NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST & PRESENT

THE OLD ALMSHOUSE, WEEKLEY, KETTERING
(Photo by K. R. Parker)

Journal of
THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY
DELAPRE ABBEY, NORTHAMPTON, ENGLAND
1973

VOL. V PRICE 15p. No. 1

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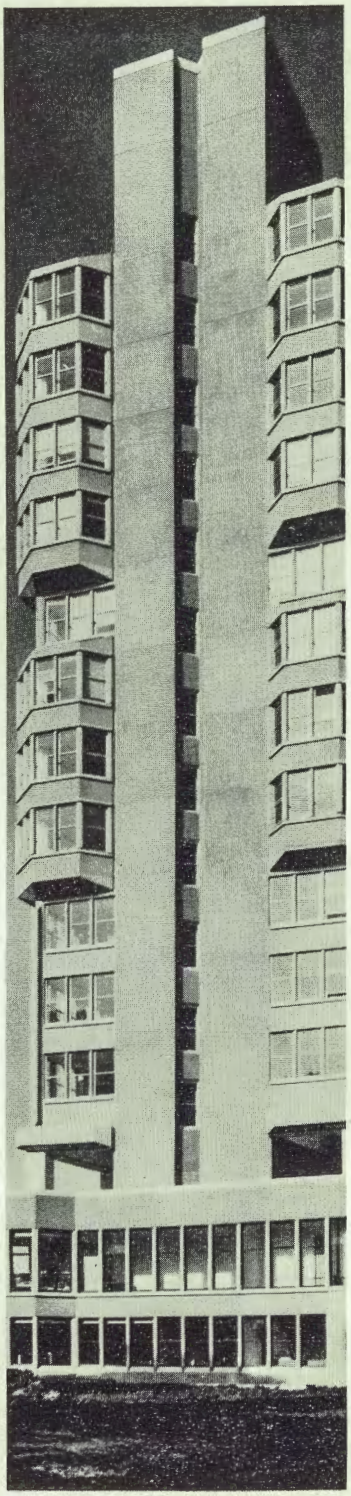

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST AND PRESENT

1973

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Particulars of the Society	ii
Institutional Members of the Society	ii
Notes and News	1
The Rebuilding of Northampton	3
Fact and Legend. *Gyles Isham*	5
The Forests of Northamptonshire in the Early Middle Ages. *J. M. Steane*	7
William Cowper and the Northampton Bills of Mortality. *D. Powell*	19
President George Washington's Male Descent. *George Washington*	33
Two Charters of Liberty. *Edmund King*	37
Some Aspects of Cattle Production in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire during the Nineteenth Century. *R. J. Colyer*	45
Book Reviews: A. L. Rowse, *The Diary of Thomas Isham of Lamport, 1671-3*	55
V. H. Galbraith, *The Letters of Daniel Eaton to the Third Earl of Cardigan, 1725-1732*	57
J. M. Steane, *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place, 1730-1840*	58
E. A. Payne, *The Pattern of Rural Dissent: the Nineteenth Century*	59
Gyles Isham, *Eye Life, The Bede House* and *The College, The Local Community and the Great Rebellion, History of Education*	61, 62
Obituaries: Lady Stenton, *Joan Wake*	63
Mrs. George Brudenell, *Joan Wake*	64
Professor F. J. W. Roughton, *Gyles Isham*	65
Colonel Nigel Stopford-Sackville, C.B.E.	66
The Countess Spencer, D.C.V.O.	66

ILLUSTRATIONS

The Old Almshouse, Weekley, Kettering	*Front Cover*
The Swan Gates at Lamport	5
Tiles from Pipewell Abbey	10-11-14
Forest Weapons and Tools	13
Capital from St. Kyneburgha's Church, Castor	16
William Cowper	21
The Yearly Bill for Mortality, 1789	29
Cowper's Original MS. for the Northampton Dirge, 1789	29
Washington Coats of Arms	34

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THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY

(FOUNDED IN 1920)

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AIMS AND OBJECTS

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

MEMBERSHIP

THE ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION for Individual Members is £2.10, and for Institutional Members, £3.15. Associate Membership, up to 25 years of age, is 50p. per annum. 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 gladly be sent on request to the Secretary, Delapré Abbey, Northampton.

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Thanks are expressed to

Lord George Scott for lending the block of the old almshouse at Weekley, the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery for lending a photograph of their portrait of William Cowper, Mr. Anthony Wood for drawing the coats of arms to illustrate the Washington article, Mr. Bruce A. Bailey for taking the photograph of Lamport Park gates, the Trustees of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library for photographs of objects in their possession, the Courtauld Institute for a photograph of the capital in Castor Church, and Mr. I. Layton-Matthews for assistance with art work.

Notes and News

ALLUSION was made in last year's *Northamptonshire Past and Present* to the visit of Her Majesty, Elizabeth the Queen Mother to Delapré Abbey on November 10th, 1971, but, at the moment of going to press, the visit had not yet taken place. The Queen Mother came to Delapré accompanied by the Lord Lieutenant and was received by the President of the Record Society, who presented the Chairman, Mr. C. V. Davidge, and other officers of the Society. The Mayor was also present. In the Society's Library, Her Majesty was particularly interested in some of the Press cuttings about her stay, as Duchess of York, at Naseby Hall, when the Duke hunted with the Pytchley. Mr. P. I. King, the chief archivist, had arranged a special Exhibition, which he showed to the Queen Mother. This included a remarkable series of Great Seals of the Realm from the reign of Henry II to George V. It was even found possible to provide one example of a Scottish Royal Seal—that of Edward de Baliol. To complement the seals a series of signs manual and signatures of royal persons were also exhibited. These start with one of Henry VIII, progress to one of Charles I (asking for a loan of £500 from Sir John Isham, direct ancestor of the President of the Record Society), and end with one of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth on the occasion of their tour of Northampton Gas Works in 1943. It is remarkable that the documents now in the care of the Archives Committee were able to provide such an impressive exhibition of Royal Seals and letters.

There were also views (photographs, drawings and prints) of the many country houses in the county at which Royalty has received official or unofficial hospitality over the centuries.

Her Majesty was graciously pleased to accept a specially bound copy of the Guide to Delapré Abbey, written by Miss Joan Wake and Mr. W. Pantin. Her visit brought to a fitting end the celebrations of the Society's first half century.

THE publication of *The Letters of Daniel Eaton to the Third Earl of Cardigan* in December 1971 has been well received both by the Society's members, and the Press. It is edited by Miss Joan Wake (who edited the first volume issued by the Society) and Mrs. Deborah Webster. Mr. G. E. Mingay, in reviewing the book for the *Economic History Review* comments that "the editing is in every respect a model of that far from easy art". A review by Professor Vivian Galbraith appears on p. 57.

Early in 1973, Volume XXV will appear: *Northamptonshire Militia Lists 1777* edited by our Honorary Librarian, Mr. V. A. Hatley. This will have as an illustration a reproduction of Thomas Rowlandson's drawing of the Militia at Brackley, through the kindness of the owner, Sir Hereward Wake.

A GENEROUS donation from Sir Cyril Cripps, one of our Vice-Presidents, has enabled the Society to purchase a complete set of photographs of the topographical drawings made by Thomas Eayre and Peter Tillemans for Bridges' History of the County in the years 1710-20. In the event, only a very few were included in the published work in 1791. Sir Gyles Isham has promised to edit a complete list of the drawings with reproductions of as many as possible for a future volume of the Society.

To another of our Vice-Presidents, the Rt. Revd. Bishop Eastaugh, we wish every happiness in his retirement from the see of Peterborough last July.

BOTH lectures during the year have been well attended. The first after the Annual General Meeting in June, was given by Professor John Tarn, of the Department of Architecture at the University of Nottingham. He spoke on 'The Architect's View of Monastic Remains', and taking Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire, as his main example, demonstrated with the help of slides how much can be learnt of medieval life from the study of monastic ruins, which sometimes

reveal evidence of surprisingly advanced technological skill. In the Autumn Professor J. J. Scarisbrick of the School of History at Warwick University, was the lecturer. The author of an excellent biography of Henry VIII, he chose as his subject 'Politics and Religion in Northamptonshire' in that monarch's reign. What better place to deliver the lecture than Delapré Abbey, which in 1538 was itself forced to close its doors as a nunnery after nearly 400 years of religious life. To accompany the lecture an exhibition of documents connected with Henry VIII's reign was arranged by the County Archivist. The Exhibition of Royal Seals noted above was also on view.

Professor Scarisbrick has promised to put his lecture into publishable form, and it will appear in next year's *Northamptonshire Past and Present*.

As some of the advertisements in this issue testify many changes are taking place in Northampton and in other towns in the County, described variously as 'transformation', 'redevelopment', 'demolition' or 'destruction', according to the individual point of view. But in the case of the Welsh House in Northampton's Market Square, at the proposed demolition of which the Society protested, the unexpected intervention of the Minister of the Environment has saved it, although the restoration in this case will mean rebuilding.

With town expansion come new institutions, including the College of Education at Moulton Park, Northampton (to which the students of Kirkby Field College, Liverpool, have been transferred as a nucleus) which prudently took out institutional membership earlier this year in advance of its opening in the autumn.

It is also satisfying to record that following protests from the Society and others the proposals to sever the Borough of Brackley, Brackley Rural District, and other villages from Northamptonshire have been dropped, and the existing peripheral boundaries of the County will remain unchanged when the new Bill for Local Government becomes law.

It may be of interest to our readers to know that in March the Cambridge Antiquarian Records Society was formed, to publish documentary sources concerning Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and the Isle of Ely, these areas being destined to constitute an enlarged Cambridgeshire under the proposals for Local Government reform.

REDEVELOPMENT and expansion of towns are not entirely new phenomena, although the present state of Northampton can hardly be paralleled even by the Great Fire of 1675. Morton wrote in his *Natural History of Northamptonshire* (published in 1712) that Northampton may "compare for Circuit, Beauty and Building with most Cities in England". He goes on "Before the Fire it was, as Mr. Camden has noted, in its Buildings neat and fine. And since that dismal *Conflagration* upon *September* 20th 1675, which desolated and consum'd almost the whole town, it has been re-edified and nobly improved: and is now universally own'd to be one of the neatest in the Kingdom". When the bulldozers and the cranes have departed, will some future Morton be able to write in a similar vein of the New Northampton?

ALTHOUGH the fact of the rebuilding after 1675 is known, and some of the work then done still survives, much obscurity has surrounded the details, or even the name of the architect of All Saints Church which, as Morton says, "has a greatness, and Beauty, both within and without, surpassing any I have seen on this side of London". Mr. H. M. Colvin has kindly written for us a summary of recent discoveries about All Saints Church and the Sessions House which appears immediately after "Notes and News".

IT now remains for the Editor to make his bow before the readers of *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, and to introduce his successor. The first two volumes of the Journal, each containing six numbers, and covering the years 1948-1959 were edited by Joan Wake. The next two volumes covering the years 1960-71/2 were edited by myself, as is this, the first number of Volume V. As stated above I have now undertaken to edit another volume for the Society—the Eayre-Tillemans Drawings—and I feel that the labour entailed will preclude the efficient editing of *Northamptonshire Past and Present*. Also after thirteen numbers, it is time for a change. I am accordingly handing over the Editorship to Mr. John Steane, confident that in him the Society have found an editor, who will not only maintain but strengthen and

expand the work of the Journal, which in the words of the *Times Literary Supplement*, "remains the best if not the only means by which the local historians can pool their knowledge". (March 19th 1971).

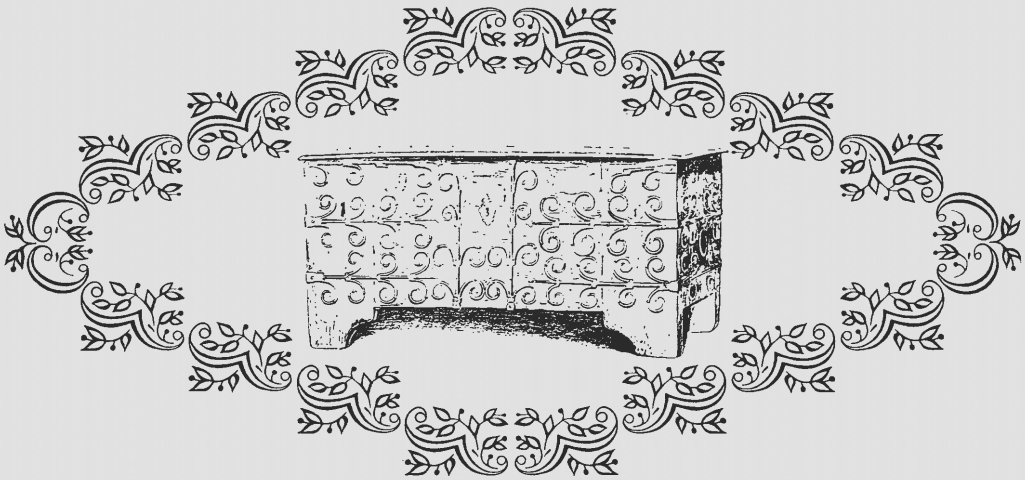
GYLES ISHAM.

This number appears rather later than usual, and it may well be felt that it is more convenient for members to receive their copies in the New Year rather than, as in the past, just before Christmas. Suggestions will be welcome.

THE REBUILDING OF NORTHAMPTON

WHEN most of Northampton was destroyed by fire in September 1675 a body of commissioners was set up to deal with the many problems that arose in rebuilding the town. Following the precedent of the commissioners appointed in London after the Great Fire of 1666, they constituted both a court of law and a planning authority, with powers to widen streets and to enforce minimum building standards. Unfortunately their minute-books have not been preserved in the town's archives, and there is consequently no satisfactory record of the rebuilding of such important buildings as All Saints Church and the Sessions House. The discovery some years ago of a printed memoir of Henry Bell (1647-1711), well-known as an architect of King's Lynn, indicated that he was called in as the commissioners' architectural adviser. 'The Town of Northampton'—Bell's obituarist wrote—'was rebuilt agreeable to his Plan, and pursuant to his own Direction' (preface to *An Historical Essay on the Original of Painting*, by Henry Bell, Architect, late of Lynn Regis, Norfolk, Esq., 1728). Comparison with Bell's recorded works in Norfolk suggested that his responsibilities extended to the designing of All Saints Church and the Sessions House. That this attribution was correct, at least in the case of the Church, is shown by a stray document from the commissioners' records which recently came on the market at Sotheby's and was happily acquired by the Northamptonshire Record Office. It is a minute appointing a committee to supervise the rebuilding of the Church. It is dated 18 January 1676/7, and directs 'that Mr. Henry Bell and Mr. Edward Edwards, two experienced Surveyors now residing in the said Towne of Northampton be imployed as Managers of the said worke to act therein according to such advice and direction as shall be given from time to time by the said Committee'. Edward Edwards is at present an obscure figure in English architectural history, but a payment to him in connection with the rebuilding of the Sessions House is recorded (C. Markham, *The County Buildings of Northampton*, 1885, p. 40). Meanwhile there can be no doubt that All Saints Church should be included among Bell's authenticated works, and in all probability he shared with Edwards the responsibility for designing the Sessions House.

H. M. COLVIN.



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Fact and Legend

I HAVE always been told a rather gruesome story about the Swans on the gates of the entrance to Lamport Hall. The version I was told is that there was rather a convivial evening at Brixworth Hall early in the 1840s and that it was decided by one of the party that a joke should be played on Sir Justinian Isham of Lamport, who was an abstemious elderly man, by painting the Swans red.[1] When, however, the perpetrator climbed up the gate pier, he missed his footing and fell, clasping the Swan. They are made of iron and the beak pierced his chest. He was taken to a doctor at Market Harborough but died.

The then squire of Brixworth was William Wood, whose daughter and heiress Mary had married in 1830 my grandfather John Vere Isham, nephew of Sir Justinian Isham, 8th Bart., the then owner of Lamport. My father thought that the unlucky man was one of the Wood family.

There were other more colourful versions of the story. The late Rector of Lamport, the

[1] A local bard of the Pytchley Hunt wrote:
"One would think that his nerves were not right for the fight
As he only drinks water and that cant be right".

[*Photograph by Bruce A. Bailey*

THE GATEWAY, WITH THE SWANS ON THE PILLARS.
A familiar sight on the A508 from Northampton to Market Harborough.
They were erected in 1825 to the designs of Henry Hakewill.

Revd. W. M. Pitchford told me there was snow on the ground at the time, and there was a trail of blood all the way to Harborough. He also said the man was the heir to the estate, that is Justinian Vere Isham, the elder son of the baronet. This could not have been the case as Justinian Vere succeeded his father as 9th Bart. in 1845.

The MS. of George Clarke's Diary in the Public Library at Northampton gives the true story. Under date 5 April, 1840, Clarke recorded "J. V. Caldwell drew the cast iron Swan on the gateway to Lamport Hall onto himself, Sunday night April 5th, which caused his death Wednesday following."

J. V. Caldwell was a nephew of Sir Justinian Isham. His mother was Louisa Isham, sister of Sir Justinian Isham, who on 5 January, 1804, married Ralph Caldwell of Hilborowe, Norfolk, who died in 1831. Louisa survived until 1864, when she died at the age of 86. The Caldwells, a family of Scottish origin, came to Norfolk in the 18th century, when Ralph Caldwell was steward to the Earl of Leicester at Holkham. He died in 1792, aged 80. The Caldwells established themselves as landed gentry in Norfolk (Walter Rye, *Norfolk Families*, 1913, p. 89).

The incident appears, therefore, to have been historical, although some of the embellishments of the tale are not.

Finally, *The Northampton Mercury*, 18 April, 1840, recorded, "Captain Caldwell, a nephew of Sir Justinian Isham, expired at the residence of Mr. Brown of Little Bowden, on Wednesday week. His death was occasioned by the following distressing circumstance. On Sunday night Mr. Brown and the deceased were returning from Brixworth to Harborough, and on reaching the entrance to Sir Justinian's seat at Lamport, the Captain attempted to displace one of the swans, which surmount the columns of the gateway, when the figure which weighed upwards of two cwt. fell upon him and so seriously injured him as to occasion his death on the day already mentioned. Captain Caldwell obtained his commission only in February last".

The Gentleman's Magazine (Vol. XIII New Series, 1840) records the event and adds the information that Captain Vere Caldwell was appointed Ensign in the 90th Foot in 1828, Lieutenant in 1832, and obtained his commission on 7 February 1840.

GYLES ISHAM.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

MOST of the contributors to this year's number are familiar to our readers. We welcome as new contributors Mr. D. Powell of Weston Favell, who is Librarian of the College of Education, Northampton, and Mr. R. J. Colyer of the Institute of Rural Science, Aberystwyth, who is a native of Northamptonshire, and whose father is a well-known farmer at Holcot.

In our book reviews, we have a particularly distinguished company of reviewers: Dr. A. L. Rowse, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, Professor Vivian Galbraith, former Regius Professor at Oxford University (both of whom have on various occasions lectured to the Society), and Dr. E. A. Payne, C.H., the former President of the Baptist Union, who lives at Pitsford.

The Forests of Northamptonshire in the Early Middle Ages

John Morton begins his description of the forests of the county "Now let us strike off to the Woodland part, which is like wise in three main parcels: the Forest of Rockingham in the Northern part of the County, of Sacy (Salcey) in the South, and of Whittlebury in the South West".[1] Recent studies based on Domesday Book confirm that the recorded woodland in the 11th century was located in these areas.[2] The Northern area can be further sub-divided into two belts: the one to the East of the Nene between Etton and Titchmarsh is mainly on the Oxford clay and cornbrash. This was called the forest of *Bruneswald* and it extended into Huntingdonshire. Hereward the Wake is reputed to have taken refuge in it. The other lies along the north western boundary between Easton-on-the-Hill and Brampton Ash and here the underlying rocks are mostly Northampton sands. Domesday settlements are particularly sparse in this region and the population density in the 11th century was at its lowest here. The southern area was confined largely to the Boulder clay and Lias clay of the Tove valley and to the Northampton Sands in the west. This is the area later known as Whittlewood and Salcey Forests.

It is tempting to try to calculate the area occupied by woodland recorded in Domesday Book but difficulties are immediately encountered because most of the entries are given in the form of linear measurements. Typical entries illustrate this . . . "Easton Neston (fo.227) wood(land) 5 furlongs in length and in breadth . . . Benefield (fo.228) wood(land) 1 league in length and half a league in breadth". We do not know whether this information refers to mean or extreme diameters nor is the position much clearer when the area is expressed in acres as at "Barton Seagrave (fo.220b) 8 acres of wood" because we do not know what area was implied by an acre. We are on firmer ground in the 13th century when the extent of the forests was recorded in perambulations made at intervals. The enormous size of Rockingham Forest is seen from the survey made in 1286. It extended from the South bridge of Northampton to the bridge of Stamford, a distance of thirty-three miles and from the River Nene on the east to the River Welland and Maidwell stream on the north west—an average breadth of between seven and eight miles.[3]

These perambulations remind us by their references to fields and villages that the royal forest was not a vast extent of woodland but simply an area within which forest law operated. Whole villages with their appropriate complement of arable and pasture lay within the boundaries of the royal forest. The bounds of the forest of Whittlewood in the perambulation of 1299 went "between the fields of Great Denshanger and little Denshanger to the Portwey"[4] (an ancient road through the forest in the direction of Northampton). Richard de Clare was alleged in 1252 to have chased a hart with his hounds from the wood of Micklewood "as far as the field of Desborough above Rothwell" (*in campum de Deseburg supra Rowell*).[5] There were also inclosures within the forest. The perambulation just mentioned traces the bounds "between the fees of Passenham and Wykedyve to the garden of Elias de Tyngwyk and so by a certain ditch including the said garden". There were areas of private woodland, and grants of liberties and franchises such as free warren were made to landowners within the area technically forest. Such were "the woods of Cosgrove and of Forho (Furtho) of the prior of Snelshall; of Elias de Tyngwyk, of John FitzJohn and of John de Bernevyll".

[1] John Morton *The Natural History of Northamptonshire with some account of the Antiquities*, London, 1712, p. 10.

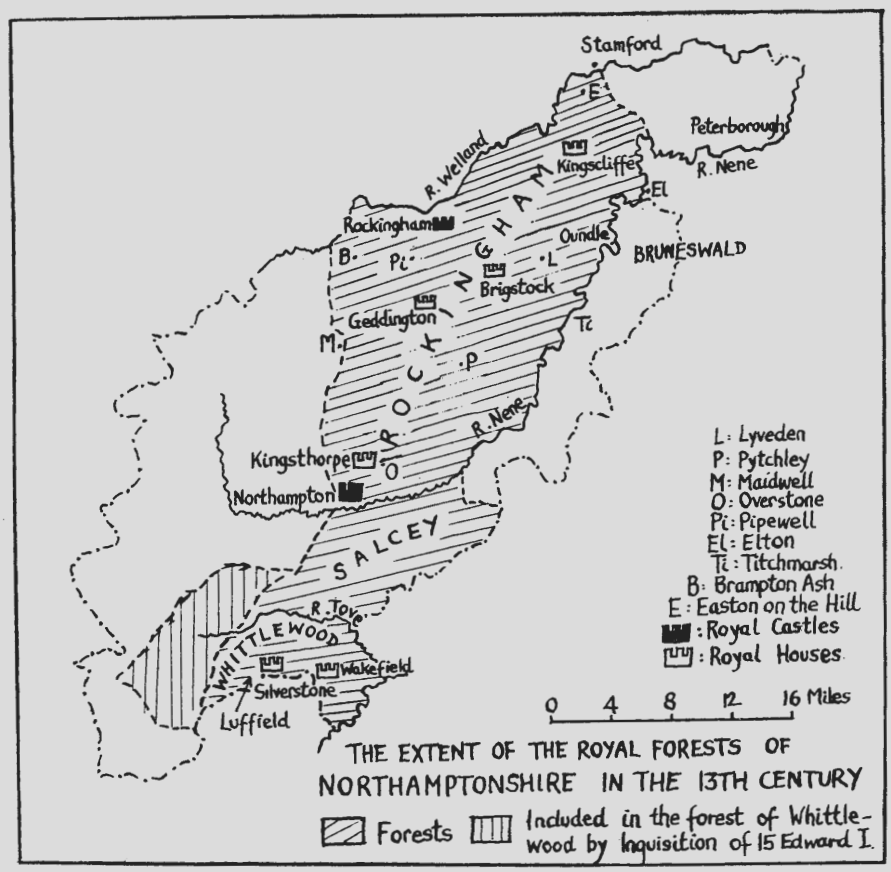
[2] H. C. Darby and I. B. Terrett *The Domesday Geography of Midland England*, Cambridge, 1954, pp. 379-416.

[3] J. C. Cox *The Royal Forests of England*, London, 1905, p. 247.

[4] G. Baker *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, 1836-41, II. pp. 75-6.

[5] G. J. Turner *Select Pleas of the Forest*, Selden Society XIII, 1901, p. 28.

Historians recognise the French origin of the Anglo-Norman forest law and William I's severity towards those who broke the peace of his deer is well known. It seems however that there are traces of a forest administration in late Pre-Conquest England.[6] Aelfwine the huntsman was the tenant of Pytchley in Edward the Confessor's reign. His successor William Engaine is the first of a family who held the hereditary serjeanty by huntsman service.[7] In the earliest reference to hunting in Northamptonshire when William Rufus confirmed to the abbey of Peterborough a tithe of his hunting in the county (*totam decimam de mea venacione de Norhamtunescire*) Richard Engaine is found witnessing the charter at Brigstock.[8] The Engaines of Pytchley held their lands by the service of chasing wolves from those coverts. Their seal has a running wolf with two pieces of broken spear above and the head of an axe below.[9]



The Crown had already begun to use the area as a hunting reserve by the end of the eleventh century. The Fotheringhay entry in Domesday mentions (woodland) "1 league in length and 9 furlongs in breadth. When it bore mast *and the king does not hunt in it* it is worth 10 shillings.[10] In the south of the county on the Buckinghamshire border Luffield Priory provides some early references to foresters. The foundation charter dated 1124 is witnessed by Osulf the forester and

[6] F. M. Stenton *Anglo Saxon England*, 2nd edn., Oxford 1962, p. 675.
[7] J. H. Round in *V.C.H. Northants* i, 294.
[8] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* i No. 446.
[9] L. C. Lloyd and D. M. Stenton (eds.) *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, Northants Record Society XV, 1950, plate iii, No. 120.
[10] *V.C.H. Northants* i, 294.

a writ of Henry I is addressed to Richard Basset, Aubrey de Vere, Hugh de Kaynes and his foresters of Whittlewood ordering that protection is to be given to the monks of Luffield and that they are to be allowed to have their easements in the forest as in times past.[11]

It is evident that by the mid 12th century the Crown had placed over half the county within the limits of the forest law. *Foresta de Rockingham* is first mentioned in the Pipe Roll of 1157 and *Bosco de Sasceya* (Salcey Forest) in the Close Rolls of 1206.[12] The original object of forest law was the preservation of certain animals, the "*ferae naturae*" because as Richard Fitznigel wrote, "in the forests are the secret places of the kings and their great delight: To them they go for hunting, having put off their cares, so that they may enjoy a little quiet". Manwood in his "*Treatise of the Forest Law*", written towards the end of the 16th century declared that there were five beasts of the forest, the hart, the hind, the hare, the wild boar and the wolf. He also included the fox, marten, roe and fallow deer as beasts of the chase. During the 13th century the fallow and roe deer were included as beasts of the forest but the roe was not highly esteemed by huntsmen because he drove away the other deer and was struck off the list of beasts of the forest in the reign of Edward III by a decision of the court of King's Bench.

