NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST & PRESENT

VOL. VI 1978 No. 1

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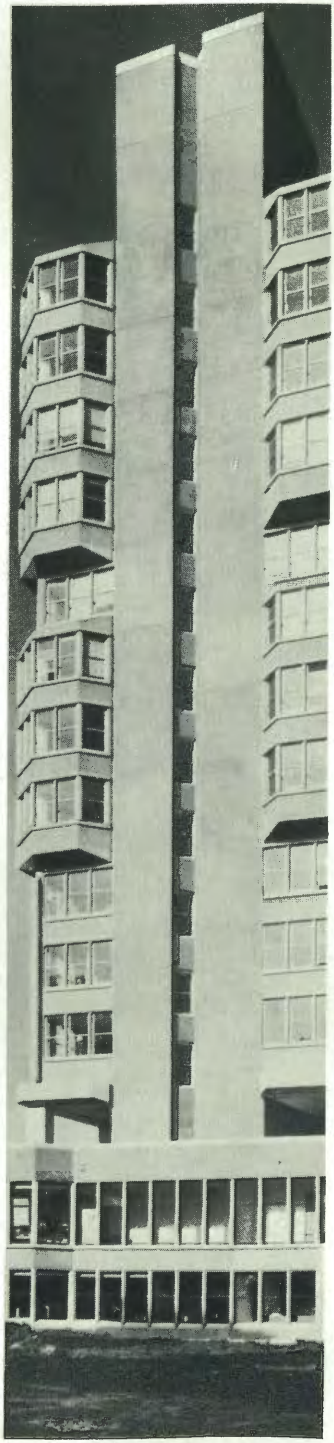

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST AND PRESENT
1978

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THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY
(FOUNDED IN 1920)
DELAPRE ABBEY, NORTHAMPTON

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AIMS AND OBJECTS

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

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NOTES AND NEWS

Once again the Editorship of this journal has changed hands, and in place of Mr. J. M. Steane, who moved to Oxfordshire in 1976, we welcome Mr. R. L. Greenall, Warden of Leicester University's Centre in Northampton. Mr. Greenall is already well known to many members, and in the County generally, for his local history lectures and publications, and the Society is grateful to him for adding yet another burden to his busy life. The change of Editor seemed an appropriate moment to close Volume V of *Northamptonshire Past & Present*, already a bulky volume, so with this issue and a new Editor we open Volume VI. An Index for Volume V is being prepared, and when this is complete we aim to bind that Volume.

The rise in subscriptions effective in January 1977 resulted, perhaps inevitably, in a drop in membership, however the total number of members is still fairly healthy compared with some other Record Societies. Over 150 new Deeds of Covenant have been signed, and this will help the Society's finances considerably. Anyone who wishes to know more about Deeds of Covenant should ask the Treasurer for details. We also hope that by the time this journal is published we shall also have raised a nice sum of money from a sale in October of books surplus to Library requirements.

The Jubilee celebrations during 1977 were marked in Delapré Abbey by an exhibition, arranged by the Record Office staff, of documents and other mementos from the Archives relating to previous similar historic events. Of course there were celebrations in towns and villages throughout the County of many different kinds, and readers will note on our front cover a reproduction of a photograph of an ox-roasting at Wellingborough in 1897, at the time of Queen Victoria's Jubilee.

The summer Lecture after the Annual General Meeting in May was given by the Regius Professor of History at Cambridge, the Reverend Owen Chadwick, F.B.A., Master of Selwyn College. The Society was fortunate in having such a distinguished lecturer to tell them the story of the opening of the Archives of the Vatican after many vicissitudes and adventures, including their removal to Paris during the Napoleonic era and later their return to Rome, and then finally in the time of Pope Leo XIII the gradual beginnings of making some of them available to the public, a policy which has been continued ever since. Those who attended heard a fascinating tale, superbly told.

The Autumn Lecture for 1977, to be given at Lamport Hall after this has gone to press, is to be given by Mr. V. A. Hatley, a member of the Society's Council, on 'Bishop Magee of Peterborough—the Challenge of Bradlaugh's Northampton'.

During the year the old Tithe Barn in Wellingborough, towards the restoration of which the Society's members in 1969/70 gave some help in terms of finance, has now been partially restored and made ready for use by the community for varied activities. It may perhaps be possible in the future to hold a meeting there. There is at the present time a continuous flow of conservation and restoration appeals throughout the County, notably that for All Saints Church in Northampton. It is always encouraging to find that eventually means are found of raising the necessary funds, and beginning or completing work.

During the summer the Society was presented with a collection of minute books and other records of the Northampton Board of Conciliation and Arbitration for the Boot and Shoe trade, dating from 1884, and also similar records of the Northampton Town Footwear Manufacturers Association, which has closed its office in Northampton and moved to Rushden as part of the equivalent County Association sited there. These interesting documents have been deposited on loan with the County Archivist, and the Society is glad to think that they will be available to research students.

While on the subject of leather products—it is interesting to note that the Museum of Leathercraft, which has never had a permanent home, is eventually to be housed in the old Georgian Bluecoat School in Bridge Street, Northampton, and also that in the autumn the National Leather Centre was established at Nene College, Park Campus, Northampton, and the Leather Research Association is expected to be housed nearby.

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SIMON OF PATTISHALL, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE MAN, EARLY COMMON LAW JUDGE

RALPH V. TURNER

The village of Pattishall lies a few miles southwest of Northampton and to the north of Towcester, just off Watling Street. It was the home of Simon of Pattishall, an early professional in government, specializing in judicial activity. His name surfaces in the records in 1190, and it disappears after 1216.[1] His time of activity coincides with an important period for English common law: the years between 'Glanvill' and *Magna Carta*.

Simon was one of that group of royal judges who mark the beginning of bureaucratic government in England, as professionals began to perform specialized tasks by the last years of the twelfth century. By the time of King John, about ninety men acted at various times as royal judges, either at the Bench at Westminster, with the court following the king, or as itinerant justices in the counties. Many of these had temporary appointments, making circuits in the counties; but a core of fifteen concentrated on the work of the courts, so that they can be regarded as early members of a professional judiciary.[2] Simon of Pattishall's is perhaps the most respected name among the fifteen. He had the longest career, earning such a reputation as a judge that his plea rolls were preserved.[3] He founded a judicial dynasty, for his clerk, Martin of Pattishall, became a judge, as did his clerk, William Raleigh, who had as his clerk Henry of Bracton, author of the great treatise on English law.

The background from which Simon of Pattishall came seems little different from that of his colleagues on the bench. Most of John's judges came from the class that would later be called "country squires"; few came from families that approached baronial rank.[4] Very little can be known of Simon's family, except that they were Northamptonshire freeholders. The family name of Pattishall or 'Pateshull' comes from a village in Towcester Hundred, Northamptonshire. The 1166 Inquest of Knights' Fees lists two men of the village bearing the surname Pattishall, each with a fifth part of a knight's fee belonging to the honor of Wahull.[5] It has been suggested that a family of hereditary rural deans resided at Pattishall, and that Simon may have been a member of that family, but the evidence to support this view is inadequate.[6] Evidence that he did come from the village of Pattishall is provided by a final concord by which he promised to make payment there each year of a mark to a certain widow.[7] Also the pipe roll for 1192 lists him as holder of a knights' fee of the honor of Wahull, which must have been the same land that Pattishalls—presumably his ancestors—had held in 1166.[8]

Simon first appeared in the administrative records as a royal agent in 1190, soon after the accession of Richard I; but he must have begun his administrative career earlier, in the reign of Henry II. What preparation did Pattishall have for the posts he would hold? An important part of the professionalization in government under Henry II and his sons was an increasing use of written records. Although the education of laymen in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is a murky area, the *miles literatus* can be sighted more often than is usually recognized. As Richardson and Sayles stated, "We may presume . . . that a layman who exercised an office demanding the use of written

[1] G. E. Cockayne, ed., *The Complete Peerage*, new edition (London, 1910–59), X, 312, 'h'; Sidney Lee, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1900—), XV, 474.

[2] They served at least ten terms at Westminster or with the court *coram rege*, plus making eyres.

[3] Doris M. Stenton, ed., *The Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls*, A.D. 1202–1209 (Lincoln Record Society, XXII, 1926), pp. xxii–xxiii; *English Justice between the Norman Conquest and the Great Charter, 1066–1216* (American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1964), p. 98, n. 4. In 1219—after Simon's death—a dispute before the Bench could be settled by consulting his roll, *Curia Regis Rolls* (Public Record Office, London, 1923—), VIII, 99.

[4] Only two of the fifteen: Eustace de Fauconberg and Richard de Mucegros.

[5] *Complete Peerage*, X, 311.

[6] William Farrer, *Honors and Knights Fees* (London and Manchester, 1923–25), I, 92, citing a crown debt owed by Roger dean of Pateshull in 1201; but *Complete Peerage*, X, 311–12, n. 'f', points out that Roger merely held a benefice at Pattishall, while he was dean of Brackley.

[7] Public Record Office, Feet of Fines, Northants. 171/11/177.

[8] *Pipe Roll 3 and 4 Richard I* (Pipe Roll Society, new series, 1926), p. 201; Farrer, *Honors and Knights Fees*, I, 92.

PLATE 1. AIR PHOTOGRAPH OF PATTISHALL [*Aerofilms*]

instruments was literate."[9] Younger sons of knights or ambitious sons of humbler freemen sought training that would qualify them for positions as clerks or stewards with a baron or bishop, a sheriff or some other royal officer. Since Simon was such a layman, with duties that demanded literacy, he must have learned his Latin letters somewhere.

Opportunities for elementary and secondary schooling were more widely available in the Middle Ages than is generally realized. By the early thirteenth century, there were many schools where boys could study Latin grammar. Simon, like other boys in the twelfth century, probably learned his first Latin from his parish priest, from the parish clerk, or perhaps at his mother's knee.[10] He may have boarded at a monastery to learn his letters in the abbot's household, as was customary among knightly families until the mid-thirteenth century. Or if his family was poor, he might have served at the monastery as an almonry boy.[11] But once he had received an elementary education that enabled him to conduct correspondence or keep accounts, further training came through practical experience.

It is most unlikely that Simon ever studied at a university or even at one of the business schools or schools of *ars notaria* that existed in England in the early thirteenth century, and possibly earlier.[12] He was not unusual in not having taken a university degree. Only three of the sixty

[9] H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta* (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 274. For an older but similar view, see James Westfall Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (Univ. of Calif. Publications in Education; IX; Berkeley, 1939), p. 180.

[10] Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (New York and London, 1973), pp. 66–67. Mary Martin McLaughlin, "Survivors and Surrogates", *History of Childhood*, ed. Lloyd de Mause (New York, 1974), p. 125, suggests that noblewomen were capable of instructing their children in simple Latin.

[11] Orme, pp. 243–45, 248.

[12] H. G. Richardson, "The Schools of Northampton in the Twelfth Century", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LVI (1941), 595–605; "The Oxford Law School under John", *Law Qtrly. Rev.*, LVII (1941), 319–338.

or so men who served Richard I as judges had the title *magister*, and only eight out of about ninety judges under King John.[13] Of the small number of judges who might be termed professionals in the reigns of Henry II's two sons, only three seem to have studied Roman law.[14] Simon's preparation for his judicial career had to be chiefly practical, *non subtilia sed utilia* in the words of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*.[15] Pattishall probably served an apprenticeship in the household of some baron or royal official, moving into Henry II's service through the support of his patron.[16]

Any ambitious young man seeking a career as a civil servant needed a patron, someone already at court to sponsor him. Personal servants of royal officials often carried out public responsibilities even though they were not technically in the king's employ. Judges' personal clerks kept 'official' records. These clerks sometimes became royal justices themselves, so that we can almost speak of 'judicial dynasties'. There is no evidence, however, that Simon served as a judge's clerk. A more likely possibility for patronage was through service to some baron or bishop, and once he gained high office, his clients could win an introduction to court. For example, Hubert Walter brought many members of his housegold from Canterbury into royal government when he was justiciar and later chancellor. Three of Simon's colleagues in the judiciary seem to have come to their posts through their service with Geoffrey fitz Peter, King John's justiciar.[17] Others could have had the king as their initial patron. Throughout the early Middle Ages, stories were told of humble chaplains or huntsmen who attracted the king's attention, won his favor, and rose to high rank, great wealth and power.

Simon's original patron is unknown; neither is his introduction to the king's service known. Often justices had gained practical experience in other aspects of royal administration, particularly in finances, before their appointment. Most of the early thirteenth century judges seem to have been associated with the Exchequer, even though technically they were not *clerici de scaccario*.[18] In 1190—the year in which Simon also first sat at the Bench—he was custodian of escheats in Northamptonshire, and the next year he was given custody of Northampton Castle.[19] In 1193 and 1194 Simon was sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire.[20] When Richard I returned to England in the spring of 1194, he shifted a number of sheriffs, sending Simon to his native county of Northampton, where he remained sheriff after John became king, until the spring of 1203.[21] In February 1198, King Richard named Simon one of the four 'keepers of the Jews', a central office created in 1194 to collect debts owed to Jewish moneylenders.[22] He still had some involvement in Jewish matters in 1204, accounting to the Exchequer for a fine offered by a Jew charged with counterfeiting.[23] King John continued to show his confidence in Simon even when he had grown mistrustful of many of his subjects. In 1212, the king entrusted him with custody of Fotheringhay Castle in Northamptonshire, which had been taken away from the earl of Huntingdon.[24] One of John's ways of strengthening his security was by taking hostages from those he suspected. In October 1214, he committed one of his hostages to Simon.[25]

The justices' financial work calls to mind the close ties between the Bench and the Exchequer. It is possible to admit the judges' involvement in finances without admitting the claims of some scholars that the 'justices of the Bench' and the 'barons of the Exchequer' were identical

[13] Ralph V. Turner, "Roman Law in England before the Time of Bracton", *Jl. of British Studies*, XV (1975), 23.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[15] Charles Johnson, ed., *Dialogus de Scaccario* (London, 1950), p. 5.

[16] Noel Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration in England* (Oxford, 1937), p. 70; Doris M. Stenton, ed., *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Lincolnshire (1218–19) and Worcestershire (1221)* (Selden Society, LIII, 1934), p. xvi.

[17] Richard of Herriard, James of Potterne, and Master Ralph of Stokes.

[18] Frank Pegues, "The *Clericus* in English Royal Administration", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LXX (1956), 541.

[19] *Pipe Roll 2 Richard I* (Pipe Roll Society, new series, 1925), pp. 6, 26; *Chronica Rogeri de Hovedene*, ed. William Stubbs (Rolls Series, London 1868–71), III, 136, indicates that he became custodian of Northampton Castle on 28 July 1191.

[20] *Public Record Office Lists and Indexes*, IX, *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales from the Earliest Times to A.D. 1831* (London, 1898), p. 43; *Pipe Roll 7 Richard I* (Pipe Roll Society, new series, 1929), p. 217, shows that he was sheriff in 1194.

[21] Brian E. Harris, *The English Sheriffs in the Reign of King John* unpublished M.A. Thesis (Nottingham, 1961), Appendix I, "A list of Sheriffs . . .," p. 200.

[22] *Pipe Roll 10 Richard I* (Pipe Roll Society, new series, 1932), pp. 125, 165, 210. According to H. G. Richardson, *English Jewry under the Angevin Kings* (London, 1960), p. 136, Simon was replaced in 1200.

[23] *Pipe Roll 6 John* (Pipe Roll Society, new series, 1940), p. 191.

[24] Simon was custodian along with another Northants man, Walter of Preston, *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum* (Record Commission, London, 1833), I, 122b; *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium* (Record Commission, London, 1835), p. 94n.

[25] *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 104b.

groups.[26] Whatever may have been true earlier, by the middle years of Richard's reign the two branches of government were growing apart.[27] Yet long after two distinct groups of financial officers and judges came into sight, the justices continued to concern themselves with finances. Sometimes Simon accepted fines when men seeking some favor from the king found it more convenient to offer it to a judge visiting their county than to send it to the Exchequer.[28] Letters close concerning crown debts occasionally reveal Simon carrying out financial tasks connected with his native county of Northampton.[29]

Justices on eyre were a vital link in the chain connecting the shires, hundreds, and boroughs with royal government. It was convenient for the justices to act as tax assessors when they went to the counties. Taking tallage of the towns of the royal demesne was normally included among the itinerent justices' duties, and many pipe roll entries tell of Simon's work of tallaging.[30] Collection of the carucage was also the responsibility of the itinerent justices, and Simon of Pattishall helped to collect it from time to time.[31] Another task assigned to Simon and other judges was the investigation in 1213 following John's reconciliation with the pope into damages done to churches during "the time of discord between the king and the clergy of England."[32]

In spite of his work in finances, Simon of Pattishall's career illustrates a tendency toward specialization in royal government. Under Henry II and his sons, much administrative activity was conducted by men whose work was so wide-ranging that they cannot be linked with one branch of government only. The chroniclers simply describe them as *curiales* or *familiares regis*, and in King John's time such royal *familiares* as William Briwerre or Hugh Bardolf were frequently judges. Although Simon did occasionally perform other tasks, he can best be described as a professional royal servant specializing in the work of justice.

Simon's judicial career began in June 1190, when he was one of the justices itinerent in Kent, Surrey, and Middlesex. That summer and autumn he sat at the Bench at Westminster for the first time, and he remained there until the summer of 1207. During those years, he joined other justices on eyre when the court at Westminster was adjourned. He did not always go on circuit to his native region as was normal for justices, but visited several different parts of England. Whenever King John visited the kingdom, Simon joined his court, sitting as a justice *coram rege* in 1200, 1201, in 1204–1205, and in 1207. After Trinity term 1207, he no longer returned to Westminster, but remained with the court following the king through Easter term 1214.[33]

King John clearly respected Simon of Pattishall's judicial ability, for the monarch kept him a member of his court *coram rege* almost continuously from its creation until its collapse at the time of the rebellion. Simon was present at the great council at Northampton on 7 July 1199 shortly after John's coronation.[34] He was also with the king on his next visit to England after the coronation, February–April 1200.[35] At that early point in his reign, John seems to have selected Simon as one of the judges for his newly created court *coram rege*.[36] By 1209 John had closed the court at Westminster, and the king—moved by his suspicious nature and by the hostility growing out of his quarrel with the pope—concentrated justice in the hands of a few trusted judges travelling with him. It was a small band, composed largely of laymen because clerics feared to serve an excommunicate master. Simon was constantly one of them, along with three other professionals.[37] He was the senior member of the band, the only one whose experience extended to the days of Glanvill and Hubert Walter.

[26] As H. G. Richardson maintained, *Memoranda Roll 1 John*, (Pipe Roll Society, new series, 1943), introduction, pp. xii–xv; Richardson and Sayles, *Governance*, p. 210.

[27] Francis J. West, "The *Curia Regis* in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries", *Historical Studies (Australia and New Zealand)*, VI (1954), 173–85; Brian Kemp, "Exchequer and Bench in the later twelfth century—separate or identical tribunals?" *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LXXXVIII (1973), 559–73.

[28] E.g. oblations *per Simon de Pattishall* in *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus* (Record Commission, London, 1835), pp. 127, 131, 132, 349.

[29] *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, I, 34, May 1205, Simon to show the sheriff a debt; p. 126, Oct. 1212, Simon returned to the chamber 15 marks for the widow of Walter of Wahull.

[30] E.g. *Pipe Roll 1 John* (Pipe Roll Society, new series, 1933), pp. 84, 218, 227; *Pipe Roll 5 John* (1938), pp. 63, 104, 252; *Pipe Roll 7 John* (1941), p. 104; *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Praestitis* (Record Commission, London, 1844), pp. 89, 100.

[31] *Pipe Roll 1 John*, pp. 29, 36, 78, 84, 217, 227, 267; Doris M. Stenton, ed., *Pleas before the King or his Justices, 1198–1202* Selden Society, LXVII, LXVIII, LXXXIII, LXXXIV, 1948–67), I, 137.

[32] *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, I, 164b, Simon assigned to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

[33] Stenton, *Pleas before King or Justices*, III, "Development of the Judiciary, 1100–1216", pp. lxxix–ccxciv.

[34] Stenton, *Pleas before King or Justices*, I, 49–50.

[35] *Cartae Antique Rolls 1–10* (Pipe Roll Society, new series, 1939), pp. 61, 124–25, no. 104, 248.

[36] Stenton, *Pleas before King or Justices*, I, 78.

[37] James of Potterne, Henry de Pont-Audemar, and Roger Huscarl.

Business of the court *coram rege* had to be suspended in the summer of 1210 during King John's campaign in Ireland, and he sent for Simon of Pattishall to help him reform the Irish legal system. John was determined to bring Ireland more closely under his control, and he turned to his most experienced judge to help establish English laws and customs there. John's departure for his expedition to recover his continental territories brought another closing of the court *coram rege* and a brief revival of the Bench before the baronial rebellion forced the suspension of all normal government work. In 1214 and 1215, right up to the outbreak of fighting, Simon of Pattishall was back at Westminster hearing pleas. In 1216, in the midst of civil war when the regular machinery of government had broken down, King John still relied upon Simon as a judge.[39]

C. A. F. Meekings wrote, "We are . . . very much in the dark about the mechanical side of business in the Bench."[40] Nevertheless, the surviving plea rolls do cast some light on Simon of Pattishall's part in the work of the courts, and they reveal him as bearing special responsibilities. When he went on eyre, he was always leader of the band of justices with whom he rode.[41] If the justices apportioned their work by allowing their non-professional colleagues the simpler task of taking the assizes, then Simon sometimes had to revise their work, making marginal notes on their scrolls.[42]

Darkness still surrounds the making and keeping of plea rolls. By 1232 the chancellor had a clerk resident at the Bench to take charge of the rolls and writs.[43] But in the time of King John, each justice had his own clerk, and each one seems to have kept a roll.[44] Since a major concern of the monarch was with the profits of justice, one of the rolls was marked with the amercements and turned over to the treasurer. Certainly that was true of the assize rolls,[45] and when Simon was an itinerent justice, his roll was the authoritative one. The mere fact of the preservation of his rolls would point toward this.[46] But further evidence is the notation on one of the eyre rolls that it was to be handed over to "Martin the clerk of Lord Simon of Pattishall", so that he could turn it over to the sheriff.[47] Late in John's reign, Simon had the responsibility for sending the roll of amercements from the court *coram rege* to the treasury.[48]

It does seem that in whatever court Simon sat he and his clerk had special record-keeping responsibilities. From the first years of John's reign, entries on the fine rolls reveal Simon's work of accepting and recording oblations offered for writs, adjournments, and other favors.[49] Both the Bench and *coram rege* rolls refer to writs which were in the keeping of Simon of Pattishall.[50] He witnessed many of the judicial writs which commanded sheriffs to carry out the court's judgments or, in some cases, to hold inquests to obtain further information.[51] After 1205 Simon's clerk, Martin of Pattishall, kept notes on the agreements between litigants which would be needed in drawing up the cirographs recording their final concords. Several entries on the plea rolls concerning final concords state that Martin had the necessary note.[52] Records of payments to messengers sent with letters for Simon of Pattishall suggest that he was the link between the justices following the king and the Exchequer staff sitting at Westminster.[53]

Little can be said about the significance of the judgments which Simon gave because the documents tell so little. The plea rolls rarely record general statements of legal principles, and when they do, it is difficult to connect the decision with any one judge, since panels of three, four,

[38] *Rot. de Lib. ac de Mis.*, p. 188, 10 marks payment to the men who arranged Simon's crossing to Ireland.

