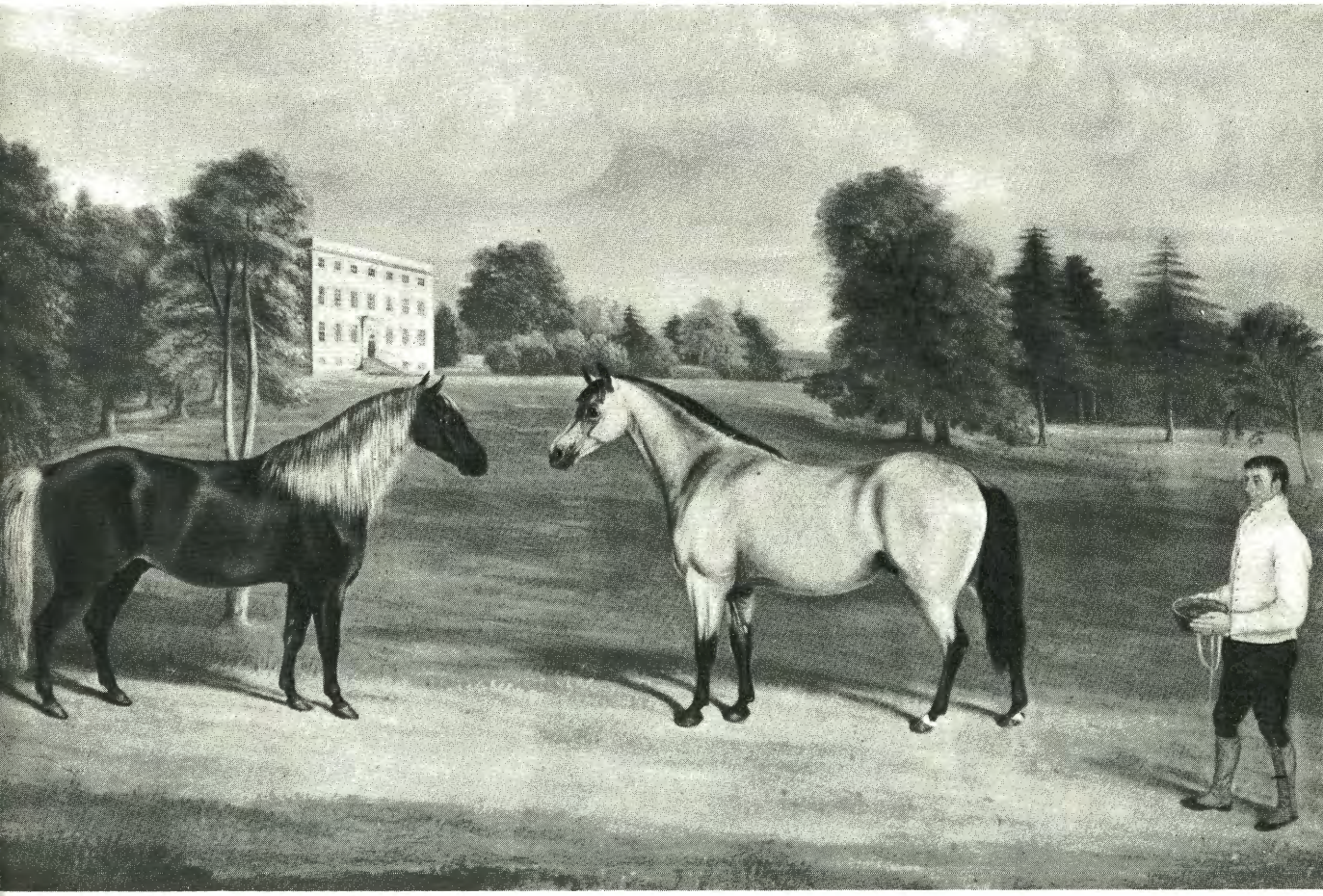
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST & PRESENT



HORSES AND GROOM AT BRIXWORTH HALL, *c.* 1830

Journal of
THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY
DELAPRE ABBEY, NORTHAMPTON, ENGLAND
1965/66

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All Communications regarding articles in this issue should be addressed to the Editor, Sir Gyles Isham, Lamport Hall, Northampton

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THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY

(FOUNDED IN 1920)

DELAPRE ABBEY, NORTHAMPTON

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Northampton

AIMS AND OBJECTS

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

MEMBERSHIP

THE ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, which has not been raised in forty-five years, is ONE GUINEA only. This entitles members to free copies of publications issued for the period in respect of which they have subscribed and the right to attend meetings and lectures. Forms of membership will be gladly sent on application.

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Notes and News

The Northamptonshire Record Society is proud to announce that it now has about 1,200 members. The Council and Officers send greetings to all members and friends in Northamptonshire and throughout the world.

The Society's **Annual General Meeting** was held at Delapre Abbey on Saturday, 29th May, 1965. It was a nostalgic occasion, as both the President and the General Editor announced their retirement from office. Since 1957, the Society has profited from the scholarship, wisdom, and humour of its President, Sir George Clark. Tribute was justly paid to the distinguished historian and editor, who had been Regius Professor at Cambridge, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, and who has for nearly eight years, presided over this Society.

To succeed Sir George, the Annual General Meeting unanimously elected Sir Gyles Isham. Members have long shown their new President respect and appreciation, not only for his great erudition and his role in public life, but also for allowing the Society to occupy rooms at Lamport Hall before the restoration of Delapre, and for his Editorship of this Journal.

Miss Joan Wake, pilot and inspiration of the Society since its inception also relinquished her office as Honorary General Editor. The new President read letters of tribute to Miss Wake from Sir Robert Somerville, Chairman of the Council of the British Record Association, and from Professor V. H. Galbraith. Mr. S. J. Tyrrell, of Eydon, spoke appreciatively on behalf of the many village historians who have been inspired by her. Then, Miss Sylvia Riches presented a bouquet to Miss Wake. Members will be pleased that Miss Wake had an enjoyable visit to Southern Rhodesia during the Autumn. Dr. G. H. Martin, Lecturer in History at the University of Leicester, was elected to succeed her as Honorary General Editor.

After the conclusion of business, Sir George Clark addressed the Society on 'Tradition as an Element in Local History'.

Our **Autumn lecture** was given on November 6th by George S. H. L. Washington, on 'The Washington Family, and its Northamptonshire Associations'. We were rightly confident that this would stimulate wide interest.

Editors are continuing work as quickly as possible on the Society's forthcoming publications. *The Royal Forests of Northamptonshire* by P. A. J. Pettit, is in the hands of the printers. Mr. V. H. Hatley and Mr. B. A. Bailey are preparing the *Northamptonshire Militia-Roll of* 1777. The most exciting development is the Society's agreement with the Buckhamshire Record Society for the joint publication of the fine series of original charters connected with Luffield Abbey, a small Benedictine monastery on the borders of Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire in the vicinity of Wittlewood Forest. The charters date from 1124 until at least 1464. These charters will be edited by Mr. G. R. Elvey, and should produce volumes of the greatest interest and importance.

The Northamptonshire Record Society has tried to stimulate interest in Local History among school pupils by means of its **Young Historians Competition.** Many History teachers realize the value of Local History, but there has been uncertainty about the most suitable fields of study with secondary school pupils and doubt about printed and manuscript sources available. The Society, therefore, organized a half-day Conference on 'Teaching Local History in Secondary Schools' on October 16th. The principal speaker was Mr. M. V. Seaborne, formerly Senior History Master at Corby Grammar School, and now Lecturer in Education at Leicester University. He talked about experimental tests using Local History material in connection with the C.S.E. examination. He was supported by Mr. J. M. Steane, Headmaster of Kettering Grammar School, Mr. P. I. King, Mr. B. A. Bailey, and Dr. P. A. J. Pettit.

We are pleased to record that the **Northamptonshire Federation of Archaeological Societies** held its inaugural meeting on the 18th September. The co-ordination of archaeological work, and the publication of its findings sets the Federation a challenging and valuable task.

The Society congratulates the *Northampton and County Independent* on publishing its Diamond Jubilee Issue which contained over forty pages of pictures of events and scenes in Northampton since the Independent was first published in 1905.

This copy of *Northamptonshire Past and Present* is the last in Volume III. The Council and members of the Society wish to express their appreciation of the scholarly work of its Editor, Sir Gyles Isham. Thanks are also offered to all who helped with the packing and distribution of the Journal, to our printers, to the Dalkeith Press Limited, Kettering, and to our Advertisers on whose support we so much depend.

P.A.J.P

The following is the text of the letter (noted above) received from Professor Galbraith on the occasion of Miss Wake's retirement as General Editor of the Society's publications.

Dear Mr. Pettit,

At this sad moment of Miss Wake's retirement, may I, as a very old friend of hers, pay an objective tribute to her pre-eminent services to the cause of Local Records during the better part of fifty years.

The nineteenth century, which so admirably provided for the care of our Public Records, did virtually nothing for the preservation of Private and Local Archives, and the problem of making them available for historical scholars. To the complex and almost heart-breaking struggle, to remedy this tragic oversight, Miss Wake brought a first-class mind, supported by well-nigh superhuman persistence. She was 'a bonnie feckter' as we say in Scotland, and for many years a *femme formidable* to Lord Chancellors, Masters of the Rolls and Deputy Keepers! Even now, the battle has not been won, but at least progress has been made; and as one of her many male slaves, I can bear witness to her constructive and realistic contribution to this cause, with which her name will always be associated.

Good historian as she is, and architect of one of the two model Record Societies in Great Britain, her services to Local Records were equalled by no other individual, unless, perhaps, by her friend, Miss Ethel Stokes.

Today the whole world of History and Historical Research is deeply indebted to the protagonists in this heroic struggle, and, I am sure, would like to wish her 'God Speed' and continued activity in her retirement.

Yours sincerely,

V. H. Galbraith.

Our Contributors

OUR new contributors to this year's *Northamptonshire Past and Present are:*

Mr. H. D. Turner, who teaches history at the University of Hong Kong. He is a graduate of Christ's College, Cambridge, and worked at the Northamptonshire Record Office in 1961 when engaged on post-graduate work, largely on the Hattons. He is preparing a full-length study of the 1st Viscount. His article on Charles Hatton might be described as a by-product of these studies.

Mr. Anthony Goodman, a graduate of Magdalen College, Oxford, teaches history at the University of Edinburgh.

Lt.-Colonel W. T. Sargeaunt lives in Hampshire, but is a member of the Northamptonshire family about whom he writes.

We are particularly pleased to print an article by Mrs. Ranson on the Finedon Inclosure, as she is a member of the Staff of the Northamptonshire Record Office. She was educated at Bedford College, London, and gained her diploma in Archives Administration at University College. Before coming to Delapre, she worked at the Gloucestershire Record Office.

We also have an article by Mr. P. I. King, the Archivist at Delapre, and another by Mrs. Bond, who was an assistant archivist at Lamport, before she married. Both these archivists have contributed to *Northamptonshire Past and Present* on previous occasions.

Mr. George Washington, and Mr. Victor Hatley have also written for us before.

Thanks are due to the following for supplying photographs, for blocks, and for giving permission to reproduce material in their possession: The Trustees of the British Museum, the Northampton Public Library, Mr. Bruce Bailey, Mr. J. C. Brown, Lt.-Col. W. T. Sargeaunt, Mr. M. J. V. Seaborne, and the Executors of the late D. W. Wood.

Some Aspects of Northampton's History, 1815-51

On 1 May 1815 a branch canal, four miles long, was opened between Northampton and the main waterway of the Grand Junction Canal at Blisworth. Church bells were rung in the town, cannon were fired, and a crowd of people gathered to watch a procession of boats make its way from Blisworth to Northampton.[1]

Soon after the opening of the branch canal, Northampton began to grow rapidly. The population of the town, which had been 8,400 in 1811, was 10,800 in 1821, 15,400 in 1831, 21,200 in 1841 and 26,700 in 1851. This growth was chiefly due to the expansion of the Northampton shoe-manufacturing industry. In 1818 there were about 550 adult male shoemakers living in Northampton; this number had risen to 1,300 in 1831, 1,800 in 1841 and 3,000 in 1851.[2]

The branch canal gave Northampton a link by water, not only with London, but also with Birmingham, Manchester and a number of other towns. Boots and shoes in large consignments are both heavy and bulky to handle, and require efficient means of transport if they are to be sent regularly over long distances. Populous towns are promising markets for the sale of ready-made footwear. It would have been remarkable if the Northampton shoe-manufacturers had not used the facilities which the branch canal made available to them.[3]

As early as 1819 an advertisement in the *Northampton Mercury* referred to 'the improving state of Northampton in consequence of the Grand Junction Canal . . .'.[4] In 1831 a Northampton witness told a parliamentary committee that 'the canal proved a great benefit [to the town] when it was first established'.[5] Three witnesses from Northampton who were being examined in 1836 before another parliamentary committee all testified to the part played by the canal in developing the town's economy. A banker stated that 'the town of Northampton has been for the last 20 years in a most progressive state of improvement, especially since the Grand Junction Canal was opened which has opened (*sic*) a communication to London'.[6] A shoe-manufacturer declared that 'previous to the canal being opened, the [shoe] trade was very small'.[7] An ironfounder informed the committee that, owing to the canal, 'trade has very considerably increased, as the increased (*sic*) population of the town will show'.[8]

1815 is thus a date of importance in the history of Northampton, although the 150th anniversary of the opening of the branch canal was not celebrated by the citizens with bellringing or cannonading! It is proposed in this article to examine five aspects of Northampton's growth between 1815 and 1851, the active lifetime of many of the younger spectators who watched the first boats reach Northampton from Blisworth. These aspects are housing, industry, politics, religion and public administration.

* * * * * * *

H. L. R. O. = House of Lords Record Office.
N. M. = *Northampton Mercury*.
N. P. L. = Northampton Public Library.
P. P. = *Parliamentary Papers*.

[1] *N. M.*, 6 May 1815.

[2] Figure for 1818 calculated from the pollbook issued at Northampton after the General Election of that year. Other figures from the published census returns, 1831, 1841, 1851.

[3] I have been unable to trace records from any shoe-manufacturing firm located in Northampton between 1815 and 1851.

[4] *N. M.*, 23 Jan. 1819.

[5] *P. P.* (Lords), 1831-32, cccxi (181), 63.

[6] H. L. R. O., *Mins. of Evidence*, H.C., 1836, Vol. 30, Midland Counties Railway (13 May), 112-3.

[7] *Ibid.*, 192.

[8] *Ibid.*, (12 May), 87.

People need houses to live in: more people, more houses. In 1811 there were 1,600 houses in Northampton; in 1851, 5,016.[9]

Reduced to essentials, the street plan of Northampton in 1815 was cruciform. A series of streets running north-south (Sheep Street, The Drapery, Bridge Street) intersected another series of streets running east-west (Abington Street, Mercers' Row, Gold Street, Marefair) at All Saints' Church. Within the angles formed by this intersection were various lesser streets and a number of closes, orchards and market gardens. Except for the lower part of Bridge Street, which extended to the River Nene, the built-up area of Northampton fitted with room to spare into the area formerly enclosed by the town walls.[10]

Between 1815 and 1835 most of the new building in Northampton took place within the angles formed by the intersection of the main streets. This applied to working-class districts such as Green Street and Scarletwell, and also to middle-class districts such as Derngate and Albion Place. Gradually the closes, orchards and market gardens were replaced by buildings; in 1837 an advertisement describing land near College Street stated that 'every inhabitant knows that this is the last estate of its kind, in the centre of Northampton, which can ever be submitted to public competition'.[11]

During the 1830's a few houses were built outside the line of the town walls. Plans were made for an ambitious housing estate half a mile up the Wellingborough Road, and six streets were laid out, although the site was not developed until the 1850's. The most important of these streets was named Newtown Road, and the others were East, South, West, Melbourne and Bouverie Streets. The projector of this estate, Thomas Grundy, was a local ironfounder; during the 1830's he speculated in housing in a big way, establishing his own brickyard and also promoting Northampton's first building society.[12] Grundy was politically an ardent Liberal, hence his desire to commemorate in 'Newtown' the names of the Liberal prime minister (Lord Melbourne) and the local Liberal squire (Edward Bouverie of Delapre Abbey).

Several housing speculators during the 1830's were aware that dwellings erected on Northampton's extra-parochial lands would be attractive to persons who invested in real estate. These lands—in the Middle Ages they had belonged to St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton—did not come under parochial jurisdiction, and (until 1857) no poor rate was levied on houses which had been built on them. 'Newtown' was sited on extra-parochial land, so also were Upper Harding Street, Great Russell Street and the north side of Grafton Street.[13] By 1851 there were 504 occupied houses 'extra-parochial' in Northampton.

The extra-parochial lands lay entirely to the north and east of the area of Northampton built-up by 1830, and their use stimulated the growth of the town in these directions. The development of Northampton to the south and west was, in any case, inhibited by the proximity of the River Nene, the valley of which was liable to flooding. In addition, much of the land flanking the river (*e.g.* Cow Meadow) was subject to right of pasturage exercised by the freemen of Northampton, and its use for other purposes, including building, would have required the sanction of Parliament.

As the shoe-manufacturing industry was still unmechanised at this period, there would be no problem in Northampton of smoke from a large number of industrial premises being carried eastwards by the prevailing winds. Many fine houses, most of them overlooking the Nene Valley, were built in the eastern suburbs after 1815. Victoria Place dates from 1837, Spencer Parade

[9] Published census returns, 1811 and 1851.

[10] See the map of Northampton engraved by J. Roper and published in 1807 (N. P. L.).

[11] *N. M.*, 11 Feb. 1837.

[12] Grundy advertisements for the sale of land, etc. (N. P. L.); *Prospectus of the Northampton Building Society*, dated 12 May 1836 (N. P. L.).

[13] Extra-parochial land is marked as such on the map of Northampton engraved by W. W. Law and published in 1847 (N. P. L.). See also *N. M.*, 4 June 1853 and 26 Dec., 1857.

As early as 1841 there were 2,293 persons dwelling on extra-parochial land at Northampton, a larger number than were dwelling on any other enclave of unrated extra-parochial land in England and Wales (*P. P.*, 1844, XL, 585-99). Extra-parochial land at Northampton amounted to about 300 acres.

PARISH
PARISH
Site of Castle
Beadle's Bottom
RAILWAY STATION

from about 1840, and the houses in the south portion of Cheyne Walk from the earlier 1840's.[14] In 1845 the Corporation put up for sale a block of land south of the Billing Road, stipulating that only high-class housing should be developed on the site. This was the origin of the Cliftonville estate; the first house to be erected was 'Springfield' (the present Borough Education Offices), which had been completed by 1847.[15]

The supply of new houses in Northampton, which had more than kept pace with the growth of population during the 1820's and 1830's, languished for ten years after 1841. Only 521 new houses were constructed during this decade, compared with 1,284 between 1831 and 1841. Even so there does not seem to have been a housing shortage in the town at mid-century, except perhaps for middle-class persons with limited means at their disposal. A correspondent in the *Northampton Mercury*, writing in 1851, complained that while there were plenty of 'small cottages, suitable for working men', and a number of 'splendid mansions, with their castellated fronts or elaborately ornamented' (*sic*), there was also a scarcity of medium-sized residences with gardens.[16] The building of Langham Place, Primrose Hill and Castilian Street during the 1850's and 1860's presumably helped to relieve this deficiency.

* * * * * * *

As has already been stated, the Northampton shoe-manufacturing industry grew rapidly during the 35 years between 1815 and 1851. The number of shoemakers increased, and so also did the number of firms making shoes; there were 19 'boot and shoe makers' listed in the Northampton section of a trades directory published in 1823, and 66 'boot and shoe manufacturers—wholesale' in a similar directory for 1850.[17]

By the 1830's many of these firms had become quite large. William Parker, who was probably the leading manufacturer at the time, stated in 1836 that he employed 500 persons and that his annual production was 20,000 pairs of boots and 60,000 pairs of shoes. One-third of his output went to Manchester, and the rest (so he inferred) principally to London. Parker was prepared to admit that John Groom, also of Northampton, was the proprietor of a firm almost as large as his own.[18]

Among the shoe-operatives of Northampton the highest status was achieved by the clickers, the craftsmen who cut the upper components of the shoe out of the hide. Clickers worked on their employer's premises, and were also responsible for supervising the distribution of work to the journeymen shoemakers.[19] At the other end of the labour scale were the child closers who stitched together the upper components of the shoe. These boys and girls worked long hours for low wages, and were employed, not by the shoe-manufacturers, but by small masters whose premises were rarely more than single rooms in terraced houses. Few of these children received much education; in 1851 an inspector of schools complained that 'there is no locality in which children are retained for so short a time under instruction as in this town [Northampton], where the shoe-making business is carried on to a great extent, and in certain departments of which very young children can be employed'.[20]

Most of the journeymen-shoemakers performed their tasks at home, returning a week's work to the premises of their employers on Saturday and collecting their wages and a fresh supply of work. As they were paid piece rates, it is difficult to estimate average earnings; much would depend on a man's diligence, sobriety and skill, together with any assistance he could receive from

[14] See the maps of Northampton produced by Dewhurst and Nichols (1836), Durham and Cartwright (1841), and Law (1847) (all N. P. L.). Also the ratebooks for the parishes of All Saints' and St. Giles' (N. P. L.).

[15] Corporation advertisement for the sale of land, 5 June 1845 (N. P. L.); Law map of 1847.

[16] *N. M.*, 16 Aug. 1851.

[17] *Pigot & Co.'s London and Provincial New Commercial Directory for 1823-4; Slater's Directory of . . . Northamptonshire . . . 1850.*

[18] H. L. R. O., (13 May) 180-6.

[19] Numerous advertisements for clickers are contained in the *N. M.* during the 1840's and 1850's.

[20] *P. P.*, 1852, XL, 289. Information about the child closers is contained in Victor A. Hatley: 'The St. Giles' Shoe School', *Journal of the British Boot and Shoe Institution*, Vol. 9 (1960-61), 619-24.

his wife and children. The impression of Northampton's general welfare gained by outsiders during the post-1815 period is, on the whole, favourable; in 1835 the commissioners examining the municipal corporations of England and Wales reported that the town was 'flourishing, and its prosperity appears on the increase'.[21] Nevertheless, the shoe-manufacturing industry was not free from strikes, disputes between men and masters occurring in 1825, 1839 and 1852, the two latter over wage rates.[22] The introduction in 1857 of machinery for stitching shoes also caused much ill-feeling which eventually culminated in a strike.

During the 1830's and 1840's several of the Northampton shoe-manufacturing firms established their own premises in some of the larger British towns. Messrs. Hallam and Edens, for example, by 1840 had 'wholesale and retail establishments' in Manchester, Liverpool, Stockport, Sheffield, Leeds and Nottingham.[23] In 1850 George Moore was operating 'branches' in Manchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Belfast.[24]

The high proportion of inhabitants who were employed in shoe-manufacturing—39% of the adult males in 1851—did not encourage the large-scale growth of other industries in Northampton during this period, although by the early 1830's three foundries had been established in the town. They obtained coal and iron by way of the canal.[25] Innkeeping was traditionally an important occupation in Northampton, which was a recognised halting-place on the main road between London and Manchester. In 1825 it was stated that 217 stage coaches passed through the town each week,[26] although this traffic dwindled to nothing when railways came into use.

Northampton was not fortunate in attracting railway facilities during the 1830's. The inhabitants tried hard to persuade, first the London and Birmingham Railway, and afterwards the Midland Counties Railway, to run a main line through the town, but without success.[27] However, Northampton did obtain a station (Bridge Street) when the branch line along the Nene Valley was opened in 1845; and in the following year the *Northampton Mercury* could boast that 'we have excellent Railway accommodation to London, Birmingham, and Peterborough',[28] although passengers for London and Birmingham had to change trains at Blisworth in order to reach their destinations.

* * * * * * *

Electioneering in Northampton between 1768 and 1796 had been noteworthy in two ways: firstly, all male householders not in receipt of poor relief were entitled to vote, a wide franchise which the town retained until 1832; secondly, several of the elections, in particular that of 1768, were contested with remarkable ferocity.

