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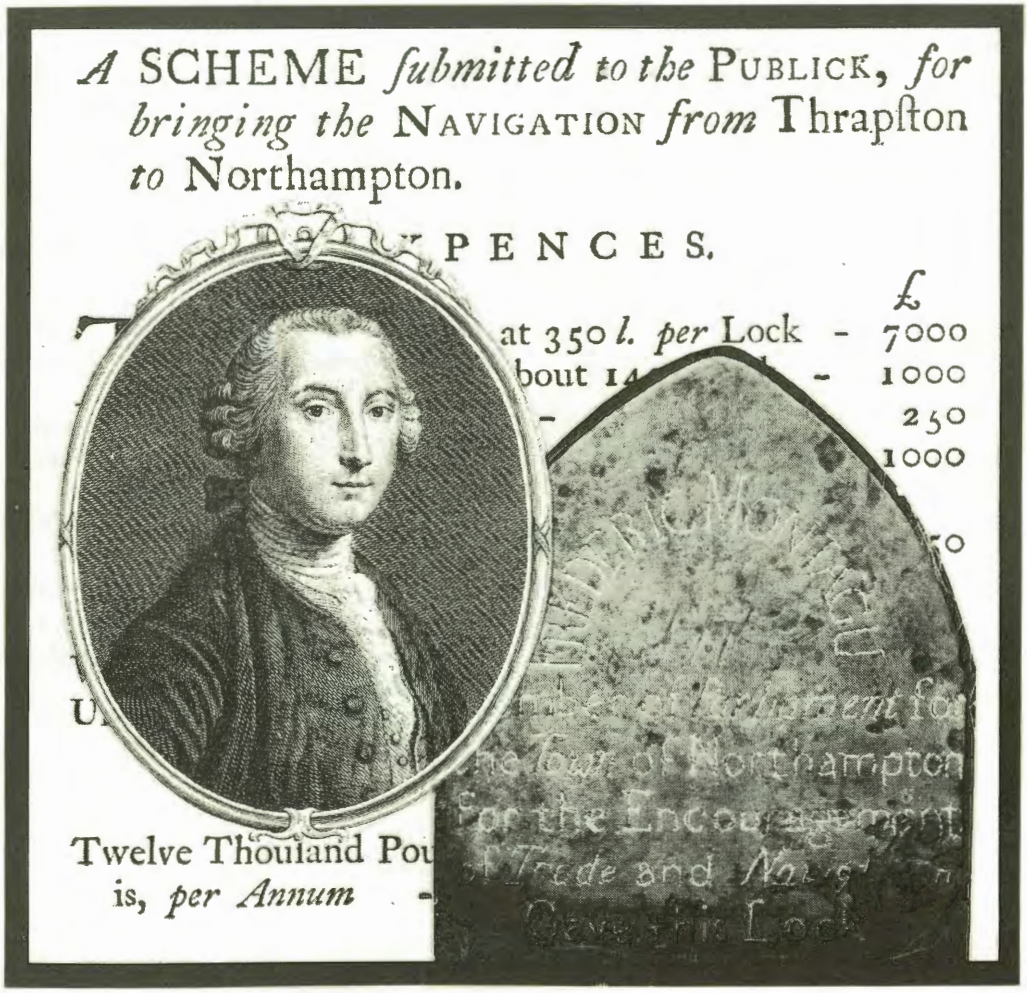

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NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST AND PRESENT
1980-81

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NOTES AND NEWS

During the years that have passed since the foundation of the Society just after the end of the First World War the town of Northampton has changed more than most. In the last ten years the rate of growth to a population of 150,000 has been unparalleled during the 1,000 years of its recorded history. With this growth has come building, demolition and re-building on such a scale that Northampton Present has become hardly recognisable to Northampton Past. Some 6,000,000 square feet of new factories and warehouses have been built and 1,400,000 square feet of new office accommodation provided. National and International companies seem eager to establish themselves in the town and to date 15,000 new jobs have been created.

Against this background it is sad to observe the tribulations now afflicting the Boot and Shoe Industry, that staple of the Town and County's industries without which there would have been nothing to rest the present development upon. Beset by ever rising costs, flooded by cheap imports and weighed down in export markets by the present strength of the Pound its difficulties are clear to see as well-known names disappear and workers become redundant. We can only hope that the strength and endeavour which built up the industry in the past can save it in the present. For so many years the name of Northamptonshire has been synonymous with the production of quality shoes. It would be sad indeed were the day to dawn when that was no longer so.

A well-attended Annual General Meeting for 1980, held in the Hall of the Anglia Building Society at Moulton Park, Northampton, was followed by a lecture by Professor A. G. Dickens, C.M.G., F.B.A., formerly Director of the Institute of Historical Research of the University of London. His subject was "England's Earliest Protestants, 1520 to 1558" and into this he was able to weave many references to early Protestantism in Northamptonshire, which turned his discourse into one of particular fascination for Members. We hope that a version of this lecture will appear in this Journal in due course.

The Autumn Lecture (which will have been given by the time that these Notes are read) represents something of an innovation in that, at the invitation of the Northamptonshire Archaeological Society, it will be jointly sponsored by that Society and our own. The venue will be the Northampton Development Corporation in Northampton, and the speaker Mr. James Campbell, a Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, whose subject will be "The South Midlands in the Early Anglo-Saxon Period". We look forward to an extremely interesting afternoon.

Members of the Northamptonshire Record Society may like to know more about the activities of the Northamptonshire Archaeological Society. The N.A.S. is the most recent of the county archaeological societies, having been founded in 1974 in succession to the Northamptonshire Federation of Archaeological Societies. The old Federation *Bulletin* has been replaced by the annual journal *Northamptonshire Archaeology*, which seeks to publish to an acceptable standard papers about the archaeology of the county and the Soke of Peterborough. The society has also embarked on the publication of a series of specialised monographs about particular sites and topics and the first of these, a very full report of the series of excavations on the prehistoric site at Fengate, near Peterborough, is

due out in the autumn. It will be available at a reduced rate to members. A number of lecture meetings are held at various places around the county during the year, often in conjunction with local archaeological societies, and there is an annual review meeting consisting of illustrated reports of recent archaeological work in the area. A new venture will be the publication in the autumn of a topical magazine of local archaeological news, the *Northamptonshire Mirror*. The Secretary is Mrs. S. Phillips, 16 Blandford Avenue, Kettering, and the subscription rates are: ordinary membership £5; family membership £6; institutional membership £7; students £3.

In November 1979 the Northamptonshire Record Office held an Open Day which attracted about 200 visitors. This year this was followed up by another in June when 800 people visited Delapre Abbey. On each occasion the Record Society opened its Library to the public. Much interest was displayed in the work of the Society and a number of publications sold. On the second occasion the opportunity was taken to put on display the collection of excellent paintings of Northamptonshire Military Uniforms by the late Mr. Ronald Panter which were deposited with the Society by his widow in 1962 and which illustrate the changes in military fashions from the pikemen and local trained bands of the XVII Century through to the sombre khaki and camouflage battledress of World War II. There can be little doubt about the appreciation of the general public of these opportunities to see around those parts of Delapre Abbey to which they do not normally have access.

In our last issue we made mention of the Festival to take place between June and October of this year to celebrate the 1300th Anniversary of All Saints Church, Brixworth, "perhaps the most imposing memorial of the Seventh Century north of the Alps". The Festival is now well under way and its offerings, whether by way of Exhibition, Drama, Art, or Music have been uniformly of the highest quality. We offer our heartiest congratulations to all those who have been associated with it and who have worked so hard for its success.

In June of this year Miss Dorothy M. Sladden, B.A., retired after over ten years' service as Secretary of the Society during which time her knowledge, patience and energy have been invaluable to us: indeed to many members she must have been almost synonymous with the Society. We wish her well in her retirement and inform members that her place has been taken by Mr. J. F. Wright, M.A., a solicitor and a lifelong resident in the County, who comments that he can only hope that in due course he will attain something approaching Miss Sladden's level of efficiency and hopes that members will exercise some degree of tolerance whilst he is learning how it was done.

Notes on contributors

David Parsons is a member of the Brixworth Archaeological Research Committee and is hon. editor of the *Archaeological Journal*.

A. E. Brown is chairman of the Northamptonshire Archaeological Society and edits its journal, *Northamptonshire Archaeology*. Like David Parsons he is in the Adult Education Department of the University of Leicester.

Dr. Edmund King lectures at the University of Sheffield. His works include a monograph on the monastery of Peterborough and a history of England between 1174 and 1425.

Michael J. Franklin is researching on the development of the parish in medieval Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

Victor A. Hatley is a long-time student of Northamptonshire history, and is a senior lecturer at Nene College. His *Northamptonshire Militia Lists 1777* was published by this society.

Trevor Hold, a musician and writer, is resident tutor in Northamptonshire for the Adult Education Department of the University of Leicester.

Mary R. Humphries was a science teacher before retirement. Her researches into the Islip industry originally arose out of her hobby of rushwork. She is a member of the Thrapston Historical Society.

Thanks are expressed to

Northamptonshire Libraries, Northamptonshire Record Office and Cambridgeshire Libraries (Peterborough Division) for the loan of materials in their collections for reproduction.

BRIXWORTH AND THE BONIFACE CONNEXION

DAVID PARSONS

By a happy coincidence 1980 is being celebrated as the 1300th anniversary both of the foundation of Brixworth Church and of the birth of St. Boniface, Anglo-Saxon monk and Apostle of the Germans (Plate 1). This is not the place to discuss whether 680 may truly claim to be the year of either of these significant events in Church history. The traditional date is a useful approximation and is not likely to be far wrong in either case. The simultaneous observation of the two anniversaries offers a felicitous opportunity to reassess the evidence for a connexion between the church and the saint. This note makes no claim to great originality. The principal evidence has been known and in print for a long time, though the main secondary source of information, the *Victoria County History*, presents it in such an unobtrusive way that most readers may be forgiven for not having seen the significance of it.[1]

St. Boniface, whose original English name was Winfrith, is said to have been born at Crediton. He entered the monastery at Exeter and later moved to Nursling in Hampshire. Refusing the abbacy of Nursling, he left England in 716 and spent the rest of his life as a missionary bishop in the eastern parts of the Frankish Empire—present-day Germany and Holland. He became eventually Archbishop of Mainz and, with a number of companions, was murdered in the Netherlands in 754. His body was taken for burial, according to his own wish, to the monastery of Fulda (Hessen), which became the centre of a considerable cult.

The story of modern interest in St. Boniface at Brixworth begins with the discovery in 1809 of a "bracket" in the wall of the "south aisle" (the present Verdun Chapel), which turned out to be a fourteenth-century reliquary (Plate 2). This consists of two stones, in the lower of which is a cylindrical cavity. When discovered, it held a round box which contained, in the words of Sir Henry Dryden, quoting from a parish register "a fragment of bone and a slip or filament of Paper or Parchment, which had the appearance of a cobweb, and on opening the box fell to powder".[2] The entry in the register included a copy of a note by the Rev. Charles Marshall, Vicar of Brixworth 1780-1818, in which he claimed the bone as the relic of a saint and, lacking any identification, attributed it to St. Boniface. There is no way of confirming or refuting this attribution, though the evidence on which Marshall based his supposition is interesting in its own right.

The earliest evidence is the grant in 1253 of an annual fair on "the vigil, the feast and the morrow of St. Boniface".[3] From this Marshall deduced that Boniface must have been the original patron saint of Brixworth church and that the dedication changed to All Saints at the Reformation. This is an attractive theory, since there is an established link between fairs and patronal festivals as well as evidence for the widespread adoption of All Saints as a dedication at or just before the Reformation.[4] However, the earliest known reference to the dedication of Brixworth church, the will of William de Brikles-worth, written in 1356,[5] gives it as All Saints,

[1] [*Victoria*] *history of the County of Northampton*, **4**, edited by L. F. Salzman. London: Oxford University Press for Institute of Historical Research, 1937, pp. 151 and 157 n. 2.

[2] On two sculptures in Brixworth church, Northamptonshire, *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep. Pap.*, 22 (1893), p. 80.

[3] *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, **1**: *Henry III, 1226-57*, prepared . . . by the Deputy Keeper of Records. London: H.M.S.O. 1903, p. 416.

[4] Bond, F., *Dedications and patron saints of English churches*. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1914, pp. 201, 191; Forster, F. Arnold, *Studies in church dedications*, 3 vols, London: Skeffington, 1899, pp. 14, 503.

[5] *Calendar of wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting A.D. 1258-1688*, edited by R. R. Sharpe. London: Corporation of the City of London, 1889, p. 104.

PLATE 1. A 12th-CENTURY STONE CARVING REPRESENTING ST. BONIFACE AS ARCHBISHOP IN THE CHURCH ON THE PETERSBERG, FULDA, W. GERMANY

which precludes a change in the fourteenth century or later, and there is no reason to assume one between the mid-thirteenth and the mid-fourteenth (Pope Nicholas's *Taxatio* of 1291 does not mention the dedication).

The date of the fair does nevertheless suggest a particular veneration for St. Boniface at Brixworth, and this is borne out at the close of the Middle Ages by benefactions to the saint himself and to a gild dedicated to him.[6] The evidence for a St. Boniface gild is noteworthy since to the best of my knowledge there is no other medieval gild recorded with this dedication.[7] The attention paid to Boniface at Brixworth is in any case slightly surprising, since he is not a saint with a widespread *cultus* in medieval England, despite the intention immediately after his death of according him equal status with St. Augustine and St. Gregory and naming him "especial patron" of the English church.[8] Only five churches are dedicated to him (or—perhaps less likely—another saint of the same name: see below); of these two are in the West Country, where one would expect to find evidence for the veneration of a local saint, and one is at Nursling, the site of the monastery which Boniface left for his continental mission. The five churches are: Branscombe and Manaton, Devon (both "St. Winfrid"); Nursling; Bonchurch, Isle of Wight; and Bunbury, Cheshire.[9]

The evidence from English medieval calendars is somewhat contradictory. Professor Donald Bullough has kindly pointed out to me that whereas all published calendars before 1100 have the Feast of St. Boniface,[10] many later ones do not: the feast is omitted from ten out of eighteen Benedic-

[6] Four wills in 1515; Serjeantson, R. M. and Longdon, H. I., The parish churches and religious houses of Northamptonshire: their dedications, altars, images and lights, *Archaeol. J.*, **70**, (1913), pp. 287, 288.

[7] Westlake, H. F., *The parish gilds of medieval England*. London: S.P.C.K., 1919.

[8] *English historical documents*, **1**: *c.*500-1042, edited by D. Whitelock. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1955, p. 762, no. 183.

[9] Arnold Forster, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-37.

[10] Wormald, F., *English kalendars before A.D. 1100*. Henry Bradshaw Society, **72**. London, 1934.

PLATE 2. 14th-CENTURY STONE RELIQUARY FOUND IN BRIXWORTH CHURCH

tine calendars.[11] Rather more significantly, some houses whose calendars include St. Boniface before 1100 ignore him thereafter: Canterbury, Cathedral and St. Augustine's; Durham; Evesham. Elsewhere it has been claimed that his feast had already lost its importance in the ninth century,[12] and it was omitted from the Old English Martyrology, a document which now appears to date from the early to mid ninth century.[13] St. Boniface's name does not appear in the lists of saints' resting places,[14] but this is not significant because the lists record only burial places in this country and St. Boniface was buried in Germany. Nevertheless there is a strong suggestion that special interest in the saint did not survive the Anglo-Saxon period. Against this, most of the later medieval secular calendars give 5th June as the feast of a St. Boniface,[15] though several caveats must be noted. First, most of the calendars depend upon the use of Sarum or the use of York; since both places have the 5th June festival, its appearance in the derivative calendars indicates copying rather than *cultus*. Second, liturgical cults do not necessarily imply active popular veneration. Third, these calendars—and one or two of the earlier Benedictine ones—reveal an underlying confusion between the Apostle of Germany (Bonifatius episc. mart.) and a fourth-century Roman saint of the same name (Bonifatius mart.), whose day is properly 14th May. Even if the calendar entries did amount to evidence of a cult, it would not be clear which saint was the subject of it; indeed, one might argue that if the medieval scribes were confused about the identity of the saints they cannot have had a very high regard for either of them. This

[11] Wormald, F., *English Benedictine kalendars after A.D. 1100*, 1: *A-D*; 2: *E-N*. Henry Bradshaw Society, **77, 81**. London, 1939, 1946.

[12] Sisam, C., An early fragment of the Old English Martyrology, *Rev. Engl, Stud.*, new ser., **4** (1953), p. 214 n. 2.

[13] Cross, J. E., 'Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis': a sermon for All Saints, and its use in Old English prose, *Traditio*, **33** (1977), p. 134. Mary Magdalen in the *Old English Martyrology*: the earliest extant "Narrat Josephus" variant of her legend, *Speculum*, **53** (1978), p. 20.

[14] Rollason, D. W., Lists of saints' resting places in Anglo-Saxon England, *Anglo-Saxon England*, **7** (1978), pp. 61-93.

[15] Nigel Morgan, personal communication, 25th March 1980.

is not the place to attempt a thorough treatment of the calendar evidence, but superficially it seems safe to say that there is no case to be made for a Boniface cult, at least after the Norman Conquest.

This evidence is matched by that of the medieval relic-lists from religious houses, which have been closely studied by Dr. I. G. Thomas. He has kindly allowed me to present information derived from his unpublished work on the subject.[16] Forty-six lists each contain the names of six or more saints whose relics were in the possession of the respective monasteries. St. Boniface is mentioned in six of these lists.[17] This is hardly an impressive record when compared with popular saints, such as the Apostles, St. George, St. Cuthbert or St. Thomas of Canterbury, who figure on twenty or thirty of the lists (Becket is mentioned no less than 38 times). Nevertheless, St. Boniface's score is noticeably better than average. Two-thirds of all the saints listed appear only three times or fewer. St. Boniface's six mentions put him in the same league as other second-rank English saints, for example St. Grimbald, St. Guthlac and St. Margaret of Scotland. The relic-lists do not suggest, then, a total disregard for Boniface, but it is reasonable to ask whether they imply an active interest in him at the time when the lists were written (they are all twelfth-century or later). Unfortunately there is no indication of whether any of the relics had been recently acquired except in the case of Westminster, where it is clear that the relic had been inherited from the Anglo-Saxon period, since it is listed among the donations of King Offa of Mercia, 757-96.[18] This, then, was a relic acquired very soon after the saint's death in 754. That is indeed the likeliest time for relics to have reached this country, though there is no documentary evidence for a donation from Fulda at this or any other date.[19] At Westminster, at all events, the relic had been in the monastery's possession for some seven centuries when the list was written, and it is no evidence for any particular veneration of St. Boniface there in the later Middle Ages.

Another interesting aspect of the relic-lists is the omissions. None of the three lists from Exeter, where Boniface—as Winfrith—first entered the monastic life, claims a relic of the saint. This is all the more surprising in view of the attention paid to him in the fourteenth-century ordinal of John of Grandisson,[20] which implies a *cultus* at least in the locality. Another list which does not mention Boniface is that from Peterborough, the mother house of Brixworth according to Hugo Candidus.[21]

Why, then, should St. Boniface have been given such prominence at Brixworth? The evidence of the Westminster relic-list and from the Benedictine calendars published by Wormald suggests that the veneration of the saint is likely to have had its origin in the Anglo-Saxon period, perhaps as early as the eighth century. If a suggestion by Professor R. H. C. Davis is accepted, then a direct connexion between Brixworth and the saint at that period may be envisaged. Davis postulated Brixworth as the otherwise unidentified *Clofesho*, the site of several church councils in the eighth and ninth centuries.[22] The most important of these, the council of A.D. 747, is notable because of the letter written by St. Boniface to Archbishop Cuthbert reporting on a Frankish synod directed by him, apparently in the same year.[23] The decrees of the two synods are so closely similar that the importance of Boniface, even *in absentia*, to the Council of Clofesho cannot be doubted.[24] If indeed Brixworth was *Clofesho*, then the connexion with St. Boniface is clear. One further possible link is likely to be no more than a coincidence. After the death of Boniface the monastery church at

[16] Thomas, I. G., The cult of saints' relics in medieval England. University of London, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1975.

[17] The monasteries with St. Boniface relics were: Abingdon, Canterbury cathedral, St. Albans, Salisbury, Westminster and York. The index of saints in Thomas, *op. cit.*, also indicates Winchester, but I have been unable to find St. Boniface's name in the Winchester list.

[18] *History of Westminster Abbey by John of Flete*, edited by J. Armitage Robinson. Cambridge: University Press, 1909, pp. 70-71.

[19] Professor J. Leinweber, personal communication, 8th June 1979.

[20] *Ordinale Exon.*, **2** and **3**, edited by J. N. Dalton, Henry Bradshaw Society, **28** and **63**. London 1909, **2**, p. 407 and **3**, pp. 247-48.

[21] *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, a monk of Peterborough*, edited by W. T. Mellows. London: Oxford University Press for Friends of Peterborough Cathedral, 1949, p. 15.

[22] Davis, R. H. C., Brixworth and Clovesho, *J. Br. Archaeol. Assoc.*, ser. 3, **25** (1962), p. 71.

[23] *The letters of Saint Boniface*, tras. with intro. by E. Emerton. Records of Civilisation, **31**. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, 136ff., no. LXII.

[24] Levison, W., *England and the continent in the eighth century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946, p. 23.

Fulda was rebuilt on a vast scale. When the new church was dedicated on 1st November 819, the saint's remains were transferred from his original grave to the new western choir. 1st November is All Saints' Day, and therefore the patronal festival of Brixworth church. It is tempting to speculate whether the date of the saint's translation became known at the monastery of Brixworth and influenced the choice of dedication.[25] But even at Fulda the day was not kept as *Translatio Bonifatii*; Fulda sacramentaries entitle the mass "*Dedicatio basilicae . . .*".[26] If the saint's translation was not celebrated in his own monastery, it is hardly likely to have become known farther afield, and the coincidence of the dates must be fortuitous.[27]

[25] Since the feast of All Saints did not become settled on 1st November and popular in the West until the eighth century or later, it is unlikely that Brixworth church had this dedication originally, if—as Hugo Candidus implies—it was founded in the late seventh.

[26] Professor D. A. Bullough, personal communication, 19th March 1979; K. Lübeck, *Das Bonifatiusgrab zu Fulda*. Fulda, 1947, p. 108.

[27] To heap coincidence upon coincidence, the Old English Martyrology has All Saints on 1st November and attributes the institution of the feast to Pope *Boniface* IV! This could conceivably have something to do with the choice of the day for the Fulda translation. . . .

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CHELVERDESCOTE AGAIN

A. E. BROWN

In the last issue of *Northamptonshire Past and Present*[1] the late Mr. P. N. Skelton made the interesting suggestion that the name Chelverdescote, hitherto generally taken to have belonged to a lost settlement somewhere in SW Northamptonshire, in fact applied to the whole of the area encompassed in the Badby charter of A.D. 944. The purpose of this note is to put forward an alternative suggestion, namely that the place known as Chelverdescote in the early records is not among the lost villages of England but the perfectly healthy village known to us today as Great Everdon.

The arguments are based on the taxation assessments accorded to Chelverdescote in Domesday Book and the 12th century Northamptonshire Survey, and have in part already been discussed elsewhere.[2]

To deal with Domesday Book first; here, under Gravesend Hundred, *Celverdescote* is said to contain four hides and land for 10 ploughs.[3] Long ago J. H. Round pointed out that in this part of Northamptonshire a figure of 4 hides represented a beneficial reduction of 60% for the purposes of taxation from an original hideage figure of 10. The ploughland figure can be taken as a fresh assessment for royal taxation designed to produce a greater yield and in this area seems to have entailed a conscious effort to get back to the original hideage figure.

Now one of the features of the Domesday assessments for the Hundred of Gravesend is the apparent smallness of the figures for Everdon—a rating of ½ hide and land for one plough, and a recorded population of two villeins and two bordars.[4] This is far smaller than we would reasonably expect for Great Everdon, still less for Great and Little Everdon put together. But the position is made more intelligible if the Domesday Everdon is taken to be the present Little Everdon and *Celverdescote*, with its demesne serf, nine villeins and three bordars, is equated with the present Great Everdon. Moreover, the sum total of the ploughland figures for all the component parts of the parishes of Badby, Dodford and Everdon, together with the 10 allotted to *Celverdescote*, amounts precisely to 30—which is the original hideage assessment of the great estate consisting of these parishes conveyed in the charter of A.D. 944.

What then of the Northamptonshire Survey? This shows that in the 12th century *Chelverdescote* (or *Chelurdescote*, or *Chelredescote*) had passed into the ownership of that powerful landholder the Earl of Leicester, and had been split up into three estates; one is curiously listed under the Hundred of Albodestowe and rated at ½ hide; another under Gravesend Fawsley Hundred at two hides; and a third under Alwardeslea Hundred, held by Geoffrey de Torevill, at one hide and two small virgates making a total assessment of three hides and seven small virgates (or 3 7/10 hides) to compare with the Domesday figure of four hides.[5]

Now Everdon is also recorded in this document, in a way which clearly shows that the whole parish is being dealt with. Four estates are listed.[6] One, amounting to eight small virgates (or 4/5 hide), belonged to Hugh the Sheriff and had been granted to Daventry Priory and clearly represents Little Everdon. This leaves three estates, one held by the Abbey of Bernay in Normandy, rated at 2½ hides and two small virgates, another (four small virgates) held by Ralf de Waundeville and a third (also four small virgates) held by "Walter". These add up to three hides and five small virgates (3½ hides) which is very close to the total assessment for Chelverdescote given in the same document.