[39] *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, I, 270, 30 Mar. 1216. Simon commanded to take an assize of darrein presentment at Northampton.

[40] "Martin of Pateshull and William Raleigh", *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, XXVI (1953), 164.

[41] Pipe Roll lists of amercements refer to eyres of "Simon of Pattishall and his companions".

[42] Stenton, *Pleas before King or Justices*, I, 129–30.

[43] Pegues, "The *Clericus* in English Administration", p. 546.

[44] Cyril Flower, *An Introduction to the Curia Regis Rolls* (Selden Society, LXII, 1943), p. 10, points out that duplicate and even triplicate rolls of sessions have survived.

[45] *Dial. de Scacc.*, p. 77.

[46] Of twelve eyre rolls surviving from John's reign, eleven are from eyres in which Simon was leader, Stenton, *Eng. Justice*, p. 98, n. 4.

[47] Stenton, *Pleas before King or Justices*, II, 148, no. 537, assizes at Launceston, 18 June 1201.

[48] *Pipe Roll 14 John* (Pipe Roll Society, new series, 1955), and *Pipe Roll 16 John* (1962), *passim*.

[49] *Rot. de Obl. et Fin.*, pp. 15, 19, 255, 318.

[50] Stenton, *Pleas before King or Justices*, II, 291, no. 986; *Curia Regis Rolls*, III, 48, 230.

[51] E.g. *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, I, 5b, 22b, 23, 51b, 102, 125.

[52] *Curia Regis Rolls*, II, 279; III, 347; IV, 46, 48, 177.

[53] *Documents illustrative of English History in the 13th and 14th Centuries from the Records of the Queen's Remembrancer in the Exchequer* (Record Commission, London, 1844), p. 243, from *rotuli misae* 14 John (1212). For a letter addressed to Pattishall concerning a court case, see Herbert E. Salter, ed., *Cartulary of Osney Abbey* (Oxford Historical Society, 1929–36), V, 67, no. 575A. The bishop of Coventry informed Simon that a church in litigation was not vacant.

PLATE 2. THE MEDIEVAL PARISH CHURCH OF HOLY CROSS, PATTISHALL, drawn by George Clarke of Scaldwell about 1830. [*Northamptonshire Libraries*]

or more justices heard pleas.[54] The plea rolls record judgments in impersonal language: *judicium est . . .*, or *consideratum est . . .*. Another difficulty is the English dependence upon the jury, which meant little separation of substantive law from procedure. The aim of proceedings was to frame some question—either in the original writ or through pleadings by the opposing parties—that the jury might answer. Its answer could bring the case to a conclusion without ever deciding the issue of substantive law.[55] This pattern left less scope for authoritative pronouncements by judges than in countries of Roman law.

Still another difficulty is that the time had not yet come when justices would turn to the judgments of their predecessors as binding authorities. Occasionally the early legal treatises would note the work of an individual judge, but only as "an illustration of the custom of the court."[56] A London legal collection from the time of King John records contention between Simon of Pattishall and another justice over a point of procedure. A London goldsmith had killed his wife, sought sanctuary in a church, then abjured the realm. When pleas of the crown were heard, however, a question arose about amercement of his pledges, since they did not have him present before the king's justices. Simon of Pattishall argued that the pledges should be quit, for the goldsmith had abjured the realm with the king's permission; since royal justice had been kept safe, the evildoer punished, and the king's will done, the pledges should go free. Although Simon's colleague disagreed, his view prevailed, and the pledges escaped amercement.[57]

Bracton cited in his treatise nearly 500 decisions, chiefly those of Martin of Pattishall and William Raleigh, whose rolls he had copied into his *Note Book*. He did cite, however, two cases supposedly from rolls of Simon of Pattishall. In one, the question is the validity of a gift of land when both donor and donee remain in seizin throughout the donor's life; and the answer is that

[54] Simon once postponed a suit when he found all his colleagues on the bench absent, *Curia Regis Rolls*, V, 151.

[55] John P. Dawson, *A History of Lay Judges* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), pp. 126–27; T. F. T. Plucknett, *Early English Legal Literature* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 103.

[56] Frederick Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I* (Cambridge, 2nd edition, 1898), I, 138. E.g. some mss. of 'Glanvill' indicate opinions of individual judges in the margins, G. D. G. Hall, ed. (London, 1965), introduction, pp. xliii–xlvii.

[57] Martin Weinbaum, *London unter Eduard I. und II.* (Stuttgart, 1933), II, 65, from Br. Mus. Add. MS. 14252, f. 114v–117r, no. 21; summarized by Mary Bateson, "A London Municipal Collection of the Reign of John", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XVII (1902), 709.

the gift is invalid.[58] In the other, the question concerns adjournment of suits involving minors until they come of age. Actually, the date of the case on which Bracton based his discussion is 1237, a plea seeking from Henry III custody of Salisbury Castle and the hereditary shrievalty of Wiltshire.[59] In the course of the proceeding, the claimant points out an earlier plea heard before Simon of Pattishall in the time of King John. Bracton concluded from Pattishall's having allowed the earlier plea to go forward that the exception of minority is no excuse for dismissal if the suit touches the king.[60]

One case survives from the eyre rolls where judgment—or rather refusal to give judgment—can be linked to Simon of Pattishall. A mort d'ancestor came before Simon and his companions taking the assizes in 1201, which must have brought to their minds the *casus regis*, John's doubtful succession to the crown on Richard's death instead of his nephew Arthur of Brittany. The tenant asked the court's judgment whether a younger brother or a nephew, son of a deceased elder brother, was the nearer heir. Obviously, the similarity to the circumstances surrounding John's succession placed Simon and his companions in an awkward position. They were unwilling to give judgment, adjourning the assize indefinitely "because judgment is pending by the will of the lord king."[61]

What can be said of Simon's attitude toward his work? No notions of seventeenth century common law judges or twentieth century high court justices must be read back into the thirteenth century. Simon was the king's servant first and the law's servant only second. He must have been aware of the importance of the profits of justice to the king, and he probably took pride—like one of Henry III's itinerant justices later—in the royal revenues that he raised.[62]

The king's will was a powerful factor in judgments, to be taken into account along with custom and law. Pattishall and his fellow justices consistently sought to protect King John's interests, consulting him about royal charters and grants, about difficult cases, or about suits involving prominent persons.[63] The king had little cause for concern about protection of his rights when Simon of Pattishall was sitting on the bench. Furthermore, Simon was aware that John kept his eye constantly trained on the courts. Indeed, the king once amerced him and a fellow justice 100 marks because they granted two barons license to agree in an appeal of felony without royal permission.[64]

What provision did the king make for payment of Simon? It was easy to support royal servants who were in clerical orders by giving them ecclesiastical benefices, but Pattishall was a layman. Other means of support were temporary custodies of lands in the king's hand, grants of escheats, wardships, or income-producing offices. Only by the later thirteenth century do records reveal regular payments to justices. The chief justice of King's Bench was then receiving an annual salary of 60 to 100 marks.[65] Some of his colleagues, however, received no definite salary, but only irregular grants 'for their expenses' or 'of our [the king's] special grace'.[66] By the 1240's justices on eyre were paid allowances amounting from 20 marks to £40 to cover the added expenses of riding on circuit.[67] From time to time, Henry III made gestures of gratitude toward his justices by giving them robes, game, or timber from the royal forests.[68] The only record of King John making such a gesture to Simon of Pattishall is a gift of two casks of good Angevin wine.[69] The king did, however, sometimes pardon him of debts due at the Exchequer.[70]

In spite of the expenses the justices encountered on their eyres, their office could produce income. A normal method of maintenance for civil servants throughout the Middle Ages was a sys-

[58] *On the Laws and Customs of England*, ed. and trans. Samuel E. Thorne (Cambridge, Mass., 1968–77), II, 152, f. 50b.

[59] *Bracton's Note Book*, ed. F. W. Maitland (Cambridge, 1887), III, 248–49, no. 1235, brought by William Longsword.

[60] Bracton, IV, 313, f. 422b.

[61] *Pleas before King or Justices*, II, 144, no. 528.

[62] W. W. Shirley, ed., *Royal Letters, Henry III* (rolls Series, London, 1862–66), I, 421–22, no. 350: William of York to the chancellor, enthusiastically stating that his sessions had averaged 40 marks a day for the king.

[63] Ralph V. Turner, *The King and His Courts: The Role of King John and Henry III in the Administration of Justice, 1199–1240* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1968), *passim*.

[64] *Pipe Roll 9 John* (Pipe Roll Society, new series, 1946), p. 207; *Rot. de Obl. et Fin.*, pp. 412, 417. The plea roll account does not indicate that the justices gave the two parties leave to agree, *Curia Regis Rolls*, V, 58–59. Later the two justices were pardoned, *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, I, 113, 114, 20 April 1208.

[65] G. O. Sayles, *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Edward I* (Selden Society, LV, 1936), I, lxxi.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. lxxi–lxxii.

[67] C. A. F. Meekings, *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre, 1249* (Wilts. Archaeo. and Natural Hist. Soc., Records Branch, XVI, 1961), p. 12.

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Rotuli Chartarum* (Record Commission, London, 1837), p. 70, cited in Edward Foss, *The Judges of England* (London, 1848), II, 101.

[70] E.g. the remainder of his farm of the county in 1209, an amercement in 1207, and scutage in 1212, *Pipe Roll 13 John* (Pipe Roll Society, new series, 1953), pp. 91, 267.

tem of fees. This applied to the courts, with the justices and their clerks collecting part of the fees paid by litigants, such as charges for sealing judicial writs.[71] But judges profited from their posts in other ways, some of which would appear remarkably like bribery to modern eyes. Benefits might range from hospitality offered by local nobles to justices on eyre to permanent pensions paid by magnates or monastic houses to justices of the Bench.[72] No doubt, these patrons expected some consideration when their cases came into court, at least a speedier hearing than less affluent litigants might expect. Possibly some of the grants of land to Simon represented efforts by important landholders to put him on retainer. William de Bethune, advocate of St. Vaast, Flanders, who secured Simon the grant of a manor in 1209, had been involved in lengthy litigation for possession of his English barony.[73] Could this have been a reward for Simon's legal services? Or could grants of land by four monastic houses have represented attempts to ensure favorable treatment of their court cases? It must be borne in mind that medieval men accepted as normal a certain amount of venality in all courts, up to the papal *curia* at Rome.

Most royal judges were able to add to their landholdings, and to push their sons up a rung higher on the social ladder. This is true of Simon even though he received no remarkable rewards from his royal master. Since he was not a cleric, he could not be rewarded with a bishopric; neither was he married to a rich heiress, an easy way of rewarding a faithful knight. Simon did marry, but if his wife brought any land to her husband, it is not recorded.[74] Neither did Simon ever attain a great office of state as did two of his colleagues on the bench.[75] Nevertheless, he was able to build up his landholdings, adding to the one knights' fee he had in 1190. Apparently, he wished his home at Pattishall to form the heart of his holdings, for they were concentrated around his native village in Northamptonshire with some holdings in adjoining counties—Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxford to the south, and Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Rutland to the north—although he did have some holdings farther away in Suffolk, Surrey, and Yorkshire. Simon not only acquired estates in the country, but also some urban property in Northampton and at Stamford, Lincolnshire.

From time to time, King John granted property to Simon, particularly temporary possession of escheats. John often made such grants to men who had his favor, but he rarely gave them great hereditary holdings. The grants he gave could easily be withdrawn in case royal wrath was aroused.[76] In 1199, Simon held at farm the land of John de Mallium at Willaveston, Rutland.[77] The next year, the king granted him by charter two houses in Northampton for 16 pence yearly, part of the escheat of Benedict the Jew of York.[78] In 1201 Simon held the escheated land of Josce of Wallingford in Northamptonshire; he held it by charter and by the service of eighteen geese.[79] For a period between the death of the count of Perche in 1202 and the grant of his lands to one of the king's natural sons in 1204, Simon of Pattishall had custody of the count's lands.[80] In 1205 and 1206 Simon had custody of the lands of Matilda de Cauz, a widow in the king's wardship, at Milton Malsor west of Pattishall and south of Northampton, part of the honor of Laxton.[81] Simon already held other lands of the honor of Laxton nearby. By 1212, Simon held at the king's will the escheated manor of Waddesdon, Buckinghamshire, a manor that pertained to the honor of Wallingford.[82]

Pattishall was able to accumulate holdings in addition to those granted him by the king. He held some land lying in royal forests, though not held of the king: 60 acres in King John's wood called Le Hay and 120 acres at his heath of Estley.[83] In 1190 Simon assumed a debt of £30 owed the king by Robert fitz Hugh, a member of a prominent Northamptonshire family, and in return

[71] Meekings, *Crown Pleas of Wilts. Eyre*, p. 13; Margaret Hastings, *The Court of Common Pleas in the Fifteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1947), p. 83.

[72] Meekings, p. 13; Sayles, *Select Cases in Court of King's Bench*, I, lxxvi–lxxviii.

[73] *Rot. Chart.*, p. 184b.

[74] *Complete Peerage*, X, 312, note 'g', tentatively identifies her as Amice, daughter of William le Chivaler, lord of the manor of Tolleshunt, Essex, based on a 1316 plea, *Year Books of 10 Edward II (1316–1317)* (Selden Society [Year Books Series, XX], LII, 1934), pp. 113–21. But the Simon mentioned (d. 1274) must have been the grandson of Simon I.

[75] Eustace de Fauconberg became treasurer in 1217, and Henry of London became justiciar of Ireland in 1221. Both were clerics, and also became bishops.

[76] J. C. Holt, *The Northerners* (Oxford, 1961), p. 226.

[77] *Pipe Roll 1 John*, p. 20. He accounted for 20 shillings.

[78] *Rot. Chart.*, p. 52, 26 April 1200.

[79] *Pipe Roll 3 John* (Pipe Roll Society, new series, 1936) p. 178.

[80] *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, I, 1, 3b.

[81] *Pipe Roll 7 John*, p. 226; *Pipe Roll 8 John*, p. 176, he owed 40 shillings.

[82] Hubert Hall, ed., *Red Book of the Exchequer* (Rolls Series, London, 1897), II, 600. In May 1215, the estate was given to another, *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, I, 200; *Memoranda Roll 10 John* (Pipe Roll Society, new series, 1957), pp. 138–39, no. 10.

[83] *Rot. Chart.*, p. 131b, 11 May 1204; p. 152, 1 June 1205, land held by Simon of William fitz Hamo and of the monks of Bradwell.

Robert granted him his land at Heyford. Simon was to hold the land for an annual rent of a pound of pepper to Robert and ten shillings to its chief lords.[84] In 1200 Simon held half a knights' fee in Whatefield, Suffolk, of the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds;[85] he also held of Bushmead Priory, Bedfordshire, land which was part of the barony of Eaton Socon.[86] In April 1201 Simon completed a final concord with William de Lefremund by which William granted his grandfather's one and a half knights' fees in Milton Malsor and Collingtree, Northamptonshire, part of the honor of Laxton, to Simon.[87] Earlier, William had acknowledged Simon's right to advowson of the medieties of the churches of Milton Malsor and Collingtree.[88] During the years 1201–12, Simon was paying scutage on a quarter of a knight's fee in Surrey.[89] In 1202, nine bovates in Great Panton, Lincolnshire, were quitclaimed to Simon in return for his payment of one silver mark.[90] Sometime before 1207 Simon de Beauchamp, constable of Bedford Castle, gave Pattishall a mill at Linslade, Buckinghamshire.[91] In 1207 Simon had his part in nine virgates at Hillesdon, also in Buckinghamshire, confirmed by Ralph Tricket, a member of an old Bedfordshire family.[92] Also Simon accepted a grant of a croft in Pattishall plus the manor of Cold Higham and Grimscot, very near Pattishall, from the prior of Dunstable; and he accepted four virgates in Eascote, also Near Pattishall, from the abbot of Cirencester.[93] In 1209 at William de Bethune's request, King John granted Simon and his heirs the manor of Rothersthorpe, not far from his other Northamptonshire holdings. Simon was to hold the manor, part of the honor of Chocques, by the service of one knight and payment of £10 annually.[94] When scutages were assessed in 1211, Simon paid on one and a half knights' fees at Knaresborough, Yorkshire.[95] In the pipe roll for 1214, Simon owed three shillings for two bovates at Swillington, Yorkshire, which he had held for three years.[96] Also in 1214, Simon quitclaimed one virgate at Winton, Lincolnshire, in exchange for property in the town of Stamford. He gained a loft in the parish of St. John's Church with two shops below and an oven on the north side of the church, which he was to hold for seven pence yearly rent.[97]

Simon of Pattishall never came close to holding the thirty knights' fees that can be considered "the minimum for a fair sized barony."[98] The length of time some of this grants lasted cannot be known; some were permanent, others only temporary. If he could have kept them all until the end of his life, however, he would have held five and three-quarters knights' fees plus other lands of varied sizes and some burgage tenures. Certainly he was a considerable landholder, comfortably within the knightly, if not baronial class. His sons continued to prosper in the king's service. One of them, Walter (d. 1232), served Henry III as sheriff and itinereant justice; and he made a good marriage, which brought him property in Bedfordshire.[99] Another son, Hugh (d. 1241), served Henry III as Exchequer clerk, treasurer, and royal justice until he became bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in 1240.[100] Pattishall had founded a family which would remain prosperous into the fourteenth century.[101]

Yet Simon may have remained unsatisfied with his rewards, for the only important post that he held was senior justice *coram rege*. He had held the office of sheriff, often a source of profit, only until 1203, he was justice of the Jews only briefly, and he held no great number of profitable custodies or wardships. He did not rise to wealth and power either as rapidly or as high as did other royal officers who formed a clique of *familiares regis*. Did Simon's disappointment at his lack of reward lead him to lean toward the rebels against John? The king's distrustful nature

[84] *Pipe Roll 2 Richard I*, p. 6; *Pipe Roll 3 and 4 Richard I*, pp. 157–58.

[85] *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, ed. H. E. Butler (Edinburgh, 1949), p. 89.

[86] Farrer, *Honors and Knights Fees*, III, 251; *The Book of Fees* (Public Record Office, London, 1921–31), II, 888.

[87] F. M. Stenton, *Facsimiles of early Charters from Northamptonshire* (Northamptonshire Record Society, IV, 1930), pp. 156–57. Confirmation by King John, *Rot. Chart.*, p. 95b, 1 May 1201.

[88] *Curia Regis Rolls*, I, 120.

[89] *Red Book of the Exchequer*, I, 148.

[90] *Feet of Fines for the County of Lincoln, John* (Pipe Roll Society, new series, 1954), pp. 74–75, no. 159, assize of mort d'ancestor brought by Geoffrey fitz Guy.

[91] Joyce Godber, ed., *Cartulary of Newnham Priory* (Bedfordshire Hist. Record Soc., XLII, 1963), p. 17, no. 15.

[92] Farrer, *Honors and Knights Fees*, I, 93.

[93] *Ibid.*; C. D. Ross, ed., *The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey, Gloucestershire* (London, 1964), II, 559–60, no. 665, a rent of one mark. G. H. Fowler, ed., *A Digest of the Charters preserved in the Cartulary of the Priory of Dunstable* (Bedfordshire Hist. Record Soc., X, 1926), p. 109, no. 312. Rent of 4/13/- plus a pound of incense, and hospitality two to three times yearly, also 100 shillings of gersum paid.

[94] *Rot. Chart.*, p. 184b, 5 Mar. 1209.

[95] *Pipe Roll 13 John*, p. 91.

[96] *Pipe Roll 16 John*, p. 86.

[97] *Feet of Fines for Lincs.*, pp. 171–72, no. 333, fine with William of Weston. Later Simon's son gave this property to the monks of Pipewell, Br. Mus. Add. MS. 37022, f. 152.

[98] Sidney Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949), p. 19.

[99] *Complete Peerage*, X, 313; Farrer, *Honors and Knights Fees*, I, 93.

[100] Foss. *Judges*, II, 437–38.

[101] William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England* (London, 1675–76), II, 143. John of Pattishall received a summons to Parliament as a baron from Edward III.

caused him to turn against Simon for a time, with or without reason. A sign of John's reduced confidence in Simon is his return to the Bench at Westminster for Easter term 1215 after years as senior justice *coram rege*. Later that spring, on 12 May, a royal writ commanded the seizure of his lands and the sale of his chattels.[102]

Whatever the reason for John's suspicion of Pattishall, it subsided quickly. On 20 May, the king issued a safe-conduct for him, stating, "If it is as the abbot of Woburn said to us on your behalf, then we relax all our wrath and indignation which we had against you."[103] By December 1215, John was returning Simon's property to him.[104] The next spring, in the midst of civil war, Simon was back at his judicial work, for the king appointed him to take an assize at Northampton.[105] Doubtlessly, with the disruption of government work, he had retired to his estates near Northampton.

Since Pattishall's name does not surface on the administrative records after their resumption at the end of the rebellion in 1217, he must have died about the same time that his royal master did. He was buried in Pipewell Abbey, a Cistercian house in Northamptonshire, where Robert of Pattishall—possibly a kinsman—was abbot.[106] Like any good Christian, Simon had already made provision for prayers for his soul, setting aside some property for the purpose: a house and land at Stamford, which he had bought from Deulesaut the Jew.[107] Besides being remembered in the prayers of the monks at Pipewell, Simon was remembered in the mid-thirteenth century by the chronicler Matthew Paris. He was remembered not as one of King John's 'evil counselors', as were many of the monarch's *curiales*. Instead, Matthew Paris described him as a faithful and honest man "by whose wisdom all England was at one time ruled," and "who at one time guided the reins of the justices of the whole kingdom."[108]

PLATE 3. MOTIF ON A TILE FROM PIPEWELL ABBEY [*Northamptonshire Libraries*]

[102] *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, I, 200.
[103] *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 138; *Memoranda Roll 10 John*, p. 141, no. 104.
[104] *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, I, 244.
[105] *Ibid.*, I, 270, 30 Mar. 1216.
[106] *Complete Peerage*, X, 312; for Robert, see *The Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales 940–1216*, ed. David Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, Vera London (Cambridge, 1972), p. 139.
[107] Br. Mus. Add. MS. 37022, ff. 148, 151d, the Pipewell Cartulary.
[108] *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series, London, 1872–84), III, 296, 542.

CHESTER ON THE WATER: A DESERTED MEDIEVAL HAMLET

A. E. BROWN

The hamlet of Chester on the Water, or Little Chester, lay in Irchester parish alongside a track which led north-westwards from Irchester to a crossing over the River Nene just outside the ramparts of the Roman town. It is not mentioned in Domesday Book or medieval tax lists and the earliest reference to it in 1236 shows it to be part of the great manor of Higham Ferrers held by William de Ferrers.[1] We do not know how long the place had been in existence before this. It is quite possible that it was a secondary settlement derived from Irchester in the early medieval period but the possibility should also be borne in mind that it represents a faint survival of the focus of settlement represented by the Roman town, with Irchester either as a fresh Anglo-Saxon foundation or as a continuation of a Romano-British settlement some little distance from the town itself. Without excavation neither hypothesis can be proven, but it should be pointed out that the relationship of Chester to the arable land of Irchester, commented on below, at least allows both ideas to be entertained.

