NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST & PRESENT

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Journal of
THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY
DELAPRE ABBEY, NORTHAMPTON, ENGLAND
1968/69

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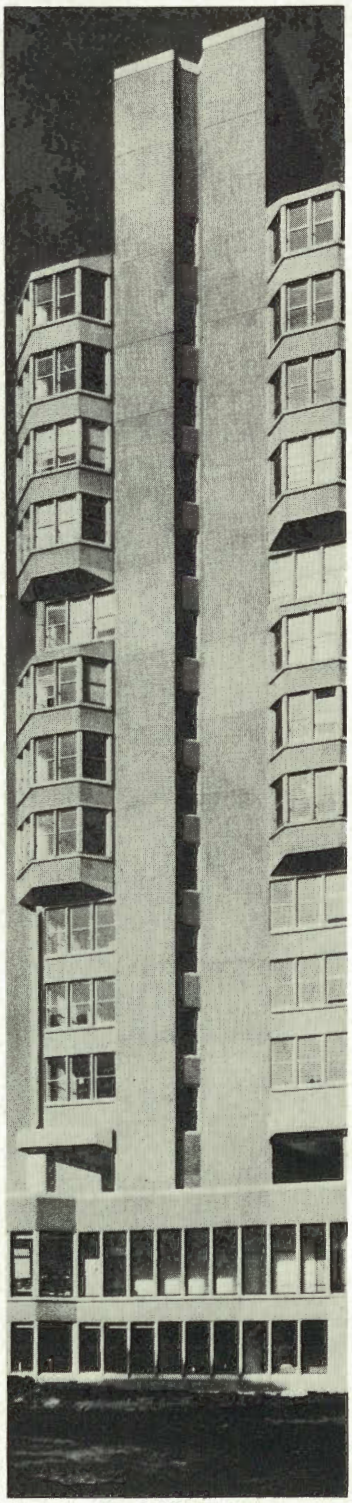

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST AND PRESENT

1968/69

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THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY

(FOUNDED IN 1920)

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

MEMBERSHIP

THE ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION for Individual Members is TWO GUINEAS, and for Institutional Members, THREE GUINEAS. Associate Membership, up to 25 years of age, is 10/- p.a. These subscriptions, payable each January, entitle members to free copies of publications issued for the period in respect of which they have subscribed and give the right to attend meetings and lectures. Forms of application for membership will be gladly sent on request to the Hon. Secretary, Delapré Abbey, Northampton.

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Notes and News

THIS has been a vital and important year for the Society. Not only has our membership reached 1,275, but also we have broken the deadlock in publications. This long time without new volumes—the only reason for keeping the subscription at its present rate—has ended. 1968 has seen the reception by members in January of the reprint of Vol. XIII, *The Foundation of Peterborough Cathedral*, the publication in June of the *Luffield Priory Charters*, Part I, in collaboration with the Buckinghamshire Record Society, and in October, *The Royal Forests of Northamptonshire* by Dr. P. A. J. Pettit. We congratulate all who have made this possible and are delighted that volumes are again coming into your hands.

We welcome Mr. Michael Hurst of St. John's College, Oxford, elected in May to be the new General Editor. He has an interesting programme of forthcoming volumes and we look forward eagerly to their publication. It is a pleasure to have the Earl Compton as one of our Vice Presidents and to add Captain Peter Wake and Mr. Owen M. Jones to our Council.

It is a pleasure to receive and read new volumes, yet many members have wondered how it has been possible to produce these and to maintain in 1968 the subscription of £1. 1. 0*d.* which was initiated with the Society in 1920. We might compare the 1*d.* post, now 5*d.*, and a 1*d.* daily paper, now 6*d.*, so your Council has decided reluctantly to raise the subscription to £2. 2. 0*d.* for individual members and £3. 3. 0*d.* for institutions, leaving that for students at 10*s.* as at present. The Council has discretion to remit the excess fee in individual cases on application. We hope that all members will appreciate the necessity for the increase. The price of 2/6*d.* for *Northamptonshire Past and Present* remains unchanged. This would not be possible without the assistance of our advertisers, to whom we are much indebted.

During the year we have lost several valued members, including Sir Richard Elwes, Mr. J. T. H. Pettit and Mr. R. T. Payne, whose interest and help to the Society have done much to further our work. Mr. Payne left us a legacy of £200, subject to a life interest for his widow. Mr. Pettit at the Annual General Meeting on May 25th seconded the vote of thanks proposed by Mrs. L. M. Gee to Dr. Roger Highfield for his inspiring lecture on the History of Spain in the 15th century.

The Autumn lecture on October 19th by Dr. St. Joseph of Cambridge gave us an aerial view of our countryside and it was fascinating to trace with him the movements of people so long ago from the lines and shapes on the ground as seen from the air.

The recent severance of the Soke of Peterborough from its historic parent county of Northamptonshire, and its merging with Huntingdonshire has meant a careful consideration of the position of the records in the custody of the Northamptonshire Archives Committee. As a result, a new agreement has been negotiated between Huntingdonshire and Peterborough County Council, Northamptonshire County Council and Northampton Corporation, and henceforth there will be a joint Archives Committee on which these three authorities are represented. R.M.M.

NOTABLE among even the many spires of Northamptonshire is the very graceful 15th century spire of the church of Saints Peter and Paul at Easton Mauduit. The church itself is a good example of the decorated period of Gothic architecture, and there are fine monuments to the Yelverton family and other fittings of interest. It is a tiny parish with only ninety inhabitants, but they have shouldered with courage the heavy burden of church restoration, which is much needed to preserve the structure. Despite a generous grant from the Historic Churches Preservation Trust, the parish need all the help that they can get, and the Northamptonshire Record Society is publishing a substantial booklet *Easton Mauduit and Its Parish Church*, written by Sir Gyles Isham and plentifully illustrated by photographs. The section on Thomas Percy, who was vicar in the 18th century, and his friend Samuel Johnson

appears as a separate article in this year's *Northamptonshire Past and Present*. The Marc Fitch Trustees are most generously paying for the publication. This will be available to members of the Record Society at a reduced price. All the proceeds of the sale will be devoted to the Church Restoration Fund.

Our readers will not have forgotten the article by Miss Joan Wake on the destruction of Faxton Church (*Northamptonshire Past and Present*, Vol. II, No. 6). It will be some satisfaction to our readers to know that the monument to the Judge, Sir Augustine Nicholls, has been salvaged by the Victoria and Albert Museum, restored and erected by them in their new gallery of British Sculpture. Other Faxton monuments will later find a place there. The work of restoration has been a difficult one, made more so by the lack of care on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities when the monuments were removed. The Judge's monument, a most impressive one, had been smashed into a hundred pieces, and the restoration reflects all the more credit on the Museum. What happened at Faxton, and the publicity given to it has had one good result, an increasing interest in historic churches, and determination that they should be preserved as part of the National Heritage. Unfortunately, at the recent Diocesan conference, views were expressed which show that there is not the same realisation that church furniture and plate are equally part of this heritage, and some would gladly sell these gifts of past generations for cash, regardless of the fact that they may be subjected to uses which the pious donors would find horrifying. Specious pleas that the church is not an antiquarian society will find no hearing with our members, nor, we are happy to say, with the Historic Churches Preservation Trust, whose grants are given to those who preserve the heritage of past generations intact.

The generous action of Lady Hesketh in depositing the Baker MSS. that she acquired at Delapré has already proved of value to students, and Mrs. Belgion has made use of them to record a parson/squire controversy in the year of Charles II's Restoration. The majority of this year's contributors are already known to our readers, but Mr. Jeffrey Porter of the University of Liverpool contributes for the first time; a valuable article on a dispute in the shoe industry in Northampton in 1887. We are also pleased to print a short poem by Mr. Trevor Hold, Lecturer in music at Liverpool University. Mr. John K. Gruenfelder, assistant professor at the University of Wyoming, has written a most interesting article on the Northamptonshire Elections of 1626. Aristocratic patrons are more usually associated with the 18th century, and there is considerable literature on the subject, but less has been said about the early 17th century. Of the protagonists in the dispute, Lord Montagu and the son of Lord Spencer were both Royalists, although the Earl of Sunderland, Spencer's son, was by no means a supporter of some of Charles I's policies. He fell at the battle of Newbury. Sir Lewis Watson was accused of letting Rockingham fall too easily into the hands of the Parliament, although he vindicated himself, and was made a Peer. Sir John Pickering was the father of Sir Gilbert, an unequivocal opponent of the King, of whose later doings we read in Mrs. Belgion's article. The Earl of Westmorland died soon after the events described, but his son, the 2nd Earl, deserted the King's cause for the Parliament's. However, at the Restoration, he became a King's man again, and was made Lord Lieutenant in 1660. Mr. Gruenfelder's article shows that in Northamptonshire these future actors in the Civil War were, in 1626, far more concerned with their local quarrels, and all of them had a Puritan streak.

We are also indebted to Sir Michael Culme-Seymour for letting us have a photograph of a portrait in his possession of Sir Lewis Watson. We have previously published photographs of two pictures of the other protagonists: Lord Spencer (Vol. I, No. 2), and Lord Montagu (Vol. I, No. 4).

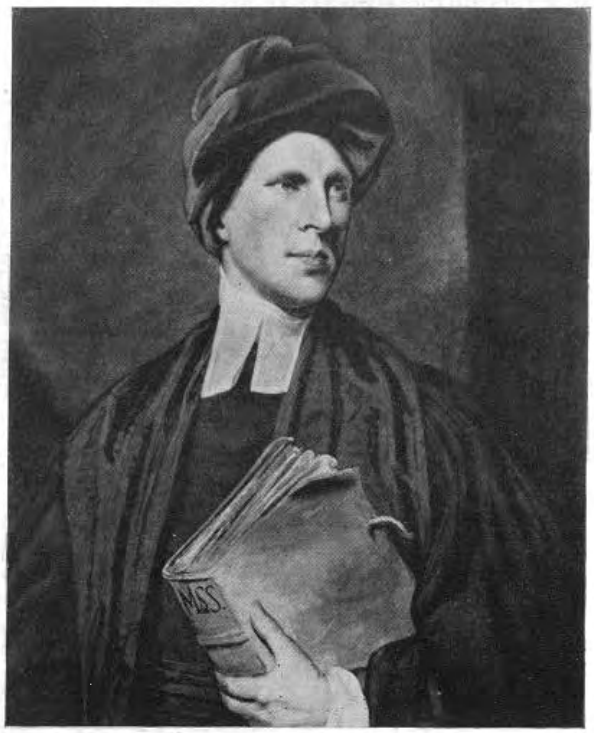
Mr. Anscomb contributes an article on an 18th century inclosure at West Haddon. He is Chairman of the Archives Committee, and we are particularly glad to publish an article by him.

Elsewhere in this issue is an obituary notice of Sir Edward de Capell Brooke, a good friend of the Society. Although Great Oakley Hall is substantially a Tudor house, internal changes, effected by Edward Trollope, Bishop of Nottingham, Sir Edward Brooke's grandfather, have given it a rather Victorian air. There are a number of texts incorporated in the decorative scheme. For instance, over the housemaid's room is written "Servants obey your masters", while over the Squire's room appears "The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open unto their prayers".

Thomas Percy and Samuel Johnson

The acquisition of the patronage of livings by University colleges has been criticised on the grounds that the colleges were interested in providing livings for such of their Fellows who married, or required provision for their retirement, rather than in considering the spiritual care of the parishioners. However, they were the means of providing men of more intellectual power than was otherwise generally available, and, at Easton Mauduit, there is no evidence that the parishioners had any cause for complaint while Christ Church, Oxford was the patron.

The most famous incumbent of Easton Mauduit was Thomas Percy, inducted to the vicarage on 17 June, 1753, shortly after taking priest's orders. He lived in the vicarage until 1780, although in 1778 he was appointed Dean of Carlisle. In 1782, he was made Bishop of Dromore in Northern Ireland. The Cathedral there had been built by another famous English cleric, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, when he was Bishop of Down and Connor. Percy remained Bishop until 1811, when he died at the age of eighty-two, and there he was buried.



Thomas Percy
from a mezzotint after Sir Joshua Reynolds' vanished portrait

It was while vicar of Easton Mauduit that he collected, annotated and published his most famous work, *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, issued in three volumes in 1765. This book had a profound influence on the romantic verses and poems of the early nineteenth century, particularly on the works of Sir Walter Scott. It contained "compositions of all times and dates, from the ages prior to Chaucer, to the conclusion of the reign of Charles I." In his later years, Percy spoke or wrote rather slightingly of this production, and in a letter to his friend Edmund Malone, the Shakesperean critic, deprecated a projected memoir of himself being prefixed by a print of his picture after Abbott: "he cannot by any means think that such a solemn figure is fit to be prefixed to the sportive subjects of the *Reliques*—the gay amusements of early youth, of which he is now frequently reproached by his brethren and other serious persons".[1]

The *Reliques* was dedicated to Elizabeth, Countess of Northumberland "who adorns courts by her presence, and diffuses elegance by her example". Percy claimed descent from the Percies of Northumberland, although he came from Shropshire, and when he matriculated at

[1] The letter, of which the original is missing, dates from 1806-07 and is printed on p. 213 of *The Percy Letters*, Vol. I, ed. A. Tillotson, Louisiana State University Press, 1944.

Oxford, from Christ Church in 1746, at the age of 17, he was described as "pleb". When he signed the subscription register of the University (also, when taking his B.A. and M.A. degrees), he signed himself "Thomas Piercy", as his father had done. But, from 1756, he signed himself "Percy", because he discovered that this was the spelling used by his Worcester ancestors in the sixteenth century, and "this was many years before I had the honour to be known to the Duke or Duchess of Northumberland".[2] He was certainly quick to resent any imputation against the Percies, or Alnwick, their Northumberland castle, and Boswell records "a scene of too much heat" between Percy and his friend Samuel Johnson, because the latter praised the travel writer Pennant, and Percy "having the warmest attachment to the noble house of Northumberland, could not sit quietly and hear a man praised, who had spoken disrespectfully of Alnwick Castle and the Duke's pleasure grounds". However, on this occasion, the storm passed, and Dr. Johnson concluded that Pennant was "*a whig*, sir; a sad dog . . . But he's the best traveller I ever read; he observes more things than anyone else does".[3] Johnson alluded to the controversy in a letter to Boswell some years later, which leaves no doubt of his warm regard for Percy. "The debate between Dr. Percy and me is one of those foolish controversies, which begin upon a question of which neither party care how it is decided, and which is, nevertheless, continued to acrimony, by the vanity with which every man resists confutation . . . If Percy is really offended, I am sorry; for he is a man very willing to learn, and very able to teach; a man out of whose company I never go without having learned something. It is sure that he vexes me sometimes, but I am afraid it is by making me feel my own ignorance . . . Percy's attention to poetry has given grace and splendour to his studies of antiquity. A mere antiquarian is a rugged being".[4]

Percy paid a handsome tribute to Johnson in his Preface to the *Reliques*, "To the friendship of Mr. Johnson he owes many valuable hints for the conduct of the work. And if the glossaries are more exact and curious, than might be expected in so slight a publication, it is to be ascribed to the supervisal of a friend, who stands at this time as the first in the world for northern literature".

Samuel Johnson paid an extended visit to Dr. Percy in the summer of 1764 at his vicarage of Easton Mauduit. His "walk" is still shown to visitors to the house. He arrived on 25 June with "Miss Williams". Mrs. Anna Williams, "daughter of a very ingenious Welsh physician, and a woman of more than ordinary talents and literature", was a constant visitor at Dr. Johnson's house; after Mrs. Johnson's death, "she had an apartment from him, during the rest of her life, at all times when he had a house".[5] Percy, in his unpublished diary, recorded visits on 18 July to Ecton (the Isteds; Percy's daughter Barbara married Samuel Isted in 1795), on 21 July to Hinwick (the Orlebars), and on 23 July to Castle Ashby; "Mr. Johnson I and my wife at My Lord Northampton's public Day". On 25 July "My wife, Miss W^{ms}; Mr. Johnson & I took an airing by Bozeate". On 27 July, the whole party went to Horton to see Lord Halifax. Other visits were paid to Northampton, Wilby, Piddington and Bozeat. On 7 August, "Mrs. Williams went away: I carried her to Horton". Johnson stayed on helping Percy with his Preface and the glossary to the *Reliques*. Finally, on 18 August, "Mr. Johnson returned to London: I carried him to Newport Pagnell in chaise and he went in Berlin".[6]

A Shropshire man himself, Percy found his bride in Northamptonshire, Ann Gutteridge of Desborough, whom he married there on 24 April 1759; she bore him two sons and four daughters. Dr. Johnson thought she had "more sense than her husband". There is a delightful anecdote told of her and Dr. Johnson. "Mrs. Percy afterwards nurse to the Duke of Kent, at Buckingham House, told me that Johnson once stayed near a month with them at their dull parsonage at Easton Mauduit; that Dr. Percy looked out all sorts of books to be ready for his amusement after breakfast, and that Johnson was so attentive and polite to her, that, when Dr. Percy mentioned the literature prepared in

[2] Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, rev. L. F. Powell, 1935, Vol. III, pp. 520,1.

[3] Boswell, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 271 *et seq.*

[4] 23 April, 1778. *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 1952, Vol. II, p. 575.

[5] Boswell, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 232.

[6] Boswell, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 486 and p. 553. Percy's record of the visit in B.M. Add. MS. 32336. Berlin = a coach of a particular form; Chaise = a private carriage drawn by one horse. S. Johnson, *Dictionary*, 1755.

the study, he said 'No, sir, I shall first wait upon Mrs. Percy to feed the ducks'. But those halcyon days were about to change—not as to Mrs. Percy, for to the last, she remained a favourite with him".[7] Fanny Burney in her *Diary* also has something to say about Mrs. Percy in later life. She describes how, during a visit to Bath in 1791, she found "cards left for me by the Bishop of Dromore, Mrs. and Miss Percy . . . The Collector and editor of the beautiful reliques of ancient English poetry, I could not but be happy to again see. I returned the visit: they were out; but the Bishop soon after came when I was at home. I had a pleasant little chat with him". Later on she gives this comment on the Bishop and his wife. "The Bishop is perfectly easy and unassuming, very communicative, and, though not very entertaining because too prolix, he is otherwise intelligent and of good commerce; Mrs. Percy is ill and cannot make visits, though she sends her name and receives company at home. She is very uncultivated and ordinary in manners and conversation, but a good creature, and much delighted to talk over the Royal Family, to one of whom [the Duke of Kent, Queen Victoria's father] she was formerly a nurse. Miss Percy is a natural and very pleasing character".[8]

Percy was also intimate with other members of Johnson's circle such as David Garrick and Oliver Goldsmith, although there is no evidence that they, like Johnson, stayed at the vicarage. Percy pays tribute to Garrick thus in the Preface to the *Reliques*: "in Mr. Garrick's collection of old plays are many scarce pieces of ancient poetry, with the free use of which he indulged the editor in the politest manner". There are several letters to Percy in the recently published definitive edition of Garrick's letters.[9]

Oliver Goldsmith was a more intimate friend of Percy's, and he wrote the life of Goldsmith prefixed to his *Miscellaneous Works*.[10] It was Percy, who, on 31 May 1761, took Dr. Johnson to a supper given at his lodgings in Wine-Office-Court, Fleet Street, the first occasion on which Johnson visited Goldsmith. Percy was much struck by "the studied neatness of Johnson's dress; he had on a new suit of clothes, a new wig nicely powdered, and everything about him so perfectly dissimilar from his usual habits and appearance that his companion [Percy] could not help inquiring the cause of this singular transformation. 'Why, sir', said Johnson, 'I hear that Goldsmith, who is a very great sloven, justifies his disregard of cleanliness and decency, by quoting my practice, and I am desirous this night to show him a better example' ".[11]

When in London, Percy usually lodged at Northumberland House (he was chaplain to the Duke), and he was a member of the Literary Club, which met at the Turk's Head in Gerard Street, and whose members included Sir Joshua Reynolds (who painted Percy's portrait), Dr. Johnson, Edmund Burke, David Garrick, Charles James Fox, Edmund Malone and other leading literary and political figures. He became a member of the Club on 15 February 1768, and his name (as Bishop of Dromore) is included in the list of members in 1797, when there were 40 of them.[12] When in exile from his literary friends in Ireland, Percy never failed to enquire for news of the Club, and Edmund Malone was assiduous in reporting to him who had died, and who had joined the Club.

It must not be thought, however, that Percy's preoccupation with this literary circle lessened his faithful discharge of his clerical duties in his country parish. Johnson said, when writing to a young clergyman in 1780, and giving good advice, "The Dean of Carlisle, who was then a little rector in Northamptonshire, told me, that it might be discerned whether or no there was a Clergyman resident in a parish, by the civil or savage manners of the people".[13] A debt of gratitude must be paid to Percy, moreover, for the care he took of the church registers, which he caused to be bound in one volume, with blank leaves of parchment added, "which are still used for the record of events in the parish other than baptisms, burials and marriages". Percy's own entries of these events are a model of clarity and accuracy. His relations with the Yelvertons and the great house appear to have been unexceptionable, although the family were

[7] *Johnsoniana or Supplement to Boswell*, 1836, pp. 216,7.

[8] *Diary and Letters of Madam D'Arblay*, Vol. V, new edn., 1854, pp. 215,6.

[9] *Letters of David Garrick*, ed. Little and Kahrl, 1963, 3 vols.

[10] *Miscellaneous Works of Oliver Goldsmith* issued in 4 vols., 1812. An earlier edition appeared in 1801. Percy's original MS. life was considerably altered by the Publishers, Messrs. Cadell and Davies, much to Percy's annoyance. See *Percy Letters*, Vol. I, p. 233.

[11] *Miscellaneous Works*, pp. 62,3.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[13] Johnson, *Letters*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 704.

not the patrons of the living. He was specially friendly with Barbara, Lady Longueville, grand-mother of the 2nd and 3rd Earls of Sussex, to whom he dedicated his *Miscellaneous Pieces Relating to the Chinese and Han Kiou Choaan* (1762, 2 vols.).[14] Malone regretted that "the old Countess of Northumberland, Eliz. Howard, who died at 97 in 1705, had not a conference with your old friend Ly Viscountess Longueville, by which we might have had the anecdotes of two centuries". Percy called her "an excellent Chronicle and valuable friend".[15] He naturally regretted "the unfortunate" sale of the last Earl of Sussex's "noble Library".[16]

It is possible that the world might have been deprived of the *Reliques*, as it is recorded that "the work was based on a manuscript with which a housemaid was just about to light a fire in a house which Percy was visiting. He snatched it from her just in time".[17] However Percy himself came to regard this book, it will always remain a classic of its kind, and it is a matter of pride that it emanated from a Northamptonshire parsonage.

The writer wishes to thank Mr. R. W. Ketton-Cremer for helpful suggestions, and the full use of his library at Felbrigg.

GYLES ISHAM.

[14] Lowndes, *Bibliographer's Manual*, new edn. 1864.
[15] *Percy Letters*, *op. cit.*, pp. 111,2.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 115.
[17] *Northants and Rutland Clergy*, Vol. X, Preface.

COMPETITION

Although the fact is recorded in a footnote to L. F. Powell's revised edition of Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell's Life of Johnson* (1935), it is not generally known that Dr. Samuel Johnson attended Lord Northampton's public day at Castle Ashby on 23 July, 1764. He was taken over from Easton Mauduit by Dr. Thomas Percy, while a guest at the vicarage there (see p. 140). Spencer, 8th Earl of Northampton (1738-96) succeeded to Castle Ashby on the death of his brother on 8 October, 1763.

Prizes are offered for the best account of the visit, which might have been described by Dr. Johnson on his return to London to James Boswell, and recounted by him in his *Life of Johnson*. Boswell was actually in Holland at the time of Johnson's visit to Easton Mauduit, although he had already become acquainted with him. Not more than 300 words should be used.