A good deal is known about the machinery for the administration of forest law.[13] The forests of Northampton, Huntingdon, Oxford and Buckingham were for a time grouped together and their warden was styled *Steward of the Forests between the bridges of Stamford and Oxford.* Writs relating to the administration of forest business as well as to the delivery of presents of venison and wood were addressed to them. The *verderers* whose qualification was the possession of land in the forest were usually knights or landed men elected in the County Court. They attended the forest courts and there were four in each forest. The *foresters* were entrusted with duties similar to those of a modern gamekeeper. They watched for trespassers, pursued and arrested them. *Woodwards* protected the king's venison and the woods of their lordly masters—the residue of the extensive areas outside the royal demesnes but within the area designated for shelter of the beasts of the forest. Every three years *Regarders* were appointed to inspect the lawing of dogs, the condition of herbage in the king's demesnes, the eyries of hawks and falcons, the extent of new assarts and purprestures and the ownership of bows and arrows.[14]

Such an elaborate structure of forest law enforcement gives some impression of the overriding importance hunting was held in the eyes of successive Norman and Angevin kings. In addition to the royal castles of Northampton and Rockingham they had six houses in the county, at Brigstock, Geddington, King's Cliffe, Kingsthorpe, Silverston and Wakefield.[15] None of the 400 or so charters before 1100 were issued at any of these centres, including Northampton. From Henry I's reign out of 2,000 or so royal writs and charters extant, 22 were issued at Northampton, 14 at Rockingham and one each at Geddington and Silverstone (from early and late in the reign respectively).[16] Geddington was a hunting lodge in Rockingham forest and both Henry II and Richard I were frequent visitors; indeed in 1188 an important council was held here. Repairs and reconstructions were carried out here particularly during Henry III's reign and occasionally in Edward I's reign, but the building was in ruin in the next century. Its site lies to the north of the church under a modern housing estate. King's Cliffe was a royal manor which gave its name to one of the three bailiwicks into which Rockingham forest was divided and the house was occupied from William II's time; several charters of Henry I are dated here and the building with its fishponds was the subject of repair in Henry III's reign. The house appears to have vanished

[11] G. R. Elvey (ed.) *Luffield Priory Charters*, Northants Record Society XXII, 1968, pp. 15, 16.

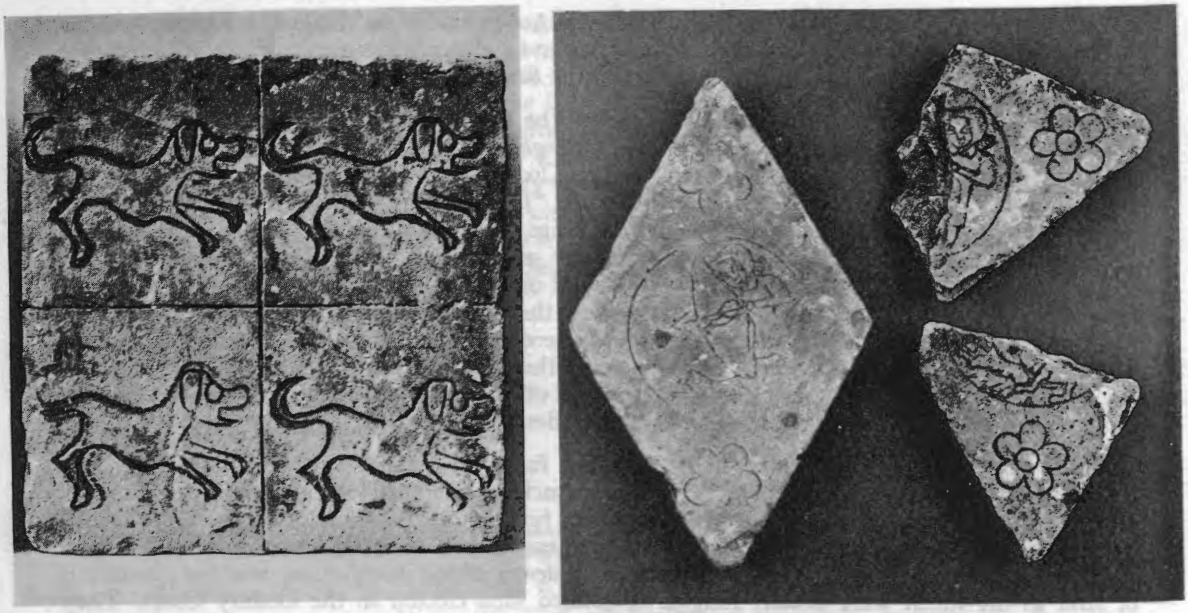
[12] J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, *The Place Names of Northamptonshire*, Cambridge, 1933, p. 1.

[13] G. J. Turner *Select Pleas of the Forest*, Selden Society XIII, 1901.

[14] Dogs within the forest had to be "*lawed*" or mutilated by the cutting off of three claws from the fore paw so that they could not run after game. *Assarts* were areas of forest where trees were uprooted, the land cultivated, and enclosed to prevent the beasts of the forest from damaging the crops planted thereon. *Purprestures* were clearings for buildings and enclosures within the forest.

[15] For royal houses in Northamptonshire see R. Allen Brown, H. M. Colvin, A. J. Taylor *The History of the Kings Works*, London 1963, II, pp. 902, 943, 969, 977, 1002-3, 1006.

[16] I owe this point to Dr. Edmund King of the University of Sheffield who kindly read the article in typescript.



TILES FROM PIPEWELL ABBEY NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM
(Rutland Collection MS. Catalogue 1433, 1422).

Of light pink fabric covered with white slip on which incised design is stamped. Greeny yellow glaze. In the lozenge shaped tiles on the left the archer faces to the left and is just about to release a large barbed hunting arrow. Over the top of his shoulder is a quiver with the feathers of four arrows. The square tile is divided into four quarters (for cutting into four if required); in each corner is a dog running to the right with tail raised.

Photo: British Museum

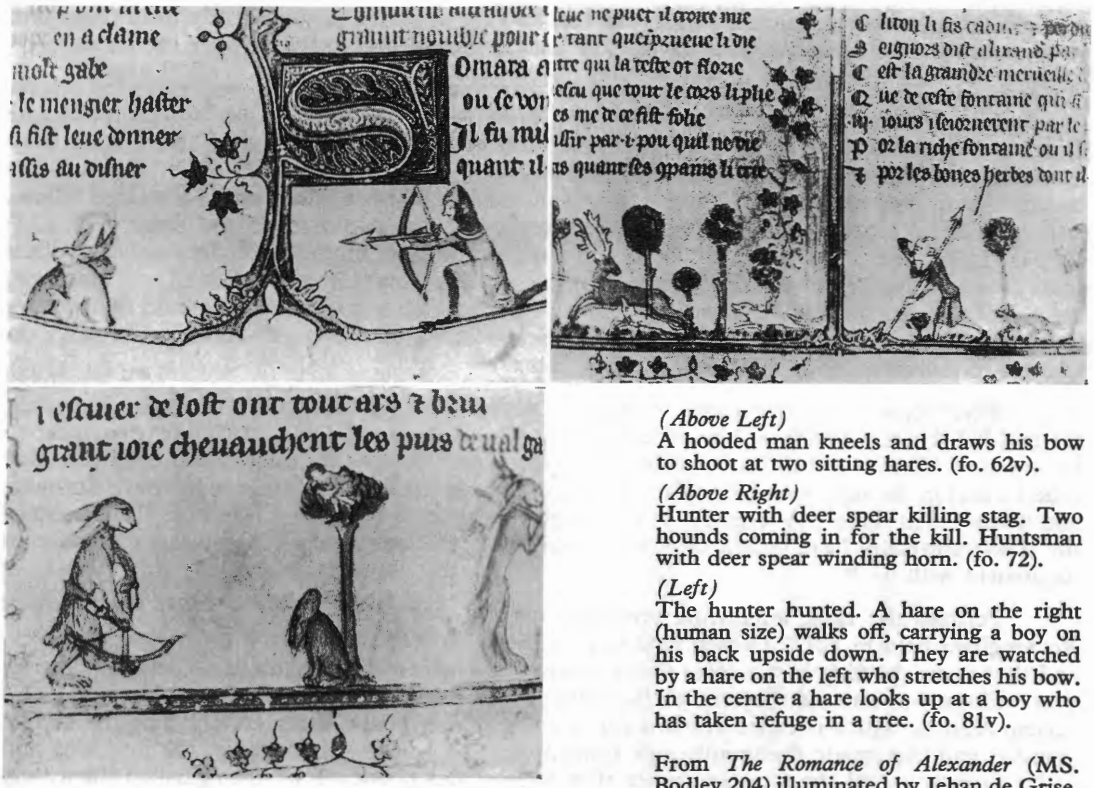
by the 15th century. Kingsthorpe may well have been a hunting lodge, lying as it did in the forest of Rockingham and adjoining the royal park of Moulton which was attached to Northampton Castle. Silverstone in Whittlebury Forest was a royal hunting lodge frequently visited by the Angevin kings. Repairs were still being ordered in the early 14th century. Wakefield was the site of a royal hunting lodge and was built or rebuilt by Henry II; it seems to have gone out of use as early as Henry III's time.

The extensive use of the forest of Rockingham during the reign of Henry III can be illustrated "In the thirtythird year the lord king came twice into the forest of Rockingham about the time of the feast of St. Katherine and about the time of the feast of St. Peters chains in the same year and took beasts at his pleasure". The privilege was extended to the king's brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall and the orgy of slaughter which followed reminds one of the *battues de feu* of Edward VII while grouse shooting. "Sir Richard Earl of Cornwall took five bucks in the park of Brigstock on Monday the morrow of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr in the same year and three bucks in the same park on the Tuesday next following . . . nine bucks in the bailiwick of the park on the Wednesday, a hart and two bucks in the bailiwick of Rockingham on the Thursday".[17]

The donation of game was a favourite expedient in the system of royal largesse. In the fortieth year of Henry III's reign, for instance, 44 beasts are recorded as being given in this way; presumably the grantee had to do the catching.[18] When an archbishop, bishop, earl or baron

[17] G. J. Turner *Select Pleas of the Forest*, pp. 92, 104.

[18] *Cal Close Rolls* 40. Henry III, pp. 330, 332, 334, 337, 340, 349, 353, 367.



(Above Left)
A hooded man kneels and draws his bow to shoot at two sitting hares. (fo. 62v).

(Above Right)
Hunter with deer spear killing stag. Two hounds coming in for the kill. Huntsman with deer spear winding horn. (fo. 72).

(Left)
The hunter hunted. A hare on the right (human size) walks off, carrying a boy on his back upside down. They are watched by a hare on the left who stretches his bow. In the centre a hare looks up at a boy who has taken refuge in a tree. (fo. 81v).

From *The Romance of Alexander* (MS. Bodley 204) illuminated by Jehan de Grise, 1339-1344 A.D.
Photos: British Museum and J. Marshall.

passed through a royal forest he was entitled to take one or two heads of game under the forest charter of 1217. We find the bishop of Lincoln availing himself of this privilege in 1245 when he took a hind and a doe; the abbot of Westminster took a buck and a buck's pricket in 1246 and the Count of Aumâle took a doe, and the bishop of Carlisle a buck in 1247.[19]

The forest pleas are full of poaching stories, and killing the king's deer must have been more than of marginal economic importance in the forest villages. A study of animal bones found in the 13th and 14th century industrial settlement at Lyveden in Rockingham forest suggests that over 20% were deer bones and many bore signs of being cut and worked for tools.[20]

Which way public sympathy veered is sufficiently illustrated by the prime place of Robin Hood in early medieval folk law. In default of efficient methods of detection, circumstantial evidence was sufficient to get a man imprisoned and death might well intervene before the case came to trial. In the pleas of 1209 held at Northampton, for instance, it was recorded that Thomas Inkel, forester of Cliffe, found in a wood of Silverton a trail of blood in the snow which he traced to the house of Ralph Red where the flesh of a doe was found. Ralph was imprisoned but before his death he accused two other men Roger Tock and Robert Sturdi. When their houses were searched the ears and bones of deer were found but Sturdi claimed that the dogs of Walter of Preston used to be kennelled in the house and that his hunters ate the venison. The verderers and foresters

[19] J. C. Cox *The Royal Forests of England*, 1905, p. 244.
[20] G. F. Bryant and J. M. Steane "Excavations at the deserted Medieval Settlement at Lyveden 1969-70". *Northampton Museum and Art Gallery Journal* IX, 1972.

confirmed the story but because Roger had laid so long in prison he was nearly dead (*quod fere mortuus est*) and he was allowed to go but the justices forced him to live outside the forest.[21]

In the Northamptonshire eyre of 1255 a serious poaching affray was recorded which incidentally gives some information about the forest landscape. William of Northampton and Roger of Tingewick were on their way from the pleas of Stanion to the pleas of Salcey when they heard that poachers were in the lawn of Benefield (*landa de Benifield*).[22] They called the foresters together "and they saw five greyhounds, of which one was white, another black, the third fallow, a fourth black coloured hunting beasts, which greyhounds the said William and Roger took . . ." they lay in ambush "and saw five poachers in the lord king's demesne of Wydehawe, one with a cross bow and four with bows and arrows standing at their trees". A fight followed and Matthew, the forester of the park of Brigstock was slain; "the foresters pursued the aforesaid malefactors so vigorously that they turned and fled into the thickness of the wood. And the foresters on account of the darkness could follow them no more".[23]

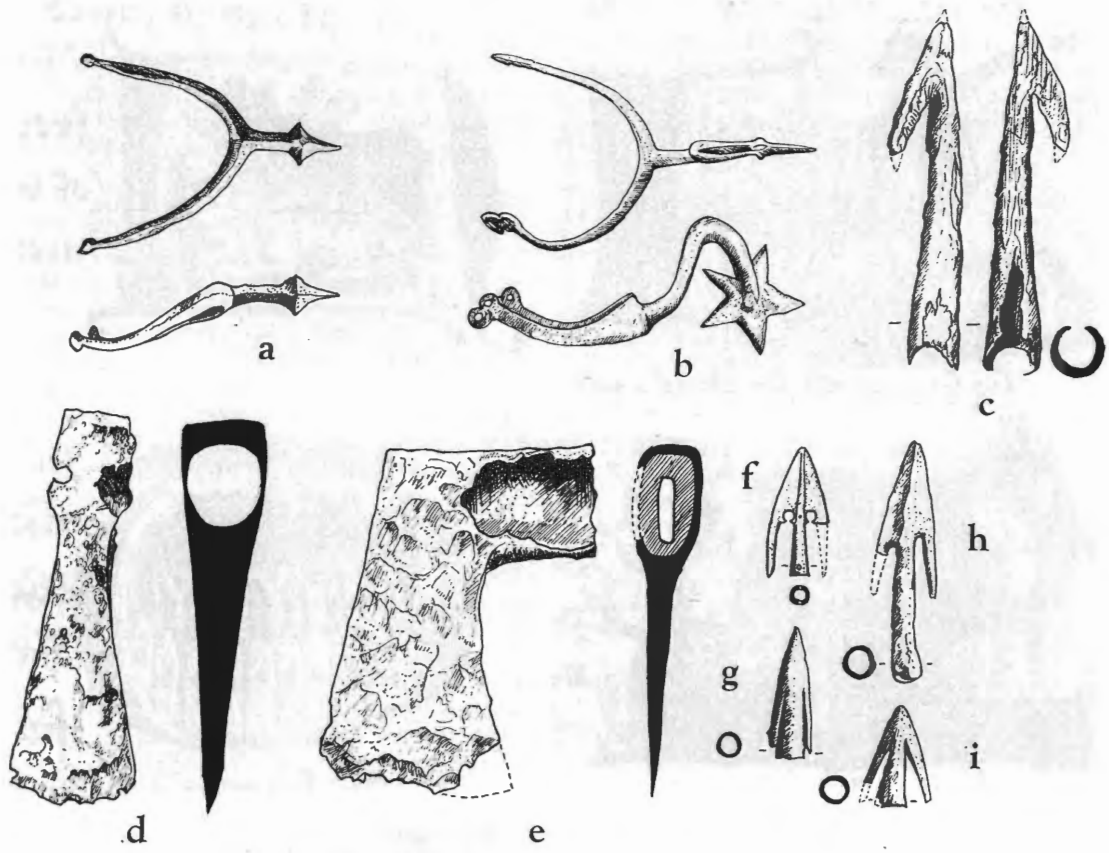
What began as an after dinner walk ended with trouble for the whole township of Rothwell, for in 1252 Richard of Clare, Earl of Gloucester was at Rothwell "and after dinner he went to his wood of Micklewood to take a walk and there he caused to be uncoupled two braches which found a hart in the same wood. And they chased it as far as the field of Desborough above Rothwell and it was taken there". A large list of men and their hounds in at the kill follows "and because the whole township (*tota villata de Rowell*) beset the said hart when it was taken, therefore to judgement with it".[24]

Perhaps the most interesting poaching story is that heard in the pleas of the forest of Rockingham held in 1272. 13 men who were named "entered the forest with bows and arrows; and they were shooting in the same forest during the whole of the day aforesaid and killed three deer without warrant and they cut off the head of a buck and put it on a stake in the middle of a certain clearing which is called *Harleruding*, placing in the mouth of the aforesaid head a certain spindle: and they made the mouth gape towards the sun in great contempt of the lord king and of his foresters. And the foresters, when they were at last perceived by them, hailed them; and the evil doers shot at them against the peace of the lord king . . . and the venison of the aforesaid eight deer was carried from the forest in the cart of Ralph Grelhering as far as Stanwick; and it rested there for one night at the house of Geoffrey Russell, he himself not being at home, not knowing anything thereof; and from thence it was carried to Hanslope to the house of the aforesaid William Tuluse and Simon his son; who had caused this to be done; and there the aforesaid venison was divided and eaten".[25]

The justices of the forest must have viewed much unsavoury evidence when they came on their rounds. After the search of the great clearing (*magnam trenchiam*) between Brigstock and Lyveden, foresters found the head of a certain sore together with its entrails. "And the head was delivered to Henry the son of Guy of Brigstock and Gilbert atte Pool to keep until the coming of the justices of the forest.[26] A certain amount of common sense tempered with humanity was shown in the disposal of the flesh of a beast illegally slain. When a hart was found "shot in the right thigh with a certain barbed arrow" at Little hawe in Pipewell, the flesh was given to the sick of Rockingham.[27] On another occasion the flesh of a doe found in a sack at Sudborough was given to the lepers of Thrapston.[28]

Poachers were interested in prey other than deer in the forest. We hear that William, son of Warin (when Warin of Bassingbourn was warden of the park of Northampton) "took in the same warren four hares without warrant" and Hugh Swartgar the reaper of the town of Brigstock had two counts against him. He was found leading two mastiffs in defiance of the orders of the

[21] *Select Pleas of the Forest*, p. 3.
[22] *Lawns* were enclosed pasture within the forest, originally to provide grazing and hay for deer.
[23] *Select Pleas of the Forest*, p. 28.
[24] Op. cit. p. 34. A *brach* is a kind of hound which hunts by scent.
[25] *Select Pleas of the Forest*, p. 38.
[26] Op. cit. p. 86. A *Sore* is a buck in its fourth year.
[27] Op. cit., p. 87.
[28] Op. cit., p. 84.



FOREST WEAPONS AND TOOLS (Scale reduced to ¼).

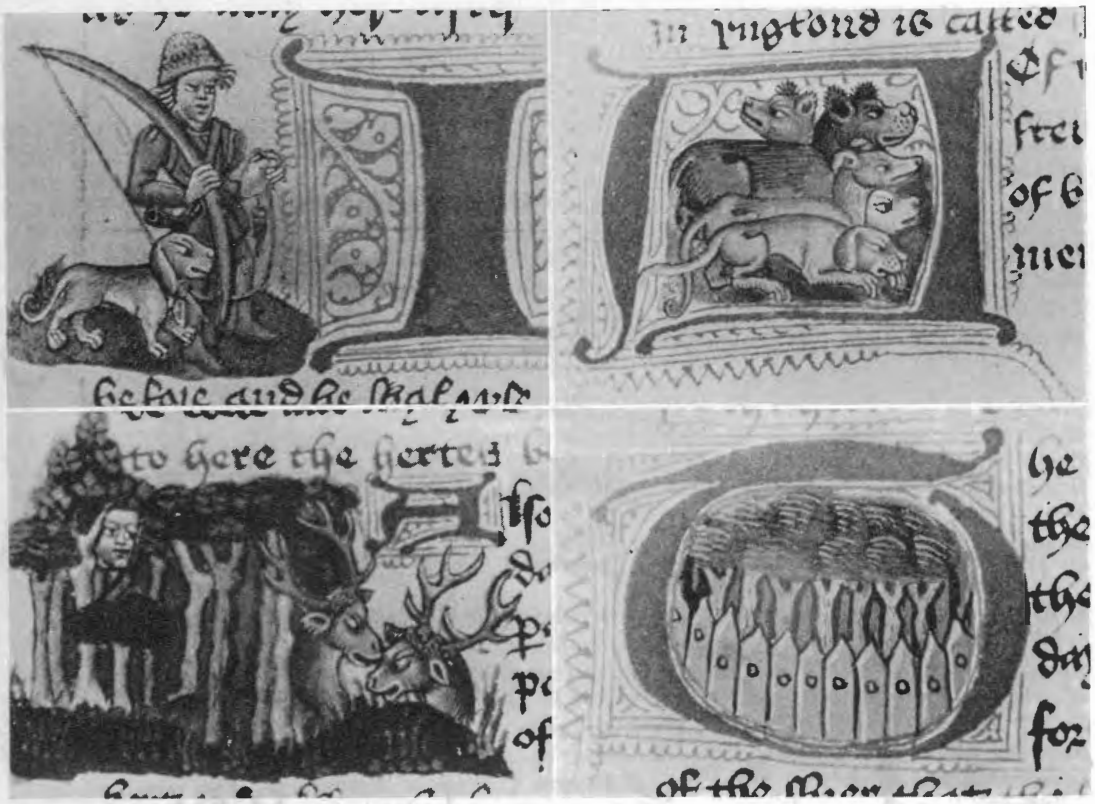
a. Iron prick spur. 12th - early 13th century. From Northampton Castle. Central Museum, Northampton.
b. Iron rowel spur. Late medieval. From Northampton Castle. Central Museum, Northampton.
c. Iron deer or fish spear. 16th century or later. Found in Geddington Chase by Mr. J. Harker of Cobleys Lodge Farm, Little Oakley. Such barbed darts are shown frequently in hunting illustrations (cf. W. A. Baillie *Sport in Art from 15th-18th century*. London 1919, figs. 17, 35, 52, 80, 88).
d, e. Woodman's iron axes. Medieval. From Kettering, Westfield Museum and Central Museum, Northampton.
f. Bronze barbed hunting arrow head. From Thorpe Waterville. Kettering, Westfield Museum.
g, h, i. Iron barbed hunting arrow heads. From Central Museum, Northampton.

foresters and in a place he had been lurking were found five snares of horsehair which the said Hugh and Henry Tuke had placed there for taking fawns or hares".[29]

In the 13th century hunting the beasts of the chase was perhaps the major preoccupation of the lords of the forests. In the long run, however, the function of the forest as a reservoir of timber for fuel, for building and the navy was destined to be more important. Pettit shows that by the Stuart period it had practically superseded the previous obsessional interest in sport.[30] We

[29] Op. cit., pp. 40, 83.

[30] P. A. J. Pettit *Royal Forests of Northamptonshire* 1558-1714, Northants Record Society XXIII, 1968.



(Above Left)
A huntsman with a bow and horn questing by sight with hound on leash (fo. 55).
(Below Left)
A hunter in the forest listens to two harts bellowing (fo. 57).
(Above Right)
Five kinds of hounds (fo. 28).
(Below Right)
Forest fence (fo. 67v).

From *The Master of Game* (Bodleian Library MS. Rouse 335). English 15th century.
Photo: British Museum and J. Marshall.

find Henry III donating valuable timber in one year to such personages as the Countess of Cornwall (5 oaks) Reginald de Plesset (7 oaks) William de Swineford (6 oaks) and the Friars Minor of Stamford were given 15 oaks to help construct their schoolhouse. Also for his own building he sent orders to Hugh of Goldingham, the warden of the royal forests between the bridge of Oxford and Stamford, to provide the sheriff of Northampton with 12 oaks from the royal forest of Salcey and 18 oaks from the royal enclosure of Manlegh for the works of the castle of Northampton and 12 oaks from the forest of Derelegh for the royal works at Geddington and so on.[31]

The axes of the royal foresters were not the only ones at work. The sinister sound of felling by night was heard by the walking foresters of the lord king in the park at Brigstock who found a trap set in Aldnatheshawe and they heard a man cutting wood by night in the park . . . (later) they met Robert (le Noble of Sudborough, chaplain) "who came from the wood and carried in his hand a branch of green oak and an axe". Offences against the vert figure frequently in the pleas of the forest. "Walter Kakilberd the man of Sir Hugh Goldingham the steward of the forest came into the forest of Geddington at Westleigh and felled to the ground two oaks in the demesne

[31] *Cal. Close Rolls* 39, Henry III, pp. 85, 112, 117, 138, 40 Henry III, p. 290.

woods of the lord king, and a third oak in the manneshedge in the demesne woods of the lord king. And the said oaks were carried to Oakley to the house of the said Walter". And again we hear that "William Wick took a sapling in Springshedge in the demesne wood of the lord king: by what warrant they know not". The vicar of Geddington living right under the nose of the royal servants of the king's hunting lodge at Geddington was more fortunate than his brother at Sudborough: he had two trees delivered for fuel "of the gift of the lord king".[32]

There was a close connection between the supply of timber and ironworking in the forest as is demonstrated by the Domesday entries for Corby and Gretton "Many things are wanting to this manor which in King Edward's time belonged to it, in wood and ironworks and other matters". At Deene, Greens Norton and Towcester, smiths are mentioned rendering considerable sums and all these places were located in well wooded areas where the supply of charcoal was abundant. Morton lists a number of places in Rockingham forest where ironslags are profuse.[33] Archaeological evidence for ironsmelting at Lyveden in the early 12th century has been found and the siting of a pottery industry with a distribution radius for the wares of about 25 miles in this area from 1200-1325 A.D. was no doubt connected with the availability of brushwood and timber fuel in large quantities. Analyses of charcoal samples have emphasized the dominance of certain species. Oak, Hazel, Field Maple, Hawthorn, Prunus all occur. We are very near to reconstructing the medieval forest landscape here.[34]

The woods were further exploited for honey and grazing for pigs. At Greens Norton Domesday mentions "it was worth 60s when it bore mast and for the honey 4s and for pannage for pigs". Pigs were allowed to roam rooting for beechmast and acorns, and manuscripts show them to have been bristly woodland beasts, not the plump, pink porkers of today's factory farms.

The inhabitants of the forests of Northamptonshire were keen to increase their cultivated land at the expense of the forest and the numerous references to assarting which appear in the records from the early 12th century cover only the tail end of the movement. This spurt was no doubt the result of the increased pressure of population on land which reached its height during the early 13th century.

Assarting means the uprooting of trees and the reduction of the land on which they stood to cultivation. It was necessary to enclose an assart to keep the beasts of the forest from trampling down or feeding on the crops planted thereon. The punishment for making illegal assarts was an amercement at the next forest eyre and also a fine on the crop sown on it; something like one shilling for every acre of winter sown corn and sixpence for every acre of spring sown corn. Both Peterborough Abbey and Luffield Priory were in the forefront as improving landlords in the early middle ages. The forest eyres show that the monks of Peterborough were assarting in the densely wooded area to the west of Oundle in 1163 and 1167. A comprehensive charter from Richard I. in 1189 confirmed 400 acres of assarts. William de Stapleford released to Luffield Priory his right in the wood of Norton and the monks' assart saving his right in common with the whole countryside to pasture there when the crops had been carried (1235-45). John Marshal granted to the priory an assart situated between two others (1225-35) and Henry son of William de Perry granted the priory his "little assart which is between his great assart and theirs on the road called Wodekaspat".[35] In this way monastery and freeholders assarted side by side and the monastery engrossed some of the freeholds previously cleared.

This process usually meant economic improvement but monasteries did not always manage their affairs so well. Complaints of grievous waste of the property of the Cistercian abbey of Pipewell are heard in the 13th century. The wholesale conversion of woodland to tillage was going on.[36] "Colleshawe", "Rahage", and "Otha" woods were entirely cleared and woods at

[32] *Select Pleas of the Forest*, pp. 94, 110, 116.
[33] Morton op. cit., pp.549-550.
[34] Report by Dr. J. Stant of Jodrell Plant Anatomy Laboratory, Kew.
[35] G. R. Elvey (ed.) *Luffield Priory Charters* Part I. Northants Record Society XXII, pp. 162, 163, 169, 175.
[36] *V.C.H. Northants* ii, p. 118.

CAPITAL FROM ST. KYNEBURGHA'S CHURCH, CASTOR, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

The huntsman on the left is wielding a boar spear and presents it to the snout of a ferocious boar who has just torn a hound in half. A second hound appears at his heels.