[1] *Northamptonshire Past and Present* 6, 3, 1980, 115-7.

[2] A. E. Brown, T. R. Key, C. Orr, "Some Anglo Saxon estates and their boundaries in South West Northamptonshire", *Northamptonshire Archaeology*, 12, 1977, 155-76.

[3] *Victoria County History, Northamptonshire*, 1, 322.

[4] *Ibid.*, 309.

[5] *Ibid.*, 369, 370, 372; there were 10 small virgates to the hide, *ibid.*, 358.

[6] *Ibid.*, 371.

This lends weight to the suggestion that the three estates of the Chelverdescote of the Northamptonshire Survey and the three estates at Everdon were located in the same place (setting aside Little Everdon which was always a separate concern manorially). A possible sequence of events might have involved the amalgamation by the earl of the Chelverdescote estates listed under Albodestowe (½ hide) and Gravesend (two hides): to these were added the two small virgates of the third estate said to be held by Geoffrey de Torevill in Alwardeslea. This estate was granted to the Abbey of Bernay, a gift confirmed rather than actually made by Henry II in his charter to that abbey of 1156-7.[7] The remaining hide was divided equally between Ralf de Waundeville and Walter (but as two units of four virgates rather than five).

But why the confusion between Chelverdescote and Great Everdon in the first place? The name Chelverdescote means the *cot* or cottage of Ceolward; it has nothing to do with Ceolwulf or the River Cherwell.[8] This suggests a dependent settlement of some sort. Now Great Everdon does lie very close to the edge of the territory of Everdon parish in just the position such a "secondary" settlement might be expected to have. But Domesday Book shows that in terms of population, manorial organisation and in particular its acquisition of a church—a priest is recorded—it had outstripped its neighbour by far. In these circumstances, and bearing in mind that the name Everdon applied to the whole area of the parish as well as to the "original" village at the centre of it, it is perhaps not too surprising that Chelverdescote began to be known as Everdon as well and that its original name ceased to be used.

[7] *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*, 137-8.

[8] As suggested by Mr. Skelton and in *Domesday Book, Northamptonshire*, Phillimore, 1979. The derivation of *Ceolward's cot* has been suggested by Professor K. Cameron of the University of Nottingham, Honorary Director, The English Place-Name Society.

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OBITUARY

MR. HAROLD GEORGE CLIFTON

Most Northamptonshire towns and villages have at least one native son with an abiding fascination with the history and fabric of the place. Sometimes they commit their collected knowledge to paper but more often their self-appointed task is to preserve valuable ephemera for posterity, and not infrequently are generous beyond expectation to others who come to them wanting to use their collections. One such was Harold Clifton, who died on 27th September at the age of 66.

Except for service in the army in Hitler's war, he lived his life at Long Buckby where his mother taught at the school. He was no scholar, but following his trade of carpenter he at some time or other got into every nook and cranny of the village and it was the stones of the place, and the old shoemaker tradition there that were his history teachers. Over the years he amassed much local material, the centrepiece of which was a fine collection of over 300 photographs which this writer was privileged to use on more than one occasion.

He was a member of this Society, and a regular attender at adult education classes promoted by the Workers' Educational Association and the University of Leicester and at lectures of the now defunct Northamptonshire Local History Committee. A modest and, in a droll sort of way, self-deprecating man he will be remembered with affection by his many friends in the local history and industrial archaeology fraternity. R.L.G.

THE TOWN OF PETERBOROUGH IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

EDMUND KING

Most readers of this journal will not need to be told that Peterborough is a "new town" of the twentieth century, and that this status has had its impact on the city. As the quality of modern buildings deteriorates so, by a form of symbiosis, our knowledge of medieval buildings improves. The work of the Nene Valley Archaeological Unit, which can be followed through its annual journal *Durobrivae*, has produced much insight into the medieval town as well as remarkable discoveries from Roman times and earlier. From the work on the early medieval period two ideas seem to me to stand out. The first is the new suggestion that Peterborough was a *burh* in the late Saxon period. The second is the more systematic development of the idea that Peterborough was a "new town" also centuries ago, its late medieval layout resulting from an act of town planning in the early twelfth century. In each case I am impressed by the evidence, but not quite convinced by it. This short note cannot solve the points at issue: it is offered as a contribution to discussion.

I will start with the earliest survey that allows us to form an impression of the population of Peterborough in the medieval period. This is found in a survey that was made some time between 1125 and 1128.[1] I will condense the survey a little, but not leave out any of the men recorded there.

> There are 32 full villeins here, and 12 half villeins, and 15 cottagers . . . And besides these there are 55 men who pay rent and owe suit of court . . . And Alsward holds 18 burgages . . . And besides these there are 10 men who hold their land by serjeanty, and if they do not perform service they pay rent . . . There are three men who serve the lepers . . . There are three fishermen, who render 15s a year in fish . . . The abbot's knights have 18 hostels in Peterborough, and their servants have 6 hostels.

Note first the number of men. 172 persons are listed in the survey. If we allow each of these four dependants, and do not forget the monks themselves—of whom there were sixty according to the survey[2]—this cannot have been a town with less than a thousand souls. They are a mixed lot. But a distinction can be made straight away between those who worked on the abbot's estate, the agricultural workers, and the rest. Most of the rest were freeholders, but some had more specialist tenures, like the cooks, porters and others who held serjeanty tenures within the abbey itself. The abbey's knights had lodgings here also. It is clear to us that Peterborough was both an agricultural settlement and an urban one. But the survey was not organised in this way. All were lumped in together. All alike were St. Peter's men.

Where did they all live? This is one area of debate, and so I will take the evidence as carefully as I can, seeking to distinguish between what is reasonably established and what is hypothesis. Where are the main agricultural workers first of all, the "full villeins" or virgaters, who held 30 acres of land in the fields? The surveys of the early thirteenth century provide a start. There were 13 virgaters in Peterborough, and the others lived in two hamlets, 17 in Dogsthorpe and five in Eastfield.[3] Our concern is with the 13 men in Peterborough. They lived in Bondgate, "the street of the peasants". The identification has been generally agreed, and it can be firmly established by a later survey

*This article is an abridged and revised version of a talk given to the Peterborough Museum Society in March 1976. Mr. Patrick King and Dr. Sandra Raban were kind enough to read and comment upon a draft of it.

[1] *Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. T. Stapleton (Camden Soc., xlvii, 1849), p. 161.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 167. Forty servants are listed here also, department by department within the monastery: *ibid.*, pp. 167-8.

[3] Society of Antiquaries of London, MS. 60, fos. 181r-183r.

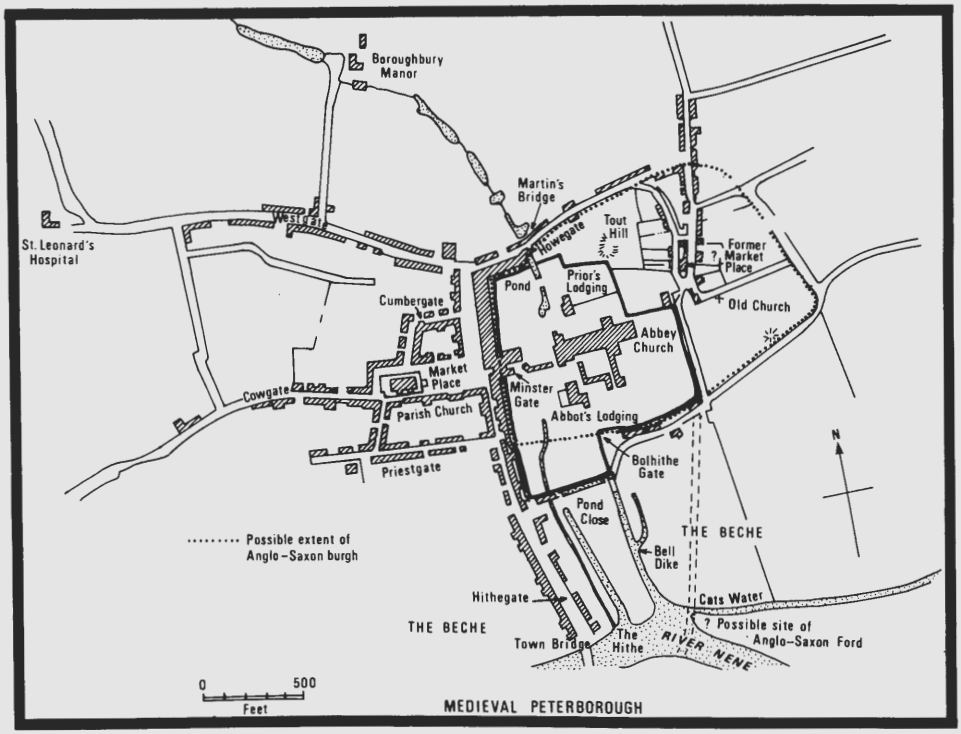

FIG. 1. THE TOWN OF PETERBOROUGH IN THE MIDDLE AGES
Note the line of the monastery precincts, and the suggested boundary of the Anglo-Saxon *burh*.

made *c.*1400 which lists under the heading Bondgate the same 13 tenancies.[4] The peasants then lived to the north and east of the abbey precincts.

Now that we have them settled, we can come back to the two ideas that form the starting-point of this paper, with the aid of John Steane's map (Figure 1). In it a line has been drawn around the Anglo-Saxon *burh*, which encloses little more than the abbey precincts and a group of dwelling sites around what has been identified as the early site of the parish church, and the early site of the market.[5] This—and I continue to leave the evidence for the *burh* on one side—goes with the suggestion that Martin of Bec, abbot between 1133 and 1155, founded a "new town" on a different site, to the west of the monastery.[6] The "new town" has its documentary foundation in a passage in the chronicle of Hugh Candidus.. Hugh wrote in Latin, as follows.[7]

> In ecclesia et in aliis officinis et in pluribus locis semper operabatur, et portam monasterii et mercatum et portum navium et villam multo melius mutavit, et multa emendavit.

The latter part of this extract may be translated, and much will turn on the translation, as follows.

> The gate of the monastery and the market and the ships' landing-place and the town he greatly changed for the better, and he improved many things.

The difficulty in each case is to decide what

[4] British Library, Cotton MS. Nero C. VII, fo. 174r.

[5] D. Macreth, "Tout Hill Close, Peterborough", *Durobrivae*, 2 (1974), pp. 24-6. The map is redrawn, with the author's kind permission, from John Steane, *The Northamptonshire Landscape* (1974), p. 148; and see the discussion *ibid.*, pp. 74-5, 146-51.

[6] *Peterborough Local Administration*, ed. W. T. Mellows, i (N.R.S., ix, 1939), pp. ci-cii; Steane, *Northamptonshire Landscape*, pp. 147-50.

[7] *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949), p. 122. A translation of this work is published by the Peterborough Museum Society, 2nd edn. (1966), and is still available from them; for this passage, pp. 67-8.

was improved and what was bodily transported. Was the gate moved? the market? the hithe? the town itself? A very good case has been made for a move in the site of the market, which was moved from the east of the monastery to the west. That change in itself will have transformed the town: the periodic bustle of the market was what made the town, and distinguished it from the countryside.[8] If the market moved then there is a case for thinking that the hithe, which provided water access to it, will have moved also. But such changes would not in themselves have implied major building works. It is this I think causes the difficulty, the idea that these changes were part of a much larger reconstruction of the town. The passage in the chronicle does not require such a reading, and there are some difficulties in accepting it.

The main difficulty lies in finding where all the men listed in 1125—the freeholders, the serjeants, the knights themselves—can have lived, if it were not to the west of the monastery, and outside the boundaries of the earlier *burh*, if earlier *burh* there was. We know where their descendants lived, from charters which become abundant from the last quarter of the twelfth century.[9] Early in the thirteenth century Sarah the widow of William Pimmes gave rents of 13½d to the lady chapel in the monastery church. This is a collection of urban rents, with small parcels of arable land attached to each holding: a messuage in Cowgate, which previously belonged to Adam Whitecook; a shop next to the house of Robert Carpenter against the market-place; two shops in the market-place belonging to Richard of Whittlesey and William Marshall. Robert Wortecock had a messuage in Hithegate and three acres of meadowland in Newark. Richard of Scotendon had a house in Priestgate. He was a man of substance, as was one of his near neighbours, William Pudding, who was bailiff of the town *c.*1200.[10] The names of some of these men recall the holders of serjeanties, who might work or pay rent. The hostels of the knights are more difficult to find. A charter of William son of Eustace for land in Westgate has four members of knightly families as its first witnesses. A messuage in Howgate, towards abbot Martin's bridge, was formerly that of Gerard Chamberlain. In the same area was a man who held three acres of land of the Southorpe fee.[11] The ancestors of these men and women can be seen in the records of the abbot's court.[12] They cannot be tied down to the same areas *before* abbot Martin's day. All that can be said is that, by any standards we can identify, these were the established families. Is it not possible that they had lived on the "West side" all along, and that this was why the market was moved, because it was here that its customers were? There are certainly problems in finding space for them in the east, problems which excavations seem only to have increased.

Whether Peterborough was a *burh*, a borough in any formal sense, before the Norman Conquest, is a separate question. Miss L. Bateson was categorical on this matter.

> There is nothing to urge in favour of a Saxon origin for the borough beyond the statement of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle that Abbot Kenulf, 992-1005, made a wall about the minster, and changed the name Medeshamstede to Burgh, and the cause of this change of name William of Malmesbury (writing when the town had undoubtedly become a borough) explicitly ascribes to the building of the wall.[13]

This judgement should not be set aside without good cause. We know that the majority of the boroughs of the late Saxon period, if they were not towns of Roman foundation, were new foundations, fortified as part of an organised scheme of defence. Many of these *burhs* were associated with

[8] Some interesting remarks on what is called the "periodicity" of the market will be found in C. Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 10-11.

[9] The following cartularies have been used: Peterborough Dean and Chapter MS. 1 (cited as Swapham); Boughton House, Buccleuch MS., Sacrist's register (cited as Franceys; to be edited by Mrs Janet Martin as one of the Anthony Mellows Memorial volumes); *Carte Nativorum*, ed, C. N. L. Brooke and M. M. Postan (N.R.S., xx, 1966), pp. 169-200, nos. 496-548.

[10] Swapham, fos. 184r-v, 163v, 165r-v; Franceys, pp 4-5.

[11] Franceys, pp. 16-7, 21-2, 26-7.

[12] For these records, many of them dating from the time of abbot Martin of Bec, see E. King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 27-9.

[13] *V.C.H. Northamptonshire*, ii (1906), p. 424, citing *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. s.a. 963 (Everyman edn., p. 117), and *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (Rolls Ser., 52, 1870), p. 317.

controlling lines of communication and defending river crossings.[14] Peterborough, as will be shown, had no such strategic importance. There was close to Peterborough a *burh* that met these criteria, and that was Stamford; this had over 400 inhabited houses at the time of Domesday Book.[15] Peterborough was not a Domesday borough; not just in the sense that it was not listed as a borough, but its urban element was simply ignored in the survey. As against this, what is there? We have found a penny that was lost, and a measure of rejoicing is appropriate.[16] But many of the holdings round the early market, to be seen on the Eayre map of 1721, were not burgage tenancies but the messuages of agricultural workers. The suggested boundary of the Anglo-Saxon *burh* cuts right across the settlement of this area. The ditch of the *burh* has been looked for: "no such ditch was found".[17] This of itself proves nothing one way or the other. The excavation of Tout Hill Close was valuable though in finding no evidence for occupation earlier than the late fifteenth century.[18] Had the *burh* been as marked out on the map, patches of open ground would have been very hard to find.

The survey of 1400 and the map of 1721 (Figure 2) tell the same story. The agricultural settlement can be seen to the east of the monastery, and the town to the west of it. What is really at issue here is whether this is a division that dates from the mid twelfth century, or one that goes back further in time, to the time of the Norman Conquest, or even to the time of the monastery's foundation. The siting of the parish church to the east of the monastery is further evidence that the original market-place has been correctly identified here, and that the market was an old one. For in the twelfth century the old markets were Sunday markets. As David Palliser puts it: "the early markets had a customary origin and arose from the weekly gathering in the churchyard, before or after mass, of men who on other days could not spare time from the agricultural routine to meet to trade".[19] Martin's bridge linked the east with the west side.[20] But still until the mid-fifteenth century the great majority of the townspeople had to trudge to the old church. They petitioned the bishop, that "in the winter season they could not, on account of the waters, attend the parish church but with the utmost difficulty".[21] We are given here a clear image of the two settlements; though the level of the waters may well have been inflated for the bishop's benefit.

Who else lived around the old market? I have argued that there cannot have been room on the east side, at least by the later eleventh century, for the knightly tenants and the great majority of the townsmen who as artisans and traders ministered to the community's needs and those of their fellows. I am less sure about the abbey's servants at this time, the tenants in serjeanty. The nearest that I come, in looking at the documentary evidence, to feeling that I can see a "new creation" is in some late 12th century charters which seem to show remarkably regular holdings. The five daughters of Gilbert Plumer of Peterborough sold for 25s half the tenement which William of Waledene formerly held in the town, saving to themselves 2½ acres of arable in the fields.[22] There are other charters which suggest the linking of a messuage with five acres of land.[23] A measure of regulation can be glimpsed here, and possibly a measure of regulated colonisation of land. That the serjeanty holders were moved in the mid twelfth century is a possibility. More than this I find difficult to credit.

What then were the changes made in abbot Martin's day? The idea of the "new town", after all, represents a possible reading of Hugh Candidus's text, and parallels can be found elsewhere. Landlords in the twelfth

[14] C. A. Ralegh Radford, "The Pre-Conquest Boroughs of England, Ninth to Eleventh Centuries", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, lxiv (1978), pp. 131-53, espec. pp. 147-9.

[15] *The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, ed. C. W. Foster and T. Longley, int. F. M. Stenton (Lincoln Rec. Soc., 19, 1924), pp. xxxiii-iv, 8-11.

[16] Steane, *Northamptonshire Landscape*, p. 146.

[17] J. P. Wild, "The Year's Work: 1974", *Durobrivae*, 3 (1975), p. 6.

[18] Mackreth, as cited above note 5; cf. *Medieval Archaeology*, xviii (1974), p. 200.

[19] D. M. Palliser and A. C. Pinnock, "The Markets of Medieval Staffordshire", *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies*, 9 (1969), pp. 49-63, quotation from p. 60.

[20] The location is established by *Peterborough Local Administration*, p. ci.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 225; cited in the translation of J. Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire* (1791), ii, 543.

[22] Swapham, fo. 234r.

[23] The point is discussed more fully in my *Peterborough Abbey*, pp. 58-61.

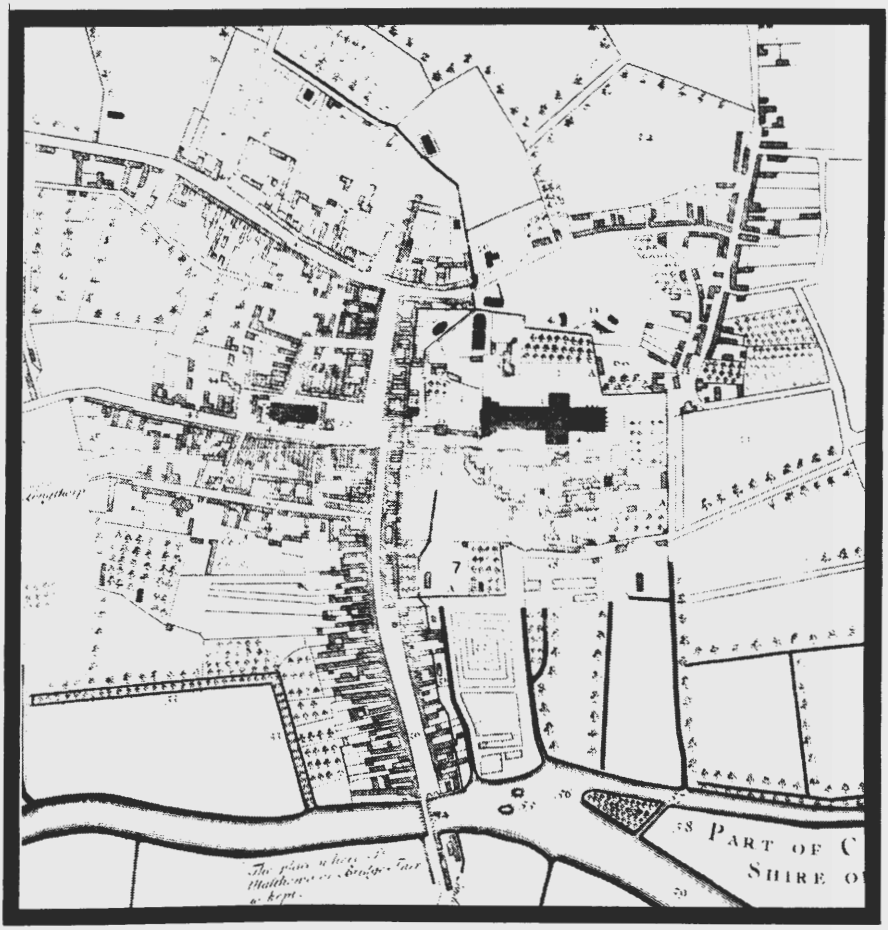

FIG. 2. THE CENTRAL PART OF T. EAYRE'S MAP OF PETERBOROUGH, 1721
A gap may still be seen in the building line between the old agricultural settlement north-east of the cathedral and the town to the west of it. The division was at Martin's Bridge, which is no. 29 on the map: the key to the numbering of the map regrettably does not survive.
(*Cambridgeshire Libraries, Peterborough Division*)

century did found new towns alongside their agricultural manors; they made them urban by the privileges they granted to them.[24] Few seem to have been doing this during the anarchy of Stephen's reign, though Lichfield in Staffordshire may be an exception here.[25] But its looking a little premature is not the argument against the new town. It is rather whether the "golden borough" of the late Anglo-Saxon period can ever have fitted within the confines suggested for it here.[26] There is also the point that a refoundation of the mid-twelfth century might have brought with it a request for more privilege than the abbey wished to grant. We know that it was only in the early thirteenth century that

[24] The general survey of this topic is M. W. Beresford, *The New Towns of the Middle Ages* (1967).

[25] C. C. Taylor, "The Origins of Lichfield, Staffs", *Trans. South Staffordshire Arch. and Hist. Soc.*, 10 (1968-9), pp. 43-52.

[26] *Hugh Candidus*, p. 38; trans. p. 20.

tenants in Peterborough obtained a formal remission of their villein disabilities.[27] John Steane draws a useful parallel with Bury St Edmunds, where some elements of a planned town have been discovered, though the planning here is the work of the late eleventh century.[28] How "planned" does Peterborough look? Others must take their own views. What did Hugh Candidus mean to convey when he wrote *villam mutavit*? The same word is found in a contemporary charter, in which a knight from Castor wished to become a priest, *volens vitam suam mutare*.[29] When a monk of the twelfth century wrote of a "new creation" he had in mind the images of the scriptures. When he wrote of bridge-building, the word he would use was *pontifex*, and this would have called to mind the images of the Benedictine Rule. These general remarks may not lead us further forward, but they may urge against too literal a reading of Hugh Candidus's text.

It will be clear from what has been said that in formulating any view of the early development of the town, a large part will be played by the view which is formed of the method of access to it. Hugh Candidus wrote glowingly of Peterborough's convenient situation.

> On all sides it is beautiful to look upon and easy to approach on foot, save only on the eastern side where there is no coming to it save in a boat. Near the monastery and on its southern side there flows the river Nene, which when a man has passed, he is free to go whithersoever he will.[30]

This second section of the paper will be concerned with Peterborough's communications. In proper medieval fashion, I will try to gloss Hugh Candidus's text. We have to deal with access by land and access by water, for those on foot and those on horseback, for the boats and the carts which supplied the market. The original market-place was to the east of the monastery. How was it approached? According to Mr. Mellows: "The first highway through the vill, from Lincolnshire into Huntingdonshire, passed the eastern boundary of the abbey through the Bondgate and crossed the river Nene by a ford situated to the east of the city bridge."[31] Any topographical identification made by Mr. Mellows carries considerable authority. But what has happened to this road? The 1721 map, which tells so much, has no trace of it. This is a worry. Any ford would have been in regular use until there was a bridge, and perhaps indeed after this. And so, when was the first bridge? We know that it was there around 1300.[32] There is the suggestion that abbot Martin himself may have built a bridge over the Nene.[33] But John Steane is right to remind us that the road which leads to the bridge is in the medieval period not Bridge Street but Hithegate. The name draws attention to the ships, not the carts; to the water, not the land.[34]

The site of the earliest hithe has proved difficult to identify. Little uncertainty, however, seems to have possessed the abbey's tenant Hereward and the Danes who came with him to attack the monastery in 1067.[35]

> Then very early on the morning of the same day came the aforesaid evildoers with many ships, but the monks and their men closed the gates, and courageously began to defend them from above, and a strenuous battle was there fought at the Bolhithe gate.