1st Prize A free copy of any volume still available issued by the Northamptonshire Record Society.

2nd Prize A free visit for two persons to Castle Ashby on an "open" day, and two free teas in the refreshment room (by kind permission of the Marquess of Northampton).

The entries will be judged by Mr. R. W. Ketton-Cremer, and should be sent to the Editor, *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, Lamport Hall, Northampton, by 1 May, 1969, enclosing a stamped addressed envelope.

REGISTERED PERISHABLE GOODS

"I have taken order with the pulter to bryng your woorship weekly VI hennes (all dead), for by no meanes I can hyer hym to carry them alive. I have tied a peece of paper sealed about the hennes leggs & also ye turkies. I would have sent them up in a hamper but I could not intrst hym to bryng it bak agayne".

4 January 1580/1.

Thomas Hurland of Fotheringhey to Mr. William Fitzwilliam, Esq dwellyng over against the glasse house by ye Tower in London.

F(M)C. 72.

The Poor in Rothwell, 1750-1840

In the church chest at the Parish Church, Rothwell there are a number of documents relating to the poor law administration, which throw a good deal of light on conditions of life for the poor in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They include settlement bonds, indentures and orders of justices of the peace; also workhouse accounts, bastardy bonds and, particularly valuable for the period of the late 1820s onwards, the vestry minute books. The Kettering Vestry Minutes 1797-1853[1] edited by S. A. Peyton, provide an illuminating parallel situation and taken together we can reconstruct a good deal of the life of the poor in this area one hundred and thirty years ago.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of life among the labouring poor of Rothwell was the uncertainty of employment which necessitated frequent recourse to the parish. It must be realised that the *textile industry* was the most substantial alternative occupation to agriculture at the beginning of the nineteenth century in this part of the county.[2] Robert Panter of Rothwell, weaver, asks why he is not allowed employment by the parish when he is not in work, has a wife and one child.[3] Joseph Bodymore "has no employ—a weaver for Mr. Harris of Kettering—has been out of work three weeks on Saturday—has one child only nine years of age—has not earned more than 7*s*. per week take one week with another has not saved money—has a boy aged 17 years who lives with him and earns more than he can; another child aged 14 years earns 2*s*. per week. Will be content with an allowance of 5*s*. until next vestry".[4] Richard Goodman, weaver, "asks for employment, has had no weaving during the last fortnight; has 2 looms in his shop: has been teaching the trade to two boys during the last year: has a stock of goods in the hats and hosiery in his shop".[5] Samuel Ginns, junior and William Ashby, weavers of silk, apply "for assistance stating they cannot earn sufficient to maintain their familys on account of reduction of wages" (not allowed).[6] Women and children were also employed in the textile industry. William Yeomans' wife applied to have her two daughters aged 11 and 12 partly maintained by the parish, they being unable to maintain themselves at the Lace Pillows".[7] One way the parish dealt with the unemployment of textile workers was to provide them with work of a like nature. Here Kettering had shown the way in the eighteenth century. The theory was that "the poor by exercising suitable employment might largely contribute towards the expenses of their upkeep".[8] We find that the overseers are directed to pay a bill "one to Mr. Neal of London for hemp"[9] and again "that half a ton of hemp and five cwt. of flax be ordered for the employment of boys and men".[10] Widow Sharman who applies for more relief is "to have spinning".[11] We know from the accounts in the eighteenth century (May 5th, 1774) that there is a bill for mending the spinning equipment at the workhouse. Similarly in April 1776 we find that the overseer of the poor pays "for half a year's rent of William Hoboys house and loom due ye 5th of April". As at Kettering, the weaving of wool was replaced at Rothwell partly by the weaving of silk and partly by shoemaking with silk predominating during the first half of the nineteenth century. The census records for Rothwell in 1851 contain the names of 62 men aged twenty years and over who were weavers and 46 men who were shoemakers.[12] The trade of *shoemaking* was similarly subject to trade depressions. We hear that Samuel Tebbutt,

[1] Northamptonshire Record Society, Vol. VI, 1933.

[2] This is brought out in Kettering Vestry Minutes, p. xvi. Also the Rothwell Militia list compiled in 1777 contains the names of 156 men (all of them between the ages of 18 and 45 years) of whom 65 (42%) are stated to be weavers. (I owe this information to Mr. V. A. Hatley who is preparing an edition of the Militia lists).

[3] The Rothwell Vestry Minute Book, Vol. I, 15 December, 1830, case 5.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 15 December, 1830, case 6.

[5] *Ibid.*, 26 November, 1829, case 26.

[6] *Ibid.*, 15 October, 1829.

[7] *Ibid.*, 26 November, 1829, case 15.

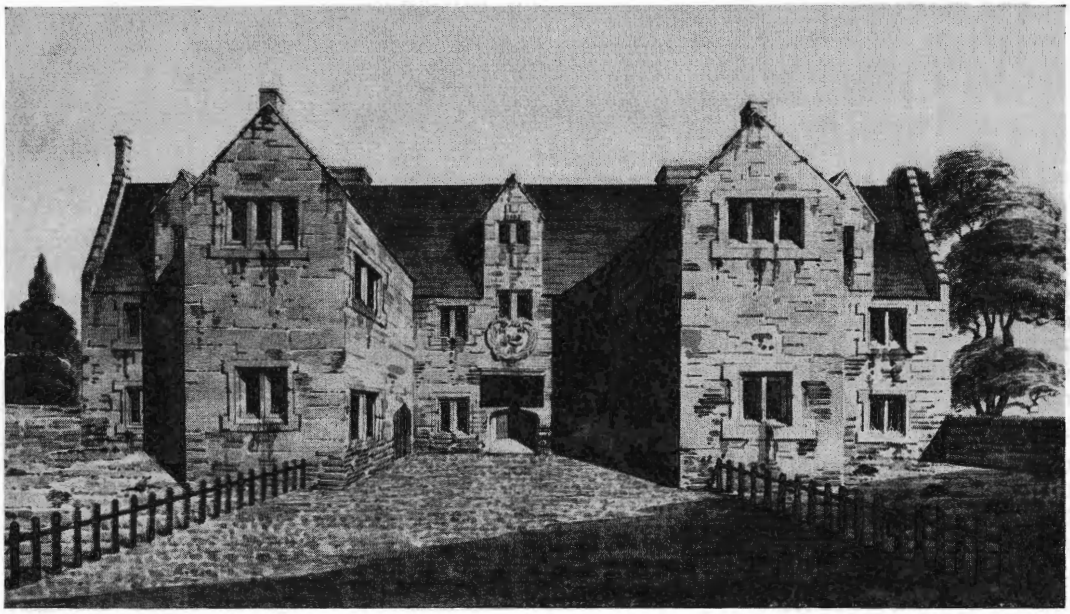
[8] Kettering vestry minutes, p. xvi.

[9] Rothwell vestry minute book, Vol. I, 3 September, 1829.

[10] *Ibid.*, 7 January, 1830. Resolution 6.

[11] *Ibid.*, 10 November, 1830. Resolution 6.

[12] I owe this information to Mr. V. A. Hatley.



FRONT VIEW OF JESUS HOSPITAL AT ROTHWELL IN THE LATE 18TH CENTURY
(Thomas Trotter, died 1803)

shoemaker, applies to the parish for a maintenance for himself and family: "Has four children under seven years of age: has been turned off from employ at Northampton along with several hundred other hands"; the vestry however note curtly, "Has not tried any other master for employment: ordered to seek for work". John Sharman applied "to be assisted to learn the shoe makers' business: he is about 18 years of age and has some knowledge of the business: ordered that he be allowed 4*s*. per week for 2 months".[13]

Other occupations which appear in the poor law records include *rope making*, *sawyering*, and *domestic service*. Frances Harris, widow, asks for additional relief; her present allowance is 3*s*. per week: she has two children, one aged 8, one 6 years; "is a ropemaker—says that her various employ(ment)s do not bring her in 9*s*. per week (Refused)".[14] Charles and James Shortland, sawyers, "Aged men, are at present without employ except a day occasionally; have each brought up several children—without parochial aid . . . ordered £1 each".[15] Quite often when someone is going into service they apply to the parish for a grant to equip themselves with clothing or shoes. "Widow York requests 6*s*.0*d*. for her boy to go to service; granted"[16]. Jonathan Richardson asks for "some assistance to clothe his boy thats going to service; allowed a pair of shoes".[17] Mary Sharman asks for a few shillings "to buy a few necessary articles of clothing in order to go to service; ordered that 10 shillings be given her".[18]

Apart from setting men and boys to work in the textile business the parish from time to time thought up other ways of employing them. Individuals are sent directly to employers to seek work. Here the overseer appears to have acted as a primitive form of labour exchange. Samuel Tebbut for instance "asks to be employed: has been unemployed only this morning. Has not asked for employ(men)t of anyone but the overseer. Refused".[19] And yet on the 9th December

[13] Rothwell vestry minute book, Vol. I, 29 January, 1829, case 2, and 30 December, 1830, case 8.
[14] *Ibid.*, 2 February, 1830, case 10.
[15] *Ibid.*, 15 December, 1830, case 3.
[16] *Ibid.* Vol. I, 29 September, 1831, case 1.
[17] *Ibid.*, 6 October, 1830.
[18] *Ibid.*, 3 October, 1832, case 3.
[19] *Ibid.*, 4 December, 1828, case 11.

Samuel Tebbut is offered "some stone to break; ordered to go there".[20] In the summer of 1829 it was resolved "that a number of men be sent to Mr. Turner of Harrington to break stone at 6*d.* per hand".[21] A more obviously useful task was setting men to grind flour at the mills. At the same vestry it was resolved "that a number of men be employed at the mill and that if legal Bread be made of the Flour and given to paupers in the proportion of one stone to each Family as part of their necessary relief".[22] Probably the mills were run at a loss as is suggested here. "That John Tomlin superintend the men that occasionally come to the parish for work either at the mills or elsewhere at the salary of 10*s.* per week for the present. That the sum of £100 be paid by the overseers to Mr. Samuel Sargeant as Treasurer to the mills to make good the capital advanced for working the mills by installments".[23] It was under discussion as to whether the mills were worth carrying on with at all, and on 17th March, 1831 a meeting was held "for the purpose of considering the propriety or impropriety of carrying on the manufacture of sacks etc. and the working of the mills after the 25th March".[24] In the event it was decided that their working be continued but that they cut down the expenses of having a foreman.[25] Another method of setting the unemployed to work was to hire them out to neighbouring farmers; a statement dated Dec. 31 1828 written into the end of the vestry minute book puts down this proposal in detail. "That the parish proposes to employ the spare men to dig for the farmers at the best price per acre that may be bid by public auction. Such bidding to stand good and binding upon each party for the space of 14 days; that is, the parish shall during that time send to the contracting farmer all such persons that apply to them for work who are able to perform the said labour and the farmer is bound to set to work all such men so sent to him and find them as much work as may be necessary to enable them to gain the sum of 6*s.* per week at a price per pole to be fixed by the overseer. The earning of the labourer to be paid by the farmer and the overseer to repay the amount to the farmer deducting the sum which he had contracted to give. A fresh letting to take place every fourteen days until the parish shall in public vestry resolve to discontinue the system that the labourers be directed into".[26]

There were several other methods whereby the poor were relieved. Consignment to the workhouse, outdoor relief, and, for old women, the offer of one of the "widows' houses". The existence of a *workhouse* in Rothwell is known from the middle of the eighteenth century and the workhouse accounts have survived for several years in the 1770s and 1780s. We know from an indenture dated 6th October, 1785 between George Hill of Rowell, sergeant of Law, and William Shortland, Daniel Daulby, Joseph Vialls and Thomas Freeman, churchwardens, Benjamin Vialls and Thomas Hill, overseers of the poor, that a lease was made of a house, formerly the Boot and Crown, and a shoemaker's shop and new houses etc. built in the new yard of the house, for 21 years at £16 p.a. "for the lodging, keeping, maintaining and employing of all such poor in the said such parish as should desire to receive relief or collection of the said parish".[27] Accounts of repairs done at this and the earlier workhouse are a useful indication of relative costs in the building trade in the late eighteenth century. Floors are renewed, windows inserted, stairs put in by the order of Mr. Thomas Nutt and Mr. Benjamin Vialls by Richard Dent; e.g.—"May 16th for 6 oak beams 64 ft. at 1*s.* 9*d.* per ft. ... £5. 12. 0*d.*"; later, "for 1129 foot of bord for ye chamber floors and ye stairs at 2*d.* per ft. ... £9. 8. 2*d.*". "July 30th for thirty three days work and a half a filling ye fraimes, in laying ye floors and doing ye stairs and making ye doors and doing ye paticion and filling ye window boards ... £2. 15. 10*d.*[28] Further masons work was also undertaken —"For work and materials; For 320 bricks at 3*s.* 8*d.* per hundred ... 19*s.* 2*d.* For 8 bushel of lime at 8*d.* per bushel ... 5*s.* 4*d.*". Walling was at 8*d.* per yard e.g.—"This side wall in the yard 89 yards 1′ at 8*d.* per yard. For 2 days work myself ... 3*s.* 8*d.*". John Essex was the builder and this work was done at the order of Mr. Thomas Nutt in 1785. There were various carpentry jobs done to the furniture and wooden fittings in the workhouse as can be seen on April 19, 1774 "for woark (*sic*)

[20] *Ibid.*, 9 December, 1828.
[21] *Ibid.*, 29 June, 1829, case 3.
[22] *Ibid.*, 29 June, 1829, Resolution 4.
[23] *Ibid.*, 22 April, 1830, Resolutions 1 and 2.
[24] *Ibid.*, 10 March, 1831, case 2.
[25] *Ibid.*, 17 March, 1831, Resolution 4.
[26] Rothwell vestry minute book, Vol. I, back page.
[27] This document is in the parish chest, Rothwell.
[28] The workhouse accounts are in a bundle in the parish chest. For the most part they are bills and receipted accounts.

seting a bed up 0. 0. 4*d*.". "For a pare of joints for a casement 0. 0. 5*d*. For 2 latches and caches and nails 0. 0. 4*d*.".

There was apparently one man in charge of the workhouse; the terms by which he served are mentioned in the vestry minutes dated 1st April, 1830. Daniel Daulby presented a proposal to undertake the management of the poorhouse "upon the following terms; to be allowed one pound of meat each day, with bread and cheese, and roots from the garden, but no grocery goods, with a salary of six shillings per week". This proposal was cut by the vestry to 4*s*. per week.

The fare offered to the inmates did not err on the side of luxury. Basically it seems to have been bread, grits (oats for porridge), some potatoes (taters), carrots (carots) but no meat was mentioned in the accounts. Sugar, imported from the West Indies in great loaves is found "for half a pound of shugar ... 0*s*. 3*d*.". With a diet like this it is not surprising that they suffered from skin complaints. "For stuff for the itch 0*s*. 10½*d*.". When they fell ill the inmates received rough and ready medical aid, as is seen from the apothecaries' or chemists' bills presented for payment to the overseers of the poor; e.g.—in 1775 "For Edward Sharman's wife bleeding and children ... 6*d*. Oct. 30th. Bleeding and Spirits (to revive the patient?) 1*s*. 0*d*. Nov. 11th. A mixture of caster oil 1*s*. 0*d*. Jan. 4th. Four powders 1*s*. 4*d*.". Ten years later, in 1785, the main medicines seem to be explosive laxatives; e.g.—"July 10th The draught for Dan Timson ... 9*d*. July 14th Purging draught ... 9*d*. Anodyne Pills ... 6*d*. Senna ... 4*d*. July 31st Six Powders 1*s*. 0*d*.". Roborant Tinctures and Anodyne Bolus are frequently mentioned. What are these? When the patient was beyond the care of the workhouse, he might be sent to the Northampton Infirmary if his doctor happened to be a subscriber and could nominate him. The paper which allowed admission said—"no in patient shall be admitted till fifteen shillings be deposited into the hands of the treasurer or his deputies to defray the expenses of Burial, in case he die, which shall be repaid if he be discharged deducting the expenses of removal". This no doubt explains why Samuel Gamble applied "for the money to make up a sovereign as he borrowed to go to the infirmary. Allowed 5*s*. 4*d* the money required".[29] The poor had to be fed, doctored and clothed. Among the workhouse accounts are a number of bills which record purchases of clothing for the use of the poor; they include (April 28th 1775) "5 yd cloth for two shirts for Marlows boy at Mr. Thos. Buckbys at 13*d* ... 0. 5*s* 5*d* and (June 7 1775) 4 yds Russia Drab for a frock for John Gamble at 1/7 ... 0. 5*s* 8*d*. Buttons 8*d*, Thread 2*d*, lining 1/7½*d*, Pockets 7*d*, totalling 2*s* 10½*d*".[30] William Cooke is also seen providing Mr. Thomas Munn in 1774 with Flaxen cloth, Hemp Roll, Boys stockings (2 pairs men best double yarn) Cloth for body lining (linen?), Hats, Aprons, Petticoats, Handkerchiefs and tammy cloth for shifts and saddlecloth. Further materials were purchased Nov. 21 1775. "To ten yards of flax cloth @ 1/2*d* yd ... 10. 10*d*, to two yards check kersey @ 5/5*d* yd ... 10. 10*d*, and on Jan. 5 1776, Flanil for blankits 2*s* 0*d*. March 9—To drill and linsey for Jims children 10*s* 7*d*. March 12—To drill, buttons, thread etc. 1*s*. 10*d*. April 8—check apron".

The cost of running the workhouse to the parish is not clear but in conformity with the "less eligibility" principle of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 there were moves afoot during the period to reduce it. We find recorded on 28 March 1833 "that the allowance for the maintenance of the poor in the Workhouse be reduced to three shillings per head pr week and Mrs. Daulby not to be counted in the number".[31] At this time also there seems a tendency to commit more people to the workhouse; e.g. 21 February 1833 "William Rowthorn's son to be maintained in the workhouse and not allowed anything from the parish" and "John Richardson applys for relief for his daughter; not allowed except until she can safely be removed to the workhouse which the overseers will ascertain from the surgeon of the parish".[32]

The problem of *orphans* was tackled in a somewhat different way. On 2nd February 1830 "Mrs. Wilson states that there are the following children in the vestry—John Austin 15, James Richardson 16, Thomas Richardson 14, Sarah Beazley age 15, Anne Austin aged 8 and Kate Burrows aged 8 yrs. Resolved that endeavour be made to obtain a home and maintenance in private

[29] Rothwell vestry minute book, 1 August, 1833, case 8.
[30] Couldn't he reckon, or did he give a discount?
[31] *Ibid.*, 28 March, 1833, Resolution 3.
[32] *Ibid.*, 21 February, 1833, cases 2 and 5.

families for three of the above named children, viz: Sarah Beazley, Annie Austin and Kate Burrows and also for the two Richardsons". Another example was "Jane Woodford, an orphan belonging to this parish is come home and William Isits' wife her aunt is willing to take for 2/6 per week untill she has something to do—and the overseer is requested to provide her some cloaths".

The most usual method of dealing with the problem of the poor was to make grants and supplements to wages from the parish rates in the form of *outdoor relief*. Direct application had to be made to the vestry and most of the vestry minutes before the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act is in fact made up with a record of individual applications. Usually the request was supported with a brief justification; e.g. Thomas Miller applies for 2 days pay that he lost by the weather ... Refused. Henry Walker's wife wants relief for herself and 3 children; her husband being in Goal [*sic*]; ordered that she have the usual allowance.[33] Sometimes the fact that alternative sources of income—undeclared—as we would put it—were discovered, were used by the vestry as reason for refusing grants. There was the case of Joseph Rowthorn of Coventry who applied for relief who "received 20/- seven weeks since—has earned 35/- and no more since that application—has 3 small children—one of them 9 years old has earned 7/- in that period; in that time killed one hog in his family which weighed 60 lbs—refused".[34] As for poor James Lomus, "if he is found on the road with his waggon gathering dung is to have 1/- stopped, he is to have 1/- stopped for using vulgar language to Tomlin".[35] The vestry on several occasions used their power to enforce better manners or morals. "William Hilsby not to receive any money from the parish for the present week on account of misconduct".[36] "William Cave to receive no money on the parish account for the present week on account of drunkenness".[37] Jonathan Marriott's widow applies on account of her boy not to have anything allowed till she come in a milder manner".[38]

Since the whole problem of poor relief was fraught with tensions on both sides, the parish wishing to pare down to the minimum and conditions of extreme necessity existing on the other side it is not surprising that there was some friction in the operation of poor relief. An instance of this was when the conduct of John Tomlin, assistant of the overseer, was investigated by a committee of the vestry. They reported that "they consider him harsh and oppressive to the labourers and that the opinion of 66 out of seventy rate payers upon whom they have called, consider that it will tend to the peace of the parish if he were dismissed". . . . Nevertheless the decision was that "although the conduct of John Tomlin is not free from blame they do not consider the case against him fully proved, that under the circumstances of the present times they think it would be very imprudent to give way to popular clamor and incendiary threats except in a case of manifest and substantial injustice though they will gladly reconsider the case and the propriety of his appointment in a period of less excitement".[39]

It is likely that one of the chief grievances was the periodical reductions of allowances which the vestry agreed to when the weather became milder in the Spring. We find a newly appointed vestry meeting on 28 April 1830 and resolving "that we now make out a list of the men with the price each man is to receive from his employer. That the weekly payment be examined in order to a reduction of the same where necessary". A list of reductions, ranging from 1*s* 0*d* to 3*s* 0*d* per week follow. Again, two years later, it was agreed that "the allowance of man and wife be reduced to six shillings per week and the children to fifteen pence per head per week and those men that get employment any other way than by the parish to receive two pence per day or one shilling per week in addition to the six shillings per week".[40] This decision produced opposition but "this vestry are determined not to make any alteration from last week's Resolution".[41]

The "final solution" for the poor of Rothwell was emigration and the parish was prepared to help when it meant losing one of its burdensome paupers for ever. Abraham Walter had "the opportunity of getting out to the Swan River as Manager but is unable to raise the requisite

[33] *Ibid.*, 3 December, 1829, cases 2 and 3.
[34] *Ibid.*, 24 December, 1829, case 2.
[35] *Ibid.*, 12 August, 1830, Resolution 7.
[36] *Ibid.*, 11 February, 1830, Resolution 9.
[37] *Ibid.*, 5 September, 1833, Resolution 6.
[38] *Ibid.*, 13 November, 1833, Resolution 9.
[39] *Ibid.*, 23 December, 1830, Resolution 5.
[40] *Ibid.*, 3 May, 1832, Resolution 2.
[41] *Ibid.*, 9 May, 1832, Resolution 4.

means, has 6 children all of whom he will take with him; otherwise he has no prospect of maintaining them without parochial assistance". After two further meetings to consider this plea they allowed him Twenty five pounds to assist him to emigrate.[42] The odd thing is that 6 months later Abraham Walter is applying for Thirty pounds to enable him to take himself and family to America and he is allowed Twenty five pounds. Either he has changed his plans or the vestry clerk's geography is deficient.[43] John Yeoman asked for assistance to help him to emigrate to America but was only allowed four pounds.[44]

So far emphasis has been placed on the duty of the vestry to administer the Poor Law. There were other matters, however, that it busied itself with from time to time.