Photo: Courtauld Institute

Wilbarston and "Pykemede" were grubbed up as early as 1237. The depredations of fuel gatherers who went out daily into the woods to procure supplies of thorns and briars, green wood and the tops of young oaks, or their roots for the brew houses and bake house of the monastery are enumerated. Great numbers of people came by day and night to plunder the woods in Desborough, Stoke, Wilbarston, Charlton, Oakley and Rushton. Great men, whom the monks feared to oppose obtained large quantities of timber from the woods of the abbey for private purposes. Walter de Langton, bishop of Lichfield and treasurer of Edward I was accused of stripping the Pipewell woods of timber for building himself a sumptuous mansion at Thorpe Waterville. Licence to crenellate was given him in 1301. At Thorpe Waterville near the deserted railway line a farmhouse stands within a moated enclosure; on one side of the yard now used as a barn is Walter de Langton's fine hall lit by circular windows with an external chimney; the single framed roof with beams and kingposts—is it Pipewell timber?

During the later middle ages the elaborate machinery laid down by earlier kings for the protection of vert and venison with the hierarchy of courts and officials set up to enforce them remained much as they had been in the 13th century.[37] Instead of being associated only with royal pleasure on the one hand and grim poaching tales on the other, they became an inspiration for romance. Sloth in Piers Plowman already knew 'rymes of Robyn Hode'. It has even been claimed

[37] J. C. Cox *The Royal Forests of England*, London, 1905, pp. 247-256.

that the story originated with a Robin Hood who was in prison in 1354, awaiting trial for trespasses of vert and venison in Rockingham Forest.[38]

I have received many useful comments from Dr. Edmund King of the Department of History, Sheffield University and Mr. P. I. King, County Archivist of Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire who both kindly read this paper in draft form. Also I should like to record my thanks to Mr. J. Marshall of the Physics Department of Kettering Grammar School for the photographs; Mrs. Elizabeth Eames of the British Museum for discussing the tiles; Dr. W. O. Hassall of the Bodleian Library for help with the MS. illustrations; W. N. Terry, Curator of Northampton Museum and F. V. Lyall, Assistant Curator Westfield Museum, Kettering for help with hunting equipment; The Master of H.M.'s Armouries, the Tower of London for discussing the deer spear. The map is partly based on the one in M. L. Bazeley "The extent of the English Forest in the thirteenth century". *Royal Hist. Soc. Trans.* 4th series 1921.

J. M. STEANE.

A STUDENT'S ASPIRATION

(A fragment of autobiography)

Between 1916 and 1919 Miss Joan Wake was Honorary Secretary of the Northamptonshire District Nursing Association, which she did as her war work. One of its principal objects was to reduce the shockingly high rate of infant mortality. The Association during this period had some trouble with a difficult County Medical Officer of Health. In the meantime she was longing to get back to her work on ancient records, and the following verses, which she has just (1972) found in an old note-book, were written on January 19th, 1919. (The Northamptonshire Record Society came into being in 1920).

I

In far-off medieval times
No tiresome County Councils teased,
And babies lived and babies died
Just as their roving fancy pleased.

II

And if the pestilence and plague
By chance they managed to survive,—
If famine stalking through the land
Had haply left them still alive,—

III

When they grew up to man's estate
Quite other interests filled their mind
Than Public Health and Welfare Acts
And sundry business of the kind.

IV

They ploughed, they fought, they went to law,
They carried on their various trades,
And if they wanted change of air
They took a trip to the Crusades.

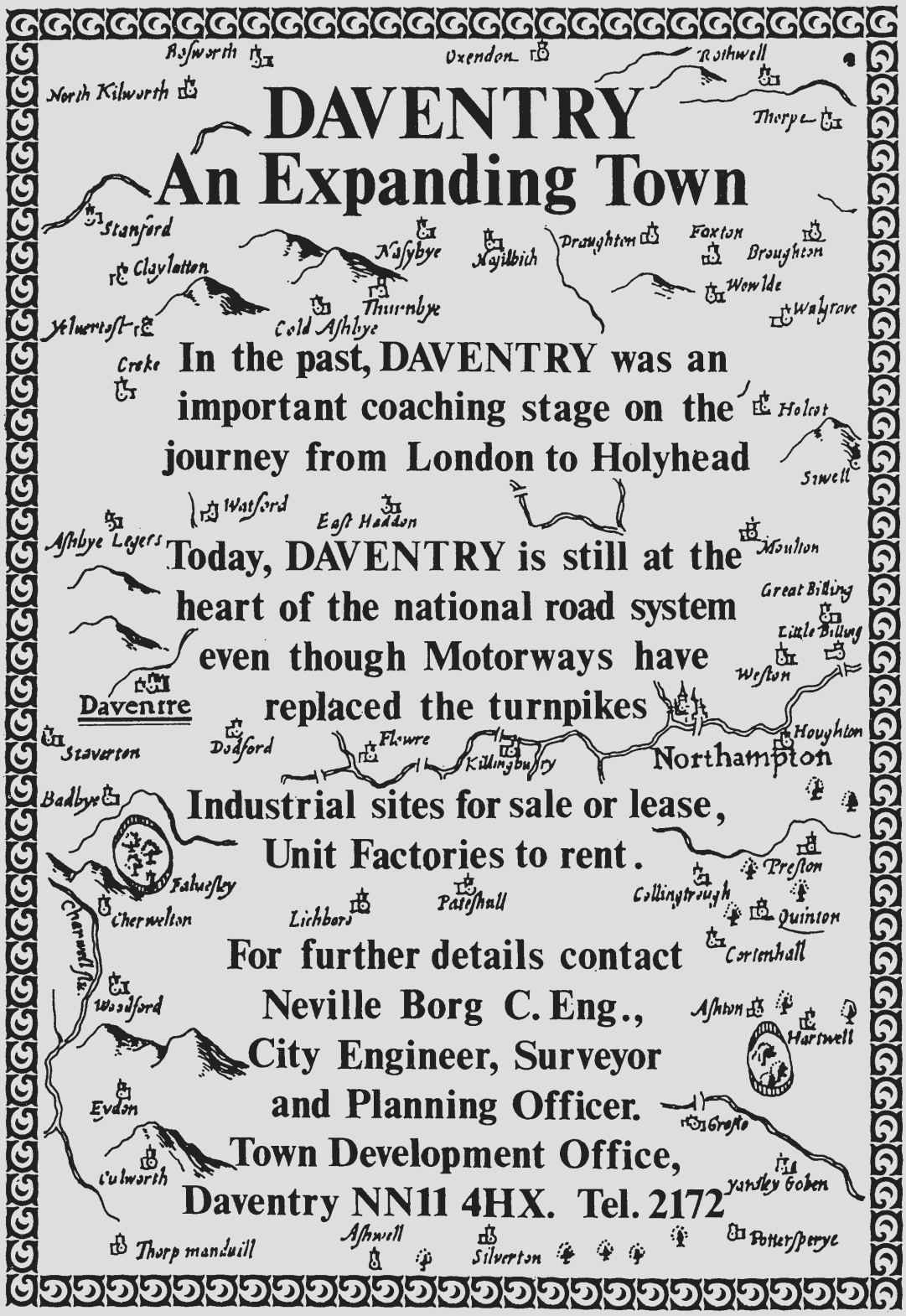
V

And when from District Nursing I
With cheerful heart can turn my face,
The institutions, laws, and acts,
And thoughts, may it be mine to trace

VI

Of those who lived in by-gone days,—
In castle, cot, or donjon keep,—
Recorded on the glistening skins
Of little medieval sheep.

[38] E. K. Chambers *English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages*, 1945, p. 130.


Rosworth
Oxendon
Rothwell
North Kilworth
Thorpe
DAVENTRY
An Expanding Town
Stanford
Nasseby
Draughton
Foxton
Broughton
Clayloton
Thornby
Cold Ashby
Wilbarston
Creke
Walgrave
In the past, DAVENTRY was an important coaching stage on the journey from London to Holyhead
Holcot
Sywell
Watford
East Haddon
Ashby Leyers
Today, DAVENTRY is still at the heart of the national road system even though Motorways have replaced the turnpikes
Moulton
Great Billing
Little Billing
Weston
Daventre
Staverton
Dodford
Flowre
Killingbury
Northampton
Houghton
Badbye
Industrial sites for sale or lease,
Unit Factories to rent.
Preston
Collingtrough
Quinton
Falwesley
Cherwelton
Lichbors
Pateshull
Cortenhall
For further details contact
Neville Borg C. Eng.,
City Engineer, Surveyor
and Planning Officer.
Town Development Office,
Daventry NN11 4HX. Tel. 2172
Woodford
Ashton
Hartwell
Evdon
Grafto
Culworth
Yardley Gobion
Thorp mandvill
Ashwell
Silverton
Potterspery

William Cowper and the Northampton Bills of Mortality

Although All Saints, the great central church of Northampton, is not as large as it was in the Middle Ages, and little of the old church survives in the present Renaissance church designed by Henry Bell, no other church can rival it in respect of the wealth of historical incidents with which it is associated. However, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries its history is not particularly remarkable, apart that is from the appearance of the celebrated Northampton Tables.

These Tables were drawn up in 1783 by Dr. Price[1] from the deaths in the Parish of All Saints during the years 1735-1780, and were the basis of all Life Insurance calculations for over a century. They were considered at the time as a fair average from the point of view of both the insurer and the insured, and although during this century they have been abandoned as too favourable to the insurance offices, they continue to be mentioned in treatises on the history of life insurance. "Price's method would only have been accurate if the population had been stationary for a century before the date when the deaths he used were recorded. He was not blind to this source of error, and thought that the population was sufficiently stable, but the table showed too heavy a mortality, especially at the younger ages. It was in general use until better tables replaced it, and in spite of the heavy mortality shown it was used by the Government in Pitt's time as the basis for the calculation of the annuities granted by the National Debt Office, the consequence being that the country must have lost heavily on such transactions. It is an example of the difficulty, we might almost say the impossibility, of constructing reliable tables of mortality from deaths or populations alone".[2]

The Northampton Bills of Mortality[3] were presented annually in the form of broadsides (measurements of type-page with border 220 × 350 mm.) for nearly a century and a half by the parish clerk of All Saints to "the Mayor, the Aldermen, the Bailiffs, and Burgesses, and the Rest of the Worthy Inhabitants of the Parish of All-Saints in the Town of Northampton". The earliest one covers the year beginning December 21st, 1736.[4] The last one is for 1871, the returns of the censuses and the Registrar-General's official reports having by that time made the publication of such local records unnecessary. The ornamental woodcut borders of hour-glasses, skulls (or death-heads) and crossbones is in keeping with the solemn nature of the contents. The first four Bills comprise the mortality for the parish of All Saints alone, but from 1741 they are for the whole town. It should, however, be noted that though from this date summaries for the births and deaths are given for each of the town parishes, only in the case of All Saints are full particulars given of the respective ages and causes of death of the deceased. The lists for All Saints include in addition to those buried in the churchyard proper, those interred at the various nonconformist chapels within the parish as well as those buried from the County Infirmary.

[1] Richard Price (1723-1791), nonconformist minister and writer on morals, politics and economics. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, Caroline E. Williams, *A Welsh Family* (London, 1885) and J. D. Holland, *An eighteenth-century pioneer Richard Price, D.D., F.R.S. (1723-1791)*, *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 1968, vol. 23, pp. 43-64.

[2] Sir William Elderton and others, *The Construction of Mortality and Sickness Tables* (5th ed., London, 1959), p. 110. Cf. Edward Hulley, *Tables showing the Values of Annuities and Assurances upon Lives of Equal Ages; . .* (London, 1828), pp. 71-2, and *Eighth Annual Report of the Registrar General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, in England* (London, 1849), Appendix, pp. 277-348, for examples of earlier critical discussion of the Northampton Tables.

[3] Cf. *Sunday at Home*, August 22, 1874, pp. 535-538; *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*, vol. II, part XI, July, 1886, pp. 77-81; R. M. Serjeantson, *A History of the Church of All Saints, Northampton* (Northampton, 1901). Copies of the Bills are extremely hard to come by today, but a complete set is available in the Local History Collection of the Northampton Public Library.

[4] Before that date they appear to have been presented by the clerk in manuscript.

The Bill for 1745 was the first one to conclude with a poetical quotation—taken on that occasion from Pomfret's poems,[5] and this practice was continued by successive parish clerks. It was not unusual for the clerk himself to compose the verses. This sheet of combined statistics and poetry was sold in augmentation of his Christmas box.

John Cox held the important office of parish clerk from 1781 to 1789.[6] An article in the *Northampton Mercury*[7] describes him as "an honest, upright barber", and then goes on to give an account of his appointment:— "The then vicar of All Saints was the Rev. William Hughes, who on his clerk's appointment thus gave the announcement immediately before the Psalms:— 'I do hereby appoint John Cox to be my parish clerk. John Cox is therefore clerk of the parish'. Upon this John Cox gave out the Psalm as follows:—

The place to which my lot has fallen
In beauty doth excel,
Mine heritage assigned to me
Doth please me wondrous well.

The second Psalm commenced—

I wash my hands and then prepare.

In those days barbers did not use a brush, but rubbed the lather on with their fingers".

It has been suggested that John Cox by 1787 was finding difficulties in securing suitable poetic contributions for the Bills of Mortality.[8] In any event he heard that "Mr. Cowper, a poet" was living at Weston Underwood, and determined to ask him to provide a copy of verses. How he applied, and how Cowper good-naturedly consented is humorously described by Cowper in a letter[9] to Lady Hesketh[10] dated from The Lodge, Weston Underwood, November 27th, 1787:—

> . . . On Monday morning last, Sam[11] brought me word into the study that a man was in the kitchen who desired to speak with me. I ordered him in. A plain, decent, elderly figure made its appearance, and being desired to sit, spoke as follows: 'Sir, I am Clerk of the Parish of All Saints in Northampton, brother of Mr Cox the upholsterer. It is customary for the person in my office to annex to a Bill of Mortality which he publishes at Christmas, a copy of verses. You would do me a great favour, Sir, if you would furnish me with one'. To this I replied—'Mr Cox, you have several men of genius in your town; why have you not applied to some of them? There is a

[5] John Pomfret (1667-1702), the son of the vicar of Luton, was educated at Bedford Grammar School and Cambridge, took orders, and became rector of Millbrook. He is remembered for his poem *The Choice* (1700), which celebrates a country life free from care, and was very popular in its day.

[6] All Saints' rate books show that he was living in Bridge Street in 1785.

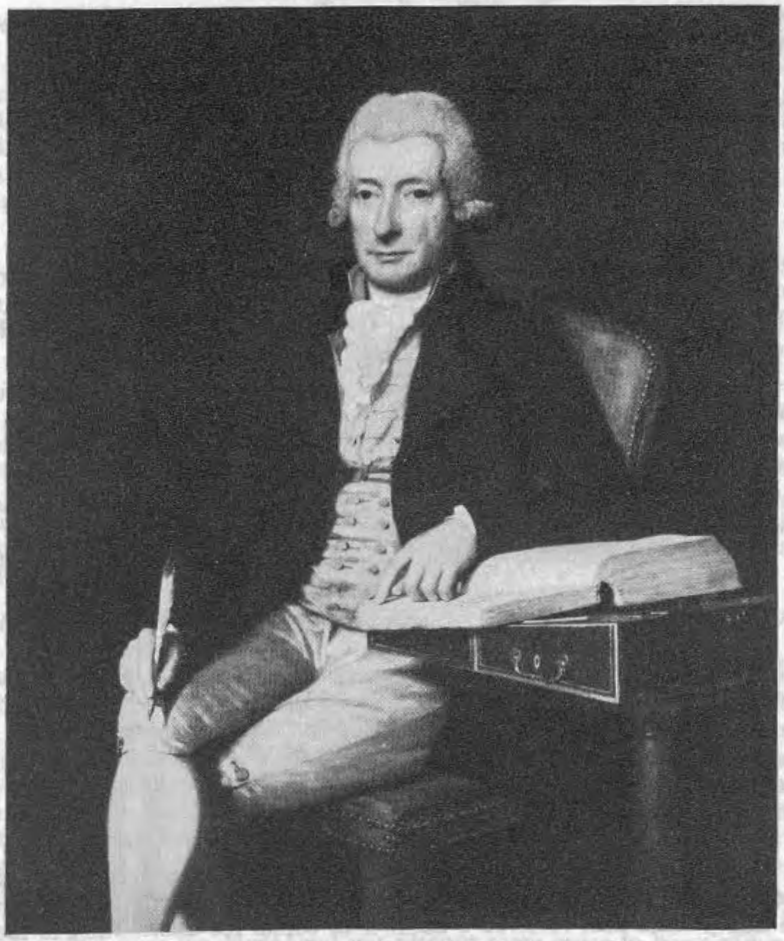
[7] January 6, 1844.

[8] *Sunday at Home*, August 22, 1874, p. 535.

[9] The following editions of Cowper's works are referred to in this article:— *The Works of William Cowper*, edited by Robert Southey (London, 1835-7, 15 vols.). Quoted as *Southey. The Correspondence of William Cowper*, edited by Thomas Wright (London, 1904, 4 vols.). Quoted as *Wright. The Unpublished and Uncollected Letters of William Cowper*, edited by Thomas Wright (London, 1925). Quoted as *Unpublished. Cowper: Selected Poems and Letters*, edited by A. Norman Jeffares (London, 1963). Quoted as *Jeffares. Cowper: Verse and Letters*, edited by Brian Spiller (Cambridge Mass., 1968). Quoted as *Spiller*.

[10] Harriet Lady Hesketh (1733-1807), daughter of Ashley Cowper, was the poet's first cousin and the sister of Theodora Cowper whom he wished to marry. Cowper was a frequent visitor at Ashley Cowper's house in London during his school-days. Harriet married Sir Thomas Hesketh (1727-1778) of Rufford Hall, near Ormskirk in Lancashire, and after her marriage Cowper went on holidays with her and her husband. The Hesketh lived in Italy after Cowper moved to Olney, and they lost touch; but when *The Task* made him famous, they resumed correspondence and Lady Hesketh henceforth devoted much of her time to his welfare.

[11] When Cowper left Dr. Cotton's asylum at St. Albans in 1765, he took with him the doctor's servant, Sam Roberts. Sam stayed in the poet's service for over thirty years, even accompanying him into Norfolk, but returned to Weston Underwood for good in 1796. Cowper allowed Sam and his wife an annuity, which Lady Hesketh continued to pay after Cowper's death. Sam's wife 'Nanny' died in 1809, and Sam himself in 1832. He is buried near the porch of Weston Underwood church.



WILLIAM COWPER (1731-1800)
by Lemuel Francis Abbott; painted in 1792

namesake of yours in particular, Cox the statuary,[12] who everybody knows is a first-rate maker of verses. He is surely the man of all the world for your purpose'. 'Alas Sir! I have heretofore borrowed help from him, but he is a gentleman of so much reading that the people of our town cannot understand him'. I confess to you, my dear, I felt all the force of the compliment implied in this speech, and was almost ready to answer: 'Perhaps, my good friend, they may find me unintelligible too for the same reason'. But on asking him whether he had walked over to Weston to implore the assistance of my Muse, and on his replying in the affirmative, I felt my mortified vanity a little consoled; and pitying the poor man's distress, which appeared to be considerable, promised to supply him. The waggon has accordingly gone this day to Northampton loaded in part with my effusions in the mortuary style. A fig for poets

[12] William Cox (1717-1793), a leading member of an important family of stone carvers of Northampton and Daventry, but no relation of the parish clerk. See Shelagh M. Lewis's article *A Family of Stone-Carvers, the Coxes of Northamptonshire, Northamptonshire Past and Present*, vol. I, no. 6, 1953, pp. 19-38.

who write epitaphs upon individuals; I have written *one* that serves *200*[13] persons[14] . . .

Cowper's first "effusions in the mortuary style" were printed in the 1787 Bill of Mortality:—

Pallida Mors aequo pulsat Pede Pauperum Tabernas,
Regumque Turres—

Pale Death with equal Foot strikes wide the Door
Of Royal Halls, and Hovels of the Poor.

WHILE thirteen Moons saw smoothly run
The *Nen's* Barge-laden Wave,
All *these,* Life's rambling Journey done,
Have found their Home, the Grave.

Was Man (frail always) made more frail
Than in foregoing Years?
Did Famine or did Plague prevail,
That so much Death appears?

No: These were vig'rous as their Sires,
Nor Plague nor Famine came;
This annual Tribute Death requires,
And never waives his Claim.

Like crowded Forest-Trees we stand,
And some are mark'd to fall;
The Axe will smite at God's Command,
And soon shall smite us all.

Green as the Bay-tree, ever green,
With its new Foliage on,
The Gay, the Thoughtless I have seen—
I pass'd, and they were gone.

Read, ye that run, the awful Truth
With which I charge my Page;
A Worm is in the Bud of Youth,
And at the Root of Age.

No present Health can Health insure,
For yet an Hour to come:
No Med'cine, though it often cure,
Can always baulk the Tomb.

And oh that (humble as my Lot,
And scorn'd as is my Strain)
These Truths, though known, too much
I may not teach in vain! [forgot,

So prays your *Clerk*, with all his Heart;
And ere he quits the Pen,
Begs *you* for once to take *his* Part,
And answer All—*Amen!*

In all Cowper wrote six poems for the Bills of Mortality between 1787 and 1793, 1791 being the exception.[15] They all appeared without titles and anonymously, though their authorship was never in doubt. The poet received a number of copies for distribution to his friends. He referred to his first venture into mortuary verse in seven letters written between December, 1787 and September, 1788.

To the Rev. Walter Bagot[16]

Weston, Dec. 6, 1787.

. . . Now laugh at me. The clerk of the parish of All Saints, in the town of Northampton, having occasion for a poet, has appointed me to the office. I found myself obliged to comply. The bellman[17] comes next, and then, I think, though even borne upon your swan's quill, I can soar no higher! . . .[18]

[13] 168 deaths are recorded on the 1787 Bill.

[14] Text: *Spiller*, p. 856. Also *Southey*, vol. 6, pp. 186-7; *Wright*, vol. 3, pp. 183-4; *Jeffares*, pp. 172-3.

[15] Five of the poems are transcribed in this article exactly as they appeared in the Bills. They differ in punctuation, spelling and use of capitals from the versions in the standard edition of Cowper's poems, *Cowper: Poetical Works*, edited by H. S. Milford (4th edition, with corrections and additions by Norma Russell, 1967). The 1789 Bill is transcribed from the original manuscript.

[16] Rev. Walter Bagot (1731-1806), "Watty", was a close friend of Cowper at Westminster School. They drifted apart after school-days, and saw each other only twice between 1750 and 1780. Bagot was rector of Blithfield and Leigh, Staffordshire, from 1759. He visited Cowper in December, 1785, and thereafter became one of his regular correspondents. He aspired to poetry in his youth, and was always a lover of scholarship, especially the classics.

[17] The modern meaning is town-crier, but formerly a bellman announced deaths, and called on the faithful to pray for the souls of the departed; he also acted as night-watchman, and called the hours.

[18] Text: *Wright*, vol. 3, p. 188. Also *Southey*, vol. 6, p. 91.

To the Rev. Walter Bagot

Weston, Jan. 5, 1788.

. . . I send you the clerk's verses, of which I told you. They are very clerklike, as you will perceive. But plain truth in plain words seemed to me to be the *ne plus ultra* of composition on such an occasion. I might have attempted something very fine, but then the persons principally concerned, viz. my readers, would not have understood me. If it puts them in mind that they are mortal, its best end is answered . . .[19]

To Lady Hesketh

The Lodge, Feb. 1, 1788.

. . . I shall enclose what I wrote for the Clerk of All Saints Northampton, to convince you that I am not so squeamish on such occasions as to wait for [? asking][20] . . .

To Lady Hesketh

The Lodge, Feb. 7, 1788.

. . . It is pretty well known (the clerk took care it should be so) both at Northampton and in this county, who wrote the Mortuary Verses. All that I know of their success is, that he sent a bundle of them to Maurice Smith at Olney,[21] who sold them for threepence a piece—a high price for a *Memento Mori,* a commodity not generally in great request . . .[22]

To the Rev. John Newton[23]

Weston, Feb. 19, 1788.

. . . To make you some small amends, (the best I can at present), after having thanked you in the third place for a basket of most excellent fish (halibut and lobsters), I will subjoin some stanzas in the mortuary style, composed at the request of the clerk of All-Saints' parish, Northampton. They were printed at the foot of his Bill of Mortality, published at Christmas last. Some time in November the said clerk was introduced to me one morning before breakfast. Being asked his business, he told me that he wanted verses, and should be much obliged to me if I would furnish them. I replied, that in Northampton there must be many poets, because poets abound everywhere, and because the newspaper printed there[24] was seldom destitute of a copy. I then mentioned in particular his namesake, Mr. Cox the statuary, who to my knowledge often woos the Muse, and not without some cause to boast of his success. To which he answered—What you say, Sir, is true. But Mr. Cox is a gentleman of much reading, and the people of our town do not well understand him. He has written for me, but nine in ten of us were stone-blind to his meaning. Finding that he had an

[19] Text: *Wright*, vol. 3, p. 204. Also *Southey*, vol. 6, p. 106.

[20] Text: *Spiller*, p. 864—'Readings uncertain owing to damage to MS.' The letter also appears in *Wright*, vol. 3, pp. 216-7, but with this passage omitted.

[21] The Jack-of-all-trades there.

[22] Text: *Spiller*, p. 865. Also *Wright*, vol. 3, p. 218; *Southey*, vol. 6, p. 118.

[23] John Newton (1725-1807), clergyman and hymn-writer, was born in London, the son of a shipmaster. From 1736 to 1755 he led a wandering and adventurous life at sea, part of the time on a man-of-war and part as captain of an African slave trader. Previously known for his unbelief and blasphemy, he was converted during a storm at sea in 1748. His religious convictions were strengthened under the influence of Whitefield and Wesley; he applied for holy orders in 1758, and was appointed curate at Olney in 1764. Here he became the intimate friend of Cowper, who joined him with Mrs. Unwin in 1767, and they collaborated in the *Olney Hymns* (1779). Later the same year Newton moved to the parish of St. Mary Woolnoth in the City of London, where he enjoyed great popularity and influence.

Newton's literary output was considerable, and it was through his letter writing that he made his greatest contribution to the Evangelical movement. In 1764 he wrote *An Authentic Narrative . . .*, an account of his life at sea and of his conversion. He lives, however, in his hymns, among which are some of the best known in the language, such as "Glorious Things of Thee are Spoken" and "How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds".

[24] The *Northampton Mercury*, founded in 1720 and still going strong, which first published a number of Cowper's own poems.

answer to all that I could urge, and particularly affected by the eulogium implied in his last, I suffered myself to be persuaded . . .[25]

To Lady Hesketh

Saturday, July 11, 1788.

. . . Have you seen the *Gentleman's Magazine*?[26] There am I, and there am I abused likewise. Somebody has sent my Mortuary Verses, who I know not. My censurer is neither a poet nor a good reasoner, therefore a fig for all such grumblings . . .[27]

To Mrs. King[28]

Sept. 25, 1788.

. . . What the MS. poem can be, that you suppose to have been written by me, I am not able to guess; and since you will not allow that I have guessed your person well, am become shy of exercising conjecture on any meaner subject. Perhaps they may be some mortuary verses, which I wrote last year at the request of a certain parish clerk. If not, and you have never seen them, I will send you them hereafter . . .[29]

Shortly after this last letter Cowper wrote to the Rev. Walter Bagot giving an account of the clerk's second request for mortuary verses:—

Weston, Oct 30, 1788.

. . . The Northampton clerk has been with me again, and I have again promised him my assistance. You may depend on my sending you a printed copy of this my second meditation upon churchyard subjects, as soon as I have received the impression. It is likely indeed to be an annual remittance; for said clerk will I dare say resort to me for poetical aid till either he or I shall want an epitaph for ourselves. I am not sorry to be employed by him, considering the task, in respect of the occasion of it, as even more important than *Iliad* and *Odyssey* together.[30] To put others in mind of their latter end is at least as proper an occupation for a man whose own latter end is nearer by almost sixty years than once it was, as to write about gods and heroes . . .[31]

Cowper wrote the following poem for the 1788 Bill[32]:—

Quod adest memento
Componere aequus; caetera fluminis
Ritu geruntur. HORACE.

