the standard of work in it. Among the societies that have laboured to bring this about none has played a more distinguished part than this one; just as, among individual students and scholars, nobody has worked harder or more effectively than this Society's retiring Secretary, Miss Wake. As a result of the work done up and down the country during these years, local history has ceased to be a merely antiquarian study and has begun to become something much broader. One of its most important objectives is now seen to be the investigation of the establishment, the development, and sometimes the decline of communities.

Since local history is like charity and begins at home, it is natural and proper that most people who have written well in this field have concentrated their attention on one community, town, or district, at a time. But there is another exercise, also profitable to pursue—the comparative examination of communities; and it is a small contribution to this study that I am offering you this afternoon. I want to look at three notable towns of the East Midlands, lying within a span of sixty miles in a straight line, showing some characteristics in common and some very marked dissimilarities. They stand in a different relationship to one another at various times, one now moving forward while another stands still or goes back—until we come to the point at which we see them with our own eyes today. They are different, quite obviously, in size, in physical appearance, in feeling, if that is not a fanciful term. Yet all three of them belong, as they have belonged for centuries past, to what I may call the same family among English towns: a family that is different—you can see what I mean at once—from that of Salisbury or Cheltenham or Hull.

May I say at the outset that I do not propose to pontificate to you about Northampton? I have no claims to make that attempt, even if I wished to. Rather I want to take Northampton as a point of reference—much more familiar to you than to me—and to look at those two northern neighbours by comparison with it and with each other. I do not pretend to tell the whole story. I am trying only to select some of the most striking and interesting points in it.

If we look back first to origins, one difference stands out immediately. Leicester was a Roman town, the only important one in a huge tract of the Midlands bounded by Lincoln, Chester, and Cirencester: a substantial place, at least down to the ninth century far more substantial that either of its fellows. It belongs to a very small company among the great industrial towns of today, along with London, Manchester, and Newcastle.

All three of these Midland towns became important during and after the Danish invasions and emerged before the Norman Conquest as the unquestioned capitals of their shires. Two of them, Nottingham and Northampton, developed the curious structure of "double boroughs". At Nottingham you can *see* that structure plainly in an hour's walk over the two hills of the old town: from St. Mary's church on the east, the site of the Saxon settlement, down to the old market place and up to the Castle, built by the Normans—as Camden put it, "to bridle the English". The market place, in the saddle between the two hills, was the meeting-point of the two divisions of the town, populated at first by conquered and conquerors. They kept themselves separate. Different laws of inheritance obtained: in the eastern town the custom was "Borough English"—the old Anglo-Saxon rule of descent to the youngest son; in the western the Norman rule that we still follow, of descent to the eldest, prevailed. The two divisions continued to have separate juries at quarter sessions until the end of the seventeenth century, and there were two sheriffs and two coroners down to the municipal reform of 1835.

Leicester, on the other hand, was always one town. True, the Conqueror placed his castle on a site that had not, so far as we know, been used before, south of the river-crossing, whilst the Roman town had lain north of it. But the Roman plan still influenced the development of

Leicester after the Conquest. There emerged here, as at Northampton—and elsewhere, as at Gloucester and Oxford—a main street plan that was cruciform. But the difference, as you see the towns today, is that Northampton has retained that plan in full force, whereas at Leicester it has been obscured by the shift of the town centre in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a quarter of a mile to the east. The modern town centre, marked by the Clock Tower of 1868, stands on the site of the old East Gate. You can still discern the old plan very clearly, however, if you look at the junction of High Street and Highcross Street; and close to this point you can see a cross of granite setts laid into the tarmac of Highcross Street, marking the site of the medieval High Cross itself.

At Northampton and Leicester, too, the market place has suffered a different fate from that of Nottingham. All three had great markets—and Northampton and Nottingham enjoyed fairs as well that were of national importance. At Northampton and Leicester the old market place has survived, in a physical relationship to the town centres that is similar. Both flourish there to this day. Long may they continue! (At Leicester, as you may have heard, we nearly lost our market place a year or two ago to a parcel of "developers"; but we now have the prospect not only of retaining it but of having it greatly improved, in convenience and appearance alike, as a result of an intelligent piece of modern town-planning.) So here with you, as with us in Leicester, the long continuity of retail trade is preserved, and the markets continue to be held, on the traditional days, as they have been for seven hundred years past. At Nottingham the old market place went in the 1920s, to make way for a dully imposing civic square; though it must be agreed that modern traffic had rendered the old site impracticable to maintain.

What sort of trade was carried on in these towns in the Middle Ages? We know less of the answer to that question than we should like to, though the street names of Nottingham give us many useful hints: as you move westwards down the hill from St. Mary's church you will still come upon Bridlesmith Gate, Carter Gate, Fletcher Gate, Wheeler Gate, and half-a-dozen more of the same kind. By the fourteenth century Nottingham was becoming an important entrepot for coal, mined in the pits close by at Wollaton and Strelley and then put on to the Trent. Coal had always to be imported from a distance to Northampton and Leicester—which helps to account for their different atmosphere, in the literal sense of the word. By the end of the Middle Ages Northampton has emerged as a town of shoemakers: more than twice as many were recorded in 1524 as of any other trade. At Leicester and Nottingham at the same time the predominance lay rather with butchers and tanners.

In the late fifteenth century Leicester and Northampton were for a time very closely linked. They seem even to have acted together to secure legislation concerning their government in 1489. The constitutions then established were closely similar for the two towns and remained so throughout the history of the old unreformed corporations.

There is some reason to believe that at this time Leicester was, in population, the largest town of the three. Certainly in 1524 the number of taxpayers was larger by one third in Leicester than in Nottingham;[1] but if this was so, its position was rapidly deteriorating.

It must have felt severely the disuse into which its castle fell, as a centre of provincial administration, during the fifteenth century. The town certainly seems to have been in a state of economic decay, masked though that may be for us by the deceptively splendid career of William Wigston the younger. The Reformation made a greater impact upon Leicester than upon either of the other towns we are considering. It boasted two important religious houses, the Abbey and the College of the Newarke. The dissolution of these two, as well as of the minor religious foundations in the town, produced a great social upheaval there: perhaps one in eight of the whole population had to change their jobs or find new masters. The steady, assured employment arising from these two great institutions, and the business they indirectly brought into the town, had gone for ever.

As far as belief went, all three towns developed a strong character of Nonconformity—Northampton perhaps most strongly of all. It is worth noting, too, that this happened in Leicester under aristocratic patronage, that of the Hastings family, and especially the 3rd Earl of Huntingdon in Elizabeth's reign. There were great religious dissensions in the town in the early

[1] *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society*, xxv (1949), 94.

seventeenth century, with the corporation generally supporting the Dissenters, openly or in secret. It was a divided, rather bitter, unprosperous little community; and then it was hit a fierce blow by the Civil War. In 1645 Leicester suffered two sieges in quick succession, with disastrous results. "An old and ragged city", Evelyn called it when he saw it in 1654; and the marks of the battering it had received were not obliterated for generations to come.

Not long afterwards, it is true, Northampton was visited by an even more dreadful calamity, the fire of 1675. But prompt measures were taken for the rebuilding of the town, and the result, at least as far as the appearance of the main streets and the centre of the town was concerned, was most impressive. It was even referred to as an example to others. York, for example, was admonished that "it must have a purgation by fire if ever it arise in beauty like Northampton or London".[2]

Let us take a look for a moment at these three towns as the observant Thomas Baskerville (who made that remark) saw them, on his travels through England in the 1670s and 1680s:

"Being come within 2 miles of Northampton, we had a fair prospect of the town seated by a river, on ground gently rising on the other side the stream, to which the way leads over a stone bridge. And about a mile on the right hand in another road stands a fair cross with the effigies of some kings and queens cut in stone work. The town seems to be not much less than Oxford, having fair streets and strong built houses of free stone of an ochre colour in many places, with fair inns and very spacious market place. It hath likewise to adorn it four churches, viz:- St. Peter's, St. Sepulchre's, Allhallows, and St. Giles'; and at the end of the town which leads towards Daintree an old castle. This town some years since this journey hath suffered under a dreadful conflagration, 3 parts or more of it being totally ruined by that furious element, but 'tis since, Phoenix like, risen out of her ashes in a far more noble and beauteous form, the houses of the streets being now built in very good order with excellent freestone and 'bellconies', and some of the inns are such gallant and stately structures the like is scarcely elsewhere to be seen".

"As to Leicester, accounted 12 miles from Harborough, it is now an old stinking town, situated upon a dull river, inhabited for the most part by tradesmen, viz: worsted combers and clothiers, for the streets being then a sweeping and cleansing against the judges coming in the next morning the stinking puddles of [dung] and water being then stirred, made me go spewing through all the streets as I went to see it, yet it hath formerly been a town of good remark, for here is an ancient house or palace called the Duke of Lancaster's palace [i.e. the castle], as also a large hospital built by some of those dukes [Trinity Hospital], and an old piece of building which they call Janus' temple [? the Jewry Wall]. Here is also a bridge over the river which they call Richard the 3rd's bridge, by which some say he was buried, and out of the town they go over this bridge to Bosworth field, where he was slain. Here are in the town five churches, of which three as I remember have handsome spires, and are to be seen a good distance from the town".

At Nottingham it was a very different story: "To give you a little character of Nottingham, it may be called, as a man may say, paradise restored, for here you find large streets, fair built houses, fine women, and many coaches rattling about, and their shops full of all merchantable riches. As to the situation of it, it is upon a pleasant rock of freestone in which every one that will may have cellars, and that without the trouble of springs or moisture, so that excepting Bridgnorth in Shropshire you cannot find such another town in England. It is divided into the upper and lower towns, for when you have a mind to leave the large and more spacious parts of this town on the plain of the hill and will go down to the lower streets near the river, you must descend down right many stairs ere you get to the bottom, and here you find as it were another town full of shops and people who have a convenience to cut in the rock warehouses, stables, or what rooms else they please for their own peculiar uses. This town hath in the upper part of it a large and long market place.

"For public buildings here are four pillars with many stairs to ascend each of them, and 3 churches one of them bigger than the rest, in which they are now putting up an organ, ann: 1675; but that which will yet add a greater beauty and ornament to this town is the Duke of Newcastle's now building a sumptuous house in the ruins of old Nottingham Castle whose walls were demolished by the Parliamentarian and Oliverian people. This house is seated on a rock

[2] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Portland*, ii. 311-2.

extending itself towards the river so far as the land will permit, where such as have a mind from this high precipice may tumble headlong into the river Trent many yards beneath it. They have got up this building as high as the first storey, having in it a noble staircase, each stair being made of one large entire stone, brought hither from Mansfield, carried up as to form in a large square without any pillars to support it, each stair geometrically depending one upon another".[3]

It is just at this point that Leicester began to undergo an economic revolution. In the reign of Charles II we first hear of a hosier in the town, mentioned by his remarkable name: Abstinence Pougher. He was the harbinger of what became a great industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—though not, until well after 1850, an industry based on factories or steam power. In that it resembled Northampton's famous trade of shoemaking. ("This town stands on other men's legs", wrote Fuller in 1662.) One point here is perhaps particularly worth noting: the strong stimulus given to the manufacture in wartime, very clearly traceable in the eighteenth century, and the recession that followed in the years of peace.

The population of all three towns was now rising. By this time Nottingham seemed to be clearly established as the largest of them. In 1740 it had about 10,000 people, and nearly three times as many at the first national census in 1801. There was also a count taken in Northampton in the 1740s, which showed about half as many people as there were in Nottingham; by 1801 it had only a quarter of Nottingham's population. Leicester came about half way between the other two. Then the two smaller towns moved ahead very rapidly. Northampton and Leicester both trebled their populations in the first forty years of the nineteenth century, while Nottingham's increased by less than half. Indeed at the censuses of 1841, 1851, and 1871 Leicester was the largest town of the three. But thereafter Nottingham regained its lead, and it has kept it ever since.

Among the reasons for this irregular growth, one is especially interesting. In Northampton and in Leicester a gradual expansion of the built-up area was achieved without any serious difficulty. In Northampton a large part of the old common fields of the town was enclosed under an Act of 1778. The same thing was done in Leicester, quite smoothly, a few years later. Before the end of the eighteenth century Leicester had begun its expansion south-eastwards on to the rising ground above the river; and in the early nineteenth century, with the enclosure of the South Fields, building could begin along the line of the Welford Road and the side streets thrown off it.

In Nottingham the case was very different. There the old town was closely hemmed in by two different kinds of property: three private estates and the town fields, in the possession of the freemen. One of the estates was the Duke of Newcastle's, adjoining the Castle rock to the west and north: an estate that successive Dukes developed very slowly, as a handsome piece of town-planning, in the course of the nineteenth century. As early as 1787 the freemen were being urged to enclose the town fields, and a borough election was fought in that year on this issue. The opponents of enclosure won. As long as the private owners and the freemen maintained their refusal to sell any of the land under their control, the only new building that was practicable was within the old town and on a few small and unhealthy streets along the marshes, southwards towards the Trent. It was not until 1845, after endless bitter battles, that the freemen at last agreed to enclosure.

Meanwhile, and largely as a consequence of this argument and delay, Nottingham had come to be distinguished by some of the most atrocious slums in the United Kingdom. They were far worse than anything in Leicester or Northampton. In the great cholera epidemic of 1832, there were 330 deaths in Nottingham. In the early forties the death-rate in one of the wards of the town had risen to 31 per 1,000, and the expectation of life had fallen to 18 years. In the same ward 44 per cent. of all the children born died before the age of four.[4]

No wonder that Nottingham became a centre of the most militant Chartism, returning Fergus O'Connor to Parliament in 1847. By contrast Northampton and "Radical Leicester" favoured a gradualist policy of change by constitutional means. In all three towns political radicalism went hand in hand with religious Nonconformity; but it was in Nottingham that tempers were most dangerously inflamed.

[3] *Ibid.*, 289, 308-9.

[4] J. D. Chambers, *Modern Nottingham in the Making* (1945), 12.

It must, however, be said to Nottingham's credit that when reform came it was put through most intelligently. With the passing of the Enclosure Act 1,100 acres of land were immediately made available for building. Of these 130 were at once set aside for recreation—one of the earliest instances of such provision in England. As new building came to be undertaken it was subjected to careful and salutary regulation. If the slums were not abolished overnight—some very bad ones survived in Nottingham well into the twentieth century—from this time forward a steady fight was waged against them and in the long run it was effective.

Let us look at one other contrast between these towns in the nineteenth century: a contrast in transport. In an age when water transport predominated, all the advantages lay with Nottingham, lying close to the Trent a broad highway of national importance. In the Railway Age things worked out differently. There Leicester had the advantage over the other two towns. I do not need to remind you here of the difficulties met by Northampton when it was by-passed by the great main line to Birmingham and the North; nor of the causes of this misfortune, which were first stated rightly by Miss Wake.[5] The damage was in part repaired with the opening of the loop line from Roade to Rugby in 1882; but it was really irretrievable. What is less often realised is that something not dissimilar happened also to Nottingham. True, it got a railway from London (the Midland Counties line, branching out of the London & Birmingham Railway at Rugby) at the same time as Leicester, in 1840. But that line was in the shape of a Y, the right-hand arm leading to Nottingham, the left-hand arm to Derby; and Derby was the vital junction, carrying the railway on to Leeds and York. In effect, therefore, Nottingham found itself on a branch of the Midland Railway; and presently it was placed on another branch leading off the main Great Northern line to the east, at Grantham. Like Northampton, it too was eventually given a loop line of its own, in 1880; and since then the service between St. Pancras and the North has been divided between the old main line and the new loop through Nottingham. But the old line has always been better served; and the gainer has been Leicester. No town could be more conveniently placed: almost equidistant from London, Manchester, and Leeds. Enjoying easy main-line communication with all three, a line of its own to Birmingham and another one across into the eastern counties, there is no better railway centre in England.