Like Knuston it was generally linked with Irchester for the purposes of manorial jurisdiction. People from Chester appear in the Irchester court rolls, as in 1385 when Richard Ffysshire of Chester complained of John Ffysshire in a plea of debt and in 1537 when John Hamerton of Chester was fined 3s4d because he "unjustly seized for his own profit ten geese which had come as strays upon the lord king's river at Chester and concealed the same to the disinheriting of the said lord king".[2] But from the point of view of landownership its separate descent shows that it was regarded as a small manor in its own right, rated at $\frac{1}{20}$ of a knight's fee. It is described as "le manor de Chestre be the Watre" separately from Irchester in a set of ministers' accounts of 1399.[3] At times at any rate its lord was able to obtain from the chief manor the right to hold a court for his own tenants, as in 1313–14 when the Irchester manorial accounts include "rent of 2/- at four terms from Sir Aumary de Nowers for having a view of frankpledge of his tenants at Little Chester".[4]

The *Inquisitio post Mortem* of Aumary de Noers taken in 1309 gives a detailed picture of the manor.[5] He had a "capital messuage worth annually in fruit and herbage of the garden 4/-: a dovecote worth 3/-: 50 acres of arable land worth yearly 25/-: there are 25 acres of meadow worth 50/- a year. There is a certain separate pasture worth yearly 6/8d. There is there a fulling mill let at 20/- a year. There are there 2 water mills worth 40/- a year. There is there a certain fishery worth 3/4d . . . . (There are there) 5 free tenants who render at the said terms 9/- and each of them reaps in the autumn for 2 days: the worth of each work per day being 2d, total 10d. And 1 free tenant paying 6d every year at the feast of St Thomas the Apostle and 2d on Palm Sunday. And 1 free tenant who pays 2d a year on the feast of St Thomas: total 11/6d. There are there 13 villeins each of whom holds 1 virgate of land, paying 7/- of rent a year, total £4.11.0d. And among them they plough with 6 ploughs at winter sowing for one day—value of work for each plough 4d. Total 2/-. And each of them harrows for $\frac{1}{2}$ day at the same sowing with one horse. There are 2 cottars who hold 1 cottage each and each of them pays 12d a year. And 1 cottar who holds 1 cottage and pays 16d a year, and does 2 works in the autumn worth 4d and in mowing the meadow 4 works worth 4d. And 1 cottar who does the same services only, but pays no rent, worth yearly 8d: total 4/8d."

The arable, meadow and separate pasture mentioned at the beginning of this inquisition formed the manorial demesne of over 75 acres (we cannot be certain of its exact size because the area of the pasture is not given). In all probability this demesne land is to be equated with the enclosed area, totalling just over 100 acres, shown on 18th century and later maps as constituting

[1] *Book of Fees* (Testa de Nevill) Part I, 602.

[2] W. J. B. Kerr, "Irchester, the township, manor and chapelry of Knuston, the manor of Chester by the Water and the King's mills at Ditchford" (series of articles in *The News* 1913), R. M. Sergeantson, "The Court Rolls of Higham Ferrers Part III", *Reports and Papers of the Associated Architectural Societies* 34 (1917/18), 51–2.

[3] P.R.O. DL 29 728 no. 11987. The descent is given in Bridges, *History of Northamptonshire* 2, 181–2 and *Victoria County History Northamptonshire* 3, 23.

[4] W. J. B. Kerr, *Higham Ferrers and its Ducal and Royal Castle and Park* (1925) 36, 77.

[5] Kerr in *The News*, as note 2.

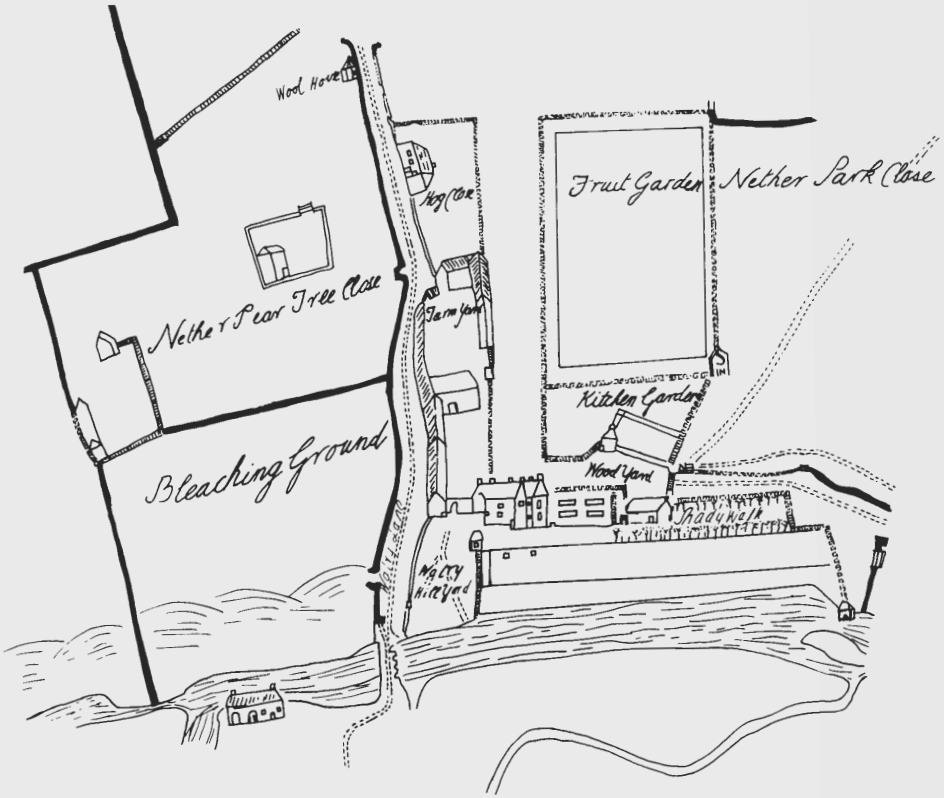

FIG. 1. CHESTER ON THE WATER IN 1756.

the territory of Chester.[6] Much of this is good meadow and pasture land near the river Nene and that a portion of it had been under the plough at some period is shown by the presence of ridge and furrow. The substantial holdings of the tenants, amounting to considerably more than the 13 virgates of the villeins, since we know nothing of the sizes of the free tenants' farms must have lay dispersed in the open fields of Irchester and Knuston. Later documents suggest that this would have been the case and that Chester had no field system of its own; for example, the conveyance of Chester to Thomas Ekins in 1714 describes the closes and meadow near Chester House but the rest of the estate is referred to as "all those two yardlands of arable land leys meadow and pasture lying and being dispersed in the fields of Irchester, Chester and Knuston".[7]

The inquisition lists a total of twenty four tenants, free, villein and cottagers. This is a fairly large figure and suggests a sizeable population for Chester, but unfortunately we cannot be at all certain that all the tenants actually lived there; some for example may well have lived at Irchester or Knuston. We do not know how many people lived at Chester in the Middle Ages. In 1494 William Coope bought the manor. In 1517 the Wolsey Commission reported that he had owned six messuages and 13½ virgates "in archester and knoston". In 1498 he had cast these down and allowed them to fall into decay, thereby rendering idle 4 ploughs and 36 people.[8] Since William Coope owned no land elsewhere in Irchester parish, it is clear that the manor of Chester is referred to here. This receives support from another document[9] produced at this time, which specifically refers to the destruction of messuages at Chester on the Water by Coope, only differing

[6] N.R.O. map 605 (1756); Irchester Tithe Map 1845, N.R.O.T. 183.

[7] N.R.O. YZ 4170: also the documents mentioned in Bridges *op. cit.*, 182, and P.R.O. DL 42/177 (land of William Fisher in survey of 1590–1).

[8] I. S. Leadam, *Domesday of Inclosures 1517–18* (1897) 1, 287.

[9] P.R.O. C43/28/6m. 48.

PLATE 1. HOUSES OF THE FORMER HAMLET INCORPORATED IN FARM BUILDINGS, CHESTER ON THE WATER. The datestone says 1690.

slightly from the Wolsey return in putting the number of houses involved at five. Just how great a decline these five or six houses were from the medieval total we do not know, but it does look as if an attempt was being made to clear them away completely. If so, then the attempt was a failure and Coope or his successors in the occupation of the manor were forced to rebuild, or thought it wise to do so, because there is evidence for the continued existence of half a dozen or so houses at Chester later in the 17th century.

Also the 13½ virgates of 1517 (each virgate containing 40 acres) agrees well with the 13 virgates of villein land of the inquisition of 1309 and must represent land in the open fields of Irchester parish. Yet the enclosure awards of Irchester and Knuston of 1774 and 1770[10] show only the usual smallish ancient enclosures around the centres of population and no substantial arable areas already enclosed into fields. So it there was an attempt at enclosure as well, this had failed also. In 1511 Chester was sold to Thomas and William Wigston of Leicester and when they founded a chantry in the collegiate church at the Newarke in the following year the manor of Chester was given to it. The annual value was stated to be £18.15.0d in 1542.[11] After the acquisition of chantry lands by the Crown[12] Chester remained in royal hands until it was sold to John Godbould and Thomas Ekins in 1616. The relevant charter speaks of 6 messuages with rents and profits in Chester, Knuston, Irchester and Irthlingborough.[13]

That these houses survived until the end of the 17th century is suggested by the Hearth Tax returns of 1670 and 1674.[14] In 1670 we find at Chester that William Mulshoe had 5 hearths and Thomas Ekins 6; in 1674 William Mullshoe had 8 and Ekins again 6. The Mulshoe tenement almost certainly refers to the present Chester House; the 6 hearths of Thomas Ekins presumably represent the half dozen or so ordinary houses still remaining there, all in his occupation in one way or another. That these were still in use at about this time is indicated by the remains of these

[10] N.R.O. Misc. Ledger 381 and YZ 8037.

[11] Chantry Act Certificate quoted in A Hamilton Thompson "The History of the Hospital and New College of the Annunciation of Our Lady in the Newarke, Leicester", *Reports and Papers of the Associated Architectural Societies* 33, (1915/16), 428.

[12] Receivers Accounts 1548–9. Lands in Chester on the Water £9. As note 11, p. 433.

[13] Bridges, *op. cit.*, 182.

[14] P.R.O. E 179/157/446 and E 179/254/14.

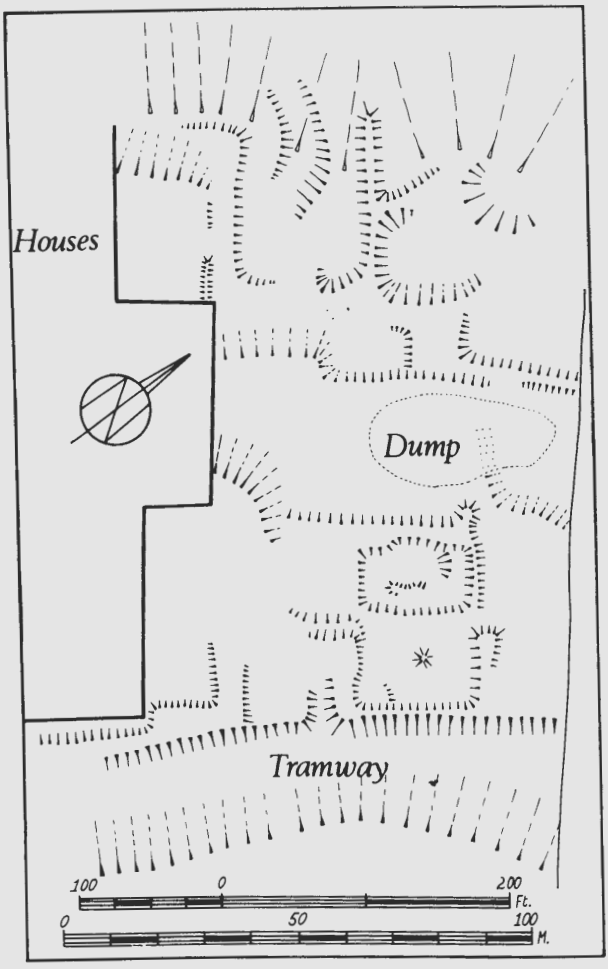

FIG. 2. EARTHWORKS AT CHESTER ON THE WATER, IRCHESTER

houses still embedded in a ruinous condition in the farm buildings to the east of the present Chester House; one of them carries a date stone of 1690. In 1714 Thomas Mahew of Hargrave conveyed a portion of the Chester estate to Thomas Ekins. The agreement[15] described the portion conveyed as "all that capital messuage or tenement together with the closes thereunto belonging and adjoining called Chester, Borough and Mill Closes and also those three severall holmes or pieces of meadow ground called by the names of the Great Holme, the Mill Holme and Midle Holme . . . all in Chester". All this meant that Ekins now held the whole manor, including Chester House, in his own hands. It was evidently Thomas Ekins who finally ended the occupation of the remaining small houses at Chester. In the early 18th century Bridges described the place in the following terms;[16] "a manor with one house . . . anciently an hamlet of four or five houses"; "here at present only one house, the residence of Captain Thomas Ekins"; "the castrum (i.e. Roman town) lies towards Wellingborough, and the houses formerly standing here were on the other side towards Ditchford-bridge". A map of 1756[17] shows that a comfortable country estate had been

[15] N.R.O. YZ 4170.
[16] Bridges, 179, 181, 182.
[17] N.R.O. Map 605. Tracing reproduced with the kind permission of the Northamptonshire Record office.

created, with a house and formal garden approached by a wide drive reached through gates from the road to Higham Ferrers. On the west of the drive were the orchard and kitchen garden; on the east the farm buildings. Some of these still survive in a ruinous condition, and in fact represent four or five or the former houses of the hamlet converted to agricultural use; the house shown as standing within Hog Close does not however remain.

The earthworks to the east of Chester House (SP 920 669) are slight and much mutilated by later farm buildings, recent rubbish dumps and an ironstone railway[18] (Fig. 2). Two parallel scarps running SW–NE (with a recent rubbish dump between them) are discernable and these might represent former tenement boundaries running back from the eastern side of the former Watry Lane. The northernmost of these corresponds with a hedge shown on the map of 1756 and the enclosure shown as attached to the southern side of this can be faintly traced. The enclosure to the south of this on the 18th century map also survives north of the tramway; this map (and also possibly the Tithe Map of 1845) shows that this enclosure formerly held a building of some sort.

[18] Surveyed by students attending a course on field archaeology organised by the Department of Adult Education of Leicester University 1973. See also air photograph by Professor J. K. St. Joseph AKP81.

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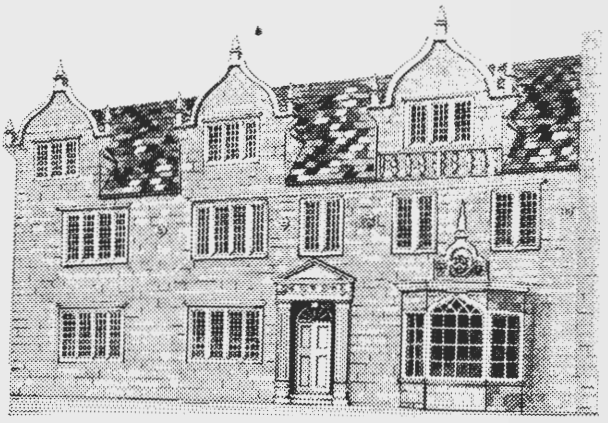

Telephone 38082

FROM "THE QUEEN, THE LADY'S NEWSPAPER". 1873

October 25

NORTHAMPTON—Will anyone kindly give me some information about Northampton and the neighbourhood as a place of residence for a widow lady and two daughters? Are the rents for small houses moderate? Which is the best locality? Is there a regiment quartered there? Is the hunting good, and is good society easily attainable? Which is the best hotel? What kind of place is Daventry? Early information will greatly oblige.—RED COAT.

November 1

NORTHAMPTON—I do not think that a widow lady and two daughters would like either Northampton or the neighbourhood. I am sure she would not like the town, as it is full of shoemakers, and is very dirty. Rents have risen much of late. There is always a regiment there. The hunting with the Pytchley is very good indeed; many other packs can also be reached. Good society is not attainable; county families cannot be got at at all—are very exclusive indeed. The George Hotel is the best. Daventry is the same as most small country towns, also a shoemaking place. Pytchley, Duke of Grafton's and other packs hunt around. There is always a regiment quartered at Weedon, two miles off.—BARTON SEAGRAVE.

November 8

NORTHAMPTON—In reply to "Red Coat's" questions I beg to offer my experience of the county. Daventry is a quiet little town, with excellent hunting all round, with five different packs of hounds, i.e. Pytchley, Duke of Grafton's, North and South Warwickshire and Bicester. You can hunt nearly every day going moderate distances; it is four miles from Weedon Station and Barracks. There are two good inns with stabling, the Peacock and the Wheatsheaf. Society is very good, when you get into it.—G.S.

November 15

NORTHAMPTON—"Barton Seagrave" has justly described the town and society of Northampton, but made a great mistake with regard to the town of Daventry. Certainly the society there is rather exclusive; but that entirely depends on the birth and station of the widow lady and her two daughters. Daventry is an exceedingly healthy town, and has a good supply of beautiful water; the walks of the surrounding neighbourhood are lovely, the scenery being so well wooded. House rent is moderate; the supply of fish and all other provisions is most excellent, being more moderate in price than in most towns of the same size. It possesses a fine parish church, excellent organ and choir, and daily services are held. The postal arrangements are two deliveries and two mails out. The distance from Weedon is four miles, and although the staple trade is shoe-manufacturing, those employed conduct themselves orderly, and are not such a dirty class as those employed at Northampton.—ONE WHO KNOWS.

J. H. T.

THE ORIGINS OF KETTERING GRAMMAR SCHOOL

B. A. YORK

1977, a year which has seen important organisational and educational changes for Kettering grammar school, was also the four hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the institution. We have considerable knowledge of the major changes in the school's history during the past century and a quarter. A court of Chancery scheme of 1854 for the regulation of the government of the endowment and the conduct of the school, under which fees were paid by all pupils for the first time, led to the most successful period for the school in the nineteenth century during the headmastership of Rev. Frederick Tearle (1856–64). A Charity Commission scheme of 1888 attempted to revive the school's reputation mainly by modernising the curriculum and raising fees. The 1902 Education Act produced, in 1913, the county grammar and high schools, which admitted a minority of children as 'free placers' or on scholarships, in Bowling Green Road. The 1944 Act led to the abolition of fees, to the expansion of the schools and their eventual removal to modern buildings in the southern part of Kettering. Little is known, however, of the origins of Kettering grammar school, one of the oldest educational institutions in Northamptonshire. The endowed free grammar school, which as a grammar school was certainly established in 1577, may have originated in an earlier foundation. There is some evidence to suggest that a chantry priest conducted a song school in Kettering before the Reformation.

The most informative of the early extant documents referring to the endowed free grammar school in Kettering are a report of an enquiry into the condition of the school of 5 October, 1681, and the subsequent decree of the court of Chancery of 23 February, 1682 regulating the school's affairs. On 10th February, 1681, Chancery ordered an inquisition into the administration of the Kettering school in accordance with an Act of Parliament, 43 Eliz. c. 4, under which commissioners could enquire into any abuses of charitable bequests or donations and could rectify them by decree.[1] The inquisition was held at Northampton on 5 October, 1681, when it was found, 'that from the time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary there hath been a free schoole within the towne of Kettering . . . for the teachinge of Lattin and English schollers for the youths that doe inhabit in the said towne'.[2] The rents of cottages and other properties, specified by the names of the tenants, were said to have belonged to the free school and 'have been and ought to be imployed for the maintenance of a schoolmaster there . . .'. The commissioners found 'that Samuel Sherwin clerke is now present schoolmaster there and thereunto lawfully elected lycensed and appointed And likewise that the house wherein . . . Samuel Sherwin now inhabited . . . had been . . . used and imployed for a habitation for the schoolmaster and for a schoolhouse to teach schollers there'.

Sherwin had been instituted as rector of Kettering in 1680 and had presumably received the mastership of the grammar school simultaneously. His predecessor from 1674–9 was 'Mr. Fowler Mr of the Free Schoole at Kettering . . . and Rector'.[3] Fowler is also referred to as the master in the Wase collection on free schools of the 1670s. This stated that Lord Rockingham 'hath the Nomination of the Master, as well as presentation of the Rector who commonly are one and the same person'.[4] However, the first two known masters, Seaton (1635) and Hewett (1653) were not Rectors, (although the latter was in office during the period of the Commonwealth) and it can only be established that four rectors acted as schoolmasters, all during the period 1674–1755.[5] Whether Rectors acted as masters between 1577 and c. 1635 is a matter of conjecture.

The main reason for the inquisition into the affairs of Kettering grammar school in 1681 was that all the guardians of the trust were dead but it is possible that complaints had been made that Sherwin was not conducting the school efficiently. The main objectives of the commissioners' enquiry, however, were to arrange for the appointment of new trustees, to vest the property in

[1] P.R.O., Chancery Petty Bag Inq. bdle. 39, No. 29, 33 Chas. II. The Act empowered the Lord Chancellor (or the Lord Keeper or the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster) to appoint commissioners.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Bodleian Library, Wood MS., D11, (fol. 170^{v}).

[4] Bodleian Library, Wase collection, MS. c.c.c., c. 390/2, (fol. 75), Thomas Leigh to Wase, 19 July, 1676.

[5] Reference to Seaton is made in an unsigned letter to the school guardians of Oct., 1635, (Lamb and Holmes, West St., Kettering, 'Strong room') and to Hewett in a Commonwealth survey of lands and houses in 1653, (P.R.O., E.317, Northampton 37).

them and arrange for the future government of the school. These were achieved under the Chancery decree of 23 February, 1682.[6] The schoolhouse was to continue to be used as the house of the master, where he would teach Latin and English to scholars born or living in Kettering. Sherwin was confirmed as the legally appointed master, and was to be allowed to continue in the position 'during the will and pleasure of the Guardians and Overseers of the School'. Two of the commissioners of the enquiry, Sir John Egerton and Sir Roger Norwich, together with Lord Rockingham and eight others, were appointed as the new guardians with powers to lease the school properties for periods of 21 years and to appoint and dismiss future masters. Provision was also made to prevent a recurrence of the situation which had led to the inquisition of 1681. When six of the guardians had died the remainder were to replace them within three months by appointments of others from Kettering and its vicinity.