Improve the present Hour, for all beside
Is a mere Feather on a Torrent's Tide.

COULD I, from Heav'n inspir'd, as sure presage
To whom the rising Year shall prove his last,

[25] Text: *Wright*, vol. 3, pp. 230-1. Also *Southey*, vol. 6, p. 131.

[26] Vol. lviii, pt. 1, June, 1788, p. 542, under the heading "Verses/Printed at the Bottom of the/Yearly Bill of Mortality/*Of the Town of* Northampton, *Dec.* 21.1787./*Supposed* to be written by the worthy and in-/genious Author of the Task and other Poems", and with one variant (v.5, l.3. 'have I' for 'I have') from the text of the broadsheet. I have been unable to trace who submitted the poem.

[27] Text: *Wright*, vol. 3, p. 299. Also *Southey*, vol. 6, p. 178.

[28] Mrs. King (1735-1793) was the wife of the Rev. John King, rector of Pertenhall, Bedfordshire, from 1752 to 1800, and was formerly a friend of Cowper's brother John. After reading *The Task* she wrote a friendly letter to Cowper, who replied with cordiality and expressed a wish that they should become better acquainted. She frequently sent presents to Cowper. She visited him with her husband in June, 1790. She died on February 6th, 1793, aged 57, after a long and painful illness.

[29] Text: *Wright*, vol. 3, p. 322. Also *Southey*, vol. 6, p. 193.

[30] Homer was Cowper's chief preoccupation during the last years of his life. He began translating *The Iliad* on November 21st, 1784, and he was still working on the second edition of his *Homer* up to his death in April, 1800.

[31] Text: *Wright*, vol. 3, pp. 327-8. Also *Southey*, vol. 15, pp. 210-1.

[32] T. O. Mabbott, in *Notes and Queries*, CLXXV, September 3, 1938, p. 170, suggests that Keats's great sonnet beginning "When I have fears that I may cease to be" may owe something to these lines of Cowper, especially to the end of the second and the whole of the fourth stanza.

As I can number in my punctual Page,
And Item down the Victims of the past;

How each would trembling wait the mournful Sheet,
On which the Press might stamp him next to die;
And, reading here his Sentence, how replete
With anxious Meaning Heav'n-ward turn his Eye!

Time, then, would seem more precious than the Joys
In which he sports away the Treasure now;
And Pray'r more seasonable than the Noise
Of Drunkards, or the Music-drawing Bow.

Then, doubtless, many a Trifler on the Brink
Of this World's hazardous and headlong Shore,
Forc'd to a Pause, would feel it good to think,
Told that his setting Sun must rise no more.

Ah self-deceiv'd! Could I, prophetic, say,
Who next is fated, and who next, to fall,
The Rest might then seem privileg'd to play;
But, naming *none,* the Voice now speaks to ALL.

Observe the dappled Foresters, how light
They bound and airy o'er the sunny Glade—
One falls—the Rest wide-scatter'd with Affright,
Vanish at once into the darkest Shade.

Had we their Wisdom, should we, often warn'd,
Still need repeated Warnings, and at last,
A Thousand awful Admonitions scorn'd,
Die self-accus'd of Life all run to Waste?

Sad Waste! for which no After-Thrift atones:
The Grave admits no Cure of Guilt or Sin.
Dew-Drops may deck the Turf that hides the Bones,
But Tears of godly Grief ne'er flow within.

Learn then, ye Living! By the Mouths be taught
Of all these Sepulchres, Instructors true,
That, soon or late, Death also is *your* Lot,
And the next op'ning Grave may yawn for *you.*

A copy of these verses was sent to Samuel Rose:—[33]

[Jan. 20, 1789.]

I send you a line or two by the hands of a Bearer whom I am sorry so to employ, just to tell you that your deliverance from your cough gives us the greatest pleasure, and to thank you for a barrel of remarkable fine oysters, by which I was redeemed from the necessity of sucking eggs five nights successively, and to tell you that I will write to you soon, when I will send you the Northampton Verses . . .[34]

[33] Samuel Rose (1767-1804), barrister, was born at Chiswick, son of Dr. William Rose, a schoolmaster. He was educated at his father's school, and spent three years as a law student at Glasgow University. He later studied at Lincoln's Inn, and was called to the bar in 1796. He became counsel to the Duke of Kent, and edited a number of legal and other works. He died of consumption on December 20th, 1804.

He first visited Cowper on January 18th, 1787, when travelling from Glasgow to London he went six miles out of his way to convey the thanks of the Scottish professors for the two volumes Cowper had published. A strong affection developed between Cowper and this shy and delicate young man, who visited him many times subsequently, the last of all in March and April, 1800. He frequently helped Cowper by transcribing his translation of Homer. He was a trustee for the Crown pension granted to Cowper in 1794.

[34] Text: *Wright*, vol. 3, pp. 342-3.

Rose visited Cowper in August, 1789, and in two letters written to his friend in November Cowper refers to his contribution for the 1789 Bill:—

> The Lodge, Nov. 5, 1789.
>
> Recollecting after you were gone that I could not send you my tale without more expense to you than it is worth, I have transmitted it, as we say here, *next ways*[35] to Johnson,[36] and hope that in the amusements of your office you will find sufficient solace for so great a disappointment. The same economical tenderness for you, and the same modest opinion of my own works, are the only considerations that prevent my sending you herein enclosed another new piece, a piece also finished since you went, a *memento mori* written for the benefit of the Northamptonians, but chiefly for the benefit of Mr. Cox, my anniversary client, and the clerk of All Saints' parish. All this I communicate to make you regret the more your short continuance at Weston, for you see that had you been more persuadable on that subject, you would have had the earliest possible sight of both . . .[37]
>
> Nov. 22, 1789.
>
> I promised you the Northamptonian verses, and should have transcribed them into this sheet, but my cousin who has them has undertaken to furnish you with a copy . . .[38]

Cowper's contribution for the 1789 Bill as it appeared in printed form and in Cowper's manuscript are reproduced here side by side for the sake of comparison. The original manuscript, which differs slightly from the printed copy, was in the library of the Rev. John Fuller Russell,[39] sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby and Co., Feb. 1-4, 1886, the following being the catalogue entry:—

> "Cowper (W.) Northampton Dirge for 1789 (two pages).
> Nine Quatrains in the Poet's Autograph, 4to, 1789."

This manuscript was purchased by John Taylor, the Northampton bookseller and antiquarian, and is now in the Local History Collection of the Northampton Public Library. It reads as follows:—

Northampton Dirge
for 1789

"Oh most delightful hour by Man
"Experienced here below,
"The hour that terminates his span,
"His folly, sin and woe!

"Worlds should not bribe me back to tread
"Again Lifes dreary Waste
"To see again my Day o'erspread
"With all the gloomy Past.

"My Home henceforth is in the skies,
"Earth, Seas and Sun, adieu!
"All Heav'n unfolded to my eyes
"I have no sight for you.

So spake Aspasio, firm-possess'd
Of Faiths supporting rod,
Then breathed his soul into its rest
The bosom of his God.

He was a Man among the few
Sincere on Virtue's side,
And all his strength from Scripture drew
To hourly use applied.

That Rule he prized, by that he fear'd,
He hated, hoped and lov'd,
Nor ever frown'd or sad appear'd
But when his heart had roved.

For He was frail as Thou or I,
And Evil felt within,
But when he felt it, heav'd a sigh
And loath'd the thought of Sin.

Such liv'd Aspasio, and, at last,
Call'd up from earth to heav'n
The gulph of Death triumphant pass'd
By gales of Blessing driv'n.

[35] directly.

[36] Joseph Johnson (1738-1809) was one of the leading booksellers and publishers in London in the second half of the eighteenth century. He published important works on surgery and medicine, and Joseph Priestley, Erasmus Darwin and Tom Paine were numbered among his authors. He is, however, best remembered as the publisher of Cowper.

[37] Text: *Wright*, vol. 3, pp. 404-5.

[38] Text: *Unpublished*, pp. 59-60.

[39] Theological writer (1814-1884).

His Joys be mine, each Reader cries,
When my last hour arrives,
They shall be yours, my verse replies,
Such only be your lives.

This dirge was repeated in the Bill for 1819.

The last Bill presented by John Cox was for 1790, and he again sought Cowper's help.

Ne commonentem recta sperne. BUCHAN[AN].
Despise not my good Counsel.

HE who sits from Day to Day
Where the prison'd Lark is hung,
Heedless of his loudest Lay,
Hardly knows that he has sung:

Where the Watchman in his Round
Nightly lifts his Voice on high,
None, accustom'd to the Sound,
Wakes the sooner for his Cry:

So, your Verse-Man, I, and Clerk,
Yearly in my Song proclaim
Death at Hand—yourselves his Mark—
And the Foe's unerring Aim.

Duly, at my Time, I come
Publishing to all aloud—
"Soon the Grave must be your Home,
"And your only Suit a Shroud".

But the monitory Strain,
Oft repeated in your Ears,
Seems to sound too much in vain,
Wins no Notice, wakes no Fears.

Can a Truth, by all confess'd
Of such Magnitude and Weight,
Grow, by being oft impress'd,
Trivial as a Parrot's Prate?

Pleasure's Call Attention wins,
Hear it often as we may;
New as ever seem our *Sins,*
Though committed ev'ry Day.

Death and *Judgment, Heav'n* and *Hell*—
These alone, so often heard,
No more move us than the Bell
When some Stranger is interr'd.

Oh then, ere the Turf or Tomb
Cover us from ev'ry Eye,
Spirit of Instruction, come—
Make *us learn that* WE MUST die!

This poem was repeated in the Bill for 1818.

On the last day of the year Cowper wrote to Mrs. King:—

Weston Underwood, Dec. 31, 1790.

. . . I have, however,[40] written the mortuary verses as usual; but the wicked clerk for whom I write them has not yet sent me the impression . . .[41]

Early in the New Year Cowper wrote to the Rev. Walter Bagot:—

Weston, Jan. 4, 1791.

You would long since have received an answer to your last, had not the wicked clerk of Northampton delayed to send me the printed copy of my annual dirge, which I waited to enclose. Here it is at last, and much good may it do the readers! . . .[42]

Cox died on February 11th, 1791, which event is referred to by Cowper in two letters written in March:—

To Mrs. King
Weston Underwood, March 2, 1791.

. . . I am glad that you have seen the last Northampton dirge, for the rogue of a clerk sent me only half the number of printed copies for which I stipulated with him

[40] That is despite the demands of Homer.
[41] Text: *Wright*, vol. 4, p. 17. Also *Southey*, vol. 6, p. 343.
[42] Text: *Wright*, vol. 4, pp. 17-18. Also *Southey*, vol. 6, p. 345.

at first, and they were all expended immediately. The poor man himself is dead now; and whether his successor will continue me in my office, or seek another laureate, has not yet transpired . . .[43]

To the Rev. John Newton

March 29, 1791.

. . . I enclose a copy of my last mortuary verses. The clerk, for whom they were written, is since dead; and whether his successor, the late sexton, will choose to be his own dirge-maker, or will employ me, is a piece of important news which has not yet reached me . . .[44]

Cox was succeeded as parish clerk by Samuel Wright, who until then had acted as sexton. The verses for the 1791 Bill were not written by Cowper. Above them appears this note: "The following Lines, wrote by a Gentleman of this Town, were inserted in our Bill of Mortality many Years ago; we hope our Readers will not object to their second Appearance for the present Year". Underneath these lines is the signature "J.C."[45]

On November 20th, 1792, Cowper received a visit from Samuel Wright, and the new parish clerk's request for verses is referred to in three of Cowper's letters of the period:—

To John Johnson[46]

Weston, Nov. 20, 1792.

. . . The successor of the clerk defunct, for whom I used to write mortuary verses, arrived here this morning, with a recommendatory letter from Joe Rye,[47] and an humble petition of his own, entreating me to assist him as I had his predecessor. I have undertaken the service, although with no little reluctance, being involved in many arrears on other subjects, and having very little dependence at present on my ability to write at all . . .[48]

To William Hayley[49]

Weston, Sunday, Nov. 25, 1792.

I was for some years dirge writer to the town of Northampton, being employed by the clerk of the principal parish there, to furnish him with an annual copy of

[43] Text: *Wright*, vol. 4, p. 35. Also *Southey*, vol. 7, p. 4.

[44] Text: *Wright*, vol. 4, p. 54. Also *Southey*, vol. 15, p. 227.

[45] Probably John Cox. The previous appearance was in the Bill for 1786. Another poem, in the Bill for 1773, was also signed "J.C.".

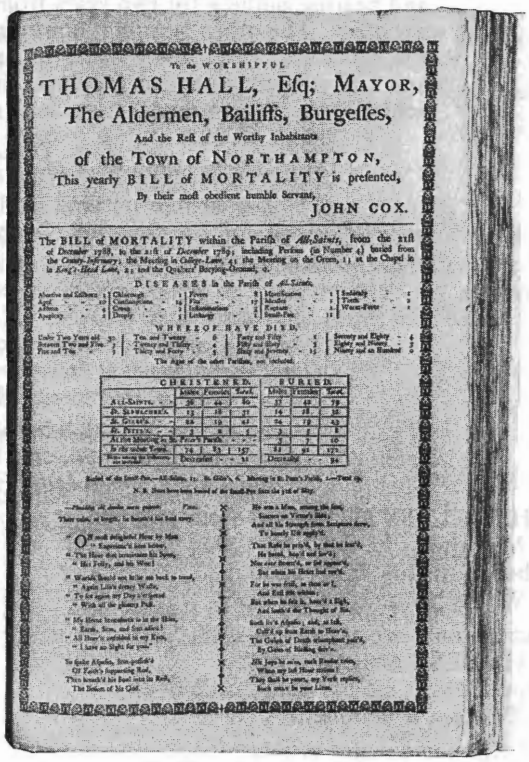
[46] Rev. John Johnson (1769-1833), "Johnny of Norfolk", was the son of Cowper's cousin, Catherine Donne Johnson. He was educated at Caius College, Cambridge, was ordained in 1793, became chaplain to the Earl of Peterborough, and on 1st January, 1800, was presented to the rectory of Yaxham with Welborne, Norfolk, which he held till his death on 29th September, 1833.

He first visited Cowper in January, 1790, during his Christmas vacation. In his youth he wished to be a poet. Cowper set him the task of transcribing from his translation of Homer. Johnson visited Cowper many times, and it was he who looked after the poet during his last days in Norfolk. Cowper died in Johnson's house at East Dereham. He edited in 1815 Cowper's *Poems*, which contained the posthumous poetry and a memoir, Hayley's *Memoirs* (1823) and Cowper's *Private Correspondence* (1824).

[47] The Rev. Joseph Jekyll Rye (1759-1819), the son of a Northampton doctor and educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, was vicar of Dallington, Northampton, for over 35 years, from 1783 until his death at Bath at the age of 60. From 1792 to 1794 he was also vicar of Oadby, Leicestershire, and on 12th January, 1795, six months before Cowper left Weston Underwood, he was presented to the rectory of Gayhurst with Stoke Goldington (less than three miles from Weston Underwood), which living he held with Dallington till his death.

[48] Text: *Wright*, vol. 4, pp. 325-6. Also *Southey*, vol. 7, p. 169.

[49] William Hayley (1745-1820), poet and biographer, was born at Chichester, and educated at Eton and Trinity Hall, Cambridge. He became a friend of Cowper (first visiting him in May, 1792), and it was due to his influence with Pitt that Cowper received a £300 a year pension. In addition to several volumes of third-rate poems, the most successful being *The Triumphs of Temper* (1781) which ran through several editions, he wrote a *Life of Milton* (1794), a *Life of Cowper* (1803), the first biography of the poet, and a *Life of Romney* (1809). On the death of Thomas Warton in 1790, he was offered, but declined, the Laureateship. He was the friend and helper of Blake and of other writers and artists. He lived most of his life in Sussex, and died at Felpham. Southey once wrote:— "Everything about the man is good except his poetry".



To the WORSHIPFUL

THOMAS HALL, Esq; MAYOR,
The Aldermen, Bailiffs, Burgesses,
And the Reſt of the Worthy Inhabitants
of the Town of NORTHAMPTON,
This yearly BILL of MORTALITY is preſented,
By their moſt obedient humble Servant,
JOHN COX.

The BILL of MORTALITY within the Pariſh of *All-Saints*, from the 21ſt of *December* 1788, to the 21ſt of *December* 1789; including Perſons (in Number 4) buried from the *County-Infirmary*, the Meeting in *College-Lane*, 4; the Meeting on the Green, 1; at the Chapel in *King's-Head Lane*, 21; and the Quakers' Burying-Ground, 0.

DISEASES in the Pariſh of *All-Saints*.

Abortive and Stillborn	1	Chincough	1	Fevers	8
Age	22	Confumption	19	Fits	11
Aſthma	1	Cramp	1	Inflammations	8
Apoplexy	1	Dropſy	8	Lethargy	1
				Miſcarriages	1
				Meaſles	1
				Rupture	1
				Small-Pox	11
				Suddenly	1
				Teeth	8
				Worm-Fever	1

WHERE OF HAVE DIED,

Under Two Years old	30	Ten and Twenty	6	Forty and Fifty	5
Between Two and Five	7	Twenty and Thirty	4	Fifty and Sixty	5
Five and Ten	3	Thirty and Forty	5	Sixty and Seventy	13
				Seventy and Eighty	4
				Eighty and Ninety	2
				Ninety and an Hundred	0

The Ages of the other Perſons, not inſerted.

	CHRISTENED.			BURIED.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
All-Saints,	36	44	80	37	42	79
St. Sepulchre's,	13	18	31	14	18	32
St. Giles's,	68	75	143	74	72	43
St. Peter's,	5	6	11	3	5	8
At the Meeting in St. Peter's Parish,				2	2	10
In the whole Town,	74	83	157	32	92	171
Increaſe in Chriſtenings,	Decreaſe		32	Decreaſe		84

Buried of the Small-Pox.—All-Saints, 11; St. Giles's, 6. Meeting in St. Peter's Parish, 1.—Total 18.

N. B. None have been buried of the Small-Pox ſince the 31ſt of May.

—Monthly All-Saints were printed. Price.

Their order, at length, in Society's firſt Song.

" O moſt delightful Hour by Man
" Experienc'd here below!
" The Hour that terminates his Span,
" His Folly, Sin and Woe!

" Worlds ſhould not bribe me back to tread
" Again Life's dreary Waſte
" To ſee again my Day o'erſpread
" With all the gloomy Paſt.

" My Home henceforth is in the Skies,
" Earth, Sea, and Sun, adieu!
" All Heav'n unfolded to my Eyes
" I have no Sight for you.

So ſpake Aſaphio, firm-poſſeſs'd
Of Faith's ſupporting Rod,
Then breath'd his Soul into its reſt
The boſom of his God.

He was a Man, among the firſt
Sincere as Virtue's Skies;
And all his Strength from Scripture drew,
To keenly Life apply'd.

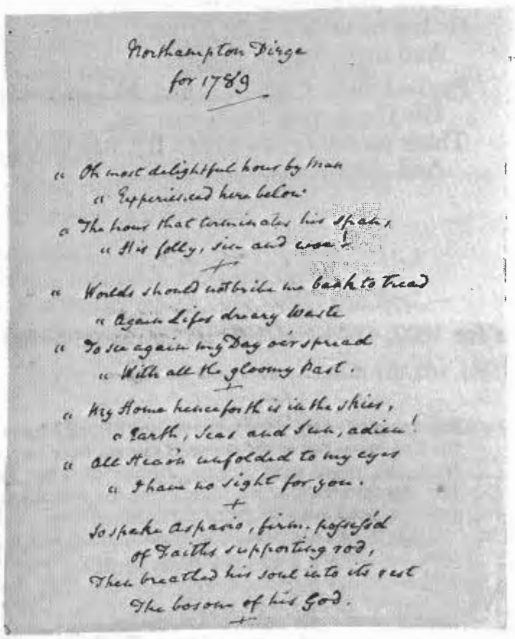
Then Ruth in pris'ly, by deal he knell,
He heard, how'd and how'd;
Nor ever ſtoop'd, or bent repreſs'd,
But when his Maker bad ſo'd.

For he was frill, as firm as I,
And Feel his wiſhes;
But when he felt it, how'd a Sigh,
And look'd the Thought of Eſe.

Back he'd a Quaker, did, at laſt,
Call'd up from Earth to Heav'n,
The Gates of Death unwinſtand paſt'd,
By Claim of Nothing giv'n.

Ah, hapleſs wiſe, ſuch Hardſe ſtate,
When my laſt Hour arrives!
They ſhall be yours, my York replies,
Each ſtate is your Lot.

THE YEARLY BILL FOR MORTALITY, 1789



Northampton Dirge
for 1789

" Oh moſt delightful hour by Man
" Experienced here below!
" The hour that terminates his ſpan,
" His folly, ſin and woe!

" Worlds ſhould not bribe me back to tread
" Again Life's dreary Waſte
" To ſee again my Day o'erſpread
" With all the gloomy Paſt.

" My Home henceforth is in the Skies,
" Earth, Sea, and Sun adieu!
" All Heav'n unfolded to my Eyes
" I have no Sight for you.

So ſpake Aſaphio, firm-poſſeſs'd
Of Faith's ſupporting rod,
Then breathed his ſoul into its reſt
The boſom of his God.

COWPER'S ORIGINAL MS. FOR THE POEM

verses proper to be printed at the foot of his Bill of Mortality; but the clerk died, and hearing nothing for two years from his successor, I well hoped that I was out of my office. The other morning, however, while I was shaving myself, Sam announced the new clerk; he came to solicit the same service as I had rendered his predecessor, and I reluctantly complied; doubtful, indeed, whether I was capable. I have however achieved that labour, and I have done nothing more . . .[50]

To Lady Hesketh

Dec. 1, 1792.

. . . I have written nothing lately, but a sonnet to Romney,[51] and a mortuary copy of verses for the town of Northampton, having been applied to by the new clerk for that purpose . . .[52]

Cowper wrote the following poem[53] for the 1792 Bill:—

Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Quiq; metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumq; Acherontis avari! VIRG[IL].

Happy the Mortal, who has trac'd effects
To their first Cause, cast Fear beneath his Feet
And Death, and roaring Hell's voracious Fires!

THANKLESS for Favours from on high,
Man thinks he fades too soon;
Though 'tis his Privilege to die,
Would he improve the Boon:

But he, not wise enough to scan
His BEST Concerns aright,
Would gladly stretch Life's little Span
To *Ages,* if he might.

To Ages, in a world of Pain—
To Ages, where he goes
Gall'd by Afflictions heavy Chain,
And hopeless of Repose.

Strange Fondness of the human Heart,
Enamour'd of it's Harm!
Strange World—that costs it so much Smart,
And still has Pow'r to charm!

Whence has the World her magic Pow'r?
Why deem we Death a Foe?
Recoil from weary Life's best Hour,
And covet longer woe?

The Cause is Conscience—Conscience oft
Her Tale of Guilt renews;
Her Voice is terrible, though soft,
And Dread of Death ensues.

Then, anxious to be longer spar'd,
Man mourns his fleeting Breath;
All Evils, then, seem light, compar'd
With the Approach of Death.

'Tis Judgment shakes him—There's the Fear
That prompts his Wish to stay;
He has incurr'd a long Arrear,
And must despair to pay.

Pay!—Follow CHRIST, and ALL *is* paid;
His Death your Peace insures;
Think on the Grave where HE was laid,
And *calm descend* to YOURS.

These verses were used again in the Bills for 1802, 1808 and 1857. They are referred to in a letter to Samuel Teedon:—[54]

[50] Text: *Wright*, vol. 4, pp. 330-1. Also *Southey*, vol. 7, p. 170.

[51] Romney had drawn Cowper's portrait in coloured chalks in August, 1792.

[52] Text: *Spiller*, p. 979. Also *Wright*, vol. 4, p. 334; *Southey*, vol. 7, p. 172.

[53] It was pointed out by Jack Lindsay in a letter to the editor of the *Times Literary Supplement* (November 12, 1938, p. 725) that these verses were published in the *Evangelical Magazine*, February, 1794, with the note:—

Northampton, Nov. 25, 1793.—The following lines, which were subjoined to the Bill of Mortality for this town last year, are well known here to come from the pious and elegant author of The Task. His characteristic benevolence has for several years past induced him to grant a favour of this kind to the Clerk of our principal parish. I do not know that the verses have appeared in any Magazine, and there is certainly none to which they are so congenial as that which you conduct. They are therefore at your service. Coritanus.

[54] Samuel Teedon moved from Bedford to Olney about 1775. He was a poor schoolmaster, financially

14 Mar. 1793.

Dear Sir,

The verses[55] which I enclose may be more worth your reading, and are likely to be so, than any letter that I can send you; for them I have written as if all were well within, but have nothing to say in prose but what you have too often heard already . . .[56]

The clerk's 1793 visit is referred to in a letter to the Rev. J. Jekyll Rye:—

Weston, Nov. 3, 1793.

. . . You may depend on me for due attention to the honest clerk's request. When he called, it was not possible that I should answer your obliging letter; for he arrived here very early, and if I suffered any thing to interfere with my morning studies I should never accomplish my labours. Your hint concerning the subject for this year's copy is a very good one, and shall not be neglected.[57]

The 1793 verses are as follows:—

De sacris autem haec sit una sententia, ut conserventur.
CICERO de Legibus.

But let us All concur in this one Sentiment, that
Things SACRED be INVIOLATE.

HE lives, who lives to GOD alone,
And all are dead beside;
For other Source than GOD is none
Whence Life can be supply'd.

To live to GOD, is to requite
His Love, as best we may,—
To make his Precepts our Delight,
His Promises our Stay:

But Life within a narrow Ring
Of giddy Joys compriz'd,
Is *falsely* nam'd, and no such Thing,
But rather Death *disguis'd*.

Can Life in them deserve the Name,
Who only live to prove,
For what poor Toys they can disclaim
An endless Life above?

Who, much diseas'd, yet Nothing feel;
Much menac'd, Nothing dread,
Have Wounds which *only* GOD can heal,—
Yet *never* ask his Aid!

Who deem his House an useless Place,
Faith, want of Common Sense,
And Ardour in the Christian-Race,
An Hypocrite's Pretence!

Who *trample* Order, and the Day
Which GOD asserts His own
Dishonour with *unhallow'd Play*,
And *worship* CHANCE alone!

If *scorn* of GOD'S Commands, imprest
On Word and Deed, imply
The better Part of Man unblest
With Life that *cannot* die—

Such want it;—and that Want uncur'd,
Till Man resign his Breath,
Speaks him a *Criminal*, assur'd
Of EVERLASTING *Death*.

Sad Period to a pleasant Course!
Yet *so* will GOD repay
Sabbaths profan'd without Remorse,
And *Mercy* CAST away.

These verses were used again for the 1803 Bill.

After Cowper's time many contributors, unknown to fame,[58] supplied the customary

supported by Cowper, with whom he became very influential. He believed himself to be especially favoured by Providence, and to be the recipient of personal messages from Heaven. He died in early June, 1798, and was buried at Olney church on June 9th. Teedon's *Diary*, edited by Thomas Wright, was published in 1902.

[55] March 14, 1793. "I red the verses mortuary & a Letter from the Esqr." *The Diary of Samuel Teedon* (1902).

[56] Text: *Wright*, vol. 4, pp. 380-1.

[57] Text: *Wright*, vol. 4, p. 465. Also *Southey*, vol. 7, p. 237.

[58] One such is the poet of the 1804 Bill, the first stanza of which runs:—

Heav'n-aspiring Cowper's gone!
Meaner Pens his Place supply;
In whose Verse such Glory shone,
Few can hope to soar so high.

verses; but among them are also some names known beyond Northampton, such as John Askham[59] and Marianne Farningham.[60]

There exists a small engraving by Thomas Ranson from a drawing by Thomas Uwins, "The Town Clerk of Northampton imploring the assistance of Cowper's muse", as vignette on the title of Cowper's *Letters*,[61] dated "March 1820".[62] A lady is pouring out tea, the poet standing with elbow on the mantle-piece, in a dressing gown, and with the familiar cap on his head; the clerk is seated, hat in one hand, and a very stout stick in the other.

D. POWELL.

WILLIAM BILL

IT is rare that one is able to supplement Mr. Longden's monumental *Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy*.