If one looks at Leicester and Nottingham together in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth, one very marked difference between the economic and social structure of the two towns appears. In Nottingham, things developed on a large scale, with great, nationally famous, businesses like Boot's and Player's and Raleigh bicycles. Leicester has never had any single firm on the scale of these. For a century past it has been a prosperous town, not in the sense that it has produced millionaires, but from the high average income of its whole population. It has diversified its industries, developing the manufacture of boots and shoes (at first a little at the expense of Northampton) from the 1850s onwards, and more recently light engineering. It has always been able, in a high degree, to employ women equally with men. The consequences of this relatively even spread of wealth are written all over the town today. It has certainly had its effect, and that a marked one, on the character and outlook of the people who live in it.

Here, then, are three towns with similar, and yet different, histories. All three bear the marks of their past plainly enough: Nottingham with its two hills, its castle, and its twentieth-century civic grandeur; Leicester, more reticent, even secret, its antiquity overlaid with modern industrial prosperity, though not altogether destroyed by it; Northampton, still compact, most clearly of the three an historic town, with its splendid site as you see it coming in from the south, and with All Saints church still at the very centre of its traffic, a splendid monument of the fire of 1675.

May I add one other thing? These three are among the small number of English towns that have taken notable pains with the publication of their records. All three have produced citizens with a pride in their past history and an admirable care for preserving the written evidence of it.

J. SIMMONS.

[5] In *Northampton Vindicated; or why the Main Line missed the Town* (1935).

Small Stone Houses in Northamptonshire

Northamptonshire is justly famed for its Great Houses, but its vernacular buildings have received comparatively little attention. Much of the charm of its villages derives from the farm-houses and cottages built of local stone and testifying to the skill of mason, carpenter and thatcher. This article is an attempt, however, not to deal merely with the picturesque aspect of small local buildings, but to show how they can be studied in such a way as to contribute to an understanding of the history of Northamptonshire.

Vernacular buildings are now increasingly attracting the attention of the architectural and social historian, and the appearance of Mr. M. W. Barley's recent book on *The English Farmhouse and Cottage* (Routledge 1961) is a landmark in the study of the subject. Even so, much remains to be done, especially perhaps in recording vernacular buildings on a regional basis. Few local historians can hope to emulate the skill and thoroughness of the pioneer study by Sir Cyril Fox and Lord Raglan in their *Monmouthshire Houses* (Three volumes, National Museum of Wales, 1951-1954), but there is certainly no better guide to the techniques needed in recording vernacular buildings.

This short article is merely an introduction to a very large subject. Stone is not of course the only building material used for small houses and cottages in Northamptonshire: timber-framed buildings are to be found in the County, and also buildings with walls of solid mud, a number of which survive mainly in the north-western part of the County; there are also some early brick buildings. But stone is the characteristic material used for most of the older houses which now remain. Northamptonshire of course lies on the Stone Belt, and has plentiful supplies of good building stone. The stone varies from near-white limestone to dark brown or purple ironstone, with a whole range of greys, yellows and light and medium browns in between. In general terms, the northern and eastern half of the County has buildings mainly of grey limestone, while the western and southern half has buildings of brown ironstone or ferruginous limestone. Where the two main types of stone meet, one finds a pleasing use of the different-coloured stone for decorative effect: usually the main walls are of brown stone, with limestone window mullions, roof copings and chimneys. Occasionally one comes across limestone buildings with ironstone quoins and sometimes different shades of brown stone are used for decorative effect. There are excellent examples of the use of different coloured stone in most of the villages running due south from Rockingham to Irthlingborough: a good 17th Century example at Broughton is illustrated in Plate I and an 18th Century example from the village of Old in Plate II. How is one to attempt to classify the very large number of small stone houses which still survive? Until a very detailed study has taken place, it would be foolhardy to attempt any rigid classification and all that can be attempted here is to give a number of suggestions which have occurred to the present writer since he began to study the vernacular buildings particularly of the northern half of the County a few years ago.

I have not found in the Northamptonshire Stone Belt any houses which precisely correspond to the cruck buildings discovered by Fox and Raglan in Monmouthshire or by Mr. V. R. Webster in Leicestershire (see *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society*, Vol. XXX 1954). It is clear that the cruck frames described by these authors were not originally built in association with the stone or brick walls which now usually encase them. But there are or were in Northamptonshire a number of houses with crucks which appear to be contemporary with the stone walls which in fact support them. There are never any signs of crucks in the end walls of these houses—in fact the end walls act as supports for the ridge-pieces and purlins. Three such Northamptonshire houses are described by Dr. R. B. Wood-Jones in his study of the Banbury Region (printed in the *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, Vol. IV 1956). Two of the three are at King's Sutton and the third is at Chacombe, and all three show remarkable

affinities with 'raised cruck' barns of 14th Century date in North Oxfordshire. The two houses at King's Sutton have cruck blades which are embedded in the side walls about eight feet above ground floor level. The house at Chacombe has two pairs of crucks built into the thick rubble walls and only the insertion of a modern bay has revealed the foot of one blade 18 inches above ground floor level. Whether the crucks at Chacombe were originally free-standing with a different walling material, or whether they were built in conjunction with the heavy stone walls is, says Dr. Wood-Jones, a matter for conjecture.

It seems clear, however, that the stone walls in the two houses at King's Sutton are contemporary with the crucks, and that also is my opinion about the five raised cruck houses which I have come across in the northern half of the County, viz. at Brigstock, King's Cliffe, Gretton, Corby and Wilbarston. The crucks at Brigstock are deeply embedded in the side walls and spring from a point three feet above ground level (see Fig. 4A). The blades at Brigstock differ from those in the other four cruck houses in that they are buried much more deeply into the side walls and are only six to seven inches wide along their whole length. The pairs of crucks in all five houses are joined by a collar at a point roughly equidistant between the top of the side walls and the apex of the roof and they are all joined at the top by short saddles. There are no tie-beams and the purlins rest on extensions of the collars. In two cases the existing bedroom floors are certainly later insertions and in three the blackening of the cruck timbers indicates that originally there was in each case a central hearth with smoke rising to the roof.

To sum up my conclusions about these five cruck houses, I think that certainly in three and possibly in four of them the original house was open to the roof and as such may be regarded as of medieval character. But they differ from the Monmouthshire and Leicestershire examples in that the stone walls and the cruck blades appear to be contemporary. They may thus be regarded as either survivals of a type of house which was perhaps widespread in medieval times in areas where stone was plentiful, or as representatives of an intermediate type forming a transition between the timber-framed houses of the medieval period and the stone houses of the modern period. On the whole it seems plain that the cruck frame tradition was adapted to stone building in the Middle Ages.

Turning now to the post-medieval period, the growing influence of the Renaissance is clearly discernible in many details of treatment.

One outstanding stylistic feature of 17th century vernacular buildings may be mentioned here. The use of ovolo-mullioned windows is widespread, particularly in the northern half of the County. The range of date is also wide, from the late sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries. The earliest and latest dated houses with ovolo mullions which I have noted are Thorpe by Water (which is just over the border in Rutland) 1597 and Braybrooke 1741. In the south of the County and among the brown stone houses the ovolo mullion seems to be much less common: the typical 17th century window mullion is merely chamfered. Rarer still, though I have noted a few examples, are ogee-moulded and hollow-chamfered mullions. After about 1700 classical detail predominates: the four-centred arches of doors and fireplaces give place to flat arches, and the stone-mullioned windows to sash. Elevations become regular, and individual drip-stones over windows become continuous bands serving a mainly decorative purpose (see Plates II and III). Mouldings on stone chimneys become plainer, though the characteristic Northamptonshire stone chimneys continue to be built well into the 18th century.

So much may be gathered from an external examination of the buildings. But much more may be learnt from an internal examination. Plans and sections are essential, and until many more have been drawn it is impossible to make any valid generalisations about house plans. There is also the difficulty that many houses are the result of piecemeal building so that the original plan cannot always be reconstructed. To recapture an original plan much detective work is needed, though at the same time this provides one of the main fascinations in examining old houses. In spite of all these limitations, however, it is possible to classify many of the existing houses into certain broad categories, based mainly on the number of original ground-floor rooms.

First we consider houses with only one ground floor room. These are not at all common. Frequently one finds that what appears to be a simple one-roomed house is in fact a fragment of a larger house which has been partially demolished. I have come across 18th century houses

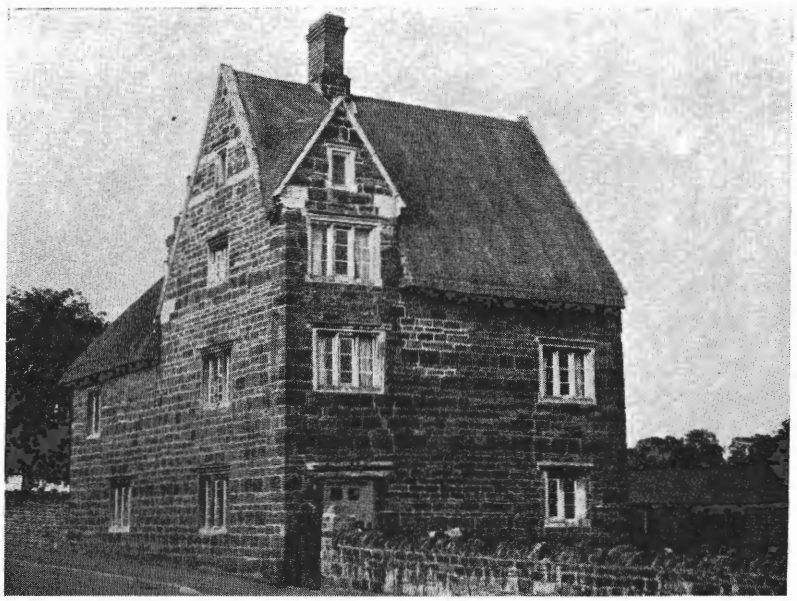


PLATE I. BROUGHTON
Ironstone house with limestone ovolo-mullioned windows

PLATE II. OLD
Ironstone house with limestone details. Gables dated 1759 and 1760

PLATE III. WELDON
Limestone house dated 1654 with the initials of Arthur Grumbold, mason. The door on the left leads into a cross passage

PLATE IV. COTTINGHAM
Row of nineteenth century cottages showing the use of old and new building materials—limestone and ironstone rubble with brick and slate. There is a blocked door behind the traffic sign

PLATE V. KING'S CLIFFE
Seventeenth century limestone house jettied out in imitation of timber framing

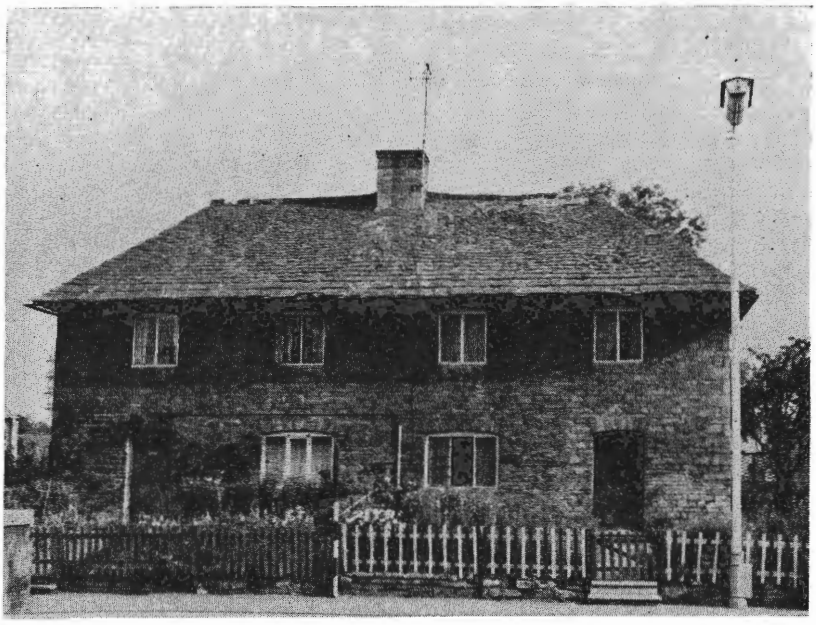


PLATE VI. CORBY
Semi-detached cottages with central chimney stack. Limestone rubble walls and Collyweston slate roof

PLATE VII. OUNDLE
Clasped purlin roof of house dated 1650
No. 61 West Street, now demolished

PLATE VIII. ROTHWELL
Butt purlin roof of house dated 1782 in Church Lane, now demolished

BOX FRAME ROOF TYPES

with one room only downstairs at Gretton and at Weldon, and a 17th century example from Upper Benefield is illustrated in Figure 1. When the need for single-room accommodation became pressing, one finds two developments taking place. On the one hand, there are the rows of almshouses mainly of late 17th century date (as at Kettering 1688 and King's Cliffe 1668) which perhaps became the model for the rows of cottages providing one room up and one down for labourers and their families which are such a marked feature of 19th century building (see for example Plate IV, cottages at Cottingham). On the other hand, one finds numerous examples of larger houses of 17th and 18th century date which were converted in the 19th century to one- or two-roomed tenements for agricultural or industrial workers. To the 19th century also belongs the frequent conversion of barns into tenements.

Houses with two original ground-floor rooms comprise a very numerous class which may be sub-divided as follows:—

(*a*) Those with a central chimney stack serving one or both rooms.
This is a common arrangement. An outstanding example is Haunt Hill House at Weldon dated 1643 which is the subject of a recent study by H. M. Colvin in *Studies in Building History* (edt. E. M. Jope 1961). An unusual example from King's Cliffe is illustrated on Plate V. Here there seems to have been an attempt to imitate in stone the type of jettied-out wings normally associated with timber-framed houses. It may not be fanciful to see in these central-stack houses the origin of the later semi-detached cottages, where two families share a joint chimney stack, as in the example from Corby on Plate VI.

(*b*) Those with a fire place at either one or both ends, and a simple wall dividing the two rooms. Frequently one finds that one fireplace is original and a second fireplace on the opposite end wall has been inserted later. Most of the 17th century examples I have noted have original entrances at the end adjoining the fireplace, but most later examples have central or near-central doorways, as in the 1746 house at Stoke Albany illustrated in Figure 2.

(*c*) Those with fireplaces on the end walls, but with central passage or staircase. In all the cases I have noted there is a central doorway. Sometimes this opens on to a cross-passage with a door at the end of it into the garden at the back. Sometimes on entering one finds the stairs immediately in front, though frequently such stairs are later insertions, and a blocked door in the wall opposite the front door indicates that originally there was a through passage.

