NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST & PRESENT

The start of the Raunds March, 1905

The journal of the Northamptonshire Record Society

75p

BOUND VOLUMES

of

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST & PRESENT

VOL. III - (1960-1965) VOL. IV - (1966-1971)

Price of each of the above—

Members £3.50 - Non-members £6.50

VOL. V - (1972-1977)

Members £6.50 - Non-members £7.00

All bound in red cloth, with Index, Post & packing extra.

★ (Vols. I & II are temporarily out of stock.)

Archives, the journal of the British Records Association, No. 59, Spring 1978 "With a wide range and high printing quality *Northamptonshire Past & Present* remains outstanding value. . . ."

Order from the
Secretary, Northants
Record Society,
Delapre Abbey,
Northampton NN4 9AW,
or main booksellers.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST AND PRESENT
1981-82

CONTENTS

PAGE

Notes and News 239

The Peterborough Region in the Tenth Century: a Topographical Survey. *Cyril Hart* 243

The Medieval Hermitage of Grafton Regis. *Geoffrey Parker* 247

Some Seventeenth Century Northamptonshire Schools. *D. K. Shearing* ... 253

The Northamptonshire Commission of the Peace (1702) and Parliamentary Polls (1702, 1705). *James Alsop* 257

Lady Knightley and the South Northamptonshire Election of 1885. *Peter Gordon* ... 265

James Gribble and the Raunds Strike of 1905. *Keith Brooker* 275

Monks Park, Northampton: the Story of a Town Property. *Bruce A. Bailey*... ... 291

Book Reviews 296

All communications regarding articles in this and future issues should be addressed to R. L. Greenall, the Hon. Editor, Adult Education Department, University of Leicester

Published by the Northamptonshire Record Society

Vol. VI No. 5

ISSN 0140 9131

Printed in England by Alden & Billingham, 26 Rothersthorpe Crescent, Northampton

Nene College Northampton

* **Combined Honours Degrees BA BSc BEd of Leicester University.**
* **Higher Diplomas in Business Studies and Engineering.**
* **Over 200 full-time, part-time and day release courses related to local industry and commerce.**
* **Higher Diplomas in Leather Technology at the only centre for advanced leather technology in the English speaking world.**
* **Blackwood Hodge Management Centre—the £1½ million residential centre opening this autumn.**

Further details from:

The Academic Registrar, Nene College, Moulton Park, Northamptonshire NN2 7AL.
***Telephone:* (0604) 715000.**

The Home of Scott Bader

Wollaston Hall is the old setting of one of Northamptonshire's most lively young industries.
Polyester resins, polymer emulsions and PVC plasticisers are made in these beautiful grounds. A common-ownership company welding past and present in the service of the future.

SCOTT BADER

Wollaston · Wellingborough
Northamptonshire NN9 7RL

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

President:
Sir Hereward Wake, Bart., M.C., D.L.

NOTES AND NEWS

The past year has seen changes in the ranks of those active in running this Society. The first was occasioned by the death of Mr. C. V. Davidge, Chairman of the Council since 1967. A brisk and cheerful leader, he gave great service to the Society and will be missed. An obituary is printed on another page, with those of the late Mrs. Tynan and Canon Dunn, both of whom also served on the Council for many years. The Chairman's passing and the almost simultaneous resignation of the recently appointed secretary, Mr. Wright, left something of a vacuum which was filled by the united efforts of the President, Mrs. Tippleston, Mr. Farmer the Hon. Treasurer, and by Miss Sladden stepping into the breach once more to help out. To date, the chairmanship of the Council has been left unfilled, the President agreeing to serve in that capacity *pro tem*, and Mrs. Tippleston has taken over as Secretary, with aid and assistance from Mr. Hatley.

A reasonably well-attended Annual General Meeting for 1981 was held once again in the hall of the Anglia Building Society at Moulton Park, Northampton, and we are very grateful to the Anglia for allowing us its use. Before the business of the meeting a cheque was presented to Dorothy Sladden to mark the Society's thanks and good wishes for her ten years' service as Secretary. Many compliments have been paid her before and since, but I should like to add mine. As a new and inexperienced editor, faced with the task of finding ways of reducing costs and keeping up the standard of this journal, I found her extremely helpful, unfussy and businesslike. No one who has worked with Miss Sladden can have failed to appreciate her commitment to the Society, to its members and its work of publication. We wish her a happy retirement, and it is nice to see her at Delapré Abbey still, working away in the Record Office. An open letter from her to members who contributed towards her present can be found on another page.

The lecture, given after AGM business was completed, was by Mr. Charles Phythian-Adams, of the Department of English Local History at the University of Leicester. It was a very learned and lucid paper, drawing on disciplines outside those usually utilised by historians, notably that of social anthropology, to throw light on the web of old popular religious beliefs still current in the countryside in the later 19th century. Oddly enough, I drove home thinking more about Thomas Hardy than Lévi-Strauss on such things as "wise women". Anyone wishing to read a version of Mr. Phythian-Adams' lecture can find one in the recently published *The Victorian Countryside*, edited by G. A. Mingay, and published by Routledge and Kegan Paul.

1981 has been an *annus mirabilis* for the Spencers of Althorp. Heaven forbid that I should add anything to the broad acres of verbiage about the family called forth by the Royal Wedding except to say that all will wish the Prince and Princess health and happiness, and to hope that some of the publicity might help to launch our next publication, Vol. 1 of Dr. Peter Gordon's edition of *The Papers of the 5th Earl Spencer*. The "Red Earl" was one of the great Whig magnates of the Victorian era, who served as Viceroy of Ireland in the tense time after the Phoenix Park murders, and who come close to succeeding Gladstone as leader of the Liberal

Party. Although primarily about "high politics", Vol. 1 has much of local Northamptonshire interest in it, the Earl being a notable local figure politically as well as a patron of the chase and local cricket. All being well, members should have received the book by the time this reaches them.

1981 has also seen important developments in the preservation of two of the county's country houses—Canons Ashby and Lamport. Though the Drydens have not lived at Canons Ashby all the year round since as long ago as 1937, the National Trust and the Historic Buildings Council have long been concerned about its future. When the three Dryden brothers, who live in Zimbabwe, advertised for a new tenant in the summer of 1980 the problems of the house, desperately in need of extensive repairs, seemed overwhelming. Since then much has happened, the most important steps being the Drydens' decision to offer the house and church to the Trust as a gift, and the newly-established National Heritage Memorial Fund's decision to step in and provide the greater part of the money needed for an endowment. Although the National Trust still needs to raise over £300,000 to go ahead with the full scheme for restoration and preservation, it now seems certain that this ancient manor house will be saved.

When the late Sir Gyles Isham inherited his ancestral home at Lamport in World War II he found it in a poor state of preservation, and devoted much of the last thirty years of his life to restoring it. When he died in 1976 he left it to a Trust renovated virtually completely, expressing the wish that it should not only be opened to the public on a regular basis, but that creative ways of using the house should be devised. This year has seen the first attempts to bring this wish to fulfilment. Under the newly-appointed administrator of Lamport, Bryan Porteous, an extensive programme of recitals, performances, educational courses and other events has been promoted for the first time. I taught part of a week-long adult education course there in July, and found both atmosphere and setting splendid.

Important and powerful though the owners of the soil were and are in English life, and dearly though Englishmen are supposed to love a lord, history is about more than squires and country houses. The problem is that representative voices of other sections of society are less clearly heard, and always least audible is the voice of the poor. One gets a chance to hear it in the EMMA Theatre Company's production of *The Poacher*, a performance of which I recently caught in Leicester. A one-man show, it is based on the journal of James Hawker, a Victorian poacher from Northamptonshire. Born and brought up in Daventry, and knowing like the back of his hand all the places between Badby and Geddington where game could be taken, Hawker's memoirs are wonderfully vivid. They are however, much more than just the reminiscences of an "old country character". They are that genuine rarity, the memoirs of a "rough", and one moreover with a viewpoint. Throughout, Hawker maintains that he poaches to get back at what he calls "the Class", who for so long denied he and his kind their political rights, and he proudly proclaims his hero-worship of Bradlaugh.

From this, the writers, Andrew Manley and Lloyd Johnson, who acts the part of Hawker, have fashioned a fine documentary play. The time-scale is one night's poaching, and the pace is varied nicely by scenes in which the techniques of poaching, close-calls with police and 'keepers, and stories of the thrill of knocking over game are interposed with episodes from his life as a shoemaker, Militiaman, early cycling-enthusiast and village politician. Lloyd Johnson sustains the considerable task of being on stage alone for well over an hour extremely well, though it is odd how minor details such as variations in the actor's "rural" accent, or the mistake of calling Badby "Badly" (mis-transcribed, by the way, in the book and not by the playwrights) can irritate. But these are minor quibbles. Go and see *The Poacher* when it comes round again. East Midlands Arts, an

often criticised body, deserves credit for this production. The book, by the way, *A Victorian Poacher: James Hawker's Journal* edited by Garth Christian, is available in paperback from Oxford University Press, price £1.50.

Finally a fraternal word of welcome to the new Rutland Record Society, whose first volume *The County Community under Henry VIII*, and the first issue of whose journal, *Rutland Record*, are noticed on other pages. Both are very worthy productions, and the Society—brought defiantly into existence as a reaction to the annihilation of Rutland as a county—is to be congratulated. The annual subscription is at the very reasonable rate of £2.00 for individuals (£5.00 "instituional and corporate"). The address of the Hon. Secretary is Colley Hill, Lyddington, Uppingham, LE15.

R.L.G.

Notes on contributors

Dr. Cyril Hart is a specialist in later Anglo-Saxon studies, and is the author of several works on the charters of the period. He lives at Stilton near Peterborough.

Dr. Geoffrey Parker is Reader in Modern History at St. Salvator's College, University of St. Andrews.

D. K. Shearing lectures in education at Nene College, Northampton.

Dr. James Alsop lectures in the School of History at the University of Liverpool, and was formerly a Research Assistant in the British Library.

Dr. Peter Gordon is Reader at the Institute of Education, University of London. The first volume of his edition of the papers of the 5th Earl Spencer has been published by this Society this year.

Keith Brooker is presently completing his Ph.D. on the transition of the Footwear industry from domestic to factory production, and is the author of several papers arising from this work.

Bruce A. Bailey is a long-time student of the architecture and history of Northamptonshire, and is Librarian and Director of Teaching Resources at the College of Further Education in Northampton.

Thanks are expressed to

Aerofilms Ltd., The Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, Northamptonshire Libraries, The National Union of Footwear, Leather and Allied Trades, Northampton Labour Party, and the Director General of the Ordnance Survey for permission to reproduce material in their collections, or of which they hold copyright.

Wootton-Billingham

Antiquarian & Secondhand
Books, Maps & Prints
Established 1897

79 St Giles's Street, Northampton
Phone (0604) 34531

OBITUARIES

C. V. DAVIDGE

Cecil Vere Davidge, Chairman of the Council of the Northamptonshire Record Society since 1967, died on January 27th, 1981, a few days before his 80th birthday, while out hunting with the Oakley Hounds.

He was born in Japan on 14th February 1901, but came to England as a boy, and was educated at Abingdon School and Pembroke College Oxford, obtaining degrees of Bachelor of Civil Law and Master of Arts. Subsequently he was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, but within a few years returned to Oxford as Lecturer in Law at Keble College of which he became later a Fellow, and in due course Bursar. During World War II he served as a Principal in the Treasury and Cabinet Office. He had been a keen oarsman at Oxford, and during his time at Keble helped to build up the College's reputation for rowing. In his later life, when he lived at Little Houghton, as Lord of the Manor and Patron of the Living of Little Houghton and Brafield, he developed a passion for hunting, was Chairman of the Oakley Hunt, and no doubt the manner of his death, had he been able to choose it, would have been what in the event occurred.

He had a robust and cheerful temperament, and liked to play down his academic connections, and be the hunting squire in a village for which he worked hard, and in which he took great pride. Nevertheless, the valuable experience of his earlier life, and his status in village and County, helped to make him an ideal Chairman of the Record Society. He had a happy knack of laughing his way through problems, whilst showing shrewd insight into their detail. He said of himself that he set out to enjoy life and thought he had largely succeeded.

During his time as Chairman the Northamptonshire Record Society faced many challenges—changes of Editors and other personnel, and above all inflation—and thanks to his assistance in grappling with these the Society has been able to continue to flourish, and to maintain its objectives and the high standards of its publications. D.M.S.

CANON ARNOLD DUNN

Canon Dunn, who died in May this year, was for many years a member of the Council of the Northamptonshire Record Society.

From 1943 to 1973 he was Rector of St. Margaret's Church, Crick. He was born in 1904, and grew up in London, where his father was parish priest in Bethnal Green. Educated at Merchant Taylors School and St. John's College, Oxford, he followed his father into the London Diocese, being ordained in 1929.

In addition to his work as a parson, he was active in local government. He served on the parish council, and was for 27 years a member of the County Association of Parish Councils, serving as Chairman from 1952 to 1966. He was also a councillor on the Daventry Rural District Council from 1953 to 1970, and was chairman from 1967. From 1966 to 1977 he was chairman of the Northamptonshire Rural Community Council.

After his retirement, Canon Dunn, who was single, continued to live in the village he had served so long. R.L.G.

THE PETERBOROUGH REGION IN THE TENTH CENTURY: A TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

CYRIL HART

This essay was prompted by Dr. Edmund King's article in *Northamptonshire Past and Present* (Vol. VI, No. 4) in which he discussed the early growth of Peterborough from a monastic site to a country town. A crucial issue in the history of the town's development is the date at which the first bridge was constructed across the River Nene. I do not know of any reliable evidence for this, either historical or archaeological, but my own researches into the early history of the region, undertaken more or less continuously over the past 25 years, lead me to believe that the first town bridge is unlikely to have been constructed before the end of the eleventh century, and may have been considerably later.

It is well known that Peterborough grew from a monastic foundation of the seventh century, and it was not until the Reformation in the sixteenth century that it became the site of an episcopal see. It was an extremely wealthy abbey from its foundation, and beyond doubt a small township would have grown up outside the abbey gates at an early date, to house the abbey's servants and their families. The abbey was devastated by the Danes in the third quarter of the ninth century, and appears to have remained derelict until refounded by Bishop Athelwold of Winchester in 971 or a little earlier. Very quickly thereafter it surpassed its former glory, for Athelwold re-endowed it with the bulk of its early possessions, and many other estates besides. It was probably one of the seven Danelaw boroughs referred to in annal 1017 of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Its description in Domesday Book is disappointingly meagre when compared, for example with Northampton, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Bedford, and it is evident that the township was only a small one, devoted almost wholly to serving the needs of the monks, with perhaps a limited function as a local administrative centre. The abbey itself was walled, but there is no evidence of defences for the town outside the abbey gates. As a trading centre it took second place to Yaxley five miles southwards, which had an ancient hithe or landing-place on its branch of the Nene. From here a packhorse route led through to the midlands, and Yaxley continued to vie with Peterborough for Continental and east to west internal trade until well into the thirteenth century, when the outlet became silted up.

Peterborough did not develop, therefore, as a trading centre at the site of a major land route crossing a river, and in this it differs from the four towns I have already mentioned, all of which were fortified by the early tenth century. Its position on the very edge of the fenland was probably chosen in the first place as much for remoteness as anything else, though as an abbey it needed better communications than the sites chosen by hermits for cells at Crowland and Thorney, Peakirk and Eye. The Nene (along its old course) gave access by boat, in one direction to the ancient ecclesiastical and administrative centre of Oundle and its hinterland, and in the other to the Wash and so to Lincoln (via the Witham, the Roman Car Dyke having fallen into disuse when the legions left) and to Ely (via the Ouse), as well as the North Sea. Using the other arm of the Nene and Whittlesey Mere and Ugg Mere, it was possible to travel by water from Peterborough to Ramsey.

So important were these waterways, that road communications probably took second place in the pre-Conquest period, and perhaps for some centuries afterwards. The route to Eye was above the peat level, so that a cart track from Peterborough must have existed at an early date, but how much further this went in the directions of Thorney and Crowland is problematical.

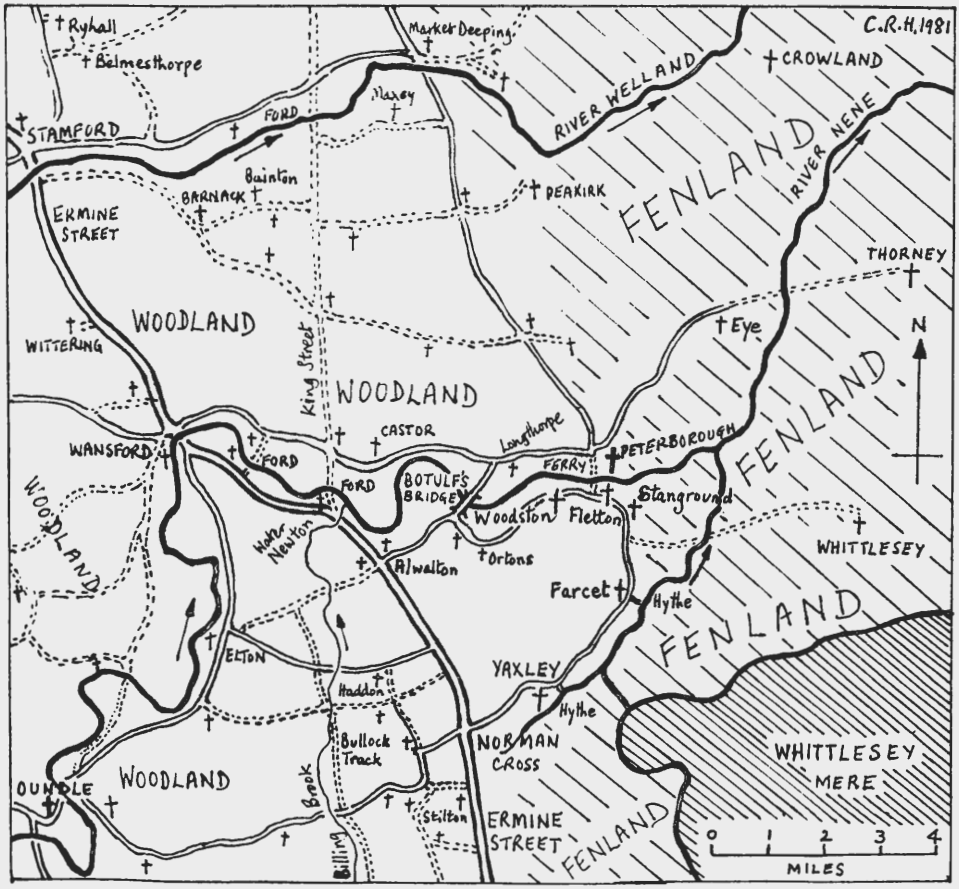


FIG. 1. THE PETERBOROUGH REGION IN THE LATE TENTH CENTURY: A SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION

A road certainly ran northwards from Peterborough through Walton and Glinton to Deeping, where the Welland may have been crossed by a ford. There must have been eastern offshoots from this to the early settlements at Werrington and Peakirk, and western communications via Barnack to Ermine Street, south of the Welland at Stamford. There is no doubt either that a road ran westwards from Peterborough north of the Nene, through Longthorpe (once a Roman fort) and Castor (an early monastic site) to join Ermine Street at Wansford. The territory to the north of this road was wooded and sparsely populated and it is uncertain how much use was still made of King Street, a secondary Roman road, in the Anglo Saxon period. I think by then it was probably no more than a cart track for local traffic.