The documents of 1681–82 tell us nothing about the foundation of Kettering grammar school, except that it had been in existence for a long time—'from the time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary . . .'. The other main extant seventeenth century source, a survey of certain lands and houses in Kettering, of 23 March, 1653, also does not give any firm indication about the previous history of the school.[7] The school properties were referred to as formerly being, 'parcell of the possessions of Charles the late King . . . but now settled in Trustees for ye use of the Commonwealth of England, and by them held as of the Manor of East Greenwich in free and common socage . . .'. Tenants of the properties were named and the thirty premises described in considerable detail.[8] The rents from all of the properties, including lands, houses and shops, totalled £26. It was stated that all the properties described in the survey had, on 17 May, 1626, been granted by the trustees of Charles I to Sir Lewis Watson of Rockingham and eight others 'in Trust for the maintenance of a Grammar Schoole . . .' for 31 years.[9] The indenture of 1626 was said to have included a provision that after the deaths of five of the trustees the remainder should surrender the lease to the King or his successors so that it might be renewed for a further 21 years. But as Charles I sold his interests in Kettering manor in 1629, this provision became a dead letter. At, or soon after, this date, the endowment became vested in the trustees, who no longer had to lease the property from the state. Following the 1653 survey there is no evidence of any decree, or of action, during the period of the Commonwealth, to change the endowment and arrangements for the administration of the Kettering school.

What is certain from the extant sources is that Kettering grammar school was a pre 1626 foundation. The number of pupils at the school must have been small, and probably remained so until the nineteenth century. The physical conditions alone, imposed by the size of the schoolhouse, which was not completely rebuilt until 1856, restricted the number of scholars. For evidence of a Kettering grammar school before 1626, we have, unfortunately, to rely upon copies of original sources. However, there is no doubt that the grammar school *qua* 'grammar school' was established in 1577. No original document has survived in the public records or the archives of the school, but in the latter there is an undated copy of part of a patent roll, claimed as a copy of the 'Foundation Document' of the school.[10] Later references indicate the authenticity of the details of the original endowment outlined in this document. The copy was probably made in 1852–53, when the school trustees were investigating the possibilities of obtaining a new regulating scheme for the school. The copy states that on 15 June, 1577, by letters patent, Elizabeth I, 'in consideration that Kettering was a large town and great in the number of boys and replete of youths and that the said town might be adorned with a learned suitable and lettered man and schoolmaster by whom the boys and youths there might be instructed and educated in good learning and fear of God', granted to 'Edward Watson junior gent Basil Lane gent Henry Sawyer Thomas Sparrow Henry Richards William Cave Henry Linne Richard Meadhouse and Nicholas Alderman', seven houses, one cottage, two shops, various barns and other buildings, and some land '. . . of the Manor

[6] P.R.O., Chancery Petty Bag Inq. bdle. 39, No. 29, 33. Chas. II; L. and H., 'Strong room', order of Chancery, 23 Feb., 1682.

[7] P.R.O., E.317, Northampton, 37. The survey was conducted by Francis Conigrane, Gabriell Taylor and John Thore.

[8] For example: 'Edward Drurye houldeth one house conteyning one roome and a Croft neere unto adjoyning bounded on the north by Stanch Lane. South on Nappwell and adjoyning west to north Bridge conteyning one acre and two roads more or lesse all so half a yard of land lying dispersed within the Common ffoilds belonging to ye towne of Kettering conteyning Eight acres more or lesse worth upon Improvement per Ann . . . vj li'.

[9] The other trustees, all of Kettering, were Keith Edmund Sawyer, Edmund Drury, Richard Drawwater, John Sawyer, Edward Sawyer, Junior, Francis Sawyer, William Glover and Henry Sparrow.

[10] The school archives are kept, uncatalogued, at Messrs. Lamb and Holmes, West Street, Kettering.

PLATE 1. THE OLD FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL BUILDING IN KETTERING.

of Kettering and late possessions of the Monastery of Peterborough'.[11] The grant was made for 21 years and the annual rent payable was twenty-two shillings and twopence. The tenants were made responsible for repairs to the property, and, when necessary, the 'trustees' were to nominate a schoolmaster, who had to be approved by the Bishop of Peterborough. They also had to provide a suitable schoolhouse. A further proviso was that if five of the trustees should die during the 21 years the letters patent had to be surrendered, and the remaining four, together with five other better inhabitants of Kettering, were to seek a new lease of 21 years.

According to the school records there was a further grant from the Crown on 16 February, 1597, although again we have to rely for evidence on an undated copy, (which was probably made in 1852–53) of the second grant.[12] No original of the Patent Roll has survived. Once again the purpose of the grant was said to be for the 'increase of learning'. The 1597 grant also refers to that of 1577 and states 'that the premises were demised thereby for the sole behoof and maintenance of a Schoolmaster in Kettering for the better instruction of youth within the . . . town where there was a great number'. It was recommended that the new 'patentees' together with the schoolmaster should let the properties for the benefit of the master as long as he continued in office, but for no longer. The new lease was not granted until 1598, when the original Lease of 1577 expired after 21 years. A further renewal of the grant, to which reference has already been made, took place probably because of the death or retirement of the incumbent master in 1626.

In spite of the lack of existence of extant sources before 1653, it can be confidently asserted that the grammar school in Kettering came into existence in 1577. There is some evidence, however, which suggests that the grammar school may have originated in an earlier elementary song school, which disappeared during the mid sixteenth century Reformation. There was in

[11] The copy of the 1577 patent roll gives details of the endowment granted. '. . . the shop lately in the tenure of Henry Lavere another shop in the tenure of Thomas Belcher and a house of Silver Lane in the tenure of William Hasewood a cottage and certain leys at Bromehill in the tenure of Agnes Harte widow a close called Pooles Close in the tenure of Henry Drurye a house in the tenure of Richard Hempstocke a house and half virgate of land in the tenure of John Drewrye a small close in Northolde and a toft and leasowe at le Malt myll in tenure of Henry Sawyer and the house and lands in the tenure of Henry Palmer the house in the tenure of Robt Parsons and the house in the tenure of Robert Weston Le Spinney et Le Maltmyll in the tenure of Thomas Houlston a barn in the tenure of John Drewrye a small house in Kettering Market in the tenure of Thomas Belcher a house in the tenure of Broughton and all the lands at Lymekill in the tenure of Thomas Belcher. Also a barn called Le Towne barne in the tenure of Hugh Cave.'

[12] L. and H., 'Strong room', undated copy of the second grant.

PLATE 2. THE NEW GRAMMAR SCHOOL AND HEADMASTER'S RESIDENCE OF 1859, GOLD STREET, (*Architect, W. W. Law*).

Kettering, until his suppression, a Chantry priest, known as the 'morrow mass' priest, who performed his duties in the precincts of the Parish Church.

Chantry priests and, in particular, morrow mass priests, had the duty of praying for the souls of their departed benefactors and especially for satisfactory and speedy passages through the state of purgatory. Bequests, often in the form of endowments, from benefactors, often included the requirement that priests should be responsible for the upkeep of schools and the support of scholars.[13] Indeed the educational objective was sometimes regarded as important by the originator of a bequest as the religious. In the majority of cases each chantry was conducted by a single priest. The schools were normally song schools, a product of the late medieval period, when many lady chapels were constructed, the number of chantries greatly increased and when larger numbers of choristers were needed as music played a more important part in worship. There is considerable evidence that chantry priests (and some parish clerks) conducted song schools, where a basic literacy was often also taught, and, occasionally, some elementary Latin. Not all chantry priests kept schools in the late middle ages and the early Tudor period, but the number of priests actively involved in teaching singing and the elements of literacy probably increased towards the end of Henry VIII's reign. A royal injunction of 1547 stated 'that all chantry priests shall exercise themselves in teaching youth to read and write, and bring them up in good manners and other virtuous exercises'. The schools which were investigated under the 1547 Chantries Act of Edward VI were mainly small local schools of recent origin in villages and towns. The enquiry commissioners found that most priests conducted song schools in addition to praying for the souls of the dead. The 1547 Act which led to the dissolution of the chantries stated in its preamble that the aim was to

[13] The traditional authority on English schools before the seventeenth century is A. F. Leach. See in particular *Schools of Medieval England*, London, 1915; *English Schools at the Reformation, 1546–8*, Westminster, 1896; and articles on schools in many of the *Victoria County Histories*, including the section on Kettering grammar school in 'Schools', *The Victoria History of the County of Northampton*, Vol. II, London, 1906, pp. 272–5. Leach's interpretation and conclusions are challenged by Joan Simon in 'A. F. Leach on the Reformation', *British Journal of Education Studies*, Vol. III, No. 2, May, 1955, pp. 128–143 and Vol. IV, No. I, Nov., 1955, pp. 32–48.

PLATE 3. THE NEW GRAMMAR SCHOOL BUILDING OF 1960–62 IN WINDMILL AVENUE, (County Architect's Department, *A. N. Harris*), mural by *William Mitchell*. NOW THE KETTERING SCHOOL FOR BOYS.

turn ignorant and superstitious practices to godly uses, 'as in erecting Gramer Scholes to the educacion of Youthe in vertewe and godlinesse . . .'. Those chantry priests, who were found to be socially useful as teachers, were allowed to continue to conduct schools either as schoolmasters or as newly instituted curates. Even some of those who were pensioned may have continued to teach. From 1548 the royal injunctions to teach elementary literacy were addressed to rectors, vicars and curates rather than to the extinguished chantry priests.

According to Bull in his *History of the Town of Kettering* (1891) the chantry priest in Kettering parish church probably had his chapel located in the north aisle of the church and his chamber over the north porch.[14] The morrow mass priest was certainly praying for the souls of the departed by the mid 1530s, but whether evidence exists to show that he began his work at an earlier date is a question which requires further investigation, particularly in the early Northamptonshire wills. There is certainly evidence to suggest that the priest was responsible for conducting some kind of song school.[15]

The will of Sir Richard Taylor, priest, made in 1535, states that he wished 'to be buryed in the chapell of our Ladye in the churche of Keterying' and, after charging the morrow mass priest with a list of souls for whom to pray, he continued, 'Item, to ev'y preest iiijd and to ev'y clarke that comyth to the dirige ijd and to the Town jd more than to other for settyng of the hersse and to ev'y childe thatt can syng a leasson jd'.[16] Further, the will of John Lane, dated 6 April, 1546, states that he desired to be buried 'in the chappell of Sainte John within Kettering Church', and among the instructions for the welfare of his soul, he directed, 'I will that one honeste priste shall singe for me . . . three years more after my departure this worlde'.[17] He then demanded a 'solemne dirige and masse to be done everye yere' and provided for the payment of it. The high mass priest was to receive sixpence and every other priest of the church fourpence, men clerks of the town twopence and 'childrene that cann synge id and the childrene that cannot singe halfepence'.

[14] F. W. Bull, *A Sketch of the History of the Town of Kettering together with some account of its worthies*, Kettering and London, 1891, p. 84.

[15] The school is not referred to by A. F. Leach in either of his major works, nor is it mentioned in N. Carlisle, *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales*, London, 1818.

[16] N.R.O., Northants wills, first series, Book E, F.187.

[17] P.R.O., PROB 11/31/RH 98-LH 99, will of John Lane, 6 April, 1546. The will was proved in London on 4 July, 1546.

However, there is no direct evidence of any endowment forming part of the possessions of the morrow mass priest, which supported a school, although during the period of the Chantries Acts of 1545 of Henry VIII and of 1547 of Edward VI many schools were concealed from the commissioners.[18] There are two entries in the chantry rolls of Edward VI in respect of the Kettering chapel. The one states, 'Kettering. A stypendarye priest there ffounded & maynteyned ptlely wt the devoc̃on of the nhabitants of the seyd Town of Kettering whiche ys a Market Towne & ptlely wt the Revenues of certaine Lands & tenements gyven by Copye of Courte Role to Fynde a preest callyd the morow mase to sing ther for ever. Is worth by yere xls Rente resolute xvijs jd ob Remayneth Clerc xxijs xd ob'.[19] The second certificate is almost identical in its wording.[20] Neither makes reference to the existence of a school, but this is not too surprising as the actual clauses, as opposed to the preamble, of the Chantries Act of 1547 provided for the continuance of grammar schools but not for a prolonged existence of ABC and song schools.[21] The future of the Rothwell, Oundle and Irthlingborough schools was provided for in a schools continuance warrant of Edward VI and, if there had been a school in Kettering at this time, it could have been well concealed as the commissioners appear to have been well informed about the schools in mid-Northamptonshire.[22] Moreover, many continuance warrants have not survived. For example, not a single warrant for Essex is extant and the Northamptonshire warrants are not complete. In any case, as the lands of the morrow mass priest in Kettering were copyhold they were exempted from the Chantries Acts and were not confiscated by the Crown.[23]

However the possessions of the morrow mass priest must have been seized at some time, as on 10 December, 1571, the Crown granted to William James of London and John Grey of Nettlested, Suffolk, 'All these our lands tenements and fields lying and being in Kettering . . . now or late in the tenure or occupation of the Guardians of the Church there or other Inhabitants, before this time for the perpetual sustentation of an obit priest . . .'.[24] The Crown reserved the right of an annual rent of twopence. The Kettering chantry priest's land was therefore not employed for the endowment of a new, or of a revived school, as ABC and song schools were in large measure allowed to die during the Reformation period and were not refounded. W. E. Tate has written, 'If secondary education was rather inadvertently damaged in Edwardian times, elementary education was almost destroyed.'[25]

Six years after the Crown's disposal of the Kettering morrow mass priest's endowment, however, in 1577, Kettering grammar school was endowed but with land which was formerly part of the possessions of the monastery of Peterborough, not of the morrow mass priest.[26] Therefore, although some limited evidence indicates that the chantry priest conducted a small song school before the Reformation, 'Kettering Free Grammar School' was founded in 1577, its endowments having previously been in the possession of the Peterborough Abbey.

Since A. F. Leach wrote his chapter on 'Schools' in Volume II of the *Victoria History of the County of Northampton*, published in 1906, there has been a tendency by some to conclude that Kettering grammar school was a mediaeval foundation. In discussing the inquisition of charitable uses of 1681 into the condition of the school trust, Leach writes, 'We may reasonably connect this immemorial free grammar school with the endowment mentioned in the chantry certificate of Edward VI'.[27] If the implication is intended to be that a grammar school was conducted by the morrow mass priest it must be rejected. When F. W. Bull wrote his *History of the Town of Kettering* in 1891, he could only conclude 'The date of the foundation of this school, and the source of the means wherewith it was first endowed, are unknown . . .', but he speculated that the date might be 1626.[28] By 1908, when Bull produced his *Supplement to the History of the Town of Kettering*, he had obviously read Leach in the *V.C.H.* (1906) and *English Schools at the Reformation* (1896), and he could write, 'The origin of the Kettering Grammar School has given rise to many conjectures. The one finding must favour is that the endowments formed part of the pos-

[18] A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 1546–8, p. 91.

[19] P.R.O., Augmentation Office, Chantry Certificate 35, No. 43.

[20] P.R.O., Augmentation Office, Chantry Certificate 36, No. 28.

[21] I Ed. VI c. 14 (1547) 1, 4, 7, 30.

[22] P.R.O., Chantry Certificates and Warrants, Northamptonshire Schools Continuance Warrant (Ed. VI), 13.

[23] A. F. Leach, 'Schools', *The Victoria History of the County of Northampton*, Vol. II, p. 273.

[24] P.R.O., Pat. Rolls, 14 Eliz., pt. 7 (Modern transcription.)

[25] W. E. Tate, 'Educational Records: II, Sources for the History of English Grammar Schools', *B.J.E.S.*, Vol. II, No. I, Nov., 1953.

[26] L. and H., 'Strong room', copy of 'Foundation Document'.

[27] A. F. Leach, 'Schools', *The Victoria History of the County of Northampton*, 1906, pp. 272–3.

[28] F. W. Bull, *op. cit.* p. 114.

sessions given for the sustentation of a morrow mass priest'.[29] Yet Bull, unlike Leach, noted the significance of the fact that the endowment of 1577 was of land previously belonging to the monastery at Peterborough and not to the morrow mass priest. Bull is therefore led to conclude that 'In view of this grant [of 1577] and the conditions it contains for the appointment of a schoolmaster and the provision of a schoolhouse, it seems evident that the school was thereby founded, and that all other theories as to be the date of its foundation and endowment must fall to the ground'.[30]

Kettering grammar school was founded in 1577 as a grammar school. The connection with the song school of the chantry priest cannot be fully established, mainly because the endowments of the grammar school were previously in the possession of the monastery of Peterborough and not in that of the morrow mass priest whose lands were disposed of by the Crown in 1571. Few elementary schools were refounded during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth. Many grammar schools were, or continued their existence through the turmoil produced by the Reformation; yet the grammar school endowed in Kettering in 1577 was probably not only established because the town was 'great in the number of boys and replete of youths . . .', but also because it had previously enjoyed the facility of a school of some kind. Rotherham provides a well recorded example of a change in the nature of a school. The town bought lands in 1584 to endow a grammar school, which continued to receive a stipend of £10 15. 4. for the conduct of a school awarded when the Rotherham chantry was suppressed in 1548.[31] The Rotherham grammar school was a very different institution from the elementary and song school previously conducted by the college of chantry priests, yet Rotherham can justifiably claim to be directly linked with a pre-Reformation school, even though its endowment as a grammar school originated in 1584. A similar restoration of a school was made in Beverley.[32] The thesis of A. F. Leach that Edwardian and Elizabethan refoundations of schools were in the main a depleted re-establishment of what had been flourishing institutions before the Reformation has been seriously challenged.[33] The contrary was almost certainly the case. Schools were often refounded by towns or by the Crown utilising lands, which had been seized from the Church, for endowments, and these refounded schools were nearly always re-established as 'grammar' schools, whatever their previous function and status. Kettering grammar school had, certainly, its spiritual origins in the song school of the morrow mass priest of Kettering parish church, even if physical and unchallengeable links are impossible to find.

The author wishes to express his gratitude to Messrs. Lamb and Holmes, West St., Kettering, for enabling him to see the K.G.S. archival records, and in particular to Mr. J. C. Pyper for his assistance.

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[29] F. W. Bull, *Supplement to the History of the Town of Kettering*, Kettering, 1908, p. 32. Bull in fact produced his revised account of the *History of Kettering Grammar School* in 1907 as a separate book. This version is almost exactly the same as that given in the *Supplement*.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[31] J. Simon, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 142.

[32] J. Lawson, *A Town Grammar School through Six Centuries. A History of Hull Grammar School against its Local Background*, London, 1963, p. 4.

[33] See works referred to by J. Simon and J. Lawson.

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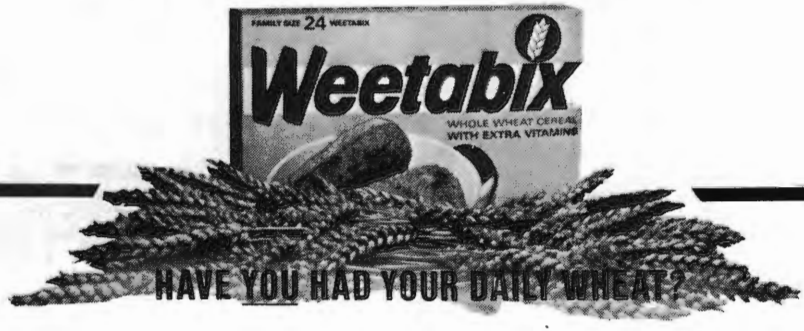

THE SECOND NORTHAMPTONSHIRE ELECTION OF 1701

R. N. SWANSON

In the second election for the Knights of the Shire of Northamptonshire in 1701, the last election of the reign of William III, party politics at last became a feature of county electioneering practice. From the gentlemanly arrangments of 1695 and 1698, and the first election of 1701, which resulted in the election of an undoubted Tory and a less determined Whig as the two representatives,[1] the party rivalry became much more intense—resulting in the winning of both seats by the Tories. The partnership of Sir Justinian Isham and Thomas Cartwright, established by this election, was to last throughout the reign of Queen Anne, beyond the catastrophic Tory collapse at the accession of George I, and through to the accession of his son, ending only with the baronet's death in 1730.[2]

The growth of party rivalry may be measured in the voting figures for the crucial period from 1698 to 1705. From slightly over four and a half thousand votes polled in 1698,[3] the number in the second election of 1701 (the first being a no-contest, Isham and John Parkhurst being returned unopposed) rose to about 6,000.[4] In the following year, the first election of Queen Anne's reign saw a poll of nearly 9,000,[5] rising to almost nine and a half thousand in 1705.[6] In less than seven years, the total number of votes cast in the county elections had more than doubled: can there be any greater testimony to the growing interest in politics, a growth which mirrors the growing belligerence of the rival parties, determined to wipe their opponents off the electoral map?

In all this, it was the election for William III's last Parliament which marked the turning point. The polite arrangement whereby Isham and Parkhurst—the first a High Tory, the second more Whiggish by inclination—had been returned earlier in the year was overthrown. Isham and Cartwright, the second less of a High Tory than the first, were now opposed by a rival slate: Parkhurst, and Sir Andrew St John, Bt. All four candidates had had previous experience as candidates and victors in Northamptonshire county elections. St John's Whiggism was not as developed as Parkhurst's, but he was sufficiently opposed to the politics of Isham and Cartwright to actually stand against them.[7]

The amount of electioneering which accompanied this particular contest cannot be estimated, but the two letters printed below[8] give some indication of the growing strength of party feeling, and of the animosities which had obviously been aroused by the proceedings. Leaving aside the Hogarthian robustiousness of the post-electoral celebrations, which provides verbal corroboration for the caricaturist's pictorial description of similar events later in the century, it is clear that the nature of elections had altered considerably from earlier times: politics were not what they used to be, parties were now factors which had to be given serious consideration.

The authorship of these two letters is obscure: the original from which the transcript below derives is no more than itself a copy (albeit contemporary) of the letters which were sent. But although authorship cannot be guessed, he was—by his own admission—a rather extreme Tory, and an influential member of the Northamptonshire gentry. The letters appear to have been intended for the Earl of Peterborough, which is somewhat surprising, considering that nobleman's reputation for being a Whig supporter.[9] This, however, is by-the-by. The letters must stand on their own, as an eye-witness account (more or less) of an election which, while not changing the history of England, was nevertheless the starting point for party-political wranglings in one of England's counties.

[1] The members were (W = Whig, T = Tory): in 1695 Sir St Andrew St John (W), Thomas Cartwright (T); in 1698 Sir Justinian Isham (T), John Parkhurst (W); in 1701 Isham and Parkhurst were returned unopposed.

[2] E. G. Forrester: *Northamptonshire County Elections and Electioneering, 1695–1832* (Oxford, 153). After 1730, successive Ishams shared the county with Cartwright until his death in 1748 (*ibid.*).

[3] *ibid.*, 22.

[4] See below, n. 11.

[5] Forrester: *op. cit.*, 28.

[6] *ibid.*, 32.

[7] On the four candidates, see *ibid.*, 16–19.

[8] The letters appear among some miscellaneous correspondence in the deposit of Yarburgh Muniments now at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, and are now numbered YM/CP/M.7. They are printed by permission of the Director of the Institute.

[9] Forrester: *op. cit.*, 14–15. In 1705, Peterborough's son stood in the Whig interest in opposition to Isham and Cartwright (*ibid.*, 28).

PLATE 1. SIR JUSTINIAN ISHAM, (1658–1730). MP for either the town or county of Northampton in fourteen Parliaments under five sovereigns.

PLATE 2. THOMAS CARTWRIGHT OF AYNHO (c. 1671–1748). MP for Northamptonshire 1695–98 and from 1701 till his death.

Note: In the following transcript, capitalisation and function have both been modernised, and the contractions expanded. In all other respects, the original spelling has been maintained.