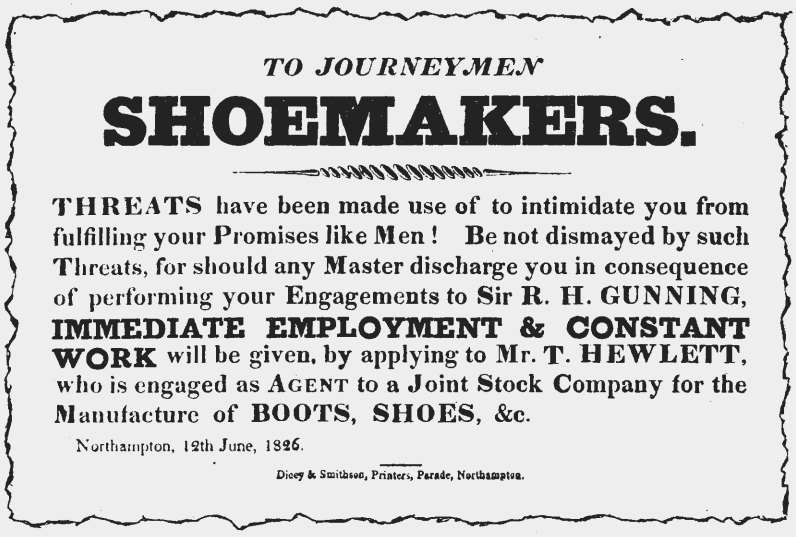
The election of 1796, however, was followed by 22 years of electoral peace. Northampton, which returned two members to Parliament, was represented throughout this period by one 'Tory', who was elected on the 'interest' of the Marquess of Northampton (*i.e.* the Marquess nominated a candidate, and paid the expenses of his election) and strongly supported by the Corporation, and by one 'Whig', who was supported by the nonconformists, a body of persons who were rising in social and economic importance. Nearly all the Northampton shoe-manufacturers were nonconformists.[29]

In 1818 this political truce came to an end. Following the defeat of his candidate at the election of 1820, Lord Northampton gave up his 'interest' at Northampton, leaving the 'Tories' (Conservatives after 1832) to struggle alone against their 'Whig' (Liberal after 1835) adversaries.[30]

[21] *P. P.*, 1835, XXV, 559.
[22] *N. M.*, March, April, May 1825; 20 and 27 July 1839; 4, 13, 20 and 27 Dec. 1852.
[23] *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries* (ed. John Taylor), Vol. 3, (1890) 20. See also the press of the towns concerned, *e.g. Nottingham Journal*, 9 Aug. 1833.
[24] *Slater's Directory*, 1850.
[25] H. L. R. O., (12 May) 63-118.
[26] *N. M.*, 19 Feb. 1825.
[27] *e.g. N. M.*, 6 Nov. 1830, 6 Feb. 1836.
[28] *N. M.*, 26 Sept. 1846.
[29] *P. P.*, 1835, XXV, 570.
[30] Party nomenclature before the 1830's is a problem. I have preferred to put the words Whig and Tory in inverted commas; in Northampton, 'Tory' was only used as a term of political abuse, but 'Whig' was used quite often by the Whigs to describe themselves politically.

'Tories' or Conservatives, they mostly struggled in vain. Their candidates were faced by the almost concentrated opposition of the shoe-manufacturing industry. At the election of 1837, for example, out of 487 journeymen-shoemaker voters (1,927 persons voted in all), 373 voted for either or both of the Liberal candidates, 22 split their votes between a Liberal and the Conservative candidate, and only 92 cast a 'plumper' for the Conservative.[31]

This massing of the shoemakers on behalf of the Liberal party was not achieved without the use of pressure by some of the shoe-manufacturers. Over many years there were references to what was sometimes called 'the screw', under which a shoemaker who voted against his master's



TO JOURNEYMEN

SHOEMAKERS.

THREATS have been made use of to intimidate you from fulfilling your Promises like Men! Be not dismayed by such Threats, for should any Master discharge you in consequence of performing your Engagements to Sir R. H. GUNNING, **IMMEDIATE EMPLOYMENT & CONSTANT WORK** will be given, by applying to Mr. T. HEWLETT, who is engaged as AGENT to a Joint Stock Company for the Manufacture of **BOOTS, SHOES**, &c.

Northampton, 12th June, 1826.

Dicey & Smithson, Printers, Parade, Northampton.

AN ENCOURAGEMENT TO SHOEMAKERS!
Political poster issued by the 'Tories' of Northampton at the time of the General Election of 1826.
(By courtesy of the Public Libraries Committee, County Borough of Northampton)

wishes lost his job.[32] The Liberal defence of this practice seems to have been that the shoemakers were free to vote according to their consciences, but that accepting a Conservative bribe justified dismissal.[33] It need only be added that Robert Vernon Smith, Liberal M.P. for Northampton between 1831 and 1859, admitted in 1859 that the Liberal victory of 1831 had cost £4,000 to achieve.[34] Bribery was used by Liberals and Conservatives alike, although the cost of fighting an election at Northampton apparently became cheaper after the Reform Act of 1832.[35]

Needless to say the Conservatives struggled doggedly against the political domination of the Liberals. Up to 1835 the Corporation charities were freely used on behalf of the Conservative candidates for election.[36] £1,000 was voted out of Corporation funds towards the expenses of Sir Robert Gunning, a 'Tory' who contested Northampton unsuccessfully in 1826.[37] At some elections a Conservative agency was set up to distribute work to shoemakers who had lost their

[31] Northampton pollbook, 1837 (N. P. L.).
[32] *e.g.* 39 and 43/1818 (43 a denial), 15/1830, 27/1841, collection of political handbills (N. P. L.). *N. M.*, 10 July 1852.
[33] *Northamptonshire Free Press*, 19 and 26 Jan., 9 Feb. 1833.
[34] *N. M.*, 22 Oct. 1859. See also *Northamptonshire Free Press*, 12 Nov. 1831 (speech by Thomas Sharp, an important Liberal in Northampton).
[35] *N. M.*, 22 Oct. 1859. As will be explained, there was a considerable reduction in the number of voters at Northampton after 1832.
[36] *P. P.*, 1835, XXV, 572.
[37] *Ibid.*, 571-2.

jobs through voting Conservative.[38] However, the main hope of the Conservatives was dissension between the left and right wings of the Liberal party in Northampton. At the elections of 1830, 1832 and 1835 this dissension was the principal factor in enabling the Conservatives to capture a Northampton seat. In 1837 the Liberals put forward candidates who jointly represented both sections of Liberal opinion, and the Conservative candidate was decisively beaten. The Conservatives did not succeed in electing another member for Northampton until 1874.

It may be noticed in passing that the Chartists of Northampton, although noisy, made little impression on the politics of the town.[39] Dr. Peter McDouall, a figure of national importance in the movement, contested Northampton in 1841, but polled only 176 votes. The leading Northampton Chartist, Christopher Harrison, a sawyer, afterwards emigrated to Australia, and was there hanged for murder in 1864.[40]

Rudimentary party organisation was evolving in Northampton during the 1820's. The Whig Club, which usually met at the Ram Inn, was formed in 1827; it had an executive committee of 13 persons, and its first chairman, the Rev. Benjamin Lloyd Edwards, was the minister of King Street Independent Chapel.[41] The 'Tory' King and Constitution Club is first mentioned in 1823.[42] After 1832 the Liberals and the Conservatives both maintained organisations for registering voters on the electoral roll, itself an innovation in English politics introduced by the Reform Act of 1832. The Conservative party's Oak Club flourished during the early 1840's, but did not become permanent; in 1843 its supporters were complaining bitterly that they received inadequate support from Conservative gentlemen in the county.[43] Of the two political parties in Northampton, the Liberals were the more self-reliant before 1850.

One of the effects of the Reform Act of 1832, which imposed a uniform franchise on borough electorates—householders rated at £10 or over—was gradually to reduce the number of persons in Northampton who were entitled to vote. 2,403 votes were polled at the election of 1831, but in 1852 there were only 1,815 names on the electoral roll, although the town had almost doubled in size during the intervening period. Thus there was some justification for a 'Tory' warning to the working-class voters of Northampton in 1831: 'What! will you cut your own throats because Lord Althorp [M.P. for Northamptonshire, and a prominent supporter of the Reform Bill] offers to provide a razor gratis?'[44]

* * * * * * *

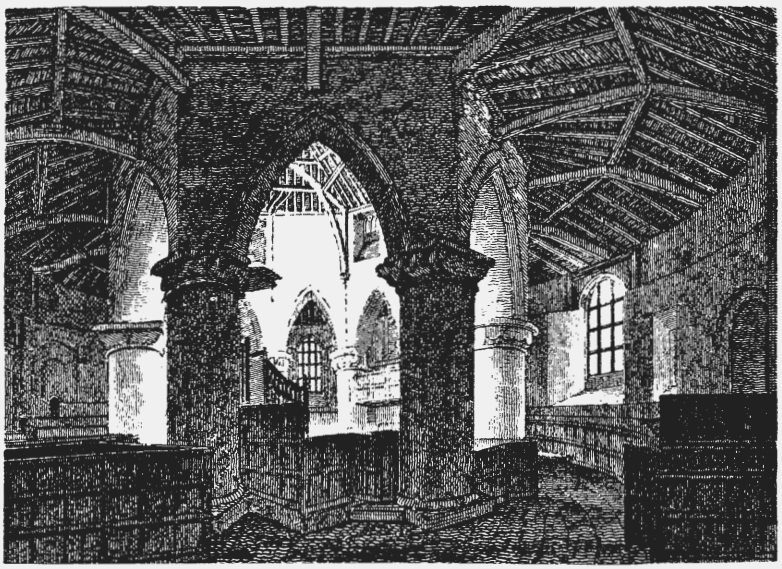
Early 19th Century Northampton was sharply divided between 'church' and 'chapel'. The nonconformists resented their inferior status in society—they were still subject to many of the restrictions imposed during the 17th Century—and lost no opportunity of assaulting the privileged position of the Church of England. Churchmen hit back vigorously at the nonconformists. Tempers sometimes ran high; in 1836, for example, Charles Freeman, a Conservative, who was the Mayor of Northampton for that year, was alleged to have declared in public that nonconformist chapels were 'as bad as bawdy houses'.[45]

The Church of England, which was represented in Northampton by four parishes, was not in a strong position to grapple with the religious problems of a growing town. The three principal parishes, All Saints', St. Giles', and St. Sepulchre's, were all poor livings, and several of the incumbents were absentees whose duties were performed by curates. The churches themselves were becoming increasingly unsuited for the purpose of public worship. Many of the pews were of the 'box' variety, and some of them had been appropriated by private persons, and were

[38] *e.g.* 1826/23, 18 and 22/1831 (N. P. L.).
[39] For descriptions of Chartist meetings at Northampton see *N. M.*, 4 Aug. 1838, 30 Mar. 1839, 1 Apr. 1848.
[40] *Northampton Herald*, 22 Oct. 1864.
[41] Whig Club papers (N. P. L.).
[42] *N. M.*, 20 Dec. 1823.
[43] Oak Club papers (N. P. L.).
[44] 1/1831 (dated 12 Mar. 1831) (N. P. L.).
[45] *Northampton Chronicle*, 6, 20 and 27 Aug. 1836.

disposed of according to the will of the owner.[46] Accommodation at All Saints', which was the largest parish, was in short supply, and in 1835 it was stated that 'a great many persons' were attending nonconformist chapels because there was no room for them at that church.[47] St. Sepulchre's was cold and draughty, and the pews 'wretchedly arranged'.[48] The cost of maintaining the churches was met by a rate levied on the parish. This rate had to be approved by a meeting of the parochial vestry, and at All Saints' and St. Sepulchre's, parishes in which many nonconformists resided, approval was usually withheld after 1835.[49]

In 1815 there were six places of nonconformist worship in Northampton, two Independent (Congregationalist), one Baptist, one Wesleyan Methodist, one Society of Friends and one 'Antinominian'.[50] During the next thirty years at least eight new congregations were formed, some of them taking over the premises of congregations which had moved to larger chapels. The ministers were, of course, resident in the town, and several of them, in particular the Rev. Benjamin Lloyd



(*Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet*)

INTERIOR OF ST. SEPULCHRE'S CHURCH, *circa* 1820

Only the rotunda, which was filled with box pews of various shapes and sizes, was in use during this period.

Edwards, the Rev. Noah Jones of King Street Unitarian Chapel, and the Rev. John Bennett of Castle Hill Independent Chapel, played a prominent part in the public life of Northampton. Nonconformist chapels were financed largely by pew rents, a more reliable source of income than a church rate which depended on the approval of a hostile vestry, although very poor persons were probably discouraged from joining the congregation if they had to pay for their seats.

[46] *e.g.* Printed advertisement for the sale of property, etc., in Northamptonshire (Wilcocks v. Butcher), including two pews in All Saints' Church and one pew in St. Sepulchre's Church, 9 Oct. 1847 (N. P. L.).

[47] *N. M.*, 6 June 1835.

[48] *N. M.*, 4 Aug. 1838.

[49] *e.g. N. M.*, 23 and 30 May 1835 (All Saints').

[50] *The history of Northampton and its vicinity; brought down to the present time* (Northampton, 1815), 34-7.

Sunday schools were well-established in the nonconformist chapels and in the parish churches. In 1838 it was estimated that there were 2,547 Sunday scholars in Northampton, of whom 1,355 were in nine nonconformist, and 1,192 in four Church of England schools.[51]

A turning point in the fortunes of the Church of England in Northampton occurred when, at the age of 29, the Rev. William Wales was appointed Vicar of All Saints' in 1833. Wales was an enthusiast for religious education, and during his connection with All Saints', which lasted until 1859, attendance at the Sunday school increased from 300 to 1,030.[52] He was also instrumental in promoting the Northampton branch of the Religious and Useful Knowledge Society, and in 1839 he established the All Saints' day school in Horseshoe Street. This was the first parochial day school in Northampton, although British (nonconformist) and National (Church of England) day schools had been functioning in the town for over 20 years. All Saints' day school was aided by annual government grants, and so also were St. Katherine's and St. Sepulchre's day schools which were opened in 1844 and 1845 respectively.

Wales took a prominent part in the movement for church extension in Northampton. Largely through his efforts, St. Katherine's Church, the parish for which was taken from All Saints', was consecrated in 1839. St. Andrew's followed in 1842; this church was intended to serve a newly-built and solidly working-class district, although the vicar had to depend on pew rents for the greater part of his income.[53] St. Edmund's, which was built under the provisions of the New Parishes Act of 1843, and consecrated in 1852, was better endowed than St. Andrew's, and two-thirds of its sittings were free.[54] Between 1853 and 1855 the medieval body of St. Giles's Church was almost doubled in size, thereby increasing accommodation for the inhabitants of that parish.

The religious census of 1851 (the only official census of its kind ever made) revealed that on Sunday, 30 March 1851, taking all denominations together, there were 7,381 attendances in Northampton at morning service, and 9,515 at afternoon and evening services.[55] These figures include children who were attending Sunday school. The number of seats in all the churches and chapels amounted to 14,268, sufficient to accommodate 54% of the population (26,700 persons). Church of England attendances were 2,987 in the morning and 3,544 in the afternoon and evening, Independent 1,518 and 987, Baptist 1,545 and 2,170, and Wesleyan Methodist 796 and 1,624. Allowing for an unknown but undoubtedly substantial number of persons who went to more than one service, it is probable that rather less than half the inhabitants of Northampton attended a place of worship on the Sunday in question.

* * * * * * *

Municipal affairs in Northampton between 1815 and 1851 were under the control of two bodies, the Corporation and the board of Improvement Commissioners. Both were reconstituted during this period, the former in 1835 and the latter in 1843.

The Corporation before 1836 had a nominal membership of about 90 persons, but for practical purposes it was controlled by about 20 aldermen, all of whom had previously held the office of mayor.[56] Chosen by co-option and required by law (up to 1828) to be communicants of the Church of England, the members of the Corporation were almost entirely Conservative in political outlook. Their principal duties were the administration of justice and the control of the

[51] *Souvenir of the Centenary of the College Street Sunday School, Northampton, 1810-1910* (Northampton, n.d.), 19.

[52] *Northampton Daily Chronicle*, 24 Aug. 1889.

[53] *N. M.*, 10 Sept. 1853. The endowment of St. Andrew's was £32 annually, and during the previous ten years the average income of the incumbent had been £80 !

Pew rents were the financial mainstay of most churches built during the earlier years of the 19th Century, much to the despair of many ecclesiastical reformers (Inglis, K. S., *Churches and the Working Class in Victorian England*, 1963, 48-57).

[54] *N. M.*, 8 Apr. 1848, 7 Aug. 1852.

[55] *P. P.*, 1852-53, LXXXIX, cclxv. See also *Northtonshire Guardian*, 12 and 19 Nov. 1881.

[56] *P. P.*, 1835, XXV, 557-76, from which most of the information about the Corporation of Northampton before 1835 has been taken.

municipal charities. These charities, which included schools, almshouses, apprenticeship premiums for boys, loans to young men, and pensions for old men and women, were worth £3,000 annually, and were of great importance in the social life of the town. The Corporation employed a number of officials, among them a town clerk, a mace-bearer, four serjeants at mace, a gaoler, a hall keeper, and a high constable and about 20 ordinary constables, but few of them, not even the town clerk or the constables, served on a full-time basis.

Apart from the perversion of the charities for political purposes, and an anti-Liberal bias in several court cases which involved political opponents, the Corporation managed its affairs with reasonable efficiency. It was dissolved under the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, and a council of six aldermen and 18 elected councillors, in which the Liberals soon took the lead, was set up in its place.

The Corporation after 1835 was mainly concerned with the administration of justice. (The charities had been placed in the care of trustees.) For the first dozen years of its existence it struggled with the management of the Northampton police force.[57] Endeavouring to run the force as cheaply as possible, it employed men of worthless character as constables, and it also maintained the old-fashioned principle of separate day and night police. By 1848 the system had plainly broken down, and the force was re-organised on more rational lines. The distinction hitherto drawn between day and night police was abolished, employment was placed on a full-time basis, and the regulations for the management of the force were printed in booklet form. The reform of the police in 1848 was largely the work of Alderman Edward Harrison Barwell, an ironfounder.

The board of Improvement Commissioners had been formed in 1778. It was responsible for the paving, lighting and scavenging of Northampton, and also (up to 1836) for the provision of a night police-force. Like the members of the Corporation, the Commissioners were recruited by co-option, but, unlike the Corporation, membership was not subject to a religious test, and many of the active members were nonconformists.[58] The Commissioners levied an improvement rate on the town, and their duties, with the exception of maintaining the night police, were usually performed under contract by local tradesmen.

In 1843 the board was reconstituted according to the provisions of the Northampton Improvement Act of that year, a statute which contained 273 sections and which was strongly influenced by the contemporary movement for sanitary reform. The Commissioners were henceforth to be elective, and the board was authorised to borrow £20,000 in addition to levying the improvement rate. It was also empowered to regulate nuisances from offensive trades, provide a fire brigade, erect public urinals, control the width of new streets, and inspect new houses. Most important of all, the board was given the authority to build a sewerage system, and to compel the owners or occupiers of all houses in the borough to form a connection with the public sewers.

The work of the reconstituted board of Improvement Commissioners lies, for the most part, beyond 1851; sufficient to say here that its members did not perform their tasks with noteworthy efficiency. The £20,000 was soon borrowed and spent, partly to relieve the ratepayers from the ordinary burden of the improvement rate.[59] The sewerage system, which at first drained directly into the River Nene, worked badly; in 1851 it was stated that lime was being spread round a house in Albion Place to dissipate the 'effluvia' emanating from the entrance to the main sewer in nearby Cow Meadow.[60] The steady growth of Northampton's population, and the increasing number of houses fitted with piped water and a water closet, placed an intolerable strain on the filtration plant which was built in Barnes Meadow during the mid-1850's. By the early 1870's different means of sewage disposal had become a necessity for Northampton, and

[57] Corporation of Northampton, *Minutes of the Watch Committee, 1836-59* (Northampton Guildhall).
[58] Northampton Improvement Commissioners, *Minutes* (Northampton Guildhall).
[59] Northampton Improvement Commissioners, *Report of the Finance Committee*, [1861] (N. P. L.).
[60] *N. M.*, 5 Oct. 1851.

land for a sewage farm was acquired at Ecton. The board of Improvement Commissioners was merged with the Corporation in 1875.

Northampton was described in 1831 as 'tolerably exempt on the whole from the charge of filth', although the river-level slum courtyards which flanked the lower portion of Bridge Street were said to be 'fronted by putrid vegetables and dirt which first invite disease, and then ensure its propagation'.[61] Four persons in All Saints' parish, which included Bridge Street, died of cholera in 1832.[62] When this disease returned to Northampton in 1849 it claimed 43 victims from the Bridge Street slums, 39 of whom had been living in one block of 103 continuous houses which occupied a space 150 yards long by 50 yards wide.[63]

* * * * * * *

Several technical inventions were introduced in Northampton between 1815 and 1851. Piped gas became available in the 1820's, and piped water during the next decade—although 'yellow filaments' were reported in 1850 as coming out of the taps.[64] The railway has already been mentioned; alongside its track ran telegraph wires.[65] A photographic studio was established in Abington Street in 1844.[66] Ether was being used for operations at the General Infirmary in 1847.[67]

Between 1815 and 1851 much change occurred in the town, and many of the familiar objects and institutions of today came into being. The Northampton of 1815 would seem a strange and probably an alien place to a visitor from the Northampton of 1965. He would feel very much more at home in the Northampton of 1851—especially if he had arrived by way of the London Road, and been held up at Bridge Street level crossing!

VICTOR A. HATLEY.

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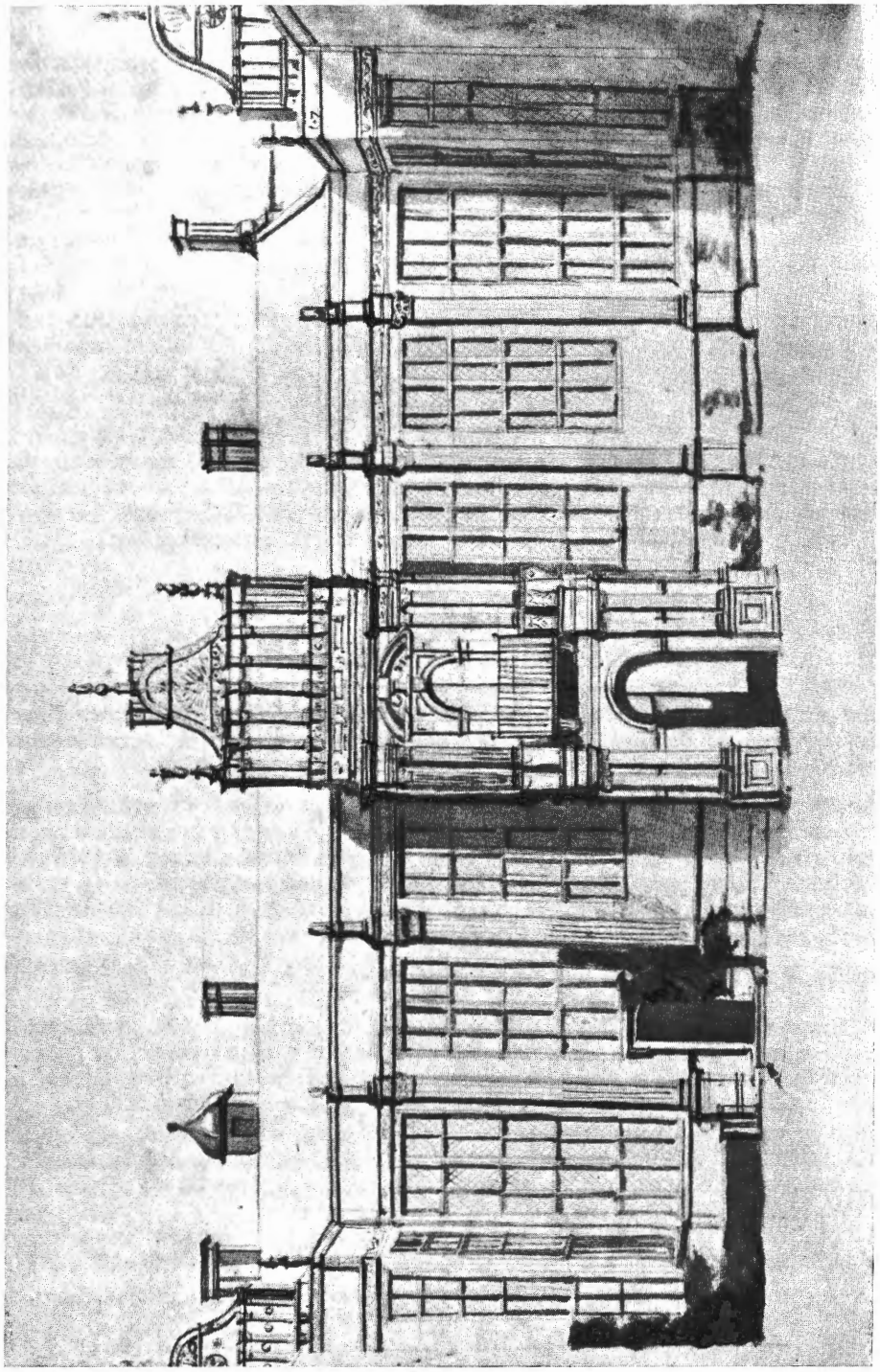
I am grateful to the Clerk of the Records, Parliament Office, House of Lords; the Town Clerk of Northampton; and the Borough Librarian of Northampton, for permission to consult material in their charge.