Occasionally a Calvinistic urge seems to have moved the vestry; on 15th October 1829 they resolve "that William Bates' case of Bigamy and adultery [*sic*] be inquiried into in order that he may be punished". Nothing is mentioned about the reason why "William Law be took before Mr. Hogg and if possible to be committed to prison for his past misconduct".[45] There was some point in seeing that John Moore be brought to a sense of his responsibilities. The vestry decided "that the overseer and Mr. L. Turner be requested to fetch John Moore from where he now is and take him before a magistrate that he may be made to maintain his wife and child or be imprisoned".[46]

Occasionally the vestry shows a spirit of improvement and searches for ways in which to provide amenities for Rothwell by utilising the spare labour of the unemployed, rather in the spirit of the road improvement schemes of the 1930s. A public parish meeting was held "for the purpose of considering the propriety of sinking wells and putting down pumps in different parts of the parish and it was "resolved unanimously that two wells be immediately sunk . . . one upon the hill known by the name of Coopers Hill and the other on the bank near to Mr. Turner's house".[47] We know from the minutes that the work was put in hand. "The five men that have been working at the well to receive three pence per day over and above their parish allowance the time there at work".[48] It is possible that this interest in well digging was sparked off by a fire which produced a tremendous excitement and evidently strong suspicions of arson. A meeting was held "for the purpose of adopting such means as may be thought best for the better security and safety of the parish from fire".[49] Twenty two names follow and they decide "that application be made to the different fire offices for their aid and support towards a reward to any person that will give such information that will lead to the conviction of the offender who perpetrated the late act of incendiarism at Rowell". A watch was formed and a Bow Street officer was obtained for the "purpose of finding out the perpetrator of the late fire".

Although I have ended on a note of violence, perhaps the most noteworthy thread that runs through these annals of the poor is the lack of a sense of struggle for better things, their sheer passivity in the face of hardship, their lack of incentive to improve their lot. One senses the demoralisation of generations of poverty stricken dwellers of Rothwell by the workings of the old Poor Law. The feature which was in the forefront of the minds of those who agitated for Poor Law Reform in the 1830s was the tremendous cost to the ratepayers of the old system. An annual average of £413 had been spent on poor relief at Rothwell during the three years between Easter of 1782 and Easter 1785 but the amount spent in the year ending Easter 1803 was £2,230. Rates amounting to 2/6 in the pound were levied at Rothwell during 1802-3; in the same year the equivalent figure for all the towns and villages in Northamptonshire taken together was 4/7*d*.[50]

J. M. STEANE.

[42] *Ibid.*, 17 September, 1829, case 9; 24 September, case 1; 15 October, Resolution 3.
[43] *Ibid.*, 3 March, 1830.
[44] *Ibid.*, 28 October, 1831, case 4.
[45] *Ibid.*, 1 July, 1830, Resolution 5.
[46] *Ibid.*, 9 June, 1830, Resolution 3.
[47] The notice of this is in the back of the vestry minute book dated 7 December, 1831.
[48] Rothwell vestry minute book, 22 December, 1831, Resolution 6.
[49] Resolution of vestry recorded in back of vestry minutes 22 October, 1831.
[50] Returns relative to the expense and maintenance of the poor in England 1804. I owe this reference to Mr. V. A. Hatley.

The Northampton Arbitration Board and the Shoe Industry Dispute of 1887 *

The National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives had pursued an industrial relations policy of conciliation in wage negotiations ever since the Union had been formed in 1874. Paradoxically, however, the Union's success in establishing conciliation boards was often preceded by a considerable amount of militant activity. The Union's attempts to form a Conciliation Board in Northampton had not been particularly successful, for the town was in the 1880s rather weakly unionised. In 1883 the local lasters and finishers' branch had attempted to introduce into the town a uniform statement of wages which they hoped would eventually replace the various piecework statements in operation at the individual works. After they had enforced its acceptance upon one shop the employers had suggested the formation of a conciliation Board.[1] This was accepted and the Board began to negotiate a general wages' statement which would lay down the basic piece rate payments and the allowances for extra work. However, when the statement was completed a mass meeting of some 1,200 - 1,300 operatives rejected it and as a result the Board appears to have temporarily collapsed.[2]

The Board was revived in 1885[3] but two years later it was faced with a major industrial dispute. At the end of June 1887 the men employed at the factory of J. Branch struck work with the intention of securing a new wages' statement. They were successful in this and in consequence the employers began to fear that further strikes would follow and that the Union would attempt to defeat each firm in turn.[4] This fear appeared to receive confirmation when in July the Union submitted a new statement to the firm of Cove & West whom they had previously accused of systematically reducing wages.[5] Mr. West refused to accept the demand for an increase in wages and accused the Union representatives of stirring up trouble amongst his own workmen who, he said, had never made any complaint to him. Although he was not a member of the manufacturers' Association, West enjoyed their general sympathy for they thought that the current state of trade did not warrant any increase in wages. Consequently the men came out on strike.[6] At a meeting held in the St. Michael's Road Café they put their case to press representatives and responded strongly to the employers' allegations. They accused West and his manager of refusing to listen to all previous complaints and of enforcing wage reductions through re-classifying work.[7] When the union representatives had produced a printed wages' statement which sought to remove this possibility West had refused on principle to meet them for although "He had nothing to say against the men, who were as respectable a body as could be found in the town . . . he thought they had been unduly influenced by delegates of the Trade Union".[8]

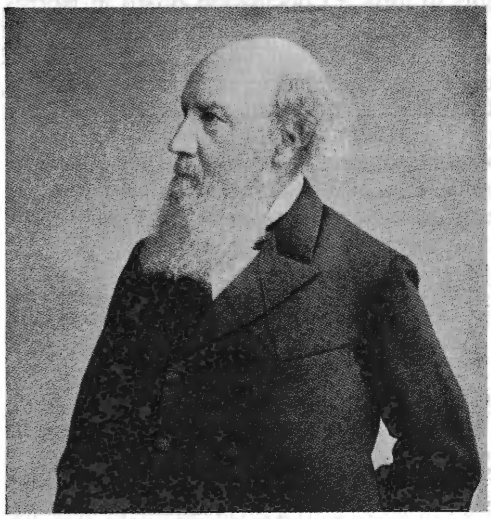
Both the firm and the union began to adopt increasingly rigid attitudes. West threatened to introduce 'blacklegs' and tried to send work to Irthlingborough but the men there refused to do it.[9] More extreme views were expressed by the operatives at a mass meeting held in the Town

* I am grateful to Mr. R. Gregson, General Secretary of the N.U.B.S.O., for permission to consult the union Reports, to Mr. G. D. Franklin, Secretary of the Northampton Arbitration Board for the loan of the Board's Minutes and to Miss B. M. Makepeace, Northamptonshire County Librarian.

[1] N.U.B.S.O., *Monthly Report*, June 1883.
[2] *Ibid.*, July, Nov., Dec., 1883, Jan. 1884.
[3] *Rules of the Board of Arbitration and Conciliation of the Northampton Boot and Shoe Trade, Northampton*, 1885.
[4] *Boot and Shoe Trades Journal*, 9 July, 1887.
[5] *Ibid.*, 23 July, 1887; *The Times*, 23 July, 1887.
[6] N.U.B.S.O., *Monthly Report*, July 1887.
[7] *Boot and Shoe Trades Journal*, 6 August, 1887.
[8] *Ibid.*, 13 August, 1887; N.U.B.S.O. *Monthly Report*, August, 1887.
[9] *Boot and Shoe Trades Journal*, 20 August, 1887; *The Times*, 20 August, 1887.

Hall on September 7th. There the workmen heard a London delegate state that they should "preach the doctrine of discontent" and regard the strike as their first attempt to "emancipate themselves from . . . the thraldom of the capitalists".[10] This prompted the editor of the *Northampton Daily Chronicle* to attack the "salaried agitators" and those of "Socialist views" and conclude, "It was incumbent upon people in the position of Messrs. Cove & West to stand unflinchingly against the enormous, arrogant and indefensible pretensions put forward in the name of the workmen".[11] Such views did nothing to reduce the existing tension and when Cove & West did manage to secure some "accommodators" there were some noisy demonstrations and several of those men still at work were followed by a crowd and had their house windows broken.[12]

Neither literary nor physical outbursts aided those responsible trade unionists and employers' representatives who were trying to find an amicable way of settling the dispute. A major problem which had to be overcome was the fact that Cove & West were not members of the manufacturers' Association and so the case could not be taken before the Arbitration Board.[13] In an attempt to deal with the issue the manufacturers' Association passed a special resolution to admit Cove & West to membership. Since the Board now had jurisdiction over the dispute the Association requested that the men return to work so as to permit the usual procedures to be implemented.[14] The Union was reluctant to order the men to return since they were unsure of how long the negotiations on the Board might be delayed without the employers having the incentive of securing the men's return to work and the resumption of production. Consequently they asked for this dispute to be treated as a special case and the manufacturers held another meeting in the eleventh week of the strike and, with the agreement of Cove & West, accepted that the arbitration should be held before the men returned to work.[15]



[Sir] Moses Philip Manfield

The drawing up of the wages list proved to be an undertaking of considerable technical difficulty. The Conciliation Board met on Wednesday, 12th October, under the presidency of Moses Philip Manfield, who was President of the Manufacturers' Association and a local Alderman.[16] Little progress was made but on the Friday the Rev. Dr. Sanders, headmaster of the Northampton Grammar School, was selected as umpire, in preference to Sir Rupert Kettle who was a Worcestershire County Court Judge and a well known arbitrator in industrial disputes. Meetings were continued during the following week and the men formerly employed at Cove & West's expressed considerable dissatisfaction at the delay, for by now their poverty, on account of their lack of wages, was ceasing to be supportable.[17] However, at the Board meeting of Thursday the 21st negotiations came to an abrupt halt. The Union had always hoped to secure a classification

[10] *Northampton Daily Chronicle*, 8 September, 1887.
[11] *Northampton Daily Chronicle*, 8 September, 1887.
[12] *Ibid.*, 15, 17 October, 1887; *Boot and Shoe Trades Journal*, 22 October, 1887.
[13] N.U.B.S.O. *Monthly Report*, October, 1887.
[14] Northampton Arbitration Board Minutes, 10 October, 1887; *Northampton Daily Chronicle*, 10 October, 1887. (Rule 12 of the Board Rules of 1885).
[15] *Boot and Shoe Trades Journal*, 15 October, 1887; *Northampton Mercury*, 15 October, 1887.
[16] Northampton Arbitration Board Minutes, 12 October, 1887. Moses Philip Manfield. Born 1819, died 1899. In 1842 he became head of Manfield and Sons of Northampton and was a member of the town council 1866-88 and Mayor in 1884. From 1891-95 Manfield was M.P. for Northampton and was knighted in 1894. See F. Boase, *Modern English Biography*, Vol. VI, Truro, 1921, p. 150.
[17] *Ibid.*, 15, 17, 20 October, 1887; *Boot and Shoe Trades Journal*, 22 October, 1887.

of the work on the basis of the materials used in the making up of a shoe and to restrict the amount of work which might be defined as falling into the lowest class, with its correspondingly lower piece rates. However, when they attempted to define the type of material which should be permitted to compose the Fifth class of work, which was the most common type produced in the town, the manufacturers refused to countenance this restriction. As a result the Union asked for the submission of the question to the referee.[18] This was refused by the masters for they feared that if they conceded this point in the Cove & West wages' statement it would eventually be enforced on the whole town.[19] The men regarded this as an ultimatum and the Union Executive met at Leicester and concluded that since the Manufacturers' Association apparently wanted to crush the Union they had no alternative but to fight.[20]

This stand received the full support of those operatives who attended a mass meeting to consider the issue, for they were convinced that the employers' case must be weak if it could not be tested before an arbitrator.[21] In response to the men's militancy the employers drew up a wages' statement of their own for the whole town, each of the members of the Manufacturers' Association entering into a bond of £100 to ensure that all would adhere to the Association's decisions. This new wages' statement "contained nothing in the way of restrictions or definitions of work"[22] and in practice this meant that the classification of work, and thus the rate at which it would be paid, would remain entirely in the hands of the manufacturers. This the Union was not prepared to accept. Furthermore, the men alleged that the new list would entail wage reductions which in some cases would amount to 3*s*. per dozen boots produced.[23] The manufacturers' leaders, Philip Manfield and Henry Wooding, met the local Union leaders who were accompanied by William Inskip, the General Secretary of the Union, but they failed to produce any compromise. Although William Inskip pointed out that the Leicester boot and shoe manufacturers had previously accepted a case containing samples of specimen boots and shoes as a basis for the classification of the various grades of work, the Northampton manufacturers continued to refuse to accept such a system.[24]

WILLIAM INSKIP, J.P.
General Secretary of the National Union of Boot & Shoe Operatives, 1886-1899

Following the failure of this meeting the members of the Northampton Branch of the Union assembled in the Abington Square Café under the chairmanship of their local President, F. Inwood. After Inwood had condemned the employers for trying to enforce the new statement unilaterally, William Inskip reported that the Union had sufficient funds for a long struggle and that, because of the seriousness of the situation, the National Union Executive had decided to take control of the dispute. Finally, the meeting elected a committee of thirteen to prepare a wages' statement which could be presented as an alternative to the employers' own demands.[25] A meeting with the

[18] Northampton Arbitration Board Minutes, 21 October, 1887.

[19] *Boot and Shoe Trades Journal*, 29 October, 1887.

[20] N.U.B.S.O., *Monthly Report*, November, 1887; *The Times*, 1 November, 1887.

[21] *Northampton Mercury*, 29 October, 1887.

[22] *Boot and Shoe Trades Journal*, 5 November, 1887.

[23] *Northampton Daily Reporter*, 3 November, 1887.

[24] *Northampton Mercury*, 5 November, 1887. William Inskip was General Secretary of the N.U.B.S.O. from 1886-1899.

[25] *Boot and Shoe Trades Journal*, 12 November, 1887.

manufacturers elicited no major concession.[26] The manufacturers themselves held a meeting on Thursday, 17th November and gave provisional notice that they would call a general lockout unless the dispute at Cove & West's was settled, the pickets withdrawn, the masters' general wages' statement accepted and a further condition agreed that in future six months' notice should be given for any alteration in the statement.[27]

The manufacturers explained their position more fully in a wall poster issued on 21st November over the signature of the Association's secretary, John Adin. They believed that any close classification of the work produced would be disastrous for the town and "would simply hand over a large portion of the trade of the town to other places". The employers also accused the Union of interfering between themselves and their own workmen and complained, "the workmen of Northampton are not allowed to settle the dispute, the matter having been taken out of their hands by officials at Leicester. We still hope our workmen will see that we have done all we can to meet them and that they will accept the conditions offered in our resolution".[28] The manufacturers had proposed to close their works to all unionists on 26th November and to enforce a general lockout on December 3rd; during the final few days last minute attempts were made to achieve a settlement but no satisfactory compromise was reached. As tension rose the local magistrates prohibited meetings outside Cove & Wests and the police were required to protect the operatives still employed by that firm.[29] The *Northampton Mercury* reported that the police in Leicester and neighbouring towns were ready to leave for Northampton immediately they were summoned and some 100 troops were said to be in readiness at Sheffield.[30]

The employers received considerable support for their views from the editor of the *Boot and Shoe Trades Journal* and from the *Northampton Chronicle* whose editor remarked, "It is not for us to indulge in recriminations, but no small number of the inhabitants of the town are astounded beyond measure at what they look upon as the imbecility of men allowing themselves to be led by the nose, as it were, by outsiders, to their own immediate hurt and to the ultimate ruin of the trade".[31] The next wall poster issued by the employers reiterated these views and re-asserted their opinion that, "Restrictions in any shape or form, and hard and fast definitions, can only cripple the trade of this town, without any possible way benefiting the workman".[32]

Meanwhile the unemployed operatives were becoming increasingly short of money and on Monday, 5th December decided to appoint a deputation to suggest to the Town Council that they should provide alternative employment for those workmen affected by the strike and the lockout. The Council refused to consider the provision of public relief works and accepted the advice of Alderman Philip Manfield, the employers' chairman, who informed them that the 'strike' would soon be over. There were again rumours that troops might be brought into the town and at least one of the operatives remarked that, "it looked as though the authorities wanted to starve them first and shoot them down afterwards".[33] It was against this background that negotiations between the Union and the Manufacturers' Association were reopened. A few concessions were made at the meeting on the Tuesday. It was provisionally agreed that the Union would accept the employers' wages' statement in principle if the manufacturers would permit it to be amended in certain respects where it differed considerably from the men's proposed statement. Furthermore it was accepted that the employers' demand for six months' notice be amended to three months from either the 1st April or 1st October. No agreement could be reached over the question of the 'accommodators' at Cove & West's. The Union was hostile to any proposal that their members should return to work with men who had failed to support them in the dispute, whilst the employers were equally reluctant to discharge men whom they regarded as faithful

[26] *Ibid.*, 19 November, 1887.
[27] Manufacturers' Association Wall Poster dated 18 November, 1887; *Boot and Shoe Trades Journal*, 26 November, 1887.
[28] Manufacturers' Association Wall Poster, 21 November, 1887; *Northampton Mercury*, 26 November, 1887.
[29] *Northampton Mercury*, 3 December, 1887.
[30] *Ibid.*, *The Times*, 2 December, 1887; *Boot and Shoe Trades Journal*, 3 December, 1887.
[31] *Northampton Chronicle*, 3 December, 1887.
[32] Manufacturers' Association Wall Poster, 5 December, 1887. See also *Boot and Shoe Trades Journal*, 10 December, 1887.
[33] *Northampton Daily Reporter*, 6 December, 1887; *The Times*, 6 December, 1887.

workmen who had stood by them in a time of difficulty. This provisional settlement was accepted by the operatives who gave their representatives full power to negotiate a final settlement.[34]

It appeared that the dispute was well on the way to a solution, when only a few days later, on the Saturday, a deadlock was again reached. The difficulty arose over the classification of the lower classes of work and remained unresolved after the meeting on the following Monday.[35] As a result the manufacturers returned to making virtually all their old demands and at a mass meeting of unionists and non-unionists at the Plough Hall the Union General Secretary, William Inskip, denounced the terms as far too humiliating ever to be accepted. The meeting resolved, in line with the Union's general policy, that the whole question be referred to arbitration. A deputation was appointed to meet the manufacturers but achieved nothing and when the masters later left the Chamber of Commerce, "A large number of men . . . groaned and hissed the manufacturers as they came out. Mr. Manfield and several others, under police escort, were followed by several hundreds groaning and hissing. In St. Giles Street the police charged the people and dispersed them".[36]

The progress of the dispute had been watched with interest by the London boot and shoe operatives and at their request a London Congregational minister, the Rev. Fleming Williams, came to Northampton to see if he might mediate in the dispute.[37] Mr. Williams had previously assisted the London operatives to settle a dispute and in Northampton he was equally successful. With his aid the two sides again met and actually reached an agreement. Principally it was decided that those parts of the wages' statement which had already been agreed upon should be accepted and that although a standard case of samples should be provided for the guidance of the Arbitration Board the manufacturers would be granted unrestricted freedom in the choice of materials which made up the shoe. All future disputes were to be referred to the Arbitration Board or to a Court of Appeal. The court was to consist of a person nominated by each side and a third person selected by the two nominees.[38] It was believed that the employers were considering as their representative Thomas Hughes, the author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, who had previously arbitrated in the iron industry in the North-East of England and the cotton spinning trade of Lancashire.[39]

It was expected that the detailed negotiations over the precise terms of the wages' statement would take a considerable time and so the Arbitration Board, meeting on December 30th, unanimously accepted Philip Manfield's proposal that the men return to work on January 2nd, 1888. The new statement was to be paid as soon as the men returned to work and the Board hoped to have prepared a case of samples by which the work might be classified at least within 14 days after the return to work.[40] Subsequently a mass meeting of the operatives accepted this settlement, although some had reservations about the reductions in certain rates and in the failure to deal with the problem of the "accommodators".[41] However, the men returned to work and, whilst work was made 'under protest' at the old rates until it was dealt with and classified by the Board,[42] the dispute was concluded.

The consequences of the dispute for the Arbitration Board were, if anything, advantageous. The efficient working of a conciliation and arbitration board demands, at the very least, that both the manufacturers and the workmen shall be well organised. During the dispute both sides had

[34] *Northampton Chronicle*, 8 December, 1887; *The Times*, 9 December, 1887; *Northampton Mercury*, 10 December, 1887.

[35] *Northampton Chronicle*, 15, 20 December, 1887; *Northampton Mercury*, 17 December, 1887; *Northampton Daily Reporter*, 19 December, 1887; *Boot and Shoe Trades Journal*, 17 December, 1887; *The Times*, 14 December, 1887.

[36] *Northampton Mercury*, 19 December, 1887; *The Times*, 21 December, 1887.

[37] *Boot and Shoe Trades Journal*, 31 December, 1887; *The Times*, 26 December, 1887.

[38] *Northampton Chronicle*, 24 December, 1887.

[39] *Boot and Shoe Trades Journal*, 31 December, 1887. Thomas Hughes, 1822-96. Christian Socialist, called to the Bar in 1848, Q.C. in 1869, Member of Parliament 1865-74. 1882 became County Court Judge. Hughes was a legal adviser to trade unions during the 1870s, closely involved with the co-operative movement and was from 1872-83 Principal of the Working Men's College in Great Ormond Street.

[40] Northampton Arbitration Board Minutes, 30 December, 1887.

[41] *Northampton Daily Reporter*, 2 January, 1888; *Northampton Mercury*, 7 January, 1888; *The Times*, 3 January, 1888.

[42] *Northampton Mercury*, 7, 14, 21 January, 1888.

shown they could do this effectively and the Union in particular emerged from the dispute with a stronger local branch than had been the case initially. At least 250 new members joined the local branch.[43] The cost of the dispute had now made both the manufacturers and the Union wish to avoid disputes in the future and by the middle of 1888 the Board was reported to be working to the satisfaction of both parties so that industrial relations in Northampton's staple trade were amicable once more.[44]

JEFFREY H. PORTER.

[43] N.U.B.S.O., *Monthly Report*, January, 1888. [44] *Ibid.*, July, 1888.

JOHN JAMES GRAVES

An interesting letter has been received about the two articles on John James Graves which appeared in *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1 and 2, from Major H. E. Knight of Carlton House, Geddington. He says:—

"I have found the two instalments in *Northamptonshire Past and Present* concerning J. J. Graves, most interesting as I attended Hanging Houghton school just before and during the First World War. I would like to mention one or two items which may be of interest to other readers of this excellent publication.

Firstly, does anyone know the whereabouts of the famous "Illuminated Ten Commandments" painstakingly executed by James Graves which hung in a glazed frame on the left hand side of the fire place in the main room? I paid a visit to the school in about 1962 and found that this work of art had been removed and that Mrs. Latimer was not aware of its existence.

Secondly, your notes in Appendix C regarding William Abbott ("W.L.A." as we knew him) brought back somewhat mixed but nevertheless happy memories. W.L.A. was not only a cricketer who narrowly missed county honours but also a fine soccer player and was a member of Walgrave Amber team in the years 1901-1913. I owed a lot of my early education to his thoroughness and had a tremendous admiration for his flourishing (and in fact spectacular!) handwriting.

However, your remarks as to his being "free with the cane" are a masterly understatement! During both morning and evening periods, each and every miscreant, be he lazy, stupid or unruly was promptly ordered "on the line" which meant standing at the end of the rows of desks in line with the entrance from the door. There one stood until the end of the period to await his ministrations. Victims knew precisely then what to do, i.e. bend over the nearest convenient desk end and receive according to the heinousness of one's wickedness. The sublety of the "long wait" did not of course add cheer to the transgressors. The greatest crime of all and always rewarded with an out and out thrashing was being "caught out" throwing at the school bell (long since removed from its bell-cote on the roof ridge).

I kept contact with W.L.A. until the beginning of the Second World War as I always had a tremendous admiration for him long after leaving the school. This was, in fact, fostered by the knowledge that he was badly injured when the old fashioned boiler (at the back of the fire place) exploded in February, 1919. W.L.A. was in hospital for a long time but fortunately none of the children or Mrs. Abbott, who was in the adjoining infants room, were so badly injured.

This was not the end of the sad story by any means as litigation as to responsibility and damages for Mr. Abbott lasted some twelve months. This action was successfully undertaken for Mr. Abbott by the same Union which Graves himself had founded many years earlier.