Bolhithe gate lay immediately to the south of the monastery. On this one matter of topography it is possible to go a little beyond Mr. Mellows' identifications.[36] The key is a passage in Bridges: "From Derby-yard is the way through Bolehythe-gate into the meadow,

[27] E. King, "Two Charters of Liberty", *Northants Past and Present*, v, pt. 1 (1972-3), pp. 37-42.

[28] Steane, *Northamptonshire Landscape*, p. 149; cf. M. D. Lobel, *The Borough of Bury St. Edmund's* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 1-15.

[29] Peterborough D. and C. MS. 5, fo. 25v.

[30] *Hugh Candidus*, p. 5; trans. p. 2.

[31] *Peterborough Local Administration*, i, p. ci.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. ciii; the earliest surviving a/c for the town, from 1300-1, similarly has a sum rendered "for the pennies collected at the bridge": Northants R. O. Fitzwilliam/Milton roll 2388, m. 1r.

[33] *Peterborough Local Administration*, p. cii.

[34] *Northamptonshire Landscape*, p. 149.

[35] *Hugh Candidus*, p. 78 (trans. pp. 40-1); *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154*, ed. Cecily Clark, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1970), p. 2.

[36] It has been suggested that Bull Gate was "the hithe on the north bank of the river on the east side of the town bridge": *The Book of William Morton*, ed. W. T. Mellows, P. I. King and C. N. L. Brooke (N.R.S., xvi, 1954), p. 124 note 1. The translation of *Hugh Candidus*, p. 41 note 1, states that "the Bolhithe gate was presumably at the east end of the abbey near the site of the Florence Saunders Nursing Home, as at this period the road through Peterborough crossed the river by a ford and passed the East end of the abbey". The site of the hithe is correctly identified in *Peterborough Local Administration*, i, p. ci.

where Bole-dyke parting Pond-close from Boat-close falls into the Nyne."[37] It is possible to go from this to the Peterborough enclosure award of 1821, where Bell Dike separates Pond Close from Prebends Close. A road leads to the dike (and not further west); and there is access from this road to minster precincts due south of the cathedral.[38] The precise point of access to the monastery in medieval times cannot be established from this later evidence,[39] but there can be no doubt as to the location of the hithe. In 1301-2 abbot Godfrey of Crowland (the place of his birth may be significant) built a *domus* at Bolhithegate for receiving boats.[40] We may envisage here a wharf and covered sheds. This was only one point of access to the town, but it was the most convenient to the monastery. The new hithe indeed may have been intended to draw traffic away from the abbey grounds, something on the lines of a modern by-pass. If this was intended, we can see from William Morton's book that the traffic still continued. Thatch came from Stanground and from Whittlesey, bricks from Wiggenhall and from closer to home, and hay came from Coxholme, *omnia per aquam*—all the way by water. The cost of each consignment included its transport to the hithe; there were separate entries for carriage by cart from the hithe to the almonry, or into the town.[41] And it was not only the Bolhithe that provided an alternative water access to the town. To the north there was Woodhithe in Boroughbury, the home farm of Peterborough.[42] Four boat-loads of stone went from there to Thorney in 1300-1.[43] There was meet access to Peterborough, by land and water, from all sides.

Peterborough lay on the very edge of the fenland. It lay well to the east of the main line of north-south communications, both in Roman and in medieval times. In Roman times the focus of north-south communications was Durobrivae.[44] Ermine Street crossed the Nene by a bridge at Ailsworth. David Hill has the fascinating suggestion that the London bridge of the ninth-century charter should be looked for no further than here.[45] Bury St Edmunds abbey had a plot of land in Castor for the storage of stone before its shipment down the Nene;[46] so also did Thorney abbey.[47] Some wharves have been identified here.[48] The bridge may have been decayed by late Saxon times.[49]

Whenever it decayed the great road junction of the medieval period was as it remains today, not Castor but at Wansford.[50] Here, well to the west of Peterborough, lay the main river crossing of the Nene. One line of approach to Wansford from the south went through Huntingdonshire, roughly along the line of the modern A1. When the vicar of Peterborough was taken ill on abbey business in 1453, he came back to the town via four nights' accommodation, stopping at Ware, Royston, Huntingdon and Stilton along the way.[51] There was though an important alternative route which ran up through Nor-

[37] Bridges, *Northamptonshire*, ii, 538.

[38] Northants R.O., Peterborough Enclosure Award, M.L. 861. What there appears as Pond Close appears as Derby Yard in the map in *V.C.H. Northants*, ii, 448. From the passage in Bridges cited in the text, and from the more precise description of the abbot's property in 1541 printed in *The Foundation of Peterborough Cathedral*, ed. W. T. Mellows (N.R.S., xiii, 1941), p. 41, it is clear that Derby Yard should rather be looked for immediately north and west of Bull Dike. It is very likely the area at the south-west of the cathedral precincts marked with the figure 7 in the 1721 map.

[39] For "Watergate", *Foundation of Peterborough Cathedral*, p. 41; cf. Mellows, *ibid.*, pp. xli-iv.

[40] "Item fecit unam domum ad portam Bolehithe pro navibus recipiendis": B.L. Add. MS. 39758, fo. 103v (new fol.), 96v (old fol.); printed J. Sparke, *Historiae Coenobii Burgensis Scriptores Varii* (1723), p. 155.

[41] *William Morton*, pp. 9, 33, 41, 87, 95, 123-4.

[42] Bridges, *Northamptonshire*, ii, 538.

[43] Northants R.O., Fitzwilliam/Milton a/c roll 2388, m. 1r.

[44] Most conveniently, see the map in *Durobrivae*, e.g. 7 (1979), p. 5. The more recent maps usefully pick out the land over 50 ft.

[45] D. Hill, "The Death of the Ailsworth Witch", *Durobrivae*, 4 (1976), p. 13.

[46] *Carte Nativorum*, p. 193, no. 533. M. W. Beresford and J. K. S. St. Joseph would seem to be in error in locating these wharves on the Welland: *Medieval England: An Aerial Survey*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1979), p. 255. See further here *V.C.H. Northants*, ii. 294, part of an excellent discussion of the material relating to the Barnack stone quarries.

[47] *Peterborough New Town* (R.C.H.M.), 1969, p. 22 under "Boat House Complex", and fig. 9 (p. 21).

[48] Cambridge University Library, Add. MS. 3020, fo. 227v; a reference kindly supplied by Dr. Raban.

[49] *Durobrivae*, 4, p. 13.

[50] Early documentary sources relating to Wansford, in which parochial rights over the men who lived there were in dispute, have recently been printed in *English Episcopal Acta I: Lincoln 1067-1185* (1980), ed. D. M. Smith, pp. 41, 167-8, nos. 63, 268.

[51] *William Morton*, p. 59.

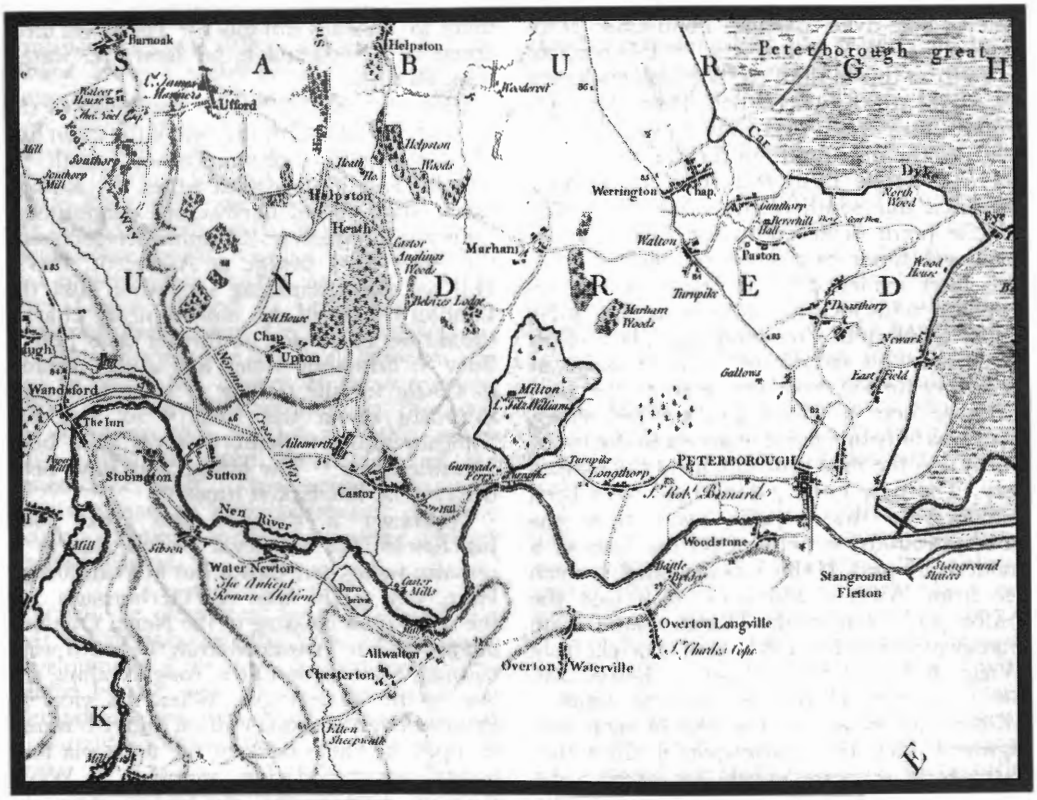

FIG. 3. PART OF EAYRE AND JEFFREY'S MAP OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE OF 1779 showing Peterborough's location in relation to the main line of north-south communications both in Roman times (see Norman Cross Way and Durobrivae) and later.

thamptonshire via Oggerston.[52] It was this route that ran through Peterborough territory, for the abbey's landholding in northern Northamptonshire lay on either side of the Nene. Warmington was the demesne manor that served as a gateway to property to the south and west.[53] Directly to the south of Peterborough was an area controlled by others, by the abbeys of Thorney and Ramsey in particular.[54]

Wansford was a junction of land and water, not just a crossing-point. A charter of 1184 is dated at Wansford, "in transfretatione'; if the word is being used correctly, it means that the issuer of the charter set sail here for the continent.[55] At just this time the abbeys of Sawtry and Ramsey were in dispute over the access to be allowed to the Sawtry monks for

[52] F. M. Stenton, "The Road System of Medieval England", in his *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Doris M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970), p. 242 and note 2. See also A. Rogers (ed.), *The Making of Stamford* (Leicester, 1965), p. 38.

[53] There is a sketch-map of the abbey's network of communications, possibly dating from the late 14th century, in Swapham, fo. 368r. On this see my article in *Local Maps and Plans of Medieval England*, ed. P. D. A. Harvey and R. A. Skelton (Oxford, forthcoming).

[54] See the maps in Sandra Raban, *The Estates of Thorney and Crowland* (Univ. of Cambridge, Dept. of Land Economy, Occ, paper no. 7, 1977), p. 27, and J. A. Raftis, *The Estates of Ramsey Abbey* (Toronto, 1957), facing p. 20.

[55] *Transcripts of Charters relating to Gilbertine Houses*, ed. F. M. Stenton (Lincoln Rec. Soc., 18, 1922), pp. 73-4. Stenton commented: "The Nene is already a considerable stream at Wansford bridge, but it does not suggest a port from which travellers set out to cross the sea" (p. xiv).

the stone they needed to build their abbey. The most famous stone in the region, and it was a wide region, came from Barnack. The stone for the Sawtry monks would have been transported overland to Ailsworth, and then have gone down the old course of the Nene via Peterborough and Yaxley, and down what is still called Monkslode.[56] If Barnack stone is the best known of the commodities carried on the Nene, there were many others. In 1379 Ramsey abbey received wheat from its manor of Elton, sent overland to Alwalton, and thence conveyed by boat along the Nene.[57] In 1321-2 the accounts of Wellingborough manor show that Crowland Abbey invested 19d in transporting pigs to the abbey, part of that sum being "for rope to tie the pigs to the boat".[58] We may envisage them in their turn added to the traffic on the Nene. The almoner's book has already been cited to show the range of goods that came in to Peterborough by water. 6,400 bricks from Wiggenhall in Norfolk, just south of King's Lynn, faced a long journey through the fens before finishing up at Peterborough. Some of them went to provide a roof for the almoner's office, and others went to the building work at St Leonard's hospital. Reeds for thatch were taken to Bolhithe; "for carrying them into the town, 4d, for the same men in drink, 1d". The life of the market was a network of small exchanges.[59]

This article is not intended as other than a small transaction in the network of academic exchange. The study of Peterborough's early history is prospering. Inevitably though, as with the expansion of any market, with growth there has come specialisation. Each specialist has his own material, his own line of approach. My chief concern, in briefly surveying the literature here, is to show that at some places the historical material and the archaeological are drifting apart. I hope that I have shown why I have reservations about both the *burh* and the "new town"; but these arguments in their turn are hypotheses, and only with further work will we know whether they are justified.

[56] *V.C.H. Northants*, ii. 294-5.

[57] S. Upex, "Ramsey Abbey's Manor at Elton: II, the Documents", *Durobrivae*, 6 (1978), pp. 28-9.

[58] *Wellingborough Manorial Accounts, A.D. 1258-1323*, ed. Frances M. Page (N.R.S., viii, 1936), p. 128. Dr. Raban kindly drew my attention to this pleasing vignette. Grain sent from Wellingborough to Crowland seems more often to have gone overland to Yaxley, and thence by water: *ibid.*, pp. 128-9. As with the Ramsey extract, this cut off the corner of the Nene. It may be that the existence of customary carrying services played a part in such decisions.

[59] *William Morton*, p. 87, and note the remarks on transport, p. xxxvii.

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THE BISHOP, THE ABBOT AND WARMINGTON RECTORY: A MEDIAEVAL CHURCH APPROPRIATION STRUGGLE

M. J. FRANKLIN

It is customary to consider that it was the twelfth century which was the great age of the appropriation of parish churches by religious houses associated with what has been called the 'monastic revolution'. The Anglo-Norman baronage, their consciences pricked by the zeal of the Gregorian reformers rushed to unload their seigneurial "Eigenkirchen" onto the undying corporations which could safeguard the welfare of their benefactors' souls by the service of prayer. Monasteries swallowed up parochial endowments often with detrimental effects on pastoral provision, as Bishop Grosseteste was to complain.[1] But the precepts enshrined in the Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council and the Constitutions of Otho and Ottobon gave bishops some measure of control over the calibre of those holding benefices with the cure of souls attached as, at the same time, proprietorial right slowly was converted into the doctrine of 'ius praesentandi'.[2]

Yet monastic appropriation did not die out. "The monasteries of the later Middle Ages were quite firmly concerned primarily with appropriation as a financial expedient for their own advantage."[3] Indeed they had to be as, on the one hand the flow of pious benefactions was directed elsewhere and, on the other the burden of royal taxation and the stream of yearly pensions and annuities increased monastic debt.[4] The monasteries were compelled to look on their appropriated churches primarily as sources of income enabling them to meet their liabilities, at least for a time—"The parish church was a remedy by which the proverty of a monastery might find succour . . ."[5] as was the case for example with the church of Geddington appropriated to Pipewell in 1358.[6] The Statute of Mortmain did nothing to prevent appropriations; indeed the extra regulation merely served to extend the procedure, both in terms of time and in terms of cost.[7] It is the purpose of this paper to examine the ramifications of one such example—the parish of Warmington in Northamptonshire—and to consider the interplay between concepts of pastoral provision and the new focus of pious benefaction—chantry foundation—as well as the procedure involved in a long drawn-out case of appropriation. Thanks to the survival of records from all the parties we are able to gain some insight into the considerations which influenced prelates in cases of this sort at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Background to the struggle:

Peterborough Abbey under financial pressure

Any study concerned with the history of parishes in the mediaeval period must begin with the lists compiled at the end of the thirteenth century for the purpose of mandatory papal income taxation.[8] Although the precise meaning of the figures listed in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV is still open to dispute,[9] as a rough guide to the relative

[1] In 1250 at the Council of Lyons—R. A. R. Hartridge, *A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1930, 77. However, the view propounded by Hartridge (op. cit.) that the bishops reacted to the problem of monastic appropriation only in the thirteenth century has been overturned—vid. C. R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton: English Church Government 1170-1213*, Manchester 1956, 132ff especially 132, n. 1, 136.

[2] J. W. Gray, 'The Ius Praestandi in England from the Constitutions of Clarendon to Bracton', *EHR*, LXVII (1952), 481-509.

[3] Hartridge, 162.

[4] A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their organisation in the Later Middle Ages*, Oxford 1947, 174.

[5] ibid., 128.

[6] ibid., 110 n. 2.

[7] ibid., 109.

[8] For analysis of the development of this principle see W. E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327*, Cambridge, Mass., 1939.

[9] See especially, R. Graham, 'The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV', *EHR*, XXIII (1908), 434-54, reprinted in *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, London, 1929.

PLATE 1. THE NAVE AND SPIRE OF ST. MARY, WARMINGTON, by John Johnson. *(Northamptonshire Libraries)*

worth of the more substantial benefices of England they are without parallel. The parish church of Warmington stands out as one of the most wealthy benefices in the county of Northampton.[10] In 1291 it was assessed at a total of 57 marks.[11] It was already in the patronage of the Abbey of Peterborough—the earliest reference to their possession of the advowson is 1237/8,[12] though we know that they had long been in possession of the pension of 2 marks mentioned in the *taxatio* because it is mentioned among the deeds of Abbot William de Waterville (1155-75) that he increased the receipt from Warmington from 20 shillings to that figure.[13] The size of the church's endowments was mirrored in the building itself. The surviving fabric was described by Pevsner as "large, noble and stylistically uncommonly unified . . . built completely between *c.*1180 and *c.*1280.[14] Bloe, however, thought otherwise: "the whole fabric as now seen was built within the space of just over a century from *c.*1180-90 to *c.*1310 and the work was carried out in rather a piecemeal fashion. . . ."[15] It does however include the famous large timber vault. The Abbey obviously considered that the spiritual centre of one of its principal demesne manors[16]

[10] *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate papae Nicholae circa 1291*, ed. S. Aycough and J. Caley (Record Commission), London 1802 (henceforth cited as TN), 37b-40b passim: The Record Commission Editors converted the figures from their main exemplar (P.R.O. E164/14) into £.s.d. Only the churches of Higham Ferrers, Raunds and Finedon were worth more.

[11] ibid., 39b.

[12] (Disputed) presentation of Hugh Stamford to the Rectory; 3rd year of Bishop Grosseteste: *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste Episcopi Lincolniensis 1235-1253 . . .*, ed. F. N. Davis, Lincoln Record Society 1914, 169.

[13] W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London 1846, I, 352-3; J. Sparke, *Historiae Coenobii Burgensis Scriptores Varii*, London 1723, 93.

[14] N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Northamptonshire*, 2nd edition London 1973, 444.

[15] J. W. Bloe, *Warmington, Northamptonshire: An architectural description of the church and village*, London 1937, 9.

[16] Warmington manor was the second biggest after Biggin Grange—S. Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterborough*, London 1686, 42.

merited a considerable building. However, the thirteenth century abbots appear to have adopted a policy of using their patronage in a way which brought less obvious benfits. It was the era of Edward I's *quo warranto* enquiries, a time when the bribing of royal justices could bring important savings. In 1281 Elias of Beckingham, one of the few justices not removed for corruption in 1289 was presented to the church of Warmington.[17] He already had a history of Peterborough preferment and later was to be useful as a financial agent.[18] Rather than divert parochial endowments directly, the abbey used its patronage to build a core of powerful and useful friends.

So the thirteenth century saw the endowments of Warmington used indirectly for the benefit of the patrons. The energetic building campaign throughout that period shows that pastoral provision did not suffer as a result. Yet the same period also saw the Abbey suffering considerable financial hardship—Peterborough was at its weakest when other black monk houses were at their strongest.[19] Partly this was the consequence of Abbot Robert de Sutton's adherance to the baronial side in the defence of Northampton against the King in 1264, a policy mistake which involved the abbot in considerable extraordinary expenditure,[20] as both baronial and then royal partisans extracted protection money.[21] How reliable Whittelsey's figure of £4324 18s 6d[22] is as a guide to the actual cost is not clear, but the fact that the Abbey was unable to bear the cost of feasting associated with an abbatial inauguration in 1274[23] shows how this factor, coupled with the ever increasing burden of royal and papal taxation was undermining the basis of the Abbey's finances. "The basic problem was how the monastery could survive, and even possibly expand, on the basis of fixed resources."[24] Even though as an administrative achievement it was funded on an insecure agricultural base,[25] Abbot William Wodeford (1295-99, but he had been his predecessor's right hand man and co-adjutor before this[26]) and his successor Godfrey of Crowland (1299-1321) did much to solve the problem for Peterborough. Both these abbots received the praises of the chronicler—the former "in temporibus Johannis et Roberti abbatum continuo domus negotia tam in curia regis quam alibi exequebatur. Iste postquam in abbatem est praefectus iura ecclesiae suae et libertates strenue gubernabat"[27] while the latter managed to fund considerable building projects.[28] To such men the spiritualities of Warmington, worth as much as their richest manors,[29] must have appeared a rosy prospect.

The start of the case in Rome, and its delay, 1296-1313

William de Wodeford appears to have taken action almost immediately after his reception of the abbatial dignity. While still co-adjutor of Richard de London he had obtained early in the pontificate of Boniface VIII a confirmation of the abbey's privileges detailed in a Bull of Eugenius III. This Bull was dated 1st March 1295.[30] He received abbatial office only on 29th August,[31] yet by the following 13th January the curia had received a petition and was issuing a Bull ceding Warmington to the Abbey.[32] The

[17] E. King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310: A Study in the Land Market*, Cambridge 1973, 133.

[18] ibid.; This practice of using the monastery's patronage to provide friends with influence or useful assistance in legal affairs and other *ardua negotia* involving conveyancing and leasing did not die out. Peterborough was particularly energetic in this direction—Hamilton Thompson, op. cit., 105 citing Oundle s.xiv^{med} c.f. infra p. 28, where one of the bishop's most important administrators was the Abbey's man.

[19] King, 95.

[20] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, I, 356; Sparke, *Historiae*, 135.

[21] "cum multis aliis magnatibus qui non scribuntur nec current ad memoriam"—Sparke, *Historiae*, 135.

[22] ibid., 140.

[23] *Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. J. Stapelton, Camden Society, London 1849, 20.

[24] King, 98.

[25] ibid., 167.

[26] Sparke, 151.

[27] ibid.

[28] listed ibid., 154.

[29] Warmington Manor was worth £52 13s 4d in 1321—Gunton, 42.

[30] *Les registres de Boniface VIII* . . ., ed. G. Digard, M. Faucon, A. Thomas and R. Fawtier 4 vols, Paris 1907-39, no: 134. The Bull is recited in London, B.L., Additional Ms 39758 fo 180r ff.

[31] Cambridge, U.L., Adv.b.52.2, 38; Thomas Baker's manuscript note on his copy of Gunton.