The illustration on page 245 *represents the centre portion of the map of Northampton engraved by W. W. Law in* 1847. *Extra-parochial land is marked XP. Points of interest include the railway station and its sidings and yards, the borough gaol on Upper Mounts (erected in* 1845), *the two reservoirs belonging to the water company (immediately to the south-east of the gaol), the recently constructed working-class district round St. Andrew's Church (north of the Mayorhold), and the slums at the lower end of Bridge Street.*

The line of the town walls followed St. George's Street, Upper and Lower Mounts, York Road (marked Victoria Terrace on the map), Cheyne Walk and Victoria Promenade (both unmarked; the latter, which was still unmade in 1847, *lies immediately to the north of Cow Meadow), and Weston Street. The boundaries of the four ancient parishes of Northampton are marked on the map (All Saints', St. Giles', St. Sepulchre's and St. Peter's), and also the boundaries of the three wards into which the borough had been divided in* 1835 (*West Ward, East Ward and South Ward*).

[61] *Northampton Herald*, 19 Nov. 1831.
[62] All Saints' Parish, *Mortality Bill, 1831-32* (N. P. L.). But see also *N. M.*, 21 and 28 July 1832.
[63] *N. M.*, 3 Nov. 1849.
[64] *N. M.*, 11 May 1850.
[65] Sir Francis Head, *Stokers and Pokers*, 5th ed. (1851), 126-7.
[66] *N. M.*, 27 Jan. 1844.
[67] *Northampton Herald*, 23 Jan. 1847.



KIRBY HALL, *circa* 1720

Charles Hatton: A Younger Son

One sure claimant for inclusion in any Northamptonshire dictionary of biography would be the Honourable Charles Hatton. Indeed, his omission from the National Dictionary is perhaps strange. His contemporaries certainly rated him high as a botanist and horticulturalist and a roll-call of his friends—Sir Hans Sloane, Sir William Scroggs, Dr. Robert Morison, Winde, Pepys and Evelyn, to name but a few—attests to his many-sided tastes and talents. Yet Hatton has remained generally neglected.[1] This is all the more extraordinary in that materials for an account of his colourful life exist in abundance. Apart from frequent references in the Hatton estate documents at Delapre Abbey there are well over a thousand of his own letters in the Finch Hatton Collection at the British Museum. This material is particularly valuable in that it sheds light on the position of the seventeenth century younger son—all too often a fleeting figure whose only record is a bare reference in some legal Deed. Not so Charles Hatton.

He was born on 11 November 1635, the son of Sir Christopher Hatton of Kirby by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Charles Montagu of Cranbrook in Essex (brother of the first Lord Montagu of Boughton and of the first Earl of Manchester). There were five surviving children of the marriage—two boys, Charles himself and his elder brother Christopher, and three girls, Alice, Mary and Jane. Sadly little has survived as to the early life of these children but it was in all probability spent at Kirby, the family seat, where their father, an enthusiastic patron of arts and learning, held a hospitable court. But Sir Christopher while discerning in taste was financially feckless and by 1642 he was in debt to the tune of £18,600.[2] In the same year the Civil War broke out and Hatton, true to the loyal traditions of his house, was among the earliest to join his sovereign. In the following year he was made Privy Councillor, Comptroller of the Household and created Baron Hatton of Kirby. But neither his new offices nor his title improved his finances and on his retirement to France at the War's unfavourable conclusion Lady Hatton was left to cope with an ugly situation indeed. Lands were sold and estates mortgaged but even so the harassed lady was hard put to secure the bare necessities for her children. Returning to Kirby in April 1655 she wrote to her husband that she "found all ye poore Cheildren well though stark naked: Charles with onely halfe a shirt". Yet her younger son received an education of sorts, attending the local school at Bulwick for two and a half years.[3] By July 1656, however, young Charles had been dispatched to join his father and elder brother in Paris and there he was to remain until 1660.[4]

With Charles Stuart restored to his father's throne the Hattons confidently predicted a radical improvement in the family fortunes. But Lord Hatton proved as improvident in his old age as he had been in his youth and it was not until 1662 that his personal service and sacrifice were rewarded with the Government of Guernsey. This office was certainly no sinecure and amongst the new Governor's more arduous duties was the guarding of General Lambert, since October 1661 a prisoner on the island. At first the Hattons got on with Lambert well enough—they shared his enthusiasm for gardening and obtained rare irises and tulips for him from the Continent—while Lambert himself praised Lord Hatton's "candid and friendly deportment".[5] But Hatton had been soured by the long years of exile and financial stress and after the Restoration

[1] The one exception is Mr. Miles Hadfield's "Gardening in Britain" (London 1960) which gives a sympathetic account of Charles Hatton though necessarily a brief one. (pp. 134-8).

[2] N.R.O. F.H. 4106. Catalogue of Debts of Sir Chris. Hatton, K.B. 1642.

[3] N.R.O. F.H. 2393. Wm. Hicks to Lady Hatton. 27 April 1655.

[4] N.R.O. F.H. 2504. Note of Books sent to Mr. Charles at Paris. July 1656 ; N.R.O. F.H. 3440. Catalogue of Trees sent by Charles Hatton from Paris. 1660.

[5] D. N. B. Lambert.

he became increasingly morose and choleric. He made a sad botch of his Guernsey government and in February 1665 he was recalled for his maladministration. Doubly embittered, he now embarked on a life of idle dissipation in the capital while his family lived in actual want at Kirby.[6] But he continued to trouble them all and in the summer of 1665 abruptly ordered his younger son out of the house for some minor offence. All Charles' long pent-up grievances erupted and from his exile he addressed a remarkably stiff letter to his father: "As for my education, you never tooke care I should have any and as for my maintenance I have been many months, and have had never a shirt to weare, my Clothes soe ragged yt few beggars have had worse . . . I have scarce ever received a penny from your Loppe to buy any thing though never soe necessary and have always found servants preferred before mee . . .". However, the storm eventually blew over. By 1667 Charles was back at Kirby and he accompanied his father to Guernsey, Lord Hatton having in the meantime been restored to his Government.

But he was soon to fall out with his father again and this time on no trivial score. General Lambert had remained the Governor's prisoner but his captivity had been relaxed and his family allowed to join him. Impolitic as ever, Charles fell in love with one of his numerous daughters, Mary, and sometime before 12 February 1668 he clandestinely married her. When the news leaked out Lord Hatton's fury knew no bounds and he protested to the King that "no sooner did your Petitioner know of that match was a yeare or more after the pretended marriage, but he turned his sonn out of doores, and hath never since given him a penny".[7] But young Charles Hatton was not quite penniless for Charles II, with typical generosity, had restored to the Lamberts some of their confiscated estates and it was on Mary Lambert's modest portion that the Charles Hattons struggled along for some years to come.[8] And there were children to be provided for. All of them, however, appear to have died in infancy save for one son, another Charles.

The old Lord Hatton died in July 1670, apparently unreconciled with his younger son. He was succeeded in his title, estates and as Governor of Guernsey by Christopher Hatton, Charles' elder brother—a fine man with no trace of their father's instability. Conscientious and diligent, the new Lord Hatton at once set about the recovery of his shattered estates. Despite his daunting indebtedness he immediately set his brother and sisters "at ease" and took care of their mother, Lady Hatton, destitute as she was of any jointure or provision.[9] He was the better able to do this for in 1666 he had married Cicely Tufton, daughter of the second Earl of Thanet, and her portion of £5,000 probably saved the Hattons from total ruin.[10] Cicely Hatton and her Tufton relations became Charles Hatton's firm friends and he was always a welcome visitor at Thanet House. But, unhappily, his brother's first wife was to perish in December 1672 while staying with her husband at Castle Cornet, the Guernsey Governor's residence.The powder magazine exploded, probably the result of lightning, and the Castle keep was reduced to a heap of rubble. Lord Hatton lost his wife and mother but he himself and his three daughters were miraculously preserved. Charles was deeply moved by his brother's sad misfortune and more particularly since he too had recently suffered a severe loss. In the previous August his only son and last surviving child had died after a lingering illness.

Nevertheless, Charles Hatton's prospects materially improved with his brother's accession in 1670. Under the terms of a settlement made in 1664 he came into £1,000 on his father's death.[11] Further, his brother appointed him Official Receiver of the Guernsey Garrison—a small post but valuable in fees and perquisites. By 1671 Charles Hatton was comfortably ensconced in a little house in Pall Mall and was also the proud owner of a London garden. The Hattons were all enthusiastic gardeners and none more so than Charles. His new house also provided a home for one, sometimes two, of his sisters and their board of £25 a quarter helped relieve Hatton's frugal budget. But he was always to remain a poor man, only infrequently able to indulge his taste for

[6] North, R. "Lives of the Norths". ed. A. Jessopp. 3 vols. London. 1890. Vol. II. 294.

[7] Carey, E.F. "The Channel Islands". London. 1904. 196.

[8] D. N. B. Lambert.

[9] North. op. cit. Vol. II. 295.

[10] N.R.O. F.H. 2010. Articles of Agreement. 4 July 1666.

[11] N.R.O. F.H. 841. Indenture. 4 February 1664.

rare books and exotic plants, and the plentiful provisions sent up by his brother from Northamptonshire were more than welcome in the Pall Mall household.

The two brothers always lived on the most affectionate terms and only occasionally was their relationship marred by any misunderstanding. Charles could be difficult, imagining a slight where none existed and quick to react to even a suspicion of criticism. But he was soon pacified by the easier-going Lord Hatton. Indeed, their characters were complementary—Charles, volatile, hot, and impulsive: Lord Hatton, methodical, prudent, and equable. Charles could prove a liability to his brother but, to judge from their correspondence, their warm affection one for the other remained unruffled to the end.

Apart from the years of his childhood Charles Hatton lived in London. His brother, on the other hand, was either about his official duties at Guernsey or attending to the management of his Northamptonshire estates. He was seldom in Town and entrusted his affairs there to Richard Langhorne, the family lawyer, to Deane Monteage, his man of business, and to his brother Charles. Guernsey affairs were Charles Hatton's especial concern and in April 1673 he was busily visiting all the privy councillors, canvassing support for his brother in a suit brought against the Governor by the Guernsey Bailiff and to be heard in the King's Council. The cost of the repairs of Castle Cornet was a particularly thorny issue and Charles was much employed in extracting monies from a reluctant Treasury. The political and financial intrigues of the Guernsey families again consumed many hours while at home he had to keep a constant watch against encroachments upon Lord Hatton's right of appointment to the various island offices. Not all his duties were of such moment, however, and he executed many pleasant commissions for his brother—searching out choice plants and seeds for the famous Kirby gardens which Lord Hatton was engaged in restoring; discovering volumes, new and old, for his brother's superb library; and penning voluminous and scrawling letters with all the latest news and gossip. His correspondence reveals an active and a cheerful life.

Charles Hatton was jealous of the honour of his family—he once soundly cudgelled an impertinent ensign who had impugned its good name—and he was devoted absolutely to Lord Hatton's service. Although he was still the heir—his brother had had only daughters by his first marriage—Charles was most anxious that Lord Hatton should remarry. " . . . ther is nothing I am soe ambitious of as to see our family flourish again", he wrote him in 1673; "and to that effect I trust God hath soe Miraculously preserved yr Loppe and that severall Branches will spring forth from yr Loyns which will give sappe and verdure to ye antient though decayed stock of our family". He concluded with a caution. "Though my Ld ther is nothing I soe much desire as to see you marryed yet God forbid it shou'd ever be to a Roman - Catholicke". Charles was never to waver in his allegiance to the Church of England. In the event, Lord Hatton did not remarry until 1675, when he chose as his second wife the daughter of Sir Henry Yelverton, Bart., of Easton Mauduit. Sadly, this union proved even less productive than the first. All five children of the marriage died in infancy.[12]

Charles' relations with his brother's new wife were not entirely happy. The second Lady Hatton was a difficult, indeed an impossible woman, and her brother-in-law had little patience with her. Only once was there open quarrel between them—in 1678 when Lord Hatton was about his Guernsey duties (and Lord Hatton spent much time on the island during the years of his second marriage). Charles, in a misguided attempt to minimise his sister-in-law's influence on family business, tampered with her correspondence. Lady Hatton's hysterical reaction provoked a major crisis, much to the delight of the Town. They eventually patched up their differences but occasional references in Charles' letters tell clearly enough his mean estimate of his sister-in-law.[13]

Some years earlier Charles had lost his wife—she is last mentioned in July 1673—but he found his consolation in business and in an increasing social round. High on his list of cronies

[12] Memorial Plaque in Gretton Church and Finch Hatton Correspondence passim.

[13] N.R.O. F.H. 1469, 1473, 1474. Lady Hatton to Ld. Hatton. 19 August, 22 November, 10 December 1678.

was Sir William Scroggs, Lord Chief Justice of England from 1678 to 1681. This jovial villain had long been a friend of the Hatton family and Charles was often at South Weald Hall, Sir William's Essex seat. He was a great favourite there and especially with the Judge's widowed daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Gilby. So much so that rumours spread and Charles protested to his brother that he could not even enter a house where there was a young unmarried woman "but it was reported I went a woing". He went on, "I must needs say I thinke her a very good woman but she hath one damnable fault and an unpardonable one; noe portion except 3 boyes which yr Loppe wants, and I desire not to meddle with ye mother except yr Loppe will take ye boyes".

In 1679, during Scroggs' Chief Justiceship, the Popish Plot broke and amongst those implicated by Oates was the Hattons' lawyer and friend, Richard Langhorne. He was tried for High Treason at the Old Bailey, Scroggs presiding, and on 14 June condemned to death. Charles was much with the old lawyer in his last days, encouraging and comforting him. On 14 July he bravely made his end. Yet the Hattons and Scroggs remained on intimate terms despite Sir William's questionable part in these events and in October Lord Hatton sent him a gift of venison. In the following February Charles accompanied Scroggs down to Weald Hall "to advise about making a flower Garden". Eight days later he wrote; "My Ld Cheife Justice is setting up for a most monstrous virtuoso in plants and it is almost possible he may in time learne to distinguish betwixte a docke and a nettle before he is stung with ye nettle . . .". In April 1681 Scroggs was removed because of his great unpopularity (the blow was softened by a royal pension of £1,500) and he retired to his Essex estate. Two years later he was dead.[14]

Meanwhile, the Hattons continued to prosper. The family had always been counted amongst the Stuarts' most devoted adherents and they loyally supported Charles II in his struggle with Shaftesbury and the Exclusionists—"Phanaticks and malecontents" as Charles Hatton described them. The King therefore looked kindly on them and readily acceded to Lord Hatton's request that he grant his brother the captaincy of the Guernsey Garrison Company. Charles Hatton kissed hands on his appointment on 28 December 1680. Three years later Lord Hatton was made a Viscount.

Captain Hatton's duties do not appear to have been unduly onerous while his post brought a welcome increase in income. But Lord Hatton had more in mind for his brother and by April 1684 Charles was at Guernsey fulfilling the functions of Lieutenant Governor of the island. It was not until September that his official title arrived but already he was longing for his discharge. "I am as weary of Government as others are of me", he wrote despairingly. The islanders, indeed, were always truculent and Charles was beset with difficulties. The chief families were as usual at loggerheads amongst themselves and the Garrison officers were impertinent. There had been some squabble over game on one of the neighbouring islands and—the final straw—it was being put about that the Lieutenant Governor had got one of the soldiers' wenches with child. As was his wont Charles found relief from his cares in the Governor's garden. "I defy any Garden to show more variety of flowers then this doth now. Ther is scarce a plant but is three times more vigorous then in any other Garden in ye Island. At midsummer I sowed in plaine ground Amaranthus Tricolor and others which are very beautifull and prodigiously shot forth; but all will come to nought if you send not some Laborious sober country fellow who hath some small knowledge of a Garden".

Charles greeted the accession of James II with delight. His own commission was renewed on 24 February 1685 and a day or two later he sailed over to Alderney to proclaim the new King. He was astonished by the alcoholic capacity of these islanders and suggested that were James contemplating an embassy to Russia he should look to Alderney for his ambassador. "I am very confident he might there find severall men any one of whom wou'd in Brandy fuddle both ye Czars".[15] This appeared an auspicious year generally for the Hattons. The second Lady Hatton had died in 1684 and in August 1685 Lord Hatton took a new bride—Elizabeth Haslewood, daughter of Sir William Haslewood of Maidwell in Northamptonshire. Not only was she a rich

[14] D.N.B. Scroggs.

[15] B.M. Add MSS. 41,763. ff. 1 - 2. C. Hatton to Ld Hatton. 27 February 1685.

heiress but she was also to bear Hatton his long awaited son. Charles was delighted with his brother's latest match.

But in September a wholly unexpected blow fell. Charles was abruptly relieved of the Lieutenant Governorship and he and his company summoned home. While the reason for his displacement is nowhere stated it is clear that Charles Hatton's sturdy Anglicanism was impeding his Roman Catholic sovereign's intention of converting the islanders. Thus did James II treat his most devoted subjects and thus would he lose his throne only a few years later. Unlike many others, Charles Hatton was to remain loyal to James but he viewed his Catholicising programme for Guernsey with foreboding. He warned his brother of the probable consequences. "If yr Loppe cannot shortly goe over, except you can soe order it yt yr Commandant in cheif be a Protestant, I am afraid you will hear of great disorders ther". And so it was to prove.

On his return to England Charles found to his intense chagrin that his company had been amalgamated into Lord Huntingdon's regiment. But he continued to serve with it and for the next two years was engaged in garrison duties, mainly in the north. In 1686, however, he found time to marry Elizabeth Gilby, despite the insuperable obstacle of her three sons.[16]

The Hattons were to see little of each other in the first two years of their marriage—Mrs. Hatton remained in the house in Pall Mall while her husband was stationed far from the capital. But in the summer of 1688, with invasion from Holland threatening, the regiment was called south. Charles managed a short stay at Kirby on the march and after leaving called on Sir William Fermor to view the Easton Neston gardens. October found him in London but "ye wind being now easterly and ye Dutch fleet daily expected I am hastening out of town and shall get forward for Plymouth next friday". He continued, "I trust ye nation in Generall will behave themselves with that Loyalty to their Prince and regard to their Country yt ye Dutch in 1688 will succeed noe better then ye Spaniards did in 1588 . . .". For himself there was but one course. ". . . as to my own Particular I shall endeavour to act according to those Principles of Loyalty in which I have been educated and which I am obliged both by my Religion and allegiance . . .". And, indeed, when the Prince of Orange did land in November Hatton was one of the very few officers of his regiment who refused to go over to him.[17] His loyalty was unshakable. In the following year he would not take the oaths to the new sovereigns and so lost his commission. His brother and most of their relations, on the other hand, reluctantly accepted the Revolution.

But while Charles uttered no reproach he remained steadfast in his opposition to the new order. Never a discreet man he now began to keep the company of the disaffected. More foolhardy still, he wrote a pamphlet which, according to Thomas Hearne, attacked the Revolution Settlement and the new oaths.[18] For this he was, in June 1690, haled before the Council who after examining him clapped him in the Tower.[19] His wife was distraught. Apart from her anxiety for her husband's health and safety, the tradesmen were rudely pressing for payment, even if owed only sixpence. And then to complete the women's misery, her sister-in-law, Jane Hatton, chose this awkward moment to provoke a family crisis. Jane was both neurotic and spiteful. She had lived with her brother for some years and with her moods had contrived to make life singularly unpleasant—slamming the door in Mrs. Hatton's face, refusing to come to the table, spreading offensive tittle-tattle amongst the neighbours. Now her sister-in-law could bear it no longer and told her to go. Jane attempted to cause what trouble she could but got scant sympathy for her pains. On the contrary, everyone was most kind to Mrs. Hatton and Lord Hatton did all in his power to aid his brother and his wife. Charles' stay in the Tower was brief and by 28 February 1691 he had gained his release.

He had learnt his lesson and never again meddled in high politics. Rather, he now immersed himself in the cares of his family and in the pleasant society of learned friends. The last years of his life were probably his most contented despite almost constant ill health. The Charles Hattons

[16] H.M.C. Rawdon Hastings. Vol. II. 185.
[17] Ibid. 199.
[18] Hearne, T. "Remarks and Collections". ed. C. E. Doble. Oxon. 1885. Vol. I. 28.
[19] B.M. Add MSS. 29,596. ff. 162-3. Lady Nottingham to Ld. Hatton. 25 June (1690).

continued to live in London but in 1693 they were forced to leave Pall Mall. Their lease had expired and the house was scheduled for demolition. For their new home they fixed on a house in Stratton Street near Berkeley Square and by October they had settled in. "We are in a house from whence we have soe great a prospect into ye country yt out of our Parlour window whilst I am now writing we can plainly and distinctly see ye hounds as they are hunting in ye adjacent fields and heare ye sound of ye Horns and cry of ye Doggs". In these agreeable surroundings Hatton could receive his numerous acquaintance.

But he could offer them little entertainment for things were very tight. As a non-juror Charles Hatton was ineligible for even half-pay and his family had perforce to subsist on his meagre inheritance—some fee farm rents in Leicestershire left him by an uncle and a few small properties in Hatton Garden. Only the bare essentials could be afforded and even these often ran short. In February 1693 he told his brother that he had not entered a tavern for full five months; "not sobriety but necessity hath occasioned it, and therfore I doe not pretend yt my abstemiousness is a vertue". Lord Hatton, aware of his brother's plight, redoubled the supplies of game and produce from Kirby.

Yet life was pleasant enough. Charles took a lively interest in the education of his nephews and nieces—Lord Hatton had two sons and three daughters by his third marriage—and their uncle was always looking around for suitable tutors or sending down editions of the classics. He took much pleasure too in the company of his step-sons, now grown to manhood, and in 1699 managed to get young Thomas Gilby elected into an All Souls fellowship. He had many friends at the University of Oxford, including Dean Aldrich of Christ Church and Dr. Leopold Finch, Warden of All Souls.

Another Oxford friend was Dr. Robert Morison who dedicated his "Plantarum Historica Oxoniensis" (1680) to Charles Hatton. It was to this eminent botanist that Hatton sent a specimen of the Guernsey lily which, it seems probable, he was the first to discover.[20] Botanical studies were flourishing in late seventeenth century England. Hatton, whose own knowledge of the subject was extensive, held a prominent place in the van of the movement, encouraging and advising professional and amateur alike. Dedicating the "Historia Plantarum" to him in 1686, John Ray maintained that the work would never have been written but for Hatton's constant prompting.[21] Hatton himself was a curious man, fond of experiment, and Morton describes his successful attempt to grow misseltoe from seed "in the Bark of a Young Black Poplar somewhere nigh Kirby . . . He caus'd the like Tryals to be made on several other Trees, but none of them succeeded so well as that on the Poplar".[22]

The years after the Restoration also saw a revival of interest in gardening and the Revolution of 1688-9 acted as a considerable fillip for the closer association with Holland led to the introduction of many new plants with the secrets of their cultivation.[23] Hatton's own enthusiasm did not abate in his old age. He was always excited by anything novel and the new plants and seeds pouring in from the Low Countries, from the West Indies and North America fired his imagination. But he remained an affectionate expert on the more traditional trees and flowers and specimens of both old and new were forever being sent down to Kirby. Charles' letters to his brother abound with detailed instructions as to their planting and anxious enquiries after their subsequent health. ". . . ye Mulberry Trees will never thrive with you unless you make holes as deepe as you did for ye Horse Chesnutts and fill them with light mole (*sic*), for a Mulberry tree loves a light loomy ground [and] will never flourish in a stony or clayish ground". Charles enjoyed a considerable reputation as a horticulturalist and many of his friends were numbered among the leading gardeners of the day—Henry Compton, Bishop of London; Lord Peterborough, Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire; George London, Superintendant of the Royal Gardens under William and Mary and Anne. These men would all call on Hatton and he on them. Other frequent visitors to Stratton Street were Sir Hans Sloane, the learned antiquarian and Hatton's own physician,

[20] Hadfield. op. cit. 136.
[21] Raven, C. E. "John Ray : Naturalist". Cambridge. 1942. 217.
[22] Morton, J. "The Natural History of Northamptonshire". London. 1712. 369.
[23] Hadfield. op. cit. 150, 151.

Captain Winde the architect, and the two diarists, Pepys and Evelyn. Hatton himself was often abroad, admiring Greek medals with Lord Weymouth, discussing books with the Earl of Pembroke or debating fine points of theology with his fellow non-juror, Henry Dodwell.[24] His enthusiasm, his knowledge and, above all, his engaging personality won him many friends.

Thus Charles Hatton's last years passed away in tranquil contentment. The exact date of his death remains uncertain. His last letter is dated January 1708, and given his advanced age and declining health he cannot have lived long beyond this.[25] Of his own immediate family, Lord Hatton predeceased him in 1706 while Mrs. Hatton was to live on until 1724.[26]

H. D. TURNER.

NOTE

As so much of the material presented here is drawn from innumerable letters it would clearly make the paper impossibly cumbersome if every document were to be acknowledged. Reluctantly therefore, the Hatton family correspondence (B.M. Add MSS. 29,571 - 6.), where most of Charles Hatton's letters are to be found, has been ignored in the footnotes. All other sources, both primary and secondary, are referred to. The original orthography and punctuation of the manuscripts have been retained except when this hinders an understanding of the text.