It is significant indeed that some hundred years later a Northamptonshire man should once again figure in the history of Union, in that Mr. C. W. Elliott, a Headmaster at Corby, has been elected their president for their centenary year".

Village Violence at Titchmarsh in 1660

An unusually vivid account of village happenings in troubled times has been deposited at the Record Office among the Northamptonshire manuscripts of George Baker, bought by Lady Hesketh at Sotheby's on 26 June, 1967. The village is Titchmarsh, the year 1660, the story told in a letter written by the newly-appointed rector, the Rev. Henry Deane, D.D., and the chief characters concerned are Sir Gilbert Pickering, lord of the manor of Titchmarsh and patron of the living, and his lady, daughter of Sir Sydney Montagu of Barnwell, by his first wife, Paulina Pepys.

Dr. Deane, previously a fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, was granted the living of Titchmarsh by Charles II on 31 August, 1660.[1] When he arrived to take possession of his benefice, early in October that year, he met with violent opposition from Sir Gilbert and from Lady Pickering. His letter,[2] dated 18 October, 1660, and written to John Heath of the Inner Temple, shows in lively detail what he had to face. "The key [of the church] could not be procured from Sir Gil. Pickering although I sollicited him with much respect and civility . . .. And the Sheriffe with the Posse Comitatus coming hither, the Lady Pickering appeared, but would not be persuaded by much civil respect . . . to deliver the key of the Church. But he was inforced to breake open the dore, and the like at the Parsonage. After which for some nights I was inforced to keep a guard in the Church, because Sir Gil. Pickering having taken in part of the Churchyard into his gardens, hath brought his wall so nigh to the Porch, That he hath built a closet over it . . . from whence there might have been [illegible] as many persons as they pleased into the Church. The next Lord's day I read the 39 articles and afterwards discontinued the Custody. . . ."

This having been successfully accomplished, Lady Pickering became still more enraged, and we read further: "On Monday the Lady Pickering began to beleaguer and assault the Parsonage house. Her great Engine of battery was her tongue, with which she threw in Fireballs and Granades in abundance, and with an Amazonian courage exhorted her male and female Myrmidons to force into the house. The second night, she caused a window into a Closet, above stairs, to be broken open, whereunto she put some persons who were easily removed the next day."

The last paragraph of the letter sets out clearly the reason for the violent opposition of Sir Gilbert and Lady Pickering. Besides having appropriated part of the churchyard, and "immuring the same", Sir Gilbert had been "acting in the Glebe land as if he had been the Proprietary, Exchanging some, taking other into his owne land, for his waies and walks". He had pulled down that part of the Parsonage house which spoilt his view, and for two years had kept for himself the "tithes and emoluments of the Rectory". Dr. Deane concludes his letter by begging John Heath to represent all this to his Sacred Majesty, and adds in a postscript that the keys of the barns are not to be had and in them is laid up "the greatest part of the Tithes of the last year".

It is not surprising to find Sir Gilbert Pickering at the centre of such a disturbance. He had been used to similar violent scenes for much of his life. The entry under his name in the *Dictionary of National Biography* says that, having adopted the Parliamentary cause from the beginning, he was active in carrying out its ecclesiastical policy, and quotes him as "first a Presbyterian, then an Independent, then a Brownist, and afterwards an Anabaptist, he was a most furious, fiery and implacable man; was the principal agent in casting out most of the learned clergy".[3] He represented the County of Northampton in the Short Parliament and throughout

[1] Rev. H. I. Longden, *Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy from 1500*, Vol. IV (1939), p. 45.
[2] Part of Baker MSS. 12069.
[3] Rev. J. Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, 1714, Members of the Northampton Committee, p. 91.

the Long Parliament, was appointed one of the judges of the King, but attended only two sittings of the trial and did not sign the death warrant. He was from about 1655 Lord Chamberlain to Oliver Cromwell and then to Richard Cromwell. We can presume that he retired to his Northamptonshire home in 1660 and kept quiet during the first months of the Restoration. His prudent and lukewarm participation in the trial of Charles I and the protection afforded him by his now royalist brother-in-law must have helped him. Pepys records[4] that Lady Pickering "did give me wrapped up in paper £5 in silver", to speak to her brother, Sir Edward Montagu, K.G., Lord High Admiral of the Fleet, the future Earl of Sandwich, on behalf of her husband. The evident anxiety over her husband's position, with the Act of Indemnity only recently passed, renders most astonishing the Pickering obstruction of the King's gift of the Titchmarsh living to Dr. Deane. Did they feel that in their country house they were out of reach of the long arm of the law? Or were the habits of a lifetime too strong to be ignored? Sir Gilbert died in 1668. His will[5] records the bequest to his "deare wife, though far unworthy of her" of "that little remainder of moneys and debts I leave behind". A pleasant hint of affection in a strong-willed family.

There is a comprehensive memorial inscription erected in 1698 by Sir John Pickering in memory of "his pious ancestors and relations" on the wall of the north aisle of Titchmarsh church. It records[6] the burial of Sir Gilbert and of his wife, Dame Elizabeth, as well as of ten named members of the family and "diverse lineal ancestors of the first named Sir John".

Dr. Henry Deane held the living of Titchmarsh till 1677, although he had a licence for non-residence from 1667. The parish registers from January 1661 to 1676 are recorded in the same clear handwriting as the letter under discussion with a break of two years, from April 1667 to April 1669. At the end of the two pages of entries during this latter period Dr. Deane has noted that they were made by "parum literatis, rectore absento" [*sic*]. He left to the parish church of Titchmarsh "a flagon of silver, value £13:16:- and a cup and paten of silver, double gilt, value £10:5:7", all of which are still in the possession of the church and are recorded in Markham.[7]

Sir John Heath of the Inner Temple whom Dr. Deane consulted over his dispute was the second son of Sir Robert Heath, who bought Crow Place, Brasted, Kent, from Sir Sackville Crow; Sir Robert Heath was Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Charles I's reign.[8] But he was impeached by Parliament and his place declared vacant in 1645. Sir John Heath was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1625;[9] he was called to the bench in 1660 and was M.P. for Clitheroe from 1661 to 1679.

The closet over the porch of Titchmarsh church remained in use as the Pickering pew till the last two Pickerings of Titchmarsh, the ladies Mrs. Frances Byrd and Miss Elizabeth Pickering, died in 1775 and 1776 respectively. The Titchmarsh *Parish Magazine* of April 1931, preserved in the vestry of the church, and the property of the Parochial Church Council, contains an account by Canon A. M. Luckock, rector of Titchmarsh from 1912 to 1962, of its subsequent treatment. In the course of extensive repairs to the fabric in 1840, the front of the pew was blocked up with reed and plaster, the upper window and doorway were built up with stone, and the stones which formed the original fireplace were re-used in the new clergy vestry, where they can be seen today. Canon and Mrs. Luckock had the reed and plaster removed, and replaced it with a glazed oaken screen, which allows "the roof timbers of the porch with quaintly carved bearded faces" to be seen from inside the church. The floorboards of the pew were removed and have recently been replaced by a framework of wire netting, so that the visitor, upon entering the outer doorway of the porch, can now look right up to the original roof of the Pickering pew. The completion of this work, a thank-offering of Canon and Mrs. Luckock upon the twenty-fifth anniversary of their marriage is recorded in the magazine for October 1931.

Although Lady Pickering's eldest son, John, succeeded to the baronetcy, it is she who is

[4] *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Everyman edition, 1906; notes by Richard, Lord Braybrooke, Vol. I, p. 73 (Entry for 19 June 1660).

[5] PCC, Somerset House, proved 1672, f. 153.

[6] Bridges, *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, 1791, Vol. II, pp. 386-8.

[7] C. A. Markham, *Church Plate of Northamptonshire*, 1894.

[8] Rev. J. Harris, *History of Kent*, 1719, p. 52.

[9] *Members Admitted to the Inner Temple 1547-1660.*

CHALICE, PATEN AND FLAGON, 1671
given by the Rev. Henry Deane, D.D. to Titchmarsh Parish Church

recorded[10] as paying tax on 23 hearths, obviously those of the manor house, on the Titchmarsh roll. Dr. Deane figures in the same list as paying for 10 hearths, and Mrs. Dryden for 5.

For throughout this decade Mistress Mary Dryden, sister of Sir Gilbert and mother of the poet, was living in Titchmarsh, as she and her husband Erasmus had done from the early thirties till his death in 1654. The baptism of eight of their fourteen sons and daughters from 1632 to 1644 is recorded in the Titchmarsh parish registers, as is the burial of Erasmus. The poet grew up in the village, and, according to his cousin, Elizabeth, Sir Gilbert's only daughter, "we boast that he was bred and had his first learning here".[11]

Bridges says: "In the parsonage house at Aldwincle, All Saints, was born Mr. Dryden, the poet, whose mother was daughter of Mr. Henry Pickering, rector of this parish."[12] This gentleman was the seventh child of John Pickering (d. 1591) by Lucy Kaye, his wife, and great-uncle to Sir Gilbert the Parliamentarian. He was a graduate of Christ's College, Cambridge, and was rector of Aldwincle All Saints from 1592 till his death in 1637. He was buried in his church.

In 1660 John Dryden was 29. He could as easily that October have been living at home as in London. In fact, if he had, as is possible, been employed by Sir Gilbert Pickering, his uncle, in the Lord Chamberlain's office, it would have been prudent for him to be away for a time from the centre of things. Presumably most of John Dryden's thirteen younger brothers and sisters were at home too, and we could wonder what view of the trouble at the rectory in Titchmarsh was taken by the widowed Mrs. Dryden and her eldest son. Perhaps the younger boys joined in the mob of screaming villagers who howled at the new rector and saw the sheriff and his men arriving to break down the locked doors of the church.

Titchmarsh 1968. HELEN BELGION.

[10] Microfilm of Hearth Tax Return, 1670, PRO, 15 Charles II, E 179 254/13, at Northamptonshire Record Office.

[11] Memorial inscription in Titchmarsh parish church composed by Mrs. Elizabeth Creed in the eightieth year of her age, easily legible *in situ* today, but not mentioned by Bridges.

[12] Bridges, Vol. II, p. 211, under "Aldwincle".

Obituary

Sir Edward de Capell Brooke, Bart., C.B.E.

Sir Edward de Capell Brooke died at Woodford on 6 October, 1968, and was buried at Great Oakley on 11 October. He was the sixth and last baronet, and succeeded his brother, the late Lord Brooke of Oakley in 1944. Lord Brooke was Chairman of the County Council, and was created a baron in 1939.

Sir Edward Brooke, who was born on 31 January, 1880, was the second son of Sir Richard de Capell Brooke, the 4th Bart. by his wife, Mary Grace, the elder daughter of the Rt. Rev. Edward Trollope, D.D., Bishop of Nottingham. He was a graduate of Merton College, Oxford. During the first war, he was Private Secretary to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff at the War Office from 1914 to 1920. He was Chairman of the Governors of Jesus Hospital, Rothwell, a position formerly held by his brother and by many of his ancestors. One of his last benefactions was to the hospital, to whom he gave the sum of £500 as a contribution to the installation of central heating. He was keenly interested in the Northamptonshire Record Society, and was one of the first to respond to the appeal to buy the Baker Manuscripts, which in the event, passed to Lady Hesketh and are now at Delapré. He also secured for the British Museum the Clopton Cartulary, which might otherwise have left the country. This medieval document is, of course, of great interest to Northamptonshire, and arrangements were made that a photo-copy should be deposited at the Northamptonshire Record Office at Delapré. He also lent the Record Society the large collection of Brooke MSS., on his brother's death.

A very reserved and rather shy man, Edward Brooke had a very kind heart. He was a keen cricketer in his younger days, captaining the team at Dulverton, Somerset, when he lived there.

He was also very interested in the recent excavations which took place at Holyoake, a deserted medieval village on his property in Leicestershire on the Northamptonshire border, and gave every assistance to Mrs. Gwen Brown in her work of excavation.

The Brookes of Oakley were one of the oldest Northamptonshire families. In 1472 they moved from Astwell to Great Oakley where they acquired the manor. They were connected by marriage with the Lovetts of Astwell, the Wakes of Blisworth, the Watsons of Rockingham, the Poultons of Desborough, and the Ishams of Lamport. They played a great part in county affairs. On the death of Wheeler Brooke, unmarried, in 1762, the estates passed to his brother Arthur, who married Mary, daughter and heiress of the Rev. Zaccheus Isham, D.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Rector of Solihull. Their daughter, Mary, married Richard Supple of Aghadoe, Co. Cork. Their son, Richard Supple, on succeeding to the Great Oakley estates, took the surname of Brooke, and at the same time adopted the original surname of his family, de Capell, instead of Supple. He was created a baronet in 1803. Sir Arthur de Capell Brooke, the 2nd Bart., was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and well known for his interesting works of travel, including *A Winter in the North Cape*.

Of recent years Great Oakley has lost much of its rural character through the encroachment of Corby. The fine manor house, originally built in the reign of Mary I, contains a splendid collection of family portraits. The small church in the grounds is also of interest and was recently restored by Sir Edward Brooke. There is no heir to the title, and the estate now passes to Mr. Hugh Guinness, grandson of Eleanor Grace Brooke (the late baronet's aunt), who married Gerald Seymour Guinness in 1897. He is married, and is a schoolmaster by profession.

The Parliamentary Election in Northamptonshire, 1626

Northamptonshire was a county divided as it faced the election for its knights of the shire in 1626. Election peace was usually maintained through the practice of choosing one knight from each administrative division, west and east, of the county. This practice had worked at least three times in the Elizabethan period and had been reaffirmed as late as 1624.[1] Furthermore, by 1626, three families, the Montagus of Boughton, the Spencers of Althorp and, to a lesser extent, the Knightleys of Fawsley, dominated Northamptonshire parliamentary politics. Their private agreements served to reduce the possibility of divisive election struggles.[2]

The Knightleys had been established in Northamptonshire for a long period. Originating in Staffordshire, by 1362 they had built up a considerable estate throughout four counties.[3] A marriage alliance gave them Northamptonshire connections in the 14th century and, in 1415 Fawsley was purchased by Richard Knyghtley of Gnowshall, Staffordshire.[4] Compared to the Knightleys, the Spencer family was a relative newcomer. The Spencers made their first appearance in the county in 1451-52. Hitherto graziers in south-eastern Warwickshire, their rise to affluence in Northamptonshire was rapid and, by 1518, Sir John Spencer had secured a substantial and rewarding economic base in the county. The Montagus, although their ancestors had been tenants at Hanging Houghton since 1300, were not a family of much eminence. In 1471, Richard Mountygowe of Hanging Houghton, described as a husbandman, was involved in a "plea of debt". He appears to have been the grandfather of Sir Edward Montagu, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas for Henry VIII. Sir Edward's position at court and royal favour testified to the eminence and growing wealth of the Montagu family. They assiduously added to their holdings and, by 1603, had reached a position of pre-eminence in Northamptonshire politics.[5]

Northamptonshire's parliamentary representation clearly reflected the Montagu-Spencer-Knightley preponderance. Between 1603 and 1625, the three families provided knights of the shire and burgesses for Brackley, Northampton borough, and Higham Ferrers with monotonous regularity.[6] Their domination and ability to reach mutually satisfying election agreements heavily contributed to the tranquility of the Northamptonshire election scene. But that tranquility, that mutually satisfying pattern of election compromise, was rudely shattered in the 1626 contest.

The threat was posed by a new challenger for county influence, Sir Francis Fane. Fane had purchased the earldom of Westmorland through Buckingham's influence in 1624 and was intent on extending his power in Northamptonshire.[7] He had married into an old Northamptonshire family, the Mildmays of Apethorpe, and had served as burgess for Peterborough in 1624.

[1] J. E. Neale, *The Elizabethan House of Commons*, New Haven, 1950, 34.

[2] M. E. Finch, *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640*, Northamptonshire Record Society Publications, xix, 1956, 64, note 8.

[3] The Knightleys held property in Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire and Buckinghamshire, George Baker, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton*, 2 vols., 1822-1841, i, 381. Hereafter cited as Baker, *Northampton*.

[4] Richard de Knyghtley (died 1346) married Ellen, daughter and heir of Nicholas Chaunceux of Upton near Northampton. Baker, *Northampton*, i, 381.

[5] Baker, *Northampton*, i, 106; The Victoria History of the Counties of England, *A History of Northamptonshire*, 4 vols., 1902-1937, iv, 198-199. The earlier history of these Montagus was unknown to the writers. There is extant a charter of about 1300 where Thomas son of Simon de Monteacuto [Montagu] conveyed to Simon his brother a messuage in "Hangende Houton", formerly held by Richard Cholli, for ½*d.* to the Chief Lord at Easter, I.L. 1195 at Northamptonshire Record Office.

[6] Members of the Spencer family, between 1603 and 1625, were returned 12 times for various Northamptonshire constituencies. The Montagu family secured election on eight occasions while representatives of the Knightley family were returned on three occasions. Each of the families provided knights of the shire three times.

[7] Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641*, 1965, 111.

THE FIRST LORD MONTAGU
From the portrait at Boughton House

His son, Mildmay Fane, Lord Burghersh, had represented Peterborough in 1621 but the Earl's ambitions were much higher in 1626. He wanted a knightship of the shire for his heir, thereby securing recognition of his power in the county. His challenge divided the county, shattered traditional election agreements, embittered Edward, Lord Montagu, led to a Star Chamber suit, and provided an example of a recurring theme in 17th century English politics: the contest for prestige and power between an established county leader, Lord Montagu, and a recently established arrival, Sir Francis Fane, the new Lord Westmorland, for county eminence.[8]

The controversy broke out when Westmorland, recently appointed *Custos Rotulorum* of the county, ordered a meeting of the Quarter Sessions at Kettering and directed "4 or 5 of the Hundreds of the East side" to attend, contrary both to traditional practice and to an order made at the previous Sessions held at Northampton.[9] One month passed while the adversaries mustered their forces and took up their positions. Then, in early December, 1625, Lord Montagu, Justice of the Peace and patron of Northampton borough, denounced Westmorland's act as "an unlawful summons" since, as he alleged, Westmorland, as *Custos Rotulorum*, had "no superintendency over his poor fellow Justices."[10] No doubt with Lord Montagu's hearty approval and encouragement, the Justices of the Peace petitioned the Privy Council, whose Lord President was Lord Montagu's brother, Henry, Viscount Mandeville, to reverse Westmorland's orders. The petition claimed that Kettering was "a place found by experience to be unfit", since it lacked a "Sessions house" and accommodations for the justices. It also pointed out that the "gaol and house of correction" were at Northampton. Westmorland's order violated customary county practice since he had "summoned Hundreds which have not heretofore served at the winter Sessions".[11] The Privy Council, perhaps encouraged by Mandeville, reversed Westmorland's order and directed that "this next and all future Sessions shall be kept at Northampton". It also discharged the Hundreds from attendance.[12] Lord Montagu had won the first battle and his ally, Sir William Spencer, eldest son of Robert,

[8] V.C.H., *Northampton*, ii, 544. A somewhat similar struggle for county domination is discussed in Thomas G. Barnes, *Somerset County, 1625-1640*, 1961, 284-285.

[9] The King to [the Sheriff] of Northampton, 4 Oct., [1625], Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry*, 3 vols., 1899-1926, iii, 253, hereafter cited as *HMC Buccleuch*; [Sir] William Spencer and Richard Knightley to Lord Montagu, 25 Oct., 1625, Sir L[ewis] Watson to Lord Montagu, 27 Oct., 1625, *HMC Buccleuch*, iii, 253-254.

[10] Lord [Montagu] to Sir William Spencer, 2 Dec., 1625, *HMC Buccleuch*, iii, 255.

[11] "Petition of the Justices of the Peace of co. Northampton to the Privy Council", Dec., 1625, *HMC Buccleuch*, iii, 255.

[12] "Act of the Privy Council", 4 Dec., 1625, *HMC Buccleuch*, iii, 255.

Lord Spencer, not only chortled gleefully over Westmorland's defeat but urged Lord Montagu to "have a concluding blow at him [Westmorland] in the Starchamber". After urging this obviously quarrelsome scheme, Spencer piously prayed that the Privy Council order would "put an end to all contention with us".[13] His hopes for peace were not, however, to be realized since a far more important and potentially contentious event was forthcoming, an election for knights of the shire. Charles I, late in December, 1625, decided to summon parliament.

SIR LEWIS WATSON
from the portrait in the possession of
Sir Michael Culme-Seymour, Bart.

Sir William Spencer and Richard Knightley had represented the county in the Parliaments of 1624 and 1625. But now, thanks to the actions of the King and possibly the Duke of Buckingham, Knightley was ineligible to serve. Charles I had decided to eliminate some of the most factious opponents of the court and Knightley had been pricked as High Sheriff of the county. The original list of Sheriffs, prepared on the 10th of November, was altered and, on the second list, Richard Knightley's name had been inserted for Northamptonshire.[14] Spencer could have one place, if he wished, but Lord Montagu, without an heir, could not easily fill Knightley's place. Although the Spencers and Lord Montagu did not yet realize it, Westmorland saw his opportunity; the way appeared open for the election of his son, Mildmay, Lord Burghersh, as a knight of the shire for Northamptonshire.

Lord Montagu's suspicions of a forthcoming parliament were confirmed on the 21st of December, 1625, and he immediately began to make the customary arrangements for the election.[15] He wrote to Robert, Lord Spencer, pointing out that although he lacked "a son fit to join with yours, as your Lordship and I once did, for the service of the country [county], I might commend to your thoughts Sir Lewis Watson, whom, besides his nearness to me in blood, for his sufficiency and worth every way I think a fit man to serve . . . and therefore that you will be pleased that your son, Sir William Spencer, and he may join together, and that you will give your best furtherance for the same" so that the election can be "carried in love and with small charge, which otherwise may breed new distractions".[16] Sir Lewis Watson was Lord Montagu's kinsman, thanks

[13] [Sir] William Spencer to Lord Montagu, 12 Dec., 1625, *HMC Buccleuch*, iii, 256.

[14] George Paul first suggested such a scheme late in October, 1625, Paul to Conway, 24 Oct., 1625, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/8:34; Rudyerd to [Nethersole], 23 Nov., 1625, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/10:16; S. R. Gardiner, *The History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War*, 10 vols., 1883-1884, vi, 33-34; David H. Willson, *The Privy Councillors in the House of Commons, 1604-1629*, Minneapolis, 1940, 193. The first list of sheriffs is dated 10 Nov., 1625, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/9:43; the second list, with Knightley's name inserted, is dated 1626?, P.R.O., St. P. Domestic, 16/43:16.

[15] Lord Montagu to Lord Mandeville, 19 Nov., 1625, *HMC Buccleuch*, i, 262; Edward, Lord Montagu, to Lord Spencer, 21 Dec., 1625, N.R.O., Montagu mss, i, 2.