It is the road communications to the south of Peterborough in the early mediaeval period that give rise to the greatest speculation. Our chief point of reference is Ermine Street, which skirted the fenland as closely as possible as it ran northwards from Huntingdon to ford the Nene at Wansford and the Welland at Stamford. The placename Norman Cross is first attested in 971, so it must date from the Danish settlement in the late ninth century, but the road junction there is no doubt a good deal older than that. Westwards from the junction, the route to Oundle is likely to be an old one. Eastwards the road ran through the ancient settlements of Yaxley, Farcet, Stanground, Fletton, and Woodston to form a loop within the two

arms of the Nene, rejoining Ermine Street at Alwalton. It is fundamental to appreciate that the road now running northwards from Yaxley towards Peterborough is a modern one. So too is Yaxley Broadway. The original route ran along Main Street, Yaxley; the site of the church, here as elsewhere, gives us the clue to the ancient topography. The hythes at Yaxley and Farcet are attested in a charter of 956, but they were probably much older than that. The whole of the Nene valley was one of the earliest regions of Anglian settlement, and place-names such as Farcet are very old indeed.

We return now to the question posed at the beginning of this essay. At what point did the route southwards from Peterborough originally traverse the Nene? Undoubtedly Ermine Street forded the river at Wansford, and a little further downstream the ford between Sutton and Stibbington is well attested. So too is the ford north of Water Newton, where King Street parts from Ermine Street to cross the Nene, just north of the Roman town of Durobrivae. But the most important route across the river in early medieval times must I think have been at Botulf's Bridge, which lay between Orton Waterville and Longthorpe. (See my paper on St. Mary's, Huntingdon, listed below). The bridge is attested in Domesday Book, as is its namesake at Huntingdon. St. Botulf was an East Anglican saint who settled at Iken in Suffolk, where he died in 680. In the late tenth century his relics were shared between Ely, Bury St. Edmunds, and Thorney. He became the patron saint of travellers, and bridges and causeways were often named after him. Those across the Ouse at Huntingdon and the Nene west of Peterborough lay directly on the route from Thorney to the south, and I have no doubt that these two bridges received their names before the end of the tenth century.

No doubt too there was a ferry across the Nene at Peterborough, but we have no evidence of an early bridge or ford there, and I do not believe there was one. Any attempt to reconstruct the early topography of the town should, I think, start from this supposition until such time as firm evidence is produced to controvert it.

In this short essay I have approached the matter from a historical standpoint, taking very little account of the archaeology or the geology of the region, in which I am not well versed. For brevity, I have made a large number of dogmatic statements, but I would not wish it to be thought that I regard the issues as closed. All I have done is to put forward my own opinions, in the hope that a fruitful debate may follow. I list below some of the books and papers on which my views are based.

Books and papers on the region by Dr. C. R. Hart

The Early Charters of Eastern England, 1966. Leicester University Press.
The Church of St. Mary, Huntingdon. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 1966, LIX, pp. 105-111.
The Hidation of Huntingdonshire. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 1968, LXI, pp. 55-66.
The Early History of Water Newton, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 1969, LVI-LVII, pp. 86-7.
The Hidation of Northamptonshire, 1970. Leicester University Press.
The Tribal Hidage. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 1971. 5th series, Vol. 21, pp. 133-157.
Danelaw Charters and the Glastonbury Scriptorium. 1972. *Downside Review*, Vol. 90, pp. 125-132.
Athelstan 'Half King' and his family. 1973. *Anglo-Saxon England*, II, pp. 115-144.
The Early History of Wisbech. 1973. *The Wisbech Society 34th Annual Report*. pp. 8-10.
The Hidation of Cambridgeshire. 1974. Leicester University Press.
Hereward "the Wake". 1974. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, LXV(2), pp. 28-40.
The Early Charters of Northern England. 1975. Leicester University Press.
The Kingdom of Mercia, in *Mercian Studies* ed. Ann Dornier. 1977. Leicester University Press. pp. 43-61.

The full Value given for Libraries or small

B. RICE

Antiquarian Books, Maps, Prints

Northamptonshire Material Our Speciality

Coins, Medals, Antiques, Restoration work, Repairs

Bookbinding, Picture-Frame Mouldings For Sale

or made up to your order

4 NORTH ST. OUNDLE

'Phones Oundle 3404 or 2611

parcels of Books, in money or exchange

HIGHGATE HOUSE CONFERENCE CENTRE

CREATON, NORTHAMPTON

Tel. Creaton (060124) 461/2

Telex 31438

PRIVATE MEETINGS AND LUNCHEONS OR RESIDENTIAL CONFERENCES

Highgate House is a 17th Century Country House with facilities developed over 16 years of catering for management groups.

There are private dining rooms and reception rooms in the main house. The Baronial Hall can accommodate a banquet of 55. We have 5 purpose built conference suites and leisure facilities which include swimming, tennis and croquet.

The centre is set in secluded countryside within 8 miles of the M1-M6 junction and provides a relaxed and private atmosphere with an exceptional standard of catering.

Contact: Jackie Rowland, Creaton 461

THE MEDIEVAL HERMITAGE OF GRAFTON REGIS*

GEOFFREY PARKER

In 1964 and 1965 an archaeological excavation directed by Miss Christine Mahany and financed by the Department of the Environment was undertaken in a field adjoining the village of Grafton Regis in South Northamptonshire. The remains of a small religious house, constructed in the traditional manner, were uncovered: a pillared cloister (measuring 34 by 25 feet internally) was flanked by a chapel (measuring 48 by 15 feet internally and containing fourteen graves); there were several other buildings around the cloister, some of them two stories high; and beyond lay a dovecote, outbuildings perhaps used as a hospital, and a complex containing ovens, a drying kiln and an emplacement for a brewer's vat. Among the finds were a leaden papal *bulla* of Nicholas IV (1288-92) and a number of fifteenth-century tiles bearing the coat-of-arms of the Woodville family and of the royal house of York.

But what was it? No popular memory of a priory or hospital on the site has survived, and nothing was found in the course of the excavation which offered positive identification to marry the historical and the archaeological records. It is virtually certain, however, that the site excavated was the "Hermitage of Grafton", a small religious house of the Augustinian Order. Admittedly the nineteenth-century antiquarian, George Baker, confidently situated the Hermitage in Shaw Wood, three miles from Grafton Regis; but Baker based this topographical attribution on a single document—a will of 1434—and even there the context does not in fact indicate the house's location with certainty.[1] Earlier documents, however, always refer to "the Hermitage of Grafton", and sometimes to "the Hermitage of Grafton iuxta Alderton"—and the site lies precisely between these two villages. It is most unlikely that another considerable religious house existed so close to our site, even though Northamptonshire is particularly rich in them; and it is equally unlikely that a house as large as the one excavated at Grafton should have entirely escaped notice in every surviving historical source. The assumption that our site was the Hermitage receives support from two scraps of evidence. First, the historical record shows that the Woodville family were the patrons of the Hermitage, and our site contained unmistakeable signs of the family's presence —the crested Woodville tiles. Second, a description of the villages of Grafton and Alderton prepared by the crown's surveyors in 1558 mentioned a small wood in the area where the excavation took place, called, significantly, "Ye Armitage Grove".[2] This is as firm a link between the archaeology and the history of our site as we are likely to get.

The earliest reference to a hermitage at Grafton comes from an undated charter of Abbot Walklin (1180-1205) of St. James's monastery at Northampton: it was witnessed by "Helia, hermita de Grafton".[3] Hermits were so common in Angevin England—there

Notes

*In preparing this paper I received valuable comments and suggestions from Professors C. R. Cheney, J. C. Dickinson, Rosalind Hill, David Knowles and Walter Ullmann, from Dr David Lowe, Mr. H. M. Colvin, Mr P. I. King and Mrs Dorothy Warren. I am also most grateful to Miss Christine Mahany, director of the excavation, and to Dr David Coombs her deputy, for assistance on the site. Miss Mahany has also provided expert criticism and help at every stage.

[1] George Baker, *The history and antiquities of the county of Northampton*, II (London, 1830), 170-1. 'Shaw Wood' appears only among a list of properties associated with the Hermitage.

[2] P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice], *S.P.* 11/12 no. 68, fo 136vo: survey of the royal manor and park of Grafton in 1558. An earlier but less thorough survey, in 1526, also mentioned a 'grove of tymber' but did not name it: PRO *E.* 36 vol. 179 fo 36.

[3] B[odleian] L[ibrary] O[xford], *Bridges Ms* E. 412. This manuscript is a copy of the cartulary of St. James's, subsequently destroyed by fire, and was made by assistants of the antiquary John Bridges (1660-1724), whose work was only published in full in 1791. The surviving fragments of the original cartulary are in British Library, *Cotton Ms.* Tib. E. 5.

PLATE 1. AIR PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN FROM THE NORTH OF THE EXCAVATED HERMITAGE OF GRAFTON REGIS (*Aerofilms Ltd.*)

were probably more of them there than in any other country save Italy—that even though nothing further is known of Helias himself, we can make certain assumptions about him. The fact that he witnessed the charter of an Augustinian abbot suggests that Helias was living under the Augustinian rule (the shortest and vaguest of the three then current). He may even have begun his religious life at St. James's, which had itself only been founded in the 1140s, and later followed a call to solitude. Monastic authorities tended at this time to look favourably on the eremitic way of life and sought to establish and strengthen contacts between the hermits and themselves (partly through conviction and partly because the existence of a celebrated holy-man among their number, whose remains could be returned to the parent abbey at his death, increased the prestige of their house and might thus help to attract new recruits and even new donations). By the early fourteenth century, the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds had forty-two dependent hermitages, all of them in or near Suffolk; it is unlikely that the Hermitage of Grafton was the only one belonging to St. James's, Northampton.[4]

In the course of the thirteenth century, the Hermitage came to be occupied not by one solitary recluse but by several. By 1256, and perhaps a little before, a small religious community under a Master was living there; and in 1268 we have the first recorded induction of a new master (Richard of Herleston, chaplain) to the "corporal possession of the said hospital". The bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Grafton lay, enjoined the "brothers and other ministers of the said

[4] H. Dauphin, 'L' érémitisme en Angleterre aux XIe et XIIe siècles' in *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII* (Milan, 1965), 271-310, especially pp. 299-303; and J. C. Dickinson, *The origins of the Austin canons and their introduction into England* (London, 1950), 143. At p. 125 n.3, Dickinson reconstitutes the early history of St. James's, but he does not mention the Hermitage. Since no record of the house's foundation exists in the records of the bishop of Lincoln, which are full from 1203 onwards, it would seem that Helias was established at Grafton before that date. On the general phenomenon of hermits see R. M. Clay, *Hermits and anchorites of England* (London, 1914).

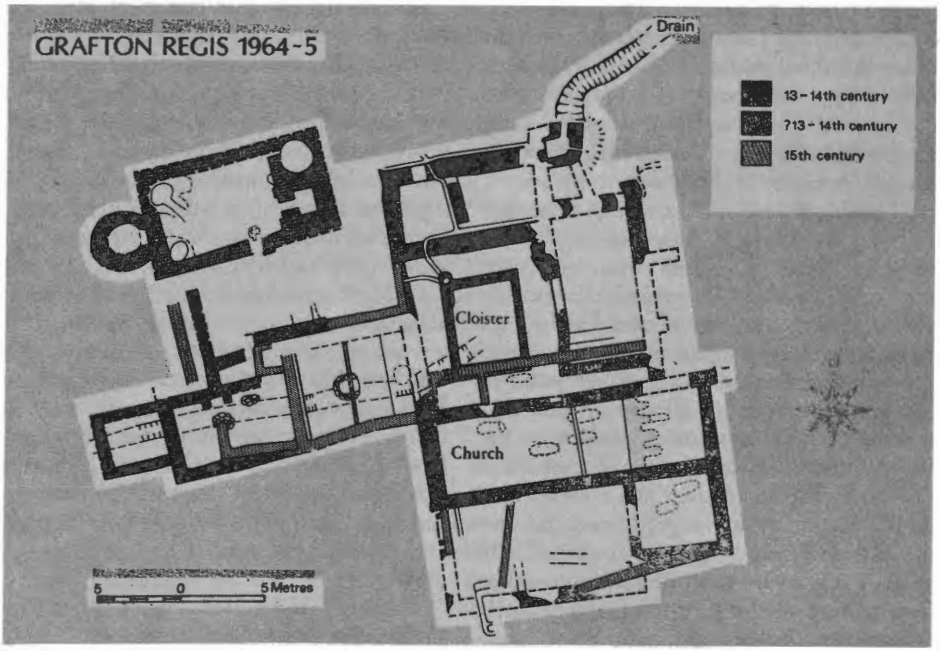


FIG. 1. PLAN OF THE HERMITAGE AT GRAFTON REGIS EXCAVATED IN 1964-65.
(*Crown Copyright*)

house" to obey their new master, who had been presented to the post by a local landowner, James Wydeville or Woodville.[5] It was perhaps Herleston who presided over the building of the Hermitage, with its chapel, cloister and dormitory (all of them clearly thirteenth-century work), and who received donations from three local landlords for the "Hermitage of St. Mary and St. Michael": three undated charters from the reign of Henry III (1216-72) bestowed an annual revenue of 8s. 10d. for the support of the "master and brothers" in perpetuity.[6] Almost certainly, a further endowment came from the patrons of the house, the Woodville family, who had already founded, circa 1155, a Praemonstratensian abbey fifteen miles away at Welford (later moved to Sulby). In the early thirteenth century a branch of this family succeeded to lands in Grafton and moved there, and no doubt they shared the desire of most other knightly families in the shire to endow a local religious establishment where masses and prayers would be said continuously for them and for the souls of their ancestors.[7] Finding the local parish

[5] PRO *C.* 66/70 [*Patent Roll 40 Henry III*] membrane 506): royal protection was granted for three years to the master and brothers, which may well have been requested by the patron for a new foundation; but letters of protection were granted very frequently at this time and do not necessarily imply recent establishment. The institution of 1268 is printed in *Register of bishop Gravesend 1258-79* (Lincoln Record Society vol. XX), 110: 16 Kal. anno 10 (=1268).

[6] *Catalogue of the Fermor-Hesketh* (*Easton Neston*) *Papers* (National Register of Archives), no. 915, grant by Robert de Tuyford, witnessed by Thomas, William and Richard de Wydville (all alive in the 1240s and '50s); BLO *Bridges Ms.* E. 402, grant by William de Bonde of Alderton (witnessed by William and Richard de Videvyll); and E. 403, grant by Engelram Cumyn.

[7] W. Farrer, *Honors and knights' fees*, III (London, 1925), 379-80. The parish church of Grafton, like the manor, belonged to the Benedictine abbey of Grestein in Normandy until 1348, when it (and the abbey's seven other English manors) were sold to a wealthy merchant. In 1354 they were conveyed to Sir Michael de la Pole, but were alienated after his fall in 1388. In the fifteenth century Grafton became the *caput honoris* of the Woodvilles, and charters of the 1460s even refer to it as Grafton Woodville. On the alien priories, including Grestein, see D. Matthew, *The Norman monasteries and their English possessions* (Oxford, 1962).

church to be held by an alien abbey (Grestein in Normandy), they seem to have turned to the other spiritual centre in the village and built upon the pious work of Helias. Turning a hermit's cell into a small convent and preserving its links with a larger neighbouring house (St. James's at Northampton) was a sensible and safe way of ensuring that the founder's grant would produce a longer return in spiritual benefits than a single hermit could provide.[8] The transition from an eremitic cell to a complex of church for orations, hospital for travellers or paupers, and accommodation for the brothers was therefore a frequent one in the thirteenth century, often aided by the natural tendency for hermits to attract disciples or assistants: the terms "chantry" or "chapel", "hospital" and "hermitage" became largely interchangeable.[9] Although no trace of a Woodville donation has survived, we may assume that one was given: on the one hand, the family's right to present to the mastership was always upheld, indicating a founder's rights; on the other, the cost of building the cloister, chapel and the rest must have been substantial and a large endowment would have been needed to cover it.[10]

At the death of Richard of Herleston in 1284, the community at Grafton was already thriving, for when John de Woodville presented Brother Walter Frusellu (a monk) to the mastership, the brothers of the Hermitage put forward a rival candidate of their own; but the bishop of Lincoln upheld Woodville's right to choose the master. In 1313, after Frusellu's death, two rivals of Woodville tried to gain the right to present the next master, and the patron had to take the matter to the king's court in Westminster before his advowson was finally upheld, and "the brothers and sisters and other ministers of the house" were ordered to accept Woodville's choice for the mastership, the priest Adam of Banfield.[11] Clearly the Hermitage was worth squabbling over at the turn of the century; but it did not long remain so. Although the Woodvilles presented a new master in 1340 (William of Radford, priest) and 1349 (Simon of Olney, also a priest), both incumbents were instructed to serve as "perpetual chaplains": no mention was made of any brethren at the house, nor of any hospital functions. Simon of Olney became rector of a neighbouring parish, Paulerspury, in 1364, and no new master was presented by the Woodville family, although they resided at Grafton and were extremely active in the county. Eventually, in 1370, the bishop of Lincoln himself appointed Walter Childe "priest of the chantry of the hermitage of St. Michael of Grafton" because the lay patron had failed to present a candidate within the stipulated time. Childe seems to have been the last master: no further appointments appear in the very full episcopal registers at Lincoln. Grafton Hermitage had evidently become one of the hundreds of perpetual chantries in England, many of them formerly small convents no longer able to attract new recruits, which had to be totally abandoned

[8] Numerous examples of this development are given by Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin canons*, 145-8, and by Dauphin 'L'érémitisme en Angleterre', 278-9 and n. 35.

[9] See Dauphin, *op. cit.*, 272-3 and 309-10. The hospital at Aynho, a few miles from Grafton, was very similar: see *The Victoria County History of England: Northamptonshire*, II, 150.