Under 'William Bill', Vicar of Easton Neston from 4 June 1583, he remarks 'The entry of his burial at Easton is very indistinct and the date uncertain. "Mr Willm. Bill, vicar sometyme of Eston, buried at B(einton)?." '.

In the Banbury, Oxfordshire, burial register, on 29 October 1612, occurs the entry 'Will. Bill, Minister'. Moreover amongst the wills and inventories of Banbury Peculiar Court (an edition of which the Banbury Historical Society is preparing for publication) there are two copies of an inventory of 'Mr. William Bille, lat vicker of Esone desesed in Banbury', taken 30 October 1612, by John Winge, Clement Jordan and William Wattes.

This is made up of two items, 'on shut of werringe repparell', valued at £1.7*s*.0*d*., and 'monny in his purce, just 11*s*.8*d*.'. The outgoings totalled £1.0*s*.6*d*., and were made up of 3*s*.3*d*. 'for his sherd', 1*s*.7*d*. to the sexton, 10*d*. to the 'mynster' and clerk, no less than 9*s*. for what is described variously as 'for his vinerall' and 'for his funerall dinner', 5*s*.2*d*. 'for his lodging diett and attendance during on moneth', and 8*d*. 'for the mayntenance of the great bell'. This bell is often referred to in the burial registers from 1594 on, when it had been 'new cast' at Reading.

Additional expenses were 6*d*. 'for a boy goinge to Marsonne' (presumably Marston St. Laurence) and 4*d*. 'to the parytor for warninge'.

It was noted that 'these goodes are in the handes of William Warner, blacksmyth', and the inventories were exhibited on 14 April 1613 before John Price, deputy registrar, by Mr. Robert Russell, 'collector of the poor of Banbury' and Henry Sharp, one of the churchwardens of Banbury, the administrators.

The inventories are now in the Bodleian Library, ref. MSS Wills Peculiars 32/4/50, and I am grateful to Dr. E. R. C. Brinkworth for the use of his transcript, one of over 400 he has made for the period 1591-1650.

J. S. W. GIBSON.

[59] The Wellingborough shoemaker poet (1825-1894).

[60] Mary Anne Hearn, 'Marianne Farningham' (1834-1909), hymn-writer and author, who taught in Northampton between 1859 and 1866, and was a member of College Street Baptist Church. Her most famous hymn was "Just as I am, Thine own to be".

[61] Engraved title: *The Letters of the late William Cowper Esq. To His Friends.* [vignette] London. Printed for Baldwin, Cradock & Joy. 1820.
Printed title: *The Letters* . . .

[62] Dated "March 1827" in the 1827 edition of *The Letters*.

President George Washington's Male Descent, 1180-1732

The First Families of Virginia—the Carters, the Randolphs, the Byrds, the Carys, the Fitzhughs, the Custises—were of mercantile origin or else sprung from the minor gentry. But the Washingtons, like the Lees and the Fairfaxes, were an exception to this rule: being directly descended from an ancient, knightly Royalist house with a clear pedigree from the twelfth century (and English families who can trace their male ancestry to the twelfth century, as Horace Round was never tired of insisting, can be counted on the fingers of one hand).

The following pedigree—from William, the grantee of Washington, co. Durham *circa* 1180, to President George Washington, born in Virginia 1732—is based on the present writer's *The Earliest Washingtons and their Anglo-Scottish Connexions* (privately printed, Cambridge, 1964), and on two papers on the Washingtons of Washington, co. Durham, printed by the present writer and the late W. Percy Hedley, M.A., F.S.A., in the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Wesmorland Antiq. Society* for 1964 and 1968; also, on the account of the pre-1500 Lancashire Washingtons (of Warton) published by that great medievalist, Dr. William Farrer, in vols. 7 (1910) and 8 (1914) of the *Victoria County History of Lancashire*. Recent researches on the later Washingtons of Northamptonshire (whence came the Virginia branch) have been printed by the present writer, during the last few years, in *Northamptonshire Past and Present* and in *Notes and Queries*.

(1) William de Washington (*circa* 1150-90), to whom Hugh du Puiset, Bishop of Durham granted the manor of Washington, co. Durham, near Sunderland, in exchange for the manor of Hartburn in the parish of Stockton, *circa* 1180. He witnessed charters in Durham as "William de Wessington" (Washington) from *circa* 1180 until *circa* 1190.[1]

(2A) Walter de Washington, eldest son, 2nd lord of Washington (died *circa* 1210); married *circa* 1203 Diana de Dilston, but had no issue (his widow probably married a second husband, Reginald Basset, *jure uxoris* of Offerton, co. Durham).

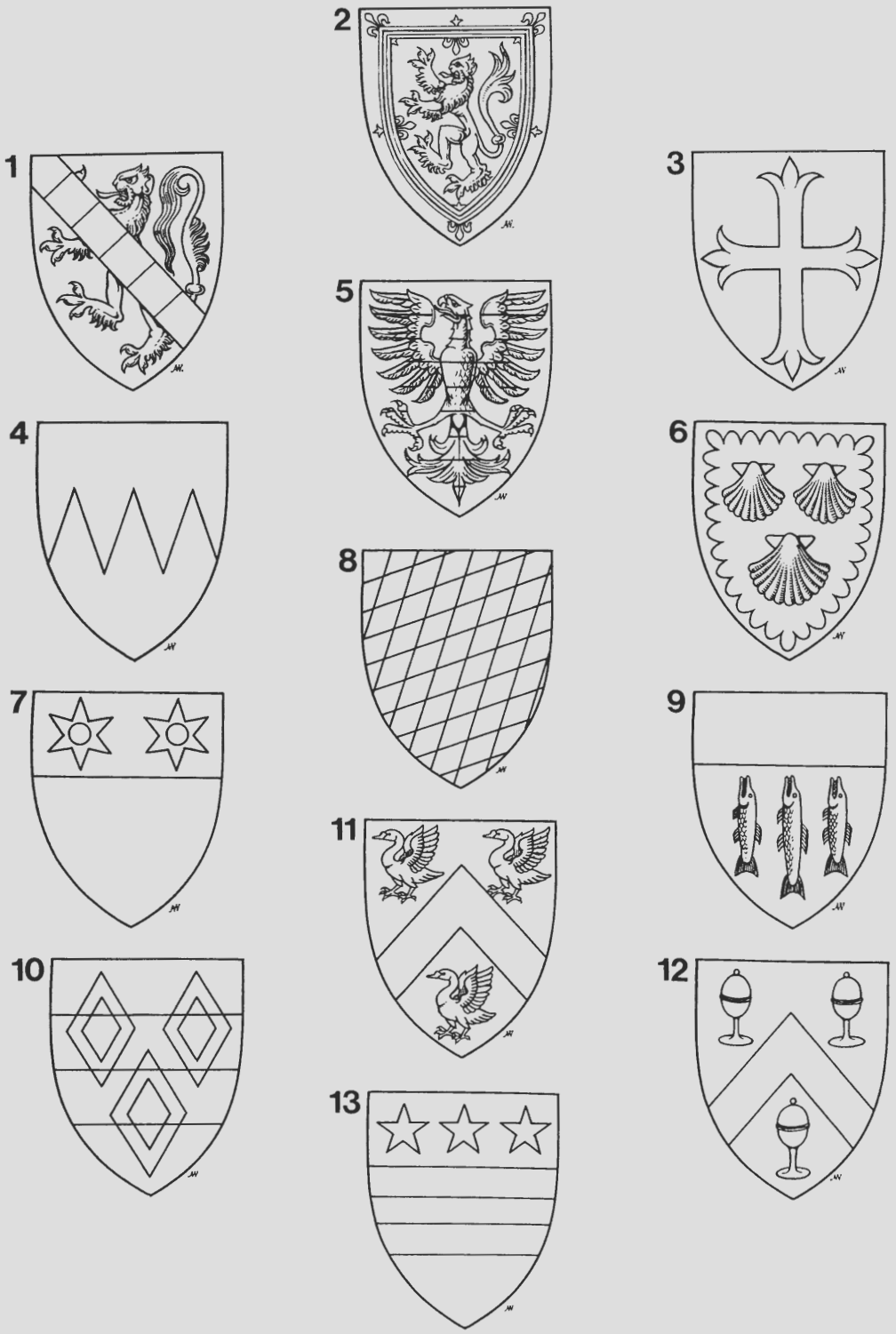
(2B) William de Washington, second son, succeeded his brother as 3rd lord of Washington by 1211; living 1227 and 1239. Married 1211 Alice de Lexington.

(3) Sir Walter de Washington (*circa* 1212-64), 4th lord of Washington, son and heir; married Lady Joan (or Juliana) de Ryal, sister and heiress of Sir Roger de Whitchester, Keeper of the Rolls.

(4) Sir William de Washington (d. 1288-90), 5th lord of Washington; married Margaret de Morville, co-heiress of Helton Flecket, co. Westmorland. (His younger brother, John de Washington, assumed his mother's surname of de Whitchester and was ancestor of the knightly Northumbrian family of de Whitchester, of Benwell and Seaton Delaval).

(5) Robert de Washington (*circa* 1273-1324), younger son, *jure uxoris* of Carnforth in Warton, Lancs.; married 1292 Joan de Strickland of Sizergh, co. Westmorland, descended from Alfred the Great and King Malcolm II of Scotland. (His elder brother, Sir Walter de Washington, born *circa* 1271, was grandfather of Sir William de Washington, 8th lord of Washington and last of the senior male line, who d.s.p.m. in 1399 and whose only child, Eleanor de Washington, Lady Tempest, heiress of Washington, died in 1452. Another brother of Robert's, viz. John de Washington, married Elizabeth de Burneside and was ancestor of the Washingtons of Adwick-le-Street, co. Yorks., whose last representatives were the Barons von Washington of Bavaria and Austria).

[1] William de Washington's Anglo-Scottish origin and his marriage to Margaret of Scotland, widowed Countess of Richmond, have not been proved. The Arms of Scotland should not therefore be included in the quarterings of the Washingtons.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(6) Robert de Washington (1296-1340), of Carnforth in Warton, Lancs., eldest son; married Agnes le Gentyle, a Lancashire heiress.

(7) John de Washington (*circa* 1328-1400), younger son and *jure uxoris* of Tewitfield in Warton, Lancs.; married as his second wife in 1382 Joan de Croft, heiress of Tewitfield. (His elder brother, Robert de Washington, born 1326, was in 1386 a witness in the celebrated Scrope and Grosvenor controversy; he married Marjory Haukyn and left an only daughter, Agnes de Washington, wife of Edmund Lawrence, whose son, Sir Robert Lawrence, born 1371, succeeded to Carnforth. His descendants, the Lords Gerard and Dukes of Hamilton, frequently quartered the Washington arms).

(8) John de Washington (*fl.* 1420), of Tewitfield in Warton, Lancs., eldest son.

(9) Robert Washington (*circa* 1420-83), esquire, of Tewitfield in Warton, Lancs., eldest son; married Margaret Lambertson, widow, of Warton.

(10) Robert Washington (*circa* 1454-1528), gent., of Warton, Lancs., second son; married as his first wife—Westfield of Lancs.

(11) John Washington (d.v.p. before 1528), gent., eldest son; married Margaret, sister of Sir Thomas Kytson (ancestor of the Spencers of Althorp, Northants., and thus of Sir Winston Churchill).

(12) Lawrence Washington (*circa* 1500-84), gent., of Sulgrave Manor, Northants., married as his second wife Amy Pargiter, widow of John Thompson of Sulgrave and Stuchbury, Northants.

(13) Robert Washington (1544-1620), esquire, of Sulgrave, Northants.; married as his first wife Elizabeth Lyte, (descended from the Blounts, Villierses, etc.), heiress of Radway Grange, Warwicks.

(14) Lawrence Washington (d.v.p. 1616), gent., of Sulgrave and Wicken, Northants.; married 1588 Margaret Butler of Tyes Place in Cuckfield, Sussex (who brought to the Washingtons the right to quarter the royal arms of Plantagenet).

(15) Rev. Lawrence Washington (1602-53), M.A., B.D., Royalist Rector of Purleigh, Essex, 5th son; married Amphillis Twigden. (His elder brothers were Sir John Washington, "Knight and Baronet", and Sir William Washington, the father of the gallant Cavalier Col. Henry Washington, who held Worcester for King Charles; a cousin was Sir Lawrence Washington of Garsdon, Wilts., the owner of Stonehenge, from whom are descended the Shirleys, Earls Ferrers, who still use 'Washington' as a Christian name).

(16) Col. John Washington (1633-77), of Washington Parish, Westmoreland Co., Virginia; married as his first wife Anne Pope.

(17) Lawrence Washington (d. 1698), gent., of Virginia, eldest son; married Mildred Warner (from whose sister is directly descended the present reigning house of Great Britain, through Queen Elizabeth the Queen-Mother).[3]

(18) Augustine Washington (1694-1743), gent., of Virginia, 2nd son; married as his second wife Mary Ball.

(19) President George Washington, born in Virginia 22 February 1732.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GUIDE TO COATS OF ARMS (p. 34)

1. Washington (Ancient). 2. Scotland (Royal Arms). 3. Lexington. 4. Whitchester. 5. Morville. 6. Strickland. 7. Gentyl. 8. Croft. 9. Kytson. 10. Pargiter. 11. Lyte. 12. Butler. 13. Washington (Modern).

[3] See Sir Anthony Wagner, "Queen Elizabeth's American Ancestry and Cousinship to George Washington and Robert E. Lee", *Genealogists' Magazine*, Vol. 8, pp. 368-75.

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Two Charters of Liberty

THE two documents printed below are found in Robert of Swaffham's cartulary, the most important source for the medieval history of Peterborough Abbey.[1] They may be dated to between 1215 and 1222,[2] and record agreements made between the abbey and the townsmen of Peterborough and Oundle, by which the townsmen were freed from certain servile obligations in return for a substantial increase in their rents. The townsmen were listed, and the terms on which they held. Significantly, the two documents are headed 'the charter of liberties of Peterborough' and 'the charter of liberties of Oundle'. The echo of Magna Carta is both obvious and understandable; for the men concerned these were no less great charters than that which the barons of England extorted from King John at Runnymede.[3]

If the issue of the documents may be a reflexion of Magna Carta, their context lies in the economic and social history of the previous two generations. In the late twelfth century a high rate of population increase, which was to continue until the early fourteenth century, stimulated growth in all sectors of the economy. One facet of this was the growth of towns; ports and market towns grew with the growth in trade, and many lords attempted to found new towns to obtain their share of commercial profits. At the same time, one result of this growth was that lords changed from indirect to direct farming methods.[4] The peasantry now had imposed on them a wide range of servile obligations for the first time, and for the lords the term peasantry was a wide one.[5] Here the abbey of Peterborough wished it to include the non-agricultural tenants of a couple of flourishing market towns. The abbey wished to claim that they held in villeinage; in a case of 1214 it was stated that a man who had held one of these Peterborough tenancies had held *in villenagio*.[6] In the years before 1215, therefore, two things were happening to these townsmen; they were becoming richer, and the abbey was endeavouring to impose servile status upon them.

At least some of the tensions between the abbey and the townsmen must have been resolved by these agreements. At Peterborough, the townsmen were freed from an arbitrary annual tax (tallage), from fines payable when they married off their daughters (merchet), and from all agricultural services. At Oundle there were similar concessions, save that the townsmen were still to owe three days' assistance at harvest time and still had to plough twice a year. There was no line to be drawn between town and country in a community of this sort. The total rents at Peterborough went up from £7 .0s. 2½d. to £18. 9s. 6d., and at Oundle from £5. 19s. 7d. to £12. 11s. 6d.

Lists of a town's inhabitants are rare for any period of the middle ages, and these two are sufficiently early to be of considerable interest. From two points of view their contents are worth examining. First, because they give the number of tenants, from which an estimate of total population can be made. Second, because the townsmen's names sometimes indicate their occupation and sometimes their place of birth; some idea of the town's structure may be gained, together

[1] Peterborough Dean and Chapter MS. 1, fos. 227r-229v; printed here by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter.

[2] The documents are noted in the relevant *V.C.H.* volumes, *V.C.H. Northants*, ii. 425 (Peterborough) and iii. 89-90 (Oundle), but 1262-73 is wrongly suggested as the probable date of the Peterborough document.

[3] This theme may be followed up in J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta* (1965), Ch. III.

[4] See Edward Miller, 'England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: an Economic Contrast?', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., xxiv (1971), pp. 1-14.

[5] For the most recent discussion of a very technical matter see, R. H. Hilton, 'Freedom and Villeinage in England', *Past and Present*, no. 31 (1965), pp. 3-19.

[6] *Curia Regis Rolls*, vii. 62.

with the extent to which its population was made up of recent immigrants from the surrounding countryside.

The Peterborough charter lists 147 men and women. Recent work suggests that for each tenancy we should multiply by five to get total population, which applied here would give a figure of around 650.[7] There were around 80 monks in the abbey itself; they will have had at least the same number of servants,[8] some but not all of whom will have been listed among the townsfolk. Then we must remember that there was a separate agricultural community, the manor, with which we are not here concerned. It possibly had between 150 and 250 inhabitants.[9] From these figures we may guess the total population as being between 1000 and 1200 early in the reign of Henry III. Oundle was smaller: with 53 people listed and an agricultural community the same size, its population was probably around 500 at this time.

The rather different character of each town comes out when the lists are examined in more detail. Ten trades are mentioned among the fifty-three inhabitants of Oundle: there were two masons, a smith, a baker, a saucer, a gate-keeper, a skinner, a felt-maker, a fuller, a weaver and a woolman. The group of cloth-workers is particularly interesting, and Oundle can be added to the many English towns engaged in the cloth trade at this time.[10] At Peterborough there is a smaller percentage of names indicating occupations; there are eleven occupations mentioned, involving twenty people. There were three smiths, two carpenters, a glazier, a mason, a cooper, a fisherman, four cooks, two bakers, a butler, an ostler and three tailors of various sorts. There was no cloth-trade here; the abbey tried to promote it just outside the town in 1228, and the lord of Stamford objected that this infringed his town's privileges.[11] These trades focus attention more on Peterborough as a centre of communications. As well as the market, the town had an important monastery, which organised the transport of grain, wool and other commodities from properties scattered over a wide area.

There were only a few examples, nine at Peterborough and five at Stamford, of people whose surnames suggest an origin outside the town.[12] And we know that each town had roughly three times the number of inhabitants recorded in surveys a hundred years before.[13] The impression given by these two things is that these were each well-established communities, which had grown steadily but not dramatically. There is no sign that any large-scale migration contributed to their size. By contrast, larger towns seem to have required a good deal more migration. In the city of York the village names were much more frequent: 'they suggest at least an ultimate rural background for a high proportion of the citizens, and regular immigration as the source of much of the city's population'.[14] And even communities a good deal smaller than York might have a quite different structure from Peterborough's. At Stratford-upon-Avon in 1251-52, 82 burgesses out of 234 had place-surnames, and 57 different places occur.[15] Using this index, it appears that Peterborough had 6 per cent of recent immigrants, Oundle 9 per cent and Stratford 35 per cent.

[7] J. Z. Titow, *English Rural Society* 1200-1350 (1969), p. 67. The basic work on population in this period is J. C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (1948), and there is interesting discussion in the same author's *Medieval Regions and their Cities* (1972), in particular here the table on p. 35.

[8] David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (2nd edn., 1963), pp. 439-441.

[9] A survey of the manor in 1231 lists 15 villein tenants in Peterborough itself, and a further 29 in its hamlets of Dogsthorpe and Eastfield. It also includes a number, but far from a majority, of the freeholding tenants. Society of Antiquaries of London MS. 60, fos. 181r-183r.

[10] E. Miller, 'The Fortunes of the English Textile Industry in the Thirteenth Century', *Econ.H.R.*, 2nd ser., xviii (1965), pp. 64-82.

[11] *Curia Regis Rolls*, xiii. no. 406.

[12] At Peterborough there were two people from Longthorpe (2 miles), and one each from Walton (2), Eye (3), Ketton (Rutland, 14), Fiskerton (Lincs, 46), Dunham (Norf, 42), Dereham (Norf, 49) and Norfolk. At Oundle there were people from Glapthorn (1½ miles), Longthorpe (10), Peterborough (12), Haunton (?) and Norfolk. The Norfolk men are interesting as coming from a county in which the abbey had neither secular nor ecclesiastical lordship.

[13] At Peterborough in 1125-8 there were 55 men who owed rent and suit of court, and at Oundle at the same time there were 15 *burgenses: Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. T. Stapleton (Camden Society, xlvii, 1849), pp. 161, 158.

[14] E. Miller, *V.C.H. York: The City of York* (1961), p. 40.

[15] E. M. Carus-Wilson, 'The First Half-Century of the Borough of Stratford-upon-Avon', *Econ.H.R.*, 2nd ser., xviii (1965), pp. 46-63.

Stratford was a new creation of the Bishop of Worcester in 1196; at this point the difference between the new and the established community is clearly marked.

Were Peterborough and Oundle boroughs by the fact of having these charters? In neither are the townsmen referred to as burgesses, though the men of Peterborough were called this in a survey of 1231.[16] The evidence on this point is equivocal. The charters are best seen, in Mary Bateson's words, as representatives of 'the class of borough charters which offer release from seignorial exploitation, but on the most restricted terms'.[17] While some lords were promoting new towns in the early thirteenth century, others were keeping a tight hold over the urban communities which they controlled.

EDMUND KING.

Carta libertatis de Burgo

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quorum audienciam presens scriptum pervenerit Robertus abbas ecclesie sancti Petri de Burgo et eiusdem loci conventus eternam in domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos concessisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse hominibus nostris de Burgo subscriptis et heredibus eorum ad instanciam et petitionem suam quod sint liberi et quieti inperpetuum ab omni tallagio quod solet fieri annuatim per consuetudinem et de mercheto pro filiabus suis ita quod eas possint maritare ubi voluerint sine licencia nostri et de fenis levandis et bladis metendis et de pannagiis salvis nobis et successoribus nostris placitis de portmannemot et sequela furnorum nostrorum et omnibus consuetudinibus solitis et debitis ad ripam et mercatum de Burgo pertinentibus. Pro hac autem concessione et confirmacione nostra homines nostri subscripti qui solebant reddere nobis annuatim pro tenementis subscriptis £7s. 0s. 2½d. ipsi et heredes sui reddent nobis singulis annis pro eisdem tenementis £18. 9s. 6d. inperpetuum ad quatuor terminos anni, scilicet ad Natale domini et ad Pascha et ad festum sancti Johannis baptiste et ad festum sancti Michaelis.

Nomina igitur predictorum hominum et tenementa eorum subscribere dignum duximus. Lucia uxor Roberti Long pro uno tofto 2s. Willelmus piscator pro uno tofto et una acra terre 2s. 8d. Herveus Mustard pro uno tofto et sex acris terre et dimidia 7s., qui tenuerit toftum refectorarii preter firmam refectorarii 12d. Thomas de Thorp pro uno tofto 6d., qui tenuerit toftum elemosinarii preter firmam elemosinarii 6d. Alicia Canun pro uno tofto 6d. Matildis soror eius pro uno tofto 6d., qui tenuit toftum refectorarii preter firmam refectorarii 6d., qui tenuerit toftum elemosinarii preter firmam elemosinarii 8d. Alicia Leuuin pro uno tofto 8d. Rogerus Scot pro uno tofto 3s. Johannes de Sutton pro uno tofto 8d. Robertus nepos Ade pro uno tofto 16d. Gilebertus Waget pro uno tofto 18d. Everardus pro uno tofto 18d. Hugo filius Brunston pro uno tofto 2s. Adam Russell pro uno tofto 2s. Benedictus Suuave pro uno tofto 2s. 8d. Willelmus Setolf pro uno tofto 18d. Ricardus Bert pro uno tofto 18d. Henricus filius Radulphi ad ripam pro uno tofto 2s. 3d. Willelmus Berfot pro uno tofto 5s. Robertus filius Roberti Yol pro uno tofto 5s. Osbertus filius Walteri pro uno tofto 5s. Willelmus Gernun pro uno tofto, preter 10s. infirmarie, 2s. Willelmus filius Roberti Rufi pro uno tofto 5s. Willelmus Wychie pro uno tofto 3s. 6d. Ricardus de Dunham pro uno tofto 18d. Estmundus Taillur pro uno tofto 5s. Almua Prenteprud pro uno tofto 3s. Robertus Codling pro uno tofto 3s. 4d. Robertus Howold pro uno tofto 5s. Willelmus filius Bartholomei pro uno tofto 2s. 6d. Benedictus de Dunham pro uno tofto 4s. Martinus de *(illegible)* pro uno tofto 18d. Willelmus Fort pro uno tofto 18d. Willelmus Copin pro uno tofto preter 3s. elemosinarii 16d. Christina uxor Willelmi de Derham pro uno tofto 3s., qui tenuerit toftum Hodierne preter firmam elemosinarii 18d. Symon Faber pro uno tofto 2s., qui tenuerit toftum quod Gilebertus Waget aliquando tenuit preter firmam elemosinarii 2s. Walterus de Fiskerton pro uno tofto 6s. 8d. Willelmus filius Bartholomei pro uno tofto 4s. Lancesale pro uno tofto 4s. Robertus filius Benceline pro dimidio tofto 2s. Adam filius Godwin pro dimidio tofto 2s. Willelmus Pallay pro uno tofto 2s. Adam filius Averich pro uno tofto 5s. Willelmus Sprot pro dimidio tofto 2s. 6d. Reginaldus filius Johannis pro dimidio tofto 2s. 6d. Willelmus Franceys pro

[16] Society of Antiquaries MS. 60, fo. 181r.