[16] Edward, Lord Montagu, to Lord Spencer, 21 Dec., 1625, N.R.O., Montagu mss, i, 2.

to a judicious and probably economically beneficial marriage contracted by his grandfather, Edward, with Dorothy, daughter of Sir Edward Montagu, the then Lord Chief Justice for Henry VIII. Lord Montagu was Sir Edward Montagu's grandson. Although the Watson family was established at Rockingham Castle and Sir Lewis was a deputy lieutenant in the county, he had made his career at court. He was a close friend of Buckingham and had served for Lincoln City in the last three parliaments.[17] Lord Montagu also wrote to Sir William Spencer, informing him of his election proposals and urging Sir William to stand "so as that there may be a burying of all unkind thoughts and acceptance of new distractions". Richard Knightley also apparently agreed to Watson's nomination.[18]

Sir William Spencer overturned Lord Montagu's plans. He wanted no part in the election. He had, he claimed, served often enough in the past. Sir William endorsed Watson's candidature and suggested that "Sir John Pickering might not be forgot, who, I am sure, is equivalent in merit to the other [Watson], and I hope the union shall be ne'er a whit the worse if both be on that side". Pickering's family represented the "new" gentry of Northamptonshire; Sir John's great grandfather, Gilbert, had secured the manor of Titchmarsh in 1553. Spencer's suggestion violated the traditional election division of the county since both candidates, Watson and Pickering, were from eastern Northamptonshire but Lord Montagu was content. Although Sir William could not stand, Watson had been accepted, enabling Lord Montagu to admit that although Pickering was but "half a loaf", he was "better than no bread" at all.[19]

The delighted Pickering was confident of election victory. He and Watson were the only two candidates and they enjoyed the support of Lord Montagu and the Spencers, traditionally a sure sign of election success.[20] Lord Montagu must have been pleased with himself. He had found an acceptable substitute for Knightley, the customary election letters had been exchanged and, once again, the Spencers and Montagus had reached agreement on the county's knights. Even though they were both from the east, this would not matter since the usual agreement had been reached between the giants of Northamptonshire politics. Furthermore, Northampton borough had the Quarter Sessions again, Westmorland had been rebuffed and, so it seemed, future "distractions" had been avoided. It was a veritable succession of Montagu triumphs.

Suddenly, the situation reversed itself. Lord Montagu discovered that although he had won some battles, he had not yet won the war. On the 29th of December, the Privy Council changed its mind and ordered that Kettering, not Northampton, would be the site of the impending Quarter Sessions and that "all quarter Sessions . . . hereafter" would be held there. Improvements were being made at Kettering which met earlier objections and since the eastern division had shown "extraordinary forwardness" in advancing "his Majesty's affairs", Kettering had won the King's favour. It was also ordered that those hundreds, previously exempt from serving at the Christmas Sessions, must now "appear and serve at Kettering".[21] Westmorland had counter-attacked, and with one stroke not only won the dispute over the Quarter Sessions but also, as Lord Montagu soon discovered, had smashed the Spencer-Montagu election agreement.

Pickering was the first to be aware of the shifting election situation. Twenty-four hours after the Privy Council's decision, he passed a report to Lord Montagu of news "which does not well sort with that which your Lordship [Montagu] wrote unto me. The report is that Sir William Spencer does intend to be knight for this shire". Pickering was very alarmed since he was now

[17] "Sir Lewis Watson", *Concise Dictionary of National Biography*, 1953, 1373; C. Wise, *Rockingham Castle and the Watsons*, 1891, 25. Watson's second wife, Eleanor, was a sister of John Manners, 8th Earl of Rutland, who had married Lord Montagu's daughter, Frances.

[18] Edward, Lord Montagu, to Sir William Spencer, 21 Dec., 1625, N.R.O., Montagu mss, i, 2 (on the back of Montagu's letter to Lord Spencer of the same date).

[19] Sir William Spencer to Montagu, 22 Dec., 1625, Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the MSS of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu*, 1900, 109, hereafter cited as *HMC Montagu*; V.C.H., *Northampton*, iii, 144; Edward, Lord Montagu, to Mr. Nicolls, 25 Dec., 1625, N.R.O., Montagu mss, i, 74.

[20] Sir John Pickering to Lord Montagu, 27 Dec., 1625, N.R.O., Montagu mss, v, 51.

[21] "Order in Council", 29 Dec., 1625, *HMC Buccleuch*, iii, 259.

"deeply engaged" for the knightship, having made promises to many "who doubted of my resolution". He wanted to know if Lord Montagu had received any news from the Spencers which would confirm or deny the report he had heard.[22] Lord Montagu assured the worried Pickering that the Spencers were not involved in "any mustering" of voices for Sir William but he was uneasy. He had heard that Pickering had already "preoccupated" Northampton and opened his campaign. Lord Montagu opposed such unilateral action since he wanted Pickering and Watson to canvass together. Watson had already complained that Pickering was in the field, thereby endangering his own candidature. Pickering, making a thin excuse for his actions, claimed that whatever campaigning that had occurred in his behalf was purely accidental. One man, "who was to go to Northampton", had been entrusted to inform one of Pickering's potential supporters that Pickering was truly a candidate. He had not "preoccupated the town" and promised Lord Montagu that for each voice he had, Watson had one as well. Pickering had a counter-blast of his own. He claimed that Lord Montagu had already started canvassing for voices in Watson's behalf. Pickering denied any enmity toward Watson and argued that he had "done very little for myself, although I had some opportunity, by reason of many freeholders being here [Northampton] this festival time". Instead of working in his own behalf he had made it clear to all that he and Watson were the candidates agreed upon by both the Spencers and Lord Montagu. His conscience was clear for, as Pickering asserted, "it will appear that there has been as much labor for Sir Lewis Watson already as for me".[23]

Trust was becoming a very expensive commodity in Northamptonshire. Neither Lord Montagu or Pickering fully believed one another and with good reason. Pickering had campaigned in Northampton but his charges about Lord Montagu's efforts for Watson were also true. On the same day that Pickering questioned Lord Montagu's zealous support for Watson, Thomas Jenyson, acting for Montagu, wrote to John Harriot, High Constable of Wollaston Hundred and his associate, Edmund Neale, "to speak to your neighbors for Sir Lewis Watson and particularly to you Mr. Harriot to make sure all the rest of your hundred about you and so many of your adjoining hundred" give their voices for Watson. All haste was required since Jenyson had heard "that letters are already sent to Sir Lewis Pemberton, Mr. Nicolls, and others, from some of the west-side, to procure your voices for Sir John Pickering who though he be a gentleman without all exception, yet I take it that my L.[ord] Mountagu [Montagu] and others of this division will think hardly that the west side should impose upon us the choice of one particular man, unless they give way that Sir Lewis Watson also jointly with Sir John Pickering maybe elected".[24] Montagu's agents were hedging over Pickering's candidature and the reason seems fairly clear. The rumour of Sir William Spencer's candidature frightened Lord Montagu. If Spencer should stand, Watson might well fail. He was clearly not as well known in the county as Pickering, whose Puritan sympathies assured him of considerable county support. The eastern division had both candidates for knightships and, thanks to the action of the Privy Council, it had the Quarter Sessions as well; the western division had nothing. Should a westerner, Spencer, enter the election fray to redress the balance, the less well known Watson would be undone. Pickering had every reason to question the sincerity of Lord Montagu's support; after all, Watson, not Pickering, was Lord Montagu's favourite nominee.

More trouble was ahead. If the growing split between Lord Montagu and Pickering and the apparent collapse of the election agreement between Lord Montagu and the Spencers was not enough, the Earl of Westmorland now entered the fray, further complicating an already complex and contentious election picture. On the 6th of January, 1626, Robert, Lord Spencer, informed Lord Montagu that he had "heard by divers, and this day by some of my neighbours of Northampton, that your Lordship's too much trust is likely to abuse you". Watson "will stand for the first place" which he was confident of winning, with Lord Montagu's support. But the worst news was yet to come. "Then shall my Lord of Westmorland's eldest son [Mildmay Fane, Lord

[22] Sir John Pickering to Lord Montagu, 30 Dec., 1625, N.R.O., Montagu mss, v, 52.

[23] Sir John Pickering to Lord Montagu, 30 Dec., 1625, 2 Jan., 1626, N.R.O., Montagu mss, v, 52, 45.

[24] Thomas Jenyson to Mr. Edmund Neale and Mr. John Harriott, 2 Jan., 1626, N.R.O., Montagu mss, v, 46.

Burghersh] come in for the second place and so carry it by your Lordship's power". Lord Montagu would "wrong Sir John Pickering, your Lordship's old and faithful friend" while Montagu's chief opponent in the county, the Earl of Westmorland, would watch his own son win a knightship thanks to, of all things, Lord Montagu's "power". To check this move, Lord Spencer urged that Lord Montagu concentrate on securing the first place for Pickering, so that "then we all are secured that Burhershe [Burghersh] cannot come in". If Lord Montagu did not believe him, Spencer pressed him to "Enquire of it, and you shall daily find more" evidence of Westmorland's plan.[25] Pickering was not the only one being gulled in the election; Lord Montagu was suffering the same fate and now began to realize how factious the shire contest had become.

Lord Montagu's eyes were opened further when Jenyson reported, three days before the shire election scheduled for the 12th of January, that "there is extraordinary labouring and that very seriously for Sir William Spencer openly" as a candidate.[26] Jenyson's letter revealed that Knightley was committed to Pickering's candidature and that Pickering and Spencer were dominating the election scene. Lord Montagu's plans were in ruins and, at this late date, he had discovered that his nominee, Sir Lewis Watson, was being all but ignored. Whether Robert, Lord Spencer, was aware of this or not is unclear. If he was, then his letter to Lord Montagu was a masterful election move. It would serve to concentrate Lord Montagu's attention on Pickering's candidature instead of Watson's, leaving the field clear for Sir William to gather up Watson's potential supporters as his own. Jenyson also informed Lord Montagu that "diet, lodgings and stables are already bespoken" in Northampton, sure evidence of a well conducted election campaign.[27]

To further strain county relationships, Jenyson admitted that Pickering was now aware that Montagu had not been his most zealous supporter. Jenyson had worked against Pickering, "*per obliquum*" as he put it, but now, thanks to a bit of clever election espionage on the part of Pickering's clerk who, "unespied", secured a copy of one of Jenyson's campaign letters for Watson, Pickering knew of Lord Montagu's lukewarm efforts on his behalf and his concentration on Watson's election.[28] Lord Montagu, so it seemed, had done nothing right in the whole election.

Lord Montagu's cup of woe spilled over on the 10th of January. He made a last appeal for Watson to the Mayor and Aldermen of Northampton, a city of which he "was a special benefactor". His effort was a miserable failure. The city corporation, very aware "of the great distractions of late arisen in both divisions", regretfully informed him that it was already "engaged" for Pickering "on the East side, . . . and for the other" was "resolved for Sir William Spencer".[29] Pickering and Spencer won the election. The battle fought over the location of the Quarter Sessions and the transfer of the meeting to Kettering doomed Watson's election chances. Northampton, stung by the loss of the Sessions to an eastern town, would not tolerate the election of two eastern candidates. Spencer's election would partially redress the balance and salve Northampton's injured dignity. It would also continue the traditional election pattern in the county and block Westmorland's bid for power. For both Lord Montagu and Northampton it was an impossible situation. The borough denied its patron rather than surrender its pride.

The Spencers tried to alleviate Lord Montagu's frustrations and keep county relationships on their old footing. They had written to Lord Montagu to let him know of Watson's fate one day before the election. Lord Montagu was pleased at their concern but heartily sick of the whole business. He was sorry "our rent country [county] cannot be drawn up, but must be torn more [and] more". He had done his best "to avoid it, but cannot do more, but leave the issue to God's dispose [*sic*]". He hoped he had not offended Pickering; "there was not a thought to offer Sir [John] Pickering any discourtesy; but these are not things worth talking of. The main [point?] is the

[25] Robert, Lord Spencer, to Lord Montagu, 6 Jan., 1626, *HMC Montagu*, 110.

[26] Thomas Jenyson to Lord Montagu, 9 Jan., 1626, N.R.O., Montagu mss, v, 48.

[27] Thomas Jenyson to Lord Montagu, 9 Jan., 1626, N.R.O., Montagu mss, v, 48.

[28] Thomas Jenyson to Lord Montagu, 9 Jan., 1626, N.R.O., Montagu mss, v, 48.

[29] C. A. Markham and J. C. Cox, editors, *The Records of the Borough of Northampton*, 2 vols., 1898, ii, 108-109; The Mayor and Aldermen of Northampton to Lord Montagu, 10 Jan., 1626, N.R.O., Montagu mss, iv, 69.

pacification of the country [county], which it pleases not God, as it seems, at this time to effect". His true feelings were revealed, almost two weeks after the election, in a letter to his brother, Viscount Mandeville. He was a bitter and disappointed man. He had supported Watson in an effort to heal the breach and "distractions" of the county but "the potency of the West [division] by their strength of the town of Northampton, together with their distaste about the Sessions" had doomed his efforts. He had never contemplated failure and, pondering it after the event, he complained "I have been so much neglected and unthankfully used for my former carriage, and that they have been so much bound to you, who have stood the closer to them for my sake, I am much distasted at their disrespect, and therefore hereafter will do my best not to have the East side still overlapped by them". He perhaps complained too much; Richard Spencer had been elected by Northampton, perhaps with Lord Montagu's support and approval. But he was bitter; he struck out other passages in the letter which revealed how galling it all was for him since "in truth I distaste much the carriage of the business for electing the Knights of the Shire".[30] Well he might be bitter; the Montagu influence, so consistently successful in the past, had been abruptly overturned.

Although most elections held between 1603 and 1640 appear to have been strongly influenced, if not actually decided, by the decisions reached by the Montagu and Spencer families, 1626 was a bitter exception. Westmorland's challenge divided the county; his high-handedness in forcing, with the Privy Council's help, the transfer of the Quarter Sessions to Kettering, prevented the election from following established patterns. His son's candidature testified to his determination to increase his power and influence within his adopted county. Even though Mildmay Fane, Lord Burghersh, had lost the county election and had to be content with a seat at Peterborough, Lord Montagu had lost much more. His effort to avoid faction and to maintain his prestige in Northamptonshire had failed. He had cut a very sorry figure in the election. The Spencers, forced by events, had broken their election compact with him and worked instead against his candidate. Their attempt to warn Lord Montagu of his folly in supporting Watson, which could have led to Westmorland's election victory, was of no avail. Lord Montagu's support of two eastern candidates made his position impossible. County faction overturned his power but it was also clear that he was blind to Westmorland's clever strategy. As a final indignity, not even Northampton borough would follow his leadership in the county contest.

The 1626 election was a painful experience for Edward, Lord Montagu. It did not mark the end of the Montagu-Westmorland battle; the struggle dragged on in the Star Chamber for at least another year without apparent result.[31]

Northamptonshire, like other counties in England, was occasionally a battlefield in the early 17th century, a battlefield fought over by its "great" families in the name of prestige and influence in their own bailiwicks. Election victories, particularly for the knightships of the shire, were the ultimate recognition of county influence. That was the goal contested for in 1626 when the county eminence and influence of Edward, Lord Montagu was jeopardized by Francis Fane, 1st Earl of Westmorland, courtier and rival for power in Northamptonshire.

JOHN K. GRUENFELDER.

[30] Edward, Lord Montagu, to Sir William and Richard Spencer, 11 Jan., 1626, *HMC Buccleuch*, i, 262-263; Edward, Lord Montagu, to Lord Mandeville, 21 Jan., 1626, N.R.O., Montagu mss, i, 73.

[31] Letters concerning the Star Chamber suit are found in *HMC Buccleuch*, iii, 256, 264(2), 264-265, 306, 307, 309, 311, 316.

NOTE. The portrait of Sir Lewis Watson, later 1st Lord Rockingham, has hitherto been attributed to J. M. Wright, but this artist was only a boy when the portrait was painted, c. 1620. It is probably an Anglo-Netherlandish painter's work. (O.M.).

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Nineteenth Century Naseby Farm Workers

The village of Naseby is probably best remembered in history as the site of the famous Civil War Battle, which took place on 14th June, 1645, and which led to the defeat of the Royalists by the Parliamentarians. However, by the final quarter of the nineteenth century memories of those violent days might have been thought to be well behind the villagers of Naseby—who numbered at the time of the 1871 Census of Population some 693 souls.[1] Naseby is a large, scattered parish, which was in the early 1870s primarily under the ownership of Viscount Clifden (the lord of the manor, who was a minor) and George Ashby, a Justice of the Peace. The occupation of the majority of the inhabitants was connected with agriculture, and for the mass of the villagers this meant agricultural labour; at the time of the 1861 Census, 175 men out of the total male population of 421 recorded, were engaged in agricultural labour, and a number of the older, retired men were shown as former agricultural labourers. The preponderance of labourers is emphasized when it is appreciated that the 421 included not only old men unable to work but also children too young to do so.[2]

Nevertheless, anyone who might have thought that these nineteenth century inhabitants of Naseby had forgotten the Civil War and the spirit of radicalism which had characterised that period over two hundred years before, would have been much mistaken.[3] They had retained a considerable spirit of independence, and this made them ready and eager to participate in the upthrust of agricultural trade unionism which occurred in 1872, and which found its most concrete form in the creation of a National Agricultural Labourers' Union at Leamington, at the end of May, 1872. Naseby branch of the N.A.L.U. was established in the early days of the movement, and became affiliated to the Market Harborough (later known as the Northampton) district of the Union; Joseph Linnett acted as branch Chairman and George Cox as the Secretary.[4]

The links with the radical past of Naseby were, however, not merely vague ideals. The agricultural trade unionists were proud of their connection, and from as early as October, 1874, reference was made at their meetings to the Battle and its outcome. On 13th October in that year the branch organized a public meeting, which was prefaced by the Northampton band parading the village (followed by branch members), and then by a tea, attended by about 220 people, which was held in 'a large booth'. This had been erected by the fifty-two-year-old landlord of the Fitzgerald Arms, Mr. Martin, who was a strong supporter of the agricultural labourers' movement. At the public meeting which followed, John Loveday, a Radical building contractor from Kibworth, in Leicestershire, took the chair, and declared that it afforded him "much pleasure to

[1] The total population size had diminished from an absolute peak of 889 reached in 1841. This was partly because opportunities for migration had become easier with the development of the railways in Northamptonshire, and partly because growing urban employment opened to workers the possibility of finding new types of occupation. By 1901 the population had fallen even further—to 476. *1901 Census Report.*

[2] *1861 Census Return for Naseby*, Public Record Office, R.G.9.948. A number of the women were shown as net embroideresses. It is interesting to note that even in 1792, before the enclosure of Naseby was carried out, there were said to be 'many labourers' employed in the village. Rev. John Mastin, *The History and Antiquities of Naseby* (1792), p. 15.

[3] John Vincent in his *Formation of the Liberal Party 1857-68* (1966), p. xxix, underlines this when he suggests that political attitudes in the 1860s "had nothing to do with the industrial revolution, much to do with the Civil War". Such a view may perhaps over-estimate the importance of the Civil War, but it does indicate that events and prejudices which arose over two hundred years previously could seem relevant in the second half of the nineteenth century.

[4] At the time of the 1861 Census Return, Joseph Linnett was a ploughboy of 15 years of age, and George Cox a thirty-six year old agricultural labourer. Public Record Office, R.G.9.948. Ten years later Linnett was married—to a wife considerably older than himself—and was employed as an agricultural labourer.

meet with so many . . . especially . . . at Naseby, where Cromwell contested the divine right of kings".[5]

Nevertheless, it was in the year 1875 and for the remainder of the 1870s that the Union branch decided to celebrate officially the outcome of the Naseby battle.[6] Partly at the instigation of the N.A.L.U. President, Joseph Arch, it was decided to hold a popular demonstration on the actual anniversary of the battle, namely 14th June. Before the first meeting was held in 1875 the branch inserted an advertisement in the *Labourers' Union Chronicle*, which was the N.A.L.U.'s organ, announcing details of the procession and meetings which were to be held—and declaring that the band and company were to meet the speakers at 'Cromwell's Obelisk at 12.30 p.m.'[7] (The obelisk was actually only erected in the early 1820s to commemorate the battle; it owed its existence to the Fitzgerald family, and it was they who, in 1855, sold Naseby manor to the Clifdens).

When the day of the meeting arrived it was claimed that "not less than 2,000 labourers with their wives" attended—some coming in carriers' carts from the surrounding villages to supplement the local Naseby contingent. The scene was obviously one of considerable excitement, and all business in the village was suspended for the day.

After Joseph Arch and his fellow unionists had assembled at the obelisk, they were escorted, with bands playing, into a meadow near the Church, where a rough platform had been erected for the speakers, and where the meeting was to be held. Proceedings commenced with the singing of some verses from 'Unionism and Patriotism', a union song which asked "the tillers of the soil never to rest until they got a fair day's pay for their work". Then the chairman of the meeting read out two petitions, which the audience were asked to sign. One requested Parliament for an extension of the franchise to the county householder, and the other referred "to the monstrous grievance of the present Game Laws". These demands were underlined in a speech later made by Joseph Arch, and the meeting concluded with the singing of "an original song relating to the battle of Naseby"![8]

The success of this meeting was such that in the following years similar demonstrations were held—in 1876, for example, the subject of Arch's address was, "The Battle for Civil and Religious Liberty". Most of the other demonstrations followed this pattern, although during the one in 1879 a collection was made on behalf of farm workers locked out in the Sawston district of Cambridgeshire. On this occasion the sum of 18*s*. 4*d*. was obtained. After 1880, however, with the general decline in N.A.L.U. membership the practice of holding the special June meetings seems to have ceased, even though the Naseby branch itself continued to function quite actively.

Naseby's contribution to agricultural trade unionism was, of course, considerably more than the mere holding of annual demonstrations. The members showed considerable initiative from the very beginning. For example, in May, 1875, they sent their own representatives to a demonstration held in London in support of a proposed Franchise Bill. This was quite separate from the delegation sent by the Market Harborough district as a whole, and the cost of the venture was met by all adult members paying a levy of 6*d*. each, and all 'half' members, i.e. the boys between the ages of 13 and 17, 3*d*. It was decided that if the expenditure exceeded the sum thus

[5] *Labourers' Union Chronicle*, 24 October, 1874.

[6] At this point it is worth noting that Naseby radicalism had not been accompanied by any lawlessness in the early years of the century, when unrest could—and did—exist in many areas. In the latter months of 1830, for example, when the 'Swing' riots were taking place among agricultural workers, there are no records of Naseby labourers participating in them. The nearest case which has been discovered was at Brixworth, where Thos. Murden was committed to the County gaol "for refusing to desist from calling together the labourers of Brixworth by bell, whereby a breach of the peace was expected". *Northampton Mercury*, 11 December, 1830. Even earlier—in 1821-22, when the negotiations for enclosure were taking place in connection with Naseby—there are no accounts of unlawful measures being taken to oppose the enclosure.

[7] Joseph Arch and the other speakers were in fact collected by Mr. Martin of the Fitzgerald Arms from Market Harborough, and were boarded by him, free of charge, on the night of the demonstration. On the following day, he carried his support even further by taking them as far as the nearby village of Guilsborough, where they were again to address meetings.

[8] *Midland Free Press*, 19 June, 1875.

obtained, then it was to be met from the branch's incidental fund established to meet just such unexpected financial disbursements.[9]

Then, again, in March and July, 1874, meetings were held to collect funds for men locked out by farmers not only in Northamptonshire but also in the Eastern Counties, where there was at this time a tremendous tussle taking place between the farmers and the unionists. Altogether the sum of £1 1*s*. was collected on these occasions—quite a considerable sacrifice for men whose own wages were normally only barely sufficient to meet their needs.[10] It is also interesting to note that at the earlier meeting two women joined the branch—although in accordance with the N.A.L.U.'s policy of discouraging female agricultural workers, women members were, strictly speaking, not supposed to be admitted.

However, it was in matters of self-help, outside the union's immediate province of obtaining improved wages and conditions of employment, that Naseby farm workers and their wives showed themselves most active. Virtually alone of all the N.A.L.U. branches in the Midland counties, Naseby branch not only decided to establish a Friendly Society to provide sickness benefits, medical aid and funeral payments for their members but—and this was the step which marked them out from the rest—in 1876 they actually registered this Society as a separate entity with the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, under the Friendly Society legislation.[11] The Society was actually formed during February, 1875, with George Cox, the Union branch secretary, as its secretary, and his house acted as the official headquarters.[12] All members of the Naseby branch of the N.A.L.U. were eligible to join—together with their wives—provided that they were in good health at the time of entry. Contributions to the Society had to be remitted regularly 'every fourth Monday night', and strict rules were laid down as to the conduct of members. For example, no member was to receive relief for any sickness, accident or infirmity "caused by immorality or intoxication, or engaging in any quarrel or unlawful pursuit"; again, "any member giving another the lie, or disobeying the presiding officer, or using any provoking expression in Committee or hours (of meeting), to be fined 1*s*.; or any member striking another in Committee, to be fined 5*s*. for each offence".