We now consider houses with three ground floor rooms. These may be divided into two broad categories, viz. those with and those without a cross-passage. Three-roomed houses with cross passages are very common, and belong mainly to the 17th century. One example from King's Cliffe is shown in Figure 3 and a more sophisticated example from Weldon is illustrated on Plate III. The cross passage divides the service end of the house from the living quarters and in the majority of cases the Hall fireplace backs on to the passage. There is however a large minority of cross-passage houses where a central chimney serves both the Hall and Parlour. As for houses with three ground floor rooms without cross passages, there is considerable variety in the disposition of the doors and fireplaces. Where however the two principal rooms share a chimney stack, the original door usually opens on to the butt end of the chimney breast, as in the two-roomed plan with central stack. In other cases the main door lies between the service room and the Hall, as in cross passage houses.

There are other types of ground floor plans which do not readily fall into any of the above categories, but many more plans are needed before any generalisations can be made about them. One variation is the L-shaped house, where the wing is not an earlier survival or a later addition but an integral feature, as in the house at Broughton illustrated on Plate I.

Much useful information can also be gathered from a study of roof structures, and for this purpose I have adopted the nomenclature used by Dr. R. A. Cordingley in his article on "British Historical Roof Types" printed in the *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, Vol. IX 1961. Northamptonshire lies in the Intermediate Zone with regard to the roof structures of its vernacular buildings, that is, there is a mixture of the two main carpentry traditions, the Lowland Box Frame tradition and the Highland Cruck Frame tradition. My own experience to date has indicated that the Cruck Frame tradition predominates, at any rate in the northern half of the County. The typical roof construction consists of pairs of blades crossed at the top to

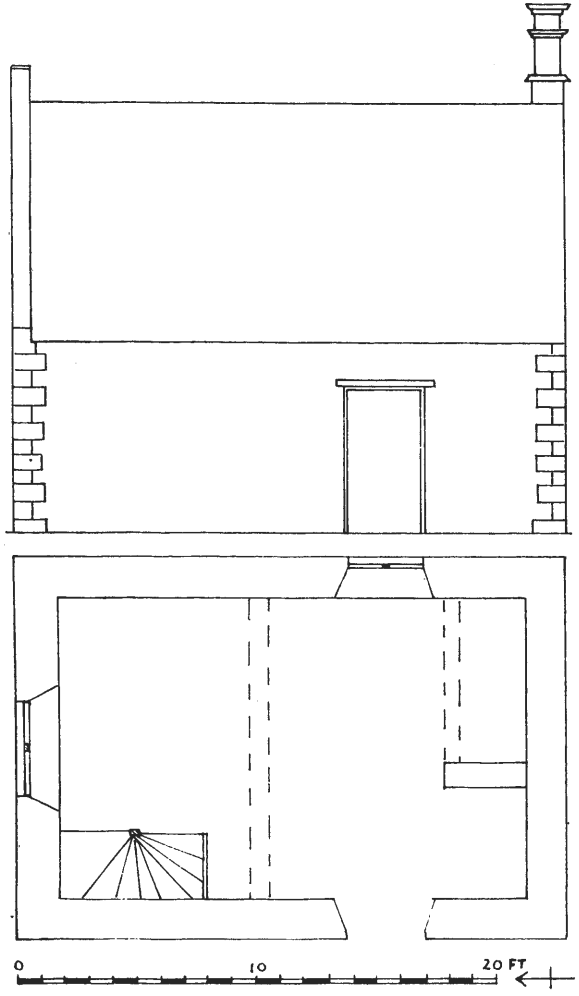


FIG. 1. UPPER BENEFIELD

Seventeenth century house with one room on ground floor. Limestone rubble walls, thatched roof, dressed limestone coping and chimney. Original stair position probably next to fireplace

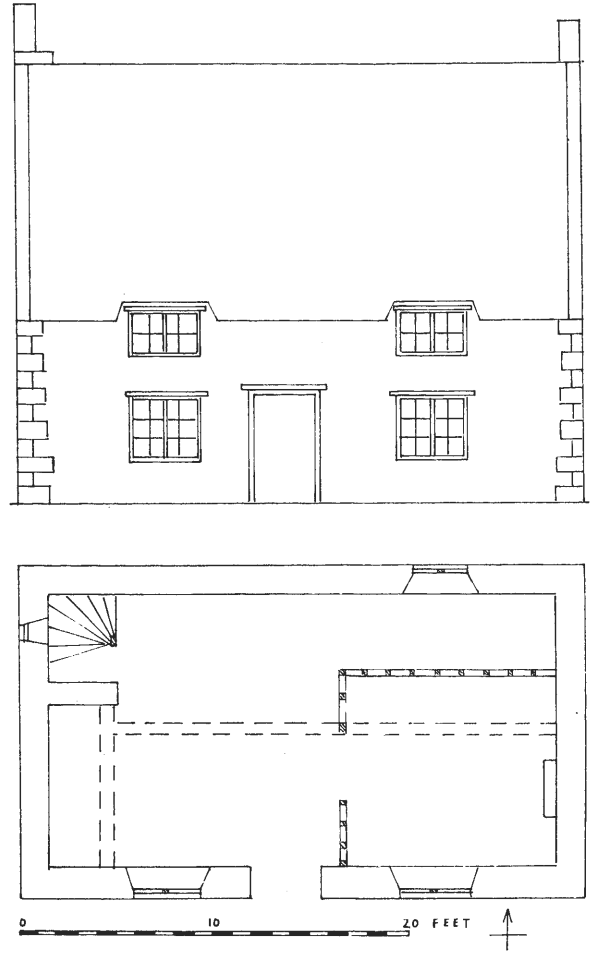


FIG. 2. STOKE ALBANY

Two-roomed cottage dated 1746 in gable end. Ironstone rubble walls, thatched roof, brick copings and chimneys. Division walls are of mud and stud

provide a seating for the ridge piece. The blades are strengthened by the provision of one or occasionally two collar beams, and the purlins rest on the backs of the blades (see Figure 4).

The cruck type which belongs to the 16th century or earlier is shown in Figure 4(a) from the house at Brigstock already mentioned. Figure 4(b) from a house at Little Harrowden shows a development of this basic type. The blades are tenoned into short wooden projections which are buried in the side walls. The saddle at the apex has disappeared and the blades are crossed to house the ridge piece. It would seem that, in an effort to raise the level of the roof and so to provide more space in the bedrooms, the blades were lifted, but to compensate for the smaller amount of stone walling into which to anchor the blades, these timber projections were inserted. This appears to have been a 17th century development and further modifications took place in the 18th century. Figure 4(c), from a house at Stoke Albany dated 1746 shows the blades resting directly on the top of the side walls. It may be that there was some further means of attaching the foot of each blade to the wall. According to a local resident, who saw this house being demolished, the blades were notched into a wall-plate. I noticed in a ruined 18th century house at Faxton that the foot of each blade was tenoned into a small piece of wood buried into the top of the wall to give a slightly greater purchase. This same house at Faxton, as in the one shown in Figure 4(c), had iron bolts instead of wooden pegs to attach the collar to the blades. A further 18th century development is that the close association between the collar and purlin disappears. Instead of resting on an extension of the collar, as in the 16th and 17th century examples, the purlins now frequently rest on pegs or cleats fastened to the backs of the blades, or the blades are cut away to receive the purlins.

What I have called the typical Northamptonshire roof construction with purlins resting on the backs of the blades continues in houses and barns well into the 19th century. There are blades of this type in a barn at Moreton Pinkney with the date 1835 carved on one of them.

There are, however, some roofs of the Box Frame tradition. I have noted butt purlins in roofs at Deene (1635), Deenthorpe (1660) and Rothwell (1782) and clasped purlins in roofs at Oundle (1650) and Collyweston. It may possibly be significant that all these roofs were tiled, not thatched. In this type of roof, the purlins do not rest on the backs of the blades, and there are no ridge poles (see Plates VII and VIII).

So I bring to an end this description of some of the points which I have found of interest in small stone houses in Northamptonshire. This short article is not intended to be in any way definitive. Apart from the need for further work on the buildings themselves, there is also a need to discover from documentary sources, particularly probate inventories, the use to which the various rooms were put. Even more important, the social and economic conditions, of which these small houses are an important reflection, need to be further explored. But the need for recording the buildings themselves is especially urgent since so many old houses are now being cleared away. Enough at least has been said to indicate that much more work needs to be done on the smaller houses in the County, and the interested amateur can do a good deal himself. Old property, especially if due for demolition, should be photographed from various angles, and further photographs taken if possible during the course of demolition. Plans and sections are particularly valuable, preferably to the scale of four feet to the inch, although almost any plan is better than none. Copies of any such record should be deposited at the County Record Office or with the National Buildings Record in London. Above all, I think that every effort should be made to prevent the needless destruction of old property. There have recently been legislative proposals which may well enable local authorities to finance repairs to old houses, and it is also to be hoped that readers of this article will support the efforts of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in their work of encouraging the restoration of buildings which merit preservation.

M. V. J. SEABORNE.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Mr. D. Kilkerr for the photograph on Plate VII. I also owe much to Mr. R. W. McDowall and Mr. M. W. Barley for their help and encouragement. Mr. Barley has also been good enough to read this article in manuscript and to make a number of valuable suggestions.

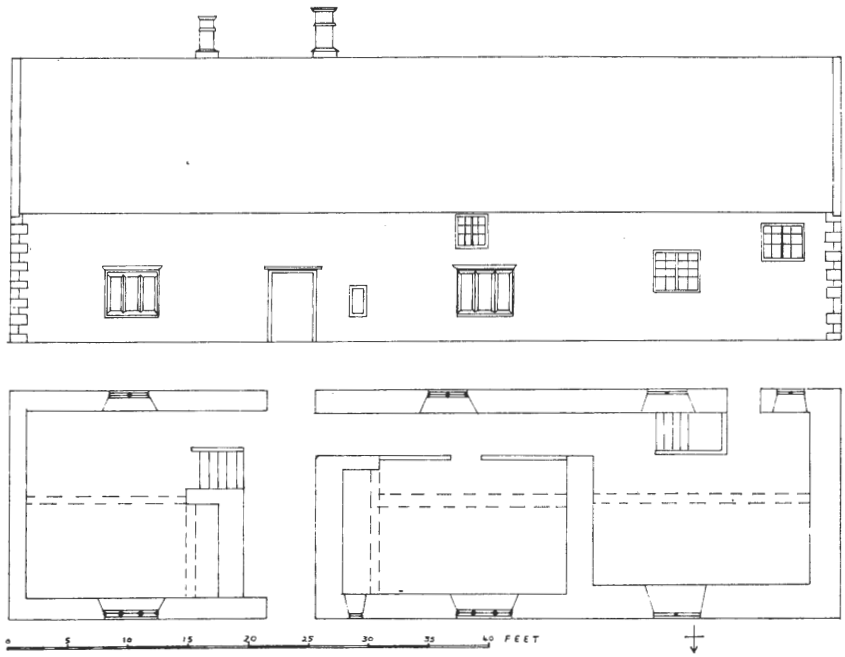
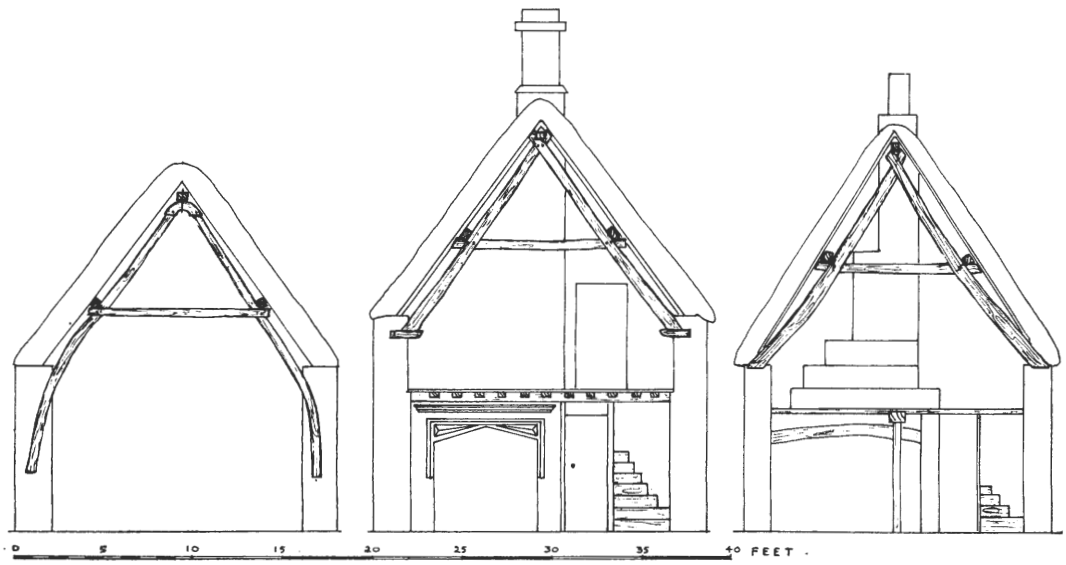


FIG. 3. KING'S CLIFFE

House with three-room plan and cross-passage. Limestone rubble walls, thatched roof and dressed limestone copings and chimneys. Some of the windows have ovolo mullions



(a) Brigstock (b) Little Harrowden (c) Stoke Albany

FIG. 4. ROOFS OF THE CRUCK-FRAME TRADITION

The Andrew Family of Daventry

II

The possibility that his wife might marry again after his death was obviously envisaged by Euseby Andrew the elder when, in his Will, he left her, 'during her widdowhood', the use of the plate which she had brought with her as Mrs. Dayrell. Barbara did indeed remarry. Her third husband was Sir Edward Hinde, of Madingley, Cambridgeshire, a man very considerably her senior since he had entered Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, as long ago as 1571, several years before Barbara Andrew was born. He was knighted in 1615. Like Barbara, Sir Edward had been married twice already. His second wife, Mary, daughter of Thomas Norton and sister of Christopher Norton, both of Hinxton,[1] was buried at Madingley on 29 September 1629.[2] I have been unable to trace the record of the Hinde-Andrew marriage, but it probably occurred in 1630 or 1631. Sir Edward died in 1633 and was buried at Madingley on 10 June.[3] In his Will, dated 9 May 1633,[4] he made over to his stepson, Thomas Dayrell, 'for the vse of Dame Barbara Hinde my now wife', rents and dues derived from a lease in Madingley together with 'all other my goods and chattells whatsoever' for the same purpose. All Sir Edward's five sons (the issue of his first wife) had predeceased him, his only living descendant being Jane Hinde, the infant daughter of his youngest and last surviving son, Edward.[5] Jane subsequently married Sir John Cotton, 1st baronet, of Landwade, Cambridgeshire, to whom she brought the Madingley estate.