[17] *V.C.H. Northants*, ii. 425.

dimidio tofto 2s. 6d. Lecardus pro dimidio tofto 2s. 6d. Rouland pro uno tofto 5s. Alicia uxor Benedicti de Perlur pro uno tofto 5s. Rogerus Oyseler pro uno tofto 5s. Galfridus Butiller pro uno tofto 5s. Agnes Pudding pro uno tofto 5s. Wydardus pro uno tofto et tribus acris terre 3s. Benedictus conversus pro uno tofto 12d. Radulphus Muscet pro uno tofto 18d. Leviva in angulo pro uno tofto 5s. Alda Baudry pro duobus toftis 5s. Edelina uxor Walteri Megresause pro uno tofto 5s. 6d. Thomas filius Johannis pro uno tofto 2s. 6d. Ricardus filius Bartholomei pro uno tofto 30d. Robertus Hereuuard pro uno tofto 2s. Albretha uxor Ioce percepe pro uno tofto 8d. Willelmus in angulo pro uno tofto 2s. 6d. Willelmus Bricun pro uno tofto 2s. Alicia Clovelec pro dimidio tofto 21d. Luvenoth pro dimidio tofto 21d. Robertus nepos Ade pro uno tofto 4s. Elice uxor Pagani pro uno tofto 2s. Rogerus Trapperode pro uno tofto 2s. Matildis Surdouh pro uno tofto et septem acris terre 4s. 6d. Daniel Cocus pro uno tofto 5s. Willelmus Plumer pro uno tofto 5s. Fromund pro uno tofto preter 4s. quos solvit annuatim Willelmo Benecok et heredibus suis pro abbate 3s. Gilebertus carpentarius pro uno tofto 2s. Benedictus pistor pro uno tofto quod fuit Willelmi Witun et tribus acris terre et una acra prati. Willelmus Folesanke pro uno tofto 2s. Radulphus filius Willelmi Coci pro uno tofto 12d. Alicia filia Ingrethe pro uno tofto 2s. Amicia Fechel pro uno tofto 12d. Alicia soror eius pro uno tofto 12d. Alicia filia Rogeri capellani pro uno tofto 2s. 8d. Rogerus capellanus pro uno tofto 18d. Ranulphus Stirger pro uno tofto et una acra terre 6s. Petronilla pro uno tofto et una acra terre 2s. Christina filia Reginaldi Mazun pro uno tofto 3s. Benedictus pistor pro uno tofto et sex acris terre 8s. Petrus Peny pro tribus acris terre in campis 2s. Willelmus Tyrel pro uno tofto 2s. Matildis pro uno tofto 16d. Ermegard pro dimidio tofto 16d. Basilia uxor Ade coci pro uno tofto 2s. 4d. Walterus Co preter 3s. infirmarie pro uno tofto 2s. Marute pro duobus toftis et quatuor acris terre 4s. Robertus filius Roberti Yol pro uno tofto 12d. Rogerus filius Roberti filii Austini pro uno tofto et quatuor acris terre et dimidia 3s. Hugo Suthelay pro uno tofto 1s. 8d. Hugo Want pro uno tofto 1s. 8d. Willelmus Gildeneheuid pro uno tofto 2s. Willelmus filius Lancelini pro uno tofto et una acra terre 2s. Agnes Kattes pro uno tofto 2s. Willelmus filius Wimundi pro uno tofto et una acra terre 2s. Uneuuine pro uno tofto 2s. Christina Osberti pro uno tofto et dimidia acra terre 2s. Willelmus filius Hugonis pro uno tofto et quinque acris terre 5s. Rogerus de Thorp pro uno tofto et duabus acris terre et una acra prati 4s. Austinus Tunder pro dimidio tofto 8d. Matildis Wlf pro uno tofto et quarta parte unius tofti et dimidia acra terre 16d. Madelus pro quarta parte unius tofti et una acra terre et dimidia 12d. Thoroldus Scuneye pro uno tofto 12d. Willelmus Bosse pro uno tofto 2s. Wido Scire pro uno tofto 8d. Radulphus Cocus pro uno tofto 8d. Roulandus cupere pro uno tofto 12d. Iuliana pro uno tofto 8d. Agnes fratris pro uno tofto 12d. Rogerus Wildehavere et participes eius pro uno tofto et tribus acris terre et dimidia 2s. Radulphus Sellewether pro uno tofto 8d. Radulphus Child pro uno tofto 12d. Gilebertus Bolt pro uno tofto 12d. Alexander carpentarius pro uno tofto et duabus domibus in via contra idem toftum 2s. Gilbertus curtgibet pro uno tofto 12d. Ascelinus Svov pro uno tofto 16d. Gervasius pro uno tofto 12d. Lambertus de Northfolk pro uno tofto 12d. Thomas Osegot pro uno tofto 2s. Willelmus Wintir pro uno tofto 12d. Johannes filius Thoraldi pro uno tofto 12d. Ricardus Bacun pro uno tofto 12d. Willelmus Coc pro uno tofto 12d. Base Coc pro dimidio tofto 8d. Reginaldus Wide pro uno tofto 12d. Matildis Traci pro uno tofto 12d. Robertus nepos Ade pro uno tofto 8d., qui tenuit toftum quod fuit Roberti Testard 6d. Achilles pro uno tofto 9d. Willelmus parvus faber pro uno tofto preter 2s. refectorarii 2s. Lephanus faber pro uno tofto 12d. Rogerus Scot pro uno tofto 12d. Christina uxor Willelmi Lof pro uno tofto 2s. Rogerus slopere pro uno tofto 2s. Willelmus Verer pro uno tofto 2s. Hugo de Ketene pro uno tofto 2s. Thomas de Walton pro uno tofto 2s. Thomas Chatel pro uno tofto 5s. Durand pro uno tofto et dimidia acra terre 2s. Alanus de aula pro duobus toftis 4s. Benedictus de Eya preter 2s. sacriste 3s. pro uno tofto. Petrus Mus pro uno tofto 2s.

Hec autem omnia predicta tenementa concessimus predictis hominibus nostris et heredibus eorum tenenda et habenda sicut prescriptum est salvo iure cuiuslibet. Ita tamen quod non liceat eis dare vel vendere vel aliquid inde alienare vel aliquid inde facere per quod nos de predictis redditibus et serviciis et consuetudinibus in aliquo perdentes simus. Et ut hec nostra concessio rata perseveret inperpetuum presen scriptum sigillorum nostrorum munimine roboravimus. Hiis testibus. Rogeri de Thorpel. Roberti filii Galfridi. Ricardi de Waterville. Galfrido de Laham. Hugone de Laham. Radulphi filii Reginaldi de Pokebroc. magistro Willelmo de Scotere. Ricardi

filii Hunfridi. Roberti de Parceney tunc decano Burgi. Johanne Fauuel. Hugone de Bernak. Willelmo de Thorp. Thome de Thorp. et aliis.

Carta libertatis de Undele

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ecclesiam et pro duabus acris in Auisdene 8s. Robertus filius Edrici pro uno tofto et tribus acris terre et dimidia et una particula prati 6s. Martinus filius Kipping pro uno tofto et duabus acris et dimidia 5s. Ricardus portarius pro uno tofto 5s. Lecia relicta Galfridi Chivel pro uno tofto et crofto et una acra et dimidia terre arabilis et dimidia acra prati 4s. Reginaldus filius Roberti pro uno tofto et dimidia acra 5s. Matheus faber pro uno tofto et duabus acris terre et dimidia acra prati et pro buttis iuxta Broc et pro uno orto ex parte orientalis domus eiusdem Mathei 8s. Hugo de Haunton pro duabus soppos 3s. Willelmus filius Osberti pro tofto suo et dimidia acra 4s. Odo filius Selide pro tofto suo et una acra 4s. Robertus filius Thurburni pro tofto suo et dimidia acra 4s. Galfridus pistor pro tofto suo et una acra 4s.

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John Clare's Poems

In most editions of Clare's poems, editors have punctuated the poems, according to received ideas. But Clare himself, when he wrote the poems seldom put in any punctuation at all. By the kindness of Mrs. Tibble, the well known authority on John Clare, we are able to publish one of his bird poems, exactly as he wrote it. Dylan Thomas thought these poems among Clare's best work.

The wrens song

Why is the cuckoos melody prefered
& nightingales rich song so madly praised
In poets rhymes is there no other bird
Of natures minstrelsy that oft hath raised
Ones heart to exstavy & mirth as well
I judge not how anothers taste is caught
With mine theres other birds that bear the bell
Whose song hath crowds of happy memorys brought
Such is the wood robin singing in the dell
& little Wren that many a time hath sought
Shelter from showers in huts were I did dwell
At early spring the tennant of the plain
Tenting my sheep & still they come to tell
The happy storys of the past again

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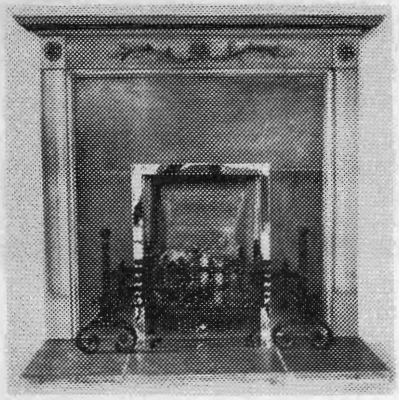

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Some Aspects of Cattle Production in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire During the Nineteenth Century

The supreme pasture lands of Northamptonshire and Leicestershire have long been renowned for their ability to fatten cattle. In the grassland areas of the Welland Valley and parts of the Northamptonshire uplands, systems of management have evolved under which traditional grass fattened beef of the highest quality is produced. The objective of this paper is to trace some aspects of this grassland tradition and to follow the changing fortunes of the grazier throughout the nineteenth century.

The financial success of the grazing enterprise was to a large extent a reflection of judicious buying of the store animal and selling of the finished product. Livestock management was a relatively straightforward and unsophisticated process with the result that the difference between profit and loss depended primarily upon the selection of suitable livestock at reasonable prices and the sale of the fattened animal on a rising market. Thus Pitt summarised grassland farming as ". . . a merchantile and speculative concern in which the land is but an auxiliary assistant".[1] From the evidence available it appears that price and condition rather than breed dictated the types of cattle depastured in the Midland grazing regions. According to Pitt, of the 30,000 cattle annually fattened in Leicestershire throughout the first decade of the century, only 15% were bred in the county, the remainder being imported from other areas.[2] A similar situation prevailed in Northamptonshire where 15,000 cattle were fattened for London's Smithfield Market each year. Droves of cattle of extremely diverse origins eventually found their way to London via the Northamptonshire pastures, for, as Pitt observed; ". . . for fattening every sort of cattle is brought in; Staffordshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, Pembrokes, Devon, North Wales, Scots, and Irish are met with at different fairs . . . and the grazier refuses no sort that looks kindly, handles well and can be had worth the money".[3] At the time of Pitt's report of 1809 the Longhorn held sway over other breeds on the Leicestershire pasturelands, although when Moscrop wrote his Prize Essay for the Royal Agricultural Society in 1866, the Longhorn was virtually extinct and the fields of Leicestershire abounded with Shorthorns, Devons, Scots, Welsh Runts and Kerrys.[4] Throughout the century the relative merits of the different cattle breeds were hotly disputed at the meetings of local Agricultural Societies and in the columns of farming magazines. In many cases the supporters of a breed, driven by a fervour which was at times almost religious in its intensity, chose to make statements regarding the qualities of their breed which were totally unsupportable. It is necessary, therefore to treat with caution some of the rather extravagant claims made on behalf of certain breeds. It is nevertheless possible to get some idea of cattle weights and rates of growth from the writings of the more sober and impartial observers of the agricultural scene. In a letter to the *Farmer's Magazine* of 1819, John Fisher advised that Devons were fit for slaughter at 5-7 years old when they weighed 90-160 stones (8 pounds per stone), Herefords at a similar age weighing 120-200 stones while Scots at 3-4 years of age attained 80-130 stones weight.[5] Replying to this letter John Wilkinson provided information on the weights of three young Shorthorn bulls of different ages. Taking great pains to point out that these animals had not been "force-fed", Wilkinson gave the weights for cattle of 8 months, 1 year 3 weeks and 1 year 10 months old as 742 lbs., 1,120 lbs. and 1,694 lbs. respectively.[6] These weights were corroborated by William Glover who had two Shorthorns growing at the rates of 1 and 2 lbs. per

[1] Pitt, *General View of the Agriculture of Northamptonshire* (1809).
[2] Pitt, *General View of the Agriculture of Leicestershire* (1809).
[3] Pitt. *Northamptonshire, op. cit.*
[4] Moscrop J.R.A.S. Ser 2 (1866).
[5] *Farmer's Magazine* Oct. 25th 1819.
[6] *Farmer's Magazine* Nov. 15th 1819.

day. In addition, Glover was feeding three Herefords which in March 1818 were gaining weight at $1\frac{3}{4}$, 2 and $2\frac{3}{4}$ pounds per day respectively.[7] According to Read, the popular Pembroke cattle fattened at between seven and eight hundredweights.[8] Although price was a fundamental factor determining the choice of cattle for fattening there was a growing awareness of the superiority of the Devon, Hereford and Shorthorn types in terms of early maturity and quality of meat. This is evidenced by a study of contemporary farm accounts in which it is possible to trace a widening in the price differentials between these breeds and other breeds such as the Scots and Welsh as the century progressed. Thus in the accounts of C. Heygate of West Haddon, the purchase prices of Devons, Pembrokes, Scots, "Runts" and Herefords in 1847 were much the same. By the 1870s, however, Heygate was prepared to pay several pounds more per head for Devons and Pembrokes than for Scots and Welsh "runts".[9]

Although the graziers' demand for Scots and Welsh cattle had declined at the close of the eighteenth century in favour of cheaper Irish beasts, Welsh store cattle were still highly esteemed in the Midlands. Thus as late as 1878, Carrington noted that, ". . . black longhorned Welsh cattle are brought in considerable numbers at 3-4 years old to fatten; reared on the Welsh hills they are somewhat slow feeders, but when ripe, the best of them are prime beef and much prized on the London and other markets".[10] There was a considerable demand for Welsh cattle during the late summer and early autumn months during which period they served the function of scavengers, eating surplus grass left behind by summer fattened cattle. These animals were stocked at the rate of one beast per ten acres and judiciously moved around the pastures, ". . . by which means the hardy Welsh improve in condition throughout the Winter".[11] Notwithstanding, the expanding Irish cattle trade reduced the overall annual demand for both Welsh and Scots store cattle; indeed as early as 1832, half the animals sold at Smithfield were Irish stores fattened on the Midland pastures.[12]

In the pre-steam boat and pre-railway years of the nineteenth century the Midland fattening pastures were the main source of beef for the rapidly expanding urban population and as such enjoyed the fruits of a market in which competition from other regions was relatively insignificant. In the late 1820s, however, the development of steam-boat transport resulted in the shipping of large quantities of fat cattle from Aberdeen direct to London. This initially affected the grazier by reducing his supply of lean cattle, although this was of little real significance as expanding Irish imports rapidly filled the gap. Far more serious was the competitive effect which was intensified in the 1850s as the developing railway system permitted rapid overland transport of cattle to the London markets. As Sir John Sinclair wrote to Sir Henry Halford of Wistow Hall, Leics., in September 1833, ". . . the Leicestershire graziers ought to be aware that they are likely to meet with formidable rivals in their brother farmers in the North where we have commenced feeding both cattle and sheep for the London Market, and with the aid of steam it is calculated that we shall be able to send them cheaper to Smithfield than they can from Leicestershire".[13] In addition to the threat from Scotland, the Midland graziers were beginning to feel the effects of competition from their mixed farming neighbours and also from the mixed farmers of Essex and Suffolk. Before the days of widespread oilcake feeding, the farmer who relied entirely upon grass beef production for his income was often forced to sell his cattle on a glutted early Autumn market, as lack of arable land left him without the recourses for overwintering stock. This situation, of course, did not apply to the mixed farmer who was able to winter his cattle on arable by-products and turnips and to market at a favourable time in the Spring. The grazier's dilemma was summarised by John Ellis, a Leicestershire grazier in his evidence to the Select Committee on Agriculture Distress (1836); ". . . the grazier . . . is obliged to sell (his cattle) at the fall of the year when the market is exceedingly full and the man in this part of the country that occupies tillage land altogether supplies the market in the high season of the year and the mere Leicestershire grazier upon middling grazing land has no chance". In spite of Ellis' com-

[7] *Farmer's Magazine* March 2nd 1819.
[8] Read J.R.A.S. X (1849).
[9] Leics. R.O. DE/783/45.
[10] Carrington J.R.A.S. Ser. 2 XIV (1878).
[11] Moscrop (1866) *op. cit.*
[12] Trow-Smith. *A History of British Livestock Production 1700-1900.*
[13] Leics. R.O. DG/24/965/3.

ments, the evidence suggests that farmers holding first quality fattening pastures were able to hold their own in the face of competition, particularly when the establishment of oilcake feeding at grass provided a method of marketing cattle in June and July when prevailing beef prices were substantially higher than those at the end of the summer. Thus by 1848, Robert Smith observed that the old grassland in the grazing districts of the Midland and Eastern countries still produced the principal midsummer and autumnal supplies of fat cattle and sheep for the London and northern markets.[14]

Smith defined the major categories of grassland from which the markets were supplied. These were the rich old fattening pastures which he termed "ox-lands", and the second rank "sheep-lands" which were used as holding pastures until the revered "ox-lands" came into production in the Spring. Pitt took the view that some of the finest feeding land was to be found ". . . in the districts leading from Fawsley and Daventry to Northampton and from Northampton in the direction of Maidwell, Haselbeach, Clipston and Market Harborough. Also in the line of country from Daventry in the direction of Watford, East and West Haddon, Thornby and Welford".[15] During the first half of the century these pastures rarely received any form of artificial manuring apart from dung gathered fresh from the fields in the Summer months and spread in the Autumn; ". . . hence the value that is usually placed upon these old pastures, they being exceedingly productive and nearly free of expense both as regards manual labour and artificial aid . . . they are much sought after by the leading or principal graziers as they are known to fatten an ox or sheep of any size, and in many cases regardless of quality".[16] Even when "artificials" became readily available in the latter half of the century, the graziers of the "ox-lands" still preferred the use of dung, either alone or mixed with lime, road scrapings and ditch sediment, in order to stimulate pasture growth.

The grazing season usually began shortly after Ladyday (March 25th) when the grazier began to buy his store stock from dealers at local fairs.[17] These animals were not immediately placed on the feeding pastures but were initially held back on second rate grassland and fed hay until such time that the feeding pastures came into production. The actual date upon which cattle entered the feeding pastures depended largely upon the underlying soil type. On the freely draining upland soils the pastures were normally stocked in the first week of April, whilst those overlying the colder day soils did not receive cattle until 10-15 days later.[18] In the Welland Valley no stock was allowed on the land during the spring months except for a few weeks in April, after which the pastures were closed up for hay. Subsequently the hay aftermaths were heavily stocked until late November or early December.[19] During the first forty years of the nineteenth century, the primary objective of the grazier was to market fat cattle directly from grass. Stall feeding on oilcake and cereals, a technique whose main function was to provide rich manure for the nourishment of corn crops, was not widely practised in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire during the early part of the century. In Northamptonshire, ". . . it is in vain for the tenant to endeavour to improve the quality of his manure by stall feeding cattle, for he has no bullock hovels, or to expand corn or cake in the yard, for the first heavy rain that falls washes all the valuable parts of the manure into the horse-pond . . ."[20] Furthermore the practice of feeding oilcake at grass, which was to become so popular in the latter part of the century, was as yet by no means widespread. Thus the output of the fattening pasture was determined by the operation of a satisfactory system of grassland management. Contemporary reports witness a gradual improvement in pasture utilisation throughout the century. Thus whereas Pitt mentioned that two acres of land were required to fatten a beast in 1809, Evershed in 1856 maintained that the best fattening land could support one ox per acre or one ox and three sheep per two acres.[21] By 1866, Moscrop considered that in Eastern Leicestershire, ". . . the pastures should graze and fatten a bullock weighing when fat from 50 - 60 imperial stones and one sheep of 20 pounds/quarter per acre during the summer

[14] J.R.A.S. X 1848.
[15] Pitt. *Northamptonshire op. cit.*
[16] Smith *op. cit.*
[17] Donaldson. *General view of Northamptonshire 1794.*
[18] Pitt *op. cit.*
[19] Bearn J.R.A.S. XIII (1852).
[20] Pitt. *Northamptonshire op. cit.*
[21] H. Evershed J.R.A.S. XVII (1856).

months and in winter will keep 1 - 1½ sheep per acre". Moscrop felt that the optimum size of a feeding pasture was 24 acres, ". . . which when fully stocked about the middle of May carries about twenty head of cattle and thirty sheep, the former weighing from 80-100 stones, the latter from 10-12 stones each".[22] This improvement in pasture output may be attributed to a combination of improved drainage, more effective weed control, improved manuring and the use of oilcake at pasture. At the turn of the century cattle began to be sold off pasture in September,[23] although by the 1860s generous feeding with oilcake had enabled the most forward animals to be marketed in early July. Thus as one of Moscrop's correspondents pointed out, ". . . forward animals generally pay well for 5 lbs. of cake given in June-July, and when eating cake they are best in small fields, not more than eight together". As animals were drafted for the fatstock markets in July, pressure on the pasture was reduced, and in a good growing season the grass was liable to "run ahead" of the cattle, thereby becoming rank and unpalatable. Accordingly it was the normal practice to rest and weed the pastures during a three week period following the sale of the first group of cattle. Subsequently the grazier would introduce cattle which had been held in reserve on the "sheep-land", or alternatively purchase further cattle to cope with the extra grass. The latter could often prove an expensive procedure as store cattle prices tended to advance in August. It was however essential to stock the pastures heavily in the second half of a good growing season. Thus Westley Richards, lamenting the prevailing high prices of store cattle in 1889, was forced to conclude; ". . . that in a grazing district stores must be had to eat the grass even if we have to pay too much for them..,[24] On the heavier clay soils where sheep were commonly grazed alongside cattle it was thought essential to market the sheep before shearing time, ". . . the bottom herbage then advances and improves the pasture for the cattle".[25] It was also considered expedient, before re-stocking the pastures with cattle, to gather and "knock" the accumulated soil clods, a practice ". . . which assists materially in keeping an even pasture". Whilst it was necessary to purchase expensive additional cattle in a wetter season, a dry season was often completely disastrous for the grazier. During a period of drought he was faced with two possible alternatives: he could either feed heavily with linseed or oilcake to make up for the deficiency of grass, or he could sell his cattle half-fat from the pasture at a sale price almost invariably below purchase price. The former alternative was highly expensive until the era of cheap oilcake in the late 1860s, with the result that drought years in the early and mid nineteenth century, witnessed the arrival at Smithfield of vast numbers of half-fat and often half-starved beasts of little value. The various local weather and market intelligence reports in the *Farmer's Magazine* provide ample evidence of the grazier's plight in an unfavourable growing season. Typically, in the cold, sunless Spring of 1860 fodder supplies had been reduced to the extent that numerous poor quality, half-fat animals arrived at Smithfield during the summer months.[26] Similarly in 1864, ". . . the scarcity of food necessitated a large outlay on linseed and oilcake, and premature marketing led to a shortage of top quality beasts".[27] Moscrop concluded that: "Bare patches and rapid fattening are incompatible; on the other hand satisfactory grazing is rarely accomplished when the bite gets too long and hence watchful attention and prompt action is required to hit the golden mean".

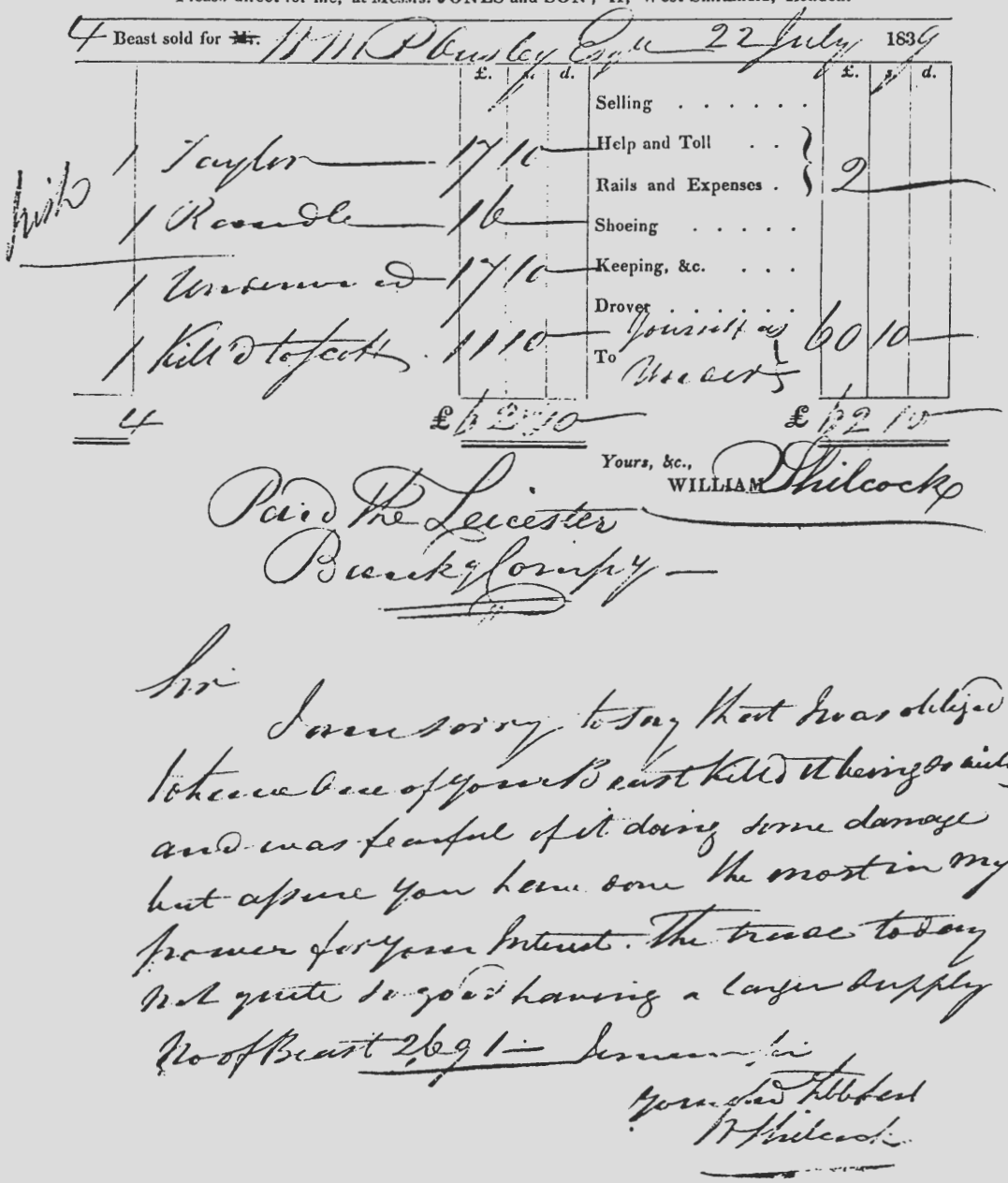
As E. L. Jones has pointed out, the period following the Repeal of the Corn Laws witnessed a considerable modification in the structure of farming, resulting from an increase in the relative value of livestock products compared with those from the arable sector and also from a rise in the real income of the expanding industrial population which stimulated the demand for annual products.[28] The majority of the extra beef produced in the early post-Repeal period, came from the intensification of stall feeding in the mixed farming regions. However, by the early 1870s, the price of beef rose to levels which justified the feeding of oilcake on the second quality grasslands of the Midland counties, which were thereby converted from holding pastures to high output feeding pastures. H. S. Thompson observed that a moderate allowance of cake or corn to animals on second quality pasture would permit the production of the same quantity of meat as a first

[22] Moscrop (1866) *op. cit.*
[23] Donaldson. *Northamptonshire op. cit.*
[24] Richards J. Fms. Club (1889).
[25] Smith *op. cit.*
[26] *Farmer's Magazine* June 1860.
[27] *Farmer's Magazine* July 1864.
[28] E. L. Jones. *The Changing Base of English Agricultural Prosperity 1853-73* (in "Essays in Agrarian History" Vol. II. Ed. W. E. Minchinton).

class fattening pasture, where, he contended, oilcake feeding was not necessary.[29] In spite of Thompson's views it appears that oilcake feeding was almost universally practised on the fattening pastures during the last quarter of the century. In 1887, Albert Pell of Haselbeach wrote, ". . . that even in the finest grazing pastures of Northamptonshire and Leicestershire whatever may have been the practice fifty years ago, it would be wrong to conclude that at the present day the extraordinary richness of their pastures is due entirely to nature".[30] Pell went on to observe that when J. B. Lawes had wished to study fertility of the pasture land around Market Harborough he had been unable to find any area in which either linseed or cotton cake had not been fed at grass. As early as 1855, the *Farmer's Magazine* had noted that consumers preferred beef produced from cake and grass to beef produced from grass alone.[31] By 1875 Carrington was recommending the feeding of 4-6 lbs. of cotton cake per beast per day at grass. On such a diet (which cost between 2/6 and 3/6 per week), beasts fattened rapidly for the early markets and were held in high esteem by butchers. A great deal of value was attached by Carrington and his contemporaries to the manurial value of the dung produced by cattle fed oilcake at pasture. As Westley Richards declared in 1889, "Fattening cattle are easy on a pasture and when they are fed with concentrated foods the pasture may be enormously improved; at present prices of cake this is the most economical method of effecting pasture improvement".[32] Regardless of the level of feeding, the end of each season usually saw the grazier left with some animals which could not be sold fat directly off pasture. Where adequate buildings were available these cattle would be stall fed and fattened for the Christmas market. Alternatively they were outwintered on hay and fattened in the following Spring. On farms where arable by-products were on hand, buildings were fully utilised by the purchase of barren cows or heifers in the November/December period. These animals were yarded and fed hay, chopped straw, roots and cake so that they were normally half-fat by April. They were subsequently grazed in the Spring and sold fat in June/July, ". . . paying £10-£12 for their six or seven months' keep".[33] Contemporary observers of the nineteenth century agricultural scene from Pitt onwards held the unanimous view that it was highly desirable to graze the pastures completely bare at least once each year. This was usually effected with Welsh runts or Scots store cattle. However, some graziers favoured Autumn depasturing with sheep, ". . . which with attention and some artificial aid are frequently ready for market when the period arrives for closing the pastures for early grass".