1.
Sir,

I can now give you an account of our election. The 4 candidates you know. On Thursday I sent my sonn with about 100 horse out of my neighborhood, all voters; and before he came to Sir Justinian Isham he was joyned with my brothers and others to the number of 600. And then they stayed for him about a mile from Northampton, where Sir Justinian joyned them with at least 3000 horse and most of the Gentlemen of the countrey. And then they mounted to a field near the towne, where they were joyned with Mr Cartwright and his company and others--making in all (as it is supposed) at least 10000 men. There never was seen in this county such a vast body of men together before. Then the High Sherriffe came with trumpets before him and all his men in their liveryes, and near 500 voters, and joyned Sir Justinian and Cartwright, and in this manner marched with trumpets sounding before them into the towne. Sir St Andrew St Johns had with him not above 3 hundred men, and I cannot hear of any Gentleman besides Sir James Robinson. Mr Parkhurst had, we suppose, betwixt 1500 and 2000, and I heare of noe Gentlemen but Sir William Cravin and Mr Andrews. The same day they began to poll, and the first day Isham and Cartwright polled about 2000, and the other 2 not one (thousand); but St Johns was much behind Parkhurst. About midnight my sonn came home, and by him Isham and Cartwright sent to desire me to send them what help I could the next day. Soe I imediately rose and sent my servants and and tennants all the remaining parte of the night to the townes about me, and the next morning I sent in by my brother at least 100 more. About 2 of clock, St Johns findeing himselfe soe vastly behind gave it over, and about 6 at night Parkhurst in a manner did the same. We presume Isham and Cartwright carryed by 1000 votes. I beleive never were the Polrys so hotly engaged on both sides; all that could possibly be done was done by both. You may now see what addresses signifye. This is certainely the greatest fanaticall and Whigg county in England, and now the contrary party have bestirred themselves the Whiggs have lost it prodigiously. The clergy came in a body, above 60 on Friday, and voted for Isham and Cartwright; and I hear of none but my Lord Sunderland's chaplain and Mr Andrews for the others. My Lord Spencer writt letters and sent his father's men earnestly to sollicet for Parkhurst and St Johns, but to noe purpose. I suppose now things are as we desired, the unmannerlyness of the other party and the hellish lyes and storyes they raised will be passed by. But I verily belieive it will be some years before the Gentlemen who were for St Johns and Parkhurst will have any civillity or respect showed them by the others. Friday night and all

Satterday the bells runge continually in all the churches round about. The church party did not know their strength till now, but this has cemented them together as one man, and I am perswaded that this election will make the Whiggs odious in this countrey. I have sent you this particular account because we think it very extrordinary for this county. We pray our most humble service to my Lady Peterborow.

Yours, &c.

2.

Sir,

After my last was gone to the post, Sir Charles Shugborow[10] called in his way home from Northampton and tould me these further particulars of the election, viz[t]: About midnight, Parkhurst went privately out of towne, and it was well he did, for the mobb was soe enraged against him that the Gentleman would have been hard set to have protected him from their fury if he had stayed till next morning. But, he being gone, they dressed a fellow as like him as they could, and put him in a tubb with a glass window at his back, a halter about his neck, a chamber pot by his side, and a pen, inks and paper, very bussy writeing his accounts. In this manner they carryed him all over the towne on men's shoulders, cringeing and bowing to every one, and desireing time to make up his accounts and useing severall expressions in his excuses that Parkhurst printed in his case. And as they came by Sir Charles Shugburye's who is one of the Knights for Warwickshire, he called to stopp, tould his bearer there was member, and then earnestly beggd his favour the next pol, &c.

A little before the election was over, a great many blunderbushes and gunns were fired; and then a great "Hussa; the prise is taken; the prize is taken., &c. Call Parkhurst to take this account, &c."

The meaneing of the glass window is—Parkhurst has a servant that has a place worth about £40 per annum in the tax. And the chamberpot is—his wife once broke his head with one.

Sir St Andrew St Johns, when he had given it over, kept company with the Gentlemen, wished the members joy, seemed glad they were chosen, signed the Indentures of Returne, and walked on foot with the other Gentlemen round the Market Place when the Knights were carryed in chaires.

When the poll was given over, it was thus, viz[t]: St Johns, 1143; Parkhurst, 1216, Isham, 1816; Cartwright, 1852. But the 2 first had polled all, and the others had more than a thousand yet to poll.[11]

[10] Sir Charles Shuckburgh, Member for Warwickshire 1698–1705. He acted for the Tories in the Northamptonshire election of 1702 (Forrester: *op. cit.*, 27).

[11] These figures differ from those given *ibid.*, 25, which have

Cartwright—	1717
Isham—	1654
Parkhurst—	1208
St John—	1164.

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ENCLOSURE AND FARM HOLDING IN BRACKLEY, 1829–51

J. R. LOWERSON

Although there have been a number of general studies of the process and influence of the Parliamentary enclosure movement, only a handful of detailed investigations have been made in the county arguably most affected, Northamptonshire. This paper is an attempt to extend that number and to add to the discussion of the immediate changes and some estimation of its longer-term influences on the life of one parish.

Brackley in 1829.

On the eve of its enclosure, this former medieval 'new town', its prosperity as a woollen centre long since departed, was one of Northamptonshire's eleven market towns. Classically situated at a road junction in the undulating southwestern corner of the county, it served a hinterland of Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire villages, 27 of which were incorporated into the new Poor Law Union of 1835 and whose extent gives a limited indication of Brackley's local economic influence. 'Now much decayed from its former grandeur' and with 'but little to recommend it to the observation of the tourist; its buildings have no pretension to uniformity or architectual taste',[1] the town seemed static. Basically one parish, St. Peter's, with the additional and decayed chapelry of St. James, it had substantial outliers in the adjacent hamlet of Halse and the detached dependencies of Siresham (or Brackley) Hatch and Whistley Wood, several miles northeast along the Towcester Road. Brackley proper had roughly 2300 acres of mixed agricultural land on a clay soil, with extensive water meadows bounding the infant Great Ouse and its tributary streams. Halse had another 1770 acres and the forest land 695.

The market town nucleus, at the southwestern corner of the parish, preserved its medieval outline, with narrow burgage crofts abutting at right angles onto a broad High Street, which widened out into a market place. From the Banbury road, a Backway ran parallel with the High Street behind the crofts; on the southern side, they fell away towards the river. The 'Old Town' clustered around the original village nucleus of St. Peter's Church.[2] The enclosure award schedule revealed a large village pattern of small, closely packed labourers' cottages jostling the larger farms, all within the town nucleus, with an added layer of the business premises of a market town, the paraphenalia of coaching inns such as the Crown, and the larger houses of local and visiting gentry. As a market and fair centre it had long been overshadowed by nearby Buckingham and Banbury, a pattern which increased over the next two decades as the latter town benefitted from the early railway growth which bypassed Brackley. Its relative decline had already become apparent in the rate of local population growth which showed distinct variations from the general national pattern of the early nineteenth century.

Aggregate Populations and decennial percentage increases, 1801–1851.

	1801	*1811*	*1821*	*1831*	*1841*	*1851*
Brackley	1495	1570	1741	2107	2121	2277
% change:	—	*+ 5*	*+ 10.9*	*+ 21*	*+ 0.7*	*+ 7*
Brackley's hinterland	10137	10671	12554	13228	14533	13717
% change:	—	*+ 5.2*	*+ 17.6*	*+ 5.3*	*+ 9.8*	*− 5.6*
Banbury:	3810	4173	5247	5906	6733	8206
% change:	—	*+ 9.5*	*+ 25.7*	*+ 12.5*	*+ 14.3*	*+ 21.5*
GB % change	—	*+ 13.6*	*+ 17*	*+ 15.2*	*+ 13.3*	*+ 12.5*

[1] J. Pigot & Co. *London and Provincial New Commercial Directory*, (1830), p. 609.

[2] See M. W. Beresford and J. K. St. Joseph, *Medieval England, An Aerial Survey*, (1958), p. 209.

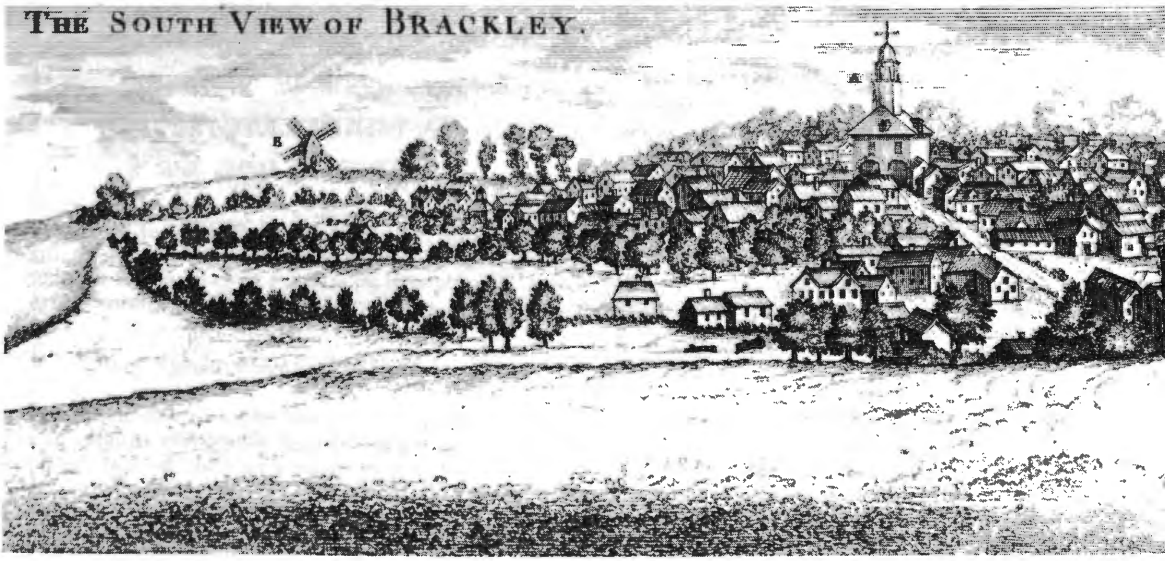

PLATE 1. VIEW OF BRACKLEY FROM THE SOUTH IN 1765.
This print gives a good idea of the appearance of the unhedged open fields before enclosure, as well as the old enclosures both to the east and west of the road [*Northamptonshire Libraries*]

Only a considerable amount of demographic research could explain these variations, particularly the relatively rapid rate of growth within the parish in the decade 1821–1831, when compared to the very low rate of its surrounding area. There is little in the limited evidence on local social and occupational structures to indicate any major shifts. Brackley was smaller than some Northamptonshire villages supporting a considerable craft industrial population.[3] The local directories show general occupational range to be expected in a town this size with an emphasis on small craft and local service occupations blacksmiths, corn factors, attorneys and innkeepers. By 1834, after the provision of the 1830 Beerhouses Act, there were 17 licensed premises in the town, one for every 123 inhabitants. This figure was rather higher than the national ratio of about 1 : 180 but is easily explained by the impact of market and fair days and the fact the public houses served a far wider range of purposes in a market town than just providing drink. The 1831 census listed 228 craftsmen, without being specific, but these were most probably scattered throughout a wide range of services. Apart from direct involvement in agriculture, to which we shall return, and some shoemaking, the only major single occupation was bobbin-lace making, the female dependents of farm labourers' working as an outwork extension of the Buckinghamshire-based industry. The earliest available specific figures for this trade are those of the 1841 census, when 187 women were so employed in what general reports claimed was a steadily declining craft; the number ten years later was 173[4] and the trade had practically vanished by the 1870s as machine-made lace superseded it in popular fashion. Although a number of the surrounding villages harboured framework-knitters, they were part of a steadily shrinking Banbury-based industry with no links with Brackley.[5] The

[3] For instance, Long Buckby: R. L. Greenall, 'The History of Boot and Shoemaking at Long Buckby', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, (1977), Vol. V., No. 5, p. 437ff.

[4] Figures based on the Census Enumerator's Returns, P.R.O. 1841. H.O. 107/804, 1851. H.O. 107/1835. For a brief description of lacemaking, see Victoria County History, *Buckinghamshire*, II, (1908), pp. 106–9, and V.C.H. *Northamptonshire*, II, (1906), pp. 336–9.

[5] See Audrey M. Taylor, *Gilletts, Bankers at Banbury and Oxford*, (Oxford, 1964), particularly Chapter 5. There is an interesting map of the area '10 miles around Banbury' appended to this book.

largest single occupation was direct work on the land, 203 people (just under 1 in 5 of the total population) in 1801. The greater detail of the 1831 census showed this as falling to 168, 19 employers and 149 labourers, (1 in 8) which suggests a small growth in the restricted urban functions when seen against the overall population increase.

As a 'Rotten' Parliamentary borough with a closed, corrupt and practically non-functioning corporation, Brackley was among the possesions of the Bridgewater family. The Trustees of the late Duke, Lords of the Manor, held it for Viscount Ellesmere and exercised a patronage appropriate to the maintenance of a Parliamentary interest, itself already doomed in the political fervour which was building up to the 1832 Reform Act, which disfranchised the town.[6] Through their local agent, the solicitor, Robert Weston, and the tame corporation (12 of the 26 'capital burgesses' were non-residents, workers on the family estates elsewhere) they had intervened in the life of the town since they had acquired their interest early in the seventeenth century, trying unsuccessfully to revive its prosperity by procuring fairs and building an elegant town hall in 1706. But the commercial acumen which had led to the exploitation of the Worsley coal mines and to canal building and dock managment in Lancashire had not been matched in Brackley which had remained obstinately stagnant. Their controlling interest was not so much commercial as built into the tithe and rent relationships of the pre-enclosure system. The Trustees' total holding, including 175 acres leasehold from Magdalen College, Oxford, was 305 acres; it was their impropriate rectory of the great tithes which was far more important, although the income figures from this source do not seem to have survived. The other principal landowner in the parish was Magdalen College, which held 805 acres of the total area, including a substantial block of nearly 200 acres of old enclosure south west of the town itself. The college seems to have left political and commerical influence to the Bridgewaters; regrettably, the current state of its archives do not allow a reconstruction and assessment of its role. The distribution of the rest of the land varied considerably; a Mr. Thomas Arnold owned 165 acres and Mrs. Elizabeth Loveday of London about 130, the rest appears to have been in small lots, both open and closed. Although Brackley gave the appearance of having a dispersed, but imprecise, landholding pattern, the concomitant of a classical 'open' or free community, it was to all intents and purposes a 'closed' possession of the ducal interest, whose agent

[6] For a description of its management see L. Namier and J. Brooke (eds.) *The House of Commons, 1754–1790*, (1964) Vol. I, pp. 343–4.

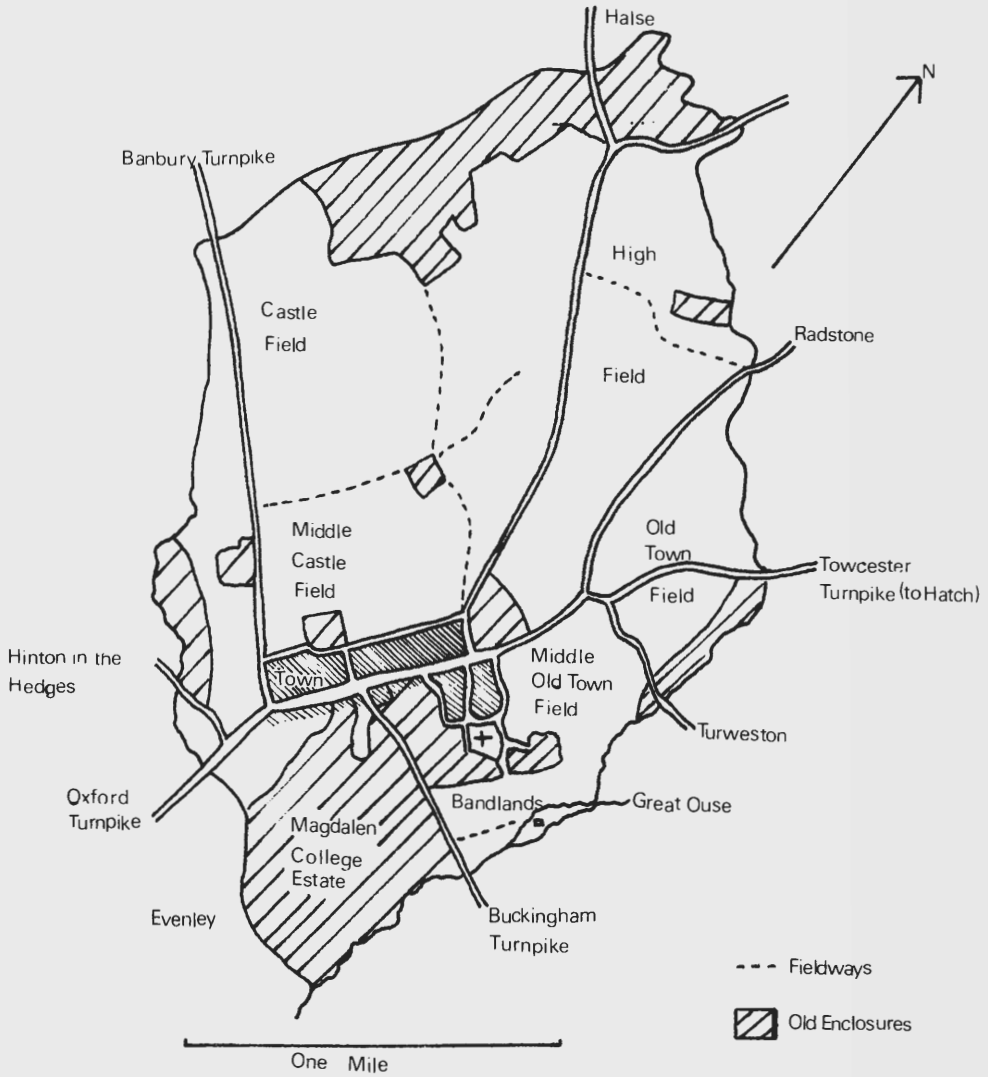

FIG. 1. BRACKLEY BEFORE ENCLOSURE, 1829

decided the bulk of its affairs. Only one of the town's tradesmen was a member of the corporation, an innkeeper.

The land-use pattern was a mixture. As Baker observed, 'The old inclosures are chiefly in permanent pasture; a considerable part of the open field is mowing land, and the rest is in the usual course of common field culture.'[7] Apart from the college estates there were some other ancient enclosures, chiefly along the brook paralleling the Banbury Road, at the north end of the parish and in the 'Old Town' of St. Peter's. The rest of the land lay in uneven strip divisions within 133 furlongs grouped into the five main 'open' fields: Castle, Middle Castle, Old Town, Middle Old Town and High Fields. Common grazing, apart from the fallow, was mainly on the Bandlands which bordered the Ouse south of the town and on the western meadows; rights to this were limited to

[7] Geo. Baker, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Northamptonshire*, (1822–30), Vol. I p. 560 ff.

the possessors of cottage commons. A survey map made immediately before the reallocation shows individual strip holdings but the symbols employed bear no relationship to local names, nor to the eventual list of recipients and no key schedule has survived.[8] It has proved impossible, in the absence of other materials, such as land tax, therefore to link up the patterns of landownership and tenancy, but some assessment of the relative size of holdings and the degree of scatter could be made by a straight count.[9]

Dispersed Holdings in pre-enclosure Brackley, (excluding Magdalen College).

Symbol on map	*Number of strips*	*Old enclosures*
A	212	4
L	212	2
C	110	9
CY	131	1
S	124	
C+	99	2
CE	87	3
E	96	
T	79	
J	70	2
CSW	46	3
C	55	
M	22	1
m	18	
R	21	
CS	15	
F	6	
G	8	
Gill	4	
Judge	2	
Baldwin	2	
MA	1	
Hawkins	1	
Cave	1	
Totals 24	1432	27

From the limited additional evidence, it was possible to gauge some of the fragmentation of a modest holding, although not to reconstruct it entirely on the map because of the lack of sufficient surviving furlong names.

John Yates's Holdings from Magdalen College, 1771.[10]

Field	*Acres.*	*Roods.*	*Perches.*	*Number of pieces.*
Castle	14	—	34	48
Old Town	10	1	33	29
High	21	3	27	58
Middle Castle	9	3	17	29
Middle Old Town	13	—	6	26
Totals:	69	1	37	140

The disparity in the different fields demonstrates clearly the considerable variety of strip size caused by the lie and quality of the land, which the enclosure commissioner had to take into account and the subsequent balancing-out process among claimants made direct links between old and new holdings virtually impossible. With such a pattern of distribution in the central area, dispersed farmsteads were only to be found in Halse and the two outliers; otherwise, the farm build-

[8] N.R.O. Map of Brackley 1829.

[9] I am indebted for this information to Mrs. M. Payne of Brackley.

[10] Based on N.R.O., Ag. VIII, 83.

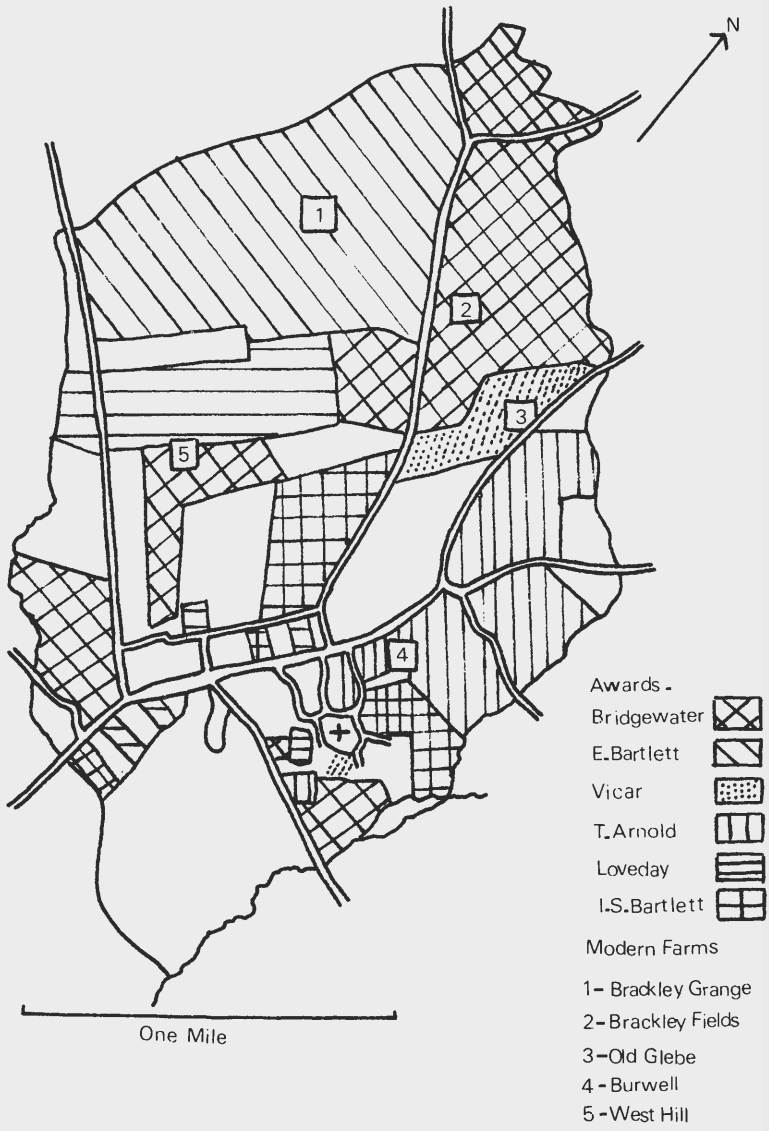

FIG. 2. PRINCIPAL AWARDS AT THE ENCLOSURE, 1830

ings lay along the town streets. No evidence remains of crop patterns, except for the mention of clover in the fallow and the production of butter from pasture grazing, the product going to the London market weekly; a two-day carrier's trip for the 65 miles.[11] Although the principal access and drainage ways of the parish can still be traced there is little remaining surface evidence of strip balks or other furlong markers.