[10] It is quite likely that the papal *bulla* of Nicholas IV (April 1288—March 1292), found on the site, was attached to a letter which either confirmed the establishment of the new religious house (albeit at least thirty years afterwards) or, more probably, authorized the construction of new buildings. There is no record in Rome, for only between 5 and 10 percent of all papal letters are thought to have been registered, and unfortunately neither the published registers of Nicholas IV (ed. E. Langlois) nor the *Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (ed. W. H. Bliss) mention the Hermitage. Papal missives on more serious matters concerning the Hermitage—for instance relating to the disputed election of 1284 or the appointment of a judge delegate—would have been sent to the biship of Lincoln or the abbey of St. James, but again the registers are silent, so further speculation is pointless.

[11] Rosalind M. T. Hill, ed., *The register of Bishop Oliver Sutton*, II (Lincoln Record Society vol. XLIII), 41; L[incoln] R[ecord] O[ffice], *Bishop's registers* 2 fo 125v: Dalderby's order, quoting the royal writ in favour of Woodville.

due to the shortage of clergy after the Black Death.[12]

Yet the Hermitage still possessed lands and revenues in seven villages which yielded a revenue of 35 shillings yearly, and in 1434 a conscientious patron, Thomas Woodville, tried to revive the moribund institution for which he felt responsible. In the will he had drawn up that year, a fine example of early English testamentary style, he instructed his trustees to convey the Hermitage, its lands and revenues and his rights over it, for the term of fifty years, to the abbey of St. James at Northampton (the nearest house of the Augustinian order which was in a position to help the ailing Hermitage and which might feel an obligation to do so). In return, Thomas asked that the abbey should use the new revenues to maintain "five poor men and a keeper" (probably, although this is not made explicit, living at the Hermitage).[13]

Thomas's will was disputed by his half-brother and heir Richard, so that St. James's did not receive its donation until 1442, a year after Richard's death; but there is little archaeological evidence to suggest that the abbey ever fulfilled its part of the bargain—only a pair of spurs and a few sherds of pottery clearly belonging to this period were found. Probably, like many other religious houses at this time, St. James's did not have any men to spare for outlying cells and instead used all available resources on maintaining the standard of service at the main complex. Perhaps in disgust, at some point during the reign of Edward IV (1461-83), the Woodville family took the Hermitage over again. This is clearly stated in a royal writ of December 1483 which ordered the sheriff of Northampton to restore the house and its revenues to St. James, which had been "wrongfully and ayenst right put out and disseased" by the Woodvilles.[14] No doubt the family, who after 1464 were the king's brothers-in-law, were responsible for the considerable reconstruction of this period discovered during the course of the excavation: the cloister was sealed off, curtailing the inhabited area, a new room with two hearths was built, and the chapel was re-floored with Woodville and York tiles —all indicating a considerable investment of time and trouble on what must have been a fairly derelict building. A number of coins of Edward IV were found in the rebuilt areas of the Hermitage, indicating that it was used if not occupied; but by the time the Woodvilles fell from power, just after the king's death, there was still no resident priest, for in the will of Antony Woodville second earl Rivers, in June 1483, money was left "toward the fynding of a preest of tharmitage".[15] Perhaps Rivers had used the Hermitage as a private family chapel, since the one in his house at Grafton appears to have become dilapidated: as late as 1482, Antony was concerned to repair his "chapel" and his attorney and business agent, Andrew Dymmock, was told to "goo to Grafton to se my chappell ther for

[12] LRO *Bishop's registers* 4 fo. 235 (for 1340), 9 fo. 179 (for 1349) and 10 fo. 180 (for 1370). See also, for parallel developments elsewhere, K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965), 36-7, 116.
Dr C. Given-Wilson of the university of St. Andrews has pointed out to me the existence of another religious house with a history very similar to that of the Hermitage. Finchale Priory, in Weardale, was a twelfth-century hermitage 'colonized' by monks from Durham, who added a cloister and offices and extended the original chapel in the thirteenth century. Before the Black Death, there were about fifteen brothers at the Priory, but afterwards it fell into disuse until in the fifteenth century it was restored to serve as a 'holiday camp' for the monks, who spent a period of leave there in rotation. See C. Peers, *Finchale Priory* (H.M.S.O. Guidebook: London, 1973).

[13] Will printed in Baker, *History and antiquities*, II, 162-3; subsequent litigation in PRO *Early Chancery Proceedings*, C.1/19/330-2. The conveyance finally took place in 1442: see Baker, *op. cit.*, II, 171, quoting from the Fermor-Hesketh (Easton Neston) papers (N.R.A. catalogue no. 921).

[14] Warrant of 10 Dec. 1483, printed Baker, *op. cit*, II, 171.

[15] Will printed in S. Bentley, ed., *Excerpta historica or illustrations of English history* (London, 1831), 246-8 (from a copy in the Canterbury Prerogative Office; the original has been lost). A floor of Woodville tiles alternating with Yorkist insignia would scarcely have been laid after Antony's execution in June 1483, nor before the accession of Edward IV in 1461. Perhaps the floor pattern was a pleasing and subdued form of propaganda for the marriage of Edward IV to Elizabeth Woodville, Antony's sister, in 1464. It is indeed possible that the wedding took place in the Hermitage, since the chroniclers who provide detail on the event record that it took place in Grafton itself, but 'prevely in a secrete place'. It must have been a consecrated building all the same, and the village only had the Hermitage—apart from the church, which was hardly 'secrete'. See Fabyan's chronicle, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1811), 654; and Warkworth's chronicle, ed. J. O. Halliwell (Camden Society ,London, 1839), 3.

such work as must be done ther".[16] But a few months later Antony was executed for treason and it is unlikely that any work had been commenced.

It is also unlikely that St. James's was able to finance further activities at the Hermitage after its procurators resumed possession late in 1483, for the abbey was already experiencing difficulty in maintaining its charitable obligations in Northampton. Perhaps it was formally decided to suppress the Hermitage, for no record of its survival is contained in the papers concerning the dissolution of St. James's and its dependent houses in August 1538. The will of Richard Woodville, third and last Earl Rivers, made in 1491, mentioned the "old inheritance" which he had of the Hermitage —no doubt referring to the fact that his uncle Thomas's grant to the abbey of St. James, for fifty years, was now almost expired. But he left no money for the upkeep of the Hermitage, even though several items were bequeathed to the village church (including a special bell, a "tenor", to toll in the steeple "for a remembrance of the last of the blood").[17]

The rest of the Woodville lands were left by Richard to the son of his sister, Queen Elizabeth, by her first marriage: Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset. He and his son, the second marquis, either began or expanded a park at Grafton where they could hunt. By 1526, when the marquis conveyed Grafton to King Henry VIII, the park covered 102 acres; by 1558 it had expanded to 307 acres, and a survey of that year recorded the existence of "ye Armitage grove", covering $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres and apparently situated right over the excavated site.[18] No mention of ruins was made in the detailed survey, so perhaps the Hermitage had been levelled: planting trees over disturbed ground in the new park was obviously a sensible measure. Levelling might also explain why the dressed stones of the old religious house were not used in the repair of the manor house at Grafton by the king's surveyor of works, James Nedham. Henry VIII enjoyed visiting his new possession (hence the change in the name of the village to Grafton *Regis*) and he commanded several changes to be made to the house (including the construction of a bowling alley). But in the detailed accounts of the works carried out in the 1530s, although used stone was brought from a decayed castle three miles away (Castlethorpe, which was demolished specifically to provide stone for Grafton), there is no mention of any being carried across the road from the adjacent site of the Hermitage. Since carriage charges were high, it is safe to assume that, had any stone been easily available at the excavated site, it would have been used.[19] When Henry VIII looked out of the new front windows of his house at Grafton, all he saw was parkland and woods. By 1964, not even a local tradition or memory was left to identify the bewildering complex of rubble which lay just below the surface.

[16] PRO *E.* 315/486, no. 24, Rivers to Dymmock (undated, but written after 1475 and before 1483, probably in 1482). See E. W. Ives, 'Andrew Dymmock and the papers of Antony Earl Rivers, 1482-3', *Bulletin of the Institute of Histroical Research*, XLI (1968), 216-29, at p. 221. The 'old chapel' in the manor house was repaired again in 1536 by Henry VIII's builders.

[17] Parts printed by Baker, *History and antiquities*, II, 165-6.

[18] PRO *E.* 36/179 fos. 31-9 and *SP* 11/12 no. 68. The Parliamentary survey of 1649 (PRO *E.* 317 Northants. no 23) recorded 1002 acres, 200 deer, 7533 trees and the 'fishpond well stored with small fishes'. But the 'Armitage Grove' had disappeared. The site excavations revealed a substantial collection of lead shot for pistols and arquebus, but no more than would be explained by generations of hunters stalking or hiding in the 'grove'.

[19] References from the books of James Nedham (or Nedeham) kindly supplied by Mr H. M. Colvin. A list of them is appended to H. M. Colvin, *The history of the King's Works*, III (London, 1975), 398-9. There will be a full notice on Grafton House, which was partially pulled down by a royal lessee in the 1630s and was virtually razed to the ground in 1643 by Parliamentary forces, in volume IV of *The history of the King's Works*. Castlethorpe had been forfeited by the crown from the earl of Warwick in 1471.

SOME SEVENTEENTH CENTURY NORTHAMPTONSHIRE SCHOOLS

D. K. SHEARING

The still unpublished Christopher Wase manuscripts housed at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, are an invaluable source of information for the historian of seventeenth century education.[1]

Some interesting light is shed on the early days of Kettering Grammar School[2] by conscientious Wase correspondent Thomas Leigh of Bishop's Stortford in a letter dated 19 July 1676, which runs in part:

> Mr. Fowler ye present master tells me that ye Royalty of Kettering upon ye death of ye Lord Parre of Horton (I think) reverted to ye Crowne, and Queen Elizabeth let a lease thereof for 32 years, assigning therein ye rents of certain houses of £22 per annum to maintain a schoolmaster; ye said lease was renewed in King James's time and expired about 14 years agone. Ye said King gave ye reversion to his son Prince Charles and he preferring to sell it, ye Town imploy'd 10 men to buy it out for ye town in general; but those 10 bought it for themselves and had it granted without any exception of ye school rents. So that on ye expiring of ye later lease, ye school master's maintenance would have ceased, but that they cannot (and never may they) find ye original grant of ye Prince, and so Mr. Fowler now injoys ye said rents who is also rector of Kettering, if that may be called a Rectory that hath neither great nor small tithes, nor ye perquisites of marriages, burials as ye Lord of Rockingham hath now 6 parts of ye 10 into which ye Lordship was parcelled upon ye foresaid fraudulent purchase and so hath ye nomination of ye master, as well as presentation of ye Rector, who commonly are one and ye same person.[3]

In a second illuminating communication, Leigh conveyed gossip touching Geddington School, erected in 1635. Referring to its founder Sir Robert Dallington as "ye much commended Author of Aphorisms Civil and Military", he continued:

> He had intentions to indow it with £20 per annum but they were strangely diverted. Some say ye neighbouring gentry discouraged it, not being willing poor people's children (that would have been taught free) should mix with theirs in that then most famous school of all ye countrey. Others say Mr. Chaloner (who was afterward Master of Shrewsbury School) ye then master, thinking if it were made free it would proove lesse advantageous to him, dissuaded ye indowing of it in his time; however it is not indowed.[4]

Wherever the fault lay, the problems of operating without a guaranteed income must have contributed greatly to the school's demise.[5]

Inadvertently, Wase was discovering the truth of assertions that school monies were regularly misappropriated. His contemporary, the opportunist pamphleteer Marchamont Nedham lauded past generations for making 'very fair and honourable' educational provision,

[1] The Northamptonshire papers formed the basis of an article by the writer in the *Northampton and County Independent* (May 1977.) pp. 61-3. For further discussion of the collection as a whole see Chapter 2, W. A. L. Vincent, *The Grammar Schools; Their Continuing Tradition, 1660-1714.* (1969)

[2] This subject has aroused recent speculation. See B. A. York, 'The origins of Kettering Grammar School,' *Northamptonshire Past and Present* (Vol. VI., no. 1. 1978) pp. 21-7, and D. K. Shearing, 'Kettering schoolmasters in the Tudor and Stuart period', *Northamptonshire Past and Present* (Vol. VI., no. 2. 1979) pp. 81-2.

[3] Bodl. Lib. ref. ccc. 390. OXON Vol. 2. ff.75-6.

[4] CCC. 390. OXON. Vol. 2. ff.86/7.

[5] No additional Geddington masters before 1700 have been found in the Peterborough Diocesan Subscription and Visitation Books.

then asked, "But what do we add to our forefathers' stock?" By way of answer he went on:

> The Trustees and Governors . . . share the improvements amongst themselves, take all above the Salary for lawful prize and leave the Master to the bare old allowance, notwithstanding the vast increase of the old rents. So that by this means . . . lay men run away with the incouragements of learning and receive the rewards of the Master's industry.[6]

Conversely, Abthorpe's master Humphrey Nicoll was pleased to inform Wase that he was sustained in his work by several noble patrons including "Henry Carter of Paulerspury, Gent; Sir William Ffermor of Easton Neston and My Lord Waineman of Brackley". Having confirmed that his school was built in 1642, Nicholl elaborated, a trifle immodestly:

> The precedent schoole masters (I speake it not obliquely to praise myself) were so illiterate that their names may well be dormant with themselves in oblivion. For myself I have been 35 years a schoole master; here 35 years; my imployment never?—; my success, my scholars regularly entered in both universities is manifest.[7]

It is useful to learn that he was not the village's first master—although no names of predecessors have yet surfaced—and also his length of tenure in office. Previous knowledge of the man was confined to his August 1662 subscription to a declaration of conformity to Church of England liturgy.[8]

The Wase Papers enable us too, to fill in gaps in lists of masters which occur particularly in the Interregnum period for which there are, of course, no Church of England records. For instance, we are indebted to Thomas Leigh for two new names regarding Latham's School, Barnwell, *viz.* Robert Hipwell and David Brownstone who were appointed in 1645 and 1657 respectively.[9] At the King's School within Peterborough cathedral similarly, according to Robert Smyth the Headteacher in September 1675, a Mr. Firth held sway for a time during the troubled years.[10]

In a letter packed with diverse snippets, "R. Richardson of Clipston" informed Wase in January 1675/6 that despite Brixworth boasting "a schoolhouse lately built by ye Lords but without endowment", a few children from that parish journeyed daily to Scaldwell church where Samuel Cook taught. Here was no separate schoolroom, "nor like to be."[11] Probably skilled in his profession, Cook was the son of a Doddington husbandman and a graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge.[12] It is tempting to think that this correspondent was the accomplished acquaintance of Wase, Richard Richardson, Vicar of Brixworth, 1663-1700, and private tutor to young Thomas Isham.[13]

A Kettering resident, Mr. H. Perkins, placed local schools familiar to him in rank order consistent with size of stipend given. At "lately erected" Duddington, the master was paid £10; Burton Latimer, Little Harrowden (for pupils from Orlingbury also) and Pytchley (attended by children from Broughton and Isham) each paid £20; this was the sum allowed to the Guilsborough usher or under-master, while the Headmaster received a grand £50.[14] One occupant of the last-named post, a Mr. Whitelaw, was occasionally invited to Lamport Hall for dinner in 1671.[15] The *Diary* sub-editors have conjectured:

> Whitelaw is a name from Scotland and there were several men of this name, graduates of Scottish universities, who might fit; David, son of a burgess of Glasgow, matriculated at

[6] See 'A discourse concerning schools and schoolmasters,' (1663) in W. H. Dunham and S. Pargellis (Eds.) *Complaint and Reform in England, 1436-1714.* (Oxford 1938.) pp. 709-10.

[7] CCC. 390. OXON. Vol. 2. ff.72/3.

[8] Subscription Book 1. f11. He is mentioned by H. I. Longden, *Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy, 1500-1900.* (16 Vol., Northampton 1939-1943.) Vol. 10. p. 75.

[9] CCC. 390. OXON. Vol. 2. ff.75-6.

[10] CCC. 390. OXON. Vol. 2. ff.93-4.

[11] CCC. 390. OXON. Vol. 2. ff.95-6.

[12] Sir G. Isham (Gen. Ed.) *The Diary of Thomas Isham of Lamport, 1671-1673.* (Farnborough 1971.) p. 87.

[13] ibid., pp. 16, 75, 321; Longden, op. cit., Vol. II. p. 195.

[14] CCC. 390. OXON. Vol. 3. ff.194/4.

[15] *The Diary*, p. 71.

PLATE 1. AN OLD NORTHAMPTONSHIRE GRAMMAR SCHOOL, COURTEENHALL, founded before 1593. This building, a converted farmhouse, was erected under the bequest of Sir Samuel Jones, who died in 1672. (*Northamptonshire Libraries*)

Glasgow University in 1643; there are also Isaac (1645) and Joannes (1640) but all these are rather early in date; Jacobus Whitelaw, a graduate of Edinburgh University in 1663 . . . is the likeliest person . . .[16]

He was in fact called David, present at eight episcopal or achidiaconal visitations beginning May 1671. In April 1675 his name was crossed through by the scribe.[17]

Wase was told little—indeed, he did not ask—about teaching methods and school routine. Seventeenth century masters normally availed themselves of a good manual and closely followed the advice proffered.[18] Yet the original Rule Book of Aynho Grammar School, founded by the Cartwrights around the time of the Wase enquiry, paints a clear picture of procedure and ought to be more widely known. Probably written by John Cartwright in pursuance of his mother's will, it stipulated that 20 scholars be grounded in reading and writing the mother tongue, arithmetic, then Latin and Greek. A selection of the 27 Rules is reproduced:

1. The master to be chosen by John Cartwright and afterwards by his heirs "to ye end of ye world".

3. The scholars should be "sons of those yt are well known, unable to pay for their schooling and will be careful to send them constantly".

[16] ibid., p. 70.

[17] Visitation Book 8, ff. 76r, 88v, 97v, 109v, 126r, 132r, 143r, 154v, 168v.

[18] Typical, and surprisingly modern, is C. Hoole, *A new Discovery of the old art of Teaching Schoole* (1660) Ed. E. T. Campagnac (1913).

5. The entrance fee to be sixpence.
7. Thursdays and Saturdays to be half holidays.
8. The master "shall not use any unlawful or unfit punishment or correction, as striking with ye fist, plucking by ye hair etc.".
13. The boys "shall abstain from all unlawful games, sports or recreations as also from fighting, quarrelling or bargaining, from lying, swearing or stealing, from climbing trees or any high place for nests, apples etc. from washing[18A] except 5 or 6 more be present if under ye age of 14".
14. If any gentleman shall give money "for buying books, presenting schollers to university, or setting them apprentice", the free boys to have first chance.
15. The scholars shall learn a part of the catechism weekly.
16. The scholars shall go to Church each Sunday, sit together, write out the sermon and repeat next morning.
18. The bell to be rung at 6 a.m. from Candlemas to Michaelmas and at 7 a.m. outside this period.
20. School prayers to be said daily.
21. Those scholars "which learn Virgil, Homer etc. shall speak Latin continually in and about or near ye school".
23. The scholars "shall never come with their hands and face unwashed, their hayre uncombed".
26. The scholars shall contribute towards a fire in winter, either fuel or money.
27. The master to be allowed to take in fee-payers above the foundation 20.[19]

The earliest Aynho master traced is William Basset, B.A., who subscribed in December 1665.[20]

Having amassed a wealth of statistical data, Wase argued the case for strengthening the Grammar School system.[21] His respectable objective had been shared by such as Samuel Heart of Bozeat who stated in June 1674:

> I can presage in some measure ye excellent end wherewith this your labour and zeal may be crowned with, for if ye design in its swaddling cloathes and while yet in ye sheets thus rake and call up ye remembrance of that which ignorance and designe had conspired themselves to have soe deepely buried and soe darkely hid, I cannot feel but its maturity and full growth may crowne you with praise, and ye Church and State much comfort bring your own everlasting name and honour.[22]

The book's material, however, was so innocuous as to be a disappointment. Certainly there were many influential people in the land who had reason to fear publicity. On contentious matters therefore, Wase decided to maintain a discreet silence.