[32] *Les registres de Boniface VIII* . . ., ed., G. Digard, M. Faucon, A. Thomas and R. Fawtier 4 vols, Paris 1907-39, no: 626. The Bull in full is recited in Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives Office (henceforth L.A.O.), Register II fo 131v and London, B.L., Additional Ms 39758 fo 175r. On 1st February 1296 Doctor Rayner de Vichio, Canon of Lichfield, "executor ad infrascripta a sede apostolica deputatus" issued from Rome a notarised mandate, addressed to the abbots of St. Albans and Waltham, together with the prior of Ely, ordering them to induct Brother

Abbey cited the customary excuses—heavy charitable provision necessitated by its geographical location on a main road and burdensome war taxation—as justification for the appropriation.[33] Some of the fruits of the church were, however, to be reserved for a vicarage to be ordained in the church. Since the Statute of Mortmain of 1279 such appropriations required royal licence which was duly obtained on 26th October 1296[34] as well as episcopal sanction. The latter was not forthcoming, since in Bishop Sutton's Register we find the statement, dated 13 February 1297, that "contra impetrationes per religiosos viros abbatem et conventum de Burgo Sancti Petri nostre diocesis de Ecclesia de Wermyngton eiusdem diocesis in usus proprios eorundem ex parte nostra varia sunt objecta. . . ."[35] Sutton committed himself to an appeal to Rome; all the parties appointed proctors. Sutton himself appointed one of his archdeacons Master Walter of Wotton his proctor in this and a number of other cases concerned with papal provisions.[36] He obviously refused to admit Peterborough's candidate for the vicarage since not only the Abbot and Convent appointed proctors—one William, described as "confrater noster" and a monk John de Gretham—on 24th March 1298[37] but also one Henricus de Iakele "capellanus ad vicariam de Wermyngton Lincoln diocesis per religiosos viros Abbatem et conventum monasterii de Burgo Sancti Petri praesentatus" appointed Thomas de Barum his proctor "in omnibus causis et negotiis principalibus et appellationum me at vicariam dicte ecclesie qualitercunque contingentibus motis seu movendis" on the same date.[38]

A short excursus on the career of Walter of Wotton is necessary for it was this unfortunate choice of proctor by Bishop Sutton together with his own imminent demise (already on 10th January 1297 he had been relieved from his post as collector of the tenth because he was ". . . aetate graviter laborans . . ."[39]) and that of Abbot William on 2nd September 1299[40] which delayed the resolution of the legal case. Walter of Wotton was clearly one of the most trusted of Sutton's *familia*, acting frequently as a Commissary, at least until 1297, and he was one of Sutton's executors.[41] His career in the bishop's service seems to have merited the usual stream of preferments. From humble beginnings he advanced quickly to the dignity of canon[42] and received a series of prebends of increasing value both before and after his appointment as Archdeacon of Huntingdon. It is at this point that his career crosses the fate of the church of Warmington. Wotton's prebendal career began in a small way with the prebend of Crackpole St. Mary, valued at £10 in 1291, to which he had certainly been collated by 21st October 1288.[43] In April 1292 he was transferred to the wealthier prebend of Welton Ryval—worth £33 6s 8d in 1291.[44] His collation to the still wealthier prebend of Buckden—worth £40 in 1291—took place just one week before his appointment as proctor in the Warmington case on 6th February 1297.[45] Unfortunately this prebend became the subject of papal provision because the previous incumbent, one Stephen de Tawell died at Basle, and it can hardly have helped Wotton's standing as Sutton's proctor, to say nothing of his functioning in that office that he was a party himself in the only other legal dispute concerned with the diocese to appear in the Register for the early years of Boniface VIII. The cause between Master Richard de Feringes, Papal Chaplain and Master Walter de Wotton, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, turned on whether the latter had been collated before the former had been provided and it was the judgement of the Holy See that he had not and that conse-

John de Gretham, as the representative of the abbey into the rectory of Warmington. The document was thought important enough to be placed in the "Book of Walter of Whittlesey"—ibid., fo 177r ff.

[33] L.A.O., Register II fo 131v. c.f. A. Hamilton Thompson, *The Clergy and their organisation in the Later Middle Ages*, Oxford 1947, 110.

[34] *CPR 1292-1301*, 208.

[35] R. M. T. Hill ed., *The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton 1280-99*, Lincoln Record Society 1948- , V, 208.

[36] ibid.

[37] London, B.L., Ms Cotton Vespasian E xxii fo 34v.

[38] ibid., fo 35r.

[39] *Les Registres de Boniface VIII . . .*, ed. G. Digard, M. Faucon, A. Thomas and R. Fawtier 4 vols Paris 1907-39, no: 1129.

[40] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, I, 357.

[41] R. M. T. Hill ed., *The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton 1280-99*, Lincoln Record Society 1948- , III, xxxii, lxxxvi.

[42] before December 1283—J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300 III Lincoln* compiled D. E. Greenway, Institute of Historical Research London 1977, 30 n. 1.

[43] ibid., 63.

[44] ibid., 108.

[45] ibid., 56.

quently Wotton should be deprived.[46] Even though Richard de Feringes vacated his hard-won prebend rapidly with his provision to the new see of Dublin, which had been made before June 1299,[47] Wotton lost his chance of further advancement because of the dislocation occasioned by the period of *sede vacante* jurisdiction on Sutton's death and was forced to spend some years "out in the cold". The next collation to the Buckden prebend was a royal presentee and Wotton had to wait some time before he finally got his £40 prebend under Bishop Dalderby.[48]

The fate of Warmington church remained undecided. John Dalderby was consecrated as Sutton's successor on 13th June 1300, yet did nothing about appointing a proctor to represent his interests at Rome until 23rd December 1303, when Master William of Hundleby was appointed.[49] It seems likely that Warmington was reasonably high on his list of priorities for a week later Master Henry de Insula left for Rome bearing 7 documents for Hundleby "videlicet in negotium super appropriationem ecclesiae de Wermyngton".[50] There is no specific reference to the Warmington case in Dalderby's memoranda for the next six years, not in fact until 27th July 1309[51] even though a second proctor, Master Ralph de Lacu was appointed in July 1305[52] and messengers frequently departed carrying instructions for the proctors at Rome.[53] By 1309 Master Ralph de Lacu was clearly dealing with the Warmington case; it was to him that the letter of 27th July was directed.[54] He was probably in sole charge of the Bishop's cases since only he was recommissioned on 1st May 1309[55] and his were the only expenses inserted into the Memoranda Register.[56] We can gain some idea of the sort of tasks involved—for 1309 he was allowed 100 marks of which 24 marks was for himself.[57] Representing the Bishop at the curia was an expensive business. However it seems likely that the stimulus to solve the legal impasse came first from the Peterborough side. The bishop seems quite happy to have proceeded with more important cases—the Wainfleet excommunication and the case concerning Bardney Abbey and also the dispute over the Official of Canterbury's pretended jurisdiction over probate. The Abbey, however, was threatened with the loss of particularly valuable manors at this time. The grant of the manors of Torpel and Upton made during pleasure by Edward I in February 1291[58] was renewed under Edward II—on 2nd December 1309.[59] But the grant of these manors to John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, with an order to the Abbot to release them, made on 15th June 1310,[60] may indicate that the Abbey, faced with the loss of manors for which it was happy to pay the considerable sum of £100 p.a. at the Exchequer, was forced to try to realise all its potential resources. Unfortunately the entries in Dalderby's Memoranda become tantalisingly diffuse at this stage of the dispute. On 31st December 1311 a messenger left bearing money and "litteram directam magistro Walter de Wermyngton pro informatione in negotium episcopi".[61] We may only wonder that this the second of Dalderby's proctors had as his toponym the very village with which we are concerned. Was he selected because of some local knowledge? It appears that if there is any rationale behind the episcopal system of representation at the Curia it was that there was a resident proctor—Ralph de Lacu a known legal expert, also in receipt of a pension from Worcester Cathedral Priory for legal services[62] —who returned from time to time e.g. October 1310[63] to report, yet normally received his instructions by letter. His efforts were supplemented from time to time by a trusted member of the episcopal *familia*.[64] Clearly matters were advancing by 1st June 1312 when Dalderby issued letters patent appoint-

[46] Reg. Boniface VIII no: 1129.
[47] Le Neve, *Fasti*, 57.
[48] Haydour by September 1304/5—Le Neve, *Fasti*, 72, citing L.A.O., D&C Bj/2/4 fo 7.
[49] letters patent—L.A.O., Register III fo 62v.
[50] ibid.
[51] ibid., fo 163r.
[52] ibid., fo 85v.
[53] In January and February 1306—ibid., fo 90v, 92v, 96r; June 1307—ibid., fo 115v; November 1307 —ibid., fo 127v; February 1308—fo 130v; June 1308 —fo 138v; January 1309—fo 147v.
[54] ibid., fo 163r.
[55] ibid., fo 154v.
[56] ibid., fo 177r.
[57] ibid., fo 194r.
[58] *Calendar of the Fine Rolls 1272-1307*, 289.
[59] *Calendar of the Fine Rolls 1307-13*, 52.
[60] ibid., 64.
[61] L.A.O., Register III fo 238v.
[62] A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500*, 3 vols., Oxford 1957-9, I, 560.
[63] L.A.O., Register III fo 194r.
[64] Walter of Warmington was one of Dalderby's most used Commissaries—L.A.O., Register III passim—and his successor Robert de Buckingham was a former Sequestrator.

ing Ralph de Lacu proctor generally and "in causa appellationis que occasione appropriacionis ecclesie de Wermyngton vertitur inter nos ex parte una et Abbatem et Conventum de Burgo Sancti Petri nostre diocesis ex altera in Romana curia tam coram reverendo viro domino Bernardi Roiardi quam aliis auditoribus quibusdamque postmodum per sedem apostolicam deputatis. . . ."[65] The case was obviously finally coming before the Rota—Master Bernardus Roiardi was one of the *capellani auditores causarum sacri palatii apostolici* under both Clement V and Boniface VIII.[66]

The Negotiations for a compromise

There appears to be no record of the case coming to trial. On 16th April 1313 Dalderby appointed a new proctor, apparently a trusted member of his *familia*, since he was formerly Sequestrator in the southern parts[67] with wide powers of discretion. Master Robert de Buckingham, who left for Rome two days later with 20 marks for his expenses, was to become sole proctor or assist Ralph de Lacu, whichever would best advance the bishop's business.[68] The bishop was obviously anxious to bring various suits to a conclusion since Buckingham carried with him a long list of instructions.[69] However, we must wonder just how effective Buckingham was going to be as the bishop's spokesman in the Warmington dispute, for the "White Book" of Peterborough, an early example of a surviving abbot's register,[70] itself testamentary to the sophistication of Wodeford's administration, contains data which suggests that he was likely to support the Abbot's point of view. Robert de Buckingham was already in receipt of a pension from the Abbey at Easter 1306.[71]

[65] ibid., fo 254r.

[66] E. Cerchiari, *Capellani Papae et Apostolicae sedes auditores causarum sacri palatii apostolici seu sacra Roma Rota*, Rome 1921, II, 20, 23.

[67] Compotus of his performance of the office—L.A.O., Register III fo 273v.

[68] ". . . habuit secum unum procuratorium ad instituendum et substituendum procuratorem nomine episcopi et aliud cum clasula procuratoris . . . ut neutro iuxta consilium episcopi in curia prout videbatur statuum episcopi melius expedire."—ibid.

[69] "Item habuit secum informatores septem in causis et negotiis episcopi pendentibus in curia super eorum materia atque statu videlicet in negotiis de Wermyngtone, Bardeney et Croppery insinuatis testorum et de Gretone . . ."—ibid.

[70] J. D. Martin, *The Cartularies and Registers of Peterborough Abbey*, Northamptonshire Record Society 1978, xv, 36.

[71] 5 marks p.a. until provided to a benefice—B.L., Ms Cotton Vespasian E xxii fo 81r.

On 29th January 1308 the Abbey presented Buckingham to the church of Irthlingborough All Saints,[72] a rectory which was assessed at 7½ marks in 1291.[73] On the following 4th April he swore the customary oath of obedience of those presented to Peterborough churches—". . . ero fidelis promotor et diligens verbo et facto negotiorum monasterii Sancti Petri de Burgo: iura et libertates eiusdem proposse defendam. . . ."[74] The White Book is manifestly not a complete register—like the early papal and episcopal registers clearly only acts of outstanding importance were there incorporated—so the fact that this oath is there recorded is surely suggestive. Certainly it is around the time of Buckingham's appointment as proctor that the spirit of compromise came into the air in the Warmington case. Ralph de Lacu continued in office for a while, but it appears that Buckingham was taking the dominant role in the case that concerns us here[75] until his death in the middle of 1316.[76]

The compromise eventually arrived at was that Peterborough should transfer the church of Normanby in Lincolnshire which was of its patronage to the Bishop in return for the withdrawal of his objections, which were doubtless made on sound pastoral grounds, to their appropriation of Warmington. Who first made the suggestion is not clear, although on 14th June 1314 a mortmain licence was issued to the effect that the abbey was licensed to transfer the advowson of Normanby to the bishop and chapter.[77] This was probably the licence which appears in the White Book.[78] The church of Normanby was less well endowed than Warmington, being assessed at a total of 20 marks a year in 1291,[79] yet in the thirteenth century its spiritualities were actually bringing more to the Abbey—the abbot received a pension of 10 marks.[80]

[72] ibid., fo 84v.

[73] TN, 40b.

[74] B.L., Ms Cotton Vespasian E xxii fo 84v, c.f. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, I, 395.

[75] Perhaps until 1315—a letter was then dispatched to Ralph de Lacu in connection with the Archbishop of Canterbury's visitation—L.A.O., Register III fo 333v: it could be that they divided the cases between them.

[76] At Lyons—30 day indulgence for those praying for his soul, dated 16th October 1316—ibid., fo 356r—presumably on his way home to report progress.

[77] *CPR 1303-17*, 131.

[78] B.L., Ms Cotton Vespasian E xxii fo 101r.

[79] TN, 75b.

[80] ibid.; L.A.O., Bishop Sutton's Rolls, Roll 3 membrane 2.

But being so distant from the abbey's centre of economic operations it is eminently understandable why the abbey should have been prepared to part with it.

Unfortunately to follow the progress of this compromise in the sources is rendered difficult because of two distorting factors. On the one hand there are four Normanbys in Lincolnshire, in at least three of which the Chapter of Lincoln either then or subsequently had interests. The Chapter archives benefited tremendously from the labours of J. F. Wickenden,[81] but, for all his efforts there is still some confusion. The Normanby with which we are concerned is that which is now known as Normanby-by-Spital, in the Deanery of Aslackoe, and which paid a pension to Peterborough in 1291. Charters concerned with it appear under Normanby-by-Stow[82] and Normanby-by-Owmby[83] as well as Normanby-by-Spital[84] in the Chapter archives. Secondly the existence of an archiepiscopal *inspeximus* confirming an act of Dalderby's appropriating a church of Normanby to the Vicars Choral, dated clearly at some point in October 1310[85] merely adds to the confusion. Unfortunately this *inspeximus* is in such a damaged and worn state that parts of it remain illegible even under UV light. Wickenden was able to calendar it as dated 6th January 1320, though now only the words ". . . decimo nono . . ." remain as a fragment of the dating clause. However, it seems likely that this is a hitherto unrecognised document associated with Archbishop Walter Reynolds' metropolitan visitation of the Bishop and Chapter[86] made in association with his visitation of the whole diocese by Commissary in October 1319.[87] Reynolds certainly issued a commission on 9th October 1319 to enquire into and examine the titles of the Dean and Chapter to churches and tithes, though we know little of how the visitation was actually carried out.[88] Apparently he was not shown the original charter which exists and is clearly dated 20th February 1317, covering both the appropriation of Normanby and of Rushden (Herts.) to the Vicars Choral.[89] All becomes clear when the act concerned is sought in the Bishop's register. It appears in Dalderby's Institution Register among the entries for his 18th pontifical year, yet dated "Nonibus Octobris anno domini millesimo ccc decimo"[90] (i.e. 15th October 1310!) We can I think safely dismiss the possibility that the grant of Normanby to the Vicars antedated, and hence was unconnected with the Warmington settlement, on the grounds of an error by Dalderby's registrar in transcribing the entry into the register. It appears that this error was faithfully copied by the officials of the Archiepiscopal chancery in preparing Reynold's *inspeximus*. It is interesting to note that although it was with Chapter property that the archbishop was concerned it was to episcopal records that reference was made during the visitation.

What seals the connection between the churches of Warmington and Normanby is the successive appearance, in the Northampton Archdeaconry section of Dalderby's Institution Register, though under no heading in a contemporary hand, of copies of Dalderby's withdrawal in the Warmington case, the Chapter's approval of this act, the royal licence to appropriate Normanby dated 30th October 1314,[91] a charter of Abbot Godfrey conceding the advowson to the bishop,[92] Dalderby's ordination of the vicarage of Warmington, the Abbot's acceptance of that ordinance followed finally by the first presentation to that vicarage.[93] However, we must examine the terms of the compromise more closely, for the sources still have much

[81] Lincolnshire Archives Committee, *Archivists' Report*, 1952-3, 38.
[82] L.A.O., D&C Dij/86/1/53.
[83] L.A.O., D&C Dij/85/1/65.
[84] L.A.O., D&C Dij/85/2/40, 42.
[85] L.A.O., D&C Dij/85/1/65.
[86] c.f. I. J. Churchill, Canterbury Administration, 2 vols, London 1933, I, 314.
[87] ibid., II, 149.
[88] ibid., I, 314 citing Register Reynolds fo 110b; but the inspection of some monastic cartularies suggests that more evidence may in fact survive—e.g. Walter de Wermyngton(!) was the Archbishop's Commissary-general operating in Buckinghamshire before March 1320—H. E. Salter ed., *Newington Longeville Charters*, Oxfordshire Record Society 1921, no: 150; G. R. Elvey ed., *Luffield Priory Charters*, 2 vols Northamptonshire Record Society and Buckinghamshire Record Society 1968-75, no: 57—and an archiepiscopal *inspeximus* was issued in favour of both Missenden and Eynsham Abbeys in the spring of 1320—J. G. Jenkins ed., *The Cartulary of Missenden Abbey*, 3 vols Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, 1938, 1948, HMSO 1962, no: 29; H. E. Salter ed., *Eynsham Cartulary*, 2 vols., Oxford Historical Society 1907-8, no: 551.
[89] L.A.O., D&C Dij/86/1/53.
[90] L.A.O., Register II fo 99v.
[91] c.f. *CPR 1313-17*, 199.
[92] c.f. original L.A.O., D&C Dij/85/2/42.
[93] L.A.O., Register II fo 131v-132v.

to tell us on the motives for the bishop settling.

The Bishop's Withdrawal

It seems likely that the sticking point in the negotiations was the pension of 10 marks a year to which Peterborough was entitled from the church of Normanby. Two considerations may have shaped Dalderby's policy. On the one hand he was concerned to make reasonable provision for the new Vicar of Warmington and, on the other, to bear in mind the terms of Boniface VIII's original grant which mentioned that Peterborough should only get half the endowment of the church. At the same time he had a use to which he wanted to put that extra 10 marks income. An entry in the Memoranda, dated 19th October 1316, is the first sign that compromise was near, though the existence of the Mortmain licences, both dated in 1314,[94] shows that this solution had already been mooted previously. This entry is a Commission to the Archdeacon of Northampton to enquire into the truth of the Abbey's claims for the need to appropriate Warmington.[95] From this we get our only reference to what Bishop Sutton's "multa ac varia objecta" to the appropriation actually were i.e. that the narration of poverty was in fact untrue. By 11th December Dalderby was ready to withdraw his objections. His standpoint for the record was that he continued the appeal because of the pious duty he owed to the memory of his predecessor,[96] but that bearing in mind both the expense involved in pursuing the case to its somewhat doubtful conclusion[97] and that the truth of the Abbey's case had been established both on his own visitation and by Inquisition[98] it would be best if he gave way.[99] The vicarage was ordained.[100] The first presentation was made on 25th February 1317[101] and as far as the records of episcopal administration are concerned these arrangements—that the vicar was to receive all oblations and a stipend of 15 marks p.a.; that the abbey would be penalised if it were late in making the payments and that, unusually, the only burdens that the vicar was to bear were those of maintaining the books, vestments and sacred vessels—functioned until the dissolution.[102]

Both what the bishop received and what he did not receive for this act of grace are interesting. We have said that the advowson of the church of Normanby was transferred to him. But the Abbey also gave up its pension in the church, stipulating that from it a chantry be established to benefit the soul of the bishop and that on his obit money was to be paid to those celebrating.[103] This charter was dated 22nd December 1316 i.e. after Dalderby had announced his willingness to cede, but before the ordination of the vicarage. On the same day the abbot produced a letter of attorney to give the chapter seisin of the rights in the church.[104] The provision for the chantry followed rapidly; on 14th February 1317, the day after the bargain was sealed by the ordination of the vicarage in Warmington, provision was made from the Common Fund for a chantry priest with a stipend of 6 marks p.a.[105] 43s. 4d. was provided for division among those celebrating the obit.[106] The grant of the advowson was made for the next presentation. This occurred rapidly when on 19th February the incumbent John Ulseby resigned. The bishop was not decided in his policy towards the remainder of the fruits of the church for the church was temporarily commended to Master Thomas de Luda, one

[94] *CPR 1313-17*, 131; text in B.L., Ms Cotton Vespasian E xxii fo 101r (undated); *CPR 1313-17*, 199; text in L.A.O., Register II fo 131v-132r.

[95] L.A.O., Register III fo 356r—the terms of this commission repeat the phraseology of Boniface VIII's Bull.

[96] "nos postmodum ut successor contra eosdem abbatem et conventum continuari . . . pro nonnullo tempore . . ."—ibid., fo 361v.

[97] "Nos deliberato consilio advertentes . . . dispendia que ex eventu dubio exitus cause appellationis predicte in Roma curia tam pendentis poterunt evenire . . ."—L.A.O., Register II fo 131v.

[98] ". . . ad reperta in visitatione quam in dicto monasterio ultimo auctoriate ordinaria executuimus et deposita in inquisitione quadam in hac parte . . . pro nostre informatione . . . fieri facimus . . ."—ibid.

[99] ". . . optamus in causa appellationis prefata ut . . . renunciamus expresse et relaxamus . . . dictis religiosis et suis successoribus quemcunque actionem et ius que nobis . . . interesse . . ."—L.A.O., Register III fo 361v.

[100] Text L.A.O., Register II fo 132r-132v.

[101] Henry Durant—ibid.

[102] e.g. 1323—L.A.O., Register IV fo 195r.

[103] ". . . distribuendam per eos (sc. decanum et capitulum) cuidam capellano celebraturo perpetuo in ecclesia Lincoln post obitum venerabilis patris Johannis dei gratia Lincoln episcopi pro anima eiusdem patris et inter canonicos ac ceteros de choro die obitus eiusdem . . ."—L.A.O., D&C Dij/85/2/42 and Register II fo 132r.

[104] L.A.O., D&C Dij/85/2/40.

[105] L.A.O., D&C A/1/8 "Liber de Ordinationibus cantariam" fo 14r.

[106] ibid., fo 13v.

of the Canons, on that date.[107] He resigned on 28th February, presumably on instructions, since the appropriation deed was dated 20th February 1317.[108] After reciting the poverty of the Vicars Choral Dalderby proceeded to appropriate the churches of Normanby and Rushden (Herts.)—both of which had been temporarily commended to Thomas de Luda, interestingly enough[109]—to the chapter "pro oneribus ecclesie nostre facilius supportandis"; the proceeds were to be devoted partly to a purpose which was the Canons' decision and partly towards defraying the costs of the Common House of the Vicars.[110] This concern for the Vicars Choral was not an isolated instance; Dalderby persuaded the Hospitallers to pay 2 marks p.a. from their rectorial portion of the fruits of Ravensthorpe to the Vicars "pro impetracione appropriationis ecclesiarum de Ravensthorpe et de Kirketon. . . ."[111] What is interesting is that from neither the new rectors of Warmington, nor from those of Normanby did the bishop exact any payments "in recompensationem amissionis sequestrationis". The episcopal right to the profits of the benefice during a vacancy, which was one of the pillars on which the office of sequestrator rested,[112] was the most important reason other than pastoral for the bishop to oppose the appropriation of benefices by monastic houses. Given that he had to share such profits with the archdeacon, the potential returns for the episcopal coffers dropped from 28½ marks to 7½ in the case of Warmington. Yet no such payment was made. Perhaps the royal favour shown towards Peterborough had something to do with this—the second mortmain licence for Normanby was actually dated at Peterborough.

The results of the compromise

We can now attempt to tabulate a very rough profit and loss account for the dispute in all its ramifications. These figures are derived from the *Taxatio* and the Mss. cited above.

BEFORE 1296-1317:	
WARMINGTON:	
TO RECTOR	55m
TO PETERBOROUGH	2m
	57m
NORMANBY:	
TO RECTOR	10m
TO PETERBOROUGH	10m
	20m
AFTER 1296-1317:	
WARMINGTON:	
TO VICAR	15m
TO PETERBOROUGH	42m
NORMANBY:	
TO VICAR	7m
TO CHANTRY PRIEST	6m
TO OBIT	43s. 4d.
TO VICARS CHORAL	50s.

This means that Peterborough made a net gain of at least 30m p.a. It would seem that the net result suited all parties—the pastoral provision from these endowments was if anything increased rather than decreased as a consequence of the dispute. This was particularly true since the new vicar of Warmington was enjoined to serve personally and continuously reside. One can imagine that this was more in keeping with the tenets of the Fourth Lateran Council than rectors of the type exemplified by Giles de Spoleto and Elias de Beckingham. The only sufferers may have been the parishioners of Warmington while the dispute was going on, though they may of course have had the services of a stipendary parish priest to fall back on. There is no evidence of any provision being made for them, though the existence of two entries on the Patent Rolls,[113] dated 12th March and 23rd November 1313 respectively, by which the king sought to present clerks to Warmington by reason of regalian right suggests that the benefice was known to be long vacant. Abbot Godfrey was restored to the temporalities on 5th November 1299[114] so for the king to present in 1313 by reason of the inter-

[107] L.A.O., Register II fo 337r.

[108] L.A.O., D&C Dij/86/1/53; archiepiscopal *inspeximus* (damaged) Dij/85/1/65 copy of Register II fo 99v.

[109] L.A.O., Register II fo 337r.

[110] "ut fructus et proventus earundem ecclesiarum partim in usus necessarios dictorum vicariorum qui in manso communi pro eorum cohabitione constructo commorantur et partim in extenuationem aliqualem eiis alieni que vos novimus oneratos pro vestre arbitrio comitatis . . ."—L.A.O., D&C Dij/86/1/53.

[111] L.A.O., Register II fo 136v.

[112] C. Morris, "The Commissary of the bishop in the diocese of Lincoln", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, X (1959), 50-65.