By the end of 1877, in a statement submitted to the Chief Registrar, the society claimed a membership of 44 and total assets of £82.[13] Two years later, at the end of 1879, however, membership had declined to 40, and total assets to £67. During the course of that year the Society's receipts had amounted to £26 and its benefit expenditure to £12.

At the end of the following year the situation seemed even less satisfactory, in so far as membership had fallen to 39, and, more seriously, total assets had also fallen, as current annual receipts of £22 were more than counterbalanced by total current expenditure of £26. This unfortunate tendency was perhaps due to the fact that the Society charged uniform monthly contributions of 1*s*. for all ages of entry, unlike the position in the big national Friendly Societies.[14] Naturally, the older members were more likely to be a drain on the funds than younger ones, and if the Society's rules failed to take this into account, then declining total assets would appear to have been inevitable in the long run. This was especially so since the benefit paid was 8*s*. per week

[9] *Labourers' Union Chronicle*, 21 April, 1875.

[10] Speakers at the March meeting included the delegate for the Market Harborough district, an ex-farm worker from Ratley in Warwickshire, named Haynes, plus two local men—William Cox and John Sparman. William Cox was a thirty-one-year-old Naseby agricultural labourer.

[11] This was not Naseby's first venture into the self-help field, of course. Along with other Northamptonshire villages (e.g. Long Buckby), the inhabitants of Naseby had established their own co-operative provident grocery store in the village in 1862. By the year 1870 it had a membership of 35, and receipts for goods amounted to £612, as against £522 expended in their original purchase; the expenses amounted to £16, the liabilities to £95, and the assets to £136. The disposable net profit was £49 and the dividend declared to members, £33. J. Taylor & Son's *Northamptonshire Handbook* (1872).

[12] Accounts and Papers, Vol. LXXIV (1881), Report of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies for 1879. The Society was actually registered in July, 1876.

[13] Report of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies for 1877.

[14] In addition to this normal contribution, every member was required to "pay over to the Secretary three-pence annually, on the 8th day of February, for his secretaryship. All sick members (were) requested to return their bottles when done with to the surgeon". Rule 12, Rule Book, F.S.3-299-613.

during sickness for the first six months, and 4*s*. per week for the next six months; funeral benefits were £2 per member. The provision that "every member of this Society must pay two years' contribution nights before he or she will be entitled to any sick pay or funeral allowance" could only postpone the drain on the funds—it could not eliminate it.

Nevertheless, Naseby's agricultural labourers were not easily discouraged, and the Society remained in existence until 1897. During the 1880s, by amendments to its rules, it seemed to check for a time some of the imbalance in its income and expenditure. The first amendment was registered on 22nd August, 1883, and provided that after a member had received benefit for twelve months, "he or she must be clear of the funds for two years before claiming sick pay again, and any member having been in receipt of full pay for four successive weeks must be clear of the funds for two years from the time he or she declared off", before benefit could again be received.[15] As a result of these measures, by 1885, although membership had fallen to 32,[16] total assets had risen to £95. Over the five-year period 1881-85 inclusive, total contributions had amounted to £110, and total disbursements on account of sickness payments and medical aid to £76. Then, despite further amendments to the Rules, calling for an extra payment of 5*d*. per month per member to cover the surgeon's fees and management expenses, the old unfavourable trend had set in; by December, 1891, the number of members had fallen yet again—to 22—and total assets had once again declined; this time they stood at £80.[17] After this date the Society operated on an ever lower key, until 17th November, 1897, when it was officially dissolved. By that time membership had fallen to 17 and the funds in hand to £62. Of this sum, about £47 was in the Post Office Savings Bank and over £14 in the treasurer's hands. The division of these funds was provided for as follows: "Each Member not having received his, or her, 26 weeks full sick pay to receive what portion of the same he or she may be entitled to. The remainder to be equally divided between all the members". All except one of the surviving members had been a member of the society for twenty years.

It is interesting to note that of the final members, 9 were women—either former agricultural workers themselves or the wives or widows of farm workers. On the whole, they proved more literate than the men. Of the 15 members who actually signed the Dissolution Certificate, only one of the seven women could not sign her own name, but four of the eight men made a mark. The dissolution of the Naseby Friendly Society took place just over a year after the official dissolution of the N.A.L.U. itself, although it is unlikely that these events had any connection with one another. The N.A.L.U. had been almost completely moribund in Northamptonshire for a decade.

This establishment and maintenance of a Friendly Society for over twenty years was, however, not the only example of self-help on the part of agricultural trade unionists in Naseby. The wives of the farm workers showed themselves anxious not only to join the Friendly Society but also to provide some insurance against the financial problems of possible widowhood. In 1877, when the Northampton district of the N.A.L.U. announced the establishment of a Widow's Society, to provide 4*s*. a week for members if they were widows, it was stated that 'Naseby women (had) taken up the . . . Society in earnest . . .'. In each case the member's husband had to be an agricultural unionist and had to be in good health when his wife joined, while an entrance fee of 6*d*. and a weekly contribution of 2*d*. were also levied.

By January, 1879, Naseby branch of the Widows' Society had a membership of 30, and was said to be the largest single branch in the whole organization.[18] A year later Naseby membership still stood at this same figure, but unfortunately the Society itself was not in a very happy financial state; it was pointed out that there were 'four widows . . . on the funds in two years and

[15] F.S.3-299-613 Public Record Office. The secretary at this time was actually Maria Cox, George's wife; his cottage remained the official headquarters of the Society.

[16] Four of the former members had died, four had left for other reasons, and there had been a recruitment of one additional member in the period 1881-85. Accounts and Papers.

[17] Accounts and Papers, Vol. LXXIV (1893-94). Report of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies for 1891.

[18] *Labourers' Union Chronicle*, 1 February, 1879. The total membership of the District Widows' Society at this time was 130.

a half', and if liabilities grew at any faster rate than this, the funds would soon be bankrupted! Consequently at a meeting held in July, 1880, it was proposed that either the weekly subscriptions should be increased or the benefits paid to widows put on a sliding scale of 4*s*. a week for one year, and then something smaller for the succeeding years.[19] Early in January, 1881, a vote was taken in favour of the latter resolution, and by December, 1882, it was noted that the situation had shown improvement, and that the reserves of the Society had risen from about £86 in January, 1881, to £150. Unfortunately, this progress proved short-lived, and within two years the Society had faded away.

In addition to these activities, Naseby branch of the N.A.L.U. proved itself active in the political field. Mention has already been made of its action in sending its own representatives to London for a franchise demonstration in 1875. This was no isolated incident. In May, 1882, for example, it—along with almost forty other Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire Union branches—organized a petition to Parliament in favour of the proposed Allotments Extension Act of 1882, which was designed to make charity lands in the villages available for use as labourers' allotments. Naseby's petition had the substantial number of 204 signatures appended to it.

Again, a little earlier, in 1877, at the time of the Russo-Turkish War, when there was fear of Britain's intervening on the side of Turkey, meetings were held at Naseby—attended by Joseph Arch—at which unanimous resolutions were passed in favour of Britain's neutrality in this matter. In that policy the N.A.L.U. leaders were, of course, following the strictly Gladstonian line on the question, and there is no doubt that Arch's own close identification with the Liberal Party may have been one reason for the Naseby labourers being drawn into this particular affair.

Finally, in 1880, at the time of the annual celebration in June, a petition was passed in favour of "a reform of the Land Laws, abolition of the laws of primogeniture and entail, for the repeal of the Game Laws, the abolition of the preferential rights of landlords over other creditors, and for an Act facilitating the transfer of land and giving real security for unexhausted improvements". This meeting was attended by Northampton Radicals and it seems likely that these extensive demands were put forward at their instigation, rather than by the Naseby men on their own account. Nevertheless, Naseby workers were loyal to Gladstonian Liberalism, and this was ultimately demonstrated in 1886, after the Liberal Party had split over the Irish Home Rule issue. A meeting was held by the union branch to discuss the situation in November of that year, and a resolution was passed "of confidence in Mr. Gladstone and his Irish policy". This fairly Radical Liberalism remained a characteristic of the villagers, and in 1894 at the time of the Parish Council elections it is significant to note that three farm workers were elected to the nine-man Council.[20]

Naseby was also a centre of Nonconformity. In 1871, the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel—which had been originally erected in 1825—was restored, and was said to be then capable of seating about 200 persons. However, there were, in all, an estimated 400 Methodists in the village, and the spirit of Nonconformity which existed, combined with agricultural trade unionism, tended to create a rift between some of the villagers and the Church of England.[21] In 1878, according to the Visitation Return submitted by the incumbent, "the bitter prejudice of dissent united with unionism" impeded the work of the Church in the parish.[22] Nevertheless, it should be noted that the alliance between the N.A.L.U. branch and the Chapel was not always an uninterrupted one. In January, 1874, the *Labourers' Union Chronicle* complained that the unionists had failed to secure accommodation for a proposed religious service and meeting, and had been forced to accept Mr. Martin's offer of 'his spacious tent'. The report went on: "We find in this place, while some professed follower of Him who went about doing good was willing that we should have the chapel in consequence of the inclement weather . . . another officious creature, with less grace in his

[19] *Labourers' Union Chronicle*, 17 July, 1880.
[20] Richard Heath, *The Rural Revolution*. In the *Contemporary Review*, February, 1895.
[21] Peterborough Diocese, *Visitation Return, 1875*. In 1882 the incumbent informed his Bishop that: "Dissent would count 4 to 1 Churchman". *Visitation Return*, Northamptonshire Record Office.
[22] Peterborough Diocese, *Visitation Return, 1878*.

heart and no spirit of Christ dwelling within him, forbids the use of the chapel for any service at all".[23]

Through these varied methods, therefore, Naseby farm workers showed themselves men of considerable independence of thought, particularly in the spheres of agricultural trade unionism and friendly society activities. It was unfortunate from their point of view that others did not share their enthusiasm. By the beginning of the 1890s agricultural trade unionism in the Midland counties had virtually disappeared, and although a few of the Naseby members remained loyal to their friendly society, it can be seen that even here membership was falling drastically—it amounted to only 22 in 1891.

Nevertheless, despite this weakness, for twenty years agricultural combination did remain an influence of some significance in the life of Naseby's farm worker population—and it was a population whose material conditions were not unsatisfactory as compared with those in many other villages. This applied particularly to the cottages. Even by the early 1870s "nearly the whole of the mud-wall cottages"[24] had been pulled down and had been replaced. In 1892, when the Assistant Commissioner visited the village in connection with the Royal Commission on Labour, 1892-94, he commented favourably on the new cottages erected by Viscount Clifden, which he considered were "well appointed in all respects". He also pointed out that the older cottages he had visited in the villages, "though some of them small, were in good repair".[25]

Then, too, because of the relative sparseness of the population, some of the Naseby labourers were hired on a six-monthly basis rather than a weekly one, as was the case where the labour supply was more plentiful. This gave them greater security both of employment and of tenure of their cottages, where these were held as a result of their being employed on a particular farm. Basic wage rates for the general labourers in this part of Northamptonshire tended to average about 13*s*. to 14*s*. per week, but could be supplemented by performance of tasks at piecework rates, e.g. hedging and ditching. During the harvest season the basic wage rates were approximately doubled, i.e. to between 25*s*. and 28*s*. per week. Out of these wages cottage rents of perhaps 1*s*. 6*d*. to 2*s*. per week had to be paid—plus a small allotment rent if one were cultivated. The village was, indeed, quite well situated in the matter of allotments—a feature much prized by farm workers.[26] In 1891 there were 44 acres available for this purpose, divided out into 162 allotments; the rent charged—36*s*. per acre per annum—was about average for allotment land in the area, and was certainly lower than in some neighbouring parishes, for example, Guilsborough.

Finally, this account of agricultural life in Naseby in the late nineteenth century might profitably be compared with the position about one hundred years earlier. In this connection the description provided by the then vicar, the Rev. John Mastin, is of great value: " . . . and if we except a few of the modern and best houses, (Naseby) is built principally with a kind of kealy earth dug near it;[27] . . . walls built with this earth are exceedingly firm and strong, and, if kept

[23] *Labourers' Union Chronicle*, 17 January, 1874.

[24] See Whellan's *Northamptonshire Directory, 1872*. This may be compared with Brafield, for example, where the cottages were said to be "very bad as regards accommodation . . ." *Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, 1867-69*, Evidence accompanying Mr. Norman's Report, No. 142.

[25] *Royal Commission on Labour, 1892-94*, Report on Brixworth Union, 1892; p. 39. The Assistant Commissioner noted that Viscount Clifden was spending and had spent "large sums of money in the replacement of old cottages by new ones of a much better type". (p. 38). With the decline in population the number of inhabited houses had, of course, declined —from 148, when the population was 693 in 1871, to 127, when the population was 551, in 1891.

[26] However, in view of their petition of 1882 in favour of an Allotment Extension Act, it would seem that Naseby farm workers' allotment requirements—at least at that date—had not been entirely satisfied. Some of the allotments were held "on condition of living in particular houses". *Royal Commission on Labour, 1892-94*, p. 41, Brixworth Union Report. No specific details were given of the crops grown on Naseby allotments, but in the area as a whole wheat, barley and potatoes were described as the "ruling crops, varied here and there by carrots and beans".

[27] It has been suggested by Mr. J. C. Davies that the word 'kealy' was derived from the local name for the building mud, which was 'kale' or 'cale' Northamptonshire Past and Present, Vol. III, No. 6, *Cob Cottages in Northamptonshire—A Postcript*, M. V. J. Seaborne (pp. 283-4). Incorporated in the same article is a photograph of Naseby Round House, a mud building which was perhaps used as a dovecot—or even as a dwelling-house (although its apparent lack of windows makes this unlikely)!

dry, are said to be more durable than if built with soft stone or indifferent bricks. . . . The price of labour . . . here is, per day of twelve hours . . . for labourers one shilling, with small beer, and sometimes a mess at breakfast; the summer quarter as it is called, from Midsummer to Michaelmas, six, and sometimes seven shillings per week, with full board. A good workman is often indulged with the carriage of a ton of coals extra, worth to him about ten shillings. These wages are higher than they were twenty years ago but by no means keep pace with the advancing price of provision; . . ."[28]

Mastin's book was published in 1792 and his views on the cottages in Naseby were reinforced by an account written twenty years later by William Pitt, who had toured Northamptonshire in 1797 and 1806. Pitt said of the Northamptonshire mud (or cob) cottages: "It is very possible that sufficient shelter and warmth may be afforded by these materials, and that they may afford health and comfort to the humble inhabitants; but they certainly have a miserable appearance and are hardly consistent with the dignity of a rich county".[29] In these circumstances there seems little doubt that the changes which took place in the years separating Mastin's account from that of the Royal Commission of 1892-94 were to the advantage of the farm worker.

PAMELA HORN.

[28] Rev. John Mastin, *The History and Antiquities of Naseby* (1792), pp. 7 and 54-5. The appearance of the mud walls of these houses must have been made considerably worse by the practice of their inhabitants of spreading "cowdung . . . upon them to dry for firing". Mastin (p. 7).

[29] William Pitt, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Northampton* (1813) quoted in (p. 226) M. V. J. Seaborne, *Cob Cottages in Northamptonshire*, Northamptonshire Past and Present, Vol. III, No. 5, 1964. It is interesting to note that Pitt considered cob cottages to be particularly prominent in open parishes. Seaborne, supporting this view, suggests that the form of tenancy in operation in the area "obliged the poor inhabitants to use the cheapest possible form of construction for their cottages". (I am indebted to the Editor of *Northamptonshire Past and Present* for drawing my attention both to the Rev. John Mastin's book and to Mr. Seaborne's articles).

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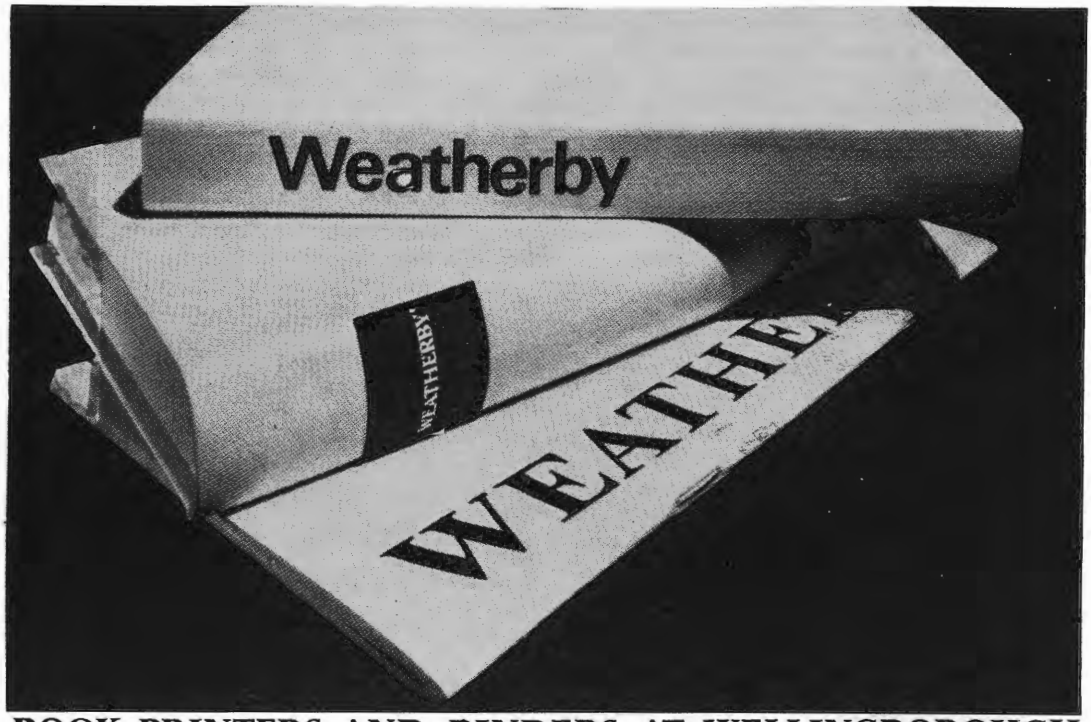
Quietly, no sound at all—
No motion, not a rise of breath
Would indicate that they were there—
The lord and lady lie asleep
Upon their marble pillows, side by side,
Whilst gathered round the bed
Their children kneel, postured in prayer,
And silently call succour for their souls.

Four hundred years, not one embrace,
Four centuries and not one word
Has passed between them; lying there,
Frozen on a loveless bed,
Oblivious of all future worlds, they sleep,
And though their sons stand dutifully round,
Their mutual secret keep,
Knowing no child will be conceived in stone.

TREVOR HOLD.



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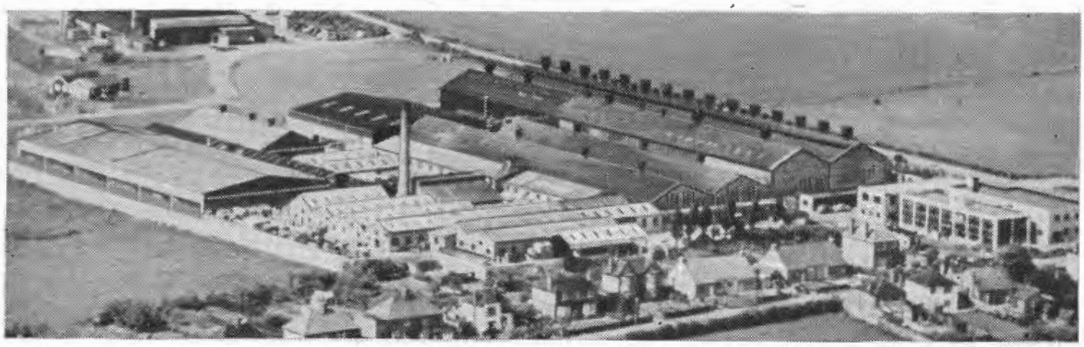

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An Eighteenth Century Inclosure and Foot Ball Play at West Haddon

THE Inclosures that took place in Northamptonshire in the eighteenth century seem to have been carried through without much serious opposition, but one exception is the parish of West Haddon. For this parish we do have a few details of opposition to the proposed inclosure of the fields in 1764, opposition that culminated in a riot and the arrest of several persons by General Mordaunt's Dragoons, brought in from Northampton to quell the disturbance.

The Bill for the Inclosure of the Common Fields and Heath of West Haddon, some 7½ miles north east of Daventry, was presented to the House of Commons on 24 January 1764 and was Read for the first time on 26 January. The Reasons in support of inclosure are given in the Bill and we are informed that the Common Fields and Heath to be inclosed consist of 48 Yard Lands, or about 2,600 acres and eighteen Cottage Commons, each cottage having the Right of Common for one cow and sixty kids of bushes on a certain spot of Ground. The cottages were chiefly the property of Landowners. In the Fields were about 800 acres of Heath Common and Waste Ground and two Rye Hills, from which very little profit arose, although it was said to be very proper land for turnips, foreign grass seed and corn, in a continued course of husbandry, and would be worth above ten shillings an acre if Inclosed. There was a "great plenty of limestone" in the Fields, great quantities having been carried to the Fields of neighbouring parishes to manure and enrich their Grounds, which was land of the same nature. It was stated that there were many springs and watercourses, so conveniently situated that the proposed allotments would be well watered. There were several stonepits and plenty of good gravel to repair the roads. It was said that the land in the fields was of such a nature that if the Bill did become Law there would, of necessity, be even more ground in tillage than there had been in the past.

The annual value of the fields and tythes was stated to be about £786, which for 2,600 acres amounted to about 6*s*. per acre. If the land was inclosed it was anticipated that it would immediately be worth at least 13*s*. an acre, which would amount to £1,690, an improvement of £904 per annum, which at thirty years purchase is £27,120. It was computed that the expense of inclosure would amount to £4,000 and that the improved rent would pay this in about four years. It was thought that a great number of trees would be planted, of great use to the Community in general and particularly to this part of the Country and to the great advantage of the proprietors. The Bill states that "there is a considerable trade in the Woollen Manufactory carried on at this place". It goes on to say that the Parties consenting to the Bill are the Lord of the Manor, the Impropriator of the Great Tythes, the Vicar and the Owners of about 32 yard lands and a half, which together with the tythes (which were taxed equal to thirteen yard lands) made in value, 45 yard lands and a half and four cottages. The yard lands at £13 each and the Cottages at 5*s*. each, and the then rents of the tythes, made an annual value of £580. 4. 0., in favour of the Bill. Most rather favoured inclosure. The petitioners against the Bill were said to consist of a great many small proprietors whose properties amounted to no more than eleven and a quarter yard lands and ten cottages, the annual value being £148. 15. 0.

Who were the petitioners against the Bill? All we know of them is contained in papers at the County Record Office, stated to be copied from a document formerly in the possession of the late W. C. Parnell, of Redmoor Farm, West Haddon. It gives a list of 28 proprietors who supported the inclosure of the Fields and of these, 16 are noted as having actually signed the Bill. 32 Proprietors are listed as not consenting, and in addition to listing the property they owned, it also gives "the answers and reasons they gave why they do not consent upon being applyed to". John

Underwood heads the list and it is noted that he "is ye principal person that supports ye opposition, says he'll spend an hundred pounds of his own money to stop it, but owns that they are very beneficial fields to inclose and would improve as much by inclosing as any fields he knows. Note that he rents above four Yard Lands at a low price and has of his own land only 2 quarterns". His reasons for not consenting are given as follows. "That he does very well now and that he does not know whether it would be any better for him in case they were inclosed, therefore he would oppose it".