As I suggested in Part I of this article, it was to Barbara's sister Catherine Aungier that the Andrews and Dayrells in all likelihood owed their introduction to Cambridgeshire. Sir Edward Hinde, connected with Hinxton through his second wife, was lessee of the rectory under the Bishop of Ely, a position to which Thomas Dayrell succeeded.[6] It is probable that after Sir Edward Hinde's death, his widow and her young daughter Katherine Andrew made their home at Hinxton together with Thomas Dayrell's two surviving sisters, Frances and Susan. Frances was buried at Edmonton on 17 December 1638 as of 'Henckend Co. Cambs'. Susan, who married Thomas Wynne, of Bodvean, Caernarvonshire, probably gave birth to her daughter of the same name at Hinxton, since the child was baptized there in 1641: two infant Wynne sons, Thomas and John, were also buried there.[7] Lady Hinde was certainly living at Hinxton in 1645.[8] Later the chief residence and burial place of Sir Thomas Dayrell (as he became) and his family was Castle Camps, also in Cambridgeshire. Here, according to the Hinxton memorial inscription previously quoted, Lady Hinde was buried in the chancel of the parish church, 'in ye 89th year of her Age', the year of her death being given as 1667. According to Smyth's *Obituary*, however, 'My old Lady Hynde, mother to Sir Tho. Dayrell, died in Cambridgeshire, aged 89' on 26 April 1668.[9]

[1] *Visitation of Cambridgeshire* 1575 and 1619, Harleian Society, Vol. XLI (1897), p. 67.

[2] Parish registers consulted by kind permission of the Vicar, the Revd. G. L. Vigar.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Transcripts of the Consistory Court of Ely, Dunham, No. 3, f. 373, Cambridge University Archives. I am indebted to the Keeper of the Archives, Miss H. E. Peek, for tracing the Will for me.

[5] A pedigree of the Hinde family is printed in the *Visitation of Cambridgeshire*, p. 113. An inaccurate one, which makes Jane's father a grandson of Sir Edward Hinde and gives his second and third wives as 'unknown', is printed in Edward Hailstone, *History of Bottisham* (1873), p. 329 (Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Vol. XIV).

[6] 'A Rentall of the Rents due to the Bpp. of Elie' 1632-41: see A. Gibbon, *Ely Episcopal Records* (1890), pp. 98-9. See also D. and S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, Vol. II (1810), p. 213. In his Will (P.C.C. 53 Coke 1669) Dayrell bequeathed the lease of Hinxton parsonage to his eldest son, Francis.

[7] Transcripts of the parish registers in the possession of the Society of Genealogists: MS. 19.

[8] Accounts of the Receiver of the Scotch Loan 1645: Hinxton, Lady Hinde £3.0.0.: see W. M. Palmer, *Cambridgeshire Subsidy Rolls* 1250-1695 (1912), p. 90.

[9] Camden Society (1849), p. 78.

Thomas Dayrell, who was born about 1603, seems to have taken the law seriously, and was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn on 24 June 1628.[10] 'From the comeliness of his Person, he was chosen, by consent of the 4 Inns of Court to command the Grand Masque . . . that was represented before their Majties the King and Queen, in the Banqueting House at White-Hall on Candlemas night, in the year 1633. And a 2d time at Merchant Taylor's Hall, where his Majtie as a marke of his Royal Favour, was pleas'd to confer on him the Honour of Kthood'. This 'Grand Masque' was James Shirley's *The Triumph of Peace*, performed on 2 and 11 February 1633/4. Dayrell was no fair weather courtier, but proved 'eminent for his Loyalty & Services to their sacred Majesties King Charles the Ist and King Charles the 2nd . . . during the late civil Wars'.[12]

Dayrell married Sarah, second daughter of the Royalist Sir Hugh Wyndham, baronet, of Pilsdon, Dorset, a prominent business man in the City of London. Of his children, the third and youngest son, Marmaduke, married, as his first wife, Mary, elder daughter, by his second marriage, of Sir Justinian Isham, 2nd baronet, of Lamport, and the younger daughter, Sarah, married her cousin Francis Wyndham, of Cromer. Sir Thomas died on 2 April 1669[13] in his sixty-sixth year, sadly disillusioned, like many other old Cavaliers, by what he terms in his Will 'the Luxury and Idleness of these worst of tymes'.

It must have been a trial to him that his brother-in-law, Thomas Wynne, clerk of the check to the band of Gentlemen Pensioners, should have turned his coat. In 1649 Wynne was solicitor of sequestrations in Caernarvonshire,[14] and in 1649/50 is found giving information against certain local Royalists.[15] His wife, Susan, died on 30 May 1664, as recorded on a memorial inscription (no longer extant) to her and her daughter Barbara (died 1662) in the church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London[16]. Wynne himself died in 1673/4 or 1674,[17] leaving a son, Griffith, and two daughters, Susan, wife of Edward Williams, and Mary, who subsequently became Mrs. Young.

The history of Barbara Andrew and the descendants of her first marriage has been pursued in some detail as it is intimately connected with that of her stepson Euseby Andrew the younger, the central theme of this second article, and his half-sister, Katherine.

Like his father, the younger Euseby made the law his profession. He was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn on 5 June 1627.[18] Eight years later, on 25 November 1635, his legal career received a severe check. The story is best told in the actual words in which it is recorded in the *Black Books* of Lincoln's Inn:—[19]

> 'Whereas by the antient custome of this House (agreable with the Orders of all the other Houses of Court) no Fellowe of this Societie ought to prosecute suite or bee of Counsell against any Bencher of this House, without first acquaintinge the Mars of the Bench with the same, and leave from them in that behalfe obteyned; Forasmuch as Mr Euseby Andrewes, one of the Utter Barresters of this House, was of Counsell in the frameing and preferringe of an Informacion in the Exchqr Chamber and puttinge his hand thereunto, wherein Mr Recorder of London, one of the Mars of the Bench of this House, is chardged with divers crimes and misdemeanours, and thereby much scandaled, and yeat is made no partie to the same; And whereas alsoe the said Mr Andrewes did publickly at the Barr behaue himselfe uncivilly towards Mr Recorder, as was now affirmed by some of the Mars of the Bench then and there present, and in particular told Mr Recorder hee did cavill with him. For which misdemeanours, the said Mr Andrewes, beinge convented before this Counsell, hee did avowe and justifie the said acts.—It is therefore ordered that the said Mr Andrewes bee suspended from being a member of this Societie, and this table will att the next Counsell consider of some further proceedinge against him'.

[10] *Black Books*, Vol. II, p. 277.
[11] Hinxton M.I.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] According to Smyth (pp. 80-1), the date of his death was 26 March.
[14] *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding*, p. 151.
[15] *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Series I, Vol. 2 (1847), pp. 13-15. Dayrell was on sufficiently good terms with Wynne after the Restoration to leave him in his Will £3 to buy a ring.
[16] Edward Hatton, *A New View of London* (1708), Vol. I, p. 263.
[17] His Will is P.C.C. 67 Bunce.
[18] *Black Books*, Vol. II, p. 270.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 331-2.

The Recorder of London in November 1635 was Robert Mason (1571-1635). As a former opponent of the Court, who had been an assistant manager for the impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham and had defended Sir John Eliot, he would be a natural object of dislike to the future Royalist colonel. Unfortunately, in spite of enquiry and research, it has not been possible to trace the case against Mason, and we are therefore left in ignorance of the 'divers crimes and misdemeanours' with which he was charged. Nor is there any record of 'further proceedinge' against Euseby Andrew in the *Black Books* of Lincoln's Inn. The order passed at the council of 25 November was, however, final and shattering: his name disappears from the *Books* for good.

In consequence of this blow Euseby left London and settled, like his relatives, in Cambridgeshire, where he continued to practise the law. When and whom he married is not known, but the baptism on 23 June and burial on 18 July 1637 of Katherine, daughter of 'Eusebie Andrews, gent' are recorded in the parish registers of Chatteris[20], on the western border of the Isle of Ely. At least one other daughter, Matilda, who survived, was born to Andrew and his wife. By 1641 he appears to have moved to Sutton, some six miles south-west of Ely. In the Cambridgeshire Subsidy Roll for that year occurs the entry: 'Euseby Andrewes Esqre lands £4'.[21]

In the critical year 1642 Euseby Andrew became involved in another 'row', one of wider significance than his attack on Mason. The dramatic little story has been preserved in the information taken from a group of witnesses against the Revd. John Hill, rector since 1618 of Coveney cum Manea in the Isle of Ely, on 14 September 1644, and included in 'Articles against Scandalous Ministers in Cambridgeshire 1643-4'.[22] According to this evidence, when the Summer Assizes were being held at Ely in August, Hill was 'very earnest to haue the Earle of Essex proclaimed Traytor in ye Markettstead . . . in the face of the Court'. On the 9th of the month King Charles had issued from York a proclamation declaring Essex and his adherents traitors, and Hill was thus perfectly justified in urging the publication of the sentence. He was, however, opposed by the Puritan mayor of Ely, one Dodson. When the crier of the Bishop of Ely (Dr. Matthew Wren) was about to read the Royal proclamation in the market place, Dodson interposed, asking him 'who sett him a worke, the Cryer made answer, what haue you to doe withall, whereupon Maior Dodson replyed and said, whosoevr made it, he would have his hand cut of, wherevpon there had like to haue beene a Mute[n]ay there being a greate concourse of people'. Hill immediately appealed to the court sitting in the 'Sheire house' and asked for assistance from the Bench, as a result of which a certain Captain Humberstone Marsh was deputed to persuade Dodson to abandon resistance, in order to prevent a riot, and to leave the city as articles were about to be drawn up against him. The mayor was prudent enough to follow this advice, backed up as it was by the representations of two justices of the peace, who urged that they could not help him, 'the Bp and his freinds being soe powerfull'. Meantime, Hill 'together with other assistance, videlicet Mr Cutler the Bayliffe of the Libty, Mr Euseby Andrewes, Counsellor at Law, and Mr Hallman deputy sheriffe', 'greate sticklers to haue the said proclamation read openly . . . charged men wth Holberts to assist him that published the same'.

This spectacular triumph for the King's party in Ely was short-lived. On 1 September Bishop Wren, having been apprehended in his Palace, was taken to London, where he was imprisoned in the Tower, from which he did not emerge until the Restoration eighteen years later. It was reported that the Isle was 'of it selfe very strong; but the chiefe Officers thereof are for the most part of the Bishops faction, his power having beene formerly so great and uncontrouleable in the Island'.[23] The hope was expressed, however, by the writer, who sided with Parliament, that the inhabitants would stand firm against the King in the belief that their fens would be restored to them. The Isle did indeed early become one of the Eastern districts held by the rebels, and, as we learn later from Euseby Andrew himself, he had, during the course of

[20] Transcripts in the possession of the Society of Genealogists: MS. 5.

[21] W. M. Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[22] British Museum, Add. MS. 15, 672, ff. 32-34v. This incident is summarised by Alfred Kingston in his *East Anglia and the Civil War* (1897), p. 53, but he merely speaks of 'Mr. Andrews'. My satisfaction was great, on examining the MS., to receive confirmation of my surmise that the 'Counsellor at Law' could be none other than Euseby himself.

[23] *Joyfull Newes from the Isle of Ely*, 1 September 1642: British Museum, E. 115.(9).

the War, designed the capture of it for the King. Knowing as we now do of his long residence there, we can well understand how excellently qualified he would be to plan such an undertaking.

From this point onwards almost all that is at present known about Euseby Andrew comes from the two Narratives which he composed shortly after his capture and imprisonment as a traitor in 1650, addressed to the Council of State, and from the defence which he drew up. Copies of these Narratives and of his other papers were preserved by Andrew's friend and helper in his troubles, one Francis Buckley (so far unidentified), and published by him with his own comments and interpolations as a substantial pamphlet of seventy-seven pages six weeks after the Restoration: the actual date was 10 July 1660. The pamphlet is entitled *A True Relation of the Proceedings, Examination, Tryal and Horrid Murder of Col. Eusebius Andrew.*[24] Shortly afterwards an abridged version was included in Heath's *New Book of Loyal English Martyrs and Confessors.* This was the kind of reading matter for which there existed a hungry public in the months succeeding the King's return.

Buckley's pamphlet, which strangely gives Andrew as a barrister of Gray's Inn, contains some precious but far too meagre autobiographical details from the Colonel's pen. Sometimes all that we have are allusions to his activities in references which he makes to certain charges that were or might be levelled against him. I have tried, what has not been attempted before, by piecing together this scattered evidence, to construct a picture of his movements between the date of his joining King Charles I and his arrest in March 1650. It is recorded in Buckley's work that shortly after the latter event, he was 'examined so punctually to every action and circumstance that had passed on his part since he took up Armes . . . as if they [his interlocutors] had kept a Diary for him'.[25] What would we not give for the written record of this efficient process of spying and pumping informers!

Several months elapsed between the outbreak of the Civil War with the setting up of the Royal Standard at Nottingham on 22 August 1642 and Euseby Andrew's decision to join the King. 'My Engagement for his late Majesty began soon after *Hillary Terme* 1642'[26] (i.e. 1642/3). As far as his direct statements go, the whole period of the First Civil War is a blank in the Narratives, for he merely says that his service continued until the surrender of Worcester in July 1645[27] (an obvious misprint for 1646). That his rank was indeed that of colonel and that he was among the officers who surrendered at Worcester is confirmed by the list of these preserved in the State Papers: here he appears among the colonels without his Christian name.[28] We also know from later statements of his that his major was John Barnard (or Bernard).[29] But what regiment he commanded, Brigadier Peter Young, our leading authority on the officers of the Royalist Army, is unable to say.

All that we can state for certain, then, is that Euseby was present at the final stage of the siege of Worcester, one of the last garrisons to hold out for the King, who, then a prisoner at Newcastle, gave the governor leave to treat.

Other clues to Andrew's activities exist, however. Study of the Commons' *Journals* and the State Papers shew that throughout the First War the Isle of Ely gave constant anxiety to the rebel commanders. 'In May 1643 horses and arms had to be seized as a result of disturbances, and in July forces were sent for its security. It was recommended that a committee be appointed for the government of Ely'.[30] In the early summer of 1644 the King planned to take Ely, and towards the end of June had a real chance of success. Parliament was thoroughly alarmed when, as with so many Royalist plots, the news leaked out, and ordered a strict watch to be kept on the passes. But Charles, downcast, decided that the attempt must be abandoned. Now in his Narratives, Andrew refers to 'a former design in the time of the warr laid by me for the taking of the Isle of Ely',[31] a design which, as a former inhabitant of the Isle, as we have remarked, he was obviously well qualified to work out. That his scheme was the one just mentioned is conclusively proved by the statement of Barnard (also made in 1650) that 'the plot to surprise the Isle of Ely

[24] British Museum, E. 1032.(I).
[25] P. 1.
[26] Buckley, p. 4.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[28] *C.S.P.D.* 1645-7, p. 456: 20 July 1646.
[29] Buckley, p. 5.
[30] *V.C.H. Cambridgeshire*, Vol. II, p. 407.
[31] Buckley, p. 5.

was a brat begotten of Andrew's brain in the year -44'.[32] In his *Memorials* Bulstrode Whitelocke records that in May 1645: 'One of the king's captains came to the committee of Cambridgeshire, and took an oath, and protested to live and die with them: then he conspired to betray the Isle of Ely to the king, but it was discovered and prevented'.[33]

By this time I believe that Andrew was the other side of England. He states that he had been Prince Charles's 'Souldier, Secretary to the Lord *Capel*'.[34] Prince Charles left Oxford in March 1645 as nominal commander of his father's forces in the West. Arthur, Lord Capel, as a member of his Council, accompanied him, and it seems highly probable that it was at this time that Andrew acted as Capel's secretary. But it is clear that he did not follow Capel when the latter crossed with his young master to the Scillies in the spring of 1646. It is possible that the secretaryship was the fruit of an earlier association, and that Andrew had been a colonel in Capel's army of Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales of which he was appointed lieutenant-general in April 1643. It is perhaps worth noting that the Capels and Hindes were connected by marriage.