[113] *CPR 1307-13*, 556; *CPR 1313-17*, 210.

[114] *CPR 1292-1301*, 451.

regnum between Wodeford and Crowland suggests a long vacancy. It may be that the dispute explains the cessation of building on Warmington church itself.

This raises the interesting question of the link between monastic rectors and the fabric of parish churches. Is it reading too much into the fabric to see the appropriation dispute, and its result, as one of the principal factors in the shaping of the building as we have it today? All the architectural authorities are agreed that the church was "finished" at some time before 1316[115] and the "abrupt termination" which Caveler noted[116] at the historic boundary between parochial and rectorial responsibility—the Chancel Arch—suggests such about the quality of maintenance performed by the Abbey subsequently. The chancel contrasts markedly with the "extreme beauty"[117] of the nave.[118] But this form of research has rarely been undertaken by those with access to all the, admittedly patchy, but still valuable evidence about parishes contained in the episcopal and monastic records. Neither Bridges,[119] nor even Hamilton Thompson[120] do anything more than note that the church was appropriated in 1316. One hopes, however, that some of the many problems associated with "reading the fabric" of this and other churches in the area will be solved in the forthcoming RCHM volume.

But above all the Warmington dispute gives some insight into the sort of considerations which shaped the policies of late mediaeval prelates towards the issue of appropriation. Monasteries acted in their own interests, yet had to be prepared to mobilise all forms of support, both royal and papal, to achieve their ends of greater financial stability. And yet we can see precisely how difficult it was to persuade the bureaucracy erected to support claims of papal *plenitudo potestatis* to determine the facts of a case. We have no records of what the Abbey spent on proctorial representation at the Curia and can only dimly perceive the embryonic, and still very ad hoc, system of semi-permanent representation adopted by Dalderby because his Memoranda Register happens to be unusually full in this kind of detail. Much money and effort was expended to no purpose in this case. Compromise became the order of the day and it is the precise nature of that compromise which is so interesting because it underlines the diversity of the pastoral responsibility of the late mediaeval bishop.[121]

[115] N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Northamptonshire*, 2nd ed., London 1973, 444; J. W. Bloe, *Warmington Northamptonshire: An architectural description of the church and village*, London 1937; W. Caveler, *Architectural Illustrations of Warmington Church, Northants*, London 1850; A. Hamilton Thompson, "Notes of an address . . .", *Transactions of the Rutland Archaeological and Natural History Society* XIII (1915), 46-9.

[116] Caveler, 13.

[117] Hamilton Thompson, 46.

[118] Particularly in the roof workmanship—Caveler, 9.

[119] J. Bridges, ed. P. Whalley, *The Histories and Antiquities of Northamptonshire* 2 vols Oxford 1791, II, 480.

[120] Hamilton Thompson, 46.

[121] I would like to thank the following: Mr. Denys Spittle and the staff at the Cambridge office of the RCHM for introducing me to the problems of the fabric of Warmington church; Mr. C. M. Lloyd and the staff at the Lincolnshire Archives Office; and Professor C. N. L. Brooke and Mrs. D. M. Owen for their comments on early drafts of this paper.

LOCKS, LORDS AND COAL: A STUDY IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NORTHAMPTON HISTORY

VICTOR A. HATLEY

Close to the lock on the River Nene at Abington Mill, Northampton, there is an arch-shaped memorial stone, not unlike a tombstone. It carries the inscription: "FREDERIC MONTAGU *Esqr* Member of *Parliament* for the *Town* of Northampton for the Encouragement of *Trade* and *Navigation* [this word partly obliterated] Gave this Lock." At the lock at Clifford Hill, Little Houghton, there is a similar stone, but square-cut in shape with a slightly curved top. The inscription on this stone is: "Hon^ble^ SPENCER COMPTON *Esqr* Member of *Parliament* for the *Town* of *Northampton* For the *Encouragement* of *Trade* and *Navigation* Gave this Lock." These two stones are relics of the two principal themes in Northampton's history during the Eighteenth Century. Firstly, they commemorate two of the three local aristocratic families which, at various times, controlled the town's parliamentary representation. Secondly, they illustrate the striving of the inhabitants of Northampton for a supply of cheap coal, which was essential for the town's long-term prosperity and growth.

The first member of the Horton branch of the Montagu family to be elected M.P. for Northampton was Christopher Montagu in 1695. Northampton was represented at Westminster by two M.Ps., and between 1695 and 1734, with the exception of 1702-5 and 1715-22, one of them was a Montagu; and the person who held the seat during the second interregnum undoubtedly did so with Montagu approbation and support. In 1715, George Montagu, the sitting member, inherited a barony from his deceased uncle, the celebrated Earl of Halifax who played a leading part in founding the Bank of England, and who died without a male heir. Shortly afterwards, in recognition of the wealth and status of the family, George I revived the Earldom of Halifax in favour of George Montagu. Staunch Whigs and Hanoverians, the Montagus for many years retained the support of the Corporation of Northampton, although that worthy body was swinging towards an exclusively Tory outlook during the first three decades of the Eighteenth Century.[1] Indeed, between 1722 and 1727, Lord Halifax was able to monopolise Northampton's parliamentary representation for the Whigs, the two members being his own brother, Edward Montagu, and William Wilmer, a gentleman from Sywell who had aristocratic connections, and who in 1715 was returned for the seat which had been vacated by Halifax himself. William Wykes of Haselbech, Tory M.P. for the town since 1710, was badly beaten in a contest at the general election of 1722.

However, the problems of maintaining two Whig M.Ps. at Northampton seem to have been excessive even for Lord Halifax, and at the next general election, which took place soon after George II ascended the throne in 1727, he was willing to share the parliamentary representation of the borough with his aristocratic neighbour, James Compton, fifth Earl of Northampton, and head of the Compton family of Castle Ashby. Lord Northampton, who had only recently succeeded to the title, obviously wanted to establish a Compton political "interest" (the contemporary term) in his namesake town, similar to the interest established by the Montagus of Horton. So William Wilmer was ditched to make way for a Compton candidate standing in alliance with Edward Montagu, although, resenting the way in which he was being treated, Wilmer forced a contest and polled a respectable minority vote. It is not easy to tie a political label on to the Compton family. With a strong Royalist and Tory background

[1] Northamptonshire pollbooks, 1702 and 1705 (general elections), 1730 (by-election). Analysis of voting pattern of Corporation members at each election.

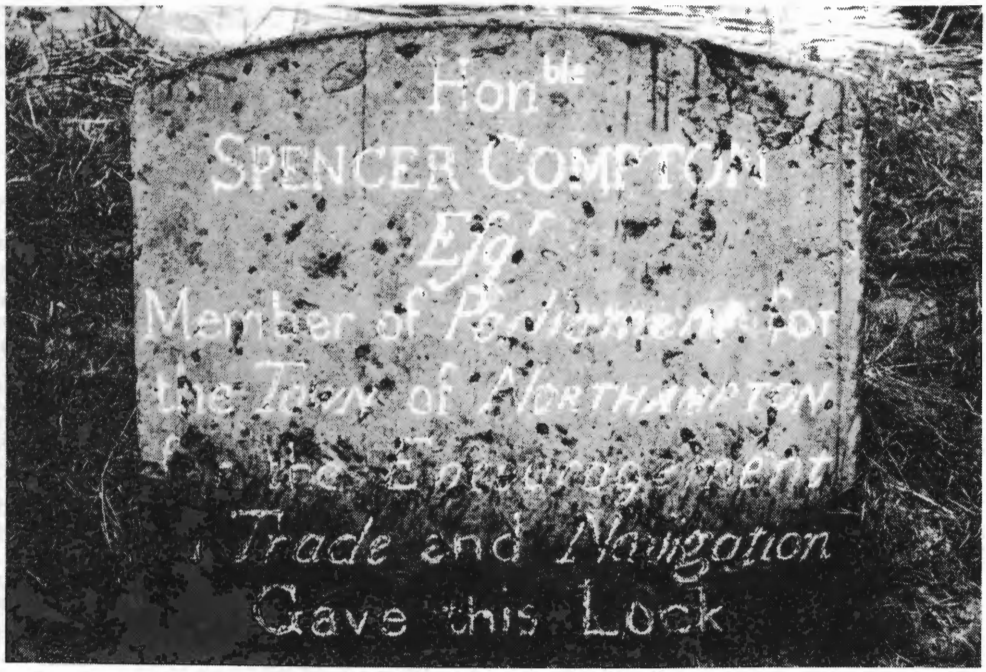

PLATE 1. COMMEMORATION STONE
on the River Nene at Clifford Hill Lock, Little Houghton

in the Seventeenth Century, they now had a powerful link with the Whigs through Lord Northampton's uncle, Spencer Compton, raised to the peerage as Baron Wilmington in 1728 and Earl of Wilmington in 1730, a favourite of George II and an unsuccessful rival of the wily Sir Robert Walpole. But at Northampton, Major George Compton, Lord Northampton's brother and candidate as M.P., was described by a well-informed observer as a "staunch Tory",[2] and there can be little doubt that this was the aspect of their political heritage that the Comptons emphasised to the Northampton electorate and, in particular, the Corporation of Northampton.

In 1734 the Montagu interest at Northampton was abruptly, if temporarily, terminated. William Wilmer, staging a dramatic comeback, beat Edward Montagu into third place at the general election of that year. The immediate cause of this débâcle was Montagu's support for Walpole's controversial Excise Bill, thereby greatly offending the Corporation, whereas George Compton had opposed the measure. Lord Halifax died in 1739 before he had an opportunity to re-establish the Montagu interest at Northampton, and thus it fell to his son and heir to regain control of the lost seat. At a by-election following the death of William Wilmer in 1744, the second Earl of Halifax, who three years previously had married an heiress and was himself on the threshold of a distinguished career in national politics,[3] secured the seat without opposition for his cousin, George Montagu. Lord Halifax had succeeded in renewing the alliance with the Comptons, and henceforth the two families controlled Northampton politics until 1768, the borough returning unopposed to Parliament either a Compton and a Montagu, or, twice in place

[2] Philip Doddridge to John Barker, 25 Nov. 1733. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, ed., *Calendar of the Correspondence of Philip Doddridge, D.D., 1702-1751*, 1979, 68-9.

[3] At various times President of the Board of Trade, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, First Lord of the Admiralty, Secretary of State and Lord Privy Seal. The town of Halifax, Nova Scotia, is named after him.

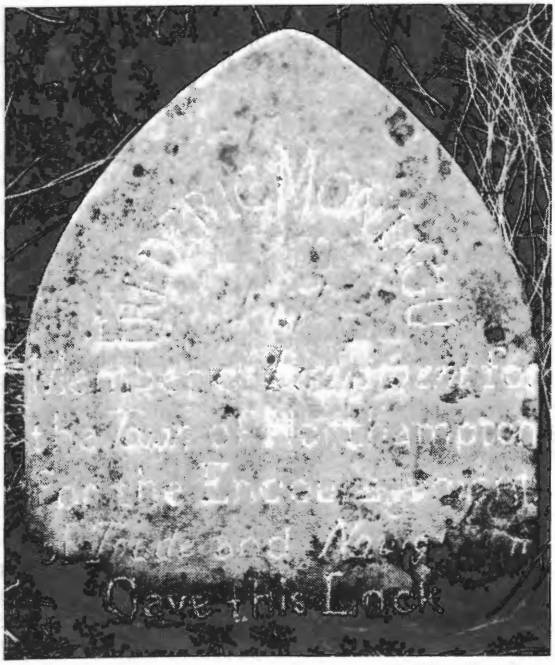

PLATE 2. COMMEMORATION STONE
at Abington Mill Lock (now part of a flood channel). The "*Esqr*" in the inscription is almost worn away, and lies within the half-circle formed by the name FREDERIC MONTAGU.
(*Photographs Richard O'Rourke, Esq.*)

of a Compton, a person whose outlook and behaviour were in accord with the requirements of Lord Northampton.

The problems of keeping up a political interest in Northampton during the Eighteenth Century were intensified by the peculiar nature of the borough's parliamentary franchise. This was exceptionally wide compared with most urban constituencies, and comprised all male householders who were not in receipt of alms (*i.e.* poor relief and the taking of certain charities). Furthermore, between about 1710 and 1734 non-resident freemen were also admitted to the poll, although their right to vote was legally dubious. The result was an enormous body of voters in relation to the size of the town, which was stated to contain 5,136 inhabitants in 1746.[4] 1,810 persons voted at the general election of 1734, including 185 freemen specially created by the Corporation in order to boost the Compton vote.[5] Control over so large an electorate, which in contested elections voted openly at a polling booth set up in the Market Square, could only be exercised by using a judicious mixture of bullying and bribery.[6] This applied to individual voters and to the borough as a whole. M.Ps. and their patrons were expected to pay attention to all matters appertaining to the welfare of Northampton, which on occasions involved them in the expenditure of much money, time and energy. William Wykes provided the inhabitants with a water-supply system in 1719-22, although this apparently public-spirited gesture did not

[4] Compton Family Documents, Castle Ashby, 1057. Manuscript pollbooks and other documents from the 1734 general election at Northampton.

[5] *A Plan of the Town of Northampton Surveyed in MDCCXLVI by Messrs. Noble and Butlin and Engraved by Thos. Jeffreys.*

[6] For a grass-roots view of Northampton politics in the Eighteenth Century, see Victor A. Hatley, *The Northampton Election of 1774: an Eye-Witness Account*, Northampton Historical Series No. 5, Northampton, 1968.

prevent his ignominious defeat by Edward Montagu (p. 207).[7] Lords Northampton and Halifax both made substantial donations towards the founding of a hospital at Northampton in 1743-4, and the latter personally assisted Dr. Philip Doddridge, leader of local nonconformity (strongly biased towards the Whigs) and a fervent supporter of the Montagu family, in the work of organising this institution. Lord Northampton, immediately *after* the general election of 1754, gave £200 to the Corporation of Northampton for its recently-established charity school, and £1,000 "for the sole use and benefit of the Corporation, to be disposed of as they shall judge most proper".[8] All this was on top of routine expenditure such as gifts of money to the poor and favours of various kinds extended to the more influential members of the community.

To make matters worse, from the mid-1750s the two earls had reason for thinking that a formidable rival was preparing to challenge their political domination at Northampton. Within living memory the Spencer family of Althorp had shown no serious interest in political affairs at Northampton, although a Spencer had been M.P. for the borough during the reigns of James I and Charles I. But on 19th December 1755 John Spencer, who had inherited Althorp on the death of his father in 1746, came of age, and his subsequent behaviour strongly suggested that he had ambitions to capture a Northampton seat in Parliament, either for himself or for a Spencer nominee. Among the birthday celebrations, which were conducted on a lavish scale and coincided with John Spencer's marriage to Miss Georgiana Poyntz, was included an invitation to the Mayor and Corporation of Northampton to visit Althorp where they were "most elegantly entertained"; in return, they presented their host "with his freedom of Northampton, which he did the Corporation the honour to accept of".[9] In March 1756 John Spencer discharged his late father's outstanding debts (!) in Northampton and district, whereupon "the creditors agreed to meet at the George Inn [Northampton], to testify, with the warmest gratitude and sincerest respect, the sense they had of their obligations to him, to drink his health, [and] his very amiable lady's . . . and to demonstrate, by every other outward mark, their regard for him and his family; they ordered the town conduit to run with wine, beer was given in plenty, the bells rang, and a large bonfire blaz'd before the George Inn gates".[10] The significance of these and other portents would not have been lost on Lords Northampton and Halifax. Particularly ominous was an item which appeared in the local newspaper early in 1756. After noticing that John Spencer had made a donation of £21 to the Northampton Hospital and was promising to contribute a similar sum annually, the editor went on to report that "We also hear that the same gentleman has subscribed £1,000 towards carrying on the navigation of the River Nene from this town [Northampton] to Thrapston Bridge; and that he will be at the further expense of erecting the first lock."[11]

Ever since the Sixteenth Century, Northampton had suffered from a chronic shortage of cheap fuel.[12] The supply of local firewood was limited, and the nearest collieries were in north Warwickshire, thirty miles distant. Wagons loaded with coal could only travel to the town when road surfaces were dry, which restricted transport generally to the summer months. After the disastrous fire which gutted three-quarters of Northampton on 20th September 1675, it was thought remarkable that a spell of mild dry weather enabled the inhabitants to send wagons to Wednesbury in Staffordshire to replenish coal lost in the conflagration.[13] In the 1750s the cost of road transport was so high that, whereas it was possible to buy coal from the pithead at Bedworth in Warwickshire for as little as 4d per cwt., the retail price at Northampton for the same amount

[7] Wykes's water-supply scheme is briefly described by Beeby Thompson, "A History of the Water Supply of Northampton", *Northamptonshire Natural History and Field Club*, Vol. XV (123), 1910, 243-9. It deserves fuller investigation.

[8] *N.M.*, 13th May 1754. *N.M.* = *Northampton Mercury*.

[9] *N.M.*, 29th December 1755.

[10] *N.M.*, 8th March 1756.

[11] *N.M.*, 5th January 1756.

[12] This shortage was part of a sustained national crisis. See Alan D. Dyer, "Wood and Coal: a Change of Fuel", *History Today*, XXVI (September 1976), 9, 598-607.

[13] *The State of Northampton from the Beginning of the Fire . . . by a County Minister*, 1675, 21. (Reprinted in 1974 by Northampton Public Libraries.)

from a Midland colliery was 30d.[14]

Many other towns in England were in a similar situation to Northampton regarding fuel. Sometimes the problem could be solved, partially at least, by making the local river navigable, thereby opening up a supply of coal by boat from inland collieries (pit-coal in contemporary parlance) or from a coastal port to which it had been shipped from collieries with access to the sea (sea-coal). Northampton is situated on the River Nene, and in the Seventeenth Century this river was navigable, by way of channels through the Fens, from the Wash to Alwalton Mill, six miles upstream from Peterborough and 55 miles downstream from Northampton (respectively four miles and about 38 miles by road). Various schemes were proposed to enable freight-carrying boats to ascend the Nene as far as Northampton, although none of them was carried out. An Act of Parliament for the purpose was obtained in 1713, but, owing to a serious defect in its provisions, it remained inoperative. However, under the terms of a second Act, passed in 1724, the navigation of the Nene was extended to Thrapston, about 20 miles by road from Northampton, which it reached in 1737. Sea-coal could now be brought by collier from Northumberland and County Durham to King's Lynn, and thence by river-boat into the heart of Northamptonshire, but its cost remained high, especially when consideration had to be made for a long haul overland from Thrapston. The retail price of a bushel (74-80 lbs.) of sea-coal at Northampton during the 1750s was about 20d.[15]

Thus the question of completing the navigation of the River Nene remained open. In 1756 a third Act of Parliament was passed, supplementing the two previous Acts, whereby commissioners, mostly drawn from Northamptonshire gentry and clergy but including a sprinkling of prominent residents of Northampton, were appointed to make the river navigable between Thrapston and Northampton. (For administrative purposes the Nene between Thrapston and Northampton became known as the Western Division of the Navigation of the River Nene, and between Thrapston and Peterborough as the Eastern Division. Each division was managed separately by its own commissioners.) They were empowered to borrow money at a rate of not more than 4%, and to charge tolls on all freight carried on the river above Thrapston; and their duties, derived in this case from the original Act of 1713, included maintenance and repairs on the Western Division navigation once it was in operation for boats. The inhabitants of Northampton responded with enthusiasm to the renewed prospect of a navigable river reaching their town. A "Navigation Club" was formed in 1757, its members meeting fortnightly at the Red Lion Inn (site of the present fish and meat market in Bradshaw Street), "where all persons in this town and neighbourhood, who are well-wishers to so important an undertaking, are desired to give their attendance, in order to concert proper measures for advancing the subscription; and for such other purposes as may be necessary to forward this extensively-useful design".[16] A total of £15,075 was subscribed to meet the expenses of obtaining the Act of Parliament and making the Western Division navigation, no less than £6,275 (42%) being provided by people living in Northampton itself.[17]

On 22nd June 1758 the Western Division commissioners signed a contract with John Smith junr. of Attercliffe in Yorkshire to undertake the necessary work on the Nene between Thrapston and Northampton, this being based on a survey made by Thomas Yeoman, a skilful engineer with local connections.[18] Smith's estimate for the job was a meticulously calculated £14,070 4s 2½d. The principal item in this sum was provision for building twenty locks at a cost of £454 8s each, £9,088 in all. The first seven locks on the Western Division were situated between Thrapston and Wellingborough, and on 31st March 1760 seven boats carrying a total of 56 chaldrons (about 72 tons) of "best

[14] D. G. C. Allen, *William Shipley, Founder of the Royal Society of Arts*, 1968, 41 .(Northampton: citing Thomas Mortimer, *A Concise Account . . . of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts . . . 1763*); *N.M.*, 31st October 1757 (Bedworth).

[15] Allen, 41.

[16] *N.M.*, 24th October 1757.

[17] J. R. Ward, *The Finances of Canal Building in Eighteenth Century England*, 1974, 13.

[18] For Thomas Yeoman, see A. E. Musson and Eric Robinson, *Science and Technology in the Industrial Revolution*, 1969, 372-92, and John H. Thornton, "The Northampton Cotton Industry—an Eighteenth Century Episode", *J. Northants. Nat. Hist. Soc. and Field Club*, Vol. 33 (1959), 241-59. Yeoman made his original survey of the River Nene between Thrapston and Northampton in 1744 (*N.M.*, 22nd October 1744).

Sunderland coals" arrived at Wellingborough after a journey of "less than two days" up the river from Thrapston. The coal was advertised for sale from the wharf at Wellingborough at 12½d per bushel.[19]

Friday 7th August 1761, the day when the Western Division of the navigation was formally opened all the way to Northampton, saw the town *en fete* as probably never before. According to a contemporary report:[20]

> "The important work of a navigation from [King's] Lynn to this town [Northampton], which has been so long the object of our most earnest wishes, being now fully and happily completed, the same was opened yesterday in the presence of many thousands of spectators, assembled on that interesting occasion. No less than *thirty-eight* barges, laden with coals and other merchandise, and adorned with flags and streamers, came up with the greatest ease to the public wharf at the South Bridge; preceded by a band of music, drums, french horns, etc. The principal vessels were filled with as many persons as they were capable of containing (amongst whom we saw several of distinction) whose loud acclamations were returned from the spectators on both sides of the river; and several cannon were fired at their arrival at the wharf. The most general illuminations that were ever known, bonfires, ringing of bells at all the churches, and every other demonstration of joy, concluded the evening. The whole was conducted with the utmost regularity and order, without the least rioting or other disturbances; and what is very extraordinary amongst such an immense crowd of people both by land and water, no unfortunate accident occured to anyone."

At the same time an advertisement was issued by John Smith that he was selling coal at Northampton at 14d per bushel. A week later he repeated the advertisement, adding that he was prepared to deliver coal "into all parts of the town at 4d per quarter [i.e. quarter of a chaldron = about 720 lbs]".[21]

The first minute book of the Western Division commissioners commences in June 1756, and the earliest reference to John Spencer's gift of a lock occurs at a meeting held on 27th April 1758. The matter was noted, and at the same time it was reported that the Mayor and Corporation of Northampton had requested Sir John Langham of Cottesbrooke to give a lock as well. Sir John had not openly involved himself in Northampton politics on any previous occasion, but it may have been common knowledge that he harboured a desire to control one of the borough seats, either for himself or for a nominee. Smart work on the part of the civic fathers!

The two earls did nothing about locks for the time being. However, on 29th May 1759 the death took place of Charles Montagu, who had been M.P. in the Montagu interest since 1754. His son, Frederic, was chosen with almost indecent haste by Lord Halifax as a replacement, and on 6th June was returned to Parliament at a by-election. We may suspect that Lord Halifax, who was President of the Board of Trade, used his considerable influence with the government to hasten the proceedings, thereby not giving any rivals a chance effectively to canvas the Northampton electorate. Afterwards it was reported that "It was the request of the inhabitants in general, that, instead of the usual entertainments at publick houses, the new member would be pleased to appropriate the same sum, or so much as he should think fit, to the *real* and *lasting* benefit of the town, by a donation towards a FREE NAVIGATION . . . Accordingly the member was pleased

[19] *N.M.*, 31st March 1760. Toll was charged at 3s 4d (17p) per ton of goods or chaldron of coal between Thrapston and Northampton. 1s 8d (8½p) was charged between Thrapston and Wellingborough (seven locks), and 1s 8d between Wellingborough and Northampton (thirteen locks). The Act of 1756 empowered the commissioners to fix the rate for the tolls on the cost of building the locks and their distance from Thrapston Bridge.

[20] *N.M.*, 10th August 1761.

[21] *N.M.*, 10th and 17th August 1761. For the bushel used at Northampton, see *N.M.*, 29th March 1762 ("warranted 80 lbs.") and 12th June 1790 ("not less than 74 lbs. on an average one with another"). In the by-laws made for the Western Division of the Nene Navigation (printed in 1760: copy in the Northamptonshire Libraries), it is stated that all coal sold within the limits of the navigation should be measured by "the bushel appointed by the Act of Parliament of the 12th year of her late Majesty Queen Anne [1713], Chapter the 17th, and by no other measure whatever, bigger or less". This Act, among other things, contained provisions for "ascertaining the coal measure". The bushel, of course, is a measure of capacity, not weight.