List of MS. sources:
B.M. Add MSS. (Finch Hatton) 29,549-95.
B.M. Sloane 4036, 4038, 4039, 4041, 4059, 4063.
B.M. Add MSS. 15,949.
B.M. Add MSS. 41,763.
N.R.O. Finch Hatton MSS.
Henry Huntington Library, H.A. 6219-25.

SKETCH PEDIGREE

First Baron Hatton *m.* Elizabeth Montagu

Christopher, Viscount Hatton	*m.* Cicely Tufton (1). Frances Yelverton (2). Elizabeth Haslewood (3).	Alice	Mary	Jane	Charles *m.* Mary Lambert (1). Elizabeth Gilby (2).

[24] Dodwell's "Discourse on the Soul" (London 1706) was dedicated to Hatton.

[25] B. M. Sloane 4041. f.98. C. Hatton to Dr. J. Keill. 28 January 1708.

[26] D. N. B. Scroggs.

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NORTHAMPTON

Pepys' American Dinner Party

PART ONE

In this article the author examines the careers of three of Samuel Pepys' dinner companions on a night in October 1660. *All three men had Northamptonshire connections and also through family links or visits were associated with Virginia in America.*

The author wishes to thank particularly Miss Margaret Toynbee for her continued interest and help; also the Director of the Virginia Historical Society; the Somerset Herald at the College of Arms; the Records officer at Shire Hall, Gloucester; Mr. Henry Hallam of the Bodleian Library; the Rev. C. M. Cockin, Vicar of Oundle; Mr. Patrick King; Mr. Bruce Bailey; the Rev. W. A. Bevis, Rector of Toddington; the Archivist of the Vintners Company; the Clerk of the Merchant Taylors Company; the Rev. A. D. Morris, Vicar of Bexley, Kent; Mrs. Norwood Callam; Mrs. Varley of the Lincolnshire Archives Committee; Lady Thornton; Miss Godber of the County Record Office, Bedford; Miss Elizabeth Ralph of the Bristol Archives Office; the Rev. John White, Rector of Leckhampton; and the Rev. O. W. Weare, Vicar of Gretton.

I also would like to thank Miss Bessie Conkwright for making available her notes (unpublished) on the Northamptonshire ancestors of Thomas Jefferson.

This first article carries the story to the death of William Isham; in the continuation, which will appear next year, the career of his son Henry in Virginia will be traced, and details given of the career of Henry Norwood. The discovery of Henry Isham of Virginia's Northamptonshire ancestry was due to the late Rev. H. I. Longden ("Some Notes on Sir Euseby Isham of Pytchley, with special reference to his Virginian descendants", London, 1899).

On October 12th, 1660, Samuel Pepys recorded in his *Diary* "Office day all the morning, and from thence with Sir W. Batten and the rest of the officers to a venison pasty of his at the Dolphin, where dined withal Col. Washington, Sir Edward Brett, and Major Norwood, very noble company". Pepys was dining, although no members of the dinner party could have guessed it, with two Royalist officers whose families were closely connected with the two principal founders of the American Republic—George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

Henry Washington was the eldest son of Sir William Washington and his wife, Anne Villiers. Sir William Washington was the third son of Laurence Washington of Sulgrave (died 1616), the direct ancestor of George Washington. Henry was baptized on March 21st, 1614/15 (five months after his parents' marriage),[1] at Ashby-de-la-Zouche. Henry's father purchased the manor of Wyke, Isleworth, Middx., in 1638, and his Will was proved as of Isleworth in 1648/9.[2] Two of Sir William Washington's brothers were Sir John Washington of Thrapston (died 1668), whose arms appear on a stone in the church there (perhaps part of a vanished monument), and Laurence, Rector of Purleigh, Essex, who married Amphilis Twigden; he was the father of the two emigrants to Virginia, John and Laurence.[3]

Henry Washington was a professional soldier. He was a Captain in the I regiment of Foot in 1640, and, on the outbreak of the Civil War, served as Lieutenant-Colonel in Colonel James

[1] *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, Vol. III, No. 5, 1964, pp. 231-2.

[2] P.C.C. 29 Fairfax. This account is based on a note in *The Papers of Captain Henry Stevens*, transcribed and edited by Margaret Toynbee, Oxfordshire Record Society, 1961, except where otherwise stated.

[3] Rev. H. I. Longden, *The History of the Washington Family*, 1927.

Ussher's Regiment of Dragoons. He took part in the battles of Edgehill, and Chalgrove Field, where Hampden was fatally wounded. At the latter engagement, he covered Prince Rupert's withdrawal to Oxford with a party of dragoons.[4] In April, 1643, Colonel Ussher was killed at Lichfield, and Washington became Colonel of the regiment, which was known also as Prince Maurice's Dragoons. At the siege of Bristol, in July of that year, Washington particularly distinguished himself. When the city was assaulted by the Royalists, the attack on the west side failed, but Prince Rupert attacking from the Gloucestershire side, as Clarendon says, met "with allmost equal loss, but with better success". The divisions led by Lord Grandison and Colonel Belassis were repulsed "yet Colonel *Washington*, with a less party, finding a place in the Curtain (between the places assaulted by the other two) weaker than the rest, enter'd, and quickly made room for the horse to follow". The enemy thereupon "quit their posts", and Prince Rupert entered the suburbs with his horse and foot, and made his way with much loss to the Frome Gate, where the City "beat a parley", and surrendered to the Prince. The victory must have been a sad one for Washington, for he lost his cousin Lord Grandison, "whose loss", said Clarendon, "can never be enough lamented".[5] Washington's action proved decisive. He used a piece of dead ground, where his dragoons were invisible from the garrison's forts, and creeping up close to the curtain wall, lobbed grenades over, which scared away the defenders. He then rushed the wall and knocked it down, and made a passage for the attackers. The place was called "Washington's Breach".[6]

In February, 1643/4, Washington was Governor of Evesham, and early in 1646 he was made Governor of Worcester, the post for which he is chiefly remembered. By this time, of course, the King's fortunes had sadly declined. On July 23rd, Charles wrote from Newcastle, saying he "understood with what courage and integrity you have hitherto defended that place for our service", and gave Washington leave to treat. The city had, however, already surrendered on July 19th. Oxford had surrendered the month before, and the War was over. Washington appears to have gone to Holland, but, apparently, he was back in England to take part in the second Civil War in 1648. He then retired to Middleburg, and compounded for his delinquency in 1649, being fined £15. When Charles II was restored, he petitioned for the reversion of the place of Chief Searcher at Gravesend, which was granted, although he failed to obtain the place. In 1661, he was Major and Captain in the King's own Regiment of Foot Guards. He died in 1664, and was buried at Richmond, Surrey, on March 9th, 1663/4.[7]

Henry Washington's wife was Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir John Pakington, 1st Bart. of Aylesbury, by whom he had four daughters. His widow remarried another Royalist officer, Colonel Samuel Sandys of Ombersley, Worcestershire, who preceded Washington as Governor of Worcester. Henry Washington's two brothers-in-law, Sir John Pakington, 2nd Bart., and Colonel William Legge, husband of his sister, Elizabeth Washington, were also ardent Royalists. His uncle, the Revd. Laurence Washington, was ejected from his living at Purleigh in 1643 as "a common frequenter of alehouses", but, as Mr. Longden pointed out, "the real reason for his expulsion was his consistent and unfailing loyalty to the King".[8] Thus the Washington family suffered for their loyal exertions on behalf of Charles I.

The career of one of Pepys' other dinner companions on that October evening, Sir Edward Brett, is less familiar than Washington's.

Edward Brett belonged to a family of Somersetshire origin, from Whitestaunton.[9] His grandfather, Robert Brett, was a Merchant Taylor of London. He was made Free of the Company by servitude to Henry Suckley in 1549, and admitted to the Livery on March 22nd, 1563. He was elected to the Court on August 8th, 1577, but died before becoming Master of the Company. His Will (P.C.C. 22 Windsor) was proved on April 26th, 1586, and he had five sons living, of

[4] C. Wilkinson, *Prince Rupert the Cavalier*, 1934, p. 141.

[5] Clarendon, *Hist. of the Rebellion and Civil Wars*, 1707, Vol. II, pp. 228-31.

[6] Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-7.

[7] Ex. inf. Miss Margaret Toynbee, quoting *Richmond Registers*.

[8] H. I. Longden, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[9] Somerset Archaeological Society, *Proceedings*, Vol. XXVIII, 1882, p. 79 *et. seq.*; "The Brett Family" by the Rev. Fdk. Brown.

MONUMENT TO DR. RICHARD BRETT AND HIS WIFE ALICE
AT QUAINTON, BUCKS

MARY, LADY DORMER
From the portrait at Lamport Hall

Photographs by Bruce A. Bailey

whom William was the second, and Richard (of some concern to us, as will later be seen) the third. His son William was admitted to the Freedom of the Company on December 15th, 1589, by patrimony, and elected to the Livery in 1602.[10] William Brett, like other successful merchants, acquired an estate in the country about 1604. This was the manor or grange of Herne, a mile west of Toddington, Beds. His Will was proved in the P.C.C. in 1624.[11] William, in his Will, mentions seven sons, and two daughters, and his wife, Mary, as well as his brother Richard Brett of Quainton, Bucks., "Doctor of Divinitie". Of these children, Edward was apparently the fourth son, and he was baptized at Toddington on May 1st, 1608.[12] The two sisters' names were Elizabeth and Mary, and both are of further concern to us; their baptisms do not appear in the Toddington registers.

William Brett's wife, Mary, made her Will on April 4th, 1625, and it was proved on February 21st, 1625/6.[13] Neither she nor her husband appear to have been buried at Toddington. However, her daughter Mary was married at Toddington on August 15th, 1625, to William Isham, third son of Sir Euseby Isham of Pytchley by his wife, Ann (Borlase). This marriage, which probably took place before the death of the bride's mother, was almost certainly arranged through the good offices of Dr. Richard Brett, the bride's uncle, and one of the three feoffees appointed by her father in his Will to hold his property for the benefit of the children.

Dr. Richard Brett, a Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, was appointed by King James as one of the translators of the Bible, and was one of the most learned divines of the day. In 1595, he became Rector of Quainton, Bucks. and held the living until his death in 1637. Quainton was the parish church of Sir Fleetwood Dormer of Shipton Lee Grange. In or before 1605,[14] William Isham's eldest surviving sister, Mary, had married Sir Fleetwood Dormer as her second husband. Fleetwood Dormer was the grandson of Peter and Agnes Dormer, to whom the Grange was granted on the dissolution of Thame Abbey. He was knighted by King James in the garden at Whitehall just before the King's coronation, on July 23rd, 1603 (V.C.H. *Buckinghamshire*, Vol. IV, 1927, p. 95 and W. A. Shaw, *Knights*, Vol. II, 1906). She bore him five sons and eight daughters. It is easy to see how, through his friendship with the Dormers, Dr. Richard Brett came to suggest that his niece Mary would be a suitable wife for Lady Dormer's brother, who at 37 was still a bachelor. The marriage must have gratified both families, for Dame Anne Isham, the bridegroom's mother, in her Will of 1627 left her daughter-in-law "a border of goldsmiths work", and her son William £200.[15]

Edward Brett's other sister, Elizabeth, who was left £300 in her mother's Will, married one of the Abell family of Oundle. Unfortunately, this marriage is not recorded either in the Toddington or Oundle registers, but it evidently took place after the death of the bride's mother.[16] Both these marriages of his sisters have some importance to the rest of Edward Brett's story, since he died childless, and his sisters' descendants are mentioned in his Will, but we must now return to his own story.

Like Henry Washington, he was a professional soldier. His monument in Bexley Church, Kent, records how, "in his Youth", he "made his first martiall service in *Germany* under the conduct of Gustavus Adolphus" and "was thence with others called by his sovereign KING CHARLES the first to serve against his Rebells".[17] The monument goes on to record how he was knighted by Charles I "in the feild on Horseback being then wounded in a signal service on

[10] Information kindly communicated by the Clerk of the Merchant Taylors Company, 20.4.1965.

[11] 82 Byrd. Herne manor belonged to Humphrey Gray, who died in 1592, leaving a son, Henry, who in 1600 obtained livery of his father's lands there. No documents exist to show when he sold the manor to William Brett, but the first of Brett's children to be baptized at Toddington was Richard, on September 10th, 1605, so it can be assumed that by then the Bretts were settled in, and the property was acquired between 1600 and 1605 (V.C.H. *Bedfordshire*, Vol. III, 1912, pp. 438-46).

[12] The Toddington Parish Registers are in the County Record Office at Bedford.

[13] 24 Hele.

[14] Notes by the late Rev. H. I. Longden.

[15] P.C.C. 4 Barrington.

[16] *Arch. Cant.*, Vol. XVIII, 1889, p. 375.

[17] Le Neve, *Monumenta Anglicana*, 1680-1699 (1718), pp. 50-1. Le Neve calls the church "Boxley".

the retreat of the enemy in the County of *Cornwall* A.D. 1644". This incident is graphically related in Richard Symonds' *Diary* (p. 63). Brett was a Lieutenant in 1640, when he and other soldiers of fortune addressed two petitions to the Council of War, stating that they had been summoned from service in Germany to fight for the King in the Scots War.[18] In 1640 he served as 2nd Captain in Colonel William Vavasour's Regiment, XIII. His youngest brother, Benjamin, baptized at Toddington on September 9th, 1617, served as 8th Ensign. After the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, Edward became Captain of the Queen's troop of the Life Guard of Horse, when the action took place which caused the King to knight him at Lostwithiel (August 31st, 1644). Subsequently he became Major of Lord Bernard Stuart's Regiment of Horse Guards. He was present at the Second Battle of Newbury on October 27th, 1644. He was an authority "for ye whole battle of Newbury" (Prince Rupert's Diary). He was probably present at Naseby and Rowton Heath. He saw further service in the Netherlands "by favour of William Prince of Orange", as related on his M.I. He was certainly at The Hague by July, 1648.[19]

After the Restoration, Brett continued his military career under King Charles II. He was promoted to Colonel, and commanded a troop of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards.[20] He was made one of the King's Gentlemen Pensioners in 1660. While in the Netherlands he met and married Barbara, "only Daughter and heir of Sir John Fleming Knight",[21] descended from "the ancient family of the FLEMINGS of FLEMSTEAD CASTLE in the County of GLAMORGAN". He had no children by her, and she was buried "at FLUSHING in a vault of her Ancestors", after her death at The Hague on October 22nd, 1674. "He dyed", the monument records, "full of years Deputy Lieutenant to the Earl of CRAVEN in the COUNTY of MIDDX. & in the execution of the office of Serjeant Porter of his Majesties Pallaces on the 12th day of February 1683 aged 75 years". Ten years earlier he had bought Blendonhall in the parish of Bexley, Kent from Edward Brewster.[22] Having no children, it had probably been his intention to leave his Kentish manor to one of his Brett nephews. It is not known which of his brothers had these two sons, but one of them had been promised the reversion of the office of Serjeant-Porter, and was dead by March 5th, 1680/1,[22a] and the other (called 'cosen') was still alive when Sir Edward made his first Will on January 19th, 1681/2, but the £200 left him in the later Will was then given to his widow. Accordingly, when he came to make his final Will, he devised his Kentish manor to John Fisher, eldest son of Henry Fisher of Gretton, Northants. and his wife, Elizabeth, the daughter of his sister Elizabeth, who had married an Abell of Oundle.[23] John Fisher, who came from a good yeoman family, was to change his name to Brett, which he did. He let Blendonhall to Lady Mary Gerard, but after her death in 1693, resided there himself until his death in 1732.[24]

John Fisher was under 21 when his great-uncle died in 1683/4, and provision was made for his parents to reside at Blendonhall rent free until their son came of age.

In his Will, Sir Edward Brett left £20 "to the poore of the parish of Bexley", nor did he forget his old home in Bedfordshire, as he left £10 to the poor of Toddington, and £10 to the poor at St. Martin in the Fields, his London parish church (he died in Westminster).

[18] *C.S.P.D.*, 1640, p. 93.
[19] Cal. Clarendon S.P., Vol. I, p. 432.
[20] *C.S.P.D.*, 1661, Dalton; *English Army Lists*, Vol. I, 1892, p. 4.
[21] M.I. in Bexley Church.
[22] *Arch. Cant.*, *loc. cit.* and Sir E. Brett's Will, P.C.C. 27 Hare, pr. 1683/4.
[22a] H.M.C. *Ormonde*, N.S., Vol. V, p. 598.
[23] The Abells recorded a pedigree in the *Visitation of London*, 1634 (Harl. Soc., Vol. XV, 1880). This does not show the Brett/Abell marriage. It shows that William Abell, who married Isabell [*sic*] Laundiss from Beverley, Yorks., settled in London, where he became an alderman and Sheriff of the City and Master of the Vintners Company (1637), and "the king's tool in his illegal attempts to tax the City Companies" (*Memoirs of the Verney Family*, Vol. IV, 1889, pp. 1-2). It was his son, William, who bought the manor of East Claydon, Bucks., and was the father of that Mary Abell who married Edmund Verney, and suffered from what would now be called a depressive illness, a problem "far beyond the medical science of that day".
[24] One Edward Fisher made a Will in 1725, proved in the Prebendal Court of Gretton in 1732. From this it appears that he was married and had issue, two sons, William and Edward, and two daughters, Jane and Elizabeth. He describes himself as "yoman" and left his "cottage tenement or dwelling house" at Gretton to his eldest son, William. He cannot be the brother of John Brett (Fisher) because in the Gretton Parish Registers occurs William Fisher's baptism in 1686, "William sonne of Edward Fisher and Elizabeth his wife", whereas the Edward Fisher mentioned in Sir E. Brett's Will was a minor at that time (1682).

He was not unmindful either of the children of his other sister, Mary, who had married William Isham. Thomas Isham, William's brother, had been "in arms for the King", and had married Sir Ralph Verney's aunt, Elizabeth Denton. Readers of the *Verney Memoirs* will scarcely need to be reminded of this lady's vigorous Royalist opinions, her racy style of writing, and her eccentric spelling!

This Thomas left a son, also Thomas, who was a barrister-at-law of the Middle Temple. He died unmarried in his thirtieth year in 1676, and left the heir of his cousin german Henry Isham, then in Virginia, a legacy to be held in trust, and paid to such heir, if he came to reside in England for a year. The legacy proved a fatal one, for young Henry Isham complied with the conditions of the Will, but died on the voyage from America to London.[25] He was probably the last heir male of the senior line of the family, the Ishams of Pytchley.[26] A further interest attaches to this fatal legacy, however, since in a memorandum attached to his Will,[27] Thomas Isham explained that the purpose of the legacy was to encourage his uncle, Sir Edward Brett, to remember this Virginian cousin "and therefore I bege his kindnesse for his kinsman and mine". This admonition was certainly not forgotten by Brett, for although in his Will, which he wrote on December 22nd, 1682, it was no longer in his power to help his Virginian great-nephew, he did not forget his sisters. "Unto the two daughters of my nephew Henry Isham late of Virginia deceased", he wrote, "by Katherine his wife the sum of £200 apeece to be paid unto them Twelve months after my decease".

The career of his brother-in-law and sister, after their marriage in 1625, is somewhat obscure. William Isham was living at Little Harrowden in 1630 when he was summoned with his brother Euseby and "Richard Kinesman of Pytchley gent. in the sum of £20 each to appear before the magistrate and to keep the peace especially towards John Sawyer of Kettering", which condition was relaxed on October 4th of that year.[28]

Earlier, he had been involved with Thomas Throgmorton but this was over Joan Gregory, a widow of Great Harrowden, whom William wished to marry, and for whose hand Thomas Throgmorton was also a suitor. William and his brother Euseby complained in a case heard in the Court of Star Chamber[29] that they had been attacked more than once by Throgmorton, and notably when they were at the widow's house, when Throgmorton, assisted by others, including Francis Poulton, had used "weapons". The only weapon used on William was apparently a candlestick! Later the townsfolk at Wellingborough saved the Isham brothers from a threatened attack in the churchyard. In his counter plea, Throgmorton described William Isham as angry and abusive, and complained of an attack on him when in the widow's company at the Swan Inn, Wellingborough. Thomas Throgmorton and Francis Poulton were described as "recusants" in the pleadings, and religion may have inflamed the other passions. Of course, all this took place eleven years before William's marriage to Mary Brett.

His two sons, Euseby and Henry, the former of whom was baptized at Pytchley on June 7th, 1626, were in due course entered at Oundle School when their father was described as "generosus" (gentleman) and both boys were stated to have been born at "Pitchley". The age of the elder only is given, as 11. Thereafter both William and his wife disappear from view.

There is a reference in the *Squire Papers* to an order by Cromwell to one Isham at Oundle "to keep the Bridge . . . and shoot anyone passing who has not a pass".[30] An old house in Oundle has the initials "W.I." and from this it has been assumed that William Isham, unlike his brother Thomas, and other members of the family, fought on the Parliamentary side, and lived in Oundle. But William Isham would have been 54 when the war broke out, and an elderly man by 17th

[25] According to H. MS. 21, f. 248, College of Arms, Henry Isham "died in his Passage returning to Virginia from England".
[26] O. Barron, *Northamptonshire Families*, V.C.H., 1906, p. 147.
[27] P.C.C. 92 Bence.
[28] *Quarter Sessions Records of Northants*, ed. J. Wake, N.R.S., Vol. I, 1924, p. 25.
[29] 8/184/26 12 Jac.1, 1614. Communicated by the Rev. G. Anstruther, O.P.
[30] *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, T. Carlyle, Vol. II, p. 281, 1888 edn.

century standards. Apart from that, although the *Squire Papers* were accepted by Carlyle, subsequent historians have in general regarded them as 19th century forgeries.[31]

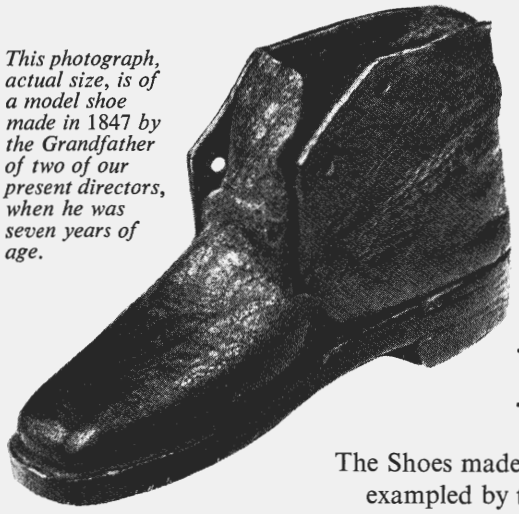
If William Isham and his wife died in the time of the Civil War, or just afterwards, there is every reason for parish registers not recording their burial, since registers were badly kept at that period. The Oundle register in particular is "very imperfect" from 1650 to 1663. He is not mentioned in the Will of his brother Euseby, with whom he had been associated in the Star Chamber case of 1614, which was made on October 21st, 1648, and the presumption must be that he was dead by then.[32]

End of Part One

GYLES ISHAM.

[31] (Sir) Charles Firth in his Introduction to Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, ed. S. C. Lomas, 1904, says: "By competent judges it is now universally admitted that these letters are forgeries manufactured for the express purpose of deceiving Carlyle . . . The hater of shams had seen the imposter face to face and taken him for a true man". See also Walter Rye, *Two Cromwellian Myths*, 1925. Rye, as in other works by him, makes errors of detail in this work, and there *was* a Squire family at Oundle in the 17th century. I found an entry in the parish register, "John Sonne of Kelham Squire baptized 17 Aprill, 1640". William Squire, who persuaded Carlyle that the papers were genuine, although he admitted that after he had copied the letters, he burned them all, was educated at Oundle School, where he was at the headmaster's house as a boarder in August 1817. There is a Squire monument of the 18th century in Oundle Church, which may have been the cause of his using the name of a "Squire" of Oundle. Also, he would have known the name Isham well, because my grandfather and his brother were also at Oundle School, although they left in 1817 to go on to Eton. While at Oundle they, like William Squire, were at the headmaster's house. He would certainly have known their names, and, with his antiquarian tastes, would also have known they were of an old Northamptonshire family.

[32] For this Will, which was proved at Cambridge in 1649 in the Consistory Court of Ely, see *Northants Notes and Queries*, New Series, Vol. III, 1910-11, p. 175. Euseby was then of Chatteris in the Isle of Ely, although in his Will he mentions his "free house with all the appurtenances and land thereunto belonginge lying, and being in Picheley in the County of Northton", which he left to his widow, Katherine (Gybbins).