[18A] Washing was presumably bathing or swimming.
[19] N.R.O., Document ZA. 4556.
[20] Subscription Book 2 (unfol.).
[21] *Considerations Concerning Free Schools as Settled in England.* (Oxford 1678).
[22] CCC. 390. OXON. Vol. 2.f.101.

THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE COMMISSION OF THE PEACE (1702) AND PARLIAMENTARY POLLS (1702, 1705)

JAMES ALSOP

LISTS OF THE COMMISSION OF THE PEACE AT THE DEATH OF WILLIAM III

It is well known that the sources revealing the composition of the commissions of the peace during the eighteenth century are scarce and fragmentary.[1] It is therefore worthwhile to note the existence of two related manuscript accounts of the Northamptonshire commission as it stood at the death of William III in 1702. The first of these is the previously known *libri pacis* which was drawn up for all the commissions throughout England in April 1702 for the Queen.[2] It names eighty members of the Northamptonshire commission, besides the unspecified attorney-general, solicitor-general, and the membership of the Privy Council.[3] Associated with this document is a previously unused manuscript contained in the papers of Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland, which is entitled "The Names of the Justices of the Peace resident in the County of Northampton that were in the Commission the last Year of King Williams Reign".[4] This lists seventy-eight justices of the peace who were classed as residing within the county.

In spite of some differences between the two documents it is obvious that they were closely related and were presumably composed from the same source. Seventy-six of the names are found on both lists. The Sunderland paper omits only four of the eighty justices specified in the *libri pacis* (Richard Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough, William Lord FitzWilliam, Sir Thomas Middleton, and Sir John Aubrey). It also includes Robert, Earl of Sunderland and Ralph, Earl of Montagu who are not named in the *libri pacis*, being included among the unspecified members of the whole Privy Council. The order of the justices is identical in the two lists, with the exception of the baronets Sir Caesar Child and Sir Richard Newman, whose names are reversed in Sunderland's paper because Child was forgotten and later added to the end of the section for baronets. Several individuals in the *libri pacis* were also added between the lines after the document was composed: the Bishop of Peterborough, Sir Edward Ward, Sir John Blencowe. The last two are in their proper places in Sunderland's list. Further proof of the common origin of the two documents lies in the fact that they both omit the Christian name of "Clarke of Dorthapp". Moreover, the *libri pacis* included the places of residence for nine of the justices and three of these were carried over onto Sunderland's document (Lee, Clarke, and Winston), although the others were dropped. Both lists also divide the justices, after the first section for peers, law officers, etc., into baronets, knights, and esquires. This is plainest in the Sunderland paper, where right-hand brackets denote each unit; the *libri pacis* merely has the degree entered beside the name of the last justice in each of the three categories. Whereas the *libri pacis* is neatly written and in English, the list of resident justices is in an untidy hand and, with the exception of the heading, in Latin.

An amalgamated version of these two lists is printed below. The *libri pacis* was taken as the basis for this, and is reproduced in full for Northamptonshire. An asterisk indicates that the

[1] L. K. J. Glassey and Norma Landau, 'The Commission of the Peace in the Eighteenth Century: A New Source', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XLV (1972), 247-8.

[2] *Ibid.*, 248.

[3] British Library, Harleian Ms. 7512, fos. 40-1.

[4] The Sunderland manuscripts form part of the Blenheim Papers which have recently been acquired by the British Library. The references cited are to the Additional Manuscript volumes, with the previous Blenheim Palace citations included in parenthesis. The commission is in Add. Ms. 61, 611, fos. 173-4 (Blenheim Palace file D 2/10).

name also appears on Sunderland's list of resident justices. The Earls of Sunderland and Montagu, who as Privy Councillors were not spedified in the *libri pacis*, have been inserted in the appropriate place in square brackets.

The commission at the death of William III

* George Earle of Northampton
* Charles Earle of Peterborough
* [Robert Earl of Sunderland]
* [Ralph Earl of Montague]
* Lyonell Earle of Dysert
* Henry Viscount Longueville
* Christopher Viscount Hatton Custos Rotulorum
* Henry Viscount Obrien
Richard Bishop of Peterborough [added later to *libri pacis*]
* Lewis Lord Rockingham
* William Lord Lempster
William Lord Fitz Williams
* Sir Edward Ward Knt. [added later to *libri pacis*]
* Sir John Blencowe Knt. [added later to *libri pacis*]
* Sidney Wortley alias Montague Esquire
* William Montagu Sergant att Law
* Sir Robert Hesilrige
* Sir Justinian Isham
* Sir Roger Cave
* Sir Erasmus Norwich
* Sir John Langham
* Sir James Robinson
* Sir St. Andrew St. John
* Sir Mathew Dudley
* Sir Cesar Child [placed after Newman in the Sunderland list]
* Sir Richard Newman Barronetts
* Sir William Craven
* Sir John Briscoe
Sir Thomas Middleton
Sir John Aubrey Knights
* Sir Salathiell Lovell Knight the late Kings Serjeant at Law and Recorder of London
* Thomas Andrew
* Richard Rainsford
* John Parkhurst
* Henry Edwards
* Francis Arundell
* William Thursby
* Thomas Cartwright of Aynhoe
* Edward Stratford
* Thomas Colthurst
* Tobias Chancy
* Ralph Freeman the Younger
* Francis St. John
* John Creswell
* Robert Maunsell
* Thomas Ekins of Rushden
* Francis Morgan
* William Adams
* William Lisle
* Richard Butler
* John Bridges
* John Clendon
* Thomas Thornton of Brockhall
* Charles Kirkham
* Henry Rushton
* John Lynn
* Gerrard Gore
* Elmas Steward
* John Weaver
* Moses Buthurst
* Richard Kinnesman
* Thomas Langham
* Samuell Tryon
* John Creed
* Gilbert Dolben
* William Botler
* William Ward of Houghton
* Henry Benson
* William Lee of Cold Ashby
* Charles How
* William Ives
* Charles Tryon
* Harvey Ekins
* John Allicock
* Thomas Hanbury of Kilmarsh
* Edward Ladkins
* Christopher Montagu
* Charles Egerton
* Thomas Maydwell of Geddington
* Thomas Deacon
* Clarke of Dorthapp
* John Winston of Everdon Esquires

The Lords and others of his late Majesties most Honourable Privy Council his said late Majesties Attorney and Sollicitor Generall.

THE PARLIAMENTARY POLLS OF 1702 AND 1705

The parliamentary elections of July 1702 and May 1705 took place in an important period of political strife, and several new manuscripts have been discovered which supplement Eric Forrester's detailed study of this topic.[5] Both elections were particularly hard fought, with the veteran Tories Sir Justinian Isham and Thomas Cartwright being returned with small majorities over their Whig opponents.[6] The latter were Charles Spencer, son and heir apparent of the second Earl of Sunderland, and Sir St. Andrew St. John in the first election, and St. John and the Earl of Peterborough's son Lord Mordaunt in the second. The Spencer family had extensive political influence in the county and it is not surprising that this new information is contained in the private papers of the third Earl of Sunderland who, as Lord Spencer, had contested the 1702 election unsuccessfully.

The most important document is a manuscript copy of the election polls for both contests, which is printed below.[7] This is a summary of the complete polls, providing for each hundred the total number of freeholders, with those who voted Whig, those who voted Tory, and those who mixed their votes. It is readily apparent that this is based upon the detailed results published for both elections in London in 1705.[8] The value of this summary is three-fold. In the first place, it is a contemporary manuscript source which can be used to substantiate the published version; the only manuscript account available to Forrester was the much later 1748 Election Book.[9] Secondly, it provides convenient totals for each hundred, east and west Northamptonshire, and the county. The published results do not include any of these figures; they must be laboriously calculated by hand. In this context, it is noteworthy that the total number of freemen eligible to vote in the elections was put at 6,304, while those who were polled totalled 4,517 and 4,876, respectively. This is considerably higher than the estimate of 4,000 voters for the county which currently represents the best ascertainable figures for the period 1715 to 1754.[10] Finally, the manuscript is helpful in revealing contemporary attitudes towards the elections. In particular, the divisions between Whig, Tory, and mixed are interesting since the printed polls list only the individual for whom each elector voted, without specifying party affiliations. The summary, therefore, shows the territorial strength of the parties throughout the county at a glance, and would have been useful to Sunderland in planning future elections.

The second document of interest for Northamptonshire elections is an original letter from Sir St. Andrew St. John writing from Goodford to Robert Britton in Northampton in which he announced his intention not to stand for Parliament in 1705.[11] This apparently genuine refusal to contest what he all too correctly thought to be a hopeless cause was not noted by Forrester. Its effect has also been overlooked. The alarm which it produced among the county Whigs is reported in another previously unknown original letter. This was sent to Sunderland from Northampton by Robert Hesilrige the Younger on the day following St. John's refusal to stand for election.[12] Hesilrige (d. 1721) was the son and heir apparent of Sir Robert Hesilrige, fifth Baronet of Noseley Hall. Both were on the local commission of the peace and were supporters of the Whig cause.[13] He related to Sunderland how the local party at a meeting in Northampton had endorsed Sunderland's candidates for the election (St. John and Lord

[5] Eric G. Forrester, *Northamptonshire County Elections & Electioneering, 1695-1832* (London, 1941).

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 26-32. For details of their parliamentary careers see also: Romney Sedgwick, *The House of Commons, 1715-1754*, 2 volumes (London, 1970), I, 534, II, 169.

[7] British Library, Add.Ms. 61,496, fos. 88-9 (Blenheim Palace file D 2/9). The following documents are reproduced with the permission of the British Library.

[8] *Copies of the Polls Taken at the Several Elections for Members to Represent the County of Northampton in Parliament in the Years 1702, 1705, 1730, 1745, & 1806* (Northampton, 1832), pp. 1-78.

[9] Forrester, pp. 28, 32.

[10] Sedgwick, I, 292.

[11] British Library, Add.Ms. 61,496, fos. 80-1 (Blenheim Palace file D 1/32).

[12] *Ibid.*, fos. 82-3.

[13] For the younger Hesilrige see British Library, Add. Ms. 29,568, fo.201.

FIG. 1. CHARLES SPENCER, 3RD EARL OF SUNDERLAND (1674-1722)
(Northamptonshire Libraries)

Mordaunt). But these plans had been thrown into disarray by St. John's unexpected decision to withdraw, encouraging their Tory opponents. Hesilrige went on to urge Sunderland to take the matter in hand, and also recommended that Sunderland should personally undertake strong action during the campaign.

The precise circumstances under which St. John reversed his decision and returned to fight the election with Lord Mordaunt, only to come bottom of the poll, have yet to be discovered. Yet, it is reasonably certain that he did so under pressure from Sunderland. Hesilrige had noted the absence of a suitable candidate to take St. John's place, and Sunderland apparently concurred in this. It is apparent that Sunderland was both vitally important for the county Whig party and the personal sponsor of St. John, who had been his colleague during the 1702 contest.

Hesilrige's observation in his letter to Sunderland that the party needed to break into the Tory stronghold in the west in order to secure victory is amply supported by the election poll summary for 1702 and 1705. This reveals that the Tory voters in the earlier contest outnumbered the Whigs by 101 in the west of the county, but only 26 in the east. In fact, however, the breakthrough which Hesilrige desired did not take place in 1705. The Whigs won in the east, but in the west they failed even to maintain their previous total, while the Tory candidates decisively increased their lead and secured their elections as knights for the shire.

Finally, the Sunderland manuscripts also contain some other letters of tangential interest to the county election of 1705, which should be briefly mentioned. Mr. Forrester published a long extract from a letter from Sir Charles Shuckburgh, a Tory former high sheriff of Warwickshire and knight of that shire from 1698 until his death after the 1705 election.[14] Shuck-

[14] Forrester, p. 27.

burgh wrote that he would certainly provide support for the Tory candidates in Northamptonshire if he was not forced to the poll by Captain Lucy, his Whig opponent for Warwickshire. This suggests a link between the county branches of the two parties, a notion which is reinforced by the comment in Robert Hesilrige's previously mentioned letter that his father was at present in Warwickshire, although the purpose of this visit is not stated. Sunderland's correspondence, however, demonstrates beyond doubt that the Northamptonshire Whigs were active in Warwickshire during the contest. At the same time that Shuckburgh was offering assistance to Isham and Cartwright, Sunderland was heavily involved in assisting George Lucy in Warwickshire. This was perhaps undertaken in part to minimize Shuckburgh's interference in Northamptonshire. There survive at least four letters from Lucy, two direct to Sunderland and two to a London agent acting on Sunderland's behalf.[15] Lucy kept Sunderland closely informed on the Warwick, Coventry, and county contests. He initially agreed with Sunderland to stand for Warwick, but later broached the subject of seeking a county seat. Lucy wanted to run in conjunction with Shuckburgh, not against him, but it is doubtful whether Sunderland saw the matter in the same light. In the end, as Shuckburgh stated, the two were rivals, not colleagues. This opposition certainly limited Shuckburgh's activities against the Whig candidates supported by Sunderland in Northamptonshire, but Isham and Cartwright were nonetheless narrowly returned to Parliament.

[15] British Library, Add.Ms. 61,496, fos. 84-7 (Blenheim Palace files D 1/32, D 2/9).

APPENDICES

A

The Poll for ye County of Northampton in the Years 1702 and 1705

	Number of	Polled in ye year 1702				Polled in ye year 1705			
East	Freeholders	Whigs	Tories	Mix't	Total	Whigs	Tories	Mix't	Total
Corby-Hundred	333	81	131	8	220	112	117	3	232
Hamford-Shoo	294	53	137	10	200	62	155	15	232
Higham Ferrers	319	140	85	13	238	149	94	6	249
Huxlow	341	238	30	4	272	213	59	4	276
Nassaburgh	165	9	96	1	106	44	70	1	115
Navisford	89	44	3	1	48	66	4	—	70
Orlingbury	304	89	112	17	218	84	127	13	224
Polebrook	136	37	44	3	84	92	14	1	107
Rothwell	418	105	152	27	284	108	180	26	314
Willowbrook	63	0	32	1	33	15	35	2	52
Total of East	2462	796	822	85	1703	945	855	71	1871
West									
Clely	244	93	52	12	157	74	92	13	179
Fausley	565	214	211	29	454	173	254	16	443
Gilsborow	532	196	164	22	382	185	205	15	405
Greens Norton	233	66	82	14	162	51	97	16	164
Kings Sutton	563	82	276	30	388	111	264	24	399
Nobotle Grove	456	200	97	39	336	178	144	28	350
Northampton	245	97	64	28	189	99	73	22	194

Spellow	226	72	100	6	178	66	87	5	158
Tocester	149	23	63	8	94	44	62	7	113
Warden	294	140	57	11	208	146	62	14	222
Wimersly	335	56	174	12	242	75	177	12	264
Total of West	3842	1239	1340	211	2790	1202	1517	172	2891
Places Unknown	—	7	17	—	24	6	7	1	14
Total of ye County	6304	2042	2179	296	4517	2153	2379	244	4876

B

Sir St. Andrew St. John to Robert Britton, Goodford, 7 January 1704/5

Sir

I am at present so indisposed that all I can return in answer to yours is that my health at present, will, not permit me, to enjoy ye honour of serving my country in Parliament; & besides I am of an opinion on it will never be carried with out spending of money which I cannot do without hazarding ye ruin of myself & family, having but a moderate estate & several children, & several of them grown up & fit to be put out into ye world; I shall be ready to serve my Lord Mordaunt with all ye interest I have; & any other person that shall be thought fit to be joined with him; if I am anything better I will come to ye sessions, & there we will discourse further, in ye mean time I am

Ye most
obliged & humble servant
St. Andrew St. John

[postscript] if I should not come to ye session I beg ye favour of you to give ye enclosed recognisances to ye clerk of ye peace.

C

Robert Hesilrige to Sunderland, Northampton, 8 January, 1704/5

My Lord

By your order Mr. Mountague acquainted me, of the meeting of our friends in town to concert matters in order for another election, the 2 candidates you have proposed; we think very proper of here; if both would have stood. Which I perceive one declines; indeed no body can answer his reasons, I wonder my Lord P. should write to any (but friends) before an answer of ye Lordships, came from Sir St. Andrew; it hath set our enemies at work; we know not who to ask for (one I count as nothing) in case we want another; you must go into the West for Sir Mathew will never he is not at all know there, in my opinion, that Old Park: if my Lord Treasurer hath passed all, on account no man like him for indefatigableness if you can bring him to a bearing among the gentlemen; our business must be to break into them in the West; we had a great deal better let it go by default (as the lawyers say) then be bested, Sir I beg pardon in troubling you, with my foolish sentiments, my father is in Warwickshire, our session is to morrow next post ye Lordship shall hear what our gentlemen say.

I am your Lordship's most humble
servant to command
Robert Hesilrige

Tom Andrew is very ill & his daughter Betty a dying it's feared.

THE CHINESE TEMPLE

Whereas on Thursday, or Friday Night *last week*, some malicious Person, or Persons, pull'd down and broke into Pieces, one Side of a Chinese Temple, lately erected by Dr Stonhouse on his Estate at Chester, near the Turnpike-Road leading from Wellingborough to Higham Ferrers: This is to give notice that if any Person, or Persons, will discover the Party, or Parties, who pull'd down the Side of the said Building, so that He, or They, may be brought to Justice, such Person, or Persons, making such Discoverey, shall upon Conviction of the offending Party, or Parties, be intitled (*sic*) to a Reward of Five Guineas.