By 1829, this was the last unenclosed territory in a considerable local area; with the exception of the enclosure of Greatworth in 1634 the seventeen surrounding parishes had all been enclosed by private Acts of Parliament between 1734 and 1808, half of them in the 1760s and

[11] See W. Pitt, *A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Northamptonshire*, (1809), p. 299 ff.

PLATE 2. BRACKLEY MARKET PLACE ABOUT 1830 [*Northamptonshire Libraries*]

1770s. There is no ready explanation for Brackley's comparative isolation from the mainstream of local change, although the principal economic energies of the Bridgewaters had been diverted elsewhere with the onset of the 'Industrial Revolution'. But its political value was on the wane, arable land values were steadily increasing and the pattern of Brackley's land use inhibited the expansion both of pasture and cultivated areas.[12] In addition tithe income was an increasingly thorny problem, less readily assessed than a rental, and it does not seem to have kept pace generally with the direct exploitation of the land, particularly since tenants probably understated income. Only a complete restructuring could ensure optimum levels of profitability for the landlords.

The Act.

Baker remarked, 'a bill for inclosure is now in contemplation'. When that contemplation began or how long it took to reach fruition no evidence has survived to tell, and there is no indication of the manoeuvrings that led up to a petition for a Bill. All that survives is the Act itself and the dry record of the *House of Commons Journals*. What they show is that the private measure was steered through the lower house by William Ralph Cartwright of Aynho, one of the two county M.Ps, whose family's influence had earned the local area its popular title of 'Cartwright Corner'. The Petition was presented in the Commons on 16th February 1829 by Cartwright who also chaired its committee stage. It received the Royal Assent on May 14th.[13] The petitioners were the principal landlords the Trustees, The Marquess of Stafford, patron of the dual living, the vicar, (Rev. C. A. Sage) and three lesser proprietors, Thomas Arnold, Elizabeth Loveday and a Rev. George Thomas. In general terms, the measure incorporated the simplified provisions of the General Enclosure Act of 1801. In local terms, it specifically excluded Halse and the old enclosed lands of Magdalen College. The main provision was for the allocation of land in commutation of the great tithes to the impropriate rectors, The Trustees. Land to be allocated was to be in the parish in which open field holdings had lain, as was compensation for cottage commons on Bandlands. During the period of transition husbandry was to be regulated by the commissioner but there was no evidence of the

[12] For a measure of the increase of local land values see the *Account Book of the Brackley Feoffees*, N.R.O. BF60.

[13] House of Commons, *Journal*, (1829), pp. 31, 126, 159, 190, 228, 297.

manner of previous agreement. The only test of whether the provisions for parish limitations on land allocations made sense was in the useability of the final allotments and their relation to the eventual landholding patterns.

There was to be only one commissioner, Barnett John Hopcraft, Esq., of Evenley, a village just south of the town. He has proved a singularly difficult individual to trace, and there are no directory references to him. In 1831, he had paid 4s. land tax in Evenley for land of his own and a further £22.16s.5d. for land he held from the Rev. Gainsford Smith: both quantities were unspecified. His landed interests shifted after the enclosure when he appears to have become the Trustees' principal tenant, for an unspecified amount of land. By 1841 his son Alfred (see below) was farming his father's land: 310 acres, 2 roods and 2 perches in Halse. Apart from this skeleton of information, no more has survived. Was a local man chosen on grounds of his known fairness, his cheapness and the convenience?[14] This reasoning seems also to have operated in the choice of the surveyors, Robert Russell and Richard Collisson of Brackley. Hopcraft's expenses were fixed at 3 guineas a day for the first three years and 2 guineas a day thereafter. In the event, much of this provision proved unnecessary. To avoid long disputes all allotments had to be made by the 29th September following the Act, although it was not completed in fact until 16th January 1830. Old enclosures could be included in the redistribution if the owners so wished and some were. Appeal was possible to the local quarter sessions. There was firm provision for protecting common rights, provided that these could be proved.[15]

The Commissioner at Work.

After giving public notice around the town and in the *Northampton Mercury*, Hopcraft began work on 26th May 1829. He held 48 meetings between then and 24th April 1830, when he calculated the total expenses and published the final rate of charges for the allottees. Other documents show that he was subsequently involved in valuations and management, but less officially, into the later 1830s.[16] His first task was the creation of more jobs. As banker, he appointed the firm of Bartlett and Nelson of Buckingham (interestingly, not a Banbury concern) and as Clerks, the Brackley solicitors, Alfred Hayward and Robert Weston, the Trustees' agent and Cartwright family solicitor. He then borrowed £700 to meet the running expenses.

The valuation began on 27th May and continued throughout the summer. Progressively, the working of the open fields was run down, the sheep commons finishing on 11th August. It was a long job; Hopcraft usually worked from 9 a.m. into the early evening, recording and dividing whilst maintaining the management of the land. 18 lbs of red clover per acre kept the fallow refreshed. The meetings in the Crown Inn were interspersed with visits to the outlying areas, Brackley Hatch and Whistley Wood. Some of his detailed calculations have survived but they were revised and adjusted continually and their process is not readily identifiable. By 10th June he had begun to work on the road areas which formed a framework for the parish and the allotments. Claims for land came in very slowly and the dates for hearing them had to be set back; presumably the documentation to justify claims was haphazard or those unwilling to be reallocated were employing a not very firm passive resistance. At no time was there any sign of overt opposition during the process and there is nothing to suggest any resistance in the evidence. To fill in gaps in the documents presented to him, Hopcraft was obliged to resort to questioning witnesses and establish customary practices, although these inquiries were referred to in passing rather than specifically listed.

There were some large scale claims. Both the Duke of Buckingham and Magdalen College claimed parts of Blackhole Riding and Brackley Hatch, but Hopcraft gave greater weighting to the evidence of the Lords of the Manor and to the 'Commoners'. There were some smaller claims to cow commons and two of these (Thomas Judge and Thomas Wilkins) were disallowed, but there was no widespread refusal of cow commons. Those at Brackley Hatch were limited to cottages and not tied to land. The few counter claims to property rights were settled by compromise. The Feoffees of the Brackley Charities claimed I. S. Bartlett's Old Town Close and received 15s worth of land as compensation. There were no major disputes to drag the proceedings out. By 13th

[14] For a discussion of this pattern see M. W. Beresford, 'The Commissioners of Enclosure', *Economic History Review*, XVI, (1946), pp. 130–40.

[15] N.R.O. YZ 5652—Brackley Enclosure Act, (1829), the General Act of 1801, and Hopcraft's Minute Book.

[16] Miscellaneous, but scrappy, accounts survive in the collection of H. Stace of Brackley, N.R.O. YZ 5647–5655.

August, he had done the preliminary calculations and apportioned some provisional costs. It seemed as if the work would be completed well within the Act's deadline but the small claims dragged on for a few months and this minor tidying up was probably proportionally more expensive than the major allocations.

The allotment plan was ready in draft by 14th September but there were unspecified objections to the setting out of Backway which impinged on the long crofts of the town and this had to be adjudicated by a panel of Justices chaired by the ubiquitous Mr. Cartwright, 'not being interested in the enclosure', according to Hopcraft! Cartwright's non-interest turned into a proposal for altering the brook between Brackley and his property in Hinton in the Hedges—it seems to his advantage. Hopcraft 'deemed it expedient to comply with the proposal' and redrew his map, only to find that Cartwright subsequently withdrew his claim. Common rights were finally extinguished on 29th September but the work was not yet complete. Small tithe disputes, land exchanges and road contracting remained, apart from the fencing and costing. John Bonner of Boddicott contracted for fencing, he was allowed 6 years in which to complete it, at a cost of £1.12s. per 22 yards, but none had come forward to do the roads, probably because Hopcraft's original costing was too low. When the prices were raised he contracted with Messrs. Hayward, Bartlett, Barrett and East to do the minor roads—more remuneration for local interests. The turnpikes remained more or less unaltered. George Cave of Boddicott became Road Surveyor at £10 a mile. By the end of October, meer stones had been laid along the allotment boundaries and the footpaths, bridle and private roads had been delineated. The decisions of the Commissioners were more or less finished, what remained for the autumn and winter was the fencing and roadmaking. There was no further documentary evidence of how the transition affected cropping and work patterns during this time. Hopcraft worked out the final costs and presented them in April 1830. The proprietors approved and only payment remained to be made, although there is no indication of the speed with which the bills were settled.

The Redistribution.

Hopcraft parcelled out 2284 acres, 2 roods and 14 perches. 98 people received land under the new arrangements and the major beneficiaries are listed below:

Principal Allottees, 1830[17]

Name	*Acres*	*Roods*	*Perches*	*Share of Rate Cost* £. s. d.
1. Trustees of Duke	1029	3	—	739. 19. 2.
2. Edward Bartlett	257	2	6	492. 2. 11.
3. Magdalen College	157	2	4	29. 3. 7.
4. Thomas Arnold	133	1	20	248. 15. 2.
5. Rebecca Loveday	104	2	17	279. 2. 3.
6. I. S. Bartlett	98	2	19	244. 0. 8.
7. Rev. C. A. Sage (Vicar)	78	1	36	— — —
8. Thomas French	66	1	23	33. 13. 4.
9. Exors. of John Yates	57	3	14	151. 16. —.
10. Trustees of Catherine Jones	37	3	26	99. 7. 6.
11. Brackley Charity Feoffees	28	1	26	63. 7. 11.
12. Rev. Thomas George	27	3	13	80. 19. 9.
13. Thomas Collier	25	3	33	75. 4. 10.
14. W. K. Malins	13	—	27	42. 11. —.
15. D. Malins	12	—	39	34. 5. 11.
Total:	2129.	1. (93% of total)	23.	2625. —. 2. (90.6% of total)

In addition to these, there were 83 awards of land under 10 acres, distributed as follows: 5–10 acres, 4. 1–4+, 19. Under 1, 60. The distribution of costs in this group is discussed in the next section.

[17] Based on the enclosure map and enrolled copy of the award in County Hall, Northampton.

The actual size of the initial allocation is no indication, as we shall see, of the importance of the recipients in the local farming community, since cross-renting and the arrangements of subsequent leases give rather a different picture. What does emerge is the obvious significance of the larger landlord and the way in which the Bridgewater interests in terms of legal dues had now been consolidated into landed property.

The distribution of the individual allotments was very important. The larger units on fig. 2. were soon replaced by internal fencing and hawthorn hedges to give the familiar field pattern of roughly 5 acre units, many of which seem to have preserved the shape of earlier furlongs. The plots of lesser recipients were frequently little more than the confirmation of existing holdings, cottage land, closes etc. in the town itself. There was some relationship of the larger plots to the then existing farm buildings but this was not an overriding consideration in view of the location of the settlement in relation to the size of the parish. This can be contrasted with Crick, near Rugby, enclosed in 1777, where the village was much more central to the land which funnelled in towards the individual yeomen's farmsteads dating from the seventeenth century or earlier. In Brackley, the long term but not immediate result was the movement of specialist farm buildings and houses out into the subdivided holdings of tenant farmers. From the census enumerators' returns, this appears to have taken place in the 1850s, the first decade of 'High Farming'. A comparison of nineteenth century maps shows this and is backed up by the trade directories. For instance, of the five farms shown in the parish on the 1955 6" O.S. map only one, Burwell, lay within the purlieus of the town. The others, Brackley Grange, Brackley Fields, West Hill and Old Glebe were on redistributed land and did not appear on the enclosure maps.

The Costs.

The final total costs came to £2907.2s.6d., made up of Hopcraft's fees (£520.16s.1d.), those of his aides, the fencing of the main new allotments and road construction where necessary. Related to the total acreage, it was slightly less than one pound per acre, circa 19s.11d. This can be compared with average Warwickshire enclosure costs for the same period: J. M. Martin averaged 8 enclosures in that county between 1801 and 1865 at 6s.9d. per acre. Wolverton, Brackley's near contemporary cost 122s.7d. per acre in 1831, but this was far higher than the regional norm.[18] R. A. Martin has recently shown Kettering's overall costs, for 1805, as £1.17s. per acre.[19] Brackley's medium price can be explained variously; one, not several commissioners; the presence of a number of small existing enclosures which were 'reallocated' to their existing owners and did not require fencing; together with the turnpike system which comprised the parish's main roads. Using local talent seems to have been an important factor in cutting costs. Hopcraft's calculations were based on a notion of £1.12s.6d. to each £1 of annual value for the allotable lands and 6s.6d. per £1 for old enclosures.

The question of average costs per acre is, however, only part of the problem of assessment. More important is the manner of its distribution amongst the allottees and this varied considerably. The vicar escaped scot-free, his glebe allotment in lieu of the lesser tithes being paid for by the other landowners. Two other recipients were treated very favourably. For their 1029 acres, 2 roods and 31 perches, the Trustees paid £739.19s.2d roughly 17s.4d. an acre; Magdalen College paid £20.3s.7d. for 157 acres, 2 roods and 4 perches, or 2s.6d. an acre. Most of the 83 very small recipients paid at a standard rate of 2d. a perch, or 2s.8d an acre. There were some anomalies in the middle range which probably arose from the cost of fencing some of the land. For his 98 acres, 2 roods and 19 perches, Isaac Shortland Bartlett paid £244.0s.8d. or £2.9s.6d. an acre and Thomas Collier paid at the rate of £2.18s. an acre for his 25 acres, 3 roods and 33 perches. From the total correlated distribution of costs and land it can be deduced that the distribution of costs in amounts per acre was not equitable in the lowest range of awards and that the costs were proportionately highest in the upper middle range, with the glaring exception of the two largest and most influential recipients who had initiated the process anyway. Perhaps the bulk of the others breathed a sigh of relief that the Trustees had actually not expected their commuted tithe allocation to be borne out of the pockets of those who had lost so much land. What the distribution in Brackley raises is the wider question of the 'fairness' of enclosure during this period. The 'conventional wisdom' of

[18] See J. M. Martin, 'The cost of Parliamentary Enclosure in Warwickshire', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, IX (1964), reprinted in E. L. Jones, *Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1650–1815*, (1967).

[19] R. A. Martin, 'Kettering Inclosure, 1804–5', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, Vol. V, No. 5 (1977), p. 413 ff.

recent enclosure historians, such as the late W. E. Tate or Professors Chambers and Mingay, has dismissed the objections of contemporary and later observers who argued that enclosure was both costly and socially inequitable as 'wildly unhistorical'.[20] Tate's view, in which he is supported by Chambers and Mingay, is that the high cost of enclosure was merely a reflection of the costs of all contemporary legal processes and, like many of them, the administration of justice was fair within the lights of current practice and a relatively narrow emphasis on legal rights. What these writers appear to have ignored is the extent to which the small recipients were unwilling partners in the process and the important point that to impose even comparatively low legal costs on a section of the populace which did not normally resort to the due processes of the law was really an unfair action anyway. Nor does it answer the problem of how far these middling groups could afford to distribute the immediate costs throughout the next few years of higher productivity and rental charges, or even whether such a calculation was within their normal practices. Regrettably, the post enclosure documentation in Brackley was insufficient to measure whether the cost imposition meant the gradual selling up of small holdings to larger owners. The only indication of this came in the 1831 Land Tax which showed Thomas Arnold as having acquired 7 small pieces recently: only 2 of these were post-enclosure. Whilst there is little in the overt process of the Brackley enclosure to justify E. P. Thompson's forthright assertion that enclosure was a 'plain enough case of class robbery',[21] the significance of the demands of an alien system on a traditional community cannot be ignored. It is the subtleties of post-enclosure structural and normal changes that have largely been ignored by the propagandists of 'fairness'. In Brackley, the poorer seem to have been charged for the maintenance of the few rights they had, whilst the most influential benefited most of all.

Common Rights.

Next to the distribution of costs, this is probably the thorniest enclosure question of all and much of the fairness controversy hangs on it. It is obvious in enclosures other than Brackley's that the Commissioners pursued a 'fair' course over commons, within the limits of Tate's definition of the word. What is also apparent from some parishes is that the redistribution of common rights in the enclosure awards was merely a final ratification of the process of engrossing and encroachment that had gained momentum steadily throughout the eighteenth century. The enclosures may not have imposed sudden inequalities upon rural practice, but they did give legal recognition to an economic process that was well advanced.

In Brackley commons had been largely linked to cottage property, with one cow per holder. At the enclosure, compensation was given for 63 cow commons in the award but these were distributed between only 25 of the 98 recipients.

Commons Compensation.

	Number of recipients	*Commons per head*
	15	1
	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$
	3	3
	2	5
	1	6
	1	9
	1	11
Totals:	25	63

Magdalen College had 11, 2 of which were leased from the Trustees, who had 9 in their own right. Except for Thomas Arnold who had 5, the other multiple holdings did not necessarily correspond with the size of the recipient's overall allotment. Robert East, with 6 cow commons only received 4 acres 2 roods and 20 perches overall. It was impossible to find any direct common/allotment ratio to measure the value of recompense.

[20] W. E. Tate, *The English Village Community and the Enclosure Movement*, (1967), pp. 173–4. Tate seemed unable to reconcile the contradictions in his statements. The convention is taken further by J. D. Chambers and G. E. Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution, 1780–1880*, (1966), pp. 88–9.

[21] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (1968) p. 237.

There is evidence that the nature of cow common holding had been fluctuating in Brackley for about 150 years. A Brackley Feoffees' document of 1652 listed 60 cow commons for cottagers, held by 60 cottagers, as distinct from 136 for farmers.[22] An insert of 1729 in the parish registers listed only 63 all told; an undated addendum to this showed their later distribution and reveals some concentration. John Butterfield had acquired 3, the Duke 2.[23] Gradually, between 1730 and 1830, greater concentration had taken place but the steps were untraceable. It is evident that the award did not necessarily deprive small holders, indeed, those who held rights were compensated. But the cottage cow commons were by now an insignificant feature of the overall farming life of the parish. The notes Hopcroft made do not reveal what other commons were compensated, or how, although they were generally mentioned as appertaining to land in the award. What rights the smaller occupants had had were well eroded by 1830; the enclosure placed them beyond recall. There was no mention of squatting rights nor of any disputes over them, so it must be assumed they did not exist in the 'closed' parish of Brackley.

Farming after the Enclosure.

Presumably, the enclosure took place to increase farming efficiency and profitability for both the tenant and his landlord. But there was a very important distinction between the actual allottees (i.e. the landlords) and the farmers themselves. As far as can be established from the far from adequate documentation, there was a considerable and complex system of crossletting and subdivision. Edward Taylor who was awarded 3 acres and 18 perches in 1830 was farming 287 acres 1 rood and 6 perches by 1837. Hopcraft, himself succeeded by his son as we shall see, paid £330 per annum for an indeterminate amount of land in 1836, held from the Trustees.[24] He was the largest of the Bridgewater tenants, apart from continuing to act as a valuer. It is possible to build up some idea of the shifting farm pattern over the two decades after the award, but the information is insufficiently standardised to allow for a total reconstruction of much accuracy. The 1831 census indicated 19 'occupiers of land' but was non-specific about their holdings. Some idea, but only in terms of assessment, not acreages, can be gained from the Land Tax of 1831: 78 proprietors were chargeable in Brackley itself, the Trustees having 26 houses and 30 pieces of land.[25] The principal holdings were:

Proprietor	*Occupier*	*Assessment* £. s. d.
Brackley St. Peter		
Trustees	Mary Lathbury	7. 12. 4.
"	Michael Russell	1. 3. 10.
"	Benjamin Wesson	6. 8.
"	John Lathbury	3. 13. 6½.
Rebecca Loveday	W. K. Malins	13. 9. 3½.
W. K. Malins	Self	2. 14. 7.
Rev. T. George	Alfred Hayward	3. 2. 11.
H. Webster	Self and others	30. 7. 11.
St. James		
T. Arnold	Self	14. 5. 3.
Edward Bartlett	P. Wilson	17. 4. 3.
John Bartlett	(College Farm)	5. 16. 7.
Trustees	J. Lathbury	10. 9. 8.
T. French	Stephen Pain	5. 16. 5.
W. K. Malins	Self	1. 15. 5.

[22] N.R.O. BF 59.

[23] Brackley Parish Registers, 1727–1756, p. 35: in Brackley Parish Church.

[24] Based on Hopcraft's MS notes in the Stace Collection, N.R.O. YZ 25651.

[25] N.R.O. Land Tax 1831, King's Sutton Hundred, X 2292.

Halse			
Bridgewater Trustees		Selves	12. 0. 0.
"	"	"	6. 8. 0.
"	"	Robert Weston	9. 6. 0.
"	"	Mary Butterfield	24. 4. 0.
"	"	John Weston	32. 0. 0.
"	"	Robert Bartlett	32. 0. 0.
"	"	Thomas Bannard	19. 4. 0.
"	"	Robert Dawson	16. 10. 10.
"	"	Jos. Nichols	13. 0. 0.
"	"	John Lathbury	1. 17. 11.
"	"	Sarah Lathbury	18. 11.
		Total:	167. 8. 10.
Rev. C. A. Sage not exonerated			4. 0. 0.

Unfortunately, there was no evidence which would allow these figures to be converted into approximate holding sizes. A set of calculations which Hopcroft made for a Poor Rate Assessment in 1836 revealed the following principal land-holdings in Brackley parish:[26]

Alfred Hayward (Solicitor)	116 acres	1 rood	3 perches
W. K. Malins	106	—	33
Joseph Stranks	133	3	11
Edward Taylor	287	1	6
Thomas Wilson	285	—	30

The farm holdings were not usually coextensive with the tenants' own property after the 1830 award. Wilson and Stranks each held land from one man, Taylor made up his holdings from five separate landlords. Stranks, who held from the late Thomas Arnold, was not an allottee of the enclosure. Some evidence of tenancy changes was given in the 1841 and 1851 Census Enumerators' Returns, which allowed an approximate location of farmhouses, and in the latter case, evidence of farm sizes but not of the land's position in the parish.

Farming 1841–1851.