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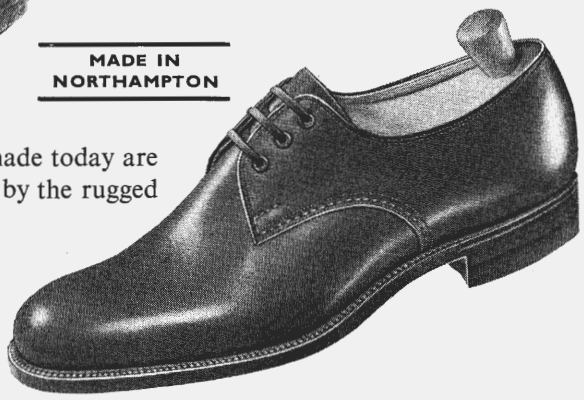

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The 17th Century 'Census' of Cogenhoe

If the Brampton parish register with the baptism recorded on the back of a playing card bound into it, (photo in *Chronicle and Echo*, March 4th, 1963), is unique in one way so in another is the earliest Cogenhoe register with its lists of parishioners compiled in the days of James 1st and Charles 1st. These it seems were first noticed over a century ago by J. S. Burn who calls attention to them in his *History of the Parish Registers of England* (1862 edition, page 212). After describing the usual sorts of registers of baptisms, marriages and burials he points out that some medieval manuals mention that priests ought to keep another sort of register, the '*Liber Status Animarum*', in which to record particulars of each family living in their parishes with notes as to which members ought to be coming to Communion, which learning their catechism and which being prepared for Confirmation. "No book", says Burn, "containing all these particulars can be referred to now—the one best answering the description is the Register of Cogenhoe. . . .".

The historical interest of these lists lies in the fact that before 1801 no accurate census figures exist so that it may be valuable to know the actual population of a village 180 years earlier, what sizes the families were, how many were males and how many females and perhaps work out some sort of equation whereby the population can be connected with the numbers of baptisms, marriages and burials recorded in the register and thus from the registers of other parishes using the same equation or averages work out their populations. One rather surprising fact which emerges straight away is that the size of Cogenhoe was much the same in the beginning of the 17th century as it was in the beginning of the 19th. The 1801 figure was 184 and the 1811 one 214 whereas in 1628 the total is 200 and a year or two earlier it was 186.

The lists themselves are written on paper leaves bound into the register, two inside the front cover and two at the back. The rest of the register consists of parchment leaves as is usual and, indeed, as was laid down by an order approved by Queen Elizabeth I in 1598 to the effect that earlier paper registers were to be copied into parchment books. So we find that the entries from 1560 to 1598 were copied in the latter year, each page being attested at the bottom by John Spicer, minister, and Thomas Ellyatt and John Wellforde, churchwardens. The first Cogenhoe register stretches from 1560 to 1653 when Cromwell introduced civil registration and new registers. It is complete except for a page cut out which must have contained baptisms from 1636 to 1644. Before that date baptisms, marriages and burials had been entered together but afterwards, no doubt owing to a change of rector, each series was entered on separate pages.

Part of the corners of the paper pages have been worn away so that the earliest list with a date still legible is 1612 and the last 1628, though there are thirteen or more lists in all, one or two of which may be earlier or later than these dates. The 1612 list is of communicants on Easter Day only and contains 76 numbered names, but the list of 1624 is headed "A note of the names of *all* the parishioners, 15 August 1624". In this case and in several others the parishioners are listed family by family, father and mother first, followed by their children and in some cases others, perhaps servants. There appear to have been about 35 households which compares with the 30 families (perhaps a round figure) given by John Bridges, the county historian, as the number living in Cogenhoe sometime in the decade preceding his death in 1724.

One of the largest families, if not the largest, was that of the rector responsible for the lists, Christopher Spicer. Spicer was the son of John Spicer who became rector of Cogenhoe in 1573 and who resigned and retired to Leckhampstead in 1608 to make way for his son. Like his father Christopher Spicer was a graduate of Christ Church, Oxford, and since 1606 had been vicar of Fawsley, the seat of the Knightleys. The patrons of the living who presented the Spicers were members of the Cheyne family, owners of Cogenhoe manor since John Cheyne acquired it by marriage in 1399. On one of the paper

leaves at the beginning of the register Christopher Spicer has copied a terrier (description) of the glebe land belonging to Cogenhoe rectory "taken by me Christopher Spicer now rector from a copy made by Mr. Richard Faukner, gent., who [*word missing*—occupied?] the parsonage of Cogenhoe in the time of Mr. John Cheyne father to Francis Cheyne patron of the said rectory—which was before Mr. John Spicer the father and predecessor of me Chr. Spicer . . .". The date of the terrier has unfortunately been worn away but another copy of the terrier signed by Spicer and two churchwardens, George Fisher and Daniel Hoare, was sent to the bishop in 1627 to be filed with the diocesan records. It is still preserved as one of them and is now deposited in the County Record Office at Delapre Abbey where the Cogenhoe registers are also now on loan.

Cogenhoe church is also fortunate in possessing a fine map recently restored at the expense of Sir John Hobson (former Attorney General). It was made for the Cheynes as can be seen from the inscription on it. "A Plott of the lands lying together in the Mannor of Cogenhoe . . . being parcell of the possessions of the Right Worshipful Mr. Francis Cheyne esq. . . . April 1630". The survey was made by Richard Norwood. Each little house and the church are carefully drawn viewed, as it were, from the air and they and every close and furlong (or division of the big open common fields) are numbered but the key is unfortunately missing. However as one has been led to expect from Spicer's lists of families of parishioners there are just about 35 cottages or groups of houses with their outbuildings marked. It is tantalizing not to be able to say which family lived in which house, though perhaps this puzzle may one day be solved, either by the discovery of the missing reference table amongst someone's old title deeds or family papers, or by the meticulous collation of facts culled from wills, deeds and other records of the past history of the county deposited in the Record Office at Delapre and elsewhere.

It is difficult to find out much about the rector Christopher Spicer. As has been said his family was large: 3 sons and 6 daughters by his first wife. In 1627 he married again. One of his sisters rejoiced in the unusual name of Livewell, but she died in her 6th year. Several of the rector's children have scribbled their names on the cover of the register, one, Francis, going so far as to write on it "John Spicer and Francis Spicer all knaves and so I leave you, by me, Francis Spicer". Their mother's name was Rachel and she was the daughter of Percival Wibarne of Whiston. This taken together with the fact that the Knightleys of Fawsley were noted Puritans strongly suggests that Spicer leaned that way for Percival Wibarne his father-in-law had been a noted Puritan who called himself in his will a "preacher of God's most holy worde and ordinances", a typical Puritan phrase. Wibarne was an author and at one time Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge and a prebendary of Rochester and Westminster cathedrals but was several times suspended from preaching and even in 1571 cited for nonconformity. One of his works was called "A Checke or Reproofe of Mr. Howlets untimely screeching in her Majesties eares!" It is interesting to speculate whether Spicer ever met Robert Browne the famous Independent who was for many years Rector of Thorpe Achurch (1591-1633) and who is buried in St. Giles churchyard, Northampton.

Spicer's interest in the welfare of his church members, which the lists might suggest he took does not seem to have run to an equal interest in its furnishings or fabric. In 1611 the church was 'viewed' when it was discovered amongst other things that the Font cover was broken and there was 'No statute book for the 5th of November'. Time was given for this to be seen to and then on the 9th of August John Dunkely, one of the churchwardens, made his way to Northampton, and at a session of the church court held in All Saints Church appeared and certified that the Font was 'amended' and the 'book' had been provided the previous Saturday. The 'book' was a leaflet containing a form of prayer issued by Royal Authority in 1606 to be annually said on the 5th of November to commemorate the Discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. It will be found in most prayer books printed before 1859 when Queen Victoria saw fit to stop it being included any more. The ecclesiastic who held the court and before whom Dunkely appeared was none other than Dr. William Prithergh, well known to Northamptonians as the one time owner of the Welsh House on the Market Square opposite the *Mercury* Offices, which bears his initials, coat of arms, a Welsh motto and the date 1595. On this building Mr. T. B. Jenkins did a very interesting piece of research some years ago, one copy of which he kindly presented to the Record Society.

If not much was wrong in 1611 the condition of Cogenhoe church was far worse in 1637 the year of Christopher Spicer's death when amongst other things it is stated that the chancel "is very defective in the leads and timber in divers places so that it raineth in so that the wall is very foul . . . there wants decent steps to go into the pulpit which is only very undecently supplied with a short ladder . . . divers seats in the church very ruinous . . . and the church wants plastering and whiteing". Nevertheless it would be wrong to suppose that Christopher Spicer's incumbency was one of increasing neglect. For one thing much the same reports were made about dozens of other churches in 1637. For another Cogenhoe still possesses a fine copy of a Great Bible bought during Spicer's incumbency in 1631. Again the Spicers, father and son, probably built the rectory of which there is an illustration of the north front in the Victoria County History and the statement that: "the Rectory house stands immediately east of the church and is a picturesque two storey gabled building with mullioned windows and tiled roofs of late 16th or early 17th century date".

The Cogenhoe register with its unique 'census' figures more than three centuries old is indeed a valuable record, and one which has recently engaged the attention of a well known Cambridge historian, Mr. Peter Laslett.[1] It has now been placed on deposit in the Record Office at Delapre Abbey where records from about 200 parishes may be examined by those interested in the history of their village and the county generally.

PATRICK KING.

[1] See *Historical Essays 1600-1750*, edited by H. E. Bell & R. L. Ollard, pp. 157 to 184, 1963.

BRIXWORTH HALL

OUR cover illustration this year shows a picture of the Eighteenth Century façade of Brixworth Hall which was demolished in 1954. The picture, which was painted by W. Nedham of Leicester, shows the hall and park about 1830 during the ownership of William Wood who was High Sheriff in 1834. Mr. Wood, who rode 18 stone, hunted with the Pytchley and also kept a pack of beagles.

Surtees, the sporting novelist, in an article in the *New Sporting Magazine*, 1834, described Mr. Wood's beagles as "a very pretty lot, little but even, and the most musical things I ever heard . . . Mr. Wood does not hunt with them himself frequently, but he is very accommodating to his neighbours, always willing to lend them to those, whom he knows will not do mischief".

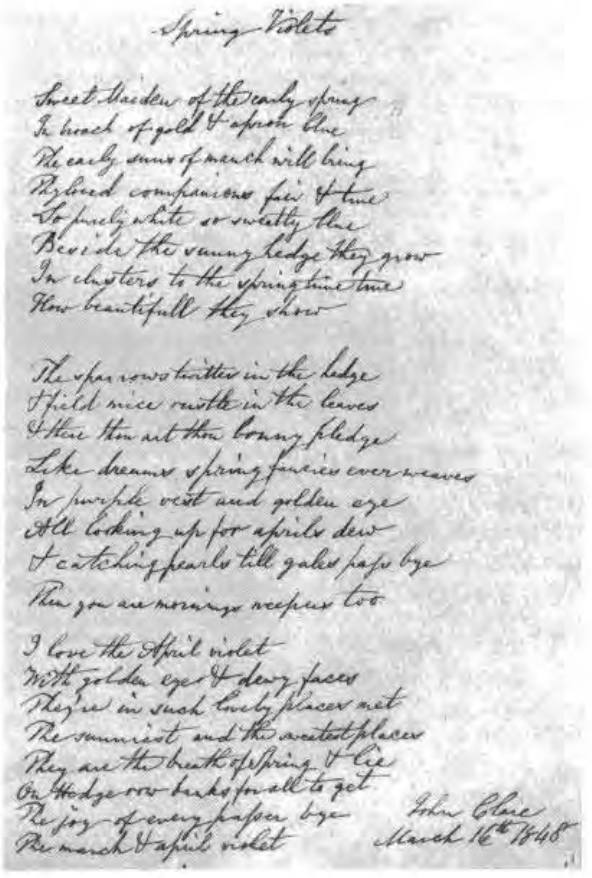
William Nedham is represented in the Leicester Art Gallery by a portrait of a man on a hunter, and two of his pictures were included in the 1951 Festival Exhibition of Leicestershire hunting pictures there. One of these pictures belonged to the late Major Guy Paget and represented Dick Burton, first whip of the Quorn Hunt and his hounds.

Major Paget suggested that Nedham, about whom very little is known, came from Syston, and was a pupil of Ferneley which seems probable (information kindly supplied by Mr. J. H. Morley, Keeper of Art at the Leicester City Museum and Art Gallery).

The picture has been lent by the executors of the late D. W. Wood, Esq., to the Northamptonshire Record Society, and now hangs at Delapre Abbey. Just visible in the centre of the picture is the surviving archway, which is still seen on the road from Northampton to Market Harborough. The site has now been developed and contains a number of small houses. Behind the Eighteenth Century façade lay the Tudor house of the Saunders. The façade is probably by William Smith of Warwick and was put up by the Raynsfords in the 1740s. Latterly the house was let by the Woods and occupied by hunting tenants including Richard Lee Bevan, Guy Paget, Adam Cross and the present Lord Annaly. It was occupied by the Army during the War and later by German prisoners; unfortunately it was left in such a bad state of repair that the late Mr. Wood had no alternative but to pull it down.

A Poem by John Clare

In the possession of Mr. J. C. Brown of Rugby is an album which belonged to his great-grandmother, Rebecca Eaton Whitworth of Northampton. In this album is a poem, in John Clare's own handwriting, called "Spring Violets" which has not hitherto been published. Mr. Brown lent the album with the poem to last year's exhibition at the Northampton Public Library, and he has kindly made it available for reproduction in *Northamptonshire Past and Present* as a post-script to last year's Clare number.



Spring Violets

Sweet Maiden of the early spring
In broach of gold & apron blue
The early suns of march will bring
My loved companions fair & true
So purely white so sweetly blue
Beside the sunny hedge they grow
In clusters to the springtime true
How beautifull they show

The sparrows twitter in the hedge
& field mice rustle in the leaves
& there thou art thou bonny pledge
Like dreams of spring fancies ever weaves
In purple vest and golden eye
All looking up for aprils dew
& catching pearls till gales pass bye
Then you are mornings weepers too

I love the April violet
With golden eye & dewy faces
They're in such lovely places met
The sunniest and the sweetest places
They are the breath of Spring & lie
On Hedgerow banks for all to get
The joy of every passer bye
The march & april violet

John Clare
March 16th 1848

SPRING VIOLETS

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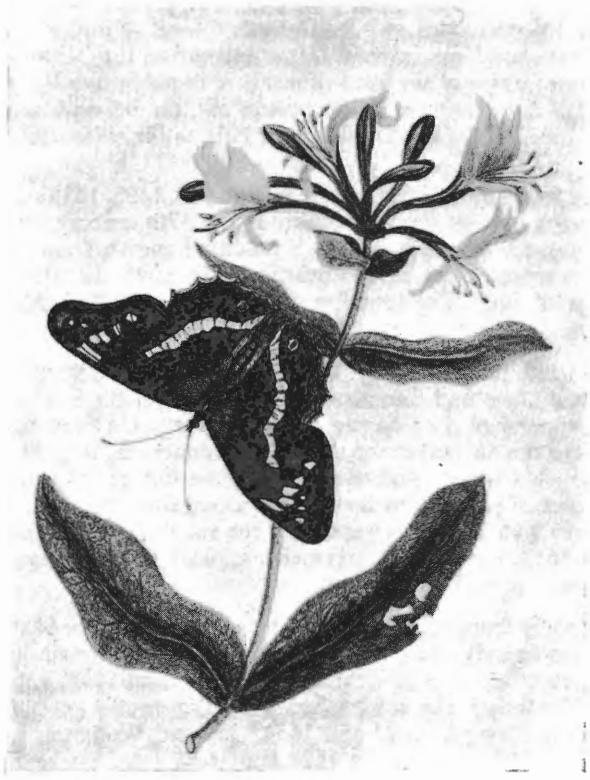
We are indebted to Mr. Eric Robinson, who informs us that he has acquired the copyright, for permission to publish this work of John Clare.

Rebecca Eaton Whitworth was the second wife of John Barnwell Over of Rugby, Mr. J. C. Brown's great-grandfather, the founder of Over's well-known bookshop. It is significant that Rebecca Whitworth's album contains several entries by W. F. Knight, Clare's great friend and confidant at the Asylum. These include some of W. F. Knight's delightful drawings signed "W.F.K." one of which Mr. Brown has allowed us to reproduce. The poem "Spring Violets" appears among the Knight transcriptions of Clare in the Public Library.



W. F. Knight's drawing

Royal Courts of Justice

The Times of April 2nd, 1965 recorded the fact that Mr. R. A. Riches, O.B.E. retired on that day from his position of Chief Librarian of the Bar Library in the Royal Courts of Justice, after 70 years' service there, having succeeded his father as Chief Librarian in 1917. Mr. Riches, like his daughter, Miss Sylvia Riches, is an enthusiastic member of the Northamptonshire Record Society, and they are usually to be seen at annual meetings and lectures. It is not often that people in their 86th year take up an appointment, but Mr. Riches has now been appointed Curator of the pictures in the Royal Courts of Justice: all good luck to him in his new position.

The Plague at Northampton

In Northamptonshire Past and Present, Vol. II, No. 2, appeared on pp. 37-39, an article by Mrs. Bond on "Northampton and St. George's Chapel, Windsor", in which she drew attention to the fact that King Edward III, who founded the Chapel of St. George at Windsor, had granted a sum of one hundred marks to be paid towards the Chapel annually from the fee farm of Northampton. As she pointed out, the Borough continued to pay this yearly rent up to 1867, *and after that date until* 1931 *to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.*

Northampton suffered four times within fifty years, in 1603, 1605, 1638 and 1647, from visitations of the plague, which broke out all over the country in the 17th century. In 1638 the outbreak was extremely severe, lasting, for example, in St. Sepulchre's parish from the end of March until December; and there were as many as 665 deaths in the town throughout the year, compared with an annual average of 122.[1] The letter[2] printed below underlines Northampton's sufferings 'in these infectious times'.

Its discovery is quite recent. Nearly 4,000 documents were transported to London in 1867 from the archives of the Dean and Canons of Windsor, when the Ecclesiastical Commissioners took over the landed property of the Chapter and paid in return a fixed annual sum. The Church Commissioners, who are the successors of those Commissioners, in July 1963 returned most of the records to St. George's Chapel;[3] and there, among the formal rolls, deeds and maps appeared the letter—a double sheet of paper, now badly worn along the folds. The Dean and Canons from 1351 until 1867 received £66 13*s.* 4*d.* a year from the fee farm of Northampton as part of their royal endowment.[4] In 1638, however, no payments appears to have been made and the Chapter must have written sharply to find out why.

Back came the reply from Northampton, signed by eight men of the town, headed by the Mayor. John Danby had already been Mayor in 1627 and Chamberlain in 1615;[5] Francis Fisher was chosen Justice in 1630 and was re-elected every year until 1642, and he too had held office as Mayor in 1608.[6] The other signatories had a similar record of public service — Thomas Martin, J.P. in 1618 and Mayor in 1624 and 1634,[7] Richard Wollaston Mayor in 1622, William Knight in 1626 and 1635, John Gifford in 1628 and 1636, John Harbert in 1629[8]—clearly they were all among the most important men of the town. The 'verie obstinate' bailiffs (according to the letter) in 1638 were Henry Hill and John Cole.[9] It was their responsibility to collect the tolls of the markets and fair, from which, among other receipts, they were to pay the fee farm rent (including the annual 100 marks to Windsor).

The letter, incidentally, contains several examples of the vivid phraseology which is so often a remarkable feature of even official correspondence of this period.

> 'To the Worshipfull the Deane and Cannons of Windsor theis present
> Wee are not ignorant of the non payement of those monies due to you which you soe sharplie threaten us for, therefore Theis are to let you knowe that it is not our faultes

[1] C. A. Markham and J. C. Cox, *Records of the Borough of Northampton*, II, pp. 233-238.

[2] Records of the Dean and Canons of Windsor, C.C. 117147.

[3] *Annual Report of the Friends of St. George's, 1963*, pp. 138-145, Shelagh Bond, 'The Return of the Church Commissioners' Documents to Windsor'.

[4] As described by the present writer in *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, II, No. 2, pp. 37-39, 'Northampton and St. George's Chapel, Windsor'.

[5] Markham and Cox, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 552, 567.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 115, 552.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, p. 130 and II, p. 552.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, 552.

[9] *Ibid.*, II, 562.

those monies haveing alwayes ben paide by the Bayliffes for their yeare, Wee alloweinge them those benifittes for which wee pay the same, but by reason of the plague, that it pleased God to send amongst us, they were deprived of our Markittes, and wee left like a poore forlorne people which was the mayne [reas][d] cause that you were all this while unpaide, besides the then Bayliffes being verie obstinate would not pay that which they receaved which as they confesse to be about Fiftie powndes, But since the receipt of your lettere, wee have dealt with them, and they better considering of [it][i] have promised us to pay Fiftie powndes, and the rest wee will make upp, only wee requeast thus much, that you would be pleased to forbeare us but till Candlemas tearme, and then without all faile you shall receave both this and the other which is due for this yeare past And soe with our loves Remembred and with thankes for your patience we rest your Loveing Freindes

John Danbye maior
Frauncis Fisher
Tho: Martin
Richard Wollaston
Roger Sargent
William Knighte
John Gyfford:
John harbert [*signatures*]

Northampton this 7th November 1639'.

SHELAGH BOND.

THE OAKS OF OLD ENGLAND
500 Years Ago

Part of a deposition taken in Quadragesima 29 Henry VIII (March 1538):—

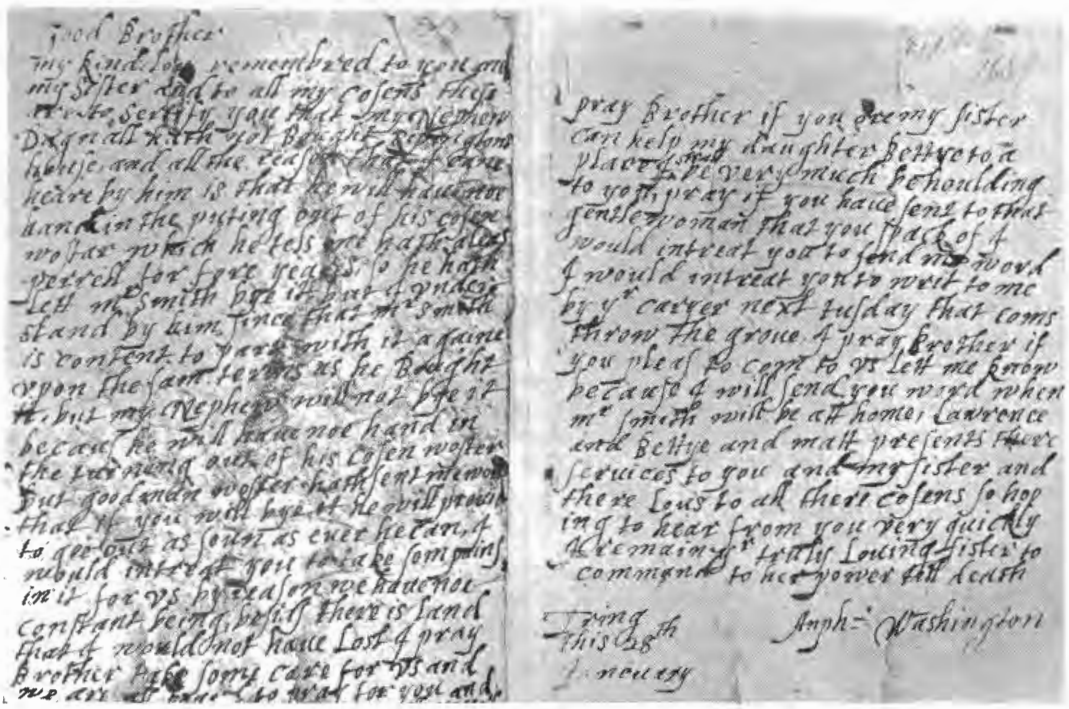
Jhon Drayton of the age of 100 yeares sayeth that he was servaunt to Mr Wylliam Chamber. . . . He harde saye that there was a sale made of great trees in Bowghtwood longe before hes tyme and the Parson of Luffwycke and the Parson of Allwynccle went to the lawe for the tythe of the sayed trees and by occasyon of that swte betwene theim in the lawe the sayed trees lay so longe uppon the grounde tyll they dyd rotte and were full of holes and so were utterly lost. . . . Also he sayeth that whan he was a yonge man he mett an olde sheparde called Barre on the greene . . . which Barre sayed to the sayed Jhon Drayton "Knowest thowe what this ground nowe ys?" and the sayed Drayton sayed "Nay". Then sayed Barr to him "Then thow arte but a boye: this grounde from Tytchmerch Woodd unto Oxonhaw Corner ys called Hobbscote at hawe, and I tell ye I have gone upp into an oke at Oxenhawe Corner and have gone from tree to tree to Steyne Oke entring into the Kyngs Forest, the okes were so thicke and all dyd belonge to Drayton".

NOTE: William Chambre married the widow of William Aldwinkle of Aldwinkle who had died in 1463 (VCH III 165). Titchmarsh Wood is ½ mile N.E. of Sudborough. Steyne Oak (unidentified) was no doubt a notable Rockingham Forest boundary oak like the original Bocase tree.