The Grand Junction Canal Act of 1793 (33 Geo. III, LXXX) declared that for computing rates of carriage on the canal, the cwt. of coal should be taken as 120 lb. avoirdupois.

generously to make the town a present of a new lock, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants; who to the number of 118, attended upon, and dined with their benefactor at the George Inn, at *their own* expense . . . Prosperity to the NAVIGATION in general, and the healths of Sir John Langham, Bart., and John Spencer, Esq., (each of which had already given a lock) were drunk with three huzzas."[22]

The next general election was held in the early spring of 1761. John Spencer began to canvass St. Albans, a borough where his family already had a political interest; but in February he replaced himself as a candidate by Lord Nuneham, son of Earl Harcourt, probably because he had received notice that he (John Spencer) would shortly be raised to the peerage. Nobody disturbed the electoral peace at Northampton where the election took place on 26th March. Just over a fortnight later, at a meeting of the Western Division commissioners held on 11th April, it was reported that the two M.Ps., Frederic Montagu and Spencer Compton (Lord Northampton's brother and, in 1763, eighth Earl of Northampton; great-nephew of the Earl of Wilmington) had each given two locks to the navigation. Curiously enough, no mention of this munificence was made in the local newspaper.

The cost of these four locks, based on the estimate of John Smith (p. 211), was £1,817 12s, or £908 16s per M.P. We may be quite certain that Lords Northampton and Halifax, each of whom would have provided the money on behalf of his candidate, instructed their principal supporters in Northampton to spread the word that, in the event of intransigence on the part of the electorate, no locks would be forthcoming from the slighted interest. Likewise that the inhabitants of Northampton, especially those who had invested in the Western Division of the Nene Navigation or, as merchants or tradesmen, were committed to its success as a business proposition, understood exactly the implications of the situation. Moreover, anybody who thought of intruding himself on the constituency as a candidate—Sir John Langham springs particularly to mind—would have known that, in the event of winning a seat, he would be required to donate two locks to the navigation, irrespective of all the other expenses incurred in fighting the election.

John Spencer—he was raised to the dignity of Viscount Spencer in 1761 and Earl Spencer in 1765—did not abandon his pretensions to control one of Northampton's parliamentary seats. In 1763, following the death of the seventh Earl of Northampton, a contest within the Corporation over the appointment of a new recorder of the borough (an honorary office which had been held by successive Earls of Northampton since 1689) revealed that exactly one-third of the members supported Lord Spencer.[23] His chance came at the general election of 1768, before which jockeying took place to ensure that a mayor and two bailiffs favourable to Lords Northampton and Halifax were chosen for that year, these three municipal dignitaries acting as returning officers in parliamentary elections.[24] Sir James Langham (nephew and heir of the Sir John who gave a lock to the Western Division, and who had died in 1766) announced on 29th September 1767 that he would be standing as a candidate in the forthcoming election, but withdrew a month later. Lord Spencer immediately threw his hat into the electoral ring by making a gift of £1,000 to the poor of Northampton (many of whom, of course, had votes!) "to be distributed in bread, flour, coals, etc., at the discretion of a committee appointed for that purpose."[25] The subsequent contest between his candidate, Captain the Hon. Thomas Howe, R.N., and the candidates of Lords Northampton and Halifax, respectively Vice-Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney and Sir Thomas Osborn of Chicksands in Bedfordshire, was one of the fiercest, most expensive and most corrupt in English history. Not least among the enormities committed on each side was the gross partiality shown by the return-

[22] *N.M.*, 11th June 1759. The Act of 1756 stated that if revenue from tolls exceeded the sum required to pay interest on money borrowed by the commissioners, the balance was to be used to discharge the debt. The river would then become "free and open for all his Majesty's subjects". Nothing was said in this Act about keeping the navigation in good repair, which turned out to be expensive.

[23] J. Charles Cox, ed., *The Records of the Borough of Northampton*, Vol. 2 (1550-1835), 1898, 111. The 1752-65 assembly book of the Corporation is now, unfortunately, missing.

[24] Compton, F. D., 1130: letter (undated) from H. Woolley to T. Breton, and draft copy of letter from T. Breton (5th August 1767). Breton was mayor in 1767-8, and acted as principal returning officer at the general election.

[25] *N.M.*, 2nd November 1767.

PLATE 3. GEORGE MONTAGU DUNK,
second Earl of Halifax (1716-71). Assumed the name of Dunk following his marriage in 1741 to a rich heiress.

ing officers towards Rodney and Osborn. Victory at the poll by these two candidates was promptly challenged by Howe who submitted a petition to the House of Commons. During the hearing of his case, it became clear that the House was sympathetic to Howe, and Rodney and Osborn agreed among themselves to draw lots to decide which should yield his seat. The winner was Rodney. Osborn withdrew from Northampton politics, and so did his patron, Lord Halifax. Sadly diminished in fortune because of his expenditure on the election, Lord Halifax died in 1771 without a male heir, and the title became extinct (not to be revived, and for a different family, until 1866). Ironically, if Lord Spencer had been prepared to wait for just three more years, he could probably have taken over the Halifax interest at Northampton for his own family at only a fraction of the sum he spent in winning the seat for Howe.

At the height of the contest in 1768, Lord Halifax (or his supporters) issued a handbill entitled "Some Queries Proposed to the Consideration of the Inhabitants of Northampton".[26] It consists of a series of rhetorical questions, and was probably distributed wholesale throughout the town. In it the earl set down his national and local achievements, the latter extending over nearly thirty years. Among them was his support for the founding of the Northampton hospital; his championship of the great road between London, Derby and Manchester, which passed through Northampton; and the use of his influence in obtaining government jobs and favours for Northampton people. Item VII in the handbill is devoted to the earl's part in making the River Nene navigable to Northampton, giving him the credit for a great deal of behind-the-scenes work in getting the Act of 1756 through Parliament, and its provisions effectively carried out. Here is this item, printed in full:

"Who got the Bill passed for the Navigation, after abundance of difficulties in

[26] Political handbills, 1/1768 (Northamptonshire Libraries: Northamptonshire Collection, Abington Street, Northampton).

PLATE 4. GEORGE BRYDGES RODNEY,
first Baron Rodney (1719-92). Brother-in-law to Spencer Compton, eighth Earl of Northampton. M.P. for Northampton, 1768-74. Admiral: defeated the French fleet at "The Saints" in 1782.

bringing the nobles, gentry and moneyed people of the county, and the town into the scheme? Did he not with his friends (*sic*) give three locks, besides money, to encourage the execution of the work? And do not several hundred thousand people reap the advantages every day, and every hour? Not to mention other things: Is not that most essential article of human life, coals, and without which the greatest part of the poor of Northampton must be in a perishing condition? I say, are not coals reasonable, and more within the reach of the poor than ever they were since your town was built; and without which, your parish-rates must be enormously advanced?"

The reference to "several hundred thousand people" is absurdly inflated, but as evidence for the influence of politics on the building of the Western Division of the Nene Navigation, and the importance to Northampton townsfolk of a supply of cheap coal, this document is hard to beat.

The seven locks downstream from Northampton were those which the commissioners of the Western Division built with the cash donated by local grandees, either directly or in the name of their political protégés. John Spencer was commemorated at the lock in present-day Becket's Park (known then as Nun Mills Lock), and Sir John Langham at Rush Mills. The other five locks were divided between Frederic Montagu and Spencer Compton, and we know that the former was commemorated at Abington Mill and the latter at Clifford Hill. The decision to place an inscribed stone at each lock was made by the Western Division commissioners at their meeting on 8th August 1761, the day after the triumphant opening of the navigation to Northampton. George Ecton of Northampton supplied the

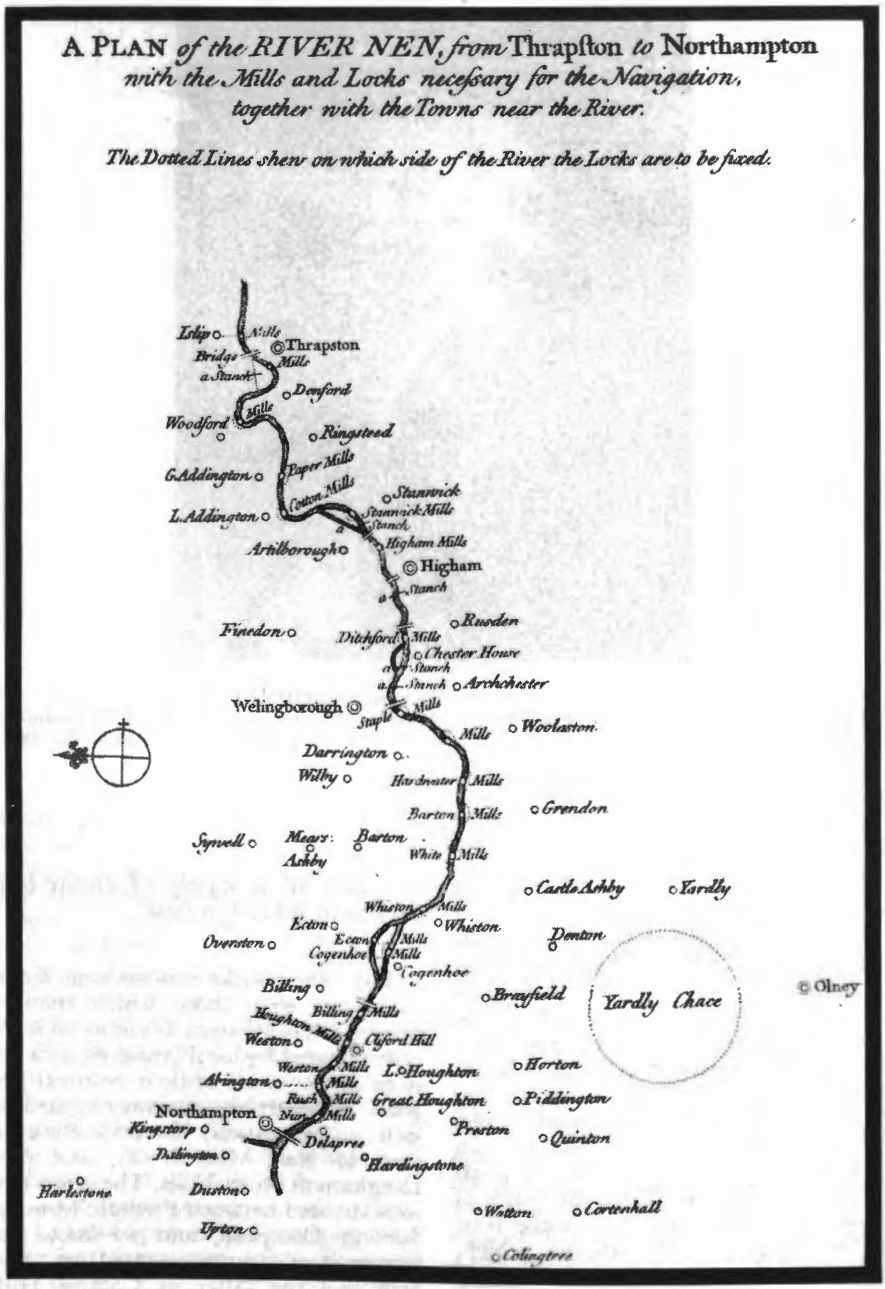

FIG. 1. PLAN OF PROPOSED NAVIGATION of the River Nene from Thrapston to Northampton, surveyed by Thomas Yeoman and probably published in 1754. On 30th December of that year, the *Northampton Mercury* carried an explanation of the word "stanch" appearing "in the plan of the River NEN from Thrapston to Northampton". The editor stated that it "should be a STANK (or WEER [weir], as 'tis often called . . .".

stones, and in the pollbook for the 1768 general election he is described as a mason living in Newland. (He voted for Rodney and Osborn.) A careful search of the river bank between Cogenhoe and Northampton might locate one or more of the stones which now appear to be missing.

The Spencer family, which was stoutly Whig in political outlook, did not hold for long the patronage of the parliamentary seat which Lord Spencer captured at such great cost from Lord Halifax in 1768. In 1770 a Spencer charity school for boys was established at Northampton, the purpose of which was to strengthen the grip of the Spencer interest on the electorate. However, at the general election of 1784 the Spencer candidate was unexpectedly beaten by a "dark horse" Tory named Fiennes Trotman who only declared his intention to contest the borough on the day before official nomination. Lord Spencer (George John, second Earl) was so disgusted by what he regarded as the "ingratitude" of the townsfolk—"people voting against us by dozens who have had one, two, three boys in the school" he complained to his mother, the dowager countess, who was canvassing at St. Albans: to make matters worse, the humiliated candidate was his father-in-law!—that he withdrew from all further part in Northampton politics, notwithstanding the entreaties of his loyal supporters, many of whom were nonconformists, in the borough.[27] Trotman did not stand at the general election of 1790, and between that year and 1810 the seat was occupied by Edward Bouverie of Delapre Abbey, Hardingstone, a friend and follower of Charles James Fox, the Whig leader. The other seat was controlled by the Compton family until 1820, with a break between 1774 and 1780. Spencer Perceval, who was Tory M.P. for Northampton from 1796 to 1812, and who rose to be Chancellor of the Exchequer (1807-09) and Prime Minister (1809-12: he was assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons by a madman), sat as the Compton nominee. The defeat of Lord Compton in 1820 marked the end of a long era of direct aristocratic intervention in Northampton's political affairs.

In passing it may be noticed that Sir James Langham made a second and more serious attempt to capture a seat at Northampton at the general election of 1774, but polled only 266 votes out of a possible 904.[28] As a political investment at Northampton for the Langham family, his uncle's gift of a lock on the Western Division of the Nene Navigation was money thrown away. Thanks to the calculated generosity of Sir John Langham, John Spencer, Lord Northampton and Lord Halifax, the Western Division commissioners were saved from having to spend about £3,000 in building the seven donated locks. This enabled them to create a reserve fund invested on Old South Sea annuities which, during the late-1780s, was used to pay off part of the loan capital subscribed thirty years previously.

The comments of desperate politicians should usually be taken *cum grano salis*, but there is no reason to doubt Lord Halifax's angry plea (p. 14) that the extension to Northampton of the Nene Navigation was beneficial to the inhabitants, chiefly in reducing the retail price of coal. Sea-coal was now available from the wharf at South Bridge, usually at 13d to 14d per bushel.[29] Nevertheless, this was still expensive compared with coal for sale in districts much nearer to collieries. There is no evidence for quickened industrial activity at Northampton in the years after 1761, and it was not until the 1790s that the population showed any signs of a significant rise. The opening of the Oxford Canal as far as Braunston in 1774 was followed by increased availability of Midland pit-coal in the Daventry area of Northamptonshire, and some of it reached Northampton,[30] although the cost of carriage by road from Braunston, a distance of fifteen miles, prevented it from effectively undercutting the sale of sea-coal at South Bridge. But in 1796 the northern section of the Grand Junction Canal was completed to Blisworth, four miles south-west of Northampton, and pit-coal at 10½d to 12½d per cwt was soon on sale from the wharf at that village.[31] Sea-coal

[27] Spencer Family Documents, Althorp. Lord Spencer to Dowager Counter Spencer, 2nd April 1784: Supporters of the Spencer political interest at Northampton to Lord Spencer, 7th August 1784, together with Lord Spencer's draft reply.

[28] Northampton Pollbook, general election of 1774.

[29] *N.M.*, 1761-90, *passim*. Prices higher than 14d or slightly lower than 13d will be discovered in some years by the diligent researcher.

[30] *N.M.*, 24th December 1781, 14th October 1782, 5th January 1784.

[31] *N.M.*, 17th September 1796.

now became an uncompetitive fuel at Northampton for most purposes. Revenue from tolls on the Western Division declined alarmingly after 1796, so that the commissioners no longer had sufficient money to undertake routine maintenance on the river, let alone pay interest on loan capital remaining unredeemed.

It was not until 1st May 1815 that a branch canal was opened from Blisworth (Gayton Wharf) to Northampton, thus enabling pit-coal to be unloaded from canal narrow boats at wharves at or near South Bridge. Northampton's rise as an industrial town dates from 1815, as I have explained elsewhere,[32] and cheaper coal was undoubtedly one of the reasons for the unprecedented growth which took place there during the 1820s and 1830s. The branch canal also brought temporary salvation to the impecunious Western Division which was now used to transport substantial quantities of coal downstream from Northampton to Wellingborough and Higham Ferrers. However, the opening in 1845 of the Peterborough branch of the London & Birmingham Railway ended the role of the River Nene west of Peterborough as a freight-carrying waterway of any importance, although, ironically, the Western Division enjoyed an enhanced revenue from tolls during 1844 and the first quarter of 1845 when much of the material used in building the railway was transported by boat to sites on the river bank.[33]

[32] Victor A. Hatley, "Some Aspects of Northampton's History, 1815-51", *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, Vol. III, No. 6 (1965-6), 243-53.

[33] Northamptonshire Record Office, M.L. 57, Nene Navigation (Western Division) Toll Book, 1839-52.

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I am most grateful to the Most Hon. The Marquess of Northampton and the late Right Hon. The Earl Spencer for the privilege of using the family archives at Castle Ashby and Althorp respectively. Also to the Welland & Nene River Division of the Anglian Water Authority for permission to use the records of the Western Division of the Navigation of the River Nene.

The political history of Eighteenth Century Northampton is complicated, but the reader will find introductions, together with short biographies of the various M.Ps. concerned, in two publications of the History of Parliament Trust: Romney Sedgwick, ed., *The House of Commons, 1715-1754*, 2 vols, 1970, and Sir Lewis Namier & John Brooke, eds., *The House of Commons, 1754-1790*, 3 vols, 1964. Some information about Northampton politics, especially for the period 1722-34, is contained in Eric G. Forrester, *Northamptonshire County Elections & Electioneering, 1695-1832*, 1941.

A good general account of the Nene Navigation is included in John Boyes & Ronald Russell, *The Canals of Eastern England*, 1977, 196-235. However, a monograph on the navigation, paying particular attention to its financial aspects, would be a welcome addition to our knowledge of Northamptonshire history between 1700 and 1850.

JOHN CLARE'S LAST JOURNEY

TREVOR HOLD

He made only one train journey, and was totally unaware of it: for he was in his coffin on his way home to Helpston to be buried.

When John Clare was born, in 1793, the idea of a "railway" was no more than the pipe-dream of one or two far-sighted engineers. But by a strange coincidence, Clare, a poet so inextricably associated with the English countryside and traditional rural life, was present at an event that was to herald the railway age, and as he happened to be keeping a journal at the time, he became one of the first writers to make mention of the new phenomenon which was radically to alter the face of England. On Saturday, 4th June 1825, he was out rambling in one of his favourite haunts, Rice ("Royce") Wood, half a mile south of his home in Helpston, when he came upon three strangers. The encounter is caught vividly, like a fly in amber, in his journal entry:

> "Saw 3 fellows at the end of Royce Wood who I found were laying out the plan for an 'Iron railway' from Manchester to London it is to cross over Round Oak Spring by Royce Wood corner for Woodcroft Castle I little thought that fresh intrusions would interrupt & spoil my solitudes after the Enclosure they will despoil a boggy place that is famous for Orchises at Royce Wood end."[1]

We do not know the names of these three railway surveyors—for that is what thy were—but Victor Hatley, in an imaginative piece of detective work,[2] has shown that they were colleagues of the great George Stephenson. Stephenson himself was in South America at the time, so could not have been in the party, but one of the men might well have been Joseph Locke, who, like Stephenson, was to become one of the giants of the railway age. Locke, then nineteen years old, is known to have been working on railway surveys for Stephenson in that year. So here, in this chance meeting, we have an historic encounter of an almost allegorical character: the confrontation between two quite different types of genius: the poet and the engineer. In 1825, Clare was at the height of his creative powers and working on one of his major poems, *The Shepherds Calendar*. The three engineers, too, were pioneers in their own field—for, it should be remembered, the encounter took place three months before the opening of the Stockton and Darlington railway and five years before that of the Liverpool and Manchester railway.

As it turned out, Clare's fears were unwarranted. When, in 1846, the Stamford-Peterborough branch of the old Midland Railway was eventually opened, it passed to the northern side of the village. By then, the intrusion would not have mattered to Clare, for he had been an inmate of Northampton County Asylum for nearly five years and was never to visit Royce Wood again. It was left to the Forestry Commission, with its regimented rows of conifers, to bring about the despoilation of Royce Wood which the railway surveyors had threatened. However, to Clare at the time, the "iron railway" represented a real threat to his beloved countryside, a fresh intrusion into his childhood Eden, already desecrated by the recent enclosure awards. When Clare was a boy, the commons and heathland round his home were still wild and open, but following the Enclosure Act for Helpston, passed in 1809, the lands were systematically parcelled up and enclosed with quickthorn hedges. The coming of the railway was, in Clare's eyes, yet another nail in the coffin. Enclosures—railways: they became associated in his mind with the loss of his childhood, a sense of loss which made

[1] J. W. and Anne Tibble, *The Prose of John Clare* (1951), 151.

[2] Victor Hatley, "The Poet and the Railway Surveyors: an Incident in the Life of John Clare" *N.P. and P.* V. 2, 101-106.

PLATE 1. A PHOTOGRAPH OF JOHN CLARE
taken by W. W. Law & Son in 1862, published in 1864.
(*Northamptonshire Libraries*)

him, as so many other sensitive people, into a poet. We all regret our lost Edens, though one man's Eden may be another's Purgatory. It is somewhat ironic that, for many of us today, it is not the *coming*, but the *passing* of the railways that symbolises our own lost Eden; not the *planting*, but the *uprooting* of the hedges that acts as a metaphor for our lost childhood landscape. It is even more ironic that it was to be the railway—augury of a changing world—which finally brought the exiled poet home to his native village after more than twenty years confinement in the County Asylum at Northampton.

The train that carried his coffin on the first stage of its journey from Northampton to Helpston, would have passed close to the village where I now live. Trains no longer run along the Nene valley—the line was a victim of Beeching's axe in the 1960s—but like other extinct beasts on our landscape—"lost" villages, ancient trackways—it has left momentoes of its passing: tumbledown wayside stations, their platforms primly raised off the ground like skirts; mile upon mile of fenced-in track, grown over with grass and increasingly encroached upon by thorn and briar; scores of bridges, specially built to carry public highways and farm-roads across the line. It takes very little imagination to reconstruct the landscape as it was in 1864, the year Clare died, and with the help of local newspapers it is possible to piece together the jigsaw of the poet's first and last train journey.

In the third week of May, 1864, Northampton—which was experiencing "splendid weather"—was celebrating the official opening of its new Town Hall. The festivities included a gala concert—with a specially-written cantata by the local composer, Charles McKorkell—as well as other less highbrow entertainments. It was in the midst of these junketings—on Friday, 20th May, "at five minutes before five in the afternoon"—that John Clare, the poet who had in a brief nine-day's-wonder lit the fashionable literary skies, but was now all-but-forgotten, died. To their lasting credit, both local Northampton newspapers, the *Mercury* and the *Herald*, devoted long and thoughtful articles to the achievements of the town's adopted son.

The *Herald*, on Saturday 28th May 1864, gave a typically detailed account of the events following the poet's death:

> "The remains of this true poet were inclosed in a coffin made of the best oak, upon which was the following inscription, deeply cut into a brass plate:
>
> JOHN CLARE
> BORN
> JULY 13 1793
> DIED
> MAY 20 1864
>
> On Tuesday last the body was conveyed, under the care of the Secretary of the Asylum, to Helpstone, the poet's native place, in order that his wish, expressed in the following poem, might as far as circumstances allow, be fulfilled:
>
> A WISH
>
> Be where I may when Death brings in his bill,
> Demanding payment for life's ling'ring debt,
> Or in my native village nestling still,
> Or tracing scenes I've never known as yet,
> O let one wish, go where I will, be mine—
> To turn me back and wander home to die,
> 'Mongst nearest friends my latest breath resign,
> And in the churchyard with my kindred lie,
> 'Neath the thick-shaded sycamore's decay,
> Its broad leaves trembling to the breeze of day:
> To see its shadow o'er my ashes wave,
> How soothing will it be, while, hovering near,
> My unseen spirit haunts its daisied grave,
> Pausing on scenes in life once loved so dear.
>
> On the following day (Wednesday) the remains were reverently interred in the churchyard, by the side of his father and mother, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon . . . All inhabitants of the village were present in the church and the churchyard during the ceremony. . . ."

Arrangements for the funeral, however, were not so well organised as the newspaper suggests. Local legend has it that the village was taken by surprise by the homecoming of its long-lost son. When his body reached Helpston, the sexton could not be found and the coffin had to be left in an inn parlour overnight—hence the fact that the poet was not buried until "the following day". The sexton's elusiveness proved fortunate for Clare's widow, Patty. Through some administrative slip-up, the letter from the asylum apprising her of her husband's death and of the arrangements for the transport of his remains, was addressed, not to Northborough, where the family had been living since 1832, but to Helpston. It therefore did not reach her until the Tuesday, the day originally scheduled for the funeral. Had the sexton been at his post, she might well have missed the funeral altogether.