Various reasons are given by other proprietors as to why they did not consent. John Branston owned one Yard Land and three quarterns and the reasons given for him were that he "is old and almost blind; believes ye fields would greatly improve but as he has no child and enough already for himself, he do'nt care for the trouble of inclosing". Emma Elwes, a widow, owned one Yard Land and was said to be "old and childish and won't consent". East's widow was said to be "not right in her senses". David Cox, as owner of one quartern, said "it was a bad thing to inclose and would not answer, but would tend to ruin ye nation". Robert Earle thought it a wicked thing to inclose the fields, Joseph James thought likewise and "couldn't answer to his conscience". Jonathan Robins and T. Ford thought "too much was allowed in lieu of tithe". William Page, who owned one cottage and three quarterns, believed that the fields would greatly improve by inclosure but had no money to spare to inclose with. Ann Tabermar, a widow, owned one cottage, two quarterns and two sixteenths, said "that she had some trees growing on her land and if they would defer the inclosure till they were full grown she would consent, but would not till then". Unfortunately, we are not told what sort of trees they were. Richard Parnell said he could live upon it as it is and was not certain it would improve by inclosing. Nath. Parnell said that Underwood had desired him to join in the opposition and he had promised. John Worcester gave as his reason the fact that he had signed against it last year.

One would think, looking through the list of proprietors that would not consent to the inclosure, that many could advance no real reason for their opposition and in fact some could admit that inclosure would be beneficial.

John Underwood it will be recalled, is quoted as saying he was prepared to spend an hundred pounds of his own money to stop it, so it comes as no surprise to find that on 31 January 1764, a petition was presented to the House by John Underwood and 32 others, against the Bill.

The Bill was thereupon ordered to be Read a second time on 24 February, but then was postponed to be Read a second time on 1 March. By another Order it was postponed until 2 March and was eventually Read a second time and opposed on 5 March. On 16 March the Bill was reported from the Committee and Ordered to be Ingrossed, it being reported that no person appeared before the Committee to oppose the Bill. It went on to pass the Lords and became an Act of Parliament on 13 April, 1764.

The Act appointed as Commissioners the Rev. Henry Jephcott of Kislingbury, Thomas Grace of Shawell, Leics., John Watts of Comb Abbey, Wks., Thomas Baseley of Priors Marston, Wks., and Clement Wilson of Watford Gap, all excepting Watts known to be very experienced as Commissioners of Inclosure. Jephcott had officiated in thirteen inclosures, Grace in nine, Baseley six and Wilson eleven. Nothing is known of Watts. We do not know when they first met to consider the making of the Award, all that we know is that they met in the house of Mary Burbidge, Widow, at the Red Lion Inn in the parish of West Haddon for all their meetings and from there arranged the allotment of the land.

The Lord of the Manor, the Patron of the Living and the Impropriate Rector were all one and the same person, John Whitfield, Esq., described in the Act as a minor. He was alloted 302 acres, one rood, and six perches for the Great Tithes and Modus's and 288. 0.18 in lieu of his $7\frac{1}{4}$ yardlands. The Vicar, the Reverend John Watkin received 157. 1.27 and there were allotments made to 45 others, the majority of them very small ones, 28 being under 20 acres. The smallest noted was called the Mill Bank, being part of West Rye Hill and consisted of only twenty perches. There were twelve allotments under sixty acres and the remaining five allotments were under

170 acres each. It is unfortunate that the Award does not state the reason for an allotment in every case and all we can learn from it is the reason for the Impropriate Rector's and the Vicar's allotments and one of the allotments made to Jonathan Robins. He, in addition to receiving an allotment of 8. 0.12 in Little Field, received 1. 1. 0. in lieu of a Cottage Right. If a Cottage Right was worth one acre and one rood it was, according to the promoters' estimation, only worth 17*s.* 6*d.* per annum after inclosure and one can imagine that to the Cottager his old Rights were of more value to him than this amount. In all probability the cost of fencing added to the cost of inclosure was above his means. What these costs amounted to for each individual we do not know, we know only that the cost of inclosure is given in the Award as £1,667. 16. 9. and the cost was to be shared by all proprietors in an equal pound rate. As to the fencing, all we know is that twelve years later at Yardley Hastings, fencing costs are given as £1. 18. 0. per acre of 24 yards and a cart gate cost 25*s.* including its erection. The proprietors were committed to paying the inclosure costs whether they liked it or not, and one can imagine there would be a sense of frustration amongst the owners of very small plots. However, we know nothing of what was happening in the Parish and it was not until the *Northampton Mercury* appeared on 29 July 1765 with an innocent looking advertisement, that we get any hint of trouble brewing. This advertisement announced that there would be a Foot Ball Play on Thursday, 1 August, for a prize of considerable value and another good prize to be played for on Friday, 2 August. All Gentlemen Players were desired to appear at any of the Public Houses in West Haddon each day, between the hours of ten and twelve in the forenoon, where they would be joyfully received and kindly entertained.

On 5 August the *Northampton Mercury* announced that a great number of people at West Haddon, having assembled to play a Foot Ball Match, soon after meeting became a tumultuous mob, pulling up and burning the fences of the new Fields and doing other considerable damage. Many of the crowd were taken up by General Mordaunt's Dragoons sent there from Northampton.

On 12 August, the *Mercury* carried an advertisement asking for the person who placed the advertisement appearing on 29 July, to come forward and state who was the real author of this notice. Ten guineas reward was offered for the information. A fortnight later, in the same paper, appeared a notice stating that a number of persons did on the first day of August, 1765, assemble in the Town and Fields of West Haddon and in a very riotous manner tore up and destroyed the posts and rails there standing and did also set fire to several stacks of wood, consisting of posts and rails to be used for inclosing the fields, causing damage to the value of £1,500. The notice went on to point out that the offence committed, was, by an Act of Parliament made in the ninth year of the reign of King George the First, commonly called the Black Act, Felony, and the offenders could suffer death without benefit of Clergy. It was thought that there were persons of property concerned in giving encouragement to the rioters. If any person would give information there was a reward of twenty pounds to be given on the conviction of one of the offenders. This notice was signed by Sir Thomas Ward of Guilsborough and was dated 24 August. It concluded with an announcement that "the Award had that day been signed by the Commissioners". In the columns of the *Mercury* for 2 September 1765, appeared an announcement by William Caldecott of Rugby, offering to pay a reward of twenty pounds for the apprehension of Francis Botterill, a woolcomber of East Haddon, charged with inserting the advertisement calling the supposed Foot Ball Play and also for the apprehension of John Fisher the younger, a weaver of West Haddon, who, according to information laid against him, did contribute to the expenses of the advertisement. Warrants had been issued for the apprehension of several persons and it appeared that Botterill and Fisher had absconded. A description of the two men was appended. In the *Northampton Mercury* of 31 March 1766, the whole episode is brought to a conclusion with the news that "on Tuesday last, at the Assizes, nine persons were tried for being concerned in the Riots at West Haddon in August last on account of inclosing the Fields and received sentences as follows", Samuel Loale, to be imprisoned for twelve months; Roger Wood, four months; Joseph Wood, three months; William Richardson, three months; Edward Clark, two months; Richard Beale, William Braunt, Matthew Murden and John Ward acquitted.

Nothing more can be found bearing on these troubles and we can only assume that Botterill and Fisher were the ring-leaders by reason of the fact that they absconded when accused of

inserting the advertisement in the *Northampton Mercury*. Whether the nine men tried at the Assizes were their accomplices or not we have no means of knowing, nor do we know their occupations. As we know that there was a considerable trade in the woollen manufactory at West Haddon are we right in assuming a number of them were weavers? If so, we might be tempted to say that weavers led the opposition to inclosure, but we shall never know whether our assumption is true or false and there, it seems, the matter must be left.

SOURCES—Inclosure Award at the office of the Clerk of the Peace, County Hall, Northampton; Collection of Parliamentary papers concerning West Haddon, in the Local Room, Central Library, Abington Street, Northampton; Copies of the *Northampton Mercury* for 1765 and 1766 at the Central Library, Northampton; Minute Book of the Commissioners for the Inclosure of Yardley Hastings, at the Central Library, Northampton; Papers concerning the Inclosure of West Haddon at the County Record Office, Delapré Abbey, Northampton.

I am indebted to Mr. V. A. Hatley for drawing my attention to the papers on West Haddon at the Central Library and to the County Archivist, Mr. P. I. King, for calling my attention to the list of those signing for and against the Bill for Inclosure, at the County Record Office.

J. W. ANSCOMB.

TRAGEDY AT WEEDON BEC

The following entry occurs in the burial register of Weedon Bec, Northamptonshire, under the date, 19 August 1780:—

'Elizabeth Dunn (servant to William Butlin, Baker) who was killed by a live Perch sticking in her Throat'.

The *Northampton Mercury*, 21 August 1780, describes in more detail what happened to poor Elizabeth Dunn:—

'The following very singular and melancholy Accident happened at Weedon Beck [*sic*], in this County, on Thursday last: One John Kidesly, passing by the Door of Thomas Moreton, threw four small Fishes into the House; when Elizabeth Dunn, a Neighbour, going in, took up one of them (a Perch) and, by squeezing, endeavoured to kill it; — Thomas Butlin, a Baker, being in the Room, and seeing the Transaction, told Dunn, that if she did it again he would put it in her Mouth; and holding it towards her Face, she opened her Mouth, and the Fish at the same Instant springing from Butlin's Hand into her Throat (where it remained immoveable) caused her immediate Death'.

The 1777 militia list for Weedon Bec contains the names of William Butlin, baker, and Thomas Moreton, tailor.

V.A.H.

A FUTURE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO A NORTHAMPTONSHIRE COUNTRY HOUSE

Sir Robert Peel reported to his wife in January 1833, that a guest did not know what misery could be until he stayed at Apethorpe—a house the size of a lesser Oxford college, a bedroom a quarter of a mile from the billiard or drawing room, containing no fire (owing to his host's terror of a conflagration) but a closet inhabited by spiders and rats. His candle blew out half way to this paradise.

From Carola Oman, *The Gascoyne Heiress*, 1968, p. 107.

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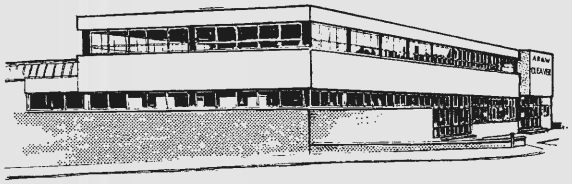

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Professor Sir Frank Stenton

Some Recollections

I HAVE been asked to write about the late Sir Frank Stenton, and this, for all that both our Record Society and I, personally, owe to him, as well as for the many happy episodes in my life which he brings to mind, I gladly agree to do. He is of course generally recognised as the commanding figure among the medieval historians of his day—the leading authority on the history of England from the earliest times down to the reign of King John. His books on Anglo-Saxon England, the Danes in England, the Norman Conquest, and the first century and a half of English feudalism earned him a world-wide reputation; but these achievements I am really not qualified to discuss and I shall here—except incidentally—limit myself to what he did for the Northamptonshire Record Society, of which from its beginning he was a Vice-President.

Sir Frank—henceforth referred to in this article as F.M.S.—was born on the 17th of May, 1880 at Norwood, where his father lived after his retirement. He was the son of Henry Cawdron Stenton, head of an old family firm of solicitors at Southwell in Nottinghamshire, and was educated at Southwell Grammar School, at University College, Reading, and at Keble College, Oxford, where he took a first class degree in Modern History in 1902. He went to Reading with the intention of studying music, but very soon changed over to history. He was Professor of Modern History at University College, Reading (afterwards Reading University) from 1912 until his retirement in 1946, and Vice-Chancellor from 1946 until 1950. In 1919 he married Miss Doris Parsons, hereinafter referred to as D.M.S. He died on the 5th of September, 1967, in his 88th year at Whitley Park Farm, Reading, where he had lived for over forty years. He was buried at Halloughton, near Southwell, the scene of his childhood.

Our first meeting was in 1914, while I was at Reading on a visit to my friends Mr. and Mrs. Ward, who, knowing of our common interest had asked him to dinner. Mr. Ward was then a member of the Philosophy Faculty at the College. From 1913 until 1915 I was learning my trade at the London School of Economics and Public Record Office under Professor Eileen Power and Dr. Hubert Hall; and a Northamptonshire neighbour, Sir Thomas Fermor-Hesketh of Easton Neston, hearing of this, had kindly lent me a large tin box of medieval charters. After dinner I mentioned these to F.M.S. who, quick as lightning, jumped up, ran across the room, and with his forefinger tracing an oblong about 7 by 2½ inches on a little table beside me, said: "Were they about this size?" "Yes!" I replied!—and that was exactly how it all began.

Shortly afterwards I was going down to Reading University, quite unofficially, every Tuesday for a lecture from him in the morning, luncheon in the refectory, and a delightful afternoon in his room with Miss Doris Parsons (then one of his students), Mr. Sidney Paton (later to become librarian of Sheffield University) and one or two other students, when for two or three hours we would sit round a large table copying and discussing charters with him,—those authentic little fragments of the lives of our forefathers of eight to five centuries ago. I fell completely under their spell. One Tuesday the word "history" was mentioned—it gave me quite a shock. Could this wonderful and exciting business we were up to, this intimate contact with real people in the remote past which I was experiencing, have anything to do with the dull and prosy stuff called history which I used to learn out of books in the schoolroom? Yet so it was, and on one of these afternoons F.M.S., who had told me about the Lincolnshire Record Society founded by Canon C. W. Foster, with which he was already closely associated, turned to me and said: "You must start a Record Society in Northamptonshire".

Owing to the War it was not until 1920 that anything could be done about it. In October of that year F.M.S., with his wife and Canon Foster, came to Northampton and Peterborough to explain our aims at two meetings and in the following December, with the close co-operation of Mr. W. T. Mellows in the Soke, the Society was formally established.

It should here be mentioned that the scope of the new body was wider than that of other County Record Societies, in that it was our aim to collect original records as well as to publish them, and also to arrange lectures on local history. Study circles for local enthusiasts were soon started at Northampton and Kettering and the subject of the inclosure of the open fields was explored. In the summer of 1923 these study circles hired a motor coach, and off we went to visit the two last survivals in England of this primitive form of agriculture at Eakring and Laxton in Nottinghamshire. We were joined by the Stentons who arrived on their bicycles (for several years their only form of transport) from Southwell, where they were living at this time, and the fact that F.M.S. was himself the hereditary copyhold tenant of a farm lying in scattered strips at Eakring, certainly added to the interest of a memorable occasion.

In 1927 some important early charters came to light in Northamptonshire, the owners kindly allowing them to be taken to the British Museum to be photographed, and the seals to be cast by that superb craftsman Mr. Ready. It was in the old Manuscript Department there that I shewed to F.M.S. these treasures, which included two original royal writs of William Rufus and five of Henry I. He took me straight across to the Hotel opposite the Museum and over a cup of tea he said: "We must have a volume of charters". And then and there in some excitement the plan for our Volume IV was roughed out. He and D.M.S. came to Northampton for a night to put the scheme before the Council, for it was going to be a very expensive book to print. While writing this article I turned up quite by chance a letter I had written to a friend at this time telling her that after a successful meeting "the Stentons and I had a merry dinner at the [Ladies'] Club and a bottle of champagne, in which we drank William Rufus's health!" Three years later, with F.M.S. as editor, appeared *Facsimiles of Early Charters, mainly from Northamptonshire Collections*. This book, together with D.M.S.'s edition of the *The Earliest Northamptonshire Assize Roll, A.D. 1202, 1203* (N.R.S. Vol. V) published in the same year, established the reputation of our Society as one which no serious student of English medieval history could ignore.

But why this enormous enthusiasm for local charters and local Record Societies? In the 19th century local history was regarded as beneath the notice of serious historians, but F.M.S.'s attitude was different. In proposing a vote of thanks in 1939 to Mr. Mellows for his volume of *Peterborough Churchwardens Accounts (1467 to 1573)* (N.R.S. Vol. IX) he said that "The precision and definiteness of history were dependent on individual studies of local history, and Mr. Mellows's example would have to be followed before the foundations of history were secured. **THERE WAS NO REAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN LOCAL AND NATIONAL HISTORY".** That was his great message to the historical world.

For *Anglo-Saxon England*—his *magnum opus*—F.M.S. had used not only written evidence of all kinds, but coins, early pottery, buildings, ancient monuments, topography. To a limited extent some or all of these sources had been used by other historians in trying to unravel the past, but one great type of evidence which lay scattered for all to see and hear over the whole surface of England—but too familiar possibly to be recognised as such—had been completely ignored by everybody. I refer, of course, to the names of our rivers, streams, hills, woods, towns, and villages.

For several years F.M.S. had been organising and working on a survey of English Place-names, having equipped himself for this by studying Anglo-Saxon at Oxford. In 1923 he, with Professor Allen Mawer, founded The English Place Name Society with the object of publishing county by county the results of their labours, which eventually enabled F.M.S. to throw a flood of light into a very dark corner of English history, *i.e.* the successive waves of settlement in this country by Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Danes, and Normans. He made an intensive study of the midlands and East Anglia, in which Northamptonshire was of particular interest as a border

county, where in King Alfred's reign the boundary line—probably the Watling Street—between English and Danish occupation was formally agreed between the two races.

The choice of Northamptonshire as the third county to be dealt with, as F.M.S. said in his preface to this volume, (published in 1933)[1] "was largely determined by the lively possibilities of local help which offered themselves through the inauguration of the Record Rooms of the Northamptonshire Record Society." (In 1930 we had at last secured premises of our own at the County Hall, Northampton). In addition to the types of names mentioned above, of which the changing forms through the centuries were now collected by a large band of volunteers from a wide range of documents from the 13th to the 19th century, with the help of hundreds of school-children we set about collecting the field names over most of the County, a task which had not previously been attempted and which F.M.S. declared "had made a substantial addition to the evidence for Scandinavian settlements in the Shire during the 9th century".

* * * *

In stature F.M.S. was a small man and he was never very robust, but there can have been few more continually hard-working lives than his. He was an accomplished pianist and it was originally a toss-up whether he became a professional musician or an historian. Though in truth he was a genius he was an entirely unaffected man; there was no highbrow academic nonsense about him, as perhaps one or two little stories will illustrate. I had found in a private collection what purported to be a pre-Conquest charter of which I shewed him a photostat. He gazed at it for a minute and then said:

"Oh! what a tangled web we weave
When first we practise to deceive!"

—his way of telling me that it was a medieval forgery. At another time I posted to him a transcript of a more exciting discovery—the foundation charter of Revesby Abbey. I asked D.M.S. later how he had received the news. "He was in his bath", she said, "and he splashed the water with his feet till it reached the ceiling". He had a photograph of that charter framed and hung it in his study. I remember once complaining to him about the time consumed by administration. "Yes", he said, "what I call odd jobs". On another occasion he was in the Chair at a huge meeting of the Anglo-American Conference of Historians in London. A rather pompous young man was lecturing on some archaeological subject, and when, after much pretentious language, he started to talk about "the flight from cremation", F.M.S. in spite of himself and of course sitting out of sight of the lecturer, became tied into knots with silent laughter, to the great amusement of the audience.

The Stentons were of course with us on many public occasions and helped behind the scenes at more than one critical juncture in our affairs. It was a notable thing and one for much gratitude on my part that "forty years on" both they and Mr. and Mrs. Ward were all able to be present in 1959 at the opening by Lord Evershed (Master of the Rolls) of Delapré Abbey as the future home of the historical records of Northamptonshire and the Soke of Peterborough. All four stayed with me at the Plough Hotel, Northampton on the night after that great occasion, at which F.M.S. had spoken delightfully of the early days of the Society, and thanked the private owners of documents for their generous co-operation, on which all our achievements had depended.

The last service rendered to the Record Society by Professor and Lady Stenton was to drive over from Reading to Oxford on December 10th, 1964, for a conference with representatives of the Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire Societies to settle a knotty point at issue over the proposed joint edition of the charters of Luffield Abbey. Thanks to their intervention this was most happily accomplished, F.M.S. being then in his 85th year—his grasp of essentials, his power of exposition, and his quiet persuasiveness unabated. A very good luncheon party for all concerned concluded the proceedings. That was my last sight of our old and very good friend. As Lady Stenton wrote to me afterwards: "It was just like old times",—and what wonderful times they were.

[1] *The Place-Names of Northamptonshire* (1933, Cambridge University Press).

I must conclude this article with a word about Lady Stenton, who has our sincerest sympathy in her bereavement. She is, of course, an eminent historian in her own right, and was Reader in Medieval History in the University of Reading; the editor of The Pipe Roll Society from 1923 to 1961; and the editor with Lewis Loyd of *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals* (N.R.S. Vol. XV). She is the author of *English Justice between the Norman Conquest and the Great Charter, 1066 to 1215*, being the Jayne Lectures of the American Philosophical Society for 1963. A word from her at one or two crucial moments in the Society's history saved the situation. I had the privilege of being present in the Sheldonian Theatre at the conferment on her of an Honorary Degree by Oxford University at the Encaenia last summer, when the only sadness was that Sir Frank had not lived to be there himself. Two other famous marriages between scholars of this century are well known to us all, but none can have been happier or more closely united with a common and abounding interest than that of Frank and Doris Stenton. Northamptonshire owes them much.

JOAN WAKE.

SIR JOHN WASHINGTON AND WITCHCRAFT

There is an unexpected reference to Sir John Washington of Thrapston (the eldest uncle of the two Washington emigrants to Virginia) in Professor Wallace Notestein's *A History of Witchcraft in England, 1558-1718* (1911), p. 185. It appears that one Cherrie of Thrapston, Northants, "a very aged man", was accused of witchcraft by the Puritan witch-finder, John Stearne, in 1645/6. "Cherrie", says Professor Notestein, "was forced to confess that he had been guilty, and he further admitted that he had injured Sir John Washington, who had been his benefactor at various times. He was indicted by the grand jury, but died in gaol, very probably by suicide, on the day when he was to have been tried".

G.W.

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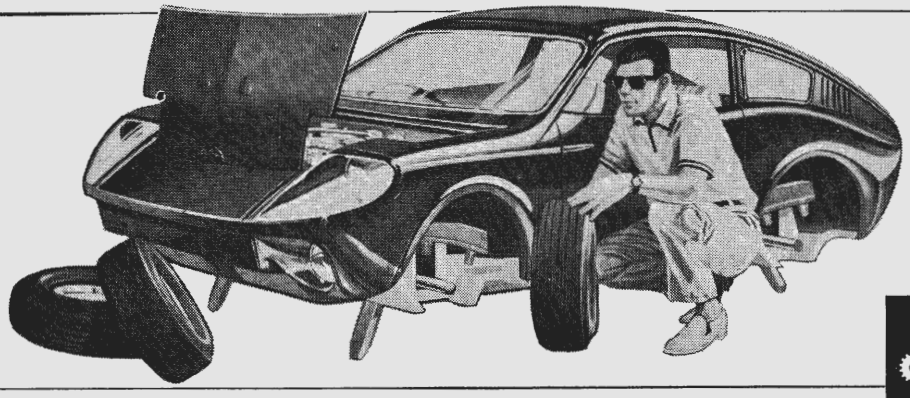

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On the 28th November, 1854, Gerald Goodlake won the V.C. He had raised the curtain on the Battle of Inkerman when he opened fire on Soimonoff's men. The story has it that during a skirmish at Windmill Ravine, he and his sergeant were cut off. They took cover, only to find themselves completely surrounded. To their surprise the enemy paid them no attention: in their long grey coats the Russians mistook them for their own compatriots. With superb aplomb they marched with the Czar's troops until they could make a dash for their own lines.

The coat worn by Brevet-Major (later General) Goodlake was made by Aquascutum and is still preserved at Newstead Abbey. Today, Aquascutum export fine clothing all over the world from seven different factories. They have been manufacturing in Northamptonshire since the turn of the century and now employ some 1,000 people at their factories in Kettering and Corby. Only long experience permits Aquascutum so well to combine traditional craftsmanship with flair for fashion.