Amphillis Washington and The Twigdens

In December, 1925 the late Rev. H. Isham Longden, Rector of Heyford, Northants. revealed for the first time in the pages of *The Genealogists' Magazine* the maiden name and parentage of Amphillis, wife of the Rev. Laurence Washington (1602-53) of Purleigh and mother of John and Laurence, the two Virginia emigrants,—thereby solving a problem which had baffled investigators for nearly forty years. Amphillis Washington, so Mr. Isham Longden clearly showed, was *née* Twigden, having been baptized at Spratton, Northants. on 2 February, 1601-2; and she was one of the five daughters of John Twigden of Little Creaton, in the parish of Spratton, who was fourth son of Thomas Twigden of the same place, "yeoman". Admittedly, Twigden is not a familiar Northamptonshire name; and Amphillis's origins, at first glance, sounded both disappointing and obscure. But, although Mr. Isham Longden published nothing more on the Twigdens of Little Creaton, his interest in them continued and he subsequently made extensive inquiries into the family history: and these further researches (consisting of numerous extracts from parish registers, as well as from the Chancery proceedings and feet of fines at the Record Office, and wills in the archdeaconry of Northampton and at Somerset House) he donated, with characteristic generosity, to the present writer in January, 1940.

Moreover, the picture which emerges from this mass of material is unexpectedly amusing and colourful. For instance, Amphillis's paternal grandfather, Thomas Twigden, was no ordinary yeoman but a wealthy grazier who had acquired two manorial properties. In 1548 Anne, Lady



Letter of Amphillis Washington dated 28 January, ? 1651/2

Owen (widow of Sir David Owen, half-uncle of King Henry VII) sold to Thomas Twycketen the manor of Little Creaton (Feet of Fines, Northants., Hilary, 1-2 Edward VI); and on 14 March, 1550/1 Thomas Twyckten purchased from Edward Fiennes, Lord Clinton and Saye, the estate of Bosworth Grange, in the parish of Husband's Bosworth, Leics., lately belonging to the dissolved abbey of Sulby (Cal. Patent Rolls, Edward VI, iv, 74). Both these properties are referred to in Thomas Twigden's will, dated 2 January, 1579/80, proved 22 October, 1580 (P.C.C. 37 Arundel). This will mentions six sons: Edward (who was bequeathed the Little Creaton estate), Richard (who became a prosperous glover in the town of Northampton), John (who inherited Bosworth Grange), John (second of the name and father of Amphillis), Ralph, and Francis. A Chancery case of 1602 demonstrates that the second John Twigden (Amphillis's father) had married Anne Dicons (or Dickens), eldest of the three daughters and co-heiresses of William Dicons, yeoman of Great Creaton, by his wife Anne Thornton (whose second husband was Edward Twigden, Thomas Twigden's eldest son), sister of Thomas Thornton, esq. of Newnham and Brockhall (see Reade vs. Twigden, Chancery Proceedings, Series II, bdle. 287, no. 35; cp. also the will of William Dyckons, dated 1583 and proved 1584, P.C.C. 23 Butts). Thus, Amphillis herself on her mother's side was the great-granddaughter of Henry Thornton, gent. of Newnham, Northants., who died in 1556 and whose wife Anne, *née* Wilmer, was the niece of Thomas Spencer, esq. of Everdon, Sheriff of Northants. and cousin of Sir John Spencer of Althorp.

Furthermore, there is proof that Amphillis, far from being illiterate, was well educated, as is shown by a letter of hers still preserved in the Verney archives at Claydon House, Bucks. The letter was evidently written to her brother-in-law, William Roades, gent. of Middle Claydon (the husband of her sister, Hannah Twigden, and the faithful "Will Roades" who was steward to Sir Ralph Verney); and on account of its interest I venture to quote it verbatim:— *

> "Good Brother, my kind love remembered to you and my Sister [Mrs. Hannah Twigden Roades] and to all my cosens. These are to Sertify you that my nephew Dagnall hath not Bought Ripington's house, and all the reason that I cane heare by him is that he will have noe hand in the puting out of his cosen Wostar which he tels me hath a leas perrell for fore yeares, so he hath lett Mr. Smith bye it. But I understand by him since that Mr. Smith is content to part with it againe upon the sam terms as he Bought it, but my Nephew will not bye it because he will have noe hand in the turning out of his Cosen Wostar. But goodman Wostar hath sent me word that if you will bye it he will provid to goe out as soun as ever he can. I would entreat you to take som pains in it for us by reason we have noe constant being, besids there is land that I would not have lost. I pray, Brother, take some care for us, and we are all bound to pray for you and all yours. Pray, Brother, if you ore my sister can help my daughter Bettye [Elizabeth Washington, baptized at Tring, Herts. 17 August, 1636] to a place I shall be very much behoulding to you. Pray, if you have sent word to that gentlewoman that you spock of, I would entreat you to send me word. I would entreat you to writ to me by your Caryer next Tusday that coms throw the grove [in Tring parish]. I pray, Brother, if you please to come to us lett me know, becaüse I will send you word when Mr. Smith be att home. Lawrence and Bettye and Matt [Martha Washington, who married George Talbot, gent. in 1663] presents there services to you and my sister, and there Love to all there cosens. So, hoping to hear from you very quickly, I remain Yr. truly Loving Sister to command to her power till death, [signed] Anph: Washington. Tring, this 28th Janeuary".

No year is given; but the letter is preserved among records of the period 1651-52, three years before Amphillis's own burial at Tring on 19 January, 1654/5.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

* For the photographs of this letter I am indebted to the kindness of Sir Harry Verney, Bart., D.S.O.

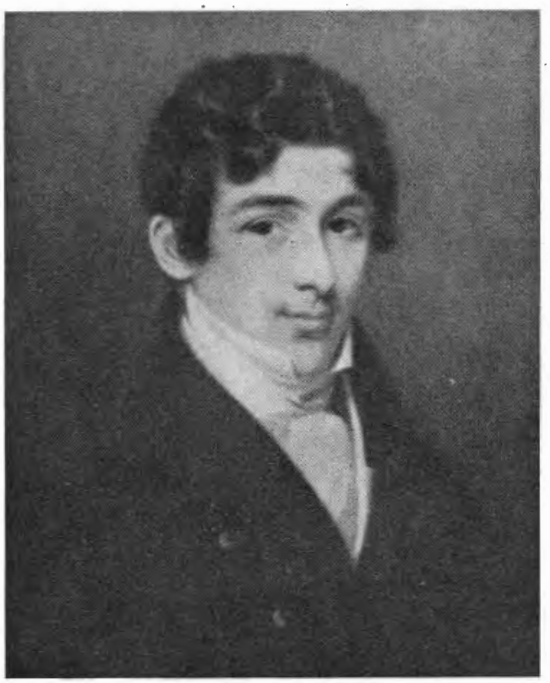
Sargeaunts and Shoemakers

No doubt there were many Parsons who, in the interests of their poorer parishioners, opposed the Napoleonic Enclosures of the Common land and the Corn Laws. But John Sargeaunt opposed them against all his financial interests as well.

His father, another John, came from a family in the Forest of Dean whose Arms, argent three dolphins between a chevron sable, had been on the church font since 1440, where they still are. They had lived since then and still lived in a house on one of the Forest Sergeanties from which their name derived. They died out two years after his eldest son's death. He had gone to London and had made his fortune by coachbuilding and contracts with the Army for the supply of flour during the Napoleonic wars. John was born over the shop in Great Queen Street in 1799. But when he was six his father bought Coleshill House in a hamlet near Amersham and proceeded to promote a Bill in Parliament for the Enclosure of the Common Lands of the manor.

Arms of John Sargeaunt

I do not know of any existing account of the arrangements for a particular act of Enclosure. But one can picture the sequence—rumours in the village—arguments for more corn growing at prevailing high prices, countered by others that only the Lord of the Manor and the Parson would benefit—the arrival of the survey party—then of the gangs to plant the hedges—and at last the realisation by so many of the village people that they had been left with fields too small to support their families and no means of cultivating them anyway. All this John saw and vaguely realised the change of status of the villagers with whose children he played. They were no longer peasants but his father's labourers. But for some time it had no visible effect on his life. He went to Charterhouse and Christ Church. His father died. He had his miniature painted by Engleheart, here illustrated. He married a Gloucestershire girl. They had a smart London wedding. A son and a daughter were born to them. Then at 24 he left Coleshill, took Orders and went to live at Easton Maudit, becoming Vicar of Doddington where there was no Vicarage available. For 12 years he exhorted the village by sermons and pamphlets to come to church and the sacraments, but the Northamptonshire Shoemakers were very different people from the Buckinghamshire yokels. Of independent character they were convinced, and gradually convinced him, that the ills of the poor could be cured only by political means. But the Reform



Miniature of John Sargeaunt of Stanwick
Painted by J. C. D. Engleheart in 1820

Act of 1832 did not live up to the hopes it aroused. The new Poor Law which begat the workhouses, and the Tythes Commutation Act which worked on the whole for better feeling between Parson and Farmers, but reduced the Parson's income, did a little to alleviate things. But John by now fully realised that nothing would do but the Repeal of the Corn Laws. In 1836 he had removed to Stanwick where he was active in the Anti-Corn Law League, but it was a further six years before the cause was won.

He died in 1858, living long enough to christen his first grandchild John. John Barneby his son, born at Coleshill, lived at Stanwick where he brought up his family.

The shoemakers mostly worked on piece work in their own homes, sewing leather cut out for them by the masters. To be the wife of a shoemaker was to be respectable; "She belongs a hand-sewn man" as they said. After Charterhouse and St. John's, Cambridge, he was called to the Bar and became Revising Barrister for Northampton. It was very well known of course that like his father he was in private life an ardent reformer. At his first Court, Bradlaugh, the "National Reformer" and afterwards member for Northampton, perhaps hoping to put him at his ease, arose and with a characteristic gesture of his right hand "True it is" he said, "Mr. Revising Barrister, that this application is for a conservative voter, but I want it known that I offer no objections to any voters being placed on the list". "Mr. Bradlaugh", said the Revising Barrister, "nothing would gratify me more than to hear you deliver an electioneering speech on the Hustings, but I cannot allow my Court to be used for that purpose". Thereafter Bradlaugh confined himself to the Law, which grandfather knew much better than he. It was realised that he would stand no nonsense.

Grandfather married a Northampton girl, Elizabeth Drake, whose father (of the Shardeloes family) was chaplain of Northampton jail, and a great friend of Mr. Thursby of Abington whose granddaughter, Florence, my father was to marry. There are stories of the two driving round Northampton in a little governess cart, covered by one vast umbrella and talking fishing. His eldest son John, my uncle and Godfather, was born at Irthlingborough. He became a schoolmaster at Westminster and was the only one of the family to be included in the Dictionary of National Biography, and had the perhaps unique distinction of inspiring *Times* Fourth Leaders both on his death and again on his centenary. From Bedford he went to University College, Oxford, where he was President of the Union. I was able to present to the Union a portrait of him to be hung in the Debating Chamber. Throughout his life he was intensely interested in the Pedigrees of Northamptonshire Families. Gow, the headmaster of Westminster, once told him that "his ape-like arboreal ancestors must have lived up a genealogical tree". He was a contributor to the Victoria County History.

His brother, William Drake, succeeded him as head boy of Bedford, and then went to New College. Shortly after his marriage he was presented to the living of Bozeat (1892). He was an ardent Liberal and a great friend of Francis Channing, the Member. We were still amongst the Shoemakers, and our life as children must have changed little from that of our grandparents and parents when they were young. We lived amongst the children of the shoemakers but we visited on our ponies the families of the other clergy and gentry within reach. We were frequently at Easton Maudit and Wollaston Hall, illustrated in a recent number. We went hunting too on our ponies, but usually lost hounds after the first run.

Chronology

1799	John born in London	1824	Takes Orders—Vicar of Doddington (inst. 25 March 1825)
1806	Goes to Coleshill House. His father promotes Enclosures Act	1832	First Reform Act
1809	Goes to Charterhouse	1834	Poor Law Act
1817	To Christchurch	1835	Tythes Commutation Act
1821	Married	1836	John goes to Stanwick
1823	Son John Barneby born	1846	Repeal of Corn Laws
		1858	Death of John

W. T. Sargeaunt

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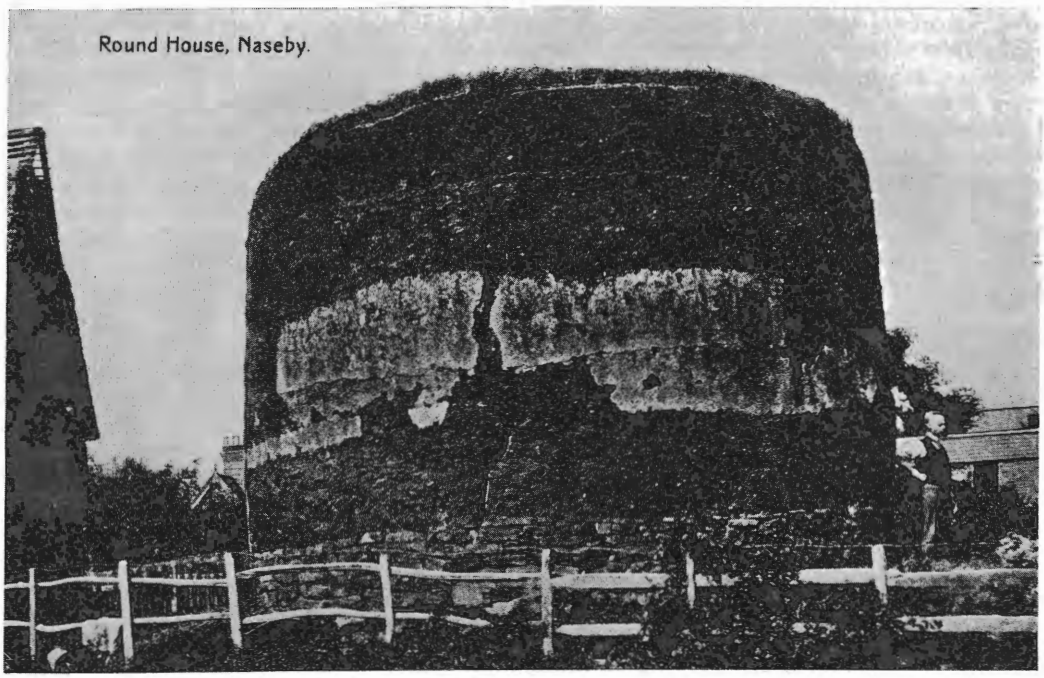
Cob Cottages in Northamptonshire—a postscript

I received a number of letters from readers following my article on the above subject in the last issue of *Northamptonshire Past and Present*. Mr. C. V. Davidge wrote to tell me that there are remains of mud walling at Little Houghton, forming part of the wall of a barn, and that there is, or was until recently, some cob at Brafield also. Miss G. Welbourn wrote from Glinton to say that there is a portion of cob in part of the wall of a shed in the village. Her note is of particular interest because this example is well outside the area which I described in my article, and she adds that there used to be five sheds for men engaged as cordwainers, further evidence of the use of this material for utilitarian buildings. This links with what Mr. S. R. Jones has told me about small mud cottages built for miners in Warwickshire, Also from Warwickshire comes an example noted by Mr. John Smith of a mud cottage at Ettington.

Mr. Alec Clifton-Taylor sent an interesting comment on the distribution of cob in this area. He writes: 'I think the reason for cob building was cheapness. It must surely have been considerably cheaper to build in cob than with stone rubble, even in a stone area. If one asks why cob building was not universal, I think the answer would probably be (a) that it was less necessary where there was an abundance of timber, for a timber-framed cottage with lath and plaster infilling would probably have been equally cheap in a well-wooded area, and (b) local fashions. The tenacity of local building fashions is extraordinary. Even today one can see this well illustrated in the different ways of thatching'.

Finally, Mr. J. C. Davies has informed me that the local name for the building mud was 'kale' or 'cale'. He points out that the Rev. J. Mastin of Naseby, whom I quoted in my article,



Round House, Naseby.

spoke of 'kealy earth' and tells me that there is documentary evidence of the use of this word, in Stocks' book on 'Market Harborough Parish Records 1531 to 1837'. At Sutton in 1712 payment is recorded for '71 loads of Cale', and eight years later: 'Paid to John Irons 2 days work for Digging Cale, 2*s.* 4*d.*' Mr. Davies has photographs of mud buildings (now in most cases demolished) at Billesdon, Gilmorton, Kimcote, Laughton, Mowsley, Naseby, Saddington, South Kilworth, Swinford and Walcot. A particularly interesting mud building was the Round House at Naseby, here reproduced from Mr. Davies's negative. A family is said to have lived in it, but the absence of doors or windows, at any rate on the side photographed, suggests, as Mr. Davies surmises, that this building was perhaps a dovecot.

The distribution of cob buildings suggested by Mr. Davies's list corresponds closely with that shown on the distribution map included in my article. I was also interested to come across a note in William Pitt's *A General View of the Agriculture in the County of Leicester* (1809) that 'Mud walls are not uncommon . . . particularly in the south and east of the county, where they are used not only as fence for yards, courts, gardens and homesteads, but also for hovels, outhouses and cottage tenements'.

M. V. J. SEABORNE.

A REUNION AFTER FOUR CENTURIES SEPARATION!

IT is pretty widely known that documents with a wavy edge on one or more sides are generally duplicates or counterparts of other copies similarly cut. When two such are set side by side the indentations of one should fit exactly into those of the other. The most famous series of such documents is the magnificent run of 'fines' or 'final concords' preserved in the Public Record Office from the year 1195. The examination of any bundle of old title deeds will generally reveal that most of those of the 17th and 18th centuries are called 'indentures', but of course only one of each document is usually found. Obviously whilst the purchaser must keep his copy of the indenture to prove his title, the seller, after a decent interval, would usually feel there was no point in keeping his. Occasionally both parts have survived and one can test the genuineness of the documents by fitting them together. Such a pair have recently come to light during the cataloguing of the Marquess of Exeter's documents from Burghley. There amongst a bundle marked 'deeds of estates not the property of the Marquess' is the counterpart of the deed of sale of Lamport manor and estate by Sir William Cecil (later Lord Burghley) and Dame Mildred his wife to the brothers John and Robert Isham in 1560 bearing their signatures and seals. It fits exactly as it should into the other part of the same conveyance forming part of the title deeds to Lamport in the possession of Sir Gyles Isham though in this case the signatures and seals are those of Sir William and his wife. Thus it has been possible to test one against the other 405 years after they were first put aside for safe keeping in the muniment rooms of Burghley and Lamport.

P.I.K.

Finedon Inclosure 1804-08

In the early summer of 1963 the Workers' Educational Association held a class at the Northamptonshire Record Office whose members, using the original documents, studied the process of the inclosure of "The Open and Common Fields, Meadows, Pastures, Commonable Lands, and Waste Grounds, lying and being within the Manor of Thingdon, and in the Parish of Thingdon, otherwise Finedon".[1] This article is the result of their work. A general study of inclosure movements in Northamptonshire, by Mr. W. E. Tate has already appeared in *Northamptonshire Past and Present*,[2] and the inclosure of Finedon is similar to many of the 88 parliamentary inclosures which took place in the county between 1793 and 1903 and there discussed.

Information about the early stages of the inclosure is contained in a detailed draft bill drawn up by John Hodson,[3] a notable Wellingborough solicitor, who acted for Sir William Dolben in initiating the inclosure, saw the Bill through parliament, and served as clerk to the Inclosure Commissioners when the Act was put into execution. On June 14th 1804 Hodson attended Sir William Dolben, Lord of the Manor of Finedon and one of the principal landowners there, in London, "When he suggested to me his intention of inclosing the Fields of Finedon". Two weeks later he visited Finedon "to take some general account of the extent of the Fields and the nature of the property". In the meantime Sir William had written to Sir Charles Cave, vicar of Finedon, 8th baronet of the Cave family of Stanford, and another major landowner in the parish, and secured his agreement to the scheme.

On the 9th, 16th and 23rd of September Hodson travelled to Finedon and affixed the statutory notice of the intention to inclose on the church door. He also met Thomas Eagle, who had been chosen by Sir William to be one of the Commissioners, John English Dolben, Sir William's only son and heir and owner of a considerable amount of land in Finedon, and Thomas Wallis, a local farmer. With these three he discussed certain points relating to the proposed inclosure, and then a meeting was held at the Bell Inn, Finedon "to obtain an account of the State of the Property when I could not get information of the whole". Finally in mid-November a meeting was held which was attended by 23 of the 70 proprietors of lands affected, and all of them gave their consent to the inclosure. The commissioners were chosen, the surveyors appointed, and by the end of the year Hodson was engaged in drafting the necessary Private Bill which must pass through parliament before inclosure could take place.

It was four months before the Bill was ready to lay before parliament, and many alterations and insertions had to be made. Lord Fitzwilliam, who owned 152 acres in Finedon, wanted a clause for the building of a road from Harrowden Mill to Finedon, and while he was not successful, provision for the road was made in the Award. The timber clause, dealing with the planting of new timber by holders of allotments of more than 50 acres, and that for allowing the enfranchisement of copyhold land gave trouble. There was also difficulty in estimating the extent of the land involved for "on casting up the same there did not appear to be 3,000 acres". An early printed version of the Bill gives the amount as 4,000 acres, the Act concerns "Three thousand Acres, or thereabouts", and the Award dealt with 3,305 acres, 3 roods and 24 perches, exclusive of roads and rivers.

In the meantime the consents of the proprietors were being obtained. It was necessary that the owners of more than half the land should consent to inclosure before an enabling act

[1] Finedon Inclosure Act, 45 George III.
[2] Vol. I, No. 2, 1949.
[3] Burnham Son and Lewin Collection, Box 1219.

could be obtained. In fact Sir William Dolben, his son, and the Vicar between them owned just under half the land affected. The owner of 35 acres, Elizabeth Whitworth of Earls Barton was against and stated "I object to inclosures, and therefore will not sign the Bill".[4] George Whitlark of Loddington and William Harlock, who between them owned 146 acres, were both Quakers, and therefore though they did not object would not sign their consent to the Bill. They were classified as "neuter". Archibald Morton and Thomas Wallis delayed signing until the timber clause was satisfactory, but eventually they, with the other 65 proprietors of lands, gave their assent.

On May 3rd, 1805 the Bill was laid before parliament, and John Hodson was in London until the 19th "to attend the Bill through both Houses of Parliament".

The Finedon Inclosure Act appointed three commissioners to carry out its terms: Thomas Eagle of Allesley, Warwickshire, who had acted in this capacity frequently, Samuel Sharman of Hardwick, a farmer and member of a well known local family, and William Burdett of Mowsley, Leicestershire. The notebooks kept by Sharman and Burdett have survived.[5] The former had acted as commissioner in many inclosures, and was a familiar figure as he rode around the countryside surveying and valuing the open fields. His distinctive handwriting is thin and spiky, his notes are minutely indexed. Burdett's writing is more flowing, smaller, and less individual.

Should any of the commissioners "die, neglect, refuse, or be rendered incapable of acting" their successors were to be appointed, in the case of Eagle by Sir William Dolben, Burdett's successor by the Vicar, and Sharman's by "the Owners and Proprietors of the Lands and Grounds" to be inclosed.

The Act also appointed the two surveyors, John Eagle of Allesley, and Richard Gee of Turvey, Bedfordshire. John Eagle was a noted surveyor of the time, and his maps are particularly fine. Between 1802 and 1808 he acted as surveyor for 12 Northamptonshire inclosures, and was concerned with many more in other counties. Richard Gee, who played a subordinate part to Eagle in the Finedon inclosure was surveyor to the Wilby and Irthlingborough inclosures, and for several Bedfordshire ones between 1783 and 1806. He was nearing the end of his career, and in 1805 had already been a surveyor for 30 years. He died some two years after Finedon Inclosure was completed.

The terms under which the commissioners were to act allowed them to settle disputes (with right of appeal to Assizes) and to direct the course of husbandry until the Award was made, but their powers to determine allotments, lay out roads, and order the levying of rates to cover the expenses of inclosure were fairly closely defined. The Vicar's allotment in lieu of glebe, tithe and moduses was to be "One-fifth part of all such of the open and inclosed Arable Lands . . . and One-ninth part of all such other of the Grass Lands and Grounds" these allotments to be "as near as conveniently may be to the Vicarial House". Immediately after the making of these allotments Sir Charles Cave and future vicars of Finedon were to be forever "exonerated and exempt from providing and keeping a Bull and a Boar for the Use of the Inhabitants of Thingdon, otherwise Finedon". The allotment to the Lord of the Manor, in lieu of all his rights to the "Waste and unknown Common Lands lying in the said Manor, and so to be inclosed" was to be equal to one sixteenth of their value.

The commissioners were also subject to the provisions of the Inclosure Consolidation Act of 1801, which required them to take an oath, forbade them to purchase land within the area affected until 5 years after the award, and laid down for them a course of procedure and general rules of conduct. They were to receive £2-12-6 for every day on which they attended to the business of the inclosure.