Farm Address	*1841*	*1851*	*1851 holding (acres)*
Market Square	Thomas Pittam	Thomas Pittam	140
		Thomas Stuckfield	80 (hotel keeper)
High Street	John Temple	—	—
	Edward Taylor	Edward Taylor	200
		George Taylor	190
	Thomas Herrieff	Thomas Herrieff	105
	John Bannard	—	—
		Elizabeth Beale	41
Bridge Street		Robert Street	20 (Licensed victualler)
Old Town		Joseph Stranks	130 (away 1841)
Halse	Edward Butterfield	Edward Butterfield	350
	Isaac Bartlett	Isaac Bartlett	300
	Alfred Hopcraft	Alfred Hopcraft	920
	Thomas Bannard	Thomas Bannard	274
	Thomas Pratt	—	—
	Joseph Nichols	Joseph Nichols	262
Hatch	William Barnham	William Barnham	30
	Stephen Pain	Stephen Pain	100 (Licensed victualler)
Staple Gate	John Goodman	John Goodman	120

[26] See note 24.

The total acreage recorded in 1851, 3262, was some 1503 less than the parish's total: the residue can be explained by the combined acreage of the town area and the bulk of the outlying woodlands remaining in the larger landlords' hands, with only underwood rights being sold as part of the management. The 19 occupiers of 1831 had varied only slightly: 15 in 1841 (counting the absent Stranks) and 16 in 1851, a figure which was still constant in 1871. With one exception, the forty years after enclosure had not led to any farm aggrandisement. That was Arthur Hopcraft, B.J's son, whose 310 acreage of 1841 had almost trebled, then shrunk. In addition he had diversified, becoming a brewer, wine and spirit merchant, with 700 acres of land ('part own, part rent'), with 30 men and 8 boys and another 50 men in his High Street brewery.[27]

There is some evidence of a general pressure to increase the profitability of the land, measured in rents, after the award was made, although there was no record of any change in farming techniques. Rents rose, but not necessarily as a direct result of the enclosure. The accounts of the Feoffees of the Brackley Charities reveal the following pattern:

1792	£44. 11s. 6d.
1829	£157. 10s. 0d.
1840	£162. 2s. 0d.

This was for a more or less constant acreage, (about 28 acres). The main increase had occurred in 1812 after a revaluation which doubled the return.[28] There is a gap in the accounts from 1829 to 1840, but the increase then was not significant. Unfortunately, the Magdalen College archives do not allow the fortunes of their directly held estate to be reconstructed. But the rents paid to them by the Trustees were recorded for four years:[29]

	Net Annual Rent
1830	£163. 12. 7d.
1837	£240. 0. 3d.
1844	£265. 14. 8d.
1850	£234. 0. 0d.

Whether the enclosure had the same immediate upward effect on the Bridgewater income cannot be reconstructed, but returns begin in 1836, when the total rentable land produced £1249.12s.1d. a half year. All except £123.1s.7d. of this came from freehold land held since the award. There were slight fluctuations thereafter but it remained generally constant until a revision of 1842 raised the half-yearly sum to around £1750. There were greater fluctuations during the next decade when the actual receipts were cut on average by about £100 but the expected return remained constant until the 'High Farming' boom of the mid-1850s when it was raised to over £1900 a half-year. By 1870 it had topped £2100.[30] What is needed, of course, to make a viable comparison is any account of the receipts of the great tithes before the enclosure, but these are not extant. If there was no sharp or direct series of annual increases after the accounts began, there was a steady pressure to maintain the levels. A few agent's letters survive for the period.[31] One, in 1837, showed many of the older buildings on the estate in a dilapidated condition. 'In several instances, they are placed most inconveniently for the occupation of land occasioning thereby a number of single hovels and barns to be scattered over the estate';[32] an observation which presumably fostered the eventual building of dispersed farmsteads in the 1850s. James Loch, Bridgewater's powerful central agent, preferred to replace them with new buildings as they fell out of use and as leases were introduced to replace customary, and restrictive, yearly tenancies.[33] The basis of valuing and renting was still far from complete; bad harvests and the anti-Corn Law agitations affected his calculations. Loch was unsure in 1841 whether or not to introduce a rent system based on the acreage held or on an average annual valuation of the sales of grain from a particular holding; the result was not recorded, although revision was effected in 1842.[34] Nor were all the tenants co-operative. Bannard's farm

[27] See Census Enumerators' Returns, P.R.O: 1861, RG9/921 and 1871 RG10/1467.

[28] N.R.O. BF60 passim.

[29] N.R.O. YZ 5651.

[30] N.R.O. Ellesmere X461.

[31] N.R.O. Ellesmere X3695, misc. papers.

[32] *Ibid*, 1 July 1837.

[33] His importance is discussed in David Spring, *The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century*, (Johns Hopkins, 1963), pp. 92–5.

[34] N.R.O. Ellesmere X 3695, letter to J. Haynes, 2 August 1841. See also D. Spring. *op. cit.*, p. 95.

was a 'disgrace to the estate' and had to be partly redistributed, although he still held it in 1851. His tenacity may have owed something to the fact that he turned the other lessees' cattle off land he considered rightly his.[35] Hayward, the solicitor, was given notice to quit when he complained about the new rents in 1841.[36] The correspondence is unfortunately scant but it revealed a combination of economic thrust and a concern to maximise profits with a lingering paternalism which operated occasionally to lessen the impact of direct exploitation. But the demands of the new professional management eventually won out; paternalism would not brook opposition.

Assessment: The Enclosure and the Town.

The enclosure of Brackley passed off peaceably, with no evidence of overt trouble. Yet this was the year in which widespread depression and discontent amongst impoverished farm labourers exploded into the Swing riots. It was no longer a dramatic and instant transformation of a traditional pattern, particularly since the parish was the last to be affected in a wide area. The extent to which enclosures 'dissipated the haze which surrounded rural poverty and left it nakedly visible as propertyless labour' is beyond the scope of this study, but some thought should be given to the undoubted psychological impact on the local vision of the redrafting or a centuries-old landscape. Violence there was at Banbury, Neithrop and King's Sutton, but this was directed against farm machinery and undoubtedly hindered its introduction locally for several decades.[37] The parochial records and the Assistant Poor Law enquiries of 1833–4 do not allow the quantitative reconstruction of the extent of poverty in Brackley itself. J. J. Richardson, Edwin Chadwick's Assistant Commissioner, left an impressionistic evaluation of family allowances of 1s. a week for young children of families on low, but unspecified incomes. The tradesmen were reluctant to pay the rates, the money was given to all and sundry, including prostitutes and the poor were left 'standing idle in the streets' or in the local beershops. 'The charity trustees were positively obliged to borrow money to make their usual donations, from the fear of creating a riot in the town if they did not'; but this is the impression of a utilitarian reformer, not an adequate assessment of social tension in Brackley.[38] It seems more likely that the 'closed' pattern of the parish's social hierarchy made for a continued deference. In terms of employment, the redistribution may have created farm jobs; against the low population increase of the decade 1831–41, there were 187 farm labourers and 1 shepherd in 1841, as distinct from 149 ten years earlier. The number fell to 173 in 1851 as the town's population grew. But, if the lower orders resented the change, they kept quiet. The area lost generally by emigration over the mid-century, some of it went overseas.[39] No existing study has yet shown the loss of quality in working groups of those who left, although Hobsbawm and Rudé have examined the later careers of those transported from elsewhere after the collapse of the Swing Riots. There is a strong case for a detailed study of the incidence of minor crimes against property in the area, the rural vandalism which was symptomatic of unease and which was the only way in which objection could normally be expressed without repression, where the perpetrators got away with it. Perhaps the deferential tradition was too strong in Brackley. The only incidence of a local labour consciousness came with the suffrage meetings of 1867 and the involvement of Thomas Judge, the 'Radical Grocer' of Brackley in the local strikes for increased agricultural pay which formed part of the abortive 'Revolt of the Field' around 1870.[40] What the enclosure meant in the overall economic life of the market town cannot be established. Certainly, it had little prospect of a glorious future in the mid-1830s:

'It is surrounded by populous villages and a thriving agricultural district, and . . . it has the advantage of several large markets and fairs . . . at the same time, I should state, that I could perceive no circumstances to induce a reasonable expectation of any rapid increase in the trade or productive capacity of Brackley. No extensive manufacturers are carried on there, and there is no peculiar facility of access by railway or canal . . . [The Railway] is at all events a distant prospect.'[41]

[35] N.R.O. X 3695, 4 October 1841.

[36] *Ibid.*, 13 October 1841.

[37] E. Hobsbawm and G. Rudé, *Captain Swing*, (1969) p. 35 and p. 195, and W. Potts, *A History of Banbury*, (Banbury, 1958), p. 191.

[38] *Parliamentary Papers*, (1834), Vol. 24, p. 407A.

[39] 34 people left Brackley for Canada, aided by the Poor Law Union in 1844: *Parliamentary Papers*, (1848), Vol. XLVII, p. 699.

[40] See Pamela Horn, 'The Evenley Strike in 1867'. *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, Vol. IV, No. 1, (1966/7), p. 47 ff, and also J. P. D. Dunbabin, 'The Revolt of the Field', *Past and Present*, No. 24, (1963).

[41] *Parliamentary Papers*, (1835), Vol. XXII, 'Report of the Municipal Corporations Commission', Appendix, p. 24.

The writer was David Jardine, enquiring into local government for the Royal Commission on Municipal Corporations in 1834. The town's government remained unreformed until the 1870s. When the railways came eventually, the Bletchley to Banbury in 1846 and the Great Central in 1893, they only reinforced the restricted role of the town in its hinterland. Brackley's end-of-century nickname, 'Sleepy Hollow' had a long established tradition.

I am greatly indebted for the considerable amount of help and advice I received from the Clerk's Department of the Northamptonshire County Council, the Librarian of Magdalen College, Oxford, Mr. P. I. King and his staff at the Northamptonshire Record Office, a number of my former students in adult education classes in the Brackley area, and to the University of Sussex Arts Research Support Fund for help in preparing this article.

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MEMORIES OF PITSFORD A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

T. G. TUCKER

*Introduction by the late Joan Wake**

All my life I had heard of the clever Pitsford boy, Tom Tucker—whose name was a legend in the Wake family. I knew he had emigrated to Australia as a young man and I had therefore never expected to see him in the flesh—when all of a sudden in the middle of my third war—he turned up! This was in 1941. He got into touch with my aunt, Miss Lucy Wake, who had known him as a boy, and through her I invited him to come and stay with me for a few days in my little house at Cosgrove. He was then a good-looking, white haired old gentleman, of marked refinement, and of course highly cultivated, and over eighty years of age. He was very communicative, and I much enjoyed his visit.

Tom's father was coachman, first to my great-great-aunt Louisa, Lady Sitwell, at Huntercombe near Maidenhead in Berkshire, and then to her sister, my great-grandmother, Charlotte, Lady Wake, at Pitsford. Tom described to me the two days' journey in the furniture van from one place to the other—stopping the night at Newport Pagnell, and the struggle of the horses up Boughton hill, slippery with ice, as they neared the end of their journey. That must have been in 1868 or 1869. He was then about eight years of age.

My great-grandmother took a great interest in him after discovering that he was the cleverest boy in the village, and he told me that he owed everything to her. When he was sent to Lancaster Grammar School she wrote round to the neighbours, including the Lord Spencer and Lord Exeter of the time, asking for financial help to which she no doubt contributed herself. After four years at Cambridge Tom was told by the doctors that he had consumpton—now called tuberculosis—and I think it was partly for the warmer climate that he emigrated to Australia, where he ended up as Professor of Classics and English Literature.

He did not return to England until shortly before World War II and then found that he could not get home. After he left me I wrote and asked him to write his reminiscences of Pitsford —which he kindly did in the two following letters,—and the fact that for sixty years there had been nothing to blur them in the way of subsequent English memories, makes them, I think especially valuable. He died at Sidmouth before the end of the war, well over 80 years of age.

Joan Wake

1.

Dear Miss Wake,

I am sorry I can tell you hardly anything about the doings at your father's coming-of-age.[1] I was then only about twelve. All I can remember is that the grounds had tents and flags and some sort of games for (I presume) the tenants and local people, and that in a large refreshment marquee, Charlotte, Lady Wake, made a little speech in which she said that Sir Herewald would, she hoped, soon be bringing a wife to live among them. I can also remember that, as I went striding about among the people on a pair of stilts, they *would* insist that I was one of the young Wakes playing incog. I suppose I must have been wearing my best clothes and using h's.

Of the Pitsford village life I can only tell what a boy of eight to ten years of age would be likely to know. From twelve to sixteen I was in Northampton at the Grammar School six days in the week; from sixteen to nineteen the Lancaster school, except in the holidays; and from nineteen to twenty-three I was at Cambridge, with occasional returns to Pitsford in vacation time. Nevertheless I do recall a good deal of the entourage of seventy years ago. It is mostly trivial, but you wrote that even trivialities will be welcome.

Being a philologist I will begin with a remark or two upon the dialect. I had come at the age of eight from Berkshire and I had been accustomed to pronounce *Can't* and *Shan't* in the normal manner, (cahn't, shahn't) but found at Pitsford one said *cayn't* and *shayn't*. (But I did not.)

* Written in 1971.

[1] The coming-of-age celebrations of Sir Herewald Wake at Courteenhall in July 1873.

PLATE 1. PITSFORD PARISH CHURCH AS IT WAS ABOUT THE TIME TOM TUCKER MOVED TO THE VILLAGE [*Northamptonshire Libraries*]

The Danes had had their linguistic effect on Mercian English. The past tense of *hit* was *hot*, and I know why, but am not writing a philological treatise. There were also peculiar words. Anyone who had an odd or uncomfortable feeling from loneliness or the like said that he was *unkyd*. I now recognise in this word the local form corresponding to the Anglo-Saxon *uncud*, i.e. *uncouth*, which, as you probably know originally meant 'unknown', hence 'strange' or 'odd', and only by development 'odd in manner'. Another term, used of a restive horse, was *Froxy* (etymologically it means 'jumpy'). Only once have I heard it elsewhere. Soon after my arrival in Melbourne I met at luncheon an old solicitor who, in talking of his horse, said "It is what we used to call froxy". I asked him, "Do you come from Northamptonshire?", and he replied "Yes, from country near Market Harborough". When horse-chestnuts were ripe, a boy would pick out a good specimen, bore a hole through it, hang it on a string, and then battle with another boy similarly provided. They swung the chestnuts against each other until one was smashed. This game was called *konkers*, and I used to imagine it meant 'conquerors'. But in reality *Konker* is Norse for a 'ball' and it was the chestnuts themselves that were the *konkers*.

A peculiar idiom was used by a boy who knew of the whereabouts of a bird's nest. He would say "I *know to* a nest" (or a "neezan"), as one might say that he was 'privy to' it. One word has always puzzled me. In a widening of the road just outside the gate of Pitsford House there stood a decrepit old tree round which children used to play. Everybody called it the *wirlie* tree (I am spelling it as best I can). No one knew what the word meant, and I cannot think of any solution. Possibly the tree had once been the centre of some ceremony (dancing round). The pronunciation is doubtless a corruption of something less cryptic, such as might be expected from people to whom Holcott had become *Ukkot*.

Pitsford village must once have consisted of what is now only its nucleus. You can walk or ride round this part which is approximately circular. It was known as the *town* (one used to say, "I will race you round the town"). This of course, is the *tun. i.e.* fenced inclosure. Presumably it was once surrounded by a wall, earthwork, or palisade, whether as the primitive village, or, more probably, the original farm-settlement. When I went to North Lancashire and Westmoreland I found that a farm homestead was called 'town' even if there was no other house anywhere near.[1] More Norse influence with the Danelagh.

Of occasions and ceremonies there is not much to tell. On Valentine's Day every ado-

[1] A farm-yard in East Cornwall was known in the early years of this century, as the *town-place*. J.W.

PLATE 2. PITSFORD HOUSE ABOUT 1900.

lescent, and many adults, must expect to receive a valentine, sometimes a well-meaning but mawkish missive with lacy paper, scented if possible, but quite as often a spiteful anonymous communication with an abusive picture and a scurrilous caption. On "Oak-Apple Day" you must wear a sprig of oak (with an oak-apple if you could get one), or else must suffer pinches from the more loyal.[2] On "Guy Fawkes Day" every boy who could obtain a mask wore one, squibs and crackers were exploded in the streets, and somewhere outside the village a bonfire was built, surmounted wherever possible by a tar-barrel. On May day the school children went singing carols (and collecting coins) all round the parish. The girls carried a contraption of two crossed hoops, forming a roundabout frame wreathed with flowers, while the boys independently formed another procession, one of them walking and dancing in a wicker frame covered with leaves. He was called "Jack in the Green". After their return they all had a sumptuous tea out of the proceeds. [I remember one of your uncles or cousins—then a boy—carrying round huge jugs of tea and cruelly asking if anyone wanted "any more slops". He told me one boy drank nine cups—a Dr. Johnson *in posse.*] I do not remember what carols they sang, except that one of them began with—

"The gorse is yaller on the 'eath,
The fields with flowers are gay"

There was as yet nothing moribund about any of these occasions: and no wonder, for the youngsters had very few amusements. Pitsford and no Common or other free ground for play—no room except the village streets. There were no athletic sports, no cricket team; football was unheard-of. The boys played marbles and 'duck-stone', and tip-cat in the road—and, so far as I know, were contented and happy.

I never heard of any local ghost, nor do I remember any particular superstition, except that injury to a robin redbreast or its nest meant grievous harm to the guilty one. This absence of superstitions was, I fancy, due to there being practically no Celtic strain in those parts.

When I was about ten years of age the pay of agricultural labourers was twelve shillings a week, but soon afterwards was raised to fifteen through the agitation started by Joseph Arch. I am sure of the figures because my father had occasionally to engage workers for Mr. Drury Wake. So much for feeding and clothing and housing a family! At harvest time a gang of Irish reapers would

[2] This was also the custom in the town of Northampton down to the middle of the 19th century and later. J. W.

come over and clashes sometimes occurred, the Irish being accused of using their sickles in the combat. The women and children gleaned behind the harvest carts, and any farmer who raked too closely was detested as a curmudgeon.

The local church. It was tightly shut all the week, and deadly dull on Sunday. More people went to the small Baptist Chapel or to the still smaller Wesleyan (whose illiterate men preached and prayed with some fervour). Only once did I see the parish church filled. This was when Archbishop Tait came to visit his sister (Lady Wake) and it got noised abroad that he intended to preach on Sunday evening. People came crowding in from all the neighbourhood, and those who could not get inside thronged the windows. I am afraid they expected a superlative exhibition of pulpit oratory, which, of course, they did not get. But they saw the great man, recognised his dignity, and heard some good sense.

Morally, I suppose, the village was on a par with all the others. The tone was far from high. You have doubtless heard of "tin-kettling".[1] I heard it once, and do not wish to hear it again. The greatest disgrace a young man could incur was by "goin' for a sojer" i.e. enlisting. It implied an attempt to escape the consequences of some bad conduct or other. I recall two cases, in both of which the mothers wept like Rachel and the neighbours shook their heads.

Schooling was twopence a week (for infants, I believe a penny). The school was "Church of England", but, since it was regularly visited by an inspector I suppose there was a Government subsidy. At the top there was a scholarship of £10. I am bound to say that, at least at Pitsford, the primary education was quite good, so far as it went. Such subjects as arithmetic and geography were far better taught than at secondary schools. There was some history, a little elementary science, and a good deal of Bible. Sixty years later I revisited the school and found that neither outside nor inside had it improved one jot, and it was far less tidily kept.

And here I must pay a tribute to the Church of England. That body had established what was called a "Prize Scheme". Every year the C. of E. schools in the shire were invited to send selected pupils to an examination in Northampton and other centres to compete for prizes in a class list. There were three stages: 3rd class at nine to ten years, 2nd at ten to eleven, 1st at eleven to thirteen. I owe my own start to that scheme. I was fortunate enough to head the list at each stage. This brought me into notice, and I was sent to the Grammar school: having exhausted that school at 16, I was passed on with a subscription scholarship to a good classical school at Lancaster, and thence worked my way with a collection of scholarships through Cambridge. I owed much to Lady Wake, who pulled various strings during the early part of that career.

2.

A few more notes on Pitsford life 70 years ago.

I might have mentioned in my previous letter that what particularly strikes me now is the isolation and intense parochialism of a village in, say, the year 1868 or thereabouts. Anyone even from Boughton or Moulton was, at least to boys, a foreigner at Pitsford, unless he came to school there (as one or two Boughton boys did) and so became familiar. Such a foreigner coming perchance on an errand, was likely to be greeted with uncomplimentary remarks. There were no buses running in those days; even to Northampton there was only a cramped old carrier's van once a week, I think, but only a comparative plutocrat could use it (4d return).

For supplies the village shops generally sufficed, but there was no vendor of newspapers or books. Fish was obtained only occasionally, when a man came pushing a coster's barrow loaded with sprats, herrings, and (rarely) mackerel. A travelling tinker sometimes mended pots and pans, and a knife-grinder sharpened scissors for people who brought them out to him. I do not remember any gipsy caravans. The locality had no attractions for the Romanys. There were no woodlands for him to camp on or poach in. Now and then a crier would appear, ring a bell, and shout the old Norman "Oyez" (with the old Norman pronunciation "O Yes" "O Yes", to which the rustics invariably replied "O No".)

Water, so far as I remember, was supplied from more or less communal pumps or wells, but I was too young to do more than take it for granted that there was water. There was a good baker, who on Saturdays (or occasions) would bake the cakes which people brought to him in tins. He made excellent 'hot cross buns' for Good Friday.

You will see that I am gradually recalling things which I had long forgotten, but I am afraid I am recalling them somewhat vaguely.

T. G. TUCKER

[1] This was 'rough music'. In cases of 'carryings-on' between a married man and somebody else's wife the guilty parties were serenaded at night by a crowd of indignant villagers banging and beating old tin pots and cans. J. W.

CELEBRATING ROYAL OCCASIONS IN OLD NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

JACQUELINE A. MINCHINTON

In common with many other organisations in 1977 the Northamptonshire Record Office staged an exhibition to commemorate the Queen's Silver Jubilee. This account of the principal sources used, and of some of the outstanding items, may be of interest to those who did not see the exhibition, and perhaps refresh the memories of those who did.

At Delapre Abbey the main exhibition was set up in February. In it documentary sources were supplemented by souvenirs of past jubilees, including an egg cup, a cup and saucer, as well as the more conventional mugs loaned by members of staff. A secondary exhibition consisting of photostats of the most significant items, suitably mounted, has been on display in various parts of the county since May.

Although the main theme of the exhibition at Delapre Abbey was 'Past Jubilees' a certain amount of material was included on other great festive occasions when the country as a whole celebrated with the ritual processions, sports and communal meals which play such a part in all Jubilee celebrations. These other occasions were primarily Coronations but the ending of wars has understandably been marked with similar rejoicing.

The sources used fell into three broad categories: papers relating to the actual organisation of Jubilee celebrations, contemporary comment meant to be read by the public at large, and private impressions recorded in diaries, and letters.

Among the papers relating to the organisation of Jubilee celebrations there are a number of different types. Among ecclesiastical parish records for example may be found the Special Order of Service, "appointed to be read in all Churches and Chapels in England and Wales and in the Town of Berwick on Tweed". The Churchwardens' Account Book may record payments made for festive bell ringing. The accounts of the Churchwardens of St. Giles, Northampton, for 1809 for example show payments for ringing the bells that year not only for Guy Fawkes and Christmas but also for King George III's Jubilee and the victory of Talavera. The contemporary rector of Harrington, Rev. W. Wilson recorded the way his parishioners celebrated George III's Jubilee in his parish register. At the end of the day he was delighted to comment "and to their infinite credit, not one of the whole Party though confessing they were all *satisfied* was the least intoxicated or approaching to it".