Northampton, June 27, 1758 James Stonhouse

Dr. James Stonhouse (1716-95), friend of the Rev. Philip Doddridge (1702-51) and, with him, co-founder of the Northampton General Hospital, was an interesting man whose career and contacts deserve further investigation. He practised in Northampton as a physician for twenty years before being ordained in the Church of England in 1763. (Stonhouse was converted to a very earnest Christianity by Doddridge, assisted by the Rev. James Hervey of Weston Favell, having previously been, in Doddridge's own words, "a most abandoned rake and an audacious deist".) Rector of Little Cheverell (1764) and Great Cheverell (1779), both in Wiltshire, he spent most of the year at Bristol, where the local waters benefitted his health. In later life his friends included several notable clergymen, Church of England and nonconformist, as well as David Garrick, who once gave him a sharp but salutary lesson in pulpit elocution, and the youthful Hannah More (1745-1833) and her four sisters, to whom he was "our own dear Dr. Stonhouse". He inherited a baronetcy in 1792. There is a monument to his memory in All Saints' Church, Northampton.

Stonhouse married twice, his second wife being Sarah Ekins, ward of Philip Doddridge, and an heiress who brought her husband a considerable estate, including Chester House, Irchester. The above advertisement, which appeared in the *Northampton Mercury* on 3 July 1758, reveals that Stonhouse took an interest in Chester House to the extent of embellishing its grounds with a "temple" in the currently fashionable Chinese style. Somehow it is difficult to imagine the pious physician relaxing in such a structure; nevertheless, he was obviously indignant that it should have been vandalised. Whether Stonhouse was successful in bringing whoever was responsible to justice is, unfortunately, not recorded.

VICTOR A. HATLEY

MISS SLADDEN

Northampton
May 26th, 1981

Dear Editor,

As I cannot thank individually all those who very kindly contributed to my most generous retirement cheque I am writing this letter in the hopes that you will print it in the next issue of *Northamptonshire Past & Present*, where they all can read it.

The cheque has been spent on buying a very fine music centre, which is giving me the greatest pleasure, and will continue to do so for the rest of my life, I feel sure! I am very grateful for such a splendid gift, which will always remind me of my ten years as Secretary of the Record Society, and all the people I met connected with it. Thank you all very much.

Yours etc.

Dorothy Sladden.

BOOKS

Between 7,000 and 10,000 general second-hand volumes always in stock

—o—o—

STANILAND

(booksellers)

4 St. George's Street, Stamford.

(next to the Co-op)

(Tel. 55800)

We are glad to inspect and, if possible, offer for large or small collections of books of most kinds.

Some of the Trades and Trader Members of

THE NORTHAMPTON CHAMBER OF TRADE

		'Phone
BOOKSELLERS & STATIONERS		
W. Mark & Co. (Established 1745) –	*27 The Drapery* – –	39400
BUILDING SOCIETIES		
Anglia – – – –	*Moulton Park* – –	495353
CONFECTIONERS		
J. Lawrence & Co. –	*35 St. Giles Street* –	37939
DEPARTMENTAL STORES		
South Midlands Co-operative Society Ltd. – – –	*64 Abington Street* –	34866
FABRICS		
Phillip's Fabrics		
Curtain Fabrics – –	*20-22 Abington Sq.* –	37446
Dress Fabrics – –	*27 York Road* – –	/7
AUCTIONEERS & ESTATE AGENTS		
Connells – – – –	*6 Wood Hill* – –	38281 (6 lines)
FLORISTS		
Jack Haddon Ltd. – –	*51 St. Giles Street* –	31368 33024
HOUSE FURNISHERS		
A. Watts & Sons Ltd.	*80 Abington Street* –	38212

		'Phone
PRINTERS		
Guildhall Press – – (Northampton) Ltd.	*1 Quarry Park Close, Moulton Park* –	491225/6
J. Stevenson Holt Ltd.	*152 Balmoral Road* –	714246
Xpres Printers Ltd. –	*Norman-D-Gate* – – *(Bell's Yard) Bedford Road*	38703
RADIO & TELEVISION		
County Radio Co.– –	*22-24 St Leonards Road*	61946
TOBACCONIST & NEWSAGENT		
J.R. Elmer (Northampton) Ltd.	*28 St. Giles' Street* –	36861
SOLID FUEL MERCHANTS		
Wiggins and Co. Ltd.–	*6 Abington Street* –	36258 36259 36766
WATCHMAKERS & JEWELLERS		
A. E. Prouse & Son –	*64 St Giles Street*	39484

LADY KNIGHTLEY AND THE SOUTH NORTHAMPTONSHIRE ELECTION OF 1885

PETER GORDON

Although political change in late Victorian Northamptonshire has been well portrayed by Janet Howarth,[1] the significant contribution made by women to the election campaigns has yet to be described and analysed. One of the most interesting and colourful figures who pioneered this work was Louisa Knightley, wife of Sir Rainald Knightley of Fawsley. Writing in 1893, W. Ryland Atkins said of her, "Lady Knightley is almost the only lady in the county who has gained in influence and consideration by active political work. Her energy and ability are widely known, and it is the fashion to say that to her Sir Rainald owed his seat in 1885 and 1886."[2]

Politics had been one of her chief interests since she was a girl. A reformer by instinct, her sympathies were only slowly won over to the Conservative cause after her marriage and she remained a candid and effective critic of both major parties throughout her life. She had a commanding presence, interested herself in many philanthropic causes and was a fluent and charming speaker.[3] When she was 27, Louisa Bowater, the daughter of a well-known general, married Sir Rainald Knightley who was then 50; there were no children of the marriage. She frequently attended the debates in both Houses of Parliament and she was introduced to the leading statesmen of the day; conversations with Gladstone, Disraeli, Lord Salisbury, Sir Stafford Northcote and many other politicians were recorded by her in her journal.

Her husband had entered Parliament as a Conservative member for South Northamptonshire on the retirement of his father, Sir Charles Knightley, in 1852,[4] and he represented that part of the county until he relinquished the seat exactly forty years later. The Knightley family had settled at Fawsley in the fifteenth century. Sir Rainald, the twelfth member of the family to have been a Member of Parliament, described himself in 1856 as "a staunch and consistent Conservative, but at the same time, throughly independent member". He maintained this attitude throughout his career.[5] When offered the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in July 1866 by the new prime minister, Lord Derby, Knightley refused it, stating that he would not accept office in any government where Disraeli, whom he despised, was leader in the House of Commons.[6] Twenty years later, he told an election meeting that

> he believed he knew very well he was a Constitutional Conservative. They might call him an old Tory if they liked, and he would not refute the appellation, but he hoped they would not call him a Tory Democrat as he had not the vaguest conception of what that was supposed to be.[7]

[1] J. Howarth, "The Liberal Revival in Northamptonshire 1880-1895: A Case Study in Late Nineteenth Century Elections", *The Historical Journal*, xii (1969), pp. 78-118; and "Politics and Society in Late Victorian Northamptonshire", *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, iv, no. 5 (1970-1), pp. 269-74.

[2] W. R. D. Adkins, *Our County* (London, 1893), pp. 20-1.

[3] For a description of her, see *The Gentlewoman*, 4 April, 1891, p. 450.

[4] Sir Charles was member for South Northamptonshire for eighteen years and was responsible for establishing the *Northampton Herald* in 1831. E. G. Forrester, *Northamptonshire County Elections and Electioneering 1695-1832* (Oxford, 1941), p. 149.

[5] See *Vanity Fair*, 5 Nov. 1886.

[6] Derby to Knightley, 3 July 1866, Northants R.O., K 2868 and Knightley to Derby, 3 July 1866, Derby MSS, Box 112. By 1877, Knightley was almost 'the solitary unconverted member of the anti-Disraeli Tory clique'. G. E. Buckle (ed.), *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield*, vi. (London, 1929), p. 164.

[7] *Northampton Daily Chronicle*, 12 Aug., p. 3.

PLATE 1. LADY KNIGHTLEY IN HER LATER YEARS. (*Northamptonshire Libraries*)

Widely regarded as a leading backbencher, he was a strong supporter of the Established Church, had objected to lowering the qualification for the franchise in the boroughs[8] and in the Commons had spoken against extending the right to vote to the counties.[9]

On the defeat of Gladstone's government in June 1885, Lord Salisbury was given the task of attempting to form an administration. As the new electoral register would not be ready until later in the year, a Conservative government taking office in the meantime would be a minority one.

Knightley wrote to Salisbury on behalf of "the old experienced and independent members" warning him not to fall into the trap laid by Gladstone of accepting office at that time.[10] However, ten days later, Lady Knightley noted: "It is all settled—our people take office & R. is in despair. One can only hope it will turn out better than he expects."[11] Parliament prorogued on 14 August, but the campaign for the general election had already begun in earnest.

There were several good reasons for Knightley's apprehension on his prospects in the constituency. The Franchise and Redistribution Acts of 1884 and 1885[12] had brought about important changes. Household suffrage more than trebled in Northamptonshire and increased the occupational vote eightfold.[13] With the franchise now given to the agricultural labourer, there was no automatic guarantee of loyalty to local landowners standing for election. In addition, the boundaries, as well as the names, of the four divisions in the county were changed. The Southern division, renamed South Northamptonshire (Towcester), a predominantly rural constituency, contained market towns such as Brackley and Daventry, where the Liberals had a foothold; from 1885 it included more villages in the south and parts of Banbury which were strongly Liberal.[14] Up to this time, two members were returned for each division: now it was changed to one. There had been no contested election in the constituency since 1868 and although South Northamptonshire had long enjoyed the reputation of being a Conservative stronghold, the winning margins had been small when there was a Liberal candidate. Another new element in this election was that candidates found it necessary to make personal visits to numerous villages in order to introduce themselves to the new electorate. Faced with this situation, it is not surprising, as Lady Knightley recorded on 7 August, "R. went groaning off for the first of his meetings, at Brackley."

[8] Knightley to Disraeli, 1 Feb. (1865?), Beaconsfield MSS, B XII/K/155.

[9] Hansard, 3, clxxiv, col. 928, 13 April 1864 and clxxxiv, col. 403, 14 June 1866.

[10] Knightley to Salisbury, 13 June, Salisbury MSS. All dates refer to 1885 unless otherwise mentioned.

[11] Lady Knightley, Journal, 23 June. For the journals covering the period of time in this article, see N.R.O., K 2901-2. Sir Rainald had also been the first to sign a memorial by Conservative members requesting Lord Salisbury not to take office, 'no one else having the pluck to do it'. Journal, 20 June.

[12] For earlier background see R. L. Greenall, *A History of Northamptonshire* (London, 1979), pp. 107-10.

[13] Howarth (1969), op. cit., p. 89.

[14] H. Pelling, *Social Geography of British Elections 1885-1910* (London, 1967), pp. 120-1.

Knightley's opponent was an Irishman, Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, the second son of the fourth Duke of Leinster. Through his marriage to the daughter of the seventh Earl of Granard, Fitzgerald had acquired considerable estates as well as a castle in County Wexford, and his political opponents made much play of his use of the title "Knight of Kerry" during the election.[15] Holding no land in Northamptonshire and with little knowledge of the constituency, he compared unfavourably with Knightley, who had been a representative of the county in Parliament for 33 years and had a good record as a landlord. Fitzgerald, by no means an advanced Liberal, dismissed the Parnellite demand for Home Rule for Ireland, pronounced himself a Free Trader and advocated free education and allotments for the working-classes at fair rents.[16] He opened his campaign as early as 24 April in Daventry, where he was President of the Liberal Club, and subsequently held meetings in the majority of the villages in the constituency.

In contrast, Knightley delayed his appearance before the electorate until August. The Radical newspaper, the *Northamptonshire Guardian*, pointed out that during the whole of Knightley's parliamentary career

> his intercourse with the Division has been so restricted—his visits, like angels' visits, have been so few and far between—that to the great bulk of his constituency his personality has been an enigma. He has been a sort of political Budda, for whom a conventional worship has been encouraged by the Tories of "the good old school", but whose existence has been veiled in the dim haze of the distance.[17]

Knightley responded to this criticism by pleading that, as a most conscientious performer of parliamentary duties, it was impossible for him to be in two places at once,[18] though he admitted to a questioner at a later meeting that out of the 266 divisions taken in the House of Commons during the 1885 session, he had been present at only 24 of them.[19]

The Liberal revival in Northamptonshire from the time of the 1880 election presented a new challenge to the Conservative campaign. Although the Liberal party organization was not strong in the South, Radicals such as Thomas Judge, the Brackley grocer,[20] and Edwin Ashworth Briggs, a Daventry barrister, attended Knightley's meetings, taking every opportunity to ask questions and score points off their opponents. The widespread local newspaper coverage of the campaign ensured that the electorate was thus kept informed of the main points of difference between the parties. A problem facing both Liberals and Conservatives was the uncertain political affiliations of the rural voter. Lady Knightley, some four years later, observed:

> The agricultural labourer is a personage very little understood, even by those who talk and write most about him. Very proud was he, in 1885, of the "*Franchise*", and very much resolved to exercise it as he chose and to keep his own counsel, and neither be dictated to by his employer nor influenced by his neighbours. There is often a curious antagonism between neighbouring villages, and one will vote "blue" almost to a man; while the next, under what seem precisely similar conditions, would be shrewdly surmised to vote "red" with equal equanimity.[21]

Rainald's poor state of health and his age (he was then sixty-six) combined with his reluctance to make more than the bare essential number of appearances on public platforms during the election would have lessened his chances at the polls. Drastic action was called for. On 29 July, Lady Knightley wrote in her journal:

[15] Sir Rainald, for example, told an audience at Weedon on 17 Oct., 'When he (Fitzgerald) was in Ireland he was known as the Knight of Kerry and an ardent Tory, but on coming to England he was Sir Maurice Fitzgerald and an advanced Liberal.' *Northampton Herald*, 24 Oct. supp. p. 2.

[16] For Fitzgerald's manifesto, issued on 12 Nov., see *Northampton Mercury*, 14 Nov., p. 4.

[17] *Northamptonshire Guardian*, 15 Aug., pp. 4.

[18] *Northampton Herald*, 15 Aug., p. 6.

[19] *Northampton Mercury*, 26 Sept., p. 8.

[20] Judge's earlier championing of the agricultural labourers in South Northamptonshire is described in Pamela Horn's 'The Evenley Strike of 1867', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, iv, no. 1 (1966/7), pp. 47-8.

[21] Lady Knightley, 'The Midlands', *Murray's Magazine*, v (1889), pp. 100-1.

PLATE 2. 'A FINE OLD TORY'. A 'SPY' CARTOON OF SIR RAINALD KNIGHTLEY IN 'VANITY FAIR' in 1881. (*Northamptonshire Libraries*).

> And now—tomorrow I embark on my electioneering campaign. Of course, to help my own darling husband is my *strongest* motive, but from the very bottom of my heart, I do believe that the cause he will support is the cause of religion, of liberty, and of prosperity for this country and *every* class of its inhabitants, and with a perfectly clear conscience I can set about what to me is an utterly new and strange undertaking.

Her knowledge of the territory to be covered was extensive, thanks to her active interest in the Girls' Friendly Society. The Society was founded in 1874 at a meeting of Anglican ladies at Lambeth, with the object of building up from parish level a national organization which would help young girls to associate together in order to resist temptation, by training them in religious principles and domestic duty.[22] Although her husband had refused to let her become its President in 1882, Louisa was a member of the Executive, frequently addressing meetings throughout the county. Shortly after the Conservatives took office in 1885, she had directed much of her effort to gathering petitions and signatures for the protection of minors, in support of a Criminal Law Amendment Bill then being debated in the Commons.[23]

The opening of her campaign was skilfully handled. Prepared with canvassing information which she had obtained from the Central Conservative Office, Lady Knightley first visited Badby, a village close by Fawsley, where she met some thirty men who all promised their votes. "There are however", she noted, "a few who hold different views—one Smith, for instance, whom I hunted out and who is a reader of the *Labourers' Chronicle*, and had a long talk about the land laws, whether with any result I know not. However, so far so good, tho' Rainald says if Badby were wrong, one might as well throw up the sponge at once."[24] A Bank Holiday evening of house-to-house canvassing at Newnham, where she was accompanied by John Key, a local farmer, was equally successful. The farmers were solidly Conservative and she calculated that "if we can but get half the labourers we shall do!"[25]

Knightley's first meeting at Brackley on 7 August was a lively affair. A number of Radicals made their presence known by hisses and interruptions and the meeting ended abruptly and in some confusion. Three days later, Louisa Knightley accompanied her husband to the Assembly Hall, Daventry, for

[22] B. Harrison, 'For Church, Queen and Family: The Girls' Friendly Society 1874-1920', *Past and Present*, no. 61, November 1973, p. 109.

[23] Journal, 9 July. The Bill passed through both Houses without opposition. *The Constitutional Year Book* (London, 1886), p. 374.

[24] Journal, 30 July.

[25] ibid., 3 Aug.

her first election meeting, which she found to be "very exciting". Here, up to a third of the audience were from the opposition, but their target was the chairman, Sir Henry Dryden of Canons Ashby, who was shouted down by the Radicals, "not having forgiven his calling them 'shoe blacks' some time ago."[26]

Fawsley became the centre of intensive canvassing of neighbouring villages in the next few months. The results were variable. Lady Knightley detected a lack of cordiality at Staverton. Many boat people were away when she called at Braunston, where she also received some blunt refusals. At Charwelton, however, "in spite of all we have heard about its Radicalism I believe it's a good deal swagger, and that when it comes to the point they will vote for the man who has always been kind to them." She was often accompanied by local notables. At Chipping Warden, she was assisted by Henry Cartwright of Aynhoe, who had been the second member of the division from 1858 to 1868, the rector, Rev. Robert Tomkinson, and two farmers, but with limited success. "I did not get a dozen votes tho' a good many said they should not vote at all, and I hope they won't." Staverton was more successfully canvassed on a second occasion with the help of the local schoolmaster. She was pleased to find at Litchborough "that the people seemed *really* not to have been tampered with at all."

A high level of activity was maintained throughout the campaign. On 23 October, a month before polling, she could write: "I am very proud to think that I shall soon, I hope, have arranged for the canvassing of every village in the division." She was conscious of the effects of the new forms of electioneering on many of the new electorate. "Really, truly", she frankly declared on 14 November, "I think the poor agricultural labourer is most anxious to do what is right, but he is so bombarded with leaflets and speeches on either side that knowing little about the matter, he is fairly bewildered." Looking back over her campaign, she was struck by several things:

> First, the very large proportion, fully 90 per cent, of men I find sitting by their fireside, often with children around their knees or reading their papers: (very often N. Guardian or Weekly Dispatch). The publics and the streets are frequented by young men and boys and occasional wanderers: but I have found very little drunkenness—not above a dozen cases. The greatest contrasts as to neatness of home and surroundings are to be found in Daventry, the same pattern of house, side by side, looking bare, dirty and miserable, or neat and with much air of comfort. The civility and courtesy is absolutely uniform; and a considerable amount of intelligence is displayed in following the arguments used: "that's right enough" is a frequent remark. On the other hand, there is often utter indifference and sometimes total ingorance, but this is the exception and not the rule.[27]

In the market towns, a more systematic approach to canvassing was required. On August 19, Lady Knightley attended a preliminary meeting of her brainchild, the Daventry Ladies' Committee, and arranged to send out circulars to all the wives of the leading tradespeople in the town. Six days later, a larger committee, consisting of about 30 ladies, was formed and it was agreed to divide the town into districts "2 to go with me in each". The cheerful and successful dinner party at Fawsley which followed in the evening included amongst the guests some of the leading helpers—the Lowndes, Collyers, Gilbertsons, Athertons and Forsters.