[4] "State of Property, Finedon Inclosure", Burnham Son & Lewin Collection, Box 1224.

[5] Burnham Son & Lewin Collection, Box 1625; YZ1071.

The first meeting of the commissioners was held on June 11th at the well known Hind Inn, Wellingborough, which alternated with the Bell at Finedon and the White Hart at Kettering as the scene of all their future meetings. The main source of information as to activities now is the Commissioners' Minute Book,[6] kept by John Hodson, who was appointed clerk at this meeting. Messrs. Morton, Rodick and Co. of Wellingborough were appointed bankers at the same time, and the three commissioners "took and subscribed the Oath". They then "valued and appraised considerable parts of the Lands and Grounds . . . to be inclosed", and confirmed a minute made at a meeting held on the 27th May between Samuel Sharman and several of the proprietors that turnips should be sown upon a great part of the "Red Land", the "Black Land" to be fallowed, and the number of sheep allowed to be grazed on the commons for every yardland to be reduced from 32 to 24. The rest of the week was spent in valuing and surveying the lands. This work was finished by the end of July, when John Eagle was ordered to prepare a map for the next meeting, and all the land was ordered to be fallowed.

At the end of August the commissioners met again at Finedon for five days, when the homesteads and old inclosures were valued, the lines of the intended new roads were surveyed, and notice was given of their intention to value the open fields, and their readiness to hear disputed claims, and settle the terms of exchanges and enfranchisements. William Linnell was ordered to try out the best materials for making roads, and report to the next meeting.

By the 23rd December, when the next meeting was held, the routes of both the public and private access roads had been settled, the sites of gravel, sand and mortar pits, and watering-places had been chosen, and contracts for making roads and planting and building hedges and fences had been given. The survey was now completed and the allotments made. At this Christmas meeting the latter were ordered to be staked out, proprietors were given permission to fence their new allotments and ditch them, and it was announced that from Monday 13th January 1806 all rights of common in Finedon were to be totally extinguished and all leases at rack rent * to be void. The general cost of inclosure was estimated at £5,892-10-5, of which £1,225-12-5 was for the building of roads. A rate was levied on the proprietors to raise this sum.

The commissioners met again on January 16th, 1806, as Lord Fitzwilliam objected "to the Allotment designed for him with which he expressed himself much dissatisfied". They made such "alterations therein as appeared to them to be just and equitable" and also adjusted the allotments made to Sir William Dolben and the Vicar. Thomas Robinson also requested an alteration to his allotments of 29a. 2r. 9p., but this was not granted.

Work now proceeded at a more leisurely pace. During 1806 exchanges were settled, and compensation, where necessary, was ordered to be paid. All "dung hills, furze ricks, stubble ricks and growing gorse and furze" was cleared; the rates were slowly collected, the roads built, and fences erected. Those who had allotments of more than 50 acres and were obliged to plant trees had chosen the sites for their plantations, and had until April 1st, 1807, to plant "no less than 150 Oak 75 Ash and 75 Elms and 30 Beech, Spanish Chestnut, Larch, Fir, or some of such Trees" per acre. At a meeting lasting from 22nd - 25th December 1806 the draft of the Award was ordered to be made. However the work was delayed for some time while Hodson studied the title deeds of John English Dolben, who had requested that his allotments be set out under their several titles. Finally on July 12th, 1807, the first part of the draft Award was examined, and the whole was approved and ordered to be engrossed on 22nd August. The engrossment was examined from October 28th - 31st, and, after some delay, it was executed on January 23rd, 1808, "in the presence of several of the Proprietors who attended for that purpose" at Wellingborough. Its enrolment with the Clerk of the Peace of Northamptonshire was ordered, and this took place on August 15th, 1815.

A final meeting was held on 18th and 19th March, when the accounts were settled, and the work of the commissioners was done. They had reallocated 3,305 acres, 3 roods and 24 perches

* *i.e.*, a rent which represents the full annual value of the land.

[6] Finedon Inclosure Commissioners Minute Book, Burnham Son & Lewin Collection, Box 1219.

of open field land amongst 66 people. West Field, Townside Field, North Side Field, North East Field, South East Field, Sallowside Field, Ryeborough Hill Field, the Meadows, Upper Field, Calwell Hill Field, Neasdale Hill Field, Welshill Field, West Meadow and South Meadow ceased to exist in their ancient forms, and Finedon assumed more of the aspect which we know today.

The largest allotments were made to the Vicar, Sir Charles Cave, who received a total of 712a. 2r. 30p. in lieu of glebe and tithe. Sir William Dolben as Lord of the Manor received 499a. 3r. 3p. as compensation for his loss of certain manorial rights, although 759a. 2r. 13p. of the land allotted was still copyhold. Other large landowners were John English Dolben with 392a. 1r. 31p., 206a. 3p. of which was land settled on him at his marriage while the remainder had been purchased from nine different owners. In a similar way 23a. 3r. 4p. of Archibald Morron's 208 acres had been purchased from seven different charitable and religious bodies. The Rev. John Mulso, a descendant of the family who were Lords of the Manor of Finedon before the Dolbens acquired it in the seventeenth century, had 196a. 1r. 3p. and Earl Fitzwilliam 142a. 0r. 13p. At the other end of the scale there were 12 people with allotments of less than 2 acres. Of the 46 cottagers listed amongst the pre-inclosure proprietors, only one of whom had been against the inclosure, six were given grants of just over 1 acre, purely in right of their cottages, 32½ cottages were owned by proprietors of other lands, and 7½ cottagers received no grants at all.[7]

When the final accounts of the cost of inclosure were made, £6,417-8-1[8] had passed through the bank, and there was a surplus of income over expenditure of £83-13-9. The fees for the two surveyors amounted to £1,283-17-1, the solicitors' bill was £699-18-1, while the three commissioners were paid a total of £980-2-6. £1,090-5-11 was spent on roads, and £827-4-3 on fences and hedges.

The surviving tavern bills add up to £282-10-2, and that for Christmas Eve 1806, spent at the Hind at Wellingborough is typical of them:

" Breakfasts - - - - — 9 —
Dinrs - - - - - — 17 6
Beer - - - - - — 2 6
Sherry - - - - - — 5 —
Port - - - - - — 15 —
Brandy - - - - - — — 6
Fruit etc. - - - - — 3 —
Paper etc. - - - - — 2 —
Linnel Eating etc. - - - — 2 —
Cards - - - - - — 2 6 " [9]

(William Linnell had attended this meeting to report on the best means of making roads). The remainder of the money had been spent on compensation, gates and stiles, and minor works such as the provision of coversinks for drainage, small items in themselves, but which can quickly add to the final cost.

By far the largest contributor to the rate was Sir William Dolben who was assessed at £1,332-18-2, a good fifth of the total. The Vicar was exempted from any payment by the Inclosure Act. The smallest sum received was 1/3 from James Rice, while the 8d. which was due from William Chown never seems to have been collected.[10]

SUSAN RANSON.

[7] Finedon Inclosure Award, Quarter Sessions Records, Enrolled Awards, Vol. N.
[8] Bank Pass Book, Finedon Inclosure, Burnham Son & Lewin Collection, Box 1219.
[9] Bundle of Tavern Bills, Finedon Inclosure, Burnham Son & Lewin Collection, Box 1219.
[10] Commissioners Minute Book and Bank Pass Book.

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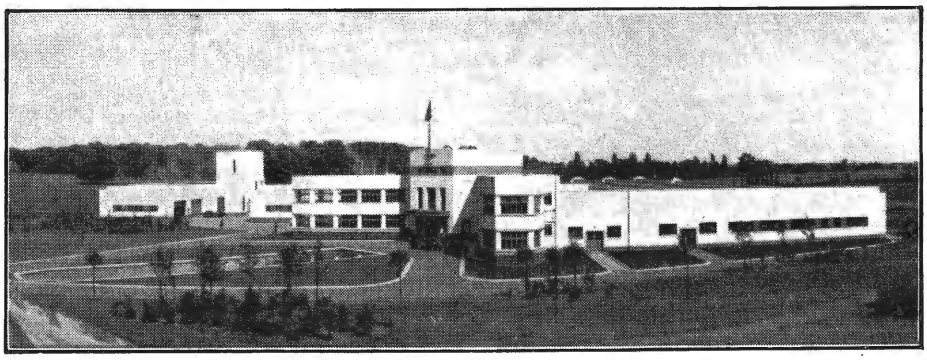

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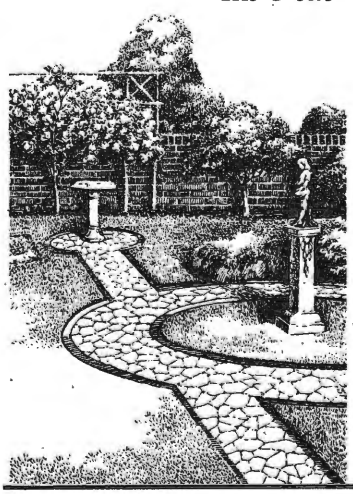

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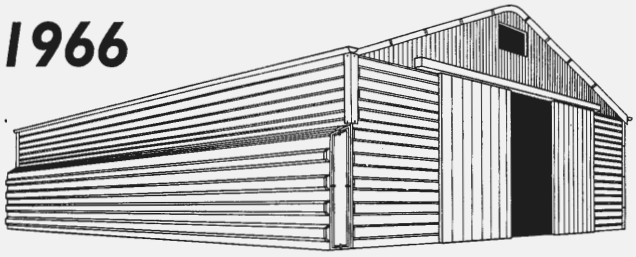

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The Last Basset of Weldon

The Bassets of Weldon were one of the great judicial families of England from the time of the Norman kings. Geoffrey Ridel, justiciar of England, perished in the wreck of the "White Ship" in 1120, *when the king's son and heir, William, was drowned, together with his natural brother Richard, his sister Matilda and "divers of the King's great Officers of State, and several of the chief nobility, to the number of a hundred and sixty persons . . .".*[1] *Maud, the daughter and heiress of the justiciar married Richard son of Ralph Basset, her son Ralph taking his father's name, and her son Geoffrey that of his mother. Richard, son of the justiciar, took the name of Basset and his descendants held land at Pytchley. Ralph Basset of this family was seated at Weldon, early in the* 13*th century, and the family held the manors of Weldon and Pytchley. This latter manor was known as Bassets manor, later known as Staffords,*[2] *and was a separate manor until the* 16*th century when the Ishams acquired both that manor and the manor of Engaynes, which was held by the tenure of wolf-hound serjeantry, of special interest in view of Pytchley's long connection with hunting*[3]*. In the following article Mr. Goodman tells the story of the last Basset of Weldon.*

After Richard Basset's death, his uncles succeeded in their object, Weldon passing to John Knyvet, and Pytchley to Sir Thomas Aylesbury. Thus a famous name disappeared from the roll of Northamptonshire landowners.

Courtesy of British Museum

Seal of Ralph Basset of Weldon (*tempus* Edward III): a shield of arms, three piles within a border bezantée, suspended by loop and between two wingless wyverns. The arms of the Bassets were Or, three piles gules within a border sable bezantée.

In the 14th century the Bassets of Great Weldon were an old established family there and in other properties on either side of the Welland. In 1339 Ralph Basset married the daughter of a London citizen: his father Sir Ralph (d.1341) settled the reversion of the inheritance on the couple and their heirs male, with remainder in default to his own right heirs. In 1368 Ralph the son was professed a canon-regular in Launde Priory (Leics.), a family foundation, of which he had held the patronage: his son Ralph then received the inheritance in Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire and Staffordshire.[4] The latter was killed in June 1385 by three villagers of Cottingham, in Rockingham Forest, on the road along which he may have been travelling between his manors of Weldon and Weston. In July and August juries in the five counties where he had property found that his son Richard, aged eight, was the heir. At court and in Northamptonshire he was regarded as the rightful heir: before these inquisitions were held, ten days after his father's death, a grant of wardship and marriage was made to William Corby of Little Weldon, Richard II's esquire (marshal of the hall in 1394). Sir Ralph Basset had been

[1] Eachard, *Hist of England*, I, 173.

[2] Eleanor, daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas Aylesbury married Humphrey Stafford.

[3] *V(ictoria) C(ounty) H(istory of) Northamptonshire*, Vol. IV, 209.

[4] J. Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, II, 354; *V.C.H. Leics.*, V, 332; *C(omplete) P(eerage)*, II, 9-12; Basset of Weldon Cartulary, B.M., Sloane Roll, XXXI, 4; *C(alendar of) I(nquisitions) P(ost) M(ortem)*, XII, pp. 191-2; *C(alendar of) F(ine) R(olls)*, 1356-68, 394, 397; *VCH Leics.*, II, 10.

well-known; in February 1385 he was first witness to an enfeoffment made by William la Zouche, lord of Harringworth to a group headed by Bishop Buckingham of Lincoln and including Justice Holt and the royal clerk John Waltham.[5]

After the inquisitions were held, in September Sir Ralph's widow Eleanor received her dower, and the large part of the inheritance which she held as jointure—property in Ashley and Pytchley, Drayton Beauchamp (Bucks.), Wilstone (Herts.) and Madeley Holme (Staffs.). Corby's expectations may have been disappointed by the size of her jointure, for he never paid the purchase price for his grant. In October 1385 Eleanor was granted wardship of the other Basset properties: of manors in Great Weldon and Weston by Welland, and of property in Welham, Thorpe Langton, Langton and Great Bowden (Leics.), at a farm of 50 marks p.a. She was to provide for Richard's upkeep until the king granted his marriage. By 17th December she had married John Clisby—possibly a royal servant of Lincolnshire origin. If the stranger Clisby's status was lower and his wealth less than his wife's, the marriage may have caused resentment among relatives and neighbours. In December Sir Thomas Green of Green's Norton, Sir Henry Green of Drayton, John Wydville of Grafton, John Tyndale of Deene and John Mulso of Newton were appointed by the Council to arrest whoever had broken into and damaged the property of Clisby, his wife and others in Pytchley. In 1388 Thomas Colman, Prior of Launde, was ordered by the Council to stop quarreling with his canons: he was to "make no attempt which may tend to the prejudice or disherison" of the king's ward Richard Basset, to whom the patronage belonged.[6]

From 1390 onwards the hold of Clisby and his wife on the Basset inheritance was threatened from two sides. Relatives attempted to disinherit Richard, but were prevented by the Crown's legal protection of the property of a minor in its ward. It was not disinterested protection: the king was able to enjoy the minor's ecclesiastical patronage, members of his household to angle for grants of marriage and wardship. In 1390 Lady Moleyns, a Buckhamingshire landowner, was granted Richard's marriage, and soon afterwards the wardship of his whole inheritance, dower excepted, at a farm of 50 marks p.a. That year the king ratified Queen Anne's farm of a manor to Lady Moleyns: in 1392 he described the latter as his kinswoman. In 1391 her grant of wardship was confirmed on more favourable terms. The grants of wardship to Lady Moleyns are puzzling, since in 1385 Eleanor had received that of the Basset properties which she did not hold as dower or jointure. In 1393 she and her husband were said to be holding lands of the inheritance in Northamptonshire "at farm by appointment of the king".[7]

Nearly a year after Lady Moleyns received her first grants Thomas Basset, clerk, Richard's great-uncle, claimed part of the inheritance, citing the fine made before the justices in 1339 by which his father Sir Ralph (d.1341) had entailed Weldon, Weston and the advowson of Launde Priory on his son and heir, Ralph, and the latter's wife. Thomas now claimed that the grantees had died without male issue, therefore the properties should revert to himself as his father's next heir. In January 1391, after deliberation by justices and counsel in Chancery, his case in the Common Pleas was suspended until Richard was of age. The 1385 Northamptonshire inquisition,

[5] P.R.O., Chancery Miscellanea, C.47, Bdle 71, File 4, No. 154; *ibid.*, Chancery Inq.p.m., C.136, File 35, No. 8; *C(alendar of) P(atent) R(olls), 1381-5*, 32,572; *C(alendar of) C(lose) R(olls), 1381-5*, 623. Corby acquired property in Little Weldon in 1378, and was described as marshal of the hall in a royal grant of property in Great Weldon in 1394 (Bodleian, MS.Top.Northants.,C.12). In 1392 he and his wife, who had been the king's nurse, received a royal grant of Little Weldon manor for their lives *(CPR, 1391-6*, 43*)*. The Basset manors of Weldon and Weston were held of the king *(CIPM*, XII, p. 192*)*.

[6] *CCR, 1385-9*, 33; *CPR, 1381-5*, 572; *CFR, 1383-91*, 103; *CPR, 1385-9*, 90; *CCR, 1377-81*, 473; *CFR, 1383-91*, III; *CCR, 1385-9*, 519. The corrody which Clisby was granted in 1380 was granted in 1403 to a serjeant confectioner of the king's spicery *(ibid., 1402-5*, 188*)*. In October 1386 the protection issued for one year "inadvertently" to Clisby, his wife, their servants and tenants at Pytchley and elsewhere was revoked *(CPR, 1385-9*, 226*)*. In 1394 none of Clisby's four mainpernors in a Northamptonshire suit of trespass against him were from the shire *(CCR, 1392-6*, 363*)*.

[7] *CPR, 1388-92*, 177; *CFR, 1383-91*, 314; *CPR, 1388-92*, 243; *ib., 1391-6*, 36; *ib., 1388-92*, 372; *ib., 1391-6*, 294. For the Moleyns family, *CP*, IX, 36-40. In 1391 the queen was granted Rockingham Castle and the stewardship of the forest *(CPR, 1388-92*, 413). In 1397 a wardship was granted with the proviso "provided that the king have not already bestowed it on another" *(ib., 1396-9*, 251*)*.

conducted by the escheator John Tyndale, which had found Richard to be the son and heir of Sir Ralph Basset (allegedly the son and heir of the grantees) weighed heavily in the decision. Thomas Basset waited five years after his nephew Sir Ralph's death before pressing his claim. He may have been on bad terms with Ralph, who seems to have disseised him of property in Great Weldon in 1376. Thomas may have pressed the claim in the interest of his nephews, Sir John Aylesbury of Milton Keynes (Bucks.) and John Knyvet of Winwick (sons and heirs of his sisters Joan and Eleanor). Possibly they found it difficult to get Thomas's agreement to do it. He died in 1391: Aylesbury was then in his 57th year: since the 1360s he had played a leading part in the local government of Buckinghamshire, and was a person of high repute there. Knyvet was aged about 33, and possessed property in six shires: information about him is scanty, compared to his distinguished father, the Chancellor. Neither of them (as far as the evidence shows) had been associated with the Basset of Weldon family in recent years.[8] Aylesbury and Knyvet were determined to pursue Thomas Basset's claim: in 1391 feelings ran high between the divided relatives. In July Aylesbury's son Sir Thomas had sureties (including John Wydville and John Tyndale) to keep the peace towards William (*sic*) Clisby: in October both Aylesburys went surety not to harm John Clisby (Wydville again being a surety). In 1391 and 1392 Sir John Aylesbury and Knyvet put forward their claim to Weldon, Weston and the advowson of Launde Priory on the same grounds as had Thomas Basset: it was suspended on the same grounds.[9]

In November 1392 (nearly a fortnight after a writ to the justices of the Common Bench had stayed their last plea) the king's cousin and favourite the Earl of Rutland was granted fines incurred for waste by Clisby in the Basset dower lands. Rutland possibly procured the four Northants. commissions appointed between December 1392 and June 1393 to enquire into waste in the Basset property held by Eleanor (the second commission dated the same day as another grant of fines to Rutland). She may have married Clisby impulsively: an experienced and influential landowner would have been better able to look after her interests. Rutland's interest could have been quickened by his Northamptonshire contacts. All four commissions were made out to John Mulso and the escheator: Mulso, of Newton, was Rutland's attorney in 1394. Rutland knew leading local landowners: in 1396 he was a Zouche feoffee. His father, the Duke of York, held Fotheringhay: father and son may have founded their college in its castle chapel shortly before 1398. In January 1394, after the death of Clisby's wife Eleanor, Rutland was granted the wardship of all the Basset dower and jointure she had held: this was three days after escheators were ordered not to act on the customary writs to enquire into her possessions. Meanwhile Richard was putting the patronage of Launde Priory to his own use. Prior Colman's successor was described in 1393 as the king's "secret chaplain": his successor was a royal envoy. In the same year Richard started the process of founding a chantry at Launde, which he endowed with three of the priory's churches in 1397-8.[10]

Aylesbury and Knyvet (who appear to have lacked influential friends at court) were not deterred by the interest of the king and his cousin in the wardship. They produced a different claim to the Basset inheritance, which neatly circumvented the suspension of their claim based on the 1339 entail. The justices had taken their stand on the 1385 inquisition, which had found Richard to be the son and heir of Sir Ralph. In the petition they presented in the 1393 parliament

[8] P.R.O., Common Pleas, C.P.40, Roll No. 520, Hilary, m.497; *CP*, ii, 12; Bodleian, MS. Top. Northants., C.12, ff.324-6; *VCH Bucks*, IV, 402; *CIPM*, X, p.229; *VCH Hunts*., III, 67,121; P.R.O., Cal. of Inquisitions, Richard II, p.149. The 1385 escheator was probably the John Tyndale whom William lord Zouche left a life grant in 1381, and the John Tyndale the elder of Deene mentioned in 1395 (A. Gibbons, *Early Lincoln Wills*, 92; Bodleian, MS. Top. Northants., C.12, f.319). Sir John Aylesbury had been sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire from 1365 until 1371, and in 1373, 1377, 1381, 1382 and 1386: he was frequently appointed on Bucks. commissions of peace, etc. (P.R.O., *List of Sheriffs*, 2; *CPR*, *passim*).

[9] *VCH Bucks*, IV, 402; *CCR*, *1389-92*, 488, 498; *CP*, 11,12; P.R.O., C.P.40, Roll No. 527, Mich., m. 294; *CCR*, *1392-6*, 79.

[10] *CPR*, *1391-6*, 200, 232, 235, 294, 353, 204; *CPR*, *1391-6*, 477; *CCR*, *1396-9*, 66; A. Hamilton Thompson in *The Archaeological Journal*, LXXV, 244; *CFR*, *1391-9*, 106; *CCR*, *1392-6*, 244; *VCH Leics*., II, 11. There is a brass commemorating Mulso and his wife Joan in Newton Church (Mill Stephenson, *A List of the Monumental Brasses*, etc., 387). William la Zouche left a bequest to him in 1396 (Gibbons, 93).

(printed for the first time in entirety in the Appendix) they claimed the Northamptonshire and Leicestershire properties as heirs of this Sir Ralph, asserting that Richard was the son of Tybot Lowekin. The new inquisitions they asked for were certainly held—but it is likely that Richard was again found to be Sir Ralph's son and heir. In 1396 they renewed their claim that Sir Ralph's parents had died without male issue, citing the 1339 fine entailing on the latter Thorpe Langton (Leics.) and Madeley (Staffs.): as regards the second manor, the plea was suspended in 1397 during Richard's minority. In 1398 they claimed on similar grounds Basset manors in Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire, to no effect, against those who were holding the wardship—Rutland (now Duke of Aumarle), Sir Hugh Despenser of Collyweston, John Mulso, Nicholas Bradshaw, Adam Lichfield, Thomas Wydville and Robert Wintringham, clerk. A fortnight before the last suspension of their plea, in August 1398, the escheators were ordered to give Richard Basset livery of the inheritance, though he was not yet of age. Before 23rd January 1399, by a cruel irony of fate, the young man suffered a death similar to his father's: he was killed by two men of Towcester, possibly near there, on the highway leading through Whittlewood Forest. These deaths are a sad comment on rural lawlessness in Northamptonshire. In February 1399 a grant was made of goods of three Hanley foresters who had committed two murders at Towcester. In December 1399 the group who had held the wardship in the previous year, with the exception of Lichfield, and the addition of Sir Thomas Shelley, John Verdon and Henry Brown, were pardoned for acquiring Weldon, Rockingham and Weston from Richard Basset without licence: and were licensed to enfeoff another group in the properties. Shelley and Verdon were retainers of John Holand, Earl of Huntingdon, Richard II's half-brother, who held the custody of Rockingham Castle and Forest. Richard Basset's connections with the higher nobility might have opened up for him a glittering career had he lived. The group enfeoffed in December 1399 may have granted Weldon and Weston to Aylesbury and Knyvet as the heirs: three of them were acting as Sir Thomas Aylesbury's Weston feoffees in 1411. His father had held a moiety of the inheritance at his death in 1409. Knyvet was holding Great Weldon in 1402: at his death in 1418 he possessed the other moiety of the inheritance. The only inquisition *post mortem* of 1399 into Richard Basset's property which survives is apparently that held in Leicestershire—the jurors believed him to have been Lowekin's son, a story originating in Staffordshire. Thorpe Langton and property in Welham (Leics.) were retained in the king's hand until 1409, when by a new inquisition in that county Richard was found to be Sir Ralph's son, and Aylesbury and Knyvet his heirs.[11]

The brief history of the last Basset of Weldon illustrates what could happen when family solidarity broke down. For eight years Aylesbury and Knyvet strove to disinherit their young nephew. The legal protection afforded to the property of a royal minor defeated them. The weight of admissible evidence was against their assertions of illegitimacy: but we cannot entirely discount them. Neither claimant appears to have been in the habit of chicanery. Canon Ralph Basset's brother had put forward a claim first. No more than juries composed of tenants and neighbours, who could only pronounce on the notorious facts of tenure, and might be swayed by current rumour, can we penetrate the secrets of family life.