After the surrender of Worcester, Andrew went to London, where he returned to the private practice of the law. He did not make his composition, 'not having a considerable, and not willing to own an inconsiderable estate'.[35] Two years later (1648) he took part in the Second Civil War, joining the Royalist insurgents in their attempt to release and restore the King, a movement of which it is perhaps significant that Lord Capel was the prime instigator.

The rising in Cambridgeshire has been so much overshadowed by the more spectacular ones in Kent, Surrey, and, particularly, Essex, where the heroic defence of Colchester has won undying fame, that even S. R. Gardiner in his monumental *History* of the two Wars is silent on the subject. But that it was potentially dangerous and caused Parliament and the Army considerable alarm, is clear enough, and has been well brought out by Kingston in his book already quoted in a footnote. The Isle of Ely was still regarded as a black spot, and as soon as hostilities broke out, warning was given to block up the passes. On 13 June the Committee of Both Houses informed Colonel Whalley that the enemy had resolved to march on the Isle, and ordered pursuit. The district round Wisbech was said to be especially disaffected and the whole Isle was put in a posture of defence against possible Royalist infiltration. The two main centres of the rising were, however, besides Cambridge itself, where sharp fighting took place, Newmarket and Linton. At Newmarket recruits came in to the rendezvous presided over by four colonels. This force was quickly dispersed. At Linton, at about the same time (mid-June), a quite formidable company of recruits—some five hundred Horse and Foot—from the local gentry and lesser folk assembled: this was, in fact, the chief rendezvous in the county. The idea was to join up with the greater rising in Essex, just across the border.[36] It was the Linton rendezvous that was attended by Euseby Andrew, as we learn from his defence. 'As to my action at *Linton* . . . What was done, was so done, when he who gave me the Commission [King Charles's commission in the First War] was in being, and oppressed by injurious imprisonment, and what I did was in order to his enlargement from his Thraldome, and restorement to his lawfull power'.[37] The Linton Insurrection, as it has sometimes rather grandiloquently been styled, was also a fiasco, the Royalists being routed by a force despatched by Fairfax, prisoners taken, and some of the recruits killed.

We may suspect that it was after this incident that Andrew went over for a time to Holland. From his own statement it emerges that one of the counts against him was that of 'his being with the Prince in *Holland*'.[38] Andrew noted that he was there before Prince Charles (which fixes the Colonel's arrival as previous to early December 1648), and 'in good manners visited the Court'. So, of course, did other fugitive Royalists, notably two Northamptonshire brothers, the Mordaunts of Drayton, who, after the abortive rising in Surrey in July, escaped with difficulty to Flushing and made their way thence to The Hague.

[32] *A Confutation of a Fals and Scandalous Pamphlet entitled the true State of the Case of Sir John Gell*, p. 3: British Museum, E. 613.(9).
[33] Vol. I, p. 430.
[34] Buckley, p. 34.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[36] Kingston, *op. cit.* pp. 265-7.
[37] Buckley, p. 57.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

Whether the Colonel had crept back to England by 30 January 1649 there is no evidence to shew, but wherever he was, he must have felt the execution of the King keenly. That of Lord Capel, sent to the scaffold with Hamilton and Holland by the newly-constituted High Court of Justice on 9 March, would have stirred him to the depths. Capel, even Gardiner conceded, 'died nobly defiant'. But in the midst of these tragedies life had to go on, and Andrew must continue to support himself and his young daughter, Matilda, by his private legal practice. His wife was presumably dead, as she is nowhere mentioned in his papers.

On 5 January 1649 the House of Commons had commanded Delinquents and Papists to leave London and, on pain of imprisonment, within six days remove ten miles. This ruling cannot have been easy to enforce, but early in May Andrew, as he says, in obedience to 'an order for departure of persons in my condition, from this Town', decided to betake himself into the heart of Suffolk, where he remained for three months.[39] His host was a London salter, William Osborne, who had been in possession of a country estate, Carlton Hall, not far from Saxmundham, since the sixteen-twenties.[40] What was the tie between this elderly merchant and the Colonel does not appear. Possibly Osborne was a client of Andrew: the *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding* discloses that the former was at this time floundering in a not very creditable financial suit.[41]

While Andrew was in Suffolk, he carried on a correspondence with Lord Hopton at The Hague, as became known to his enemies. Hopton had been, like Capel (who was incidentally his nephew by marriage) one of the Prince's counsellors, and had been with the boy Charles in the West in 1645: there, if my surmise is right, Euseby would have known him. In 1649 Hopton was still a counsellor of the young Charles II. According to Andrew, the latter asked Hopton to 'certifie to the King my Interest in the Office of the Clerk of the Crown in *Ireland*',[42] a concern which acquires meaning now that we know that the Colonel's father and uncle had held this post. It is to be inferred from Euseby's papers that there was some idea of Hopton taking up a Royalist command in Ireland in 1649. Euseby himself at one point was offered, but refused, such a command, fearful, apparently, of prejudicing his chances of the Clerkship which would be better served by a settlement in Ireland than by continued hostilities.

On 6 August, after not having stirred more than five miles from Carlton, to quote the Colonel's own words: 'I was sent for to make assurances between a Kinswoman and her husband in point of Joynture, by them to me mutually referred, in which business, and in other matters between another Kinswoman, and a Merchant of *London*, being under refference to Arbitrement; as also in endeavouring to get some friend to contract in the behalf of my daughter, for the reversion of a Lease holden of the *Deane* and *Chapter* of *Ely*, in which she is interested for a Life in being, I continued in and neare the City until the third day of September'.[43]

We now approach the tragic part of our story. In addition to the account in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, this has been briefly summarised by Gardiner in his *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*,[44] and quite recently narrated rather more fully by Mr. David Underdown in his *Royalist Conspiracy in England* 1649-1660 (1960).[45] It seems rather strange that Mr. Underdown did not investigate the antecedents of Colonel Andrew, whom (like Gardiner) he calls Andrews.

It appears that before the journey to Suffolk, Euseby's former major, John Barnard, 'by reason of his good parts and sober demeanour, being in my good opinion . . . frequently visited me'. Doubtless, as is the habit of old soldiers, they enjoyed reminiscing together about their war

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[40] See *The Parish Registers of Carlton*, ed. F. A. Cripps (1886) for entries relating to the Osborne family.

[41] Pp. 2284-8.

[42] Buckley, p. 35.

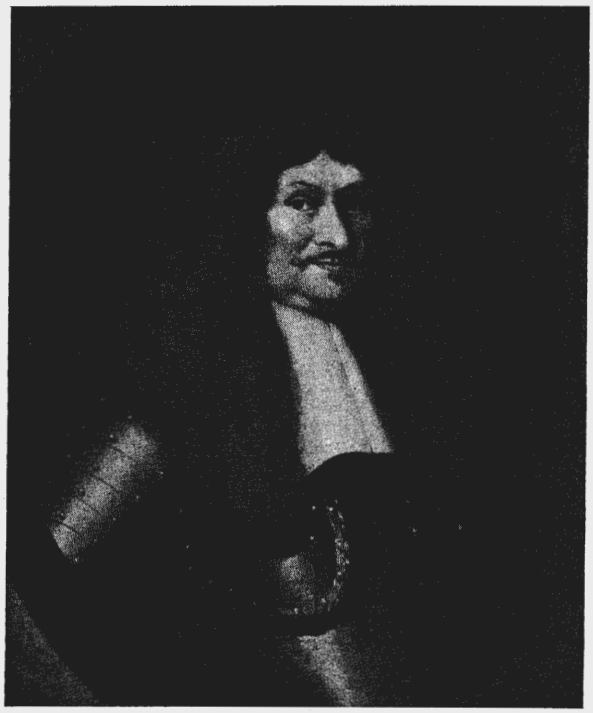
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 10. A marginal note names the parties to the two affairs: 'Arth. Wollaston Anne his wife Jane Andrewe Mr. St. John'. Ann Wollaston was the daughter of Thomas Andrewes, a citizen and draper of London, and a niece of Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, who left her £100 in his Will (P.C.C. 109 Hele 1626). Her husband, also a citizen and draper of London, was appointed by the Bishop a feoffee of one of his charitable bequests. (For the Andrewes pedigree see J. J. Muskett, *Suffolk Manorial Families*, Vol. III, Pt. 2 (1914), p. 41). The identification of the Wollastons is of much interest as the fact that Colonel Euseby claimed Ann as a kinswoman proves conclusively that Bishop Andrewes was descended from the same Northamptonshire stock as himself.

[44] Vol. II, pp. 6-7.

[45] Pp. 23, 25 and 36.

services. Barnard, moreover, was primed with exciting news concerning all the discontented factions in the country—one-time Royalist officers, Levellers, and others. He began to hint that out of this seething cauldron of unrest something might emerge of profit to the exiled King their master and that the time was ripe for making plans. Andrew, who was clearly of an impetuous, straightforward, and unsuspecting nature, accepted Barnard at his face value. Unhappily, however, this wretched man had changed his coat and had become a spy for the Council of State. His object in these talks was to compromise his former colonel.

What Barnard's origins were I do not know, in spite of prolonged search. To darken counsel, there was actually another informer called John Bernard, a captain in the Parliamentary Army who made it his business to report on disaffected officers therein. As the ex-Royalist major was rewarded for his services by a captaincy in the Parliamentary Horse, and as both men engaged in the pamphlet warfare of the 'fifties, it is little wonder that they are telescoped into a single individual in the British Museum Catalogue.



SIR JOHN GELL, 1ST BART. (1593-1671)
From the portrait in the possession of Lt.-Col. J. Chandos-Pole

When Andrew got back to London in August, his ex-major visited him again, this time bringing with him two other shady characters, Holmes and Benson. It was then that Barnard suggested that 'a former design in the time of the warr laid by me for the taking of the Isle of Ely' might be revived, and executed with the help of themselves and Benson's master, Sir John Gell. Gell, a Derbyshire gentleman, and 'a very bad man' as he is succinctly summed up by Mrs. Hutchinson in her *Memoirs* of her husband, where she gives him a very unflattering character,[46] was a disgruntled Parliamentary officer, whose adherence, it was claimed, could easily be obtained. The time suggested for the attempt was Fair Day, 18 October, the day following the feast of Ely's patron, St. Etheldreda. Enquiries were to be made as to whether the Isle was garrisoned (which proved not to be the case), and Andrew was to ride down to Cambridgeshire, to sound opinion. This plot, however, was still-born. Andrew left town on 3 September, but when he returned near the beginning of Michaelmas Term, having heard nothing from Barnard meanwhile, he was told that everything was off since the hoped-for Royalist success in Ireland had not materialised.[47]

In the middle of December Andrew met Gell. The latter had quarrelled with his wife, and the Colonel was engaged professionally to arbitrate. In January he drew up a petition for Gell in connexion with his arrears of army pay. Gell, indeed, seemed to be in a promising frame of mind: he confided to Andrew that he had been ill requited for his services to Parliament and expressed a desire to make amends for his past conduct to the young King.[48] It was Barnard's object to compromise him as well as Andrew.

[46] Bohn's Standard Library (1906), p. 128. [47] Buckley, pp. 6 and 13. [48] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

With the dawn of the new year, 1650, the pressure of public affairs again began to be felt by Euseby. On 2 January an Act was passed imposing 'the Engagement to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now Established without a King and House of Lords' on every male over eighteen. To this Andrew could never subscribe. As he proudly records in his first Narrative: 'I have not taken the Protestation, Solemn League and Covenant, Negative Oath, nor subscribed the present engagement'.[49] The only alternative for him was emigration. He therefore entered into negotiations with Sir Edmund Plowden 'about the conditions of *New Albion* plantation, of which he writes himself Count Palatine, and Proprietor'.[50] Then on 26 February a further Act was passed requiring all Delinquents to remove themselves at least twenty miles from London by 20 March. About the middle of March, 'the time limited by the act for departure being near expired', says Andrew, he determined to withdraw again into the country until he could make a summer voyage to the plantations.[51]

But on the 16th the Colonel was visited again by Barnard and Benson, who enquired what his plans were in view of the Act. He told them of his emigration scheme. They therefore disclosed that they had a considerable design on foot and friends and money to back it. If Andrew would cross to Holland and propound it to King Charles, he should have £200 and power to draw more money by bills of exchange. It was a splendid moment to be up and doing, urged the *agents provocateurs*, when the Cavaliers were pouring out of London and would be dispersed through every county in England, to surprise the Government Horse. Andrew agreed that, if the money were ready, he would abandon his emigration plans and 'entertain the motion'.[52]

Next day (the 17th) Barnard and Benson called again. This time they had a circumstantial story of a party of Royalists from Kent, Buckinghamshire, and Dorset being about to come to town in order to enter into a solemn Engagement on behalf of the exiled King. Gell's name was mentioned as one ready to join them. Andrew was then requested to draw up this Engagement ('which I did in a loose paper'), and urged to induce Gell to sign it. But when Andrew approached Gell that same day, he would promise nothing, declaring that Benson was 'a fellow given to drink, and lavish of his tongue'. Nevertheless, he asked Euseby to put in a good word for him with Charles should he go over to Holland.[53]

The rendezvous with the party from Kent and the other counties was fixed for the following day (the 18th) outside the Savoy, but of course these gentlemen did not turn up, either then or on the 19th. Barnard turned threatening on Andrew's refusal to approach Gell further about signing the Royalist Engagement, which Benson produced, duly engrossed: he declared that without Gell's signature, his Kentish and other friends would not proceed. Late that evening Andrew was visited by a Captain Ashley who brought him a letter from Barnard pressing him to sign and promising to accompany the Colonel next day to Gravesend, where the money would be paid and the Kentish men found assembled. So Andrew did sign the Engagement 'to use all possible skill and endeavour to settle and establish Charles the Second, our rightful and lawful Prince, in his throne of England', on the understanding that if Gell and the country conspirators did not also sign, he might disengage. On Wednesday the 20th Andrew slipped down the river to Gravesend with Ashley: needless to say, Barnard did not keep his appointment. The Colonel had only 50/- in his purse, but he carried his clients' papers with him, intending to continue his practice in the country if the enterprise came to nothing. He waited in vain until the night of Thursday the 21st. However, on Friday the 22nd Barnard and a new friend did turn up at Gravesend, bringing with them a menacing letter from Benson saying that if Gell did not engage, he (Benson) and Barnard would go over to Holland and spoil Gell's and Andrew's credit with the King: this would be easy, as he had compromising letters from Gell in his possession. Andrew was accordingly jockeyed into writing to Gell to point out his danger.[54]

The accuracy of the Colonel's Narrative and dating is proved by papers among the Gell family manuscripts.[55] These shew that, as Andrew states, Barnard went off to London with the

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 6. For the story of the charter granted by Charles I to Sir Edmund Plowden in 1634 see *Notes and Queries*, Series I, Vol. 4 (1851), pp. 319-22.
[51] Buckley, p. 6.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.
[55] Historical MSS. Commission, IXth Report, App. II, p. 396a.

letter, and they add that he cunningly made a copy and gave it to the Council of State before delivering the original to Gell on Saturday the 23rd. Barnard's last words to Andrew had been that he should hear from him on the Saturday and that if Gell agreed to engage, they would all proceed to Rochester. Otherwise, Andrew would be freed from his pledge.