The Midland grazier had two alternative market outlets for his finished cattle; he could either send animals to the big city markets of London and Birmingham or he could sell locally through the provincial markets. The large majority of the Midland cattle were consigned to a salesman in London, who disposed of them on behalf of the owner. "The owner then receives a cheque for the whole of the stock disposed through the medium of the London bankers, who charge for the transmission of the money 6*d*. per head for the beasts".[34] According to Donaldson, the cost of sending cattle from Northamptonshire to Smithfield in 1794 amounted to 6/6 per head during the summer months, rising to 7/- in the winter. By 1839, however, this cost had advanced steeply. Figure I, a typical statement taken from the accounts of W. M. P. Owsley of Hallaton, suggests that the total expenses had increased to 10/- per head.[35] In 1866, Herbert contended, ". . . that a grazier is in a position to have his beast sold, all charges included for about 20/- per head".[36] These increased charges, coupled with competition from the Newgate and Leadenhall carcase markets tended to depress the Smithfield trade. Thus in December 1850, competition from the country-killed carcase trade at Leadenhall combined with a high level of European imports to produce, ". . . the most depressing trade on record where bullocks were losing 20-25% of their cost of production".[37] These various factors combined to create a suspicion of the Smithfield market and a widespread feeling that perhaps local disposal of fatstock may leave a more satisfactory profit margin than marketing in the Metropolis. In his evidence to the Select Committee on Smithfield market (1847), W. Anderson, a Midland grazier, indicated his dissatisfaction

[29] Thompson J.R.A.S. Ser. 2 (1872).
[30] Pell J.R.A.S. Ser. 2 (1887).
[31] *Farmer's Magazine* Feb. 1855.
[32] Richards *op. cit.*
[33] Carrington *op. cit*
[34] Herbert J.R.A.S. Ser. 2 (1866).
[35] Owsley and Wade Collection N.R.O.
[36] Herbert *op. cit.*
[37] *Farmer's Magazine* Dec. 1850.



Please direct for me, at Messrs. JONES and SON', 41, West Smithfield, London.

4 Beast sold for ~~Mr.~~ Mr Pebsley Esqr 22 July 1836

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1 Taylor	17	10		Selling			
1 Roundle	16			Help and Toll			
1 Unnamed	17	10		Rails and Expenses	2		
1 Kild to foot	11	10		Shoeing			
				Keeping, &c.			
				Drover			
				To Journey & Wages	60	10	
4	£62	10			£62	10	

Yours, &c.,
WILLIAM Shilcock

Paid the Leicester Bank Company

Sir

I am sorry to say that I was obliged to have one of your Beast killed it being so wild and was fearful of it doing some damage but assure you I have done the most in my power for your Interest. The trade today not quite so good having a larger supply No of Beast 2691 I am Sir

Your obed Servt
W Shilcock

FIG. I.

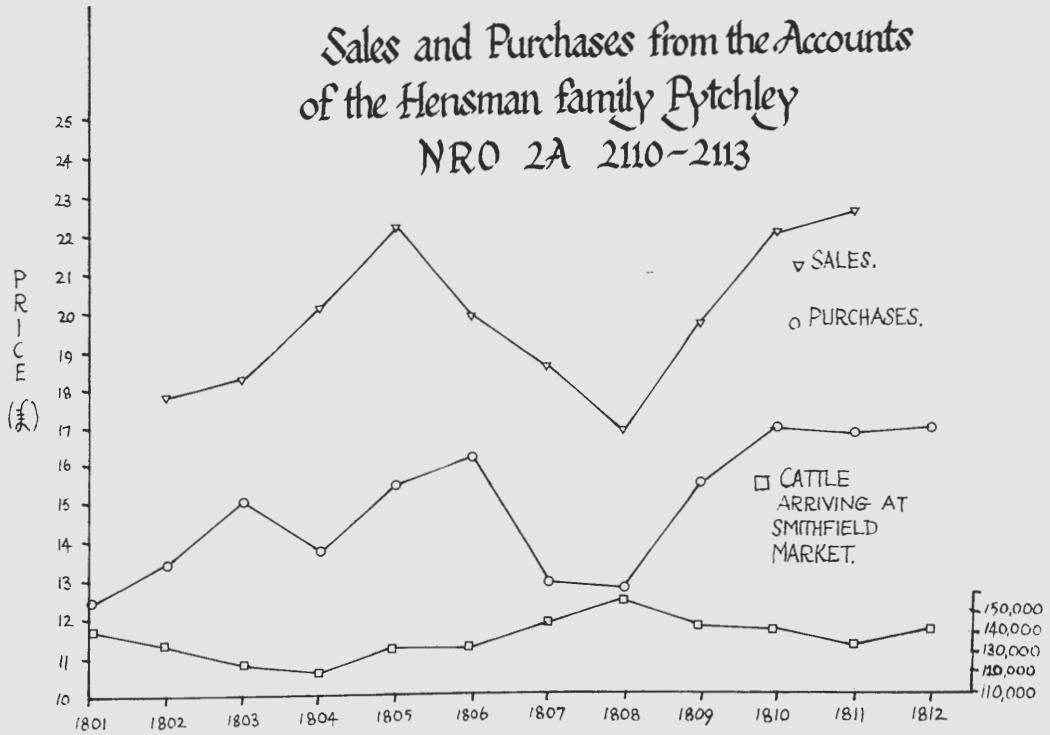


FIG. II.

with the Smithfield salesmen: "I have sold some beasts at home and I have put others in the hands of Smithfield salesmen, as near as possible of the same weight and quality. I have received £2 more for those at home than those I sent to Smithfield". This evidence was corroborated by J. Audron, a Norfolk grazier. Earlier in February 1840, W. P. M. Owsley had sent six beasts to London which had sold for £3 per head less than they would have made on the local market. Owsley observed that although the Smithfield market was buoyant for the fortnight before and after Christmas, "I have resolved never to hold beast longer than the middle of January to go to London". As previously mentioned the grazier's profit margin was closely linked to the purchase and sale price of his stock. Figure II provides data on the purchase and sale prices of store and fat cattle drawn from the accounts of the Hensman family of Pytchley[38] during the period of high prices which prevailed throughout the Napoleonic Wars. The figure clearly indicates that except for slight seasonal variation, sale prices tended to reflect the purchase price of store cattle. The latter was linked closely to the availability of forage which determined the demand for store cattle on the Midland pastures. The dry season of 1803 deserves comment. According to a correspondent to the *Farmer's Magazine*, store cattle prices held until April, but the serious mid-season drought caused demand and thus price to drop from the beginning of July, ". . . due to the scarcity of grass in the English fattening counties . . . where many breeders and graziers have given their summer grass for nothing".[39] Hensman's accounts do not reflect this price fall as his cattle were purchased in the early spring months before the effects of the drought were felt. The extremely dry summer of 1807 in which pastures became dessicated and fodder scarce induced a severe depression in store prices.[40] In the same year the winter set in early, thereby

[38] N.R.O. ZA 2110-2113.
[39] *Farmer's Magazine* 1803.
[40] E. L. Jones "Seasons and Prices".

precipitating advanced marketing and a decline in the price of fat cattle. Throughout the 12 year period covered by the accounts, Hensman's margin over purchase price fluctuated between £3 and £6, with the exception of the years 1803 and 1806 when margins were somewhat squeezed. It is of interest to note that whereas Pitt mentions 1806 as being a year of low store cattle prices this is not apparent in the Hensman accounts. This discrepancy reflects local supply and demand factors together with the grazier's capacity to drive a hard bargain with the dealers and drovers who came from all points of the compass to sell their cattle in the Midland fairs. The finely written accounts of the Earl of Winchelsea's agent at Burley provide further information upon profit margins during the War years.[41] A select sample of the accounts is presented in Table I below. The extract refers to cattle purchased in the summer of 1805, out-wintered on hay and sold fat off grass the following summer.

Cattle	Purchased	Purchase price	Sale price	Expenses	Date of Sale	Profit	Profit/ acre
2 Scots	June 1805	£28 17 0	£51 0 0	£1 13 0	July 1806	£20 10 0	£6 5 0
6 Scots	July 1805	£107 0 0	£154 0 0	£4 15 0	July 1806	£42 5 0	£3 0 10
4 Scots	Aug. 1805	£45 0 0	£72 0 0	£3 7 6	July 1806	£23 12 6	£1 18 1½
10 Devons	Sept. 1805	£148 19 0	£211 0 0	£8 2 6	Nov. 1806	£53 18 6	£1 7 10
1 Scots	May 1806	£10 19 0	£15 0 0	16 3	Nov. 1806	£3 4 9	15 3

TABLE I.

The profit/acre figure is calculated on the assumption that each animal required two acres of grass. Thus the fairly satisfactory profit per head dwindles substantially when expressed on a per acre basis. If it is assumed that "expenses" refer to the cost of winter hayfeeding, and Pitt's estimate of £2/acre for rent and taxes is adopted then the remainder would be marginal if the cost of interest on capital were deducted. Thus the summer fattened Scots beast would probably sell at a loss and the sale of the 10 Devons would leave only a miniscule profit.

A number of early nineteenth century grazier's wills deposited in Leicestershire Records Office witness the fact that grazing was not an altogether lucrative occupation. An inventory of the effects of John Day of Bitteswell (1813) indicates that when his debts were subtracted from the valuation of Real Estate and Live and Dead stock, his heirs inherited the sum of £66 7 4.[42] The heirs of Joseph Berridge, a grazier of Boughton Astley who died in 1825 were rather less fortunate, being saddled with a debt of £155 13 5.[43] A more detailed study of grazier's wills in the Midland region could doubtless provide valuable information on the changing fortunes of the grazier throughout the century.

Figure III summarises the accounts of C. Heygate, a West Haddon grazier of the post-Repeal period.[44] Heygate purchased cattle in the spring months from Welsh dealers at the fairs of Lutterworth, Northampton, Daventry, Market Harborough and West Haddon. These cattle were grass-fattened and sold during August and September. The figure reveals a steady rise in purchase prices from the late 1840s to 1864, a reflection of the increased demand for lean stock resulting from the swing towards livestock production which followed the Repeal of the Corn Laws. The lack of fluctuation in purchase price during this period may well have been occasioned by the series of moist summers which were favourable for grazing. During the latter part of the

[41] L.R.O. DG 7/1/40a.
[42] Leics. R.O. 510/31.
[43] Leics. R.O. 510/3.
[44] Leics. R.O. DE783/45.

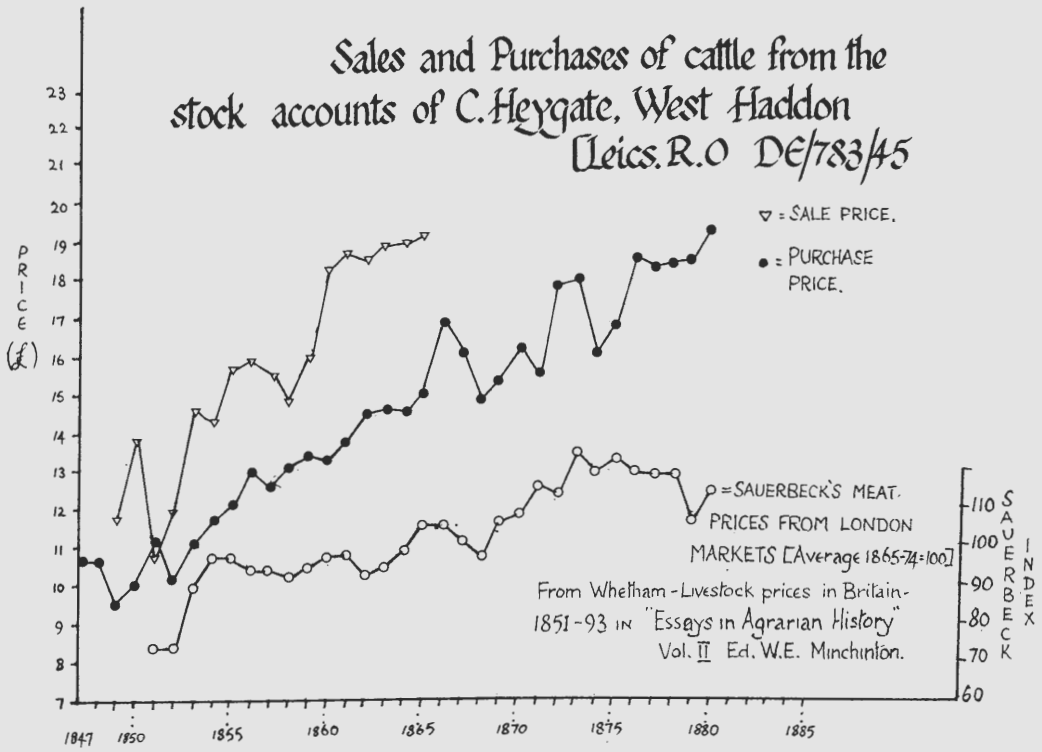


FIG. III.

period, a series of summer droughts, in particular those of 1868 and 1874 induced wide fluctuations in purchase price. It is interesting to note how closely Heygate's sale prices reflect the movement of Sauerbeck's index of meat prices on the London markets.

An accurate estimate of the profitability of grazing on individual farms during the nineteenth century is difficult to achieve due to the inadequacy of contemporary farm accounts and the major problems of allocating costs, especially those of labour. In 1866 W. H. Heywood discussed the comparative profitability of grazing and fattening cows and lambs, cheese and buttermaking and milk selling.[45] Referring to a 200 acre farm he concluded that where all expenses are considered, grazing and fattening cows yielded a profit of £215 15 0; cheese and buttermaking £189 and milk selling £304. Heywood argued that although milk selling appeared more profitable than grazing, the effect of oilcake feeding on the manure of grazed cattle and hence upon the subsequent productivity of the land, tended to offset the direct financial disadvantage. The account books of Mr. Gough of Upton in the Northamptonshire Record Office cover the period 1866-1870 and provide some indication of the gross profit margin from a typical grazing enterprise in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The accounts are summarised overleaf in Table II:—

The slump in profitability in 1868 and the severe loss in 1870 may be attributed to increased production costs resulting from two years of summer drought. As the sales prices suggest, Gough did not cut his losses by marketing his cattle in a half-fat condition, but adopted the policy of increased oil-cake feeding. Accordingly his costs of production (including purchase price) increased from £24 10 0 in 1867 and £25 18 0 in 1869 to £26 18 0 and £32 10 0 per head in

[45] Heywood J.R.A.S. Ser. 2 (1866).

Year	Purchase price/head	Sale price/head	No. sold	Sheep sold	Gross output	Cost + rent + taxes + cake	Profit (less profit on sheep)	Profit/ head
1867	£18 4 0	£23 11 0	82	40	£2205 4 9	£2007 16 8	£188 8 1 (less profit on 40 sheep)	£2 7 0
1868	£19 8 0	£25 0 0	47	115	£1331 5 0	£1262 18 1	£28 6 11 (less profit on 115 sheep)	12 0
1869	£20 0 0	£23 0 0	77	87	£2166 6 9	£1992 17 8	£129 19 1 (less profit on 87 sheep)	£1 14 0
1870	£21 0 0	£25 0 0	47	0	£1191 0 0	£1525 0 0	*Loss* £324 0 0	*Loss* £7 0 0

TABLE II.

1868 and 1870 respectively. These accounts emphasise the degree to which profitable cattle production was dependent upon a favourable season.

Whilst the evidence presented in the latter part of this paper permits a glimpse into the fluctuating fortunes of the Midland grazier, an accurate and comprehensive view may only be obtained from the study of a wide range of farm accounts embracing varying acreages and soil types. It is hoped to present such information in a subsequent article.

R. J. COLYER.

PROFESSOR F. J. W. ROUGHTON, whose obituary appears on p. 65 was engaged for many years on a book written in association with the late Magdalen King-Hall, which he has left in typescript, and which well deserves final editing and publication.

The book deals with the elopement of Lady Harriet Wentworth, younger sister of the Marquis of Rockingham, in 1764, with her Irish footman, William Sturgeon, whom she married. This, however, is only the start of the story. With indefatigable industry, Professor Roughton traced the story of the descendants, the Sturgeons. Agnes the daughter married a Frenchman, Pierre Laschesnes Heude. Their eldest daughter Henriette (Harriet) married Dr. William Roughton (1778-1854) of Kettering in 1808. She died in 1874. They were the great-grandparents of Professor Roughton.

The male Sturgeons story gives a wonderful account of early 19th century social history, and one marvels at the forebearance and tolerance of two Lord Fitzwilliams in supporting their exigent relatives, one of whom had an entirely creditable career as a colonel in the army, who distinguished himself in the Peninsular.

G.I.

Book Reviews

COUNTRY LIFE IN RESTORATION NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

THE DIARY OF THOMAS ISHAM OF LAMPORT, 1671-3

Translated by N. Marlow
Introduction and Notes by Sir Gyles Isham
Gregg International Publishers, 1971 *Price* £5.00

How fortunate Northamptonshire is to have this delightful Restoration Diary!—it makes me envious: if only we had something similar for Cornwall . . . And now rendered doubly fortunate by this model of meticulous scholarly editing. It sets a standard very difficult for anyone else to achieve, for Sir Gyles Isham gives us a *Who's Who* to Northamptonshire in the years after the Civil War and Restoration. What is remarkable is that he knows not only the gentry and clergy, who have left more memorials of themselves, but the yeomen farmers, lawyers, doctors, schoolmasters, about whom it is far more difficult to obtain information. He has tracked them all down, with patience and a great deal of unassuming learning, to the places, the farms and houses where they lived, and is able to tell us whether these still exist, unchanged or no. In the very numerous and full Notes he really gives us a portrait of Northamptonshire in Restoration days.

In the Introduction he places the Diary in the perspective of the history of those years, and that of the Isham family, gives us a biography of the intelligent boy who kept this Latin Diary at his father's behest. We are grateful for this, for we naturally want to know how life turned out for him, lively and charming as he evidently was—rather sadly, for he was a young man when he died, still unmarried.

Some points of interest for the general history of the time emerge. The year 1672 was marked by Charles II's secret treaty with Louis XIV and their joining together to force war upon the Dutch. It is remarkable how unpopular this war was with the nation at large and that both parties were at one in identifying Louis XIV's France as the real threat to England, not the Dutch. Sir Gyles notes that by 1672 neighbours in the country were burying their old Civil War quarrels. The Civil War had of course been an unmitigated disaster, and both sides had learned some sense from its folly; but the quarrels were to some extent continued in the form of party-conflict. Since people must quarrel, this was a less dangerous way of letting off steam.

The Diary also brings home to us how much more informed about events at the centre country-people were than is usually supposed. Of course the Ishams were gentry, on friendly terms with neighbouring grandees to the fore at Court, Sunderlands and Montagus, and received visits from passing notabilities like the Devonshires. But they kept in touch by going up to town, or, like the author of the Diary later, living in London; they had their correspondents, and they regularly read their *Gazette*. They soon knew about the battles at sea in this naval war, though there is no possibility of their having heard the gunfire as some folks fancied—a frequent country illusion. It is through the innocent, if intelligent, eyes of a boy that we see events: of the goings-on of the sanctified Charles II we hear of his assiduity in touching for the King's Evil. The boy takes the facts of life in his stride, accepting the King's bastards as he does Dell's puppying, the littering of the ferrets, the breeding going on all round, the quarrels of husband and wife, the illegitimacies. And there are witches; while the outbreaks of violence, the murders recorded, reveal people as no better (if no worse) than in our enlightened age.

The abiding charm of the Diary is in the perennial pleasure of country pursuits: planting out the walks, fruit-trees in the orchard, bowls on the lawn, horse-racing and cock-fighting (an

old gentleman in Cornwall told me that he could not restrain the surreptitious delight he still took in it), ferreting and coursing the hare, like Shakespeare on the Cotswolds. One great disappointment: Sir John Barnard, who married Shakespeare's granddaughter comes to dinner with news of the war. The old bore!—if only he had come with some information about his grandfather-in-law, how grateful we should be. In a previous generation the Ishams had been interested enough to purchase a (now unique) copy of the 1599 edition of *Venus and Adonis*, besides quartos of the plays.

Given such full measure in the editing, there is nothing that a reviewer can suggest, let alone add. But deer-stealing *was* a fairly regular pursuit among students at Oxford—Shotover Forest was much more extensive then—as we can see from Simon Forman's Autobiography. And one finds in the Throckmorton Diary—one or two references would have called to mind—that the Isham celebration of Christmas, entertaining the poor to dinner, calling in the Daventry musicians for several days, was in keeping with the custom a couple of generations before, in the Jacobean age, with Sir Arthur Throckmorton at Paulerspury. No reference to it—what a pity that Elizabethan house has gone, nothing but humps under the grass, and a unique monument in the church.

Anyhow, the book brings Northamptonshire so vividly to mind that it makes me want to get into the car and go exploring its villages and by-ways, as in the days when I was writing *Ralegh and the Throckmortons.*

A. L. ROWSE.

The Diary of Thomas Isham of Lamport

edited by Sir Gyles Isham Bt preface by Sir George Clark

This is the personal diary of a teenage boy of noble birth in seventeenth-century Northamptonshire, edited with copious notes by a direct descendant of the author. It presents a narrative of day to day life embracing both events of national importance and the perennial domestic and country pursuits, during one of the most turbulent periods of English history.

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THE LETTERS OF DANIEL EATON TO THE THIRD EARL OF CARDIGAN, 1725-1732

Edited by JOAN WAKE AND DEBORAH CHAMPION WEBSTER

(*Northamptonshire Record Society*. 1971)

"Daniel Eaton", writes Miss Wake "was land steward to the third Earl of Cardigan, on whose absences from Deene he was required to keep his master informed in writing of everything relating to the estate and household which was under his control. The reader will therefore find in Eaton's letters the picture of the running of a landed estate in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire, and will also gain an impression of the country gentry of the period. In them we are also introduced by name to some two hundred farmers, craftsmen and labourers who are seen actively at work in the woods and fields and also to a number of professional men—stewards, clergy, lawyers, and surveyors in the neighbourhood of Deene or in London". The 167 letters here printed are thus detailed reports of a trusted retainer, couched in most respectful language, to an exacting master, and following an invariable protocol, thus:

> My Lord,[1]
>
> Master Brudenell continues very well, and my cold is better. I intend to appoint a day at the lattar [*sic*] end of next week to receive the arrears of Leicestershire wood. Mr. Elliot bought a great deal of old ash, and there is an account not stated of mony due to him for his son's board, etc., before your Lordship withdrew your bounty. I beg your Lordship would give me instructions about this affair, whither to state and allow the account or to let it remain as it now is.
>
> The hounds, spaniels and horses are all very well. The deer are very well and don't dye, but the wet season has made them very poor.
>
> I am,
>
> Your Lordship's most humble and most faithful servant,
>
> February 9th, 1726 Dan: Eaton
>
> [*Direction endorsed*:-]
>
> To the Right Honble. the Earl of Cardigan in Clifford Street,
> Burlington Buildings, London.

Short as it is, this sample is typical of the whole collection, and the only reply expected was the "instructions" asked for in it. Miss Wake, well aware of all this, has carefully gathered together all that is known of the writer, his education and his literacy, and in her masterly Introduction (p. xviii) writes

> Class distinctions which vary from age to age, seem certainly to have been more fluid at this period than in the nineteenth century, and there were many persons of independence and some education then living in the villages who earned their livelihood as craftsmen, farmers and tradespeople, who could rise without much difficulty to a higher social status. Thus Dan, son of a tanner and brother-in-law of the village butcher, is described as a gentleman in Deene parish register on his marriage (21 February 1731), in his farm leases towards the end of his life, and in the copy of court roll of 1733 in which he appears as steward of the manor of Corby. He had probably assumed this description on his enrolment as an attorney in 1727. He appears as such in the entry of his burial in Deene parish register.

The book is thus full of interest to the social—if hardly to the literary historian; but its chief appeal is, of course, to the Economist, for whom it supplies a wealth of new, factual knowledge of farming and estate management. The more general reader's enjoyment of this formidable mass of detail is much assisted by a useful Glossary of obsolete technical words and by a separate discussion of "The Language of the Letters" (pp. li-lvi) by Mrs. Deborah Webster. But even so, the 140 pages of the text are heavy going, only made intelligible, let alone readable, by Miss Wake's

[1] No. 116, p. 97.

authoritative Introduction based upon her researches into the Brudenell[2] family. In addition there are two fine portraits of Daniel Eaton and the Third Earl, six learned Appendices and an elaborate map of the family estates.

Great care has been lavished on preparing the printed text, which presents special difficulties since Eaton, though he wrote a good hand, was not fully literate. Only one of the original 'letters' is reproduced in facsimile (p. 133), and to me it suggests that the transcribers—rather unwisely—have ignored his use of capital letters, his paragraphing and his punctuation. Without anywhere setting out precisely the rules followed in copying the letters, Mrs. Webster on p. lv explains that his sentences "may end with (if anything) a full stop or a dash or two". But the writing of such local records stretches far back into the Middle Ages and the 'dots' and 'dashes' are full of meaning. Their neglect, moreover, has led to an unhappy mistake throughout this volume. Daniel Eaton's signature here appears 167 times, and is invariably written, either "D: Eaton" or "Dan: Eaton". The two dots are due to the survival of medieval abbreviation; and it is unfortunate that both editors here refer to him continually as plain "Dan". Whether or not his friends called him Dan to his face, we shall never know. But it is absurd to suppose that in those days of social distinction, he ever called himself "Dan" on paper. So far as we know the use of nicknames in correspondence of this kind, was unknown in correspondence in the reign of George I.

In the making of this remarkable and unusual book, both writers acknowledge valuable assistance from other scholars, among whom special mention should be made of Mrs. Howard Colvin, who, writes Miss Wake, "in a very busy life, has given her countless hours of experienced, and to Miss Wake most enjoyable, editorial and research assistance, without which this edition of Dan Eaton's letters would never have been finished".

V. H. GALBRAITH.

[2] The Brudenells of Deene (1953).

THE IDEA OF LANDSCAPE AND THE SENSE OF PLACE 1730-1840

by JOHN BARRELL

An approach to the poetry of John Clare

(*Cambridge* 1972 244 pp. 6 plates Price £3.60)

This book has a wider interest than appears from the title, which suggests only an appeal to the addicts of Clare, a poet of intense local interest but hardly of national stature. It is divided into three parts; the first two define attitudes to landscape found fairly generally among the sophisticated reading public in Georgian England. Dr. Barrell shows that the sources for the interest in the contemplation of landscape stemmed from Italy. The Grand Tour fashioned Englishmen's taste for Italian traditions of landscape; their collection of works by Poussin, Salvator Rosa and Claude crystallised it. Englishmen were taught by these painters to view landscapes as a series of planes parallel with the picture surface. The eye is led from plane to plane by a rapid diminution in the size of things to the horizon before it is brought circling back to the foreground. Barrell claims that eighteenth century poets such as James Thompson and John Dyer were greatly influenced by these preconceptions. They cared little that the topography of a landscape was a representation of the needs of the people who had created it and the result is that their poems record a synthetic landscape. A parallel desire to manipulate and improve nature is of course found in the achievements of large-scale gardeners such as Capability Brown. Northamptonshire has fine examples of his work at Burghley and Castle Ashby. Contrasting with, but also united by, these aesthetic attitudes were those of what Barrell calls the "rural professional class"; tenant farmers, surveyors, lawyers and land agents, the new bourgeoisie of the Georgian countryside. These men were the readers of the *Annals of Agriculture* (started by Arthur Young in 1784) and the *General Views of Agriculture*. They equated beauty with utility, enthused over fat farming land with its expectations of good harvests, condemned wastes as dreary, described

mountains as rugged, unsightly and offensive to the eye. Their ideas in action produced the controlled linear enclosed landscape.

The third part of the book, perhaps rather insecurely integrated into the rest, analyses the landscape which John Clare grew up in, shows how his views were coloured by the poetry he had read and demonstrates that Clare turned away from the mainstream of English poetry from considering the general to the particular. This part of the book will particularly appeal to those who love the county.

Clare grew up in an unenclosed open field landscape where the lands, strips, furlongs and fields were divided into minute and intricate divisions familiar to the inhabitants of Helpston but unknown to outsiders and an object of fear and derision to the improvers. The Revd. James Tyley attacked the open fields as "unbroken tracts that strained and tortured the sight". Clare's vision was limited by the village which was the centre of a road system designed as an internal network to connect different places within the parish. This microcosmic universe was shattered by the work of the rural professional class and the new topography of enclosure was imposed on Clare's world. The ancient internal lanes vanished. Helpston was connected to the outside world with straight roads. The parish now simply became a place on the way to somewhere else. The linear landscape replaced a circular one. It was now opened out by enclosure and made part of a much wider geographical area.

Clare reacted strongly against these processes: he saw enclosure as a limiting and restricting influence on the men and livestock on the moors.

> "Fence now meets fence in owners little bounds . . . . . .
> With men and flocks imprisoned ill at ease."