The fortnight between 28 August and 11 September was devoted to a thorough canvass of Daventry. She was generally civilly received, though in the High Street, she found "some very decided Radicals among the shopkeepers and some moderate Liberals who, however, after the manner of Whigs, are not to be tempted to change their views. But still an overwhelming majority of promises, enough and to spare for a deal of pie crust."[28]

[26] Shortly after her marriage, Lady Knightley had visited Sir Henry Dryden, describing him in her journal. See J. Cartwright (ed.), *The Journals of Lady Knightley of Fawsley* (London, 1915), p. 173.

[27] Journal, 22 Oct.

[28] ibid., 31 Aug.

In St. James' Street and Oxford Street, Lady Knightley met with the most Radicals so far encountered, "but I rather enjoyed discussions with some of them, especially one Aubrey Hickman, much the most intelligent I have come across; he talked about Russia and Afghanistan, and completely posed both Mrs. Willoughby and me about the Bankruptcy Act." In November she made a successful canvass of Towcester where she candidly noted, "Some very radical shoe makers in some horrid little Courts down at the bottom of the town. I should be a Radical myself if I lived in such holes."[29]

This new phase of the campaign had been carefully planned. On 12 May, Louisa Knightley had received a visit from Lady Wimborne, Randolph Churchill's eldest sister, in order to be enrolled as a Dame of the Primrose League.[30] Ever a realist, Lady Knightley commented "it sounds all rubbish, but the objects 'the maintenance of Religion, of the Estates of the Realm, of the ascendancy of the British Empire', are excellent, and I can quite believe that the paraphernalia helps to keep Conservatives together; means, in short, an army of unpaid canvassers." The League, founded by Randolph Churchill and other members of the Fourth Party in 1883, fulfilled the need for a popular organization to mobilize opinion and votes for the Conservative Party. In the following year, women were able to join on the same terms as men. "Habitations" were formed within the boundaries of an electoral division, whilst the Grand Council in London formulated policy and supplied lecturers and leaflets for meetings.[31]

As soon as an election began, each habitation was obliged to place itself bodily at the disposal of the candidate.[32] The initiative for establishing the Daventry (Knightley) Habitation came from Lady Knightley.[33] Its inaugural meeting did not officially take place until 8 October, although according to the Primrose League records, it was registered on 2 September.[34] The Ladies' Committee in Daventry was no doubt under the auspices of the League, although the Habitation's chairman, termed "Ruling Councillor", Colonel J. H. Lowndes,[35] was not elected until 16 September. The five-weeks' silence between the founding and the official opening of the branch may have been deliberate in order not to draw the attention of the Liberals to this new initiative. The League was attractive to middle-class women with much leisure, living in isolated rural areas, cut off from interests outside their immediate circles. Their involvement in organizations such as the Girls' Friendly Society, their intimate knowledge of the families in a rural district through church visiting or in performing good works, or as an employer or customer, was only a short step away from the sort of political work which the League required of them. By 4 November, Lady Knightley was receiving "perfect avalanches of letters every day from the various people I am enlisting to canvass."

At the inaugural meeting of the Knightley Habitation, held at Daventry, the speaker, who had been sent from London, warned the audience of the scoff and derision to which the League had been subjected. He claimed, however, that there were as many as 60,000 men and women in the movement and expressed the hope that "each member of the habitation might become the centre of a bunch of primroses."[36] The *Northampton Mercury* renamed it the "Rural Intimidation Society" and in a leader claimed "that a phenomenal degree of pressure has been exerted upon the agricultural voter—the canvassing of Lady Knightley, often in the presence of the man's employer, has been an important factor—and the Church cry has been made the most of in almost every par-

[29] ibid., 2 Nov.

[30] Her Primrose League membership number was 1719. Primrose League MSS.

[31] J. H. Robb, *The Primrose League 1883-1906* (1968 edn.), p. 56.

[32] M. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties*, i (London, 1902), p. 539.

[33] See Lowndes' address, *Northampton Herald*, 10 Oct. p. 8.

[34] The Primrose League. The Roll of Habitations 1886, Primrose League MSS., p. 8.

[35] He was a fellow magistrate of Sir Rainald's, serving on the Daventry bench.

[36] *Northampton Daily Chronicle*, 10 Oct., p.3.

ish."[37] Moses Manfield, the Radical Northampton shoe manufacturer, attacked her for her electioneering methods. Her reaction was characteristically unrepentant. "Mr. Manfield has been pitching into me for canvassing referring it to my *conscience*, forsooth! My conscience don't reproach me for *that* anyhow, and he had better think of the paper shoes he supplied to the poor French soldiers in 1870-71 before he talks of *conscience*."[38]

As the election campaign progressed, Louisa Knightley's activities became a matter of growing interest to both parties. Sir Rainald, who was not a conspecuous advocate of woman's suffrage, told a meeting at West Haddon in support of the candidate for the Mid-Northamptonshire division, Pickering Phipps, that the best method of securing Phipps' return was to recruit wives and daughters for canvassing, mentioning Lady Knightley's efforts around Fawsley as an excellent model to follow.[39] This statement provoked replies in the Liberal press. On the question of Lady Knightley's satisfactory results, one correspondent wrote, "I do not doubt it, but the question is, dare the poor people in these villages answer the wife of Sir Rainald in other than a satisfactory manner?"[40] The *Northamptonshire Guardian* carried the comment that "Nine months will not be too much time for the Liberals to educate their constituency, but a few weeks will suffice for this army of lady canvassers to make the new voters understand that the squire and the parson expect them to vote Tory."[41]

In spite of these remarks, Knightley continued to praise his wife's electioneering achievements. At a meeting at Blisworth on 5 October, at which a number of ladies were present, he mentioned Lady Knightley's successful canvassing at Maidford that afternoon. A week later at Helmdon, Sir Rainald again commended her, adding that she "was also well known amongst them, as she was often to be found among the poor, shedding a ray of light and making their lives more pleasurable in many ways."[42] It would perhaps have been wise at this point to have said no more about Lady Knightley's activities, as the matter had incensed many Radicals. The denouement occurred on 19 October at Silverstone at a meeting addressed by Sir Rainald.

Robert Loder, then Conservative M.P. for Shoreham, Sussex, and resident at Whittlebury, was the chairman, but he soon became involved in a heated exchange with Judge and other members of the largely hostile audience. In his concluding remarks, Loder told them that in the last twelve years, he had spent a great deal on their comforts but that they could not expect him to continue "if they joined the party of plunder", a statement which was greeted with uproar. When order had been restored, Sir Rainald spoke once more of his wife's efforts. The subsequent events are graphically described in the *Northampton Herald*.

> Mr. Judge referred to the statement that Lady Knightley was canvassing. The Chairman, interrupting, said he did not think it right, or in accordance with good taste, for Mr. Judge to refer to a lady who was not present. Mr. Judge said there was a story of the Duchess of Devonshire—(Uproar).
>
> The Chairman: Whatever has the Duchess of Devonshire to do with this meeting? (Laughter and applause).
>
> Mr. Judge: It is said that the Duchess of Devonshire gave—
>
> Tremendous laughter and howling prevented Mr. Judge proceeding, and the chairman, amidst further merriment, said Sir Rainald had not had the pleasure of knowing the Duchess of Devonshire. Mr. Judge had. Taking advantage of a temporary lull in the storm, Mr. Judge shouted the remainder of his sentence, "That she gave a butcher a kiss for a vote". Now, continued Mr. Judge, I should like to ask Sir Rainald this question—How many butchers had Lady Knightley kissed, or how many does

[37] *Northampton Mercury*, 5 Dec., p. 5. Anglican clergy or Anglican schoolmasters often presided over local Primrose League habitations. Robb., op. cit., p. 168.
[38] Journal, 27 Oct.
[39] *Northampton Herald*, 22 Aug., p. 6.
[40] *Northampton Mercury*, 29 Aug., p. 3.
[41] *Northamptonshire Guardian*, 3 Sept., p. 5.
[42] *Northampton Herald*, 17 Oct. supp., p. 2.

she intend to kiss? (Immense uproar.)[43]
The Chairman (indignantly): I appeal to you whether after this gross insult, you will allow this man (pointing to Mr. Judge) to go on. (Loud cries of "No", "Chuck him out", "Butterine", and "Old weigh sugar".) The meeting was now at the highest pitch of excitement, and some supporters of Sir Rainald moved towards Mr. Judge with the intention of carrying him out of the building. This attempt, it is understood, would have been resisted by Mr. Judge's admirers, who, it is stated, with good authority, came armed with clubs. . . . When comparative order had been restored, Sir Rainald, addressing Mr. Judge, said: "No man in Northamptonshire until this evening has been such a gross blackguard as to insult my wife". (Cheers)[44]

Lady Knightley's reaction—that the Radicals would not further their cause by such behaviour[45]—was correct. Conservative sympathisers turned out in large numbers at subsequent election meetings and were frequently reminded of this incident. For instance, at Paulerspury shortly before polling day, Loder, who was once more chairman, "first thanked the meeting for the hearty reception accorded to Sir Rainald and himself, and then alluded in strong terms to the insult offered Lady Knightley at Silverstone and called for three hearty cheers for that lady, which were readily given."[46]

South Northamptonshire was allotted the earliest polling day of the four divisions in the county, 27 November, and the signs were propitious for Sir Rainald as the day approached. At the beginning of the month, Lady Knightley was pleased to note that Ashworth Briggs, Fitzgerald's election agent, had been defeated in the municipal elections at Daventry, where he had previously headed the poll, and that a foray by Fitzgerald into Conservative territory at Badby on 4 November had been a failure. She was also delighted at the reception of her husband's address to the electors, published on 14 November, as she had been responsible for putting it into shape.[47] The last election meeting of Rainald's campaign was at Badby on 23 November, where a packed audience cheered the Knightleys again and again: she noted that "the few Radicals there did not dare open their mouths". Two days later, she "pounded round" Weston with the gardener of Lady Hanmer of Weston House. In the village, she was amused to find that "after all their abuse of me the Radicals are canvassing vigorously!" Lady Knightley continued,

Half way between Weston and Weedon we met the newspapers, and there in the middle of the road, in the fog and the mud, the gardener and I read together the most promising results of the first day's elections. Except at Birmingham we seem to have won everywhere, or at all events increased our poll. . . . Now if only the counties will follow! Oh! for Saturday![48]

On polling day, Sir Rainald and Louisa drove to Badby after luncheon and found the village decked in a mass of blue. An ardent advocate of women's suffrage, she wrote, "Then he voted for himself while I waited outside and felt, for the first time personally, the utter anomaly of my not having a vote, while Joe Bull has!"[49] Voting was heavy, with a poll of almost 85 per cent of the electorate in the division. Agricultural workers were often the first to cast their votes; at Welton, 83 of them went *en masse* to the polling station, following Joseph Arch's[50] advice, "Go in a body to the poll, and if anyone comes to persuade you to vote Conservative, or to vote Liberal, say—'Stand back, you must not interfere with the British voter'."[51]

[43] This was a reference to the notorious Westminster Election of 1784, when Georgiana, wife of the fifth Duke Devonshire, was alleged to have given kisses to those who promised their votes to Charles James Fox, one of the candidates. A. Calder-Marshall, *The Two Duchesses* (London, 1978), p. 62.

[44] *Northampton Herald*, 24 Oct. supp. p. 2.

[45] Journal, 19 Oct.

[46] *Northampton Herald*, 21 Nov. supp. p. 2.

[47] Journal, 20 Nov.

[48] ibid., 25 Nov.

[49] ibid., 27 Nov.

[50] It was largely due to the efforts of Joseph Arch, who had founded the National Agricultural Labourers' Union in 1872, that the rural vote was obtained in 1884. *Joseph Arch: The Story of His Life. Told by Himself* (London, 1898), p. 354.

[51] *Northamptonshire Guardian*, 5 Dec., p. 5.

The counting of the 8,152 votes took place at Towcester Town Hall on Saturday 28 November. Lady Knightley described it as "almost the most exciting day I ever spent in my life." When three-quarters of the votes had been counted, Sir Rainald was only 200 ahead, with Fitzgerald later closing the gap at one point to within fifteen.[52] The result, a narrow victory for Knightley, was about to be announced at midday when it was realized that a miscalculation had been made in counting the bundles of votes for each candidate. Lady Knightley waited at the Town Hall whilst a recount took place. At 1.35 p.m. the poll was declared: Knightley 4074, Fitzgerald, 4012, a majority of 62. For her part, this was disappointing as she had hoped for a margin of 500. After the result had been announced, she recorded later that day at Fawsley,

> our friends were very nervous and fidgetty, and wanted us not to walk away but we insisted on doing so, being well hooted and groaned at, tho' our supporters cheered us well when we got back to the inn. We went straight to Blisworth, and came on here a good deal shaken and tired with it all. However, it *is* all right! tho' it will have no moral effect as we hoped.[53]

The Radical press attributed the Liberal defeat to their lack of support at Daventry and Towcester, the latter being one of the few places where the Church question was an issue,[54] and also to their failure to win the support of small tradesmen, who complained of the depressed state of business and who had expressed their intention to vote Conservative.[55] The Liberals in the division admitted that running a candidate who was unknown in the constituency until a year previously had made for difficulties,[56] and the utterances of the "unjudicial Brackley Judge" had hindered their cause rather than helped it. The *Northampton Herald*, a newspaper owned by Knightley up to 1869, summed up the situation: "When, however, the whole of the circumstances under which the battle was fought are calmly considered, surprise will be felt as to the fact that Sir Rainald was able even to hold his own in the face of so many adverse elements".[57] In London, the day after the result had been declared, Lady Dorothy Nevill, a leading Conservative hostess, told Louisa "what has since been repeated by many other people was that Rainald was thought to be among the doomed ones",[58] many of his colleagues in rural constituencies having lost their seats in the Liberal victory.[59] That he had been once again returned to Parliament was due, in a large part, to his wife's carefully planned and well-executed electioneering strategies.

[52] *Northampton Mercury Daily Reporter*, 30 Nov., p. 3.
[53] Journal, 28 Nov.

[54] 'M. Fitzgerald went all lengths for Disestablishment, etc. so I do not think the Agricultural Labourer cares much for the Church about here'. Lord Spencer to Lord Hartington, 29 Nov., Devonshire Papers, 340. 1838.
[55] *Northamptonshire Guardian*, 5 Dec., p. 7.
[56] *Northampton Mercury*, 5 Dec., p. 5.
[57] *Northampton Herald*, 5 Dec., p.5.
[58] Journal, 29 Nov.
[59] The Liberals considerably increased their share of the rural constituencies at the election. In 1880, they gained 54 seats: in 1885, it was 133.

Banquets: Saxon Inns offer an appetising business proposition

Choose the Saxon for your next dinner/dance or banquet. We can offer luxurious facilities for up to 350 in our self-contained banqueting hall. It's the sure way to make every function a success!

RESTAURANT
Open to Non-Residents
Dine and Dance on Saturdays
Excellent and well-stocked Wine Cellar

CONFERENCE ROOM
Seats up to 450
Self-contained hall with latest audio and visual equipment

MONKS CAVE
Now available for Young Persons' Private Functions

140 BEDROOMS
All with private bathroom, radio and colour T.V.

Get into the Saxon habit

SAXON INN
LUXURY MOTOR HOTEL
Silver Street, Town Centre, Northampton
Tel: Northampton (0604) 22441. Telex: 311142

Kingsthorpe Bookshop

6-8 Harborough Road, Northampton
Tel. Northampton 715989 and 718282

2 Derngate, Northampton
Tel. Northampton 39710

General and children's books

Books and pamphlets on local history and topography

Academic books

Books on art and architecture

Educational and library suppliers

Large stock of second hand and antiquarian books including many on Northamptonshire

The Old Hall Bookshop

32 Market Place Brackley
Northamptonshire
tel Brackley (0280) 704146

JAMES GRIBBLE AND THE RAUNDS STRIKE OF 1905

KEITH BROOKER

The aim of this essay is to chronicle for the reader what have become two of the most abiding and popular legends of Northamptonshire's recent Labour history. One is about a man, the other about a strike: it is not inappropriate that both should be so intimately interwoven. The central feature of the strike was the bootmakers' protest march to London, the first in the recent experience of the British Labour movement. Although several brief accounts of the march itself have been published in the past,[1] no attempt has been made to set this important event into the overall context of the strike, nor to evaluate the character of its originator, James Gribble.

I

Raunds fills a hollow in the undulating Northamptonshire landscape a dozen miles south of Kettering. Despite having become the chief centre for the manufacture of Government footwear by the early 20th Century, it still retained much of the character and atmosphere of an isolated rural settlement. In 1905 a visiting journalist described the town in the following way:

> . . . You must walk a mile from the [local railway station] . . . before you see anything more than the church steeple and the windmill sails of the town, and nearly another mile before you come to the houses and the boot factories. The buildings are widely scattered, to call so rural a place a town is purely complimentary. Cows stare over the fence on one side of the main street, and crows come foraging in the market place. . . .[2]

Yet here were to be found more than a dozen boot factories engaged in Government contract work. One firm employed as many as 400 workers, and it was estimated that altogether 1,200 were engaged in the trade. The majority lived in Raunds but others came in daily from surrounding villages. Handwork and out-working were still the dominant features of the trade here, although the recent spread of civilian footwear production and the beginning of a change in policy at the War Office toward machine-made boots, were giving rise to the introduction of machinery and new systems of work.[4] In the recession which followed the South African War, the increased spread of these modern production techniques had given rise to disquiet and technological unemployment amongst the county's bootmakers, but it was the rapid contraction in the Government's purchases of hand-made army boots which hit the Raunds area hardest in the short term.[5] In addition, the area's predominance in this market was being challenged by Leeds, and particularly Bristol, whose civilian market in heavy boots was in turn contracting as a result of fashion changes.

Faced with this contraction in demand, manufacturers engaged in a vigorous policy of cutting the prices quoted in the contracts they presented to central government to cost, or near-cost, levels in the hope of securing their share of what contracts remained. The War Office had also imposed new

[1] See for example, A. C. Allen & L. J. Bartley, *An Epic of Trade Unionism: Being An Account of the Rushden Branch of N.U.B.S.O. from Earliest Days to the Raunds Strike, 1905* (1934).

[2] *Manchester Guardian*, 23 Mar. 1905, p.4.

[4] This process begun in circa 1898 (See *N.U.B.S.O. Monthly Report*, October 1898, p. 10). By the early years of this century the trade journals reveal a series of disputes concerning machine introduction.