Euseby waited all Saturday, meaning on Monday the 25th to go into the country and renew his emigration plans. But early on the Monday morning he was seized by a party of Government Horse and carried to London, where he was placed in custody in Westminster.[56] Gell and the other so-called confederates were also rounded up.

Andrew's first Narrative concludes with this pathetic *cri de coeur*. 'My Lords', he addressed the Council of State, 'Yow will see a believing nature wrought upon by treacherous men . . . The pretended design vanisht, as never being more then a phantasm . . . the real design effected . . . that is, to bring the game into the toyle'.[57]

The ensuing days must have been a nightmare. They began with a cross-examination by the notorious Bradshaw, President of the Council of State, and two other members, one of whom was Thomas Scott, the Parliament's spy-master-general. They did, however, allow Andrew to draw up a Narrative (knowing how it could be used against him), and this, in spite of being committed to the Gatehouse and hauled out twice for re-examination, he managed to complete quite quickly. On Sunday the 31st he was carried by water to the Tower. The warrant stated that he was committed a close prisoner for high treason, in endeavouring to subvert the present government.[58]

In fairness it must be allowed that, from the point of view of the *de facto* régime, there was every reason for the Council to wish to have Andrew under lock and key. This Engagement might be a brilliant invention of the agent Barnard, but the Colonel's past record and present sympathies were well known, and his assumption of an alias—his mother's name of Dudley—gave legitimate grounds for suspicion. Mr. Underdown has shewn that by 1650 the country was literally riddled with genuine Royalist sedition.[59] On 26 March, the day after Andrew's arrest, an emergency High Court of Justice was set up to deal summarily with those convicted of treason. Again, it must not be forgotten that, as Gardiner pointed out, we have no full report of Andrew's trial: what passes for such in Howell's *State Trials* is merely an abridgement of Buckley's pamphlet, which is not an unbiased document. All the same, the treatment meted out to Andrew in the months between his arrest and his sentence, cannot be excused on any pleas of fear or expediency.

On 1 and 11 April the Colonel was again examined. On the latter occasion he was confronted with Gell, and also obtained leave to draw up a second Narrative rectifying some of the facts in his original statement.[60] Obviously under the mental strain of repeated cross-questioning he had become worried and confused over certain details in what was, in any case, a complicated story. A pamphlet by Barnard, hostile to Gell, published in 1650, purports to report some of the questions put to the prisoner, and his answers.[61]

Thereafter matters went to the other extreme and Andrew was left severely alone. At intervals, at least four petitions were addressed by him to the Council of State, begging for the favour of visits from friends and relatives, liberty of the church and Tower, a decent maintenance in prison, where his debts for diet were mounting hideously, above all for his Englishman's right to a speedy trial. Each was received in stony silence. After sixteen weeks' confinement, Andrew appealed to Parliament to the same effect and with the same result. His complaint in the last petition, however, that he was not allowed to see any friends, cannot be wholly justified. Buckley admits that an importunate Mrs. Elizabeth Colchester, 'a person of quallity', was permitted by Bradshaw's orders to consult him on legal business.[62] An entry in the State Papers under the date of 30 May shews that this lady had liberty in the presence of the Lieutenant of the Tower to speak to him 'about some suits of law in which he only can instruct her counsel

[56] Buckley, pp. 1 and 10.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[58] *C.S.P.D.* 1650, p. 533: Buckley, pp. 2 and 3.
[59] Chapter 2, 'The Beginning of Conspiracy'.
[60] Buckley, p. 11.
[61] See Note 32.
[62] P. 20.

and upon no other business'.[63] In spite of this proviso, Buckley gives us to understand that Mrs. Colchester managed to make her affairs a cloak for relieving Andrew's necessities.

It was not until 16 August that the Colonel's case at last came up for trial before the High Court of Justice. He had spent much of the intervening weeks in preparations for his defence, and, notwithstanding, as he says, 'my abundant disadvantages of close Imprisonment, and want of Books, or Advice', these were completed by 8 July. He of course realised that his best defence lay in attack, and he had employed his time in proving in the most devastating fashion the illegality of the new tribunal. Not for nothing was Euseby a lawyer. A relentless barrage of Statutes, Acts, cases, precedents, and authorities, ranging from Magna Carta, Bracton, and St. Thomas Aquinas to Coke, the Petition of Right, and the recent legislation of the Long Parliament was brought to bear upon the subject. Like Charles I, he denied the legality of the Court; like Charles, also, he refused to plead until his conscience could be persuaded of its lawful authority. Just as the King had demanded to be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, so Euseby demanded to be heard by a jury of his neighbours. 'My Lords, I am at an unusual Barr', he began. The weight of his learning riled and galled and stung his judges, some of whom, like Prideaux, the Attorney-General, were good lawyers themselves. Keeble, another of them, called by Clement Walker 'that bloudthirsty old curre', maddened by the prisoner's flood of eloquence, interrupted him with the damning admission that 'Those Statutes were out of date now'.[64] At the end, all that Prideaux could find to say was that the Court had no leisure to take notice of these law cases. Yet the last word remained with Andrew when he fearlessly proclaimed 'I had rather die the laws Martyr, then live the States slave'.[65]

The result was a foregone conclusion, and Andrew was condemned on the contents of his own Narratives—his confessions, as they were termed. In his person Cromwell's 'New Slaughter House in England' (to quote Walker again) claimed its first victim. The death sentence was the usual savage one for treason—hanging, drawing, and quartering. But Andrew appealed to the Commons, and on 20 August an Act was passed allowing him to be beheaded.[66] On the scaffold he was to express his thankfulness that he had been sent to 'a place of some honour to die a death, somewhat worthy of my blood'.

The Colonel's valiant protest against the jurisdiction of the High Court found an echo in a few hearts at least. At the very last minute a petition to the Commons was presented by a group of Londoners,[67] not Royalist in sympathy, urging that Andrew's sentence be suspended and that he be given a trial by jury. In view of the fact that the value of our jury system is at this time being called in question, it is perhaps pertinent to recall the petitioners' reminder that 'of all the Fundamental Liberties of *England* none were ever esteemed as precious as Tryals by Jurors'.

On 14 August the Colonel had made a simple Will.[68] He had no worldly goods to leave his young daughter, but he prayed God to bless her, and preserve her from want and dishonour. He made the profession of his religious faith and asked to be privately buried in the church of All Hallows Barking, 'as near as may be to the Reverend Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*', meaning, of course, Archbishop Laud.

A letter from a friend urged him to seek spiritual counsel and absolution from the imprisoned Bishop Wren of Ely, with whom Andrew had been linked at the beginning of the troubles. For the three days previous to his execution, the Colonel was allowed the ministrations of a sequestered Royalist divine, Dr. Thomas Swadlin.[69] Dr. Swadlin accompanied Andrew to the scaffold on 22 August. The Colonel's speech, with his exchange of words with Swadlin, was

[63] *C.S.P.D.* 1650, p. 183. The lady was undoubtedly the widow of Richard Colchester, Cursitor in Chancery (died 1643). Her Will, as of the City of London, was proved in the P.C.C. in 1655.

[64] Clement Walker, *History of Independency*, Part III (1651), p. 38. Walker prints three of Andrew's arguments.

[65] Buckley, p. 54. For Andrew's arguments see Buckley, pp. 25-62. Andrew had vainly petitioned the Council of State to interfere (see *C.S.P.D.* 1650, 19 August, p. 293).

[66] *Journals* of the House of Commons, Vol. VI, p. 456.

[67] British Museum, 669.f.15.(50): single sheet, 21 August 1650.

[68] Buckley, pp. 63-5.

[69] For Thomas Swadlin (1600-70) see *D.N.B.*

printed on 17 September following[70] and republished by Buckley. Euseby expressed the hope of seeing 'my gallant Master the King of *England*, and another Mr. whom I much honoured, my Lord *Capel*'. It was natural that his dying thoughts should turn to these two, cut off—as he pointed out to the onlookers was the case with himself—in the prime of their years, and the King especially had taken a stand, as he had done, for the laws. As might be expected, Andrew made a good end: 'he died very resolutely', wrote Whitelocke.[71] He was buried, as he had desired, in All Hallows, where I have seen the entry in the Registers: 'August 23 Coronell Andres hedded beried in the Chancell'.

It remains to say something of the fortunes of the Colonel's half-sister, Katherine Andrew. This lady married twice. Her first husband was Robert Lant, a merchant of the City of London, whose father was of Exeter. Katherine was Robert's second wife, his first being Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of Richard Andrew (died 1654), of Thorp Underwood, Northamptonshire, a member of the Harleston branch of the family. Lant's wives were thus distant cousins. By Elizabeth, Robert had a son Andrew (1638-1694/5). The latter succeeded to his maternal grandfather's property and entered a pedigree (which ignores his step-mother) in the *Visitation of Northamptonshire* 1681.[72]

Katherine's first marriage took place before 17 May 1668 when Sir Thomas Dayrell made his Will. Here we read: 'Item I giue and bequeath my dyamond Ring I often weare which my wife gaue me to my deare Sister m^rs^ Katherine Lant who I make the sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament to avoid all dispute amongst my Children. And being soe well assured of her hearty and tender loue of me and mine'. This is the first reference that I have found to Katherine since those in her father's Will forty years earlier. Not only does it shed a pleasant light upon her character, but it also shews that the home of their youth must have been a harmonious household since Sir Thomas and his half-sister had kept on such affectionate terms. Dayrell gave to 'my Brother Robert Lant Esquire Three Pounds to buy him a Ring'. Mary Dayrell, Sir Thomas's elder daughter, who died in 1670, also remembered 'my Aunt Lant', to whom she bequeathed £5.[73]

Lant died in 1670/1, aged about seventy. The following entry occurs in Smyth's *Obituary*:[74] 'Robert Lant, in Finsbury. merch^t^ (whose wife and relict was sister to Sir Tho. Dayrell but daur. of Eusebius Andrews, Esq^r^, dying in childbed).[75] Ye said Robt: Lant died Mar. 23, and was this day [4 April] buried from Drapers' Hall at St. Peter ye Poore in Broadstreet, where Dr. Orton preached his funerall sermon. I had a ring at y^e^ buriall'.

Lant left no children of his second marriage. In his Will, dated 13 October 1670,[76] he bequeathed 'my deare and loving Wife Katherine Lant the summe of sixteen hundred pounds of lawfull money of England'. She was still a widow on 13 February 1673/4, when her brother-in-law Thomas Wynne made his Will: 'Item I giue and bequeath to my sister Lant ffyve Pounds to buy her a Ringe'.[77]

Katherine's second husband was Sir John Lenthall (knighted 1677/8), of Besselsleigh, Berkshire, and Burford, Oxfordshire, her junior by several years. Sir John, who was the only son of Speaker William Lenthall, was stigmatized by Anthony Wood as 'the grand braggadocio and lyer of his age'.[78] Katherine was his third wife. The marriage is recorded on the memorial inscription at Hinxton, which, however, passes over Robert Lant in silence. Katherine was already connected with the Lenthalls, since Robert Lant's nephew William Lant had married in 1651/2 Anne Lenthall, daughter of Sir John's merchant uncle, Thomas Lenthall, a circumstance which may well account for the later Lenthall-Lant alliance.[79]

[70] British Museum, E.612.(20).

[71] *Memorials*, Vol. III, p. 231.

[72] Harleian Society, Vol. LXXXVII (1935), p. 117.

[73] P.C.C. 73 Penn. Mary also left £5 to the 'poore of Hinkeston' and bequests to her three Wynne cousins.

[74] P. 90.

[75] This cryptic statement (the accuracy of the transcription has been confirmed by consultation of the original, British Museum, Sloane MS. 886) can only be explained by supposing that the words 'his first wife' were inadvertently omitted by Smyth.

[76] P.C.C. 48 Duke.

[77] P.C.C. 67 Bunce.

[78] *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, Vol. III, p. 69. For full particulars of his career see *The Complete Baronetage*, Vol. III, pp. 8-9.

[79] See *London Visitation Pedigrees*, Harleian Society, Vol. XCII (1940), p. 88.

Sir John Lenthall died, intestate, in 1681, leaving a son William (died 1686) by his second wife. A floor slab in the sanctuary of Besselsleigh church bears a shield with the quartered coat of Lenthall impaling a saltire for Andrew. The inscription runs:

> 'Here lyes interred yE Body of SR IOHN LENTHALL/KnT of BASSELSLEIGH in the County of Barkes/the Sonne of WILLIAM LENTHALL LLeate of/Burford EsqR he departed this Life on the 8TH/day of Nouember 1681/in the 57 year of his AGE/ This Stone was Layed by Dame Katherine/Lenthall his Widdow yE Daughter of Eufebius/ Andrew EsqR Late of Edmonton in yE County/of Middlesex'.[80]

Lady Lenthall survived her second husband ten years. We catch one glimpse of her in Wood's Diary.[81] Under date 10 November 1687 he records: "Th., at night inter 12 et 1, lady Lenthall's house at Besell's Lee rob'd'. She made her Will on 30 June 1685.[82] In this she asked for a 'decent interrment in the church of Besselsleigh as neare my deare husband as cann be if not in the same grave if possible'. Childless and having outlived all the relatives of her own generation, she divided her bequests between her one surviving Dayrell nephew, Sir Marmaduke, and her four surviving nieces (all called 'cosens') and her step-son, Andrew Lant. Sir Marmaduke and his sister, Sarah Wyndham, each received £500, as did Susan Williams and Mary Young, the daughters of Thomas and Susan Wynne. To her niece Matilda, the daughter of Colonel Euseby Andrew, who had married a man with the surprising surname of Surmos, Lady Lenthall gave 'my lease of my house in Smithfield . . . for her life, but if she should dye before my time is out, then I give the remaining time to her daughter'. Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Young received between them 'all my jewells and pearles and ringes and Watches'. Her plate was divided between her nephew and his sister with the exception of 'my bason and salver and greate cupp and cover which bason and salver and cupp I give to my sonn Andrew Lant Esquire and alsoe I give to him Twenty Pounds'. Sir Marmaduke was named executor.

On 18 December 1691 'My Lady Lenthall after hearing her Will read sayd she would adde to it these particular legacies'. She must have died either on that or the following day, for the Besselsleigh registers record that on the 20th 'the Lady Katharine Lenthal was buried in Woollen'[83] She was 'in ye 72d year of her Age'.[84] With her there passed the last of the children born of the marriages of Euseby Andrew the elder and his second wife, Barbara. It may be that through his daughter, Matilda, descendants of Colonel Euseby Andrew are living to this day.

MARGARET TOYNBEE.

[80] Wood, *Life and Times*, ed. A. Clark, Vol. II (1892), p. 559, and *The Complete Baronetage* give 9 November as the date of his death.

[81] *Life and Times*, Vol. III (1894), p. 243.

[82] P.C.C. 11 Fane.

[83] I am indebted for the entry to the Rector, the Revd. J. S. Reynolds.

[84] Hinxton M.I.

Evidence of Fraud at Mediaeval Drayton?