Barrell points out that a good deal of Helpston had already been enclosed in the 1770s and that Clare's complaint was not securely based on personal observation but is rather an indication of interior stress. Being, for a literary critic, unusually well informed about the current state of historical thinking, he reckons that enclosure did not lead to rural depopulation in Helpston. In fact the reverse happened and Clare himself found fairly regular employment. Barrell, while recognizing the enduring value of Clare's admirable editors, the Tibbles, considers that they were unduly influenced by an uncritical acceptance of the generalisations of the Hammonds when writing their biographies of John Clare. This is an extremely interesting book; for those interested in the development of English aesthetic attitudes, for the historian of the landscape and for the perceptive student of the poet, John Clare.

J. M. STEANE.

THE PATTERN OF RURAL DISSENT: the NINETEENTH CENTURY

by ALAN EVERITT

(Leicester University Press) 90 pp. £1.20

To the series of Occasional Papers, which he edits, Dr. Alan Everitt, Halton Professor of English Local History in the University of Leicester, has already contributed monographs on the Civil War in Kent and on changes in the provinces in the 17th century. He has also written elsewhere on Nonconformity in country parishes. There can be, as he says, no valid study of provincial society during the last three centuries, which does not take account of Nonconformity.

His concern here is with the question: In what types of rural community did Dissent tend to find a foothold and flourish? For this purpose he has examined evidence from Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Kent, relying for many of his facts on the census of 1851.

Professor Everitt divides rural society into (1) freeholders' parishes, (2) boundary settlements between two parishes, (3) decayed market towns, (4) industrial villages, and (5) railhead and canal settlements. He believes that the varied strength of Dissent, as well as denominational differences, are due to significant differences in local society, apart from "purely personal and

spiritual causes". His tentative conclusions, based on more than twenty pages of statistical tables, are that, while rural Dissent in the mid-19th century was found in places of varied type, it flourished best

(1) where there was an unusual degree of freedom—

> "freedom either in the sense of comprising many small freeholders, self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen . . . or else in the sense of being situated well away from the nearest parish church and in many cases far from any manor-house".

(2) in communities of either very early or very late origin,

(3) Baptists and Congregationalists in large parishes and scattered forms of settlement, Methodists in smaller and more arable parishes of the limestone and lias belts.

In the four pages specially devoted to Northamptonshire, Dr. Everitt notes that of the sittings in Church and Chapel in 1851, Anglicans possessed 56%, Nonconformists 44%. The latter came near the middle of the county table, for in Herefordshire they had only 25%, but in Cornwall 64%.

Baptists and Congregationalists were far stronger in Northamptonshire than in the other three areas studied. The reasons for this are not closely examined, though attention is drawn to the fact that in the 18th century Philip Doddridge, the two Rylands and William Carey were influential figures in these parts and that their traditions go back through the 17th century into Elizabethan times. To the individuals Dr. Everitt names, Andrew Fuller should certainly be added and for the latter part of the 19th century the influences extending throughout the county of the Baptist J. T. Brown and the Congregationalist Thomas Arnold. There are serious limitations in a purely sociological approach. This becomes more evident when the large estates of the Duke of Buccleuch, the Marquess of Exeter, Earl Spencer, the Marquess of Northampton and Lord Lilford are remembered. They were hardly the most favourable soil for Dissent, but Professor Everitt's somewhat patronising comment "Beneath the lofty eyes of Victorian aristocrats . . . many a Northamptonshire chapel still lived out its own half-hidden life with a good deal of vigour", is hardly adequate.

More work needs to be done before a satisfactory judgment as to the "pattern" can be made. In 1847, for example, the Baptist membership in Clipston was 181, in Guilsborough 115, in Hackleton 105, in Long Buckby 132, in Thrapston 153, and in Towcester 116. William Knowles was minister in Hackleton from 1812 to 1862 and started branch chapels in Brafield-on-the-Green, Denton and Cogenhoe. Between 1860 and 1875 there were new Baptist chapels or extensions to existing buildings in Blisworth, Desborough, Earls Barton, Ecton, Harpole, Litchborough, Moulton and Wollaston, and I am confident this does not complete the list.

Dr. Everitt speaks of "the genius of the chapel community" and suggests that among the reasons for the rapid expansion of Dissent between 1760 and 1860 were the growth and mobility of the rural population, the craving for close fellowship, the vigour of local family dynasties, religious introspection and "the vast development of Dissenting hymnology". One must surely add the energising and cohesive effect of agitation for full civil rights, which stirred the village craftsman and the farm labourer as well as the townsman.

This stimulating paper will surely lead to much more local research.

E. A. PAYNE.

Shorter Notices of Books Received

Eye Life by the Revd. P. J. Randall (publ. by the author, The Revd. P. J. Randall, January 1972, 40p. or by post from The Vicarage, Eye, 48p.).

When the writer first came to Eye in 1961, he was told by a correspondent that "You seem to have alighted on a village which has singularly little history". The author rightly points out that to allege that any place has no history is as absurd as to say "a man has no grandfather". He has written a readable account of the village from early times including of course a full account of the Parish Church. This was rebuilt in 1846 to the designs of George Basevi, and is one of his last works, being built from his plans, although he did not live to supervise the construction. There is also a good biographical list of incumbents up to the present day. But the book is concerned with far more than the church and its vicars. It is, as it professes to be, an account of village life, and the author, who is vicar of the parish, is to be congratulated on a book which is easy to read and of unimpeachable scholarship.

The Bede House and *The College* by Norman Groome (Borough of Higham Ferrers, 1972). These two short booklets give, in brief, the history of these two ancient foundations by Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, and a native of the town. In the 15th century there were no old age pensions, but Chichele's pension of 1d. a day to his Bedesmen was generous even by modern standards (as Mr. Groome points out the Bedesman's silver penny was worth more than the modern pension). The Bedesmen had, however, to be "true to the house" and to keep many rules and regulations. Today, of course, it is the recently restored building which is of interest mainly to the visitor to Higham Ferrers, and of this Mr. Groome gives a more than adequate account. The "Charity" is, of course, still administered although it is two hundred years since the Bedesmen have lived in the Bede house. Chichele's College has been less fortunate, since Henry VIII dissolved the College, which was surrendered to the Crown with its property in 1542. The buildings decayed and became in part ruinous, and as Mr. Groome says "but for the intervention of the Ministry of Works would have crumbled away in disuse".

These two useful booklets were produced by the Amenities Society and the Corporation of Higham Ferrers, and can be obtained (20p. each plus postage) from either the Town Clerk or the Vicar of St. Mary's Church, Higham Ferrers. Mr. Norman Groome's work is of a very satisfactory standard from the historical point of view, and he has deposited copies at Delapré with full references and notes, which will be of great use to future students.

The Local Community and the Great Rebellion by A. M. Everitt (The Historical Association Pamphlets, 1969: copies for non-members 20p. from the Secretary, 59a Kennington Park Road, London, S.E.11).

Northamptonshire has no history of the Civil War in the county to compare with the late Mary Coates' *Cornwall in the Great Civil War* published in 1933, and still, as Professor Everitt points out "one of the best local studies of the period". Nor has it a modern study like W. Ketton Cremer's book, published just before he died, *Norfolk in the Civil War*.

Professor Everitt's pamphlet will go some way towards supplying this defect, although the need for a full study still exists. Professor Everitt contrasts the situation in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire. Leicestershire was a county of graziers, and the gentry, mostly living in modest manor-houses, were interested more in agriculture than the Court. In Leicester itself, most of the townmen still invested their money in stock farming, and some of the wealthiest inhabitants were grazing butchers. In Northamptonshire there was a very different social structure. In 1640, three quarters of the leading families in Northamptonshire (possibly four fifths), were of recent social origin. Through trade or the law or office under the Crown, they had purchased estates, and had built magnificent houses for themselves. These wealthy newcomers to the county provided the background of the leadership of the Parliamentary party, and the County Committees. They could challenge the power of the older Royalist magnates like the Earl of Northampton, who, moreover, were serving their King and his Court or in his army at Oxford.

This accounts for the fact that Leicestershire and even the County Town adopted a neutral attitude in the early stages of the War, whereas Northampton welcomed Essex and the Parliamentary garrison from the outset, and the Parliamentary caucus "had little difficulty in securing the county-town and most of the shire for their party". Professor Everitt's pamphlet is brief (27 pages of text) but it is brilliantly perceptive and exhaustively researched.

History of Education, Vol. I (ed. M. Seaborne, 1972, David Charles & Co., £2.95).

The first volume of this new series promises much for the future. The Editor is well known to readers of *Northamptonshire Past and Present* and the first volume contains several articles of special interest to Northamptonshire readers. Diana Harding's article on "Mathematics and Science Education in Eighteenth Century Northamptonshire" is particularly interesting. In this article Miss Harding makes the point that Northampton emerged as the intellectual centre of the county in this century, not least due to the influence of such nonconformists as Philip Doddridge, who brought his academy to Northampton from Market Harborough in 1729. After Doddridge's death in 1752, the Academy moved to Daventry, and later transferred to Northampton, where it was closed (in 1792) because "its liberal ideas had become a matter of concern to those who feared the spread of revolutionary ideas from France". Doddridge's Academy included geometry and algebra in its course for first year students, while "trigonometry, conic sections, celestial mechanics and natural and experimental philosophy" were included in the second year. The name of John Ryland, a Baptist Minister, deserves to be remembered no less than Doddridge as a pioneer of mathematical teaching. The fact that Northamptonshire "offered a favourable environment for the growth of scientific and mathematical ideas" was due to the size of the county, its stability and prosperity "and the considerable influence of the Dissenters".

Other articles, although less directly concerned with Northamptonshire have, at times, considerable relevance to the social and economic conditions in the County. The Lord President of the Council in the Victorian era was, in effect, the Minister of Education, and this position was held by the then Earl Spencer, in an important period.

One article deals with an earlier period, James Turner's on "The Visual Realism of Comenius". Comenius was not without his English disciples, and patrons, among them Lord Hatton of Kirby and Sir Justinian Isham of Lamport. Comenius anticipated many modern educational practices such as the use of what would now be called "visual aids". As the author says "Comenius believed that all human knowledge was founded on sense-data, implying that the early years of human life should be directed to the direct perception of empirical facts".

This new publication promises to supply a gap in our knowledge of the past, the formulation and practical application of the theory of education, and it is to be warmly welcomed.

G.I.

EDITOR'S NOTE:

I would like to record that during the eleven years that I have edited *Northamptonshire Past and Present* it has been printed by Dalkeith Press Limited, Kettering, and I would like to bear witness to the help, far beyond what would normally be expected, I have had from Mr. Philip Cox, Mrs. Cox (a most careful proof-reader) and indeed from all the staff of Dalkeith Press Limited. I would also like to pay tribute to our member Miss Sylvia Riches for her splendid work in making the Indexes for Volumes III and IV.

G.I.

OBITUARIES

Lady Stenton

THE sudden death on December 29th, 1971 of Lady Stenton, in the 78th year of her age and while preparing to leave her home at Reading for a visit to a friend in Rutland, came as a great shock to her many friends, and yet it may well be regarded as a painless and merciful end to a long, happy, and most fruitful life.

Doris Mary Parsons was born at Woodley, a village near Reading, the daughter of Jospeh Parsons, who, according to her account, was a carpenter by trade with a business in Reading. Her mother was the village school-mistress at Woodley. Doris had a happy upbringing in rural surroundings, to which she owed her appreciation of Whitley Park Farm in later life. She became a history student of Professor Frank Merry Stenton at University College, Reading, where she took a first class degree and then became a lecturer in medieval history. The college acquired University status in 1926, and she was promoted to a readership there in 1956.

Her marriage to Professor (later Sir Frank) Stenton took place on November 8th, 1919. For the first few years they lived near Reading, but in 1926 the University gave them the use of Whitley Park Farm, a large 18th century farm-house on the outskirts of the town, where they spent the rest of their lives. From 1946 to 1950 Sir Frank was Vice-Chancellor of the University. Lady Stenton retired in 1959, but, as with so many scholars, for both of them retirement only meant that they worked harder than ever at their own books.

Doris Stenton was a first class historian, who, through many years of intensive and laborious research in original records, added much to our knowledge of the legal and social conditions of England in the early middle ages, particularly in the reign of King John. Her work did not overlap with that of her husband, for hers started in 1166, at the date where his left off.

In 1923 she revived the Pipe Roll Society, of which she was general editor for 38 years, writing herself the Introductions to many of the volumes covering the reign of King John, (the Pipe Rolls being the annual accounts of the sheriffs for every county in the realm for the year 1129/30 and which survive with few breaks from 1154 to 1834,—a series unique in Europe). She also edited with introductions the earliest Assize Rolls for six different counties, including that for Northamptonshire for A.D. 1202 and 1203[1] of which, being one of our Record Society's publications, a few words may be said.

The quality of her work and the attractive way in which she presented it is at once apparent in this volume, published in 1930. "Northampton lies in the centre of England", she begins, "with nine counties bordering its shire. Northampton itself is the meeting-place of more ancient roads than any other county town . . . Two of the most important councils of Henry II's reign were held there. In 1209 the Exchequer sat at Northampton from Michaelmas to Christmas . . . King John visited the town on no less than thirty separate occasions. The earliest Northamptonshire assize rolls, the only ones that survive from John's reign, are printed in this book". What a splendid opening to one of the earliest volumes of a County Record Society!

The itineraries of the judges—two of whom, Simon and Martin de Pateshall, were Northamptonshire men—and the organisation of their work are then discussed, together with the murders and robberies, the sale of villeins and of wine, the changing of market days from Sunday to Saturday, and the many other offences which are printed later in the book. The introduction, in fact, is a model of profound learning interestingly presented. When, at the opening of the Society's Record Rooms in the County Hall at Northampton in 1930 by Lord Hanworth, Master of the Rolls, this slight and pretty young woman stepped forward

[1] N.R.S. Volume V, *The Earliest Northamptonshire Assize Rolls 1202 and 1203.* (1930).

to present to him a copy of her book, there was something like a gasp of surprise among the crowded audience, who had probably expected to see an old grey-beard with bulging forehead and spectacles. This volume, together with its predecessor, *Facsimiles of Early Charters*[2] edited by Professor Stenton, are the two books which placed our Society in an assured position in the scholarly world.

In 1950 appeared *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*,[3] of which Lady Stenton and the late Lewis Loyd were the joint editors, she again contributing a splendid Introduction to this important collection of medieval charters, made in the 17th century by the owner of Kirby Hall.

During the second World War, when resident domestic servants disappeared and Lady Stenton had to do her own cooking, much of the housework and all the washing-up (which she found tiresomely "repetitive" as she told me), her rate of literary production was naturally slowed down, but she carried gallantly on, and her historical work was finally recognised by the conferment on her of the degree of Doctor of Letters by the University of Oxford in 1968, to the great pleasure of all her friends. She was also one of the first women to be elected a Fellow of the British Academy.

In addition to the works mentioned above, the most important of her other publications include *English Society in the Early Middle Ages 1066-1307*; *The English Woman in History*; *King John and the Courts of Justice*; *English Justice between the Norman Conquest and the Great Charter, 1066-1215.*

Sir Frank Stenton died in 1967 after a long illness. His widow devoted the rest of her life to (1) the publication of a volume of his *Collected Papers*,[4] to which she added a complete bibliography of his works; (2) seeing through the press the third edition of his magnum opus, *Anglo-Saxon England*; and, (3) writing a detailed and admirable account of his life for the *Proceedings of the British Academy* for October, 1968 (Vol. 54), which was later reprinted as a separate volume.[5]

[2] N.R.S. Vol. IV. *Facsimiles of Early Charters from Northamptonshire Collections.* (1930).
[3] N.R.S. Vol. VIII.
[4] *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England. Being the Collected Papers of Frank Merry Stenton.* O.U.P., (1970).
[5] *Frank Merry Stenton.* O.U.P., 108 pp., 7s.

After Sir Frank's death Lady Stenton carried on by herself at Whitley Park Farm, but was surrounded by a band of devoted friends. Her own health, however, gradually declined, and she was troubled by increasing deafness. She was, alas! unable to attend the celebration at Delapre Abbey on June 5th, 1971, of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Northamptonshire Record Society, remarking in her letter that it was the first important occasion in its history at which she had not been present.

"Together they [the Stentons] formed," as Professor Galbraith has written, "an impressive and at times a formidable combination in English learning . . . The scholarship of both is marked by a new and greater expertise in dealing with the sources of medieval history in the original manuscripts never fully attained in the 19th century, and these new standards are reflected in the publications of local history institutions, and most notably in the Lincoln and Northamptonshire Record Societies".[6] For the inspiration of Frank and Doris Stenton which led to the formation of our Society 52 years ago, and for their continued interest and support to the end of their lives, as well as for the light they have both of them thrown on the dark regions of English history, our members will surely ever hold them in honoured and grateful remembrance.

Mrs. George Brudenell

By the death, early in 1972, of Mrs. George Brudenell, (widow of the late Squire of Deene who died in 1962) Northamptonshire has lost an outstanding personality who was greatly and widely beloved. Known as "Tommie" to her relations and nearest friends, she was Mary Julia, the eldest of the three daughters of the late Mr. Stephen Schilizzi who came to live in the County in 1905. Both he and Mrs. Schilizzi were of Greek descent.

Mrs. Brudenell was born in 1898, and during the last two years of the First World War, she served in Italy in the St. John Ambulance Brigade, as a driver with the 26th Motor Ambulance Convoy based on Genoa. Her marriage to Mr. Brudenell—a most original and interesting man—took place in 1923 and thence-

[6] *American Historical Review.* Vol. 76, No. 4 (1971), p. 1123.

forward until his death in 1962 her home was at Deene Park, which became one of if not the most hospitable of all the great houses of the County.

Of a naturally warm-hearted and friendly disposition it was perhaps as a hostess that Mrs. Brudenell chiefly excelled, but she was, in addition, a woman of real ability who threw herself with unbounded enthusiasm into the occupations and causes nearest to her heart. Chief among these were her farm with its well-known herd of Guernsey cattle; and choral singing, for which she did so much through her organising work, both for the Mid and North Northamptonshire Musical Competitions. In this last connection her own choir, drawn from the two small villages of Deene and Deenthorpe, was particularly dear to her. Not a good sight reader she would spend long hours at the piano memorising all the four parts of each work to be studied at those wonderful choir practices in the ball-room at Deene, often carrying her choristers later to victory at the Competitions in the Great Hall at Oundle School.

Among outstanding occasions during those 40 years at Deene which will live long in local memory, may be mentioned Queen Mary's visit in 1937, the coming-of-age ball of the present Squire in 1950, the entertainment of the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1953, the banquet to celebrate the centenary of the Battle of Balaclava in 1954 which was honoured by the presence of Prince Philip and the Duke of Gloucester, and last but not least that great reception at Deene in 1956 addressed by Lord Evershed, Master of the Rolls, at which was launched the campaign for the preservation of Delapré Abbey. The cause of history owes much to Mrs. Brudenell, who was a member of the Record Society for 47 years.

After her husband's death Mrs. Brudenell moved to Glapthorne, where, as another Mrs. Brudenell of Deene had done three centuries earlier, she spent the years of her widowhood. She died on January 20th, 1972, after a long illness. May we offer our sincerest sympathy to her children, grandchildren and to the other members of her family by whom she will be sadly missed. So many came to her funeral that the church would not hold them and a large crowd had to stand for the service in the churchyard. As one who was in the employment of Squire Brudenell at the time of his marriage and who has lived at Deene ever since, so truly said at the time of her death: "She was a friend to all".

Her ashes were buried beside those of her husband in Deepings, that beautiful wood bordering on Deene Park.

"Here, here's their place, where
meteors shoot, clouds form,
Lightnings are loosened,
Stars come and go! let joy break with
the storm—
Peace let the dew send!"

Professor F. J. W. Roughton

WE regret to record the death of Professor F. J. W. Roughton on 29 April, 1972. Professor Roughton was the son of the late John Paul Roughton, a well-known Kettering doctor, and came of a Kettering family, many of whom had been in the medical profession. Professor Roughton was an eminent scientist, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a Fellow of the Royal Society since 1936. He was John Humphrey Professor of Colloid Science in the University of Cambridge from 1947 to 66, and had many distinctions in scientific work as well as publishing important contributions on Physico-Chemical subjects in learned journals.

Professor Roughton was a keen member of the Record Society and listed genealogy and family history as among his hobbies in "Who's Who". For this purpose he was a frequent visitor to the Northamptonshire Record Office and always willing to give of his great knowledge on these subjects to enquirers.

In his Will, Professor Roughton left £100 to the Society and any of his papers relating to his family history, of which he had accumulated a great many.

He gave the new gates to Kettering Parish Church in memory of the Roughton family and their long connection with Kettering.

To his widow, a daughter of the late Professor B. Hopkinson, FRS, we extend our sympathy.

Colonel Nigel Stopford-Sackville, C.B.E.

We deeply regret to announce the death of Colonel Stopford-Sackville on December 1st, 1972. He was one of the Trustees of the Society, and always took a great interest in its welfare. His *Drayton* (privately printed, 1939) was a model account of the great house he owned, which he loved deeply. He always helped writers of any articles concerning Drayton, and its owners, and only last year allowed us to photograph and reproduce his portrait of the "Protestant" Duke of Norfolk.

This is not the place to mention in detail his record of public work in the County on the County Council, the County Agricultural Committee, Country Landowners Association, and the Territorial Association, etc. In all these spheres, he will be much missed.

A Memorial Service was held at All Saints, Northampton, on January 11th, 1973, at which the address was given by the Rt. Rev. Cyril Eastaugh.

The Countess Spencer, D.C.V.O.

Cynthia Countess Spencer died on December 4th, 1972 and an impressive memorial service was held at All Saints Church, Northampton on December 12th, when the Bishop of London gave the address. Lady Spencer was the wife of our Trustee, the former Lord Lieutenant of the County, Earl Spencer. By her charm and thoughtfulness she endeared herself to the people of Northamptonshire, and Lord Spencer could have had no more helpful wife for fifty years in his long career of public work. We offer him all our sympathy in his loss.

The news of the above deaths came too late for more than a brief mention in this year's *Northamptonshire Past and Present.*

Clare Documents

In these days of manuscript drain to America, it is good to record that Northampton Public Library bought at Sotheby's on 27th June, 1972, with the aid of grants, another important collection of Clare material. It will be remembered that almost exactly two years previously the Library acquired the collection described in an article "John Clare: some unpublished documents of the Asylum period" (*Northamptonshire Past and Present*, vol. 3, No. 5, 1964, pp. 190-198). This new collection comprises twelve autograph letters from Clare dated March 1820-January 1831 (ten belong to the period 1820-21) to his publishers Taylor and Hessey (nine to John Taylor and three to J. A. Hessey), and was formerly in the possession of the Buxton Formans father and son, pioneer and scholarly editors of Keats' writings. Indeed, these letters contain many references of great interest to Keats—comments on his poetry, concern over his illness and death, and the draft of Clare's sonnet to the memory of Keats which is introduced with the words: "I send you my sorrows for poor Keats while his memory is warmly felt—they are just a few beats of the heart—the head has nothing to do with them—therefore they will stand no criticism". The letters also discuss at length Clare's own poetry, its composition, revision (by Taylor) and publication, and contain the drafts of three other poems—"The small wind whispers thro the leafless hedge", the sonnet "To Time" and a 24-line Song "Fill the foaming cups again", the last of which appears to be unpublished.

(Communicated by the Librarian, The Public Library, Northampton.)

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Index to Advertisers

	PAGE
Collet's	68
Cox, W. T. & Co. Ltd.	44
Creative Printers Ltd.	36
Dalkeith Press Ltd. ...	*Inside back cover*
Daventry Development Corporation...	18
Gregg International	56
Marriott, Robert, Ltd. ...	*Inside front cover*
Northampton Chamber of Trade ...	67
Northampton Development Corp. ...	4
Scott Bader & Co. Ltd. ...	*Inside back cover*
Timsons Ltd.	43
Ward, W. G.	36
Weatherby Woolnough Ltd.	44
Weetabix Ltd.	43
White, John (Footwear) Ltd. ...	*Back cover*

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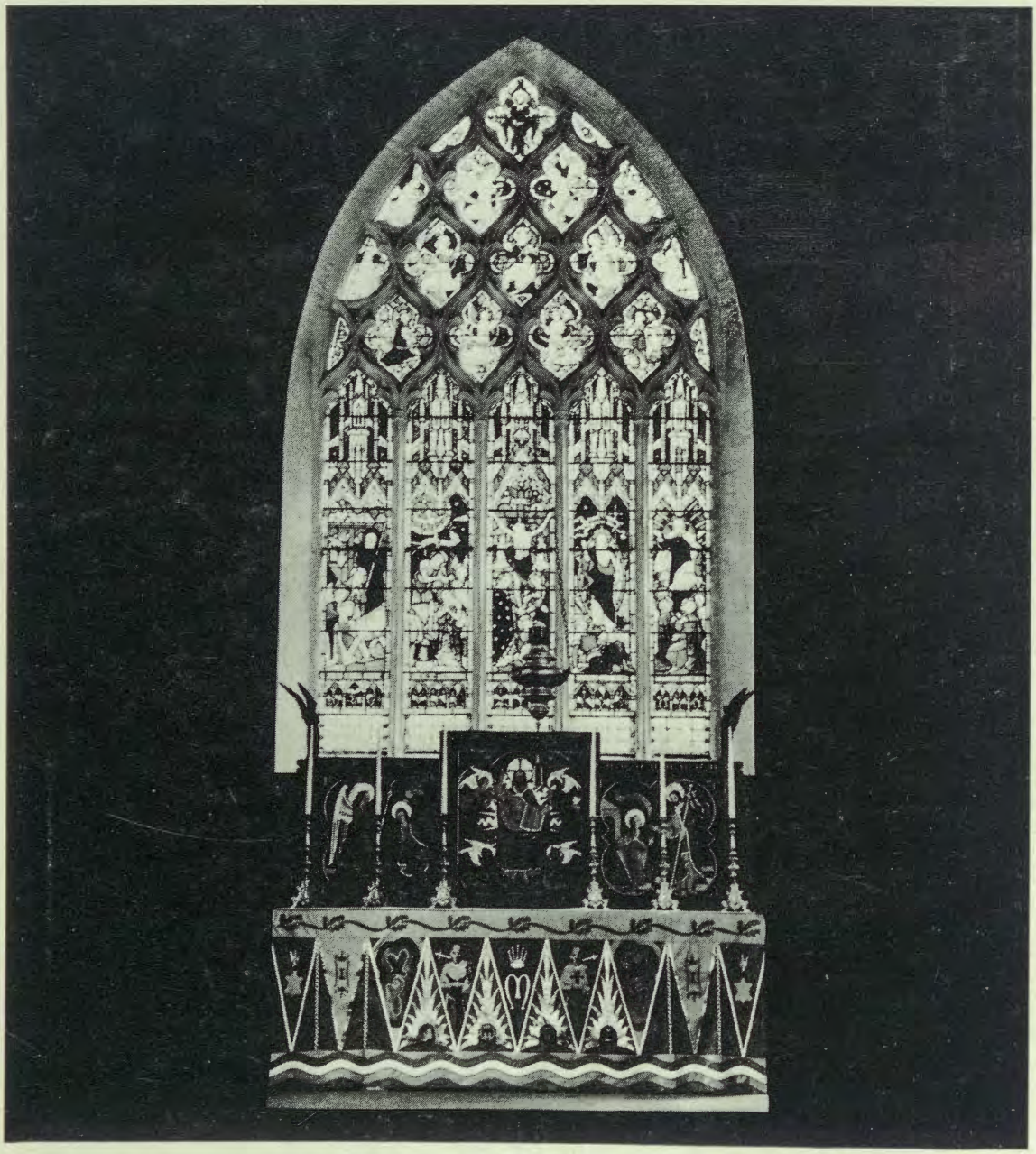

John White Footwear has been contributing to the prosperity of Northamptonshire for more than half a century, with its headquarters in the ancient town of Higham Ferrers. The company is proud to be an integral part of the local community and its own workers produced the work of art above to symbolise this feeling. It is a high altar frontal made entirely of leather which John White Footwear has presented to the 13th Century Church of the Blessed Virgin, Higham Ferrers.

JOHN WHITE

John White Footwear Limited, Higham Ferrers, Wellingborough, Northants