Civil parish records often throw light on the organisation of Jubilee festivities. In those of Aston-le-Walls for example the original receipted bills for the 1887 celebrations survive. They include not only the bills for the bread, butter, tea and milk, but also for beer, tobacco, the band, cricket bats, skipping-ropes and shuttlecocks. Towcester Parish Council kept a separate minute book recording the activities of the Committee which had to cope with the problems which always occur when such celebrations are organised, such as who is going to lead the Procession? Telegrams of loyal greetings are a feature of Jubilees and in the Earls Barton Parish Council papers the telegram of thanks from Buckingham Palace for such a message at the time of George V's Silver Jubilee in 1935 is preserved. At the same time Boughton Parish Council were requesting permission of the County Council to put streamers across the streets "from the tower of the Church to a building opposite and another across the Highway near the Police Constable's House". The Council agreed, but only on condition that the streamers were 23 feet above ground and that they were to be removed as soon as possible after the Celebrations.

Several surviving Jubilee programmes were among the exhibits at Delapre, the most outstanding of which were those once in the possession of Horatia Stopford, sister of the Rev. Frederick Manners Stopford, Rector of Tichmarsh. The grand-daughter of the 3rd Earl of Courtown, she was Maid of Honour to Queen Victoria from 1857 to 1877, and one of the Bedchamber Women in Ordinary from 1877 until the Queen's death in 1901. The volumes for the Golden and the Diamond Jubilees are bound in grey and have the royal monogram in gold on the cover. They contain the order of processions, list of guests, plans of seating as well as a list of the presents made to the Queen by, amongst others, the Dowager Empress of China.

Contemporary comment is provided from the newspapers of the time. These too. reflect

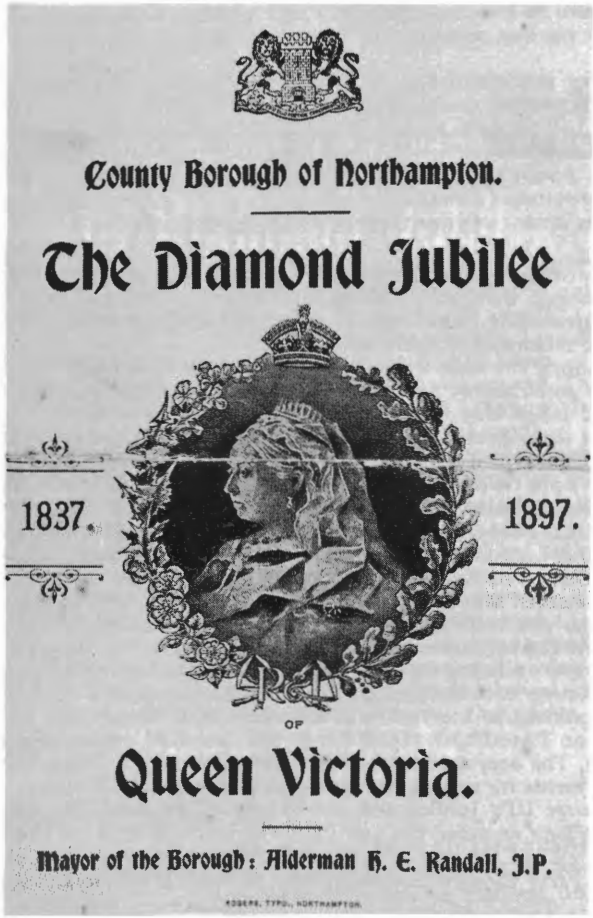
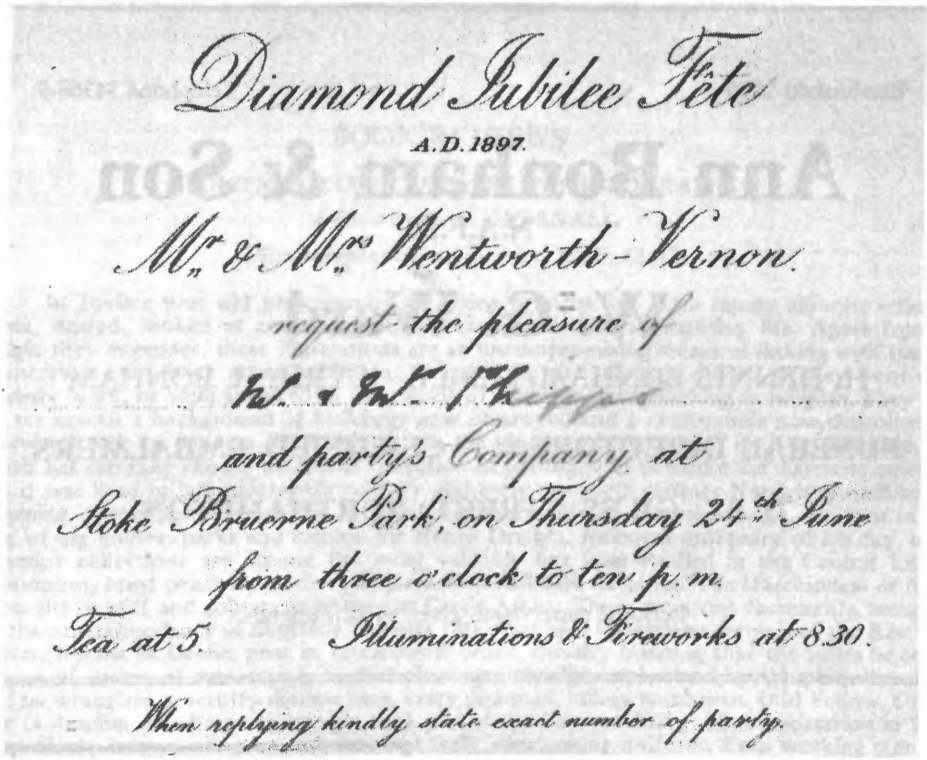


PLATE 1. HYMN AND TUNES SHEET FOR THE MASS MEETING OF NORTHAMPTON CHILDREN TO CELEBRATE QUEEN VICTORIA'S DIAMOND JUBILEE AT THE RACECOURSE, 22nd June 1897.

the growth of the Jubilee as a general public festival. The *Northampton Mercury* of 15 June 1752 reveals that the Anniversary of the King's Accession was greeted with bell ringing "as usual" in Northampton, while in London a great Court was held. *Each* anniversary of the King's Accession was celebrated in the 18th century and so jubilees in the modern sense did not exist. In 1809, however, the Jubilee of George II's grandson was, and so is the first modern Jubilee. The *Times* claims to have used the word in its present context during that year, and certainly the original Old Testament meaning has now passed out of use. The *Northampton Mercury* for October 1809 records not only the celebrations in Northampton but also in the other towns and some of the villages of the county. At Kettering for example nearly £300 was collected, part of which was expended in giving meat and bread "to all the poor and working people of the town (upwards of 200) with a small sum of money to each family". By the time of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee the *Northampton Herald* needed a Supplement to record the local activities in a fitting manner. It is from the detailed account of local celebrations that appeared in the paper that we can know the precise details of the ox-roasting which took place in Wellingborough in 1897, the only original visual impression of a Jubilee which we had in the exhibition (see the cover of this issue).

There may be a shortage of pictorial material in the Record Office to show what a Victorian Jubilee looked like, but there is certainly no shortage of words. In addition to the newspapers already mentioned some villages such as Yelvertoft and Newnham published accounts of


Diamond Jubilee Fête

A.D. 1897.

Mr & Mrs Wentworth-Vernon

request the pleasure of

W. & Mrs Phipps

and party's Company at

Stoke Bruerne Park, on Thursday 24th June

from three o'clock to ten p.m.

Tea at 5. Illuminations & Fireworks at 8.30.

When replying kindly state exact number of party.

PLATE 2. INVITATION CARD FOR THE JUBILEE FÊTE AT STOKE BRUERNE PARK, 24th June 1897.

their celebrations—who was on the organising Committee, what sports took place, and of course what the refreshments consisted of. It is however the view of the organiser which is recorded. One would have liked to have heard the comments of the invalids of Yelvertoft who were to be fed and it was later discovered that "the baskets were mislaid in the School Room, and not discovered until the dinner and tea were over".

For the personal impression of Queen Victoria's Jubilees, the Record Office is fortunate in having on deposit the Diaries of Lady Knightley. She was in London for both Jubilees and describes the sights and ceremonies in great detail. In1887 she was "touched to see, even in St. Giles's heaps of little flags and decorations on some of the poorest houses". She was not so impressed by the official sights in 1897 when whe wrote "The Carysforts took me home to luncheon so I saw all the decorations—but I confess our genius does not lie in that direction".

If Lady Knightley is our local correspondent on the London celebrations surely no better tribute to local celebrations can exist than in "Village Memories". These are accounts of village life collected in the late 1950s and are the reminiscences of men and women then in their late sixties and over. From this patchwork of memories—of the singers on the battlements of Kislingbury church, the bands and processions at Eye and Spratton, and the teas and sports that were so widespread throughout the county—one has a vivid picture of those times of rejoicing. Of course memories change with the passage of time blurring them into a roseate picture, so should we not now in this year of the Queen's Jubilee put down on paper for our descendants our impressions of this year while it is still fresh in our minds?

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BOOK REVIEWS

OLD NORTHAMPTONSHIRE IN PHOTOGRAPHS

Edited by R. L. GREENALL

(*Northamptonshire Libraries*, 1976, £3.25)

In Jubilee year old photographs are being brought out from family albums, attics and drawers, dusted, looked at and their subjects compared with present-day life. Apart from the nostalgia they engender, these illustrations are an uncompromising means of linking with the past. Our ancestors stare back at us unblinking, trapped by the camera's shutter as they went about their daily work, or were involved in the rituals of marriage, merrymaking or religion. They stand or sit set against a background of buildings now destroyed and a countryside now despoiled, and the viewer is able to recreate in his mind's eye the visual environment of the Victorian age. Ron Greenall has carefully chosen his recent collection of photographs to evoke the different aspects of life as it was lived in late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Northamptonshire. The landowning classes, still dominating social life in the middle of Victoria's reign, are seen in their setting of big houses, parks and estates. Sir Henry Dryden, foremost antiquary of his day, whose manuscript collections are among the most valuable but least studied in the Central Library, Northampton, leans pensively under a tree with his wife and daughter. The Marchioness of Northampton sits in stiff and solitary splendour at Castle Ashby. These are social documents, reminding us of the superabundance of domestic servants 100 years ago; the sixteen menials of the Rev. E. T. Sylvester, Rector of Deene, pose in hierarchical order, chivalry insisting that the ladies be seated. This love of order, of everyone in his/her place was ritually emphasized by the ubiquity of uniforms; no wranglers or scruffy denims here, every postman, village bandsman, Odd Fellow, Gurkha soldier (a number of whom surprisingly took part at the Courteenhall Jubilee celebration in 1897) is scrupulously turned out in a stiff and, one feels, overheating uniform. Even working men have what amounts to a uniform of flat caps, collarless shirt, hitched up trousers and hobnailed boots. A splendid double-page spread entitled 'The break in hay making at Long Buckby about 1912' illustrates the superb quality of these early photographers; it also evokes the vanished agrarian landscape with its labour-intensive bursts of activity at hay making and harvest. It also reminds us that farming was the principal occupation of Northamptonshire people until the 1880s when it was overtaken by the footwear industry. The shoe men who took over produced the patriarchal bearded figures of Manfield (Northampton) and Bryan (Kettering) who stare confidently out at us. I found particularly moving the picture of the unknown lace maker (97), an old lady seated intent on her lovely self-appointed task, and especially haunting for me was the figure of the solitary hedger (14) with his bill hook and sacking apron, gazing unsmiling as he paused reluctantly at his work when the photographer passed by.

This collection is printed on good quality shiny paper, ideal for its task of clear reproduction, is well and strongly bound and, despite its lack of index, it is excellent value for money. Mr. Greenall has written a skilful but unobtrusive commentary which enables the pictures to speak largely for themselves. The book deserves to be in every Northamptonshire home which values the past.

JOHN STEANE
Oxfordshire County Museum

A REGIONAL HISTORY OF THE RAILWAYS OF GREAT BRITAIN. Vol. 9. The East Midlands

by ROBIN LELEUX

(*David & Charles*, 1976, 240 pp. Illustrated. Maps. £4.50)

The purpose of this series is to treat the history of British railways on a regional basis, a task which railway historians have hitherto tended to overlook. Mr Leleux's region, the East Midlands, stretches from the Peak District of Derbyshire eastwards to the Lincolnshire coast and

southwards to Northamptonshire and, for the main lines, the outer London suburbs. In accordance with publisher's policy, he includes the social and economic impact of the railways on local communities, as well as the more conventional aspects of railway history. The story, which begins with plate-tramways such as the line built over Blisworth Hill in 1800, is brought down to the 1970s; for example, we are told why Northampton, a town of about 140,000 inhabitants, cannot be given an Inter-City service but must content itself with semi-fast commuter-type trains running to and from London and Birmingham (p. 58).

Mr Leleux writes clearly and concisely and has consulted a wide range of primary and secondary sources. He deals with Northamptonshire in three chapters: the first devoted to the main lines crossing the county, together with branch lines in the south-west; the second carrying the self-explanatory title, "Northampton—the Town that Missed the Line"; and the third describing secondary lines in the Wellingborough–Kettering area, including ironstone railways. The complicated story of the extension of a main line from Leicester to Kettering, Wellingborough and beyond is particularly well told. At the same time Mr Leleux has a good eye for the engaging anecdote. One example will suffice. A locomotive at Cogenhoe ironstone mines was named *Alathea Choice*, after a local lady who was having a love affair with its driver, her social inferior (p. 75). One wonders what the local Mrs Grundies had to say about this daring nomenclature.

A few slips were noticed. It is an exaggeration to claim that the development of ironstone mining in the 1860s rescued Kettering "from decline" and turned Wellingborough from an "ordinary village" into an "important town" (p. 61). Kettering's recovery was based on the local renaissance of shoe manufacturing, while Wellingborough, a major centre of that industry since the 1770s, numbered 6,382 inhabitants in 1861. Six persons, not twelve, lost their lives in the Wellingborough train disaster in 1898 (p. 73). The capital required to build the Midland Counties Railway was put at £600,000, not £125,000, in the prospectus issued in November 1833 (p. 89). Northampton, unlike Leicester and Nottingham, did not grow "steadily" throughout the eighteenth century (p. 114); for much of the time the population stuck at 5,000–6,000 inhabitants, and sustained growth began only in the 1790s. There is also a surprising omission from the bibliography: C. R. Clinker's *Railways of Northamptonshire, 1800–1960* (1960), a far more reliable guide than C. A. Markham's *Iron Roads of Northamptonshire* (1904), which is mentioned.

On the contentious question of Northampton's relationship in 1830–31 with the London & Birmingham Railway company, Mr Leleux follows Dr Joan Wake in placing the unreformed corporation, "a self-perpetuating body of Anglican Tories", in opposition to "commercial feeling", presumably nonconformist and supporting Reform (p. 47). This explanation runs right off the rails! Had the corporation given approval to the L.&B.R. crossing Corporation Farm, Bugbrooke, it would have cut the ground from under the negotiating committee which was trying to persuade the company to re-route the line *nearer* to Northampton. In any case this committee, elected unanimously at a public meeting in the Northampton Guildhall, comprised six Tories and only five Reformers (1831 & 1832 pollbooks), three of the Tories and one of the Reformers being members of the Corporation.

However, these are minor blemishes, and detract only slightly from Mr Leleux's achievement. He has filled an obvious gap in the historiography of Northamptonshire, and his narrative is unlikely to be quickly superseded, either for the county or for the wider area of the East Midlands.

VICTOR A. HATLEY

THE MACKENZIES CALLED COMPTON

by LOU WARWICK

(*Blackburn Times Press* £5.)

NORTHAMPTON REPERTORY THEATRE

by ERNEST REYNOLDS

(*The Guildhall Press* 50p.)

Lou Warwick's latest volume in his Northampton Theatre History series is entitled *The MacKenzies Called Compton* and is aptly subtitled "The Story of the Compton Comedy Company Incorporated in the History of Northampton Theatre Royal and Opera House 1884–1927". His previous volumes have prepared readers for Mr. Warwick's style of digressing from the main subject matter in order to pursue some related theme in an "Interlude", but in this volume the "Inter-

ludes" have got the upper hand and less than half of the book is taken up with the history of the Theatre Royal.

Edward Compton (he dropped MacKenzie in deference to family hostility to the theatre as a profession), the founder of the Compton Comedy Company, played Malvolio in the production of *Twelfth Night* which opened the Theatre Royal in May 1884, and in 1903 he actually bought the Theatre Royal (with Milton Bode) and ran it as part of his theatrical empire for fifteen years. However Mr. Warwick's interest is not confined to Compton's involvement with Northampton, but follows his fortunes up and down the land from Brixton to Birmingham and from Dublin to Drury Lane, as his company took its place in the nationwide theatrical shuffle which occupied the railroads of the nation on those late-Victorian and Edwardian Sabbaths. Mr. Warwick time-tables these activities meticulously and is even more diligent in locating Compton's descendents, not only Fay and Compton MacKenzie, but later generations of which the most distinguished theatrically is Alan Howard, who has latterly scored a great success in *Wild Oats*, one of his great-grandfather's stock pieces. Indeed so successful has Mr. Warwick been in tracking down the widespread branches of the Compton family that one would have welcomed the provision of a diagrammatic family-tree. As for Edward Compton *Actor*, he was, as Mr. Warwick implies, no David Garrick, but he must have been a gifted and accomplished performer of comedy. In view of which, it is regrettable that no real attempt has been made in the book to assess Compton as an actor, through an examination of his achievement in some of his more successful roles.

For the rest of the book—the history of the Theatre Royal between 1884 and 1927—Mr. Warwick is inevitably restricted by the source material available. He gives a clear account of the way in which John Campbell Franklin came to build his theatre, employing as its architect C. J. Phipps who had designed several London theatres, and of the fire which devastated the theatre in February 1887. Thereafter the Theatre Royal had to vie with rival attractions, including the building of the New Theatre and the advent of films and radio, but the danger with this form of theatre history (the history of a building, as opposed to that of an actor or a company) is that it can easily become a list of meaningless play-titles and long-forgotten names. Mr. Warwick counters this danger with a jounalist's flair for the personal story, one such being about an unfortunate actress Dot Stephens who fell out of a railway carriage "en route from Wolverhampton to Glasgow . . . and a passing train took off both her feet", though seeing her on stage, he declares "you would scarcely have imagined that she had two artificial feet". These anecdotes do much to enliven the historical account, but do no disguise the general lack of hard facts about the Theatre Royal's running and finances, to which there is one major exception—the accounts ledger for 1920–23. This volume has survived an eventful career as a stage prop to impart its valuable contents to the researcher of today, who can glean from it nightly figures not only for the box-offices, but for the bar as well. As Mr. Warwick says, the discovery of the ledger is "a great find", one which seems worthy of more attention and analysis than it receives. After all it does provide an opportunity to reconstruct the Theatre's budget and, even more importantly, to gauge the theatre-going tastes of Northampton during that period. For instance a fairly frequent visitor was the Birmingham Repertory Company, the prototype for the Company which was to be established in Northampton a few years later, and one wonders whether the reception accorded to Sir Barry Jackson's pioneers gave encouragement to the founders of the Northampton Repertory Theatre. On the evidence cited it seems unlikely that it did, but nevertheless the Northampton enthusiasts went ahead with a venture which falls outside the perimeter of Mr. Warwick's book, and has been covered by Aubrey Dyas in *Adventure in Repertory*. However, the constant factor is Phipps' beautiful Victorian theatre, in defence of which Mr. Warwick's readers will surely join him if the philistine suggestion, made in February 1976, to demolish it, is ever revived.

With Mr. Warwick's energy and enthusiasm Northampton has no excuse for forgetting its theatrical heritage, and if further reminder is required it is handsomely provided by Ernest Reynolds in his booklet *Northampton Repertory Theatre*. Dr. Reynolds was a pioneer of the study of Victorian drama and theatre and his *Early Victorian Drama 1830–1870*, first published in 1936, is now a standard work. His beautifully illustrated booklet gives a succinct account of the building of the Theatre Royal; the achievement of C. J. Phipps as a theatre architect; and the Theatre Royal's main architectural and decorative characteristics, which help to make it "one of the loveliest small theatres in England and an important part of Northampton's nineteenth century architectural heritage".

RICHARD FOULKES
Department of Adult Education
University of Leicester

SHORTER NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Carr's Dictionary of English Queens, Kings' Wives, Celebrated Paramours, Handfast Spouses, and Royal Changelings.

Carr's Dictionary of extra-ordinary English Cricketers
Two more works of 'near-fiction' from the idiosyncratic J. L. Carr of Kettering, disenchanted ex-teacher, now 'doing his own thing' as writer and freelance publisher. They are handsomely produced, mordantly funny, and apparently inflation-proof at 20p. each. The *Dictionary of English Queens* is dedicated to 'the beautiful Frideswide (c. 735), that young lady, wise beyond her years, who anticipating marriage to a savage bore, similar to many littering these 16 pages, refused queenship, preferring a life of contemplative virginity in a pigsty at Binsey Abbey', and is this Jubilee year's most unusual offering in books on Royalty.

Cricket lover as well as feminist, Mr. Carr has mined the rich seams of eighteenth and nineteenth century eccentricity for some of his entries in the second of these works. This reviewer's favourite is '*The Revd. Lord Frederick Beauclerk, DD*, Vicar of St. Albans, c. 1820, great-grandson of King Charles II and Nell Gwynne and known in the Soho district as Fred Diamond Eye. This choleric man took his stand at the wicket wearing a scarlet sash and a white beaver and demonstrated his contempt for some bowlers by suspending a valuable gold watch from his middle stump. He is said to have been an unutterably dull preacher'.

Both booklets would be perfect Christmas stocking-fillers for someone you would like to cheer up. Available at all good bookshops, or, in an emergency, from the author at 27 Mill Dale Avenue, Kettering.

Royal Arms in the Churches of Northamptonshire and Rutland by Rosemary Pardoe.
A duplicated booklet (price 30p including postage. With card covers 36p.), available from the author at 24 Othello Close, Hartford, Huntingdon, PE18 7SU. A check list of Royal Arms in churches with very brief and basic notes on each.

A History of Hinton Methodist Church 1820–1977 by J. W. Anscombe.
A duplicated booklet (8 pages) available at 35p. post free from the author at 18 Nelson Avenue, Woodford Halse, Daventry, Northants, N11 6QW.

The Parish Register of Spratton, Northamptonshire. A Report of the earliest volume (1538 to 1653). by John Goff, Holm Oak, Spratton, Northants.
A transcription of the register, with a detailed Introduction by Mr. Goff in which he perhaps tries to squeeze too much out of the material. He writes 'I fear that distribution of my report in full must be limited—mainly to record repositories, as at Delapré. But rather more copies have been made of Part I, . . . since this in itself is cohesive and may interest the casual reader'.

R. L. GREENALL

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