[5] Following high government expenditure during the war, the post-war Conservative administration was pledged to spending cuts. Military spending formed a major part of overall government expenditure in the period. In addition to smaller contracts being issued to independent contractors, as occured in footwear, there were labour lay-offs and economies at the small-arms ordnance factories at Enfield, Sparkbrook, Birmingham, & the Royal Dockyard, Portsmouth.

quality-standards on footwear in response to the claims of poor quality boots having been issued in the war. Smaller and fewer contracts, these new quality standards, in addition to significant increases in raw material prices, all placed pressure upon manufacturers' trading confidence and profitability. Faced with such marketing conditions in a labour-intensive industry, the manufacturers reacted in a not unpredictable way by systematically reducing piecework wage rates: a course of action made all the easier by the scattered, non-unionised, and rural character of their workforce. In addition, it was reported that time-rate workers were paid below the standard rate, and that attempts had been made to introduce female labour into clicking rooms in the hope of further reducing labour costs.[6]

Inevitably these problems in the trade gave way to widespread distress. A marked downturn in earnings was apparent. For example, before the war a skilled, proficient army bootmaker[7] received 3/6d for making and finishing a pair of army ankle boots. Increased war demand had enabled this rate to rise to a peak of 3/11d, to be followed by a slump to 2/4d by 1903-4; by early 1905 the rate had stabilised at 2/6d per pair. The bootmakers living standards quickly reflected these reductions in wage rates, not least because the prevailing hand technology permitted little scope for the individual worker to maintain his level of earnings by increasing his productivity, if the opportunity arose. As one commentator observed:

> . . . their work requires skilled labour, and that while a pair of boots a day is a fair day's work, the most that a competent and industrious man can make is eight pairs in a week. An average man can do only six pairs in a fifty-four hour week.[8]

But beyond this erosion of living standards for those in work, actual unemployment had become a progressively serious problem, and short-time working commonplace. By July 1904, the *Peterborough Advertiser* summarised the situation at Raunds in the following words:

> . . . This is the week before the feast, and never before has trade been so bad as to put workmen on short-time, and others on no time at all. . . . This is certainly a record week in this way in the history of the army boot Trade in Raunds.[9]

Up to this point there had been little organised opposition by the workforce to wage cuts and high unemployment. Matters now took a turn. In the Autumn of 1904 a number of non-union bootmakers petitioned the Secretary of State for War, Mr. H. P. Arnold-Forster, to implement the "fair wages" clause present in government contracts in a bid to restore wage levels. The essence of his reply was that the industrial relations problems of independent government contractors were outside his control: he councilled the men to unionise, and to argue their case directly with the manufacturers before an arbitration board.[10] The implications of this reply were not lost on the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives (NUBSO) national executive. First, they sent the newly appointed national organiser, James Gribble, into the area in an attempt to stimulate activity. Characterised by low levels of union membership, the rural areas of boot-making Northamptonshire had ever presented an organisational problem for the Union. A branch had been established at Rushden in 1886, which covered much of the army boot-making district, including Raunds. A relatively high level of membership had been reached in the militant years preceding the 1895 national dispute, and some advances in conditions realised. However, since that time much of the Union's effectiveness had been eroded.[11] Now conditions were again thought

[6] *Rushden Echo*, 3 Mar. 1905. p.8. The standard rate rate for clickers in the Rushden district was 26/- per week, but most were paid between 20/- to 22/-. Attempts to introduce women in clickers' shops had been made at Irchester.

[7] Unlike the factory operative, this branch of the trade still employed handstitch men, who took several years to learn the trade.

[8] *Northampton Daily Chronicle*, 9 May, 1905. p. 3.

[9] *Peterborough Advertiser*, 4 July, 1095. p. 4.

[10] *Northampton Daily Chronicle*, op. cit.

[11] See, A. C. Allen & L. J. Bartley, *op. cit.*, and A. Fox, *A History of the National Union of Boot & Shoe Operatives* (1958).

PLATE 1. THE MARCHERS EN ROUTE TO LONDON ON THE ROAD BETWEEN RAUNDS AND BEDFORD. (*By courtesy of N.U.F.L.A.T.*)

favourable, and throughout the winter of 1904-05 Gribble did much to raise the awareness of the army bootmakers, and engender a critical view to their condition.[12]

Secondly, in November 1904, the Union and local employers negotiated the first uniform piece-work wage statement for the district at a joint Conference in an attempt to stabilise wage rates and prevent the further arbitrary erosion of earnings and living standards.[13] Furthermore, the statement was endorsed by War Office as the agreed rates to be paid, in accordance with the fair wages clause, on all contracts. In the new year, however, it became clear that the spirit of this agreement had already been widely ignored by many manufacturers. On a technical point, it was formally repudiated by them in January—two months before it was due to come into force—as they endeavoured to force bootmakers to accept much lower rates in anticipation of the keen competition to secure the new spring season's contracts. Thus, when on March 1 the national executive backed the local branch's ultimatum to employers to abide by the Joint Conference wage statement, the ensuing strike became inevitable.

II

The strike of the Raunds bootmakers commenced on March 11 and lasted until May 31 1905. The Union entrusted its management to James Gribble. Its history falls into three distinct phases.

Throughout March there was a mood of anticipation and optimism. The initial strike call received wide support. At this early stage Gribble's recent organisational work was clearly apparent. Despite the growing threat of unemployment through the winter,[14] he had not secured any significant increase in local union membership—the strike was to do

[12] *NUBSO Monthly Report* February 1902, p. 6, ". . . the greater proportion of the Army workers are as conservative as the Government, and cannot or will not see the necessity for combination".

[13] Again using the army ankle boot as an example, this new statement raised the price to 3/3d per pair, mid-way between the war-time peak, and post-war slump prices.

[14] *Rushden Echo*, 13 Jan., 1905. p. 5. reported large numbers of unemployed bootmakers being on reservoir construction and cemetery maintenance at Irthlingborough. cf. *Rushden Echo*, 10 Feb., 1905. p. 5. reported that machinery had displaced . . ." So many men" in bootmaking. Rushden Relief Committee that week relieved 40 families, employed 70 men, and distributed a further £70 in relief.

PLATE 2. THE MARCHERS TAKE A REST AT CLOPHILL, BEDFORDSHIRE
(Photograph by courtesy of Mr Cyril Putt.)

that—but he had aroused a questioning mood and a new sense of unity amongst bootmakers generally. Thus, at a mass meeting on March 3 both union and non-union labour had resolved to stand together to resist further wage reductions. Piece-workers refused to take out fresh work and day workers gave one week's notice: the strike formally began seven days later.[15] That women closers joined the strike in significant numbers at this early stage is possibly an even more sensitive barometer of the depth of the response. Initially, therefore, some 400 workers ceased work, and within days this number had nearly doubled: easily sufficient to disrupt production.

In view of their strong case, the tacit support of the War Office, and the clear approval of both the public and the press, the strikers anticipated a quick settlement. As employers had consistently refused joint arbitration,[16] Gribble adopted a strategy of negotiation with individual firms. One agreed to the statement from the outset, and another two on the eve of the strike.[17] Within the first days of the strike another two agreed the first days of the strike another two agreed,[18] and by March 24 a further two.[19] At this point it was considered that little more could be achieved by this strategy of gradualism, for the remaining manufacturers represented very much the hard core from whom it was thought little compromise could be expected. Gribble argued that:

> ". . . the men would arbitrate no further. The manufacturers have decided to remain firm and there is every prospect of a prolonged struggle."[20]

[15] *Rushden Echo*, 3 Mar., 1905. p. 5.

[16] This was because employers refused to recognise Union negotiators G. R. Askwith noted later, . . . Rocognition was the first point . . . which in the light of later days, seems almost absurd. . . in G. R. Askwith *Industrial Problems & Disputes*, (1920), p. 97.

[17] *Rushden Echo*, 10 Mar,. 1905. p. 5.

[18] ibid., 17 Mar., 1905. p. 5.

[19] ibid., 24 Mar., 1905. p. 5.

[20] *Reynolds's News*, 2 April, 1905. p. 5.

The intervention of the War Office two days before the strike's inception, the mediation of the local Urban District Council, the appeals of the Vicar of Raunds, all had failed to yield a result. All compromise schemes devised by the Union had similarly failed to invoke a positive response.

It was at this stage that there occurred a change in the nature and complexion of the strike. From being good humoured and orderly, the strikers' mood became more frustrated, embittered and violent. It had become usual for strikers to follow those still in work at the factories. Daily, "blacklegs" were escorted by police to and from work amidst hooting and shouting crowds of strikers, many of whom banged tin kettles.[21] Gradually the tone of these encounters became more strident, and the size of the crowd swelled until it was a thousand strong. Initially rotten eggs were pelted at strike breakers, but violence flared on March 22 after just one stone had been thrown. This incident was followed by the besieging and damaging of strike breakers' houses.[22] The strikers' anger was now also quickly turned against their masters. At this point sixty extra police were drafted in to control ". . . the further rioting at the residences of manufacturers . . .": both they and their foremen were attacked—at least one was injured—as well as extensive damage being done to windows and other property.[23] The level of antagonism towards employers is reflected in a speech made by Gribble:

> . . . Mr. Gribble said that all there appeared to be at Raunds were a few compounds which had been dumped there surrounded by houses inhabited by white slaves, who ground out profits for the owners of the compound. The manufacturers concerned in the strike were Lord Penrhyns on a small scale, and if they had the same power and wealth they would be just as brutal as Lord Penrhyn. Some manufacturers had been kind enough to build them houses . . . They only had to pay four shillings a week . . . but they would be fools to pay rent while the strike was on . . .[24]

This pattern of following, and the outbursts of violence it engendered, became commonplace in the ensuing weeks, and resulted in the continued closure of strikebound factories.

> . . . Several factories in the District affected by the army boot strike were opened on Wednesday, but only three non-unionists commenced work, and the unionists remain firm . . .[25]

A third target for the strikers' anger were the Co-operative Productive Societies in the area. Ostensibly organisations favouring the close participation of workers in their operation and in the sharing of profits, it was clear that they had been in the vanguard of firms which had cut prices. The NUBSO monthly report noted:

> . . . One of the most painful aspects of this dispute is that certain Co-operative Societies in the district were amongst the first to cut prices. . . . This is not the spirit of principle of co-operation . . . and to think these societies are mainly composed of working men. Men indeed! those who should be in the front ranks of progressive movements are acting as renegades and traitors to their fellows . . .[26]

The strikers' leader was equally bitter about the Societies' ignoble role:

> . . . Co-operation ought to be a splendid institution, but there are a few men who trade on co-operation and make a profit out of pretension in that direction. The so-called co-operative societies in the villages of Northamptonshire, who went to the War Office and took boots to be made at less than the agreed price . . . and did it in defiance of individual manufacturers, were no more or less than the Jewish sweaters of Whitechapel. . . . Such men cannot be called co-operators, they are a fraud on the community and deserve the name "scabs" . . .[27]

Consequently, Co-operative factories were

[21] *Rushden Argus*, 9 Mar., 1905. p. 5.
[22] *The Times*, 23 Mar., 1905. p. 8.
[23] *ibid.*
[24] *Rushden Echo*, 17 Mar., 1905. p. 5.
[25] *Reynolds's News*, 22 April, 1905. p. 5.
[26] *NUBSO Monthly Report*, April 1905, p. 8.
[27] *Rushden Echo*, 24 Mar., 1905. p. 5.

very much at the centre of these turbulent scenes, some being extensively damaged.[28]

Similar scenes were also played out in the surrounding villages where outworkers were still making up material from Raunds. Inevitably, the need to curtail this activity became a crucial issue for the strikers, and they met with significant success where branch factories were concerned.[29] Preventing individual outworkers from working was more difficult, however, and it was here that violence erupted.

Not that it is easy to ultimately determine the nature of this violence. Certainly, there exists an oral tradition in the area which centres around the themes of widespread damage and intimidation. Breaches of the law concerning criminal damage, unlawful picketing, intimidation and breach of the peace occurred on a wide scale and arrests were made. But any final determination as to the scale and intensity of the violence tends to remain somewhat blurred. In analysing all contemporary newspaper reports on strikes in this period it is essential to handle with sensitivity such words as "riot", "serious disturbance", "extensive damage" and so on, for they tended to be used in a highly subjective, erratic, and, for the strikers, often damning way. The task of the historian, therefore, becomes one of attempting to steer through what is often a mass of conflicting viewpoints.

Reporting on the Raunds strike provides a case in point. The word "riot", for example, was used to describe events in Raunds during the last week in March by both *The Times* and the *Rushden Echo*, and both papers speculated freely upon the imminent need to call upon the military to restore order. Yet the *Manchester Guardian* stressed that

> . . . so far as I can learn the disturbances that have taken place this week, and which have been generally described in the newspapers as "riots", ought not to be treated as anything more than accidental outbursts of violent horseplay. It is true that because of the rowdyism on Wednesday night, which culminated in stone-throwing and window-smashing, the authorities hastily called in a large body of policemen; but the magistrates have not yet put copies of the Riot Act in their pockets, and the talk of summoning the aid of the military is irresponsible nonsense . . .[30]

Of necessity such reports must be reviewed critically. To what extent was bias operating? To what extent does the use of the word "riot" merely reflect local reaction to events, in an area which was normally quiescent? Indeed, the point is quickly reached where this use of key-words and broad speculation merges into the realms of inaccuracy and even falsehood. Regarding the harassment of outworkers at Ringstead, for example, the *Morning Post* proclaimed this "a serious disturbance". It was noted:

> . . . The crowd became very violent, and the police finding themselves unable to disperse the strikers, telegraphed to Thrapston for assistance . . . and then the crowd was finally dispersed . . .[31]

In contrast, however, the *Rushden Echo* directly challenged the *Post's* claim of a serious disturbance, attesting that the crowd had dispersed before the arrival of the Thrapston police.[32] Of falsehood, the *Manchester Guardian* recorded:

> . . . The extent of the damage may be gathered from the fact that today a photographer, anxious to secure effective strike pictures, thought it necessary to bargain with one householder that she should stand in front of her broken window with a handkerchief bandaged round her uninjured forehead . . .[33]

Similarly, in later years a local trade union history noted, ". . . that photographs of certain houses that had been partially demolished as dangerous were published in one of the London papers as some of the wreckage of the strikers . . ."[34]

[28] See for example, *St. Crispin 1891-1951* (1951), being the history of the St. Crispin Productive Society Ltd., Raunds.

[29] *Rushden Echo*, 17 Mar., p. 5., 24 Mar., 1905. p. 6.

[30] *Manchester Guardian*, 23 Mar., 1905. p. 4.

[31] *Morning Post*, 20 Mar., 1905. p. 10.

[32] *Rushden Echo*, 24 Mar., 1905. p. 6.

[33] *Manchester Guardian*, 23 Mar., 1905. p. 4.

[34] A. C. Allen & L. J. Bartley, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

If there may be difficulties in determining the nature and extent of the violence, the reasons for its emergence are somewhat easier to ascertain. As with all protracted strikes of the period, the effects of hardship and distress quickly made itself felt in the community, despite the provision of union strike pay and public donations. But at the centre of this frustration was the ultimate failure of Gribble's gradualist strategy to provide a quick, decisive settlement, which had wrested the initiative from the Union's grasp. This lost initiative and the intractability of the remaining employers had given way to a state of deadlock. There was now the clear possibility of a return to work on the employers' terms being imposed upon the strikers.

III

In April, therefore, the sphere of control of the strike passed from the negotiating table and the unions, to the street and the ordinary striker, with violence emerging as a theme. Where physical privation imposed a limitation on the strikers' endurance, and where all channels of negotiation were deadlocked, there arose a need amongst the rank and file to attempt to resolve the strike themselves. At this point, devoid of other substantive means they were left with little alternative but to pursue a course of vigorous mass picketing and street demonstrations. This action cannot be described as a coherent, articulated policy, but neither did it evolve in a totally random, mindless way. Rather, as is outlined above, it was a spontaneous, collective expression of frustration and anger directed against a narrow and clearly definable group of people: employers, strike-breakers, and Co-operative Productive Societies.

Although this shift in control from union negotiators to the rank and file was to some extent more apparent than real, it was nevertheless a matter of real concern for Union officials. Moderate Edwardian trade unions, of which NUBSO has been seen as a model, regarded arbitration and conciliation as the usual means of resolving disputes. The strike was the tactic of last resort, and where used the need for officials to control its management and counter any independent action by strikers, which might alienate public opinion or preclude negotiation, became a matter of prime strategic importance. Thus, when events at Raunds swung against this orthodoxy, the union repeatedly called for a more balanced and orderly mood to prevail. Charles Freak, the General Secretary, councilled:

> . . . we deplore the fact that rioting and destruction of property have taken place, and hope that a more calm spirit will be shown, as when these disputes are ended it is far better that no such incidents should have happened to cause bitterness of feeling to rankle in the mind, but when we know that discipline has to be adhered to in the army of labour, as in other organisations, and are aware of the number affected who are outside our ranks, we are not altogether surprised that they lost control of themselves, but no good can be done that way, and we hope there will be no repetition . . .[35]

But as the duration of the strike lengthened, Gribble's task went beyond this basic question of maintaining strike discipline. Flagging morale amongst strikers, an end to the negotiating deadlock, a resurgence of public support emerged as the more pressing, interrelated issues. At the point when strikers were beginning to drift back to work, he began to plan the London march as a venture to counter these problems. In contrast to its significance, the march was simply, yet rigorously planned.

> . . . We shall go to the War Office, Mr. Gribble said, and present a petition, pleading to the authorities to interfere and insist on the manufacturers' recognising the fair wage clause in contracts. Failing satisfaction there we shall march to Westminster and present a petition to be heard at the Bar of the House of Commons. I know we shall be turned back, but the public will learn the justice of our demands . . .[36]

[35] *NUBSO Monthly Report*, op.cit.
[36] Anon, *50th Anniversary of the Raunds Striker's March* (1955, p. 7).

Of 300 volunteers, the fittest 115 were selected. The military style of the discipline and organisation are unmistakeable, indeed many of the marchers were ex-servicemen. They were marshalled into six companies—including the local band—each commanded by a sergeant. A cycle corps of three was formed, who proceeded the column to make preparations at each resting point. In addition there was a "staff" of three union officials, and two St. John Ambulancemen. In overall command was James, soon to be proclaimed "General" Gribble. The marchers were drilled by him in preparation. They marched four abreast, with rations and an overcoat on their backs, and accepted his authority in all matters.