[Introduction]

In the early fourteenth century there stood at Drayton a manor house whose hall was flanked at the east end by a solar block and at the west end by kitchen and offices. In 1291 Simon de Drayton, then a boy of about ten years, had succeeded his father as tenant of the manor of Drayton, held in chief of the king by the service of half a knight.[a] In 1328 Simon obtained royal licence to crenellate the house.[b] Great things have been done to Drayton House since then, but some parts of Simon's building still survive: the core of the walls of the present hall and dining room, the undercroft and part of the great chamber, and substantial stretches of the wall of 1328 are all of his time.[c] In the 1360's the house and manor passed from the Draytons to the Greens; but before this could be achieved there were difficulties to be faced, and they are the subject of this note.

Simon of Drayton died on 31 May 1357. He was survived by his wife Margaret, his son John and his grandson Baldwin. Shortly after Simon's death there was dirty work at Botolph-bridge, done by his grandson Baldwin, his clerk John of Whittlesey, and John of Ringstead parson of Lowick: so much is clear from the French Agreement and Latin Memorandum printed below. The nature of the fraud is not clear, but the following paragraphs provide a background and make some suggestions.

Simon of Drayton was a man of substance.[1] His occasional misbehaviour (deeds of violence in his earlier days, and suspicion of killing Sir Ralf Darcy in 1355) may be thought to be outweighed by his public services (e.g. a mission to Cluny in 1323, an expedition to Gascony in 1336, representation of Northamptonshire in the parliaments of 1322, 1329 and 1336, and frequent appointment to judicial and administrative commissions).[2] During his life he made two settlements which interest us here. On 22 May 1321, by a fine levied in the Common Pleas at York, he settled 'the manor of Drayton' on himself and his wife for their lives, remainder to his son John in tail, remainder to the heirs of Simon and his wife in tail, remainder to the right heirs of Simon in fee.[3] On 13 October 1355, by a fine levied in the Common Pleas at Westminster, he settled 16 messuages, 1 mill, 7 tofts, 493 acres of land, 8 acres of meadow, 50 acres of wood, 84 shillings of rent and a rent of 16 capons, all described as 'in Brigstock and Lowick', on himself and his wife for their lives, remainder to Baldwin and Alice his wife in tail, remainder to Gilbert the brother of Baldwin in tail, remainder to the right heirs of Simon in fee.[4] When Simon died, his widow Margaret continued as life tenant of Drayton and of the lands in Brigstock and Lowick.[5] Margaret died on 24 September 1358,[6] and the lands, most of which were held in chief, were were then delivered by the royal escheators to John (Drayton: 5 December 1358)[7] and Baldwin (Brigstock and Lowick: 23 February 1359).[8] By August 1361 John and Baldwin had disagreed over the boundaries of the two areas.

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes:—

C.C.R. Calendar of Close Rolls
C.F.R. Calendar of Fine Rolls
C.I.P.M. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
C.P.R. Calendar of Patent Rolls
P.R.O. Public Record Office
S.S.C. Stopford Sackville Charters (Delapre Abbey)
V.C.H. Victoria County History

a *C.I.P.M.*, Edw. I, vol. III, no. 17.
b *C.P.R.*, *1327-30*, 319.
c See the plan facing *V.C.H.*, *Northants*, iii. 234: the development of the house is fully described *ibid.* 231-5, and by J. A. Gotch, *The Old Halls and Manor Houses of Northamptonshire*, pp. 52-7.

1 *C.I.P.M.*, Edw. III, vol. X, no. 369 gives a list of lands held by him at his death.
2 For details see *V.C.H.*, *Northants*, iii. 237.
3 P.R.O., C.P.25(1)/176/70: for the royal licence to alienate Drayton see *C.P.R.*, *1317-21*, 585.
4 P.R.O., C.P.25(1)/287/45. For the royal licence to alienate those parts held in chief, see *C.P.R.*, *1354-8*, 284; the original is S.S.C. 1924.
5 *C.C.R.*, *1354-60*, 369.
6 *C.I.P.M.*, Edw. III, vol. X, no. 446.
7 *C.C.R.*, *1354-60*, 479.
8 *C.C.R.*, *1354-60*, 553.

It is possible that the matter came to a head in May 1361. For some time John had been negotiating with Sir Henry Green a plan to settle Drayton on Sir Henry's second son, Henry. Sir Henry was a Justice of the Common Pleas from 1354 to 1361, when he was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He married as his second wife Catherine, who was the sister either of Simon or of John of Drayton,[9] and Henry was his son by her. On 13 August 1360 John of Drayton confirmed an earlier promise to carry out the proposed settlement,[10] on 5 May 1361 Edward III gave his licence for alienation,[11] and two days later John levied a fine in favour of Sir Henry Green and five other feoffees.[12] Perhaps the feoffees sought to enter the manor and met Baldwin. In whatever way things came to a head, it is clear that Baldwin was asserting that Drayton manor was less extensive than John believed it to be, and that Baldwin based his claim, at least in part, on a false charter made after Simon's death and sealed with Simon's seal. We can now look more closely at the nature of, and reasons for, this forgery.

Both fines were of the kind known as 'sur don grant et render'[13] in which the settlor collaborates with feoffees, whose assistance is necessary so that the settlor can change his estate from fee simple to life interest and can limit remainders after the life interest. In such a fine the settlor 'acknowledges the land to be the right of' the feoffees 'as that which they have as of his gift (don)', and the feoffees then 'grant and render' the land to the settlor in accordance with the terms of his intended settlement. In 1321 the feoffee was Robert le Peyntour, chaplain; in 1355 the feoffees were William of Islip,[14] John of Sulgrave[15] and John of Ringstead.[16] Now in 1321 the fine was preceded by a charter in which Simon enfeoffed Robert le Peyntour, and was accompanied or followed by another charter in which Robert re-enfeoffed Simon;[17] probably Robert actually entered into the manor: so the statements in the 1321 fine correspond to the actual truth of things. In 1355, however, Simon never made a charter in favour of his feoffees, the feoffees never entered into seisin of the lands before the fine was levied, and there was no charter of re-enfeoffment in favour of Simon and Margaret with remainder to Baldwin and Alice in tail:[18] so the statements in this fine did not correspond to the truth. Given such a situation, two possible, and not necessarily inconsistent, reasons for the forgery by Baldwin and John of Ringstead can now be suggested.

First, we have seen that the 1355 fine did not tell the truth. The feoffees were not seised of the lands 'as of the gift' of Simon, who had made no such gift and had at all times been seised himself. There was much learned discussion in the fourteenth century Common Pleas as to whether such a defect could be alleged against a fine, or whether the Statute of Fines of 1299 precluded parties and privies to the fine (John, as heir to Simon, was privy) from making such an allegation.[19] On balance it seems probable that John could not have upset the fine in this way, but Baldwin and John of Ringstead may have had doubts and have decided to settle them by forging a charter in favour of the feoffees and, perhaps, a subsequent charter of re-enfeoffment to Simon.[20] Their anxiety may have been increased by the knowledge that among the justices before whom the 1355 fine was levied was Sir Henry Green, whose interests were by 1360 closely bound up with those of John of Drayton in resisting any attempt to diminish the extent of Drayton manor.

A second, more likely, reason may be found in the vagueness of the two fines. That of 1321 speaks only of 'the manor of Drayton'; the 1355 fine deals with land, woods etc. 'in Brigstock

[9] In favour of Simon are Bridges, *Northants*, ii. 249; Baker, *Northants*, i. 32 and D.N.B: in favour of John are *V.C.H., Northants*, iii. 237 and iv. 77. In S.S.C. 3238 John refers to young Henry as 'mon cousyn'.

[10] S.S.C. 399.

[11] *C.P.R., 1361-4*, 16.

[12] P.R.O., C.P.25(1)/178/82.

[13] For examples see Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, 372, 375 and 377.

[14] Parson of Covington (Hunts) as early as 1338 (*C.P.R., 1338-40*, 128) and still at the time of the 1355 fine, which so describes him.

[15] Instituted rector of Lamport on 15 February 1346 (Sir Gyles Isham, *All Saints', Lamport*, p. 11), still held it in 1355 (so described in the fine) and probably resigned in May 1356; later Archdeacon of Stafford (Isham, *loc. cit.*).

[16] Parson of Cranford 1337-45 (presented by Simon of Drayton), Brigstock 1345 -*post* 1350, Harpole *post* 1350-1357, Lowick 1357-?; see Bridges; *Northants*, i. 518, ii. 228, 247, 286.

[17] See the Agreement, below.

[18] For the lack of charters, see the Memorandum below; for the lack of seisin, see the Agreement below.

[19] See Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, iii. 240-4.

[20] This possibility is examined in the next paragraph.

and Lowick'. A forgery containing 'all the lands, tenements, services and rents which you want to have in the manor of Drayton'[21] might well succeed if the lands etc. specified were in or about Brigstock and Lowick, and if John had nothing better to show than his 1321 fine. There still survives a copy of a charter dated 27 October 1355—two weeks after the fine—which purports to be a conveyance from the three feoffees to Simon and Margaret for their lives, with remainders exactly as in the 1355 fine.[22] In this document the feoffees convey 'the water mill at Lowick, and our woods Oldsale, Neusale, Wynnescroi, le Lounds and le Snape and le Lapp, and all other lands . . . in Islip, Lowick and Slipton . . . which we purchased from the said Simon, as more clearly appears in a charter which he made to us concerning this'. The 'charter which he made to us' may be the forgery agreed on by Baldwin and John of Ringstead, and this document dated 27 October may be a copy of a forged charter of re-enfeoffment comprising the same land. Certainly it fits with some of the references in the Agreement of 1 August 1361: 'the wood in the park called Oldsale, Neusale and Lappe' which Baldwin claimed corresponds to 'our woods Oldsale, Neusale . . . and le Lapp' in the 1355 document. If these woods were the special object of Baldwin's cupidity he chose unwisely. They were probably detailed specifically in the 1321 charter to Robert le Peyntour, and they had caused Simon too much trouble to acquire in 1315[23] and to impark in 1330-7[24] for there to be much doubt that they were 'purchased before the first fine and given to Robert le Peyntour'.[25] The only other point at which the Agreement can be matched with earlier evidence is the reference to Chetyndon's Land in Lowick which Baldwin is to have because it was purchased by Simon after the first fine; this may be eight acres of land which Simon acquired from Thomas de Chetyngton without royal licence, and which was certainly meant to be included in the 1355 fine.[26]

To conclude, Baldwin engaged in fraud possibly to cure a defect in his fine and almost certainly to encroach on the woods of Drayton manor, but some or much of the final Agreement may represent the settlement of honestly held doubts about the boundaries of contiguous properties.[27]

DEREK HALL.

The writer wishes to thank Miss Joan Wake for bringing these documents to his attention.

[DOCUMENTS]

THE AGREEMENT[1]

Be it known to all men that there was a dispute between Sir John of Drayton and Baldwin of Drayton concerning certain lands, rents and woods in Lowick, Brigstock, Sudborough, Twywell and Slipton.

Sir John claimed them as parcels of his manor of Drayton, which was entailed on him by a fine levied in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Edward son of King Edward[2] between Robert le Peyntour, chaplain, and Simon of Drayton and Margaret his wife; before which fine Sir Simon enfeoffed Robert of his manor of Drayton and Islip and of all the other lands which he had in Lowick, Slipton and Grafton, and specified in his deed the parcels of land, messuages, rents, reversions and meadows—as appears by the copy attached to this deed,[3] and by another sealed deed of re-enfeoffment of Robert which comprises the same parcels; whereupon Robert by fine re-enfeoffed Sir Simon and Margaret of all the aforesaid lands and manors under the name of the manor of Drayton: and for this reason John claimed them as parcel.

[21] Words attributed to John of Ringstead in the Memorandum.
[22] S.S.C. 2506.
[23] *C.F.R.*, *1307-19*, 236. The woods were in Rockingham Forest.
[24] *C.P.R.*, *1327-30*, 530 and *C.F.R.*, *1337-47*, 40.
[25] So the Agreement.
[26] *C.P.R.*, *1354-8*, 284; the original is S.S.C. 1924.
[27] A glance at a map will show how close all the lands were to each other and to the churches held by the feoffees of 1355.

[1] S.S.C. 176 *recto*: translated from the original French. It is the lower half of a bipartite Cyrograph.
[2] Edward II: this is the fine of 22 May 1321.
[3] This copy does not seem to have survived, nor the original; the Memorandum says that Edmund of Thrapston has a copy.

And Baldwin said that these lands and woods and rents were his right and comprised in his fine levied in the twenty-ninth year of King Edward the Third since the Conquest,[4] by which fine Sir Simon granted certain messuages, fifty acres of wood, four hundred and ninety three acres of land, a water mill and four pounds of rent, in Brigstock and Lowick only, to John of Ringstead and others; and they rendered them again to Sir Simon and Margaret his wife for their lives with remainder over to Baldwin: and he said that Simon purchased these lands after the first fine. But the chaplains never had seisin as of his gift before this fine, as John of Ringstead, who was party to the fine, expressly acknowledged.[5]

The dispute was settled as follows:

Whereas Sir John has clearly shown that the woods in the park called Oldesale, Neusale and Lappe, which Baldwin claimed to be the fifty acres comprised in his fine, were purchased before the first fine and given to Robert le Peyntour, who re-conveyed them to Simon and Margaret as parcels of the manor, it is agreed that these woods shall be John's; so also shall all the rest of the park, because it is in the vills of Sudborough and Twywell which are not comprised in Baldwin's fine.

As to the rent in Lowick, it is agreed that Baldwin shall have the rent, and also the land called Chetyngdoneslond, and also the lands which belonged to Robert Aleyn and a certain William in the Lane, in so far as they were purchased from them after the first fine and are not comprised in the first fine; and Sir John shall have and keep all other rents, lands and tenements whatsoever in the said vill[6] by the first fine and as heir of Simon.

Furthermore, all tenements whatsoever in Brigstock, except the aforesaid wood, shall be Baldwin's in accordance with his fine, together with the other lands which are part of the ancient demesne.

There shall be saved to Sir John his term and his action of trespass which he had before the making of this deed; but Baldwin by this deed releases and quitclaims to Sir John all claims of right which he could have in all the above tenements which are to become his[7] by this agreement or in any other manner.

This agreement was made in the presence of Sir Henry Green, John Harewdon, John of Ringstead parson of Lowick, William of Lowick parson of Aldwinckle, Robert Luffenham, Reynald Tikessore, Nicholas Green, John de la Karnayl, Thomas Pavelly, Oliver Duffyn and all the good people of Lowick in the church of Lowick. In witness whereof the aforesaid parties have put their seals. Given at Lowick on Sunday in the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Edward the Third since the Conquest.[8]

THE MEMORANDUM[9]

This is enrolled on rotulet 24 of the Coram Rege Roll for Easter Term in the forty-sixth year of the reign of Edward the Third of England, among the common pleas.[10]

Note that a copy of the charter which Simon of Drayton made to Robert le Peyntour, and which is mentioned below, is in the keeping of Edmund of Thrapston; but the sealed deed is here in the chest.

Note also that in the making of the agreement written below, as the result of abusive words between John parson of Lowick and Baldwin, the whole falsity of a certain deed made at Botolphbridge after the death of Simon of Drayton was admitted and declared.