But what about John Clare's first and last train journey? Not having the full facts to hand we can only conjecture. It would seem probable that, as the coffin arrived at Helpston late on the Tuesday, the train he travelled by was the 11.25 a.m. from Northampton, due at Peterborough at 1.05 p.m. If he had been capable of expressing emotions, how he would have enjoyed his first journey in a train! The railway line follows the River Nene, like a dog at its master's heels, all the way to Peterborough. From his carriage window he would have been able to see some of the finest churches in England: to his right, the splendid perpendicular of Whiston; to his left, a glimpse of the ancient Saxon tower of Earls Barton; and later on, as the engine steamed towards the fens, the glorious spire of Oundle and the equally-magnificent lantern-tower of Fotheringay. Even if these architectural sights had failed to arouse his interest, he surely would have delighted in seeing his favourite countryside from such a new

vantage-point: the brown hares racing across the river meadows, the herons rising from their nests at Titchmarsh heronry. Perhaps, as the train stopped at one of the village stations, he might have heard, breaking into the silence, "all the birds of Northamptonshire . . ." and have been inspired, like a later poet, to jot down a poem. . . . But, of course, he was oblivious to it all: dead, quite dead, in his coffin, probably stacked in the guard's van along with other goods.

According to the railway timetable—which was published each week in the *Northampton Herald*—the train would have passed through my local station, Thorpe Waterville, at approximately 12.30 p.m. Between Thorpe and the next station, Barnwell, the line is crossed by the road to the village of Clopton. Judging from the initials carved on its limestone parapet—two of them dated 1857 and 1863—this bridge was a favourite haunt of the local children, attracted no doubt, as children still are today, by the sight of the magnificent iron beasts passing below. I like to think—it is not improbable and certainly quite possible—that some children were standing there on the bridge as the train passed beneath on that May afternoon in 1864. What an historic event they were witnessing, if only they could have realised it: the body of the county's unofficial poet-laureate being taken home, as he himself had wished, to his native village.

I sometimes stand on that bridge, and as I lean over that same parapet, looking down the disused track, I see, in my mind's eye, the ghost of a train approaching, and pay, belatedly, on behalf of all those generations of us who have read and loved his work, my homage to this remarkable man, John Clare, who, out of a sense of loss and sorrow, humiliation and neglect, managed to capture for all time, in his poetry and prose, the genius of this gentle midland landscape.

JOHN CLARE'S LAST JOURNEY (1864)

Jack May, Bob Mawby, Harry Drage—
Knowing no graceful phrase, having
No voices to sing,
They carved their names like poems on the parapet,
Their only means to rise
From the moil and toil of their lives
On these cold clay lands,
These drudging farm-boys.

Were they here that morning?
I like to think so:
Watching, open-mouthed in wonder,
The iron beast roar below,
A novelty upon an ageless landscape.
But could they have known—
Or knowing, would they have cared—
That, in the guard's-van, stacked
Amongst churns of milk and baskets of shoes,
A poet was making his first and final train-ride,
Belatedly taking his ticket home
From twenty years of exile?

Today we, in our turn, lean on the limestone parapet
To decipher the weather-worn initials,
And see, in the mind's eye,
The ghost of a train glide by,
And close our eyes in grateful homage.

THE RUSH INDUSTRY OF ISLIP

MARY M. HUMPHRIES

For at least 300 years the Bullrush (*Scirpus lacustris*) has been harvested from the River Nene which flows between Islip and Thrapston on its way to the Wash and the North Sea. This rush has for centuries been used to make mats, baskets, chair seats and many other useful articles. In Islip, this work was associated for many years with one family—the Lovedays—although as the industry grew other villagers became rush-workers and some men moved to Islip in order to work in the industry. Although we have no earlier records for Islip it is probable that rushes have been harvested and used from the very earliest times in this part of Northamptonshire for floor coverings as well as for making baskets and chair seats. Rushes were still cut by the Lovedays in the first quarter of the 20th century and even now they are cut and used by rush workers further afield.

The rushes were first dried by spreading them on the ground and then used to make plaits (or platts as it is sometimes spelt). The width of the plait varied according to the number of rushes used and the type of mat to be made. For example, a "nine" was a flat plait using nine rushes producing a strip about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide. Flat strips 8 inches wide used for making lunch baskets for local ironstone workers required 41 rushes. For Horse Collars, which were much in demand for farm horses, up to 50 rushes were used in 3 bundles to make a thick plait which was fashioned into a collar (see figure 1).

The earliest record of the Lovedays in the Islip Parish Register is the birth in 1699 of a son Thomas II to Thomas I and Anne Loveday and this their eldest son was baptised in Islip Church on 11th April (see family tree). Seven more children were born to Thomas and Anne, but their eldest son Thomas II appears to have established himself as head of the family. He married in 1726 and had ten children. He died in 1782 and left a will recording that he was a matmaker and left money and goods to his two sons—Thomas III and Joseph as well as his daughters and grandchildren. In the Islip Records we find that Thomas II was an Overseer of the poor in 1749 and remained so for a number of years.

Although there is no record of the occupation of Thomas I it is probable that he too was a "matte-maker" and that Thomas II learnt the craft from his father. Thomas III and his brother Joseph were both rush workers. In 1765 when Joseph was married in Islip, the parish register records him as a "mattmaker". Thomas III died in 1799. He had 11 children and his three surviving sons, John I, Thomas IV and William I were all matmakers. Joseph had nine children and was survived by four sons, William II, Thomas V, Joseph and Samuel. Of these William II and Thomas V were matmakers and by their father's will inherited his working tools and stock in trade.

In searching records for information about the Loveday family I discovered that some of the female Lovedays married matmakers and they probably met their husbands through the trade. No doubt they plaited rushes themselves. Rush plaiting was a "cottage industry" and all members of the family of all ages did plaiting. During the period when pillow lace was often made by girls and women to earn extra money, it is rare to find a lacemaker in Islip. I think therefore it is safe to assume that rush plaiting was the work that brought extra money in the same way as strawplaiting was important around Luton in Bedfordshire.

John I, the eldest son of Thomas III, appears to have carried on the main business in Islip. He married but had no children and his property was inherited by his sister Mary, who had married a matmaker, Andrew Bull, his brother William I and his nephew John II, the second son of his brother Thomas IV.

As stated above, Thomas III and Joseph each had a son William; one was born in April 1768 and the other in March 1769 and both died in 1824. It has not been possible to

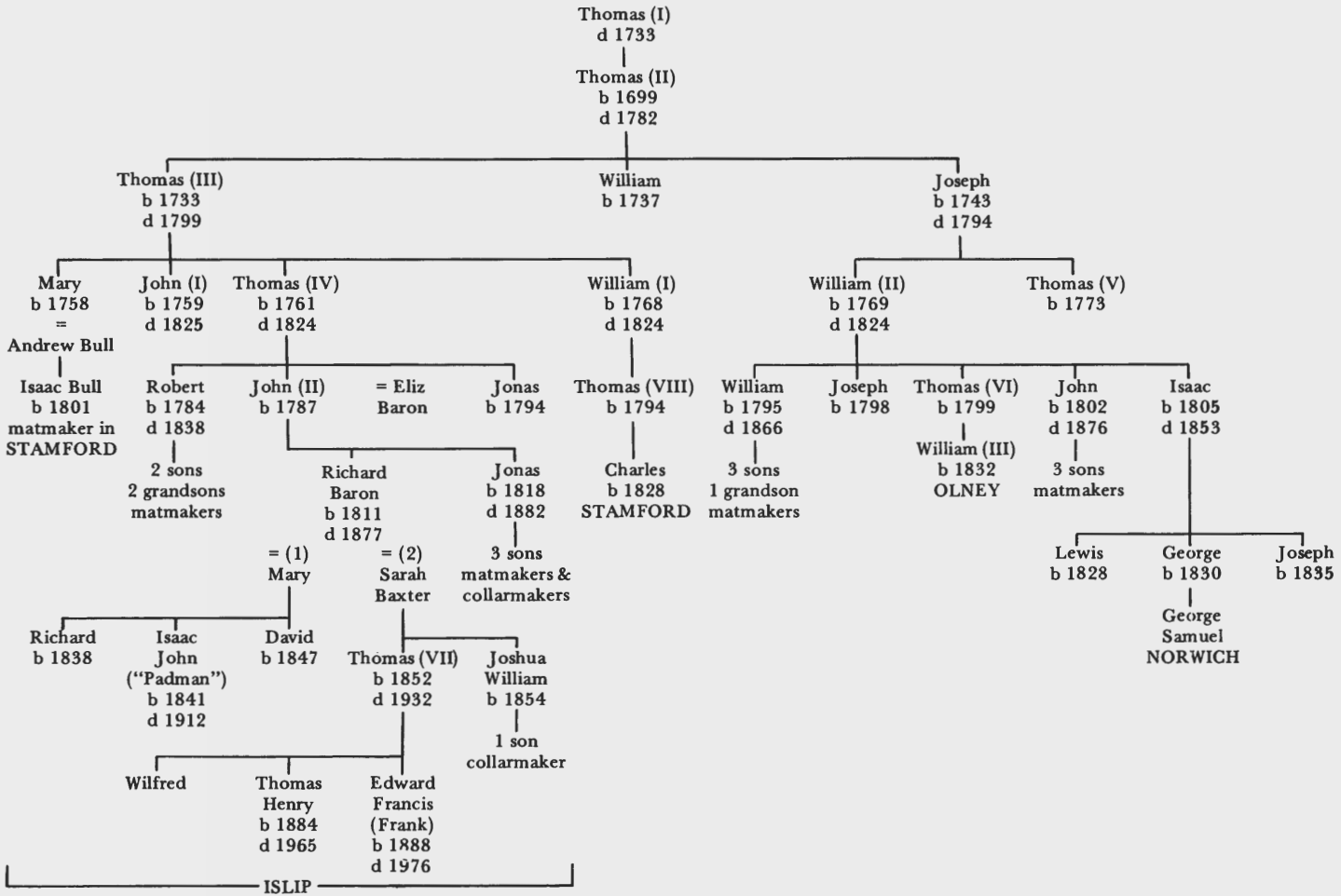
PLATE 1. A RUSH HORSE COLLAR
(Photograph: Cyril E. Diamond)

distinguish between the two marriages and the two families. One William had one son, Thomas VIII, and the other had 10 children. I think it probable that Joseph's son William II had 10 children because one of his sons was called Joseph and one daughter Kezia—the name of one of William's II sisters. The families of these two Williams are important in later years because a number of them left Islip to develop rush industries elsewhere.

The main business in Islip was carried on by nephew John II who married Elizabeth Baron in 1806. They had eight children, their eldest son being Richard Baron, born in 1811. He is recorded in the 1851 census as a "mattery maker" and in 1871 as a Rush Collar maker employing 12 men and boys. He married twice. By his first wife Mary he had five children. Their eldest son Richard, a boy of 13 in 1851, was a matmaker, but then he disappears from the records apart from two addresses in an old account book: "Richard Loveday, Northamptonshire Militia, Citadel Barracks, Plymouth" and "1490 Richard Loveday, 84 Company Royal Marines, Woolwich". It is known that the Northamptonshire Militia were billeted in Plymouth from December 1857 to May 1858 and were then "disembodied". Perhaps Richard, having had a taste of Army life, then joined the Marines and never returned to Islip. Another son of Richard Baron by his first wife was Isaac John, later nicknamed "Padman", and he became involved in the business with his father, apparently travelling about buying up matting etc., hence his nickname. The third son David became a painter and decorator. Richard Baron's second wife was a widow, Sarah Baxter, who already had a family and had four children by her second marriage, including two sons, Thomas VII and Joshua William, who both became involved in the family business. Richard Baron was a respected member of local society and attended the Baptist Chapel in Thrapston and sometimes audited his Church's accounts.

Thomas VII and Joshua William became partners in their father's business which was widely known all over England as a supplier of Rush horse collars and later of leather horse

Simplified tree of the Loveday family of Islip showing those members engaged in the rush industry



collars. Thomas VII was apprenticed to a firm in Walsall where he learnt tanning and the making of leather horse collars. Later he took out a patent for a Spring Horse Collar (English Patent No 5491 for 1881) and this fact appears on the billheads. Thomas VII married and had seven children, but it was left to his third son Edward Francis, always known as Frank, born in 1888, to carry on the horse collar business. Joshua William married twice and had 12 children altogether. Although concerned with the collar factory which was built by Thomas VII, as mentioned later, Joshua tended more and more to become involved in what was left of the rush industry—making mats, log baskets, frail baskets and seating chairs.

During the first half of the 19th century, after the Napoleonic Wars, times were hard in rural England and at this time there were many rush workers in Islip. It was probably difficult for all to make a living, and at least three families of Lovedays left and set up in business elsewhere.

William II who married in 1791, had five sons surviving among his 10 children and they were all rush workers. One son Thomas VI married an Aldwincle girl and two of their children were born in Aldwincle and their third, William III, in Olney Buckinghamshire, in 1832. They probably moved to Olney about 1831 and there set up a small rush working business, using rushes from the Ouse and, according to the old account books, selling plaits and mats to Richard Loveday of Islip. In later years Olney appears to have been a part of the Islip business and in the Buckinghamshire Directory for 1877 Richard Loveday and Sons are described as trading in Olney. "Padman" John made regular visits from Islip carrying wages for the rush workers there and returned with mats and plaits. It is recorded in the accounts that in 1876, for instance, wages were taken to Olney and bolts of Dutch rushes were sold to William Loveday there. Isaac, the youngest surviving son of William II, married in 1824 and had three sons. About 1837 he moved to Norwich with his family and established a rush industry in Peacock Street in St. Edmunds Parish near the Cathedral. He probably obtained bull rushes from the nearby Broads, where they are known as "Boulders". This enterprise was independent of Islip although connections were maintained and they did business together. In the 1851 (Norwich) Census Returns, Isaac and his three sons, Lewis (23), George (21) and Joseph (14) were all matmakers. By 1859 Lewis and George Loveday are listed in *Rogers Norwich Directory* as Rush Collar Manufacturers, makers of Frail Baskets and Royal Matting. All the sons married Norwich girls but only George's son, George Samuel, carried on the business in Peacock Street and his name appears in *Jarrold's Norwich Directory*, 1896, under "Matmakers, Rush Collar and Basket Makers". Later the business was known as Loveday and Co. and in 1923 an article and photographs of the workshops appeared in the *Eastern Daily Press*. At that time the firm was doing all kinds of rush work. A few years later the business was bought by the Islip firm of Lovedays, and Frank's brother Wilfred was sent to Norwich to take charge. However, because of falling demand for Collars, Mats etc. the business seems to have faded away.

Two branches of the Loveday family apparently moved to Stamford and made baskets and mats. Between 1830 and 1832 Isaac Bull is listed in a Stamford Directory, after which the business was carried on by Andrew Bull, who was probably a son of Isaac. Isaac (born in 1801) was the son of Mary Loveday and Andrew Bull. In 1840 or 1841 Thomas VIII Loveday, the son of William I moved with his wife and three youngest sons Charles, Alfred and Samuel and their daughter Emma to Stamford. Their youngest daughter Lois was born there in 1842. In the 1851 (Stamford) Census Return Thomas VIII was a matting maker, and in 1861 Charles was a basket and matmaker. This business was independent of Islip but in the old Islip account books sales and purchases are recorded with Thomas and later with Charles Loveday of Stamford as well as with Isaac and Andrew Bull. Probably the River Welland was a good source of rushes.

The account books mentioned above were deposited in the Northampton Record Office and consisted of a number of Ledgers and Day books from 1853 to 1887. They do not form a continuous record, but cover a span of years before and after the death of Richard Baron Loveday who died in 1877. They are interesting because they give an idea of the wide range of trade established with firms and private individuals all over England. By the mid 19th century two railways had stations in Thrapston less than a mile from the Loveday factory. The Kettering to Cambridge Line was opened in 1866 and the Northampton to Peterborough

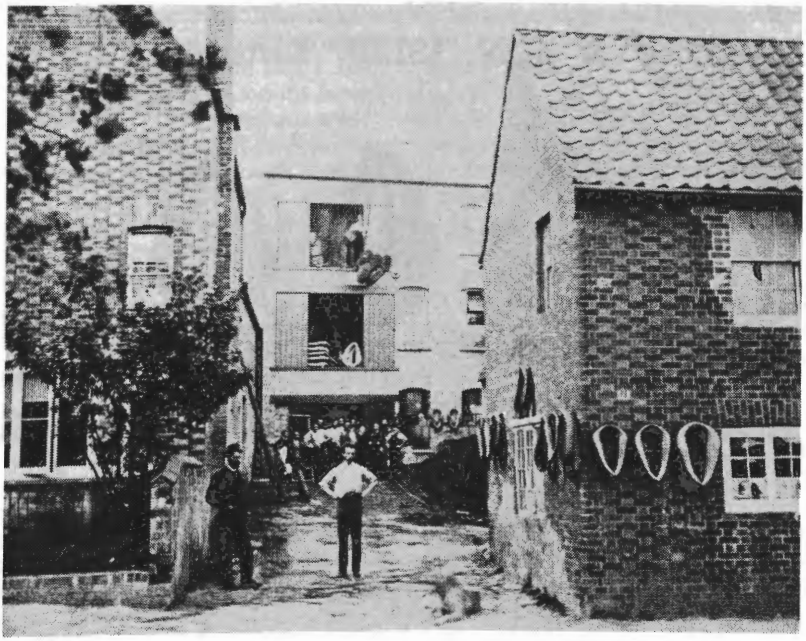


PLATE 2. THE ISLIP COLLAR FACTORY, 1890.
Thomas VII Loveday is wearing the hat and Joshua William Loveday is in shirt sleeves.
(*Photograph: Cyril E. Diamond*)

Line in 1845. These no doubt had an important effect on the Loveday business and turned a local trade into a countrywide one. Here are some examples of items from the accounts:

1855	To Mrs. Slater, Wisemore, Walsall			
	1 neeling mat	1/-		
	6 oval assacks at	9d		
	15 oval assacks at	1/-		
1856	Bought from Mr. Van Hut, Holland			
	60 Bolts rushes	6	6	0
	56 Bolts Coopers rushes (1/10)	4	4	0

[*Coopers were very thick rushes used to put between the staves of barrels*]

1861	To Mr. James Pollack, Stockwell St. Glasgow			
	103 Collars 2/7	13	6	1
	4 Large Collars 2/10		11	4
	3 very best Collars 2/10		8	6
		14	5	11
1861	To Mr. Swaine, 185 Piccadilly London			
	from Jan to May 328 Collars	£52	4	8

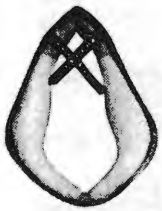
The account books record that many different kinds of leather were purchased: Kips (hides from young beasts e.g. calves); Patent Horse Hides and Basils (sheepskins tanned with oak), as well as cloth of various colours—check, scarlet and "blew" all less than 2/- a yard. Collars were sent to several other addresses in London and evidently the supply of local rushes was not equal to the demands of the business because whole loads of rushes were purchased from Holland.

In 1875 Padman appears to have made regular visits to Olney—for example, "December 4 Olney Wages £8-6-0" and another later entry "£9-4-7". In February 1876 Olney wages rose to £13-3-7 and we find that Padman was buying rolls of matting of various widths for

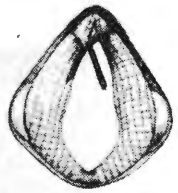
LOVEDAY & SON, ISLIP, Kettering.

Telephone: No. 27 Thrapston.

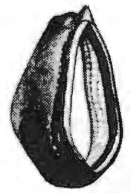
Liverpool



Country Finished
Pads and Straps.

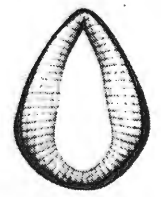


Country Finished

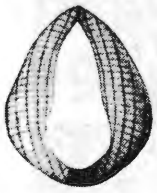


London Cart

South England Cart



Lincolnshire



Midland Counties

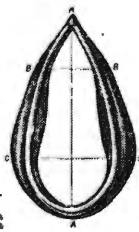
Country Cart Collar, body	.
do. finished ...	.. ...
(with pads and straps,	extra).
London Cart Collar, finished	...
South England do.	do. ...
Suffolk do.	do. ...
Liverpool do.	do. ...
Norfolk do.	do. ...
Cab Collar, Blue Lined	... ...
Van do.	do. ... .
(Basil Lined	extra).
Patent do. ...	. ...
Pit do. 15 18	.. ..
Rush Gig Collars	.. ..
Rush Cart do.	.. .. ..
Canvas Gig do.	... .
Collar Sweat Pads Gig	, Cab , Cart
Saddle do. do.	,, . ,, . ,,

Suffolk Finished

Suffolk Finished

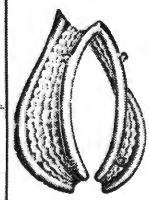
Bristol Cart

Measurements
(inside Fore-waie.



Sketch Measurement Round Draft

Sweat Pad



Open Top

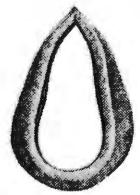
Measurements of Collars made for Stock.

Round Draught	Size of Collar	in. 16	in. 17	in. 18	in. 19	in. 20	in. 21	in. 22	in. 23	in. 24	in. 25
	Width ,,	9	9	7½	8	8½	9	9½	10	10½	11
	Buggy ,,	8½	9	9½	10	10½	11	11½	12	12½	
	Express ,,	10	10½	11	11½	12	12½	13	13½	14	
	Gig ,,	11½	12	12½	13	13½	14	14½	15	15½	
	Carriage ,,	12½	13	13½	14	14½	15	15½	16	16½	
	Brake ,,	13	13½	14	14½	15	15½	16	16½	17	17½
	Van ,,		13	13½	14	14½	15	15½	16	16½	17
	Bristol & London Cart			16	16½	17	17½	18	18½	19	19½
	Country do.			18	18½	19	19½	20	20½	21	21½

Donkey 14in., Pit 16in., round Draught.

Hameless Stage

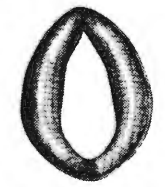
Rush



Yorkshire

Scotch

Norfolk Cart



Patent Leather

NEW ACCOUNTS—Orders should be accompanied by cash or trade references.

PLATE 3. LOVEDAY AND SON, ISLIP, price-list, c.1890.

making into larger mats at Islip. The total weekly wages paid in the Islip works at this time varied between £13 and £29 probably indicating piecework rates. The following figures give an idea of the total business from Oct 1 1875 to Sept 1876:

Amount bought £4,276 16 0½
Amount sold £4,480 13 9

From the account books and directories we also learn that other Lovedays had businesses in Burton Latimer, Irthlingborough and Oundle. In the Northamptonshire directory for 1871 a Mr. J. Loveday was a saddler and harness maker in West St., Oundle and, according to the accounts, purchased collars from Richard. It has not been possible to establish the relationship of these Lovedays to the Islip families.

Richard Baron Loveday died in 1877 and his grave may be seen in the burial ground behind the Baptist Chapel in Thrapston. Richard's son, Thomas VII, now became head of the firm and carried on the business as before, trading with other members of the family and expanding the horse collar trade. In 1890 he built a new factory at a cost of £400 (see fig. 2). In 1900 the firm was known as 'Loveday and Sons' and they continued to make mats, baskets for ironstone labourers, log baskets and chair seats as well as horse collars. In 1914 a letter was sent from the Horse Superintendent's office, Euston Station London stating that they had in use 5,540 collars made by Loveday and Sons, Islip and they were 'thoroughly satisfactory'.

A price list of the different types of collars was published, probably soon after the new factory was opened. The illustrations in the catalogue (see fig. 3) show that the shape of collars varied in different districts, for instance contrast the shapes of the Suffolk and Lincolnshire collars. Sixteen different collars are illustrated and Donkey and Pit are mentioned. Was this for pit ponies?

Another family—the Knights—made horse collars in Islip but on a much smaller scale. They had a small factory there in 1871 when William Knight employed three men making rush collars. William and his son Frederick came from Titchmarsh where they appear in earlier census returns as rush matmakers. Their business expanded and according to Richard Loveday's accounts it appears he did business with his rival firm. In 1875 for instance he sold "salt rushes" (from Holland) and scarlet cloth for collars to the Knights. He charged 1/10 a yard for cloth which he had bought from Messrs. Ireland and Co. at 1/8½ a yard. In 1905 Frederick Knight built a new factory and business boomed up to the outbreak of World War I. After the war, the Horse Collar and Rush Industry slumped. The most important factor in the decline was the increasing popularity of the internal combustion engine both on the road and on the farm. Horse drawn vehicles were outmoded. Rush mats and baskets began to be imported from Holland and Belgium where they were made very cheaply by prisoners. In addition cheap linoleum and carpets replaced rush matting. The Knight's business closed about 1918, but the Lovedays carried on with a decreasing labour force. The factory finally closed about 1960 and one of the last orders executed was for two buckskin and patent leather horse collars for one of the coaches in the Coronation Procession of Queen Elizabeth in 1953. There is still a Loveday firm in Islip, but engaged in the boot and shoe trade. The Knight's factory became the Islip Working Men's Club.