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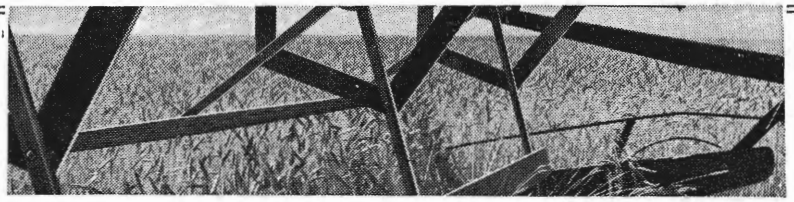

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GEORGE OSBALDESTON (1787-1866)

OUR cover illustration shows a portrait of one of the most famous sportsmen of the nineteenth century, George Osbaldeston, who lived at Pitsford Hall, where he was Master of the Pytchley Hounds 1827-34. The picture is by Benjamin Marshall. Below the picture hangs an inscription:

A FIRST-RATE SHOT

The portrait is that of GEORGE OSBALDESTON, Esq., "No man is better known on the turf, and few better calculated to shine in his bit of scarlet by the dark woodside. Nor in the tented field, with bat in hand. —At the 'Board of Green Cloth' too where the billiard balls fly true and swiftly, he rarely or ever meets his match, and at the round table will he take his seat occasionally, and cry 'seven's the main.'—Our Hero gives similar reasons for being drawn in trowsers to the Hero Wellington against the Reform Bill—'they work well' at least for me. NELL the pointer is one of the handsomest ever seen; her bringing up perfect, as is her symetry; and her finding the game truly astonishing. PEG the retriever has her excellences also. If a bird is brought to the ground by depriving it of the power of flying it must come to bag". *Sporting Magazine*, October, 1831.

A Yorkshireman, George Osbaldeston was known universally as "The Squire". Guy Paget in his *History of the Pytchley and Althorp Hunt*, 1937, says of him (p. 126), "Blessed with a fine physique, he was cursed with that terrible form of vanity which is not content with self satisfaction, but must have, at any costs, the plaudits of the mob . . . he excelled most people at most things, but at no one thing, everybody . . . the Squire was short, and plain featured; to look at, no one who did not know him would have supposed him to be other than a professional huntsman or a jockey . . . he hunted at least five different countries, and "left a stink behind him in everyone" . . . Never being really at home among his equals, he chose as his intimates, men from the lower strata of society, and endeavoured to out-match them at their own game, with disastrous results, for he lost both his money and his reputation. His bull-dog courage, whether fighting, betting or riding, won him a great following in the country, and a good press . . . In one thing he certainly had no superior, if any equal. He had the best pack of hounds in England". When he was Master of the Pytchley, he fell into the brook at the Grand Northamptonshire Steeplechase, which took place near Cottesbrooke. "This he does not mention in his autobiography; but he does give an account of his successful return match, in which he, on Pilot, rode against Captain Ross, on Polecat, from Kelmarsh to Waterloo, a very formidable line of country" (Paget, *op. cit.*).

This event was also celebrated in verse by the Pitsford tailor, Rigby. Sir Charles Isham copied the poem into his copy of Pierce Egan's *Book of Sports*, dedicated to Osbaldeston, and, so far as this writer is aware, it has never been printed before. It is here printed, as it may be of interest to some of our sporting readers:

'Tis of a noble steeple-chase,
Which made Meltonians cross
'Tween Squire Osbaldeston, and noted Cap.n Ross.

The Captain took the lead
The Squire laughed at that
And said "my noble Pilot sha'nt be beat by a polecat".

Then sing of Osbaldeston
Who is a sportsman crack
He's always in his glory when with his noble pack.

When to the loatland brook they came
Bold pilot showed his name
and Polecat in an instant was stinking in the drain

Tom Smith rode at a distance
Jack Stephens * kept the pace
And showed the Squire's cattle could throw dirt in Ross' face

The Squire won the race
His friends were satisfied
Bold Pilot beat the Polecat and cowed his varmint pride

He's eager now for hunting
Says "Sportsmen let us go
And draw that furzen covert what's called Waterloo"

By Rigby
The Pitsford Tailor
Ap.29. 1832.

*Jack Stephens (Huntsman)

This is not the place to speak of Squire Osbaldeston's other exploits, but mention must be made of his "Herculean Match" at Newmarket, where for a thousand sovereigns, he wagered to ride for two hundred miles in ten successive hours, and actually completed the distance in eight hours and thirty-nine minutes. He fought a duel with Lord George Bentick in 1831. He was, like his fellow-sportsman, Jack Mytton, for a time a Member of Parliament, and sat for East Retford from 1812 to 1818, but it is probable that, like Mytton (who only attended once), he found the proceedings of little interest. Finally, he is one of the only purely sporting characters to find a place in *The Dictionary of National Biography*. It is, perhaps, somewhat ironical, that Squire Osbaldeston's old home at Pitsford, is now occupied by the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth, who run a school for girls there, mainly of Polish origin.

G.I.

NOTE. East Retford is now in the Bassetlaw Constituency, where there was a recent close-run bye-election.

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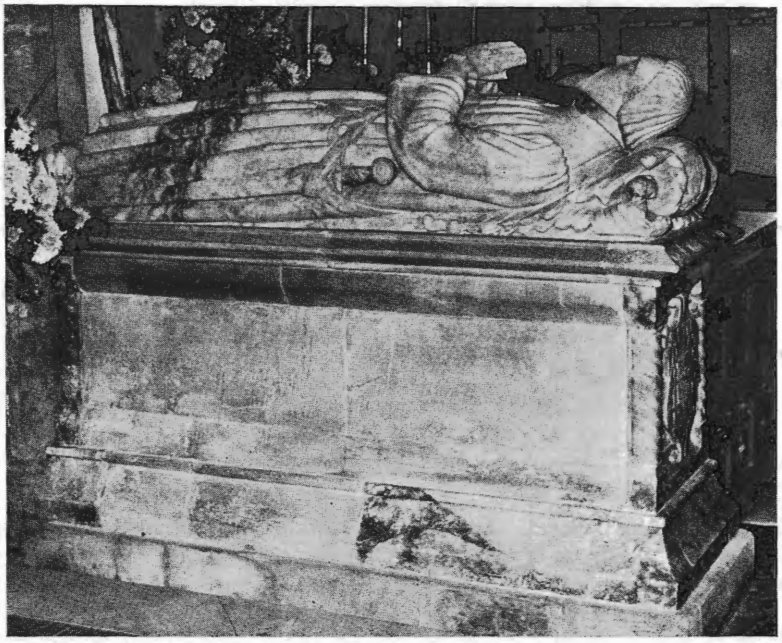
The Tresham Monument

Readers will recall that last year our cover illustration was of Sir Thomas Tresham's tomb in Rushton parish church, and that we stated that it was hoped to restore the monument. This has now been done by Miss Inge Norholt, at the cost of the Sovereign and Military Order of Malta (British Association), and the Venerable Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

It was discovered that the coats of arms had never been painted, so it was decided to leave them as they were, but to hang near the monument a coloured achievement of the arms, and this work has been done by Mr. Bruce Bailey.

At the joint service of Commemoration held at Rushton on 9 October, 1968 the address was given by Sir Harry Luke, the Bailiff of Egle, and our readers may be interested to read what



he said. Our thanks are due to the *Northamptonshire Evening Telegraph* for making the address and photograph of the cleaned monument available.

"During two of the most disturbing centuries of English history—the period which included the Wars of the Roses, the Reformation and the Civil War, a period when to attain eminence in the state was also attended by great hazards—the Treshams played a great part not only in this part of England but also in the affairs of the nation.

"An earlier Sir Thomas Tresham was Speaker of the House of Commons and was executed by King Edward IV, and of his grandson—the man we are commemorating today—it is hardly too

much to say that he deflected, at all events for a time, the history not only of our Order but that of England itself.

"As regards the Order of St. John, the course he took in helping to place Mary Tudor on the throne, no doubt influenced her to repress her father's suppression of the Priory of England and to appoint Thomas Tresham to be its Prior; and although Queen Elizabeth, when she succeeded Mary, undid her sister's work of the restoration, she was mindful of the fact that had Tresham not supported Mary, she herself would never have reigned. So she left Thomas Tresham in the enjoyment of his title and of his seat in the House of Lords, senior to all the Lay Barons.

"He died a year later, perhaps FELIX OPPORTUNITATE MORTIS.

"The skilful restoration of Thomas Tresham's beautiful monument is an act of piety towards a great Englishman and a great Knight; it is also a service rendered to art and history, for it is said to be the only one in the country representing a Hospitaller in the exact habit, as well as being one of the rare recumbent figures in this country, fashioned in alabaster.

"And one of the most satisfactory things about it is that its restoration has been accomplished largely through the co-operation of the Venerable Order with its Confrères of the British Association of the Sovereign Military Order. That this service of commemoration should be held today in this Anglican parish church of pre-reformation origin in the presence of and with the co-operation of both Orders is yet another example of that growing-togetherness, which is one of the happiest features of the contemporary history of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem."

The Sculptors of the Tresham Tomb. The monument displays a number of characteristics of the work of Gabriel and Thomas Royley, or Roiley, of Burton-on-Trent, the most popular tomb-makers in the West Midlands during the first half of the 16th century.

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The Washingtons and Stonehenge

Sir Gyles Isham has kindly informed me that there is a seventeenth century book in the library at Lamport Hall which alludes to the Washingtons' ownership of Stonehenge in the days of the Stuarts (*vide infra*). This highly romantic circumstance has had very little attention paid to it. However, it appears that the wealthy Sir Lawrence Washington of Garsdon, Wilts. (grandson of Lawrence of Sulgrave) acquired the manor of West (or Little) Amesbury, Wilts., including the site of Stonehenge, in the years 1628-32 (see the Rev. F. H. Manley, "The Washington Memorials at Garsdon", *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, 1911, pp. 341-42). In the boundaries of the manor of Amesbury Earls, examined on Monday, 5 August, 1639, mention is made of the several fishings

Garsdon Manor

of Sir Lawrence Washington and of "Stonage" (Stonehenge) down, parcel of West Amesbury, Sir Lawrence Washington's Hold. The M.I. in East Horndon church, Essex to Martha (Washington), Lady Tyrrell refers to her as "daughter of the worshipful Sir Laurence Washington of Stonage, Knt". Sir Lawrence's son, the last Lawrence Washington, in his will, dated 14 January, 1661-62, bequeathed an annual rent of £40 for life out of the testator's lands in West Amesbury, *alias* Little Amesbury, to his "cozen" John Washington, son of Sir John Washington of Thrapston, Northants. (P.C.C. 73 Laud). And evidently Stonehenge and West Amesbury descended to this Lawrence's daughter and heiress, Elizabeth Washington, who in December, 1671 married Sir Robert Shirley, 8th Lord Ferrers of Chartley (created 1st Earl Ferrers).

The Washingtons of Garsdon were cousins of the Ishams of Lamport, Sir Lawrence Washington and Sir John Isham having married sisters; and in the contemporary Diary of Thomas Isham (afterwards 3rd Baronet of Lamport), under date of 30 December, 1671, it is noted that "that noble woman, our cousin Wassington's daughter, was married to Sir Robert Shirley". In the Lamport library there is preserved a first edition of "The most notable Antiquity of Great Britain vulgarly called *Stone-Heng*", by Inigo Jones, Esq., Architect General to the late King

(1655); and on the flyleaf of this book has been written "Stone-Heng belongs to the Washingtons p. 107". On this page Inigo Jones wrote that in Henry VIII's time a metal plate was found, not far from this Antiquity, "engraved with divers strange characters", which was neglected and lost. He thought that some such things might be found to give a clue to the men who built it. "Wherefore, I advise mine honoured friend, Laurence Washington, Esq.,[1] in whose demeasnes this Antiquity stands, to whom I am much obliged, for his friendly notice of what things have been there of late years digged up, that he would be solicitous upon any search made there, to enquire after them, and if any found not to neglect, or curiously conceal them, but preserve and willingly produce the same". Inigo Jones thought that Stonehenge was anciently a temple dedicated to Coelus, built by the Romans!

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

[1] There is a tradition that Inigo Jones designed Garsdon, which his "friend" Lawrence Washington rebuilt, but the existing building shows a house that cannot possibly be by Inigo Jones.

BLAZE AT BUCKBY: A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

Since the publication of my article "Blaze at Buckby" in the previous issue of *Northamptonshire Past and Present* (Vol. IV No. 2), more information has come to hand on the decline of woolcombing and weaving and the rise of shoemaking at Long Buckby.

In the Northamptonshire section of the census report for 1821 (p. 223), it is stated in a footnote to the entry for Long Buckby that "The greater part of the families in the second column of occupations [*i.e.* families chiefly employed in trade, manufactures, or handicrafts] were brought up in the woollen manufactory, which a few years back flourished in the village . . . but that trade having failed, nearly the whole are maintained by agricultural labour".

The 1823-4 edition of Pigot & Co.'s *London and Provincial New Commercial Directory* contains no reference to Long Buckby. The 1830 edition, however, carries a brief section on the village, in which it is stated that "the principal trades there are malting and the manufacture of shoes" (p. 610).

An analysis of the registers at Long Buckby shows that between 1813 and 1820, out of 208 children baptized in the parish church, seven had fathers who were woolcombers, one had a father who was a weaver, and ten had fathers who were shoemakers. Between 1821 and 1830 the figures were 274, one, none, and seventeen respectively. At the census of 1841, out of 539 males aged 20 years and over who were recorded by the enumerators at Long Buckby, 94 (17%) were stated to be shoemakers (Home Office Papers, 107-800). Four woolcombers were also recorded, but no weavers.

From the above extracts and figures, the inference may be drawn that woolcombing and weaving had lost most of their former significance at Long Buckby by 1820, and that during the next ten years shoemaking assumed an important place in the economic life of the village.

Most of the shoemakers at Long Buckby during the period 1820-50 probably worked for firms domiciled at Daventry, five miles to the south-west. (An analysis of the baptismal registers at Daventry parish church suggests that shoe manufacturing had been firmly established in that town by 1820.) It was recorded in 1936 that the father of an old man who was then living in Long Buckby had once worked for a "Mr. Balderson" of Daventry, and that from November 1848 to March 1849 there had been much distress in the village when Messrs. Stead & Simpson temporarily closed their Daventry premises (essay on Long Buckby sponsored by the Northants. County Federation of Women's Institutes: printed copy at Northampton Public Library). William Balderson is listed as a wholesale shoe manufacturer at Daventry in various directories issued between 1830 and 1850. Messrs. Stead & Simpson, a firm which was founded at Leeds in 1834, opened branch premises in Daventry during the 1840s.

VICTOR A. HATLEY.

Book Reviews

THE FOOTWEAR INDUSTRY OF THE EAST MIDLANDS

by Dr. P. R. Mounfield

Department of Geography, University of Nottingham, 10*s*.

This book is made up of five articles which were first published in the *East Midland Geographer* journal, and which summarise the author's doctoral thesis on the development of the shoe industry in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire from medieval times to the early nineteen-sixties. The text is supplemented by maps and diagrams.

Readers of *Northamptonshire Past and Present* are likely to be most interested in articles 2 and 3 which deal with the Northamptonshire shoe industry before 1911. Unfortunately Dr. Mounfield makes little use of primary source material (*e.g.* parish registers, militia lists, contemporary newspapers) but sticks resolutely to what other people have written on his subject. The result is that he does not say much that is original, but it would be unfair not to add that this book will be useful to anybody who wants a convenient survey of the history of shoe manufacturing in Northamptonshire.

Victor A. Hatley.

SHELL GUIDE TO NORTHAMPTONSHIRE & THE SOKE OF PETERBOROUGH

by Lady Juliet Smith. Faber, 21*s*. 1968

This is one of the freshest, most attractive and convenient books on Northamptonshire available today. It cannot fail to please anyone who handles it. If I had to vote a 'best buy' or 'value for money' among Northamptonshire books, this would be my choice.

To begin with, the volume has a very large number of illustrations, and these are not only of high quality but are also 'new', not the old faithfuls which are so often served up to us. I especially like the photography of John and Edward Piper, who have managed to capture the atmosphere and attractiveness of many buildings—something known to those of us who live in the county, but difficult to convey to anyone who does not. Many visitors will be drawn to the county by the illustrations alone.

The text shows signs of Lady Juliet's enthusiasms and dislikes. Only occasionally is she afraid to commit herself and make do with a 'pleasant' or 'simple'. Of course, these enthusiasms and dislikes are her own, and I, for one, do not always entirely agree with her. I would not dismiss the stained glass in Barby church as 'murky', since it represents the best series of windows by C. E. Kempe in the county, and his colours and draughtsmanship are always worth looking at. I was delighted to find Lady Juliet enthusing over 17th and 18th century church monuments, in which Northamptonshire is especially rich, and not only are they described in the text but many have fine illustrations as well. Unfortunately the publishers have managed to caption wrongly a number of the illustrations—the Carey monument at Stowe is given the date 1720 when it should be 1620, and the Dove monument at Upton near Peterborough is stated as belonging to the Knightley family. The gazetteer is a straightforward alphabetical arrangement, though one looks in vain for Easton Maudit and there may be difficulty in finding the village of Old since it appears under its former name Wold and receives no reference in the index. The index is not really an index at all, but a reference list from names to headings in the gazetteer. It would have been good to have had something just a little more useful. In any case, it is almost inevitable in a

book of this nature for small things to go wrong, and I understand that Lady Juliet was rather hurried into print, which may account for these imperfections.

However, the county stands greatly in debt to Lady Juliet for providing, at last, a book which we can proudly give to those who ask "But is there anything worth seeing in Northamptonshire?". Here we have a splendid and remarkably cheap way of showing that there is.

B.A.B.

REVOLUTION POLITICKS, THE CAREER OF DANIEL FINCH, SECOND EARL OF NOTTINGHAM

by HENRY HORWITZ. C.U.P. 65*s*.

Recent years have seen the reappraisal of several late Stuart statesmen, including Godolphin, Sunderland and Danby. Professor Horwitz has now made a useful addition to this list by his book on Nottingham. Nottingham has not been a favourite among historians, and even Professor Horwitz is not able to make him a very human figure. Indeed, the human side of the subject has been virtually ignored in favour of the political. He says with truth that "unlike the libertine St. John, his private life reflected his public professions of devout orthodoxy", but there is very little about that private life in this volume; his devotion to his two wives, his enormous family, his building of the great house at Burley-on-the-Hill, and his periods of retirement there. This would have relieved and explained the political career of Nottingham.

The title of the book, however, explains its narrower purpose, "Revolution Politicks"; and, by using a mass of unpublished sources, as well as the usual printed material, the author has been able to explain the political life of Nottingham in a way that has never before been even attempted. He proves that Nottingham was "a man of principle" in a sense that few politicians were (or are?), and his main principle was to secure the Church of England, as established by law, from all attacks on it, whether by Catholic or Protestant Dissenters. In his younger days, he saw the threat as coming from the former body with the prospect, which indeed materialised, of a Papist heir. In these circumstances, he wanted to make the Church more comprehensive, and was willing to make ritual concessions. This was Nottingham, the author of the Toleration Act of 1689. Later on, when the Dissenters were joined with the Whigs, he was the promoter of the Bill against Occasional Conformity, whereby Dissenters by an occasional resort to the Sacrament in an Anglican church, freed themselves from legal impediments to office. This is in contrast to the free-thinking St. John and his cynical promotion of the Schism Act. Nottingham was prepared to co-operate with the Whigs even, in the early days of Queen Anne's reign to prosecute the war with France, although he was critical of the conduct of that war by Marlborough and Godolphin. He was especially critical of a major effort in the Low Countries, and some of his letters recall the talk in the last war about "the soft under-belly of Europe". He was a firm supporter of Dr. Sacheverell, but an opponent of Harley, when he, at last, was able to form a Tory Ministry. An opponent of the Peace of Utrecht, and even more of a commercial treaty with France, he was suspicious that Harley would bring in the Pretender, and his steady support of the Protestant succession might have earned him more gratitude than he received from George I.

The Dutch agent who wrote that Nottingham had persuaded himself that outside the Church of England there was no salvation, may have exaggerated a little, but not much. No wonder that, as an old man, in retirement at Burley "he was often 'haunted' by 'anxious thoughts' about the new world he had helped to shape".

Professor Horwitz's industry, powers of observation, and political judgement, have made his book a very valuable one; and, if, owing to his prescribed limits, this is not the entire explanation of Nottingham, his political career is here dealt with in a complete and satisfactory manner.

Among the extensive MS. sources consulted were the Buccleuch and Isham MSS. at the Northamptonshire Record Office, as well as the Finch-Hatton MSS. which belong to the present Earl of Winchilsea, which are also at Delapré.

G.I.

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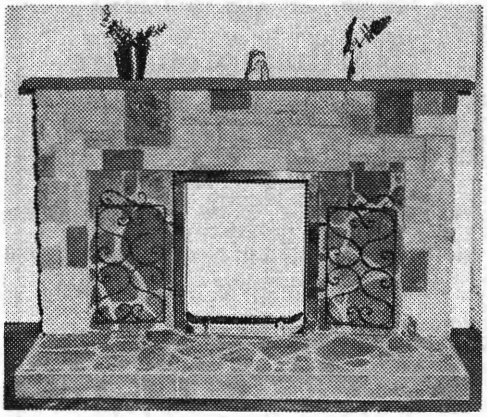

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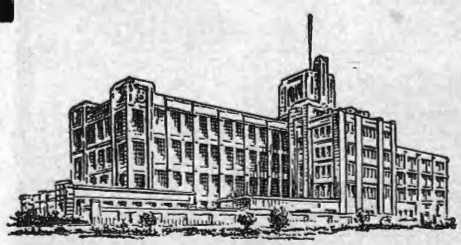

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From a series of watercolours by Ralph Hartley, well-known Kettering artist, showing a corner of the binding department at DALKEITH PRESS LTD., KETTERING, printers of this and many other cultural and industrial publications

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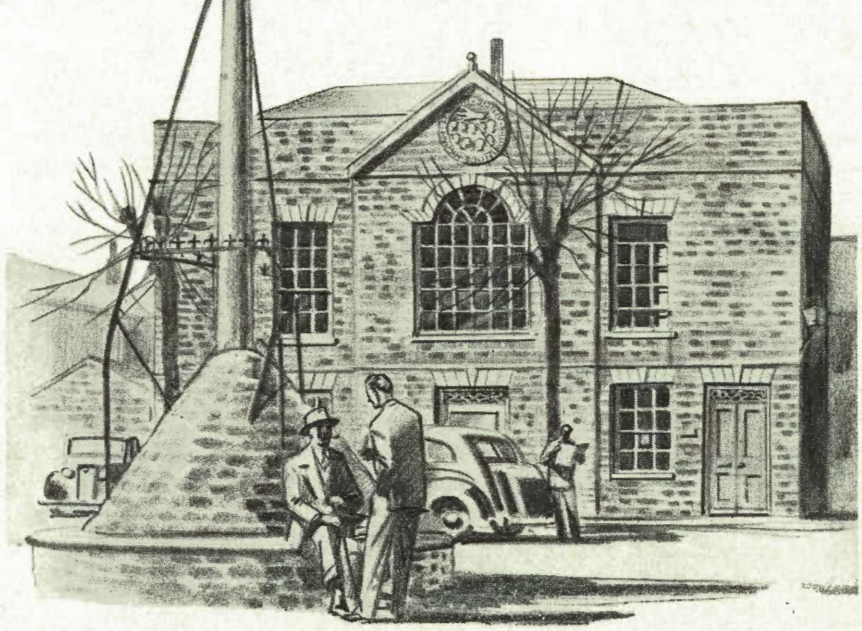

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