[4] This is the fine of 13 October 1355.

[5] The French is 'conust expressement', which is ambiguous. It may refer to an admission by John of Ringstead in the course of the present dispute in 1361; or the sentence as a whole may echo the language of the 1355 fine, in which John of Ringstead and the other two feoffees 'recognoscunt' (acknowledge) that they have the land 'ut de dono' (as of the gift) of Simon.

[6] Lowick.

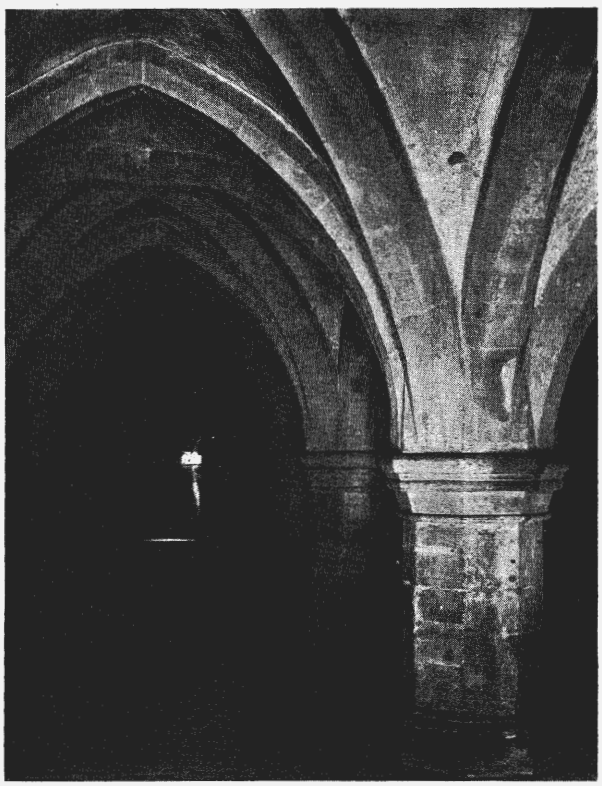
[7] John's?

[8] 1 August 1361.

[9] S.S.C. 176 *verso*: translated from the original Latin.

[10] The *Agreement* was enrolled, at the request of Baldwin, on 16 April 1372: P.R.O. KB 27/445 ro.24. On the previous rotulet (ro.23) of the same Coram Rege Roll is enrolled a quitclaim by Baldwin to the younger Henry Green of the manor of Drayton: this may have been part of a tidying-up operation.

At dawn one day as they lay in their beds together with John of Whittlesey, servant and clerk of Simon and writer of the forged deed, John the parson said to Baldwin, 'What will you give me if I do something of great advantage and profit for you?'. He replied, 'John of Lowick himself will give you a good reward'.[11] At this, John the parson said, 'My Lord, Simon of Drayton is dead and I still have his seal intact. And Simon never in his life gave you, Baldwin, deed or seisin of any parts of the lands which you ought to have had on your marriage; nor did he make a deed in favour of me, John the parson, nor of my colleagues named in your fine. Therefore make a deed in the name of the said Simon to William of Islip parson of the church of Covington, John of Sulgrave parson of the church of Lamport, and me, John, parson of the church of Harpole as I then was, who are parties to your fine; and specify in that charter all the lands and tenements, services and rents which you want to have in the manor of Drayton, with boundaries as you desire; and I will seal the said deed when it is made, before breaking my lord's seal'.



THE CRYPT AT DRAYTON

And John[12] and Baldwin, who are present, acknowledge that this is the truth of the matter and that the deed was forged in this way, but they say that John the parson was the prime inventor and mover of this falseness. And they agree that the forged deed should be cancelled; and that the old deeds of Simon of Drayton and Robert le Peynotur should be truly examined, so that all the tenements [which are specified in the said deeds and in the fine][13] levied at York and are entailed on John of Drayton should remain to the said John according to the form of the fine and of the charters; and that all the other tenements acquired by Simon after the first fine should remain to Baldwin according to his fine. And so the forged deed was cancelled in the presence of Henry Green and all the other witnesses whose names are written below.[14]

[11] Alternatively, read: John of Lowick replied, 'He will give you a good reward'. Neither translation makes good sense, but clearly Baldwin was ready and willing.

[12] Presumably John of Whittlesey, the servant and clerk of Simon.

[13] The words in brackets are an invention; the deed is illegible at this point.

[14] i.e. the witnesses to the Agreement.

Obituary

Major-General Sir Hereward Wake, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., the thirteenth baronet, died on August 4th, and a memorial service was held in Courteenhall Church on August 10th which was largely attended by Regimental and County friends. He was born in 1876, and was the eldest son of the twelfth baronet.

The Times in their obituary notice gave a full account of his service in the army, which he entered in 1897, and a subsequent appreciation dealt with his outstanding character.

No mention, however, was made of his service to the County, in drawing attention to the increasing devastation caused by ironstone workings, then largely unrestored. As Chairman of a sub-Committee of the Northamptonshire branch of the Country Landowners Association, and as a member of the County Planning Committee, he was constantly pressing for positive action, and he published a pamphlet on the loss both to agriculture and to the appearance of the countryside by the growing scars on the land. He was firmly against the defeatist attitude of the Kennet Committee, which reported in 1939. His comments and suggestions were of great help in the preparation of the County Council's memorandum submitted to the Scott Committee on the utilisation of land, and his constant pressure had its part in bringing about Dr. Dalton's Act, which led to the restoration, wherever possible, of all land since worked for ironstone, as well as of several thousand acres, which had become a wilderness as a result of old ironstone workings.

Even when Sir Hereward left the County after the war to live in Hampshire, he continued to take an interest in the work of restoration, and only three years ago he was able to accompany the members of the minerals sub-committee in their annual tour of restored ironstone areas. He was both astonished and delighted.

Sir Hereward was deeply interested in County history, and was one of the first members of the Record Society, when it was founded by his sister, Miss Joan Wake, in 1920.

Book Reviews

TUDOR FAMILY PORTRAIT

by Barbara Winchester (Jonathan Cape, 30/-)

This is a family record, based solidly on letters and original material of the Johnsons "an ordinary middle-class family, living their everyday lives in sixteenth century England". It is very well done. The Johnsons were merchants of the Staple in Calais, and their firm went bankrupt in 1553, a sad ending for the family, although it led to the preservation of their records, which were sent to the Lord Chancellor, and eventually to the Tower, where "they lay like prisoners for almost three hundred years" until they were transferred to the Public Record Office.

For Northamptonshire readers, the principal interest in the book will be found in the descriptions of life at Glapthorn Manor, the Johnsons' home in Northamptonshire. Their cousins were the Copes of Canons Ashby (both families were strongly Protestant). The Johnsons were wine-importers, and there was a stock of "good Gascon wine" in the Glapthorn cellars, as well as Rhine wines, Spanish wines, and wines from the Auxerrois. "It was nothing for John and his apprentice to drink two quarts of French wine a day in Calais, at the delightfully easy price of two-pence a pint". It was usual to associate heresy with beer drinking in Henry VIII's reign, but these Protestants were certainly wine-lovers! John was a small landowner, but he had a thousand sheep, and farmed (as he traded) for profit. There is so much detailed information in this book (and not least in household matters) that Miss Winchester is to be congratulated for presenting it all in such a readable form.

THE GREAT MEETING

by FRANK C. GOODMAN (Toller Congregational Church, Kettering, 6/-)

THE year 1662 saw the foundations of organised non-conformity in England firmly laid. The failure of the Savoy Conference to reconcile the non-conformists and the newly-restored Establishment had this inevitable result. This is an interesting account, designed, of course, for the present day member of the Congregation rather than for the historian, but none the worse for that. It is to be wished, however, that people who aspire to write about the past would equip themselves with some of the elementary knowledge of the antiquary. The author expresses surprise that the date on the tomb of the Rev. John Maidwell, the first Pastor, is given as January 14th, 1692, whereas the burial register gives it as 1693. Of course, until the reign of George II, the year officially began on Lady-Day, so that January 1692 is what we would call 1693; although by this date some were using the new year beginning on January 1st.

John Maidwell is one of the most interesting of the 17th Century figures in the history of Non-conformity. He belonged to an old Geddington family, many of whose members were clergy of the Establishment, and he himself started as a minister of the Church of England, and vicar of Simpson in Buckinghamshire. He was intruded into the living at Kettering in 1651, and in 1662 was ejected for his refusal to conform to the new Prayer Book. So Maidwell was driven to hold services in a cottage, until Charles II's Act of 1672 allowed him to be licensed. This act of royal clemency was soon repealed by the Anglican House of Commons, and Maidwell suffered fresh persecution. It is a sad story, but well worth the telling. Mr. Goodman's easy style makes for good reading.

MARRIAGE REGISTER OF BANBURY

Part II, 1724-1790 (Banbury Historical Society Publications)

25/- to Members, 30/- to non-Members

THIS is a continuation of Part I, which was noticed in *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 93. It is a most useful work, and should not be neglected by Northamptonshire students. No less than 58 Northamptonshire villages appear in the Index, some of them having many references. The Index of Trades and Professions is good and makes this volume more useful than its predecessor, and some of these trades are unusual. In 1753, Swalcliffe boasted a bone-setter in the person of John Matthews, and, in the same year Robert Murray described as "(horse-hair) Hatmaker", of St. Luke, London, married Silence Barton of Banbury.

Mention is made of Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1754 "for the better Preventing of Clandestine Marriages". This "brought to an end the popular custom of couples from nearby villages marrying in the local market town: of which Banbury is a good example". Henceforth, parishes were required to record marriages on printed forms giving much more information than in the former manuscript registers, a great boon to the genealogist and record-searcher, although, unfortunately, "these requirements were not invariably complied with".

The volume ends in 1790, in which year the fine old church of Banbury was "shut up and devoted to destruction". The editor alludes to the "shocking decision to rebuild the Church", and these registers are a reminder of what was then lost.

MARRIAGE REGISTER OF BANBURY

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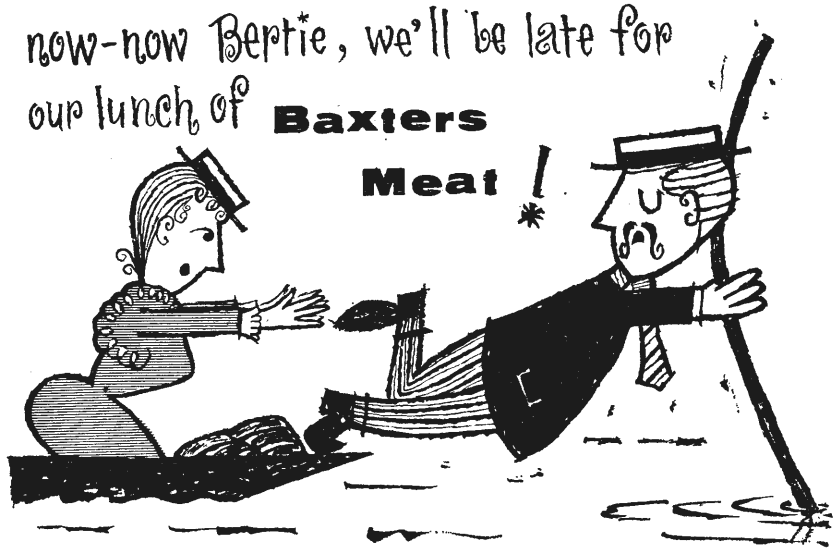
THIS is a valuable continuation of the Banbury Registers, of which the previous volume is reviewed above.



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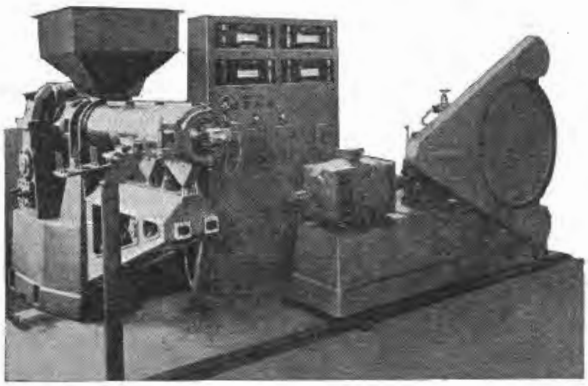

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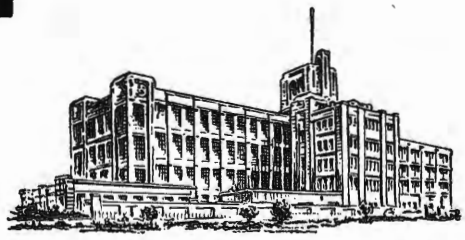

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HIGHAM FERRERS

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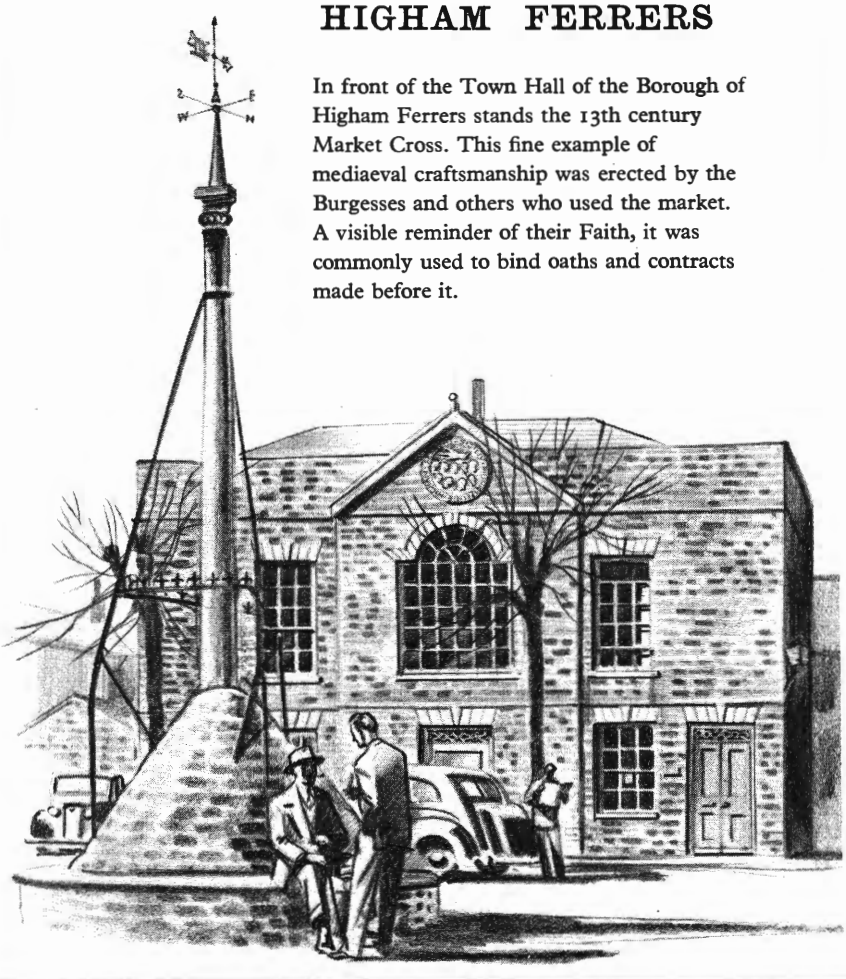

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