Sadly, a rush industry which had brought work to a riverside village faded away, and now the Loveday Collar factory is only a memory for elderly and middle-aged villagers because it was demolished to make way for houses. A few people can still plait rushes and seat chairs but there is a very restricted demand for the old craft.

The Loveday family are remarkable in two respects. There can be very few families who have carried on the same trade through so many generations without a break, and it is striking the way in which various branches of the family maintained their links through trade although sometimes they were only distantly related.

Acknowledgements

I thank the staff of the Record Offices at Northampton, Norwich, Aylesbury and Lincoln for their patient help. I am indebted to the Rector of Islip and the parish clerk of Islip for allowing me to see Registers and other documents under their care, and to members of the Loveday family for their personal reminiscences.

EMERGENCY! NORTHAMPTON GENERAL HOSPITAL'S FIRST ROAD ACCIDENT CASUALTY

Northampton General Hospital was opened for the reception of patients on 29th March 1744 in a house in George Row (the present Northampton and County Club). The first twenty-four admissions were routine cases in need of treatment, but the twenty-fifth was more dramatic. It was the hospital's first road accident casualty, and the "entirely friendless" young victim was perhaps carried to Northampton in the waggon which he had been driving, presumably by himself, at the time. (Nowadays he would have been rushed there in an ambulance with a two-tone horn and a flashing blue light!) Here is the account of what happened from the *Northampton Mercury* of 23rd April 1744:

> Last week a boy driving a waggon in Eakly Lane [a hamlet at Stoke Goldington in Buckinghamshire, on the Newport Pagnell-Northampton turnpike], unfortunately fell under the wheels, which crushed his foot in a terrible manner, but being immediately sent to our infirmary, and, according to the rules of it in such cases, without any delay, receiv'd to the accomodation and assistance so happily provided for such miserable objects, he is now in a fair way of recovery, whereas otherwise, being entirely friendless, he must in all probability have perished.

The hospital's earliest register of admissions tells us that the boy's name was John Marshall, that he was 14 years old and suffering from a "wound in the foot", and that he came from "Loworth" (Lough in Lincolnshire?). Certainly he does not seem to have dwelt locally, and the concluding comment in the *Mercury* is eloquent testimony to the harshness of life in what, after all, was a comparatively recent period of history.

John Marshall was discharged as "cured" on 7th July 1744 after in-patient treatment lasting for well over two months. Contrary to general belief, hospitals in the 18th Century were usually managed with care, and did not suffer from high mortality rates. The first series of annual statistics at Northampton (1744-5) show that out of 173 in-patient admissions, 81 had been discharged as "cured", 16 as having received "great benefit", nine as "incurable", five for "misbehaviour", eight had died (4.6% of the total), 27 had been made out-patients, and 27 remained in the hospital. Anybody who wants to know more about early provincial hospitals and their practice should consult John Woodward, *To Do the Sick No Harm: a Study of the British Voluntary Hospital System to 1875* (1974), which is a pioneer work on a very important aspect of medical and social history.

I am grateful to Miss Irene Cossins for allowing me to consult the early records of the Northampton General Hospital.

VICTOR A. HATLEY

BOOK REVIEWS

ADMINISTRATIONS AND INVENTORIES OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHAMPTON. PART II. 1711-1800

Edited by MRS. CLARE BAGGOTT, B.A.

(*The Index Library—issued by the British Record Society*, 1980)

(Copies available from the Hon. Treasurer, B.R.S., Department of History, University of Keele, Staffs., price £7.00)

Part I of this work, dealing with 1667-1710, was published in 1947: this book begins in 1711, where the other left off. The two comprise the Calendars of Administrations, Inventories and some letters of Guardianship, compiled by the Revd. Henry Isham Longden, a Northamptonshire historian who lived from 1859 to 1942.

The administrations have been reduced to abstracts rather than being given in full, as that would have resulted in too massive and too expensive a volume, but every entry is indexed so that the originals, which are at Delapre Abbey, can be consulted. The names of sureties have been omitted, as have those of the appraisers, but it is rare that these names will be needed by anyone wanting the basic information and, should they be, they can be obtained from Mr. Isham Longden's notes.

Of great interest and importance to local historians and genealogists, it is very easy to use, as all the entries are in alphabetical order according to the surname and then, under each surname, the entries are arranged chronologically. Look up a name in which you are interested; e.g. SHORTLAND. There are ten entries under this name, from Thomas of Upper Heyford in 1712 to William of Northampton in 1782, and the other entries include Shortlands from Rothwell, Weston by Weedon, Helmdon, Blisworth, Wootoon and Milton. So, even if none of the entries is the one you want, it is possible that you may find a "new" parish which may lead you to useful discoveries.

In addition, there is an index of "Other Persons"; one of Places and a third of Trades. The Trade Index is particularly interesting; there was a bone-setter in Great Billing in 1732; a higler in Syresham in 1790; a hotpresser in Kettering in 1717 and, in 1758, a sandman in Ringstead!

In general this is a fascinating book, not exactly a "good read" but a valuable companion for general study and serious research. A book to be consulted and dipped into frequently.

MONA C. HARRISON

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE AND THE SOKE OF PETERBOROUGH

by R. L. GREENALL

(*Phillimore*, 1979, 128 pp., £6.95)

To cover the history of Northamptonshire from prehistoric times to the present day in a text of 121 pages: what a task! Mr. Greenall does just this in his book—the latest to appear in *The Darwen County History Series*—and succeeds admirably. His achievement is the greater because, unlike some counties, Northamptonshire forms no kind of a geographical unity but impinges on a wide variety of English regions, from the Fens in the North-east to the Wolds in the South-west.

Mr. Greenall writes easily and lucidly. *A History of Northamptonshire* is well constructed, about half of it dealing with the period before 1700, and the rest from 1700 to the present

day. Themes include people, landscape and agriculture, industry and transport, religion and politics, local government and the poor law. The national background to local trends and events is kept firmly in mind, as in the case of changes in the level of population since early medieval times.

A strong point about *Northamptonshire* is the use made of up-to-date research, such as the archaeological exploration of Northampton currently being undertaken by Mr. John Williams. Likewise there is fresh thinking on aspects of the New Poor Law, a result of investigation by Dr. Anthony Brundage, an American scholar. Mr. Greenall tells how several of the Northamptonshire poor law unions formed after 1834 follow closely the estates of important landowners, although I winced slightly at his use of the phrase "social control" in this context. The select bibliography (pp. 122-4), which includes journal articles in addition to books, is a useful supplement to the text of *Northamptonshire*.

The book contains 45 well-chosen photographs, together with 22 maps and plans, and the page margins are decorated with drawings by Mr. Bruce Bailey. These drawings make a valuable contribution to points raised in the text, and have a style and charm of their own. Only the representation of the Bradlaugh statue at Northampton failed to please me, since somehow it does not capture the sense of overpowering rectitude which is a feature of the original.

I have a few criticisms of *Northamptonshire*, none of them very serious. For example, Wisbech is shown on the waterways map (p. 96) but not King's Lynn, although this was the port of origin for most of the freight carried inland on the River Nene when its upper sections were made navigable in the Eighteenth Century. No account of the Evangelical revival in Northamptonshire (pp. 77-8), however brief, is complete without mention of the Rev. Thomas Jones, curate at Creaton for many years, who, from a humble post in an obscure village, exercised considerable influence on religious life in his day, and was one of the founders of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The number of voters at Northampton in 1831 (p. 107) was just over 2,400, not "some 1,087".

To sum up, Mr. Greenall's book is a "best buy" (at a very reasonable price) on the history of Northamptonshire. Within the limits of its length and scope, it is unlikely to be superseded for a long time. Young persons studying history should certainly read it. A well-chosen example from local history can often help to explain a matter of national importance, and it will also delight an examiner who is wearied by being bombarded with textbook facts. *Northamptonshire* will supply the intelligent student with many such examples which he or she can put to good use when the time comes to sit for O or A levels.

VICTOR A. HATLEY

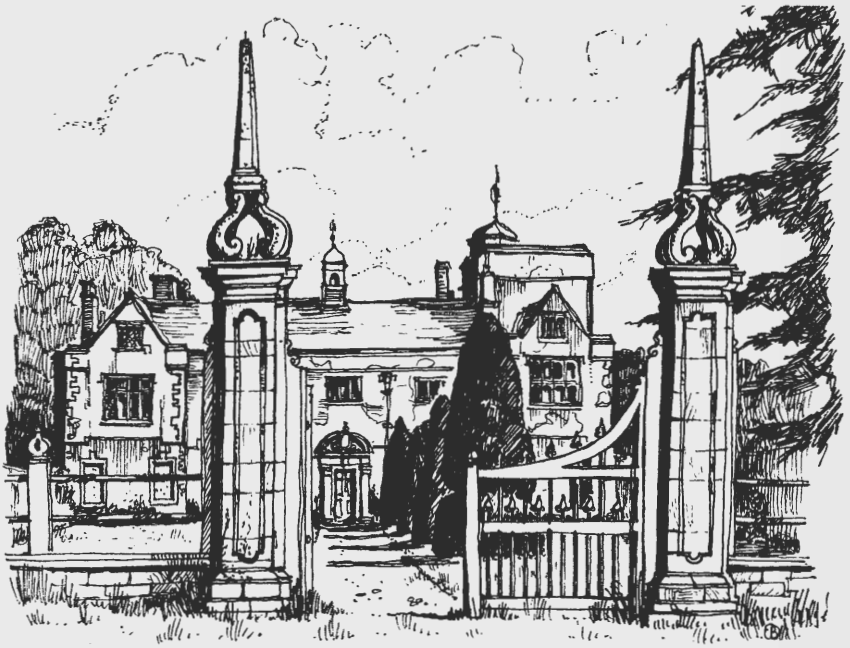
THE QUARRIES

by H. B. HEWLETT

(*Reprinted by the Market Overton Industrial Railway Association*, 1979, 46 pp., Limp covers. Photographs, line drawings and maps)

With the closure of British Steel Corporation iron and steel making at Corby early in 1980, the Northamptonshire quarries providing iron ore for the furnaces also closed and so brought an end to iron ore extraction in the county. Almost immediately the railways serving the quarries were lifted and the "tight" (or working) face of the quarries battered down to be ready for restoration. It seems that the last of the county's quarries will soon present very little evidence of iron ore working although there will be valleys in the countryside which were not there before the ore was removed. Explanation of these depressions will be helped by comparison with the systems described in this reprint of a book which first appeared in 1935 as a compilation of articles published in the magazine of the Stanton Ironworks Company.

At that time iron ore production in the county was extensive and the Stanton Company was one of the most active companies in the area. It had quarries at Rothwell, Glendon and

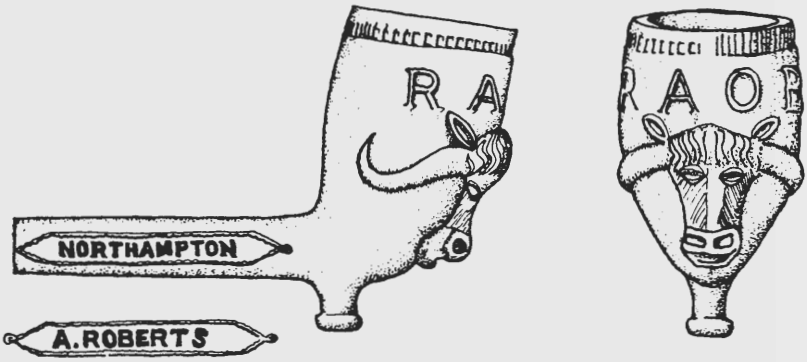


CANON'S ASHBY HOUSE
One of Bruce Bailey's drawings in *A History of Northamptonshire and the Soke of Peterborough*

Wellingborough as well as interests in quarries at Cranford, Irchester and Wollaston, Harrington and Orton and at Earls Barton. The book describes these workings, together with the Stanton Company's activities in Leicestershire and Lincolnshire. For each quarry Hewlett gives a brief history including the changes of ownership and working agreements between different companies some of which appear to be very complicated. He also describes the methods of working and his maps illustrate the areas worked for iron ore by different companies up to 1935. The descriptions benefit from the first-hand experience of the author who was an employee of the Company. He also had the opportunity to talk with people who remembered the earlier systems with "the rumbling of the wagons, the shouting and cracking of whips and the swinging of lanterns after dark".

Recent research, particularly by the newspaper study group meeting at the Leicester University Centre in Northampton, indicates the need for modification to some of Hewlett's historical information, but a more serious criticism is that the reprint has no reference to what has happened since 1935. After the temporary increase in production during the Second World War ironstone quarrying activities gradually declined culminating in the closures of 1980. Methods of working also changed during this period so enhancing the value of the photographs in the book, although there have been difficulties in the reproduction of some of these. However, the front cover of the book carries a superb photograph of the Cherry Hall face of Glendon quarries, some 2½ miles north of Kettering. This shows the scene in 1934 when steam power was used for removing the burden above the ironstone bed, loading the ore into rail wagons and a steam locomotive waiting to take these out of the quarry. As a contemporary account of the ironstone industry in the mid-1930's this reprint is very useful.

GEOFFREY H. STARMER



A CLAY PIPE MADE BY A. ROBERTS OF NORTHAMPTON c.1885-1920.
R.A.O.B. is the Royal and Ancient Order of Buffaloes, a Friendly Society.
Drawn by Paul Goff it is from the book reviewed here.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE CLAY TOBACCO-PIPES AND PIPEMAKERS

by W. R. G. MOORE

(*Northampton Museums and Art Gallery*, 1980, 34 pp., Photographs and line drawings, £1 (£1.21 by post))

This book by the Keeper of Archaeology at Northampton Museum is an excellent example of archaeology not being related exclusively to excavation. Robert Moore shows that by locating the surviving physical evidence, recording it, interpreting it and complementing this by using documentary evidence a good understanding of the manufacture of clay tobacco-pipes in Northamptonshire can be arrived at.

The earliest reference to pipemaking in the county is given as 1641 in Northampton. The author shows how from that time the industry developed in the county both chronologically and geographically until its collapse in the second half of the 19th century. However the local firm of A. Roberts, the last Northamptonshire clay pipe manufacturer, continued until 1920.

Physical evidence of the methods of production is sparse for this locality. The workshops of A. Roberts survived in Northampton until they were demolished in 1955 and in the same year a photograph was published in the *Chronicle and Echo* of two pairs of iron moulds used to produce pipes at the Roberts' workshops. Mr. Moore's statement that "The moulds have since disappeared" no doubt hides the disappointment of a museum keeper that such valuable evidence of the past is no longer available. Perhaps this is because people often do not appreciate the importance of craft artefacts, or fail to recognise them. This loss could have been partly overcome by including simple drawings showing the equipment and processes to illustrate the section on pipe manufacture.

There is more evidence of the pipes themselves. Fragments of clay pipes are some of the most familiar objects found in the soil and approximately a third of the book is devoted to an examination and listing of these. This is accompanied by a large number of excellent drawings by Paul Goff.

The main part of the book concludes with a list of 158 Northamptonshire pipemakers with dates, locations and clear references to the sources of information. However, the value of the list is diminished by its presentation in only approximate alphabetical order: it is easy to miss Harris, Thomas of Bugbrooke when he is listed between Hollowell, Thomas of Daventry, and Hutchins, William of Northampton. Knowing how useful the similar list of brewers, wine merchants and mineral water manufacturers in the Northampton Museums book

Froth and Fizz (published in 1977 and still available from Abington or Central Museum) has been to many people, it is a pity that the clay tobacco-pipemakers list is not in the same strict alphabetical order.

For its modest price this book is excellent value and should be on the bookshelf of every one interested in the local history of Northamptonshire.

GEOFFREY H. STARMER

AN INVENTORY OF THE HISTORICAL MONUMENTS IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHAMPTON. VOL. II. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN CENTRAL NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

(*Royal Commission on Historical Monuments*
London: *H.M.S.O.*, 1979. lxv + 201 pp. 171 figures, 32 pp. plates, £30)

The county has been most fortunate to have been chosen by the Royal Commission for a full-scale inventory of its monuments. The inventory started in the north-east of the county and will proceed to the south-west. This second volume deals with the area to the east and north of Northampton, from the abortive London airport at Yardley Chase up to the stability of Rockingham Castle, with the towns of Wellingborough, Kettering and Corby taken in on the way. The survey covers 67 parishes and identifies 778 monuments. 38 of these monuments are listed as being the "most worthy of preservation", those that would be given stars were we to have anything so vulgar as a Good Monument Guide. I hope the Society may award its own star to R.C.H.M., a QUANGO to some but by now an integral part of the archaeological, architectural and historical landscape.

The Sectional Preface serves both as an introduction to the parish surveys and as a resumé of the conclusions reached. Because of the sources used and the layout of the work, the most notable feature of the Preface is the general discussion of the chronology of settlement. About 100 Iron Age sites are identified, and about 200 Roman sites. Irchester was the only Roman town in an area in which the major Roman settlements lay 10 to 15 km. apart. In the medieval period there was a further intensification of settlement, with the nucleated villages 2 to 4 km. apart, and numerous subsidiary settlements. In the parish of Rushton there were four major settlements, each with its own field system. Where the authors find discontinuity, here as in other regions, is in the Saxon period. It is a double discontinuity, for the pattern that can be established for Saxon times seems not to link in any clear way either with Roman or with medieval settlement. This is a topic of great interest, on which we may hope that a County Preface may have more to say.

The inventory identifies a good number of deserted medieval settlements, though few of them are villages properly so-called. Those "starred" are Preston Deanery, Horton, Overstone and Boughton. The field pattern of each settlement is given, though normally only from the modern Tithe maps; it is clear from medieval terriers, and the authors know well enough, that the changes in the intervening time could be considerable. In this matter as elsewhere the reader is struck by how little recent historical work there has been on the area and the period covered by this inventory. The Cistercian monastery of Pipewell, the only religious house to make an important impact on the landscape, awaits serious study. The authors have not been able to comment on those earthworks which result from woodland management in medieval and later times.

Attention may also be drawn to the section on fish-ponds, a topic that has previously been considered by John Steane in this journal (Vol. IV, no. 5, 1970-1); to the identification of medieval mottes at Wollaston and at Clifford Hill in Little Houghton; and to the detailed discussion of the layout of the gardens at Boughton House. Not all problems are resolved. Is the trapezoidal mound at Walgrave a 17th century gun-battery or a medieval gibbet-mound? R.C.H.M. would like to know the answer, and they would like to be sent corrections to be incorporated in future volumes of this indespensable work of reference.

EDMUND KING
University of Sheffield

NORTHAMPTON: THE FIRST 6,000 YEARS
by JOHN WILLIAMS *and* HELEN BAMFORD
(*Northampton Development Corporation*, 1979, 75p)

ST. PETER'S STREET, NORTHAMPTON: EXCAVATIONS 1973-6
by JOHN H. WILLIAMS
(*Northampton Development Corporation*, 1979, £12.00)

Northampton Development Corporation has produced two contrasting, but equally impressive, publications concerned with the archaeology of the town. *St. Peter's Street* is a weighty bound tome devoted to the intensive exploration of a small area of Northampton, while *The First 6,000 Years* is a popular pamphlet dealing briefly with the general archaeology of the town and the surrounding area. This attractively presented 32-page booklet has one or two double pages on each of a number of archaeological periods, e.g. "The Iron Age (700 B.C.-A.D. 43)", "After the Dissolution", with a straightforward text and plenty of illustrations. The printing in brown and grey is sufficient to maintain interest without in the least becoming vulgarly "glossy". No reader can fail to be stimulated by this book, and the uncommitted reader is likely to be convinced that archaeology is a Good Thing.

The quality of the halftone illustrations is very disappointing, however. They all have a foggy appearance, and one or two of them have lost all contrast and show practically nothing. For example, it is impossible to distinguish in the picture on p. 14 any details at all, including a feature which the caption claims is "clearly visible". No doubt it was on the original photograph, but definition has been lost in the printing process. The trouble seems to be the use of inappropriate paper. There is no question of poor quality paper, but the finish is too matt for printing half-tones by lithography. Litho plates can compete with traditional metal plates only when used on paper with a fine surface texture, preferably glazed.

For the general reader—at whom this booklet is obviously aimed—the line drawings must be misleading. Archaeologists are accustomed to illustrating different materials at different scales: pottery at one quarter of full size, smaller objects at one half of full size, and so on. A variety of scales has been used here and there is a real danger that the non-specialist reader will draw false conclusions about the comparative sizes of objects illustrated. In a popular work the archaeological conventions should be abandoned in favour of a common scale which will enable the reader to get a better idea of relative sizes.

By contrast with this popular account, *St. Peter's Steeet, Northampton* is very much an excavation report for the specialist. More than half of the book (189 pages out of 342) is devoted to detailed technical reports on the pottery and other finds from the site, and the descriptive part is accompanied by numerous section drawings, extensive lists of archaeological strata and flow diagrams using a variant of the Harris matrix. All of this is strong meat for the general reader, but the presentation of the volume goes a long way towards making the findings of modern archaeological research available and comprehensible to the non-specialist. In the first place, the author has been careful to separate the technical data—the actual evidence—from the general description and commentary, and the clear layout enables the reader to select those parts of the report which are appropriate for his purposes, whether specialist or general. Secondly, the draughtsmen have produced drawings to a high professional standard, and their clarity makes them as easy as it can be for the non-archaeologist to interpret. This clarity is enhanced by the use of two colours, black and red, a simple but rather expensive device which is typical of the high production standards of this book. In the context of present-day archaeological publication and the state of the economy this must count as a lavish volume and the Development Corporation deserves gratitude and praise for making resources available to do full justice to an important archaeological investigation.

The report presents evidence for the occupation by man of the St. Peter's Street site from prehistoric times to the present day, though with several interruptions. The fascinating story of the intensive use of the area begins about the middle of the Anglo-Saxon period, and one can follow the progressive stages through the Middle Ages, as timber buildings give way to stone and metalworking is replaced by tanning as a local occupation. The most striking dis-

coveries, however, date from about the eighth century. The end of a stone building, probably the forerunner of St. Peter's church, was revealed by a subsidiary excavation, together with three mortar mixers which may have been used in the preparation of material for the building of the church. These are the first such features to be recovered intact, and their study makes an important contribution to our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon building practice.

The dedicated hard work and meticulous attention to detail which are so apparent in the report must be repeated many times over in order to produce a seemingly elementary booklet like *The First 6,000 years*. Each book is in its own way a monument to the professional skill of the authors and contributors, who with the Development Corporation are to be warmly congratulated on the production of both of them.

DAVID PARSONS
University of Leicester

OLD RUSHDEN

(*Rotary Club of Rushden*, 1979, £5·75)

Most collectors of local photographs dream of their collections appearing in permanent form, convinced (usually rightly) that a book would sell like hot cakes—if only they could find the money to pay for the printing. The quintet of Rushden collectors (who modestly hide themselves away on the very last page of this book) found an original solution to this besetting problem. They approached the local Rotary Club who financed it as their project to commemorate the 75th anniversary of Rotary International.

The result is a credit to all concerned. Printed on good quality paper between hard covers by a local firm it contains well over 300 local photographs and is by any standards very good value. The first impression was an immediate sell-out, and a second has been eagerly snapped-up by local people. This is no great surprise: the pictures, often unremarkable individually, assembled together in this manner recapture quite remarkably the surface of life in this small footwear town in the last hundred years.

The arrangement of the photographs is straightforward. After a page of introduction to Rushden's history and brief looks at St. Mary's Church and Rushden Hall the great mass of photographs are of the shops, houses and people in the High Street and the other roads of Rushden. Turning the pages is like going for a walk round the town in which time has fallen out of joint. One sees shopfronts old and new, navvies, soldiers from two World Wars, parades, policemen and firemen, horsedrawn vehicles and old motor cars, cinemas with posters of William S. Hart outside, chapels and shoe factories. It is all so *local* that the occasional sight of famous people comes as a surprise—Adolphe Menjou the actor with American soldiers in the Second World War—and can Jack Hobbs and Herbert Strudwick *really* have played for "Mr. W. Moody's Team of famous cricketers" at Rushden Feast one year in the Twenties?

What gives the book its unity is that many of the photographs are from the period when Rushden changed, in the space of twenty years or so from about 1880, from being a largish village into a thriving footwear town of some 13,000 people. Thereafter it ceased to grow until after World War Two. It is (or was until recently) a late Victorian town and this book could be subtitled "The Making of Modern Rushden". This was the place H. E. Bates grew up in and remembered in his autobiography. One wonders how he would have reviewed this book? No doubt very differently, but his memories would undoubtedly have been stirred by these photographs and their captions, mines of information which could never have been written by an outsider, however well-steeped in the history of the place.

R. L. Greenall.

Some of the Trades and Trader Members of
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Curtain Fabrics – –	*20-22 Abington Sq.* –	37446
Dress Fabrics – –	*27 York Road* – –	/7
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A. Bell & Co. Ltd. –	*Kingsthorpe Works* –	712505
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