Richard Basset's history illustrates how courtiers coveted wardships, often using local knowledge in securing them. One of the greatest at court, Rutland, eventually secured Richard's

[11] C.P. 40, Roll No. 541, Easter, m.152d; *CCR, 1396-9*, 91; CP 40, Roll No. 552, Hilary, m.120; *CCR, 1396-9*, 309, 395; *CPR, 1396-9*, 431; *ib.*, 468, 486; *ib.*, 325; *Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux*, ed. B. Williams, 259; *CPR, 1391-6*, 208; *ib., 1388-92*, 394; *ib., 1408-13*, 301; *CIPM*, III, p.327; Bodleian, MS.Top.Northants.,C.12,f.326; Bridges, II, 354; *CCR, 1413-9*, 495; Chancery, C. 136, File 102, No. 4; *CP*, 11, 12; *CFR, 1405-13*, 142.

In October 1398 Sir John Aylesbury, too infirm to plead in person, had attorneys in all courts for one year *(CPR, 1396-9*, 418*)*. His son had appeared in the Common Pleas on his behalf earlier in the year (C.P.40, Roll No. 552, m.120). Sir Hugh Despenser was Huntingdon's deputy at Brest in 1389, and William Zouche's executor in 1396 *(CPR, 1388-92*, 49; Gibbons, 93). For the family at Collyweston, see Bridges, II, 435. There is a brass to Robert Wintringham, Canon of Lincoln, in Cotterstock Church. He was Aumarle's attorney in 1399 (Mill Stephenson, 381; *CPR, 1396-9*, 519). It was found by inquisition into Sir Ralph Basset's property in Staffordshire in in March 1391 that Thomas Basset, clerk, was his heir (Exchequer Inq.P.M.,E.149, File 58, No. 3).

wardship: the influence of a king's favourite, and the advice of his councillors and officials may have been valuable to an inexperienced young man in countering the claims of predatory relatives, and in running the estates. Minors' lands were indeed sometimes depredated by guardians: but Rutland put the wardship in the hands of his Northamptonshire friends and servants. They may have been concerned to guard the interests of an ancient local family. County society was close-knit: claimants to a Northamptonshire inheritance petitioning in the 1395 parliament complained about the local network operating in favour of the possessor. The claimants were ". . . d'autre Countee, et a cause que le dit Thomas est cy grauntement mayntenu par les graundes de mesme le Countee . . . ils ne purront nulle recoverer avoir envers luy par la commune ley . . .".[12]

ANTHONY GOODMAN.

[12] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, 326-7.

APPENDIX

THE following undated petition (P.R.O., Ancient Petitions, S.C.8, File 88, No. 4399) was probably presented during the parliament which met at Winchester from January 20th until February 10th 1393.[1] The Chancellor then and during Easter and Michaelmass terms 1392 was Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of York: he may have failed to act in the case in 1392 because of the Chancery decisions in that and the previous year to protect Richard Basset's tenure during his minority.

A nostre tresredoute Seignur le Roi et a tresnobles et sages Seignurs de cest present parlement

Supplient Johan Aylesbury Chivaler et Johan Knyvet Cosyns et hers Rauf Basset de Weldon Chivaler cestassavoir Johan Aylesbury fitz Johanne soer a Rauf pier le dit Rauf Basset de Weldon Chivaler et lavauntdit Johan Knyvet fitz Alianore autre(?) soer le dit Rauf pier le dit Rauf Basset de Weldon Chivaler que come les avauntditz Johan et Johan nadgairs pursuerent a nostre Seignur le Roi par peticione reherceantz que le dit Rauf Basset de Weldon Chivaler morust seise en son demesne come (de fee?) de le manoir de Weldon ove les apurtenances tenuz de Roi en chief et de la manoir de Weston sur Wylond ove les appurtenances quex extendent en Sutton et Dyngele tenuz de Roi en chief en le Counte de Northampton de dyce acres de pree et demy(?) en Welham en le Counte de leycestre tenuz de Roi en chief et de diverses terres et tenementz ove les apurtenances en les villes de Thorp langeton langeton et Boudon en le Counte de leycestre tenuz dautres apres(?) . . . mort briefs de diem clausit extremum isserount severalment(?) a les Eschetours des ditz Countees devaunt quex estoit severalment trove que le dit Rauf Basset de Weldon Chivaler morust seisi en son demesne come de fee de les manoirs terres et tenementz suisdit en les ditz Countees et que un Richard fuist fitz et heir le dit Rauf Basset de Weldon Chivaler et que le dit Richard fuist deinz age par quoy les avauntditz manoirs terres et tenementz en tous les ditz Countees severalment estoient seisez es mayns nostre dit Seignur le Roi . . . . . offices ent retornez en la Chauncellarie nostre dit Seignur le Roi pluis plenement apiert, la ou le dit Rauf Basset de Weldon Chivaler eut morust seisi saunz issu de son corps et que le dit Richard nest mye le fitz le dit Rauf Basset de Weldon Chivaler einz le fitz un Tybot lowekyn, et que les avauntditz Johan et Johan sont cosyns et heirs le dit Rauf Basset de Weldon Chivaler come devaunt est dit. Suppliantz et priantz al hautesse nostre dit Seignur le Roi comander son Chaunceller . . . (as ditz?) suppliantz briefs de mandamus denquere de la dice matere a les Eschetours des ditz Countees et atauntz et tiels come lour busoignera en les ditz cases, et sur ceo nostre tresredoute Seignur le Roi envoiast la dite supplicacion enclosez deinz ses honurables lettres directez a son Chaunceller en le terme de pasche darrein passe luy comandant que vieu et entendu la dice supplicacione et la matere compris en ycelle ferroit faire toucheant ceste matere as ditz

[1] *Calendar of Inquisition post mortem* (Record Commission), vol III, no. 153, p. 173; J. Nichols, *History . . . and Antiquities of the County of Leicester* (1798), vol. II, pt. II, p. 862.

suppliantz ceo que les leys et usages de son . . . (et sur ceo)? les ditz suppliantz ount pursuez longement a le dit Chaunceller pur avoir respons de la matere avauntdite contenuz en la dice supplicacione et les lettres avauntditz, dount ils ne purront nul respouns ne fyn avoir de la matere avauntdit. Suppliantz et priantz(?) al hautesse nostre dit Seignur le Roi derechief comander son Chaunceller et tous les Justices de lun banc et delautre de assembler de iour en autre saunz ascun delaye afyn que la dice matere serroit termine et discusse en le terme de seint michel darrein passe et les ditz suppliantz ent responduz selonc ceo que la ley et reson demandent en la matere avauntdite et sur ceo ferroit droit as ditz suppliantz saunz ascun autre delay. Et sur ceo nostre tresredoute Seignur le Roi envoiast la dice supplicacione enclosez deinz ses honurables lettres directez a son Chaunceller luy comandant qil ferroit appeller devaunt lui en la Chauncellarie les Justices de lun banc et de lautre et vieu la dice supplicacione et les matiers compris en ycelles par eux plenenment entenduz ferroit faire as ditz suppliantz toucheantz les maters suisditz plein et owel droit en la dit terme de Seint Michel suivaunt come bonement purroit par la ley. Et sur ceo les ditz suppliantz ont pursuiz longement au dit Chaunceller pur avoir respouns de la matere avauntdite contenuz en la dite supplicacione et les lettres avauntditz, dount ils ne purront nul respouns ne fyn avoir de la matere avauntdice. Qe plese comandez le dit Chaunceller faire droit et ley en la matere avauntdite as ditz suppliantz en cest present terme saunz ascun autre delay pur dieu et en oevre de charite. Considerantz que les ditz suppliantz ount pursuez en la Chauncellarie sur la dite matere par deuz ans et pluis et dount ils ne purront nul fyn ne respons avoir.

Northampton Museum

This year the Northampton Borough Museum celebrates the centenary of the founding of its first Museum Committee. In its early days the Committee's Chairman was that great local historian and antiquarian, Sir Henry Dryden, and the Museum was housed in the Town Hall.

In 1876 the Museum, along with the new Public Library which included the Library of the Mechanics' Institute, was moved to the site of the former County Gaol in Guildhall Road. The Library moved to its present site in Abington Street in 1910, an Art Gallery was established in 1911, and Mr. T. George, previously Librarian and Curator, became the Museum's full-time Curator. An extension to the Art Gallery, dedicated to Thurston L. Shoosmith, followed in 1935.

The Museum's fine collection illustrating the history of the footwear industry is widely noted. But the Museum's staff have also performed valuable service in helping to co-ordinate archaeological research throughout the county. We can be confident that the Museum will continue to serve the cultural needs of an expanding Northampton.

P.A.J.P.

Obituary

By the death on March 28th, 1965, of **Mrs. W. T. Mellows** of Peterborough at the age of 81, the Record Society has lost both a generous benefactor and an honorary member of many years standing. She was the widow of William Thomas Mellows, one of Peterborough's most distinguished sons, who was a founder member and chairman of our Society, and editor of six of its volumes.

Beatrice Mellows was the daughter of William Pitt, Solicitor, of Clifton, Bristol. She was educated privately and at Bristol University, then, deciding to enter the nursing profession, she came to Peterborough Infirmary for her training. Her marriage to Mr. Mellows, then a partner in the well-known firm of Peterborough solicitors of that name, took place at Clifton in 1907. A son, born ten years later, died in early childhood, but in 1920 another son, Anthony, the joy and pride of their lives, was born, and the next 20 years were a period of great happiness. The family firm prospered; Tony did brilliantly at school and college; a move was made from Thorpe Road to a spacious house (The Vineyard) in the Cathedral Precincts, and all was *couleur de rose*. And then the storm-clouds began to gather.

In the late 'thirties Mr. Mellows's health, never robust, started to give ever-increasing anxiety, and long periods of invalidism followed until the end of his life. On the outbreak of war Tony joined the army and in 1944, as a Captain in the 27th Lancers (attached Special Force), was killed fighting with the Maquis in France on the same day as the death on active service in the Royal Navy of Lieutenant-Commander John Hart, a beloved nephew. Mrs. Mellows was later flown to France in a military plane as the guest of the French Government to attend the Memorial Service at Mont-de-Marsan. She and her husband restored the Cathedral Library at Peterborough in memory of Tony.

In 1948 Mr. Mellows's brother and partner, Colonel Arthur Mellows, was accidentally killed at a level crossing on the railway near Peterborough. Business troubles were followed by the sad death of Mr. Mellows in 1950. Mrs. Mellows then moved to a flat in Lincoln Road where she spent the rest of her life supported by the loving companionship of her widowed niece, Ursula Hart.

Mrs. Mellows was a handsome woman with a charming personality, a devoted wife and mother, and a greatly esteemed personality in the life of the City. Deeply acquainted with grief as she was in her latter years, she faced her sorrows with a gallant and high-hearted courage which touched the hearts of all who knew her.

J.W.

An obituary notice of the late Mr. W. T. Mellows appeared in *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, Vol. I, No. 3.

Archives Teaching Units

The Society has been pleased to welcome more Northamptonshire schools into membership, and is anxious to assist in the teaching of Local History in any way possible. At the Conference recorded in "Notes and News" many teachers felt that the production of Archives Teaching Units would be of immense value. Themes of social and economic history, such as the development of communications, parliamentary enclosure, or the growth of towns could be illustrated by collections of facsimile copies of manuscripts carefully selected from Northamptonshire sources. Such collections of local records would facilitate individual work by pupils and give them an appreciation of the raw material of history. They may well prove valuable in planning courses preparatory to the new C.S.E. examination. It was accordingly resolved that the Conference of History Teachers would greatly welcome the introduction of such Archives Teaching Units, and that the local Educational Authorities should be asked to give such a project their full support.

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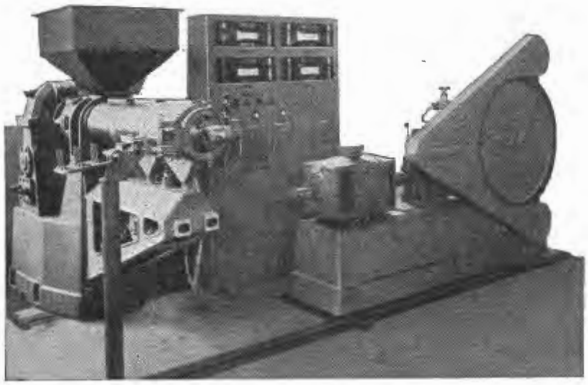

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Book Reviews

JOHN CLARE, *SELECTED POEMS*

Edited by J. W. and Anne Tibble

(J. M. Dent, Everyman's Library, 1965. 15/-)

Professor and Mrs. Tibble have been in the forefront in their appreciation of John Clare, and they were the natural choice to prepare the Everyman Edition of Clare's works. The Introduction is not long, but it gives a good summary of Clare's life, and a most perspicacious study of the man. They have summarised the conclusions of the late Dr. Tennent, and of Lord Brain on the subject of Clare's insanity. Clare's malady in the view of these eminent doctors, was cyclothymic, not schizophrenic. These are, to the layman, rather frightening terms, but this type of mental disorder was one to which "men of broad general powers coupled with a sensitive imagination are naturally exposed". Fellow sufferers with Clare were Smart, Cowper, Newton, Goethe and Samuel Johnson.

Of course, what matters about Clare is the fact not that he suffered from mental disorder, but that he was a poet. Further, as the present editors point out, Clare "wrote because for him to write was as natural and necessary an activity as speaking".

There are many critical questions concerning Clare's poetry. Some of the poems here printed are found only in Knight's transcripts. How far were these accurate? Did Knight, like others, try to polish Clare? In the main, Knight's trustworthiness seems to be accepted by the editors, since they correct certain readings from their 1935 edition of the *Poems*, which is mainly followed. For the general reader, all this seems very fair. Sometime, we may get a complete "critical" edition of Clare; but meanwhile, here is Clare's poetry, as near as can be as he wrote it, to give the reader a comprehensive knowledge of him as a poet.

Dr. Tennent, in his Presidential Address to the Royal Medico-Psychological Association in 1953, dealt with Clare at some length in his "Reflections on Genius". * He concluded with some words of Edmund Gosse on the poet, Swinburne, which are equally applicable to Clare: "The more closely we study, with extremely slender resources of evidence, the lives of great men of imagination and action since the beginning of the world, the more clearly we ought to recognise that a reduction of all the types to one stolid uniformity of what is called "health" would have the effect of depriving humanity of precisely those individuals who have added most to the beauty and variety of human existence". G.I.

SOUTH NEWINGTON CHURCHWARDENS ACCOUNTS, 1533-1684

Transcribed and edited by E. R. C. Brinkworth

(Banbury Historical Society for 1964)

This is Volume 6 of the present useful series of the Banbury Historical Society. These detailed accounts, dating from an early period, record the ecclesiastical changes of the 16th century. Edwardian spoliation does not seem to have been very thorough, as, under Queen Mary's restoration, the Church had only to buy a manual, two vestments and a cope. "Down to the middle of the 19th century, the cover of the holy table was composed of ancient embroidered copes or chasubles in excellent preservation". Under Queen Elizabeth, the reformation seems to have been effected more quickly than in other places, where, for instance, images remained until well on in the reign. At South Newington they were dealt with by 1563, when the mason was paid 5d.

*The Journal of Mental Science, Vol. XCIX, No. 414.

"for pulling stones in the church where images did stand". By 1566, the clergyman was wearing "a comely surplice with sleeves" provided by the parish. These books are evidence of the concern of the authorities for the fabric of the Church. At South Newington, the plumber was paid a quarterly wage for oversight as well as money for specific work, a provision in which the 20th might benefit from 17th century practice. The books shed light on such questions as the frequency of communion services—at South Newington it was four times a year; sermons, visitations both episcopal and archi-diaconal. Also, the Churchwardens had many secular duties, particularly in poor relief on which these accounts shed light.

Washing charges seem to have been high in the 1660's, (1/- for "washinge the surplis"), but the entry in 1665 "Paid for glaseing the church windows" 11/- seems very moderate!

The book is, as is usual with this society, extremely well edited and printed, and there is an excellent reproduction of a drawing of the Church in the Bodleian Library.

HALIFAX TRADING FOUR HUNDRED YEARS AGO

by H. W. Harwood, 5th February, 1963

Halifax Antiquarian Society, c/o Banksfield Museum, Halifax, Yorks.

THE production of wool and woollen goods from Halifax was the main home industry there long before King Edward IV invited Flemish weavers to come to England. Cloth, as the writer of this interesting paper points out, "was made, fulled and dyed" at Halifax from the year 1274. Naturally the long history of this basic Yorkshire industry has been the concern of the Halifax Antiquarian Society for many years. The publication of Dr. Ramsay's book on John Isham's accounts by our Society (Vol. XXI) was naturally of great interest to the Halifax Society, since, as Dr. Ramsay shewed, John Isham traded extensively with the Halifax clothiers, as did his elder brother Gregory. Mr. Harwood's interest in the book is easily explained. He lists the Halifax clothiers mentioned by John Isham, and puts flesh on the bare bones of the account book by recording what is known of the individual clothiers. He has made use of the Halifax parish registers and the local wills to achieve his object, with most interesting results. This shows how the publication of a County Record Society can materially assist research work in another county. Similarly, Mr. Harwood's researches lend point and interest to the published volume.

Mr. Harwood considers that Humphrey (Umfray) Ramsden, who acted as agent for Isham in Antwerp, and elsewhere, and who was trusted completely by his master was probably a Halifax man, and identical with the Umfray Ramsden mentioned in the will of William Ramsden of Elland, as his son (1552). Mr. Harwood has written most appreciatively of the historical value of the Isham Accounts, and the admirable editing of the volume, nor is his own contribution to our understanding of the intricacies of trade in Tudor times without importance. There were no less than twenty-seven clothiers in the Halifax area with whom John Isham had dealings, and it is most satisfactory to know that most of them can be identified from other sources. Halifax, a hundred years before John Isham's time, headed the list of woollen cloth production in Yorkshire, and there was every reason for John Isham to trade there. Quite a number of the Halifax clothiers "tried sharp practices by stretching the cloths too much on the tenters, and by the addition of shoddy known at the time as "flocking" ". This was, no doubt, one reason, as Mr. Harwood says, why John Isham came to Halifax himself to inspect the goods he wished to buy.

G.I.

Book Suggestions

HAVE you ever been in a quandary about **choosing a gift for a friend?** Several of our members in this position have sought our advice about possible books on Northamptonshire. This is really an excellent idea. If your friend is a native of our historic shire, or if he is one of the county's newer residents, a miscellany of Northamptonshire History would be appreciated. May we recommend the bound volumes of this Journal, *Northamptonshire Past and Present*. They are miscellanies of fascinating and scholarly articles on many aspects of Northamptonshire History. The layman, with a short time to while away, will enjoy reading about Early Northamptonshire Cricket, or Poaching in Whittlewood Forest; the motorist will find his exploration of the County enriched; the schoolboys' textbook history will come to life with the local studies contained in *Northamptonshire Past and Present*. Volumes I and II (price £2.2s.0d. to members; £2.10.0d. to non-members, plus 3/6 for postage and packing) may be obtained from the Honorary Secretary, Northamptonshire Record Society, Delapre Abbey. We also have further copies of last year's successful Clare Centenary Edition of *Northamptonshire Past and Present* (price 2/6d., plus 6d. postage).

More **libraries** are recognising the value of *Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy*, 1500-1900. This monumental work, on which Henry Isham Longden, Rector of Heyford, spent twenty years' research, contains biographical notes of over 14,000 clergy, and it is of far more than local interest, as clergy moved from the Diocese of Peterborough into almost every county. In the *English Historical Review*, it was observed that ". . . the contemplation of the massive results of so much research into the minutiæ of biography, moves the reader to mingled astonishment and gratitude. . . . Social and educational changes find ample illustration in these volumes. . . .". No library should deny its local history students, its genealogists or its ecclesiastical historians access to this invaluable work of reference. The sixteen volumes have been bound in red cloth as six, complete with indexes of persons, places and subjects. (Price for the set, £15.15s.0d.).

One of the Society's volumes, which has been in **great demand,** has now been reprinted. *Wellingborough Manorial Accounts*, 1258-1323, edited by Frances M. Page (price to members £2.0s.0d.; to non-members £2.10s.0d. plus postage and packing 2/6d.) gives an illuminating picture of the Crowland Abbey estates in Wellingborough. The introduction describes fully the Manorial administration and jurisdiction; the obligations of feudal tenants, and the system of farming on the Abbey estates. The Oxford Honours School of Modern History has long used this volume as a 'set book'. Now, one of the foremost historians of manorial economy, Mr. T. H. Aston, has added his corrigenda and notes. We are sure that many history teachers in the county will find a fund of local material in this volume to illustrate their lessons on medieval history.

A complete list of the Society's publications will gladly be sent by the Honorary Secretary on request. Meanwhile, may we also mention the following books and pamphlets which are still available at their original low prices:—

The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus with La Geste de Burch (1949)
Edited by W. T. Mellows and A. Bell
This Chronicle, collated from all existing texts, records episodes in the history of Peterborough Abbey together with certain national events between the years 655 and 1177.
Price 15s.0d. (plus postage and packing 2s.6d.)

Royal Archaeological Institute, Report of the Summer Meeting at Northampton (1953)
This report contains descriptions by experts of many of the country houses, churches, ancient hospitals, and other famous buildings in the County; it includes plans and illustrations.
Price 10s.0d. (postage and packing 6d.)

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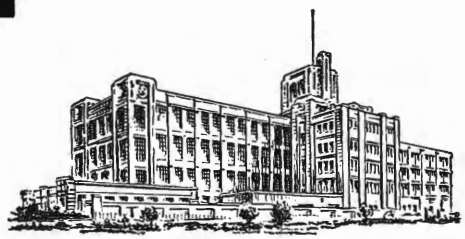

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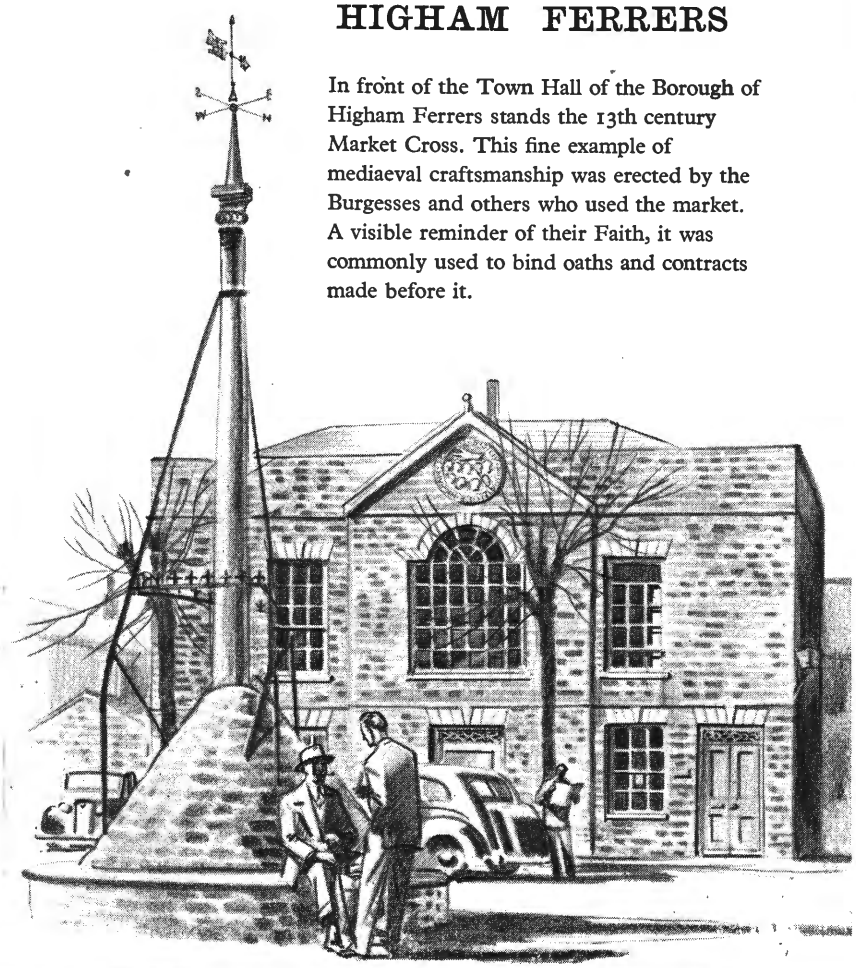

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