They left Raunds on May 8, marching via Bedford, Luton, St. Albans, Watford, reaching London on May 12. The event was met everywhere with an overwhelming interest, sympathy and support from the public.[37] Moreover, of the many contemporary newspapers and journals searched not one report mentions any kind of opposition or hostility toward the strikers action; indeed many professed themselves impressed—and relieved—by the bearing and discipline of the marchers.[38] It became commonplace for inns and cafes to offer refreshment. On the first day they lunched at the Falcon Inn, Bletsoe, where food-laden tables, and ". . . cans and buckets of beer and several boxes of mineral water..." were provided.[39] Then at Harpenden,

> . . . On the village green a delightful picnic had been prepared. Spread out on tables beneath the shade a lunch was waiting. The scene was a most charming and picturesque one, and in such good spirits were the men that after the feast some of them danced on the green with village maidens who had waited on their table. The break at this delightful spot lasted two hours, and at three thirty, again after votes of thanks, cheers and tunes from the band, the tramp was renewed . . .[40]

Similarly, the public gave generously to collections made along the route to finance the march: they left Raunds with one day's food ration, half a loaf and two ounces of cheese per man:

> . . . The collectors go out in front rattling their white boxes before all who pass. Everyone gives. The man in the motorcar comes to a stop and drops in a shilling, the horseman reins up and fingers his waitcoat pocket, old ladies on the footpath slowly produce their pennies, and from wayside cottages children sometimes run out with their fathers coppers . . .[41]

One car driver who passed contributed a sovereign to the funds.

On the first night they were greeted at Bedford by "huge crowds". A large open-air meeting was convened to publicise their grievance, followed by the singing of labour hymns and a collection. Lodging was found by the local N.U.B.S.O. and Carpenters unions. These scenes were repeated at each stopping place. At Luton, the deputy mayor gave a tea at the Liberal Club, sixty sympathisers lodged the marchers for the night, a local barber offered free shaves, and a local wellwisher sent cigars. The following day at St. Albans they were met by trade union representatives, the Liberal Club gave tea, a progressive councillor breakfast: fifty local artisans provided accommodation. Again at Watford the streets were thronged with townspeople. The march was met by trade unionists and the veteran Social Democratic politician, J. E. Williams, who gave tea. Here they were billeted at the local Labour Church.[42]

[37] Local newspapers bear testament to the extent that popular sympathy was swayed: *Bedfordshire Mercury*, 12 May ". . . Bedford was agog on Monday Evening"; *Luton News*, 13 May, p. 8. ". . . scenes of lively demonstrations of interest and sympathy . . ."; *Herts & St. Albans Advertiser*, 13 May, p. 4. ". . . widespread public interest and sympathy centres on the tactics adopted . . . the travellers have been received with a generosity which was quite unexpected. . ." *Watford Daily Circular*, 15 May, 1905. p. 2. [the marchers] received constant evidences of sympathy from the working people of this town. . . "

[38] *Luton Reporter*, 11 May 1905. p. 5. ". . . It is really surprising the command Mr. Gribble has over them. They obeyed him promptly and his order were no sooner given than carried out . . ."

[39] *Northampton Daily Chronicle*, 9 May. p. 4.

[40] ibid., 11 May. p. 4.

[41] ibid., some £200 was raised in this way.

[42] *Northampton Daily Reporter*, 13 May. p. 7.

Following the overnight stop at Watford, the march moved forward to Cricklewood. From here four London Trades Council Delegates and many London Trade Union deputations escorted them to Marble Arch, where a crowd of 10,000 watched their arrival. From here a deputation of ten went to the House, yet despite the intervention of the local M.P., F. A. Channing, and the Labour group in parliament, War Office Officials declined to receive the deputation. In Gribble's own words:

> . . . This was exceedingly annoying, . . . and I was determined that we should not go back without something happening. I had one order for the strangers Gallery, and I went there. I heard members talking and talking, and I wondered if this sort of thing was going to last forever. So I decided to take some action, and I rose and asked if this gentleman was going to talk the House out. I informed the House that I had brought 115 men from Raunds . . . that they had marched all that distance in order to lay their grievances before the House, but now I found that nothing was likely to be done. I had just got to that point when several . . . attendants . . . caught hold of me, and I was turned out. But I was determined not to give in without another effort, so I made a run for the Inner Lobby. I did not, however, get very far. Other officials of the House caught me, and prevented me getting anywhere near the lobby. Then the sergeant-at-Arms ordered me to be removed from the building, and I was removed. . . .[43]

Ironically, suffragettes who were awaiting the outcome of the women's franchise debate then in progress believed his interruption to have been made in support of their cause: in fact, Gribble was opposed to votes for women.

Following these dramatic scenes the War Office announced that G. R. Askwith was to head an inquiry to investigate wages in the army boot sector. In fact, there had been a gradual movement by the War Office towards this position both before and during the progress of the march. This had resulted from private negotiations initiated by four M.P.s on behalf of the strikers with Mr. Arnold-Forster after a debate on army clothing estimates in April. By the time of the march matters were well advanced. *The Times* noted on May 9 that '. . . negotiations for the settlement of the dispute are in progress, and there is reason to believe that a termination of the whole dispute may soon take place . . .'[44] The next day an official statement declared,

> . . . It having been suggested to the Secretary of State for War that action should be taken under the Fair Wage Resolution in reference to certain War Office contracts for army boots, he has determined to cause an immediate and special inquiry to be made . . .[45]

Communications between the War Office and Gribble show that with this practical outcome in being the latter considered that there was now a clear justification to refuse to meet an *ad hoc* deputation.

Thus, the prime objective of the march had failed, and, instead, its merit must be judged upon its clear ability to call attention to, and focus the public's mind upon their grievances. That this should be so certainly came as no surprise to many contemporary commentators, for whilst sharing the public's sense of sympathy, they were less than sure that such a display of direct action constituted a viable or useful means of protest in a modern urban society. One lone newspaper reporter wrote of ". . . this very happy scheme for bringing their troubles before the War Officers . . .",[46] whilst most agreed that doubt lurked behind even the public's support,

> . . . Luton was interested to see these hundred odd respectable, black-coated workmen forming in military array . . . and while rather shaking its head over this unconventional method of petitioning the Government, they had nothing but English admiration for their pluck . . .[47]

[43] *Daily News*, 13 May, 1905. p. 6.

[44] *The Times*, 9 May, p. 9.
[45] *The Times*, 11 May, p. 11.
[46] *Bedfordshire Mercury*, 12 May, p. 7.
[47] *Luton News*, 11 May, p. 8.

This criticism was developed in a number of directions. Most common was the question, by such an act how could such a small, powerless group expect to influence the might and decision-making processes of a powerful central government office? It was noted,

> . . . Notwithstanding the confident bearing of the men, the ensemble gave one an indescribable sensation of pathos. There was some indefinable air of melancholy prevailing amongst this company of men fighting for what they considered to be their rights. The problem of life, of labour, seemed to be woven around this band, whose mission, in its main objective, is hopeless in its inception. Somehow one's mind went back to the dark days of Chartism, when Birmingham threatened London with its army of workers. This band from Raunds seemed to be a tiny shadow of that gigantic threat . . .[48]

Similarly, the Labour press, whilst recognising the forceful wave of publicity and debate which the march had aroused, nevertheless considered that such actions were out of place in the arena of modern labour relations. An editorial in the *Labour Leader* argued,

> . . . Something like a new departure in trade union tactics has been inaugurated this week. . . . This march is a unique, as well as in some ways a pathetic spectacle in modern days. It is not thus, perhaps, that we think of the army of labour marching to the strains of "Hark!, the battle cry is ringing", but the strategy, if only because of its novelty is likely to attract public attention and sympathy . . . though we doubt whether their quaint enthusiasm . . . will immediately thaw the cold hearts or unseal the red tape of Government Offices.[49]

The marchers' three day stay in London was organised by the Social Democratic Federation who received many offers of help. They were lodged, free of charge, at an L.C.C. Lodging House in Deptford, and meals, funded by the *Morning Post* and *Reynold's News*, were taken at the Church Army's King's Labour Tents in Aldwych. Sunday tea was held at Whitefield's Tabernacle, Tottenham Court Road, where committee rooms had been established. This was followed by a high tea and lantern show at the London home of Rev. W. Carlile, honorary chief secretary of the Church Army. Breakfast on Monday was provided by the committee of the National Liberal Club. In addition, the London Trades Council voted £20 to be provided for entertainment; and on Saturday night the Royal Italian Circus gave a free show: the crippled bootmaker, Jack Pearson, who had completed the march on crutches, made a personal appearance at the Lyceum Music Hall.

More importantly, the marchers presence was used to bolster the "Right to Work" campaign then being waged in the capital. For the bootmakers' grievances about unemployment, structural change and wage cutting during depression, of course, were issues which concerned all in the labour movement at that time. Marchers attended local political and trade meetings, but more significant was the mass demonstration held at Trafalgar Square on Sunday, which was attended by 8,000 people.[50] The principal speakers were Will Thorne, Keir Hardie and James Gribble.

On Monday, the strikers began the march back to Raunds from Hyde Park amid the now familiar scenes:

> . . . At eleven o'clock the procession started. Pearson, the cripple, at the head, the band playing . . ., and a solid wedge of police driving a passage through the thousands of people who had gathered to give them a parting cheer. The Edgware Road was thronged on each side almost all the way to Kilburn . . .[51]

The return route was via Watford, Tring, Leighton Buzzard, Olney and Northampton. Here a crowd of 8,000 attended a mass meeting in the Market Square. They arrived

[48] *Bedford & District Daily Circular*, 10 May, p. 2.

[49] *Labour Leader*, 12 May, p. 68, cf. *Justice*, 13 May, p. 5.

[50] At the rally a hastily published cloth-bound 'Life & Times' of Gribble sold readily. The author should be greateful to hear from anyone who knows of the whereabouts of a copy.

[51] *Northampton Daily Reporter*, 15 May, p. 6.

back in triumph to Raunds on May 22. By this time Askwith's inquiry had already held its first meeting at Leicester two days before, and on the 23rd resumed its business at Rushden. After eight days of vigorous debating terms for a resumption of work acceptable to the strikers were formulated.[51a] These were

(a) That the prevailing statement was to remain in force for the currency of existing contracts, without any reductions taking place. The aggregate price per pair to be set at 2/6d.

(b) That, beyond this, the statement price for subsequent contracts, and 1906 contracts were to be increased by 6d per pair.

(c) That no victimisation of strikers should take place.

(d) That conciliation and arbitration machinery be established for the district.

IV[52]

The key figure in this conflict had been James Gribble, a short, stocky man, who habitually wore a red tie. An activist of the Left he emerges from the strike as a man who commanded both the loyalty and respect of the strikers. One reporter regarded him as ". . . a modest, gentle man—a man enthused to vigour and rigour and strenuousness by his [socialist] faith and intent. A man whom you felt resented the fate of his fellows . . ."[53] Who then, was this man?

He was born at 25 Bailiff Street, Northampton on 12 January 1868, the eldest child in a family of nine. His father was James, a machine-closer in the shoe trade and sometime publican of the *Marquis of Carabas*, his mother, Eleanor (née Goodman). Although he received his formal education at Spring Lane and Vernon Terrace Board Schools, Northampton, he only attained basic literacy and numeracy at the Northampton Adult School in his teens.

At twelve years of age he started work as an outdoor finisher for one of the largest boot manufacturing companies in the world, Turner Brothers, Hyde and Co. of Northampton and London. As was still the custom in the boot trade, he spent periods in other shoe centres gaining experience, including Birmingham where he became caught up in the Aston Riots. In 1885, a depression in the trade found him unemployed so he enlisted in the regular army. After eighteen months service in England he was stationed overseas until 1892. He attained the rank of acting quarter-master sergeant, and gained a reputation as an educator to those under his command.

On being demobilised in January 1893, Gribble returned to employment in the boot trade at Northampton, and quickly became involved in local union affairs. Within a year of his joining the No. 1 Northampton Branch of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives on the 4 March 1893, he was elected delegate to the branch executive committee, and delegate to the local Trades' Council, remaining an officer with both for many years. His identification with the policies and ideology of the Social Democratic Federation also dates from this period: he joined the vigorous local branch in November 1894. Gribble's formative political thinking had been dominated by his father's allegience to Charles Bradlaugh. Politically Radical, his father was an early supporter of Bradlaugh's nomination for Northampton's two parliamentary seats. In 1868, when Bradlaugh first visited the town, his father covered his house in mural literature, and was subsequently injured by special constables during a riot, following one of Bradlaugh's early political meetings. In later life, James often referred with pride to his acquaintance with the freethinker, and spoke of the active assistance he had given to the Bradlaughrian cause in Northampton during the early 1880s. By the mid-1890s, however, his political position had moved decisively to the Left, and it was this deep conviction and belief in Social Democratic ideals which was to be his motive force during the twenty-five or so years he was

[51a] See G. R. Askwith, op. cit., Ch. X.

[52] This section draws heavily upon a biography I have written for the *Dictionary of Labour Biography*. I acknowledge the Editors' permission for allowing its use here.

[53] *Reynold's News* 14 May 1905, p. 1.

COUNTY BOROUGH OF NORTHAMPTON.

Parliamentary Election, 1910.

POLLING DAY - - TUESDAY, JANUARY 18th.

H. QUELCH.

J. GRIBBLE.

The Social-Democratic Candidates.

For the People and against the Peers.

END THEM—NOT MEND THEM.

The Abolition of Pauperism, Poverty and Unemployment.

Work for All; Overwork for None.

Healthy Homes, Good Food and Education for all Children; Prosperity at Home and Peace Abroad.

PLATE 3. THE ELECTION HANDBILL OF THE NORTHAMPTON BRANCH OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION AT THE GENERAL ELECTION OF JANUARY 1910. (*Northamptonshire Libraries*).

to so strongly influence the trade union and political life of Northampton and the county.

His remained the dominant personality in local S.D.F. circles, and one of its fiercest propagandists. Yet despite being a man with obvious political flair and talent, contemporaries felt that his ability to influence events and guide policy nationally, both within the union and political arena, was lessened and largely forestalled, by his uncompromising political position and short temper. An example of this intractability was the affair of his parliamentary nomination for East Northamptonshire in the Labour interest. In 1906 he was nominated by the East Northamptonshire Socialist and Labour Party but refused to abide by the rules and constitution of the Labour Representation Committee to which he assented on accepting the candidature. At meetings he continued to advocate a much more radical programme than was acceptable to the LRC. He was at this time openly and vehemently critical of the parliamentary labour group's refusal to adopt a definite socialist programme and of its preparedness to accept Westminster's conventions. After several months of conflict between moderate labour groups in East Northamptonshire, Gribble's supporters, and the LRC, Gribble stood down in order to preserve Labour's unity. But it was probably as much Gribble's explosive disposition as his intractable political position which captured the popular imagination and memory during these years. Steadily in the early years of the present century he developed a reputation for unruly public behaviour. For example, his spirited defence of Labouchere, Northampton's senior member of Parliament, when viciously attacked by a mob during a stop the war campaign meeting at the Town Hall in 1900. In 1902, he was arrested during the course of an unemployed march, and on at least three occasions was forcibly ejected from the Council Chamber for fighting during debates: he incurred two fines, one month's imprisonment, and was bound over for obstruction as a result. A local obituary in the *Northampton Independent* makes the following assessment:

> . . . whilst many admired his conscientiousness, his intensely practical mind and his prowess as a debater . . . in public life he was both quarrelsome and of a violent demeanour . . . This lack of self-control unfortunately destroyed his chances of rising to the far higher position in the hierarchy of the socialist party to which his courage and capacity entitled him . . .[54]

Thus, whilst being successful in local public life, serving as both a Guardian of the Poor for the parish of St. Sepulchre 1904-07, and as the senior socialist Town councillor representing North Ward and afterwards Castle Ward intermittently between 1903-25, he failed to be elected to Westminster at both the 1906 and 1910 (January) General Elections: in 1910 his fellow S.D.F. candidate was Harry Quelch. He was made a J.P. for Northampton Borough in 1923.

Nevertheless, he did ably serve N.U.B.S.O. in a number of important national posts, and played a conspicious part in the formation of general policy at the Bi-annual National Conferences. He was a full-time National Organiser 1904-05, a member of the National Executive Council 1906-09 and 1914-19, and Union Parliamentary Agent for Northamptonshire in 1908-14. In addition, he served briefly as a union trustee, and was a frequent union delegate to conferences in Britain and Europe. In 1910, he made an unsuccessful attempt to be elected Union President, being beaten into second place by T. F. Richards, some 2500 votes behind.

His influence, therefore in the Labour movement remained primarily that of a grass-roots activist and propagandist. A man of considerable personal warmth and selflessness, it is not surprising that several press reports reveal Gribble as a man who enjoyed this role, believing that national office put too great a distance between himself and the union rank and file.

From the union's defeat in the 1895 lockout, rapid strides had been made by boot manufacturers to introduce improved machinery and completely rationalise work practices and discipline, which had given rise to

[54] *Northampton Independent*, 17 July, 1934, p. 6.

rank-and-file opposition and concern. An articulate and incisive socialist critic of these developments, Gribble, more than most N.U.B.S.O. officials, gave voice, support and encouragement to this opposition and concern. In the 1900s he led the Northampton branches' opposition to the new piecework quantity statements designed by the Union to cope with new working conditions, which were successfully implemented in other centres. He advocated in its place a policy of output restriction. He was a vociferous opponent of the high levels of unemployment generated by the spread of machine working, as his evidence given to the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and the Relief of Distress reveals.[55] In common with other S.D.F. members, he campaigned unceasingly to improve local authority provision for the unemployed, and to bring about a radical reform in society's social welfare policies. He utilised his membership of the Northampton Board of Guardians and the Borough Council in support of this work, and as a platform from which to further these causes. Another strand in his arguments against increased structural change in the trade was his advocation of co-operative production, by which means workers could maintain control over the work process.[56]

But despite all this important work probably his consistently most crucial role was that of a trade union organiser and political propagandist as the above account of the Raunds Strike reveals: two roles which he saw as being very much co-extensive. Always alive to the need for organisation, Gribble's appointment in 1904 as one of the first two National Organisers was particularly suited to his talents as an aggressive and uncompromising orator and debater. He greatly strengthened the trade union movement in Northamptonshire and developed workers' class-consciousness, but in the short-term results were apparently not encouraging for within a year he resigned the post as he felt the ground gained did not justify the funding incurred. Despite this, he continued organising work at Northampton and elsewhere, between 1906-10, although a No. 1 Branch official, he instigated and led local efforts to increase membership in the No. 2 Branch. This reflects Gribble's increasing frustration with the barriers of grade, particularly between clickers and other grades of shoemaker, which had constantly given rise to petty differences within the Union, detracting from its overall effectiveness. In the organising effort, and in arbitration matters generally, this attitude had met with opposition at branch level and finally precipitated his resignation from the National Executive Committee in March 1909. He was also prominent in the Union's successful attempts to unionise women workers from 1910, and obtaining for them a minimum wage structure in 1912. Then in 1915 he initiated a move in Northampton to recruit handstitchmen.

Equally committed to the need to politically educate working men, he was for many years a prominent speaker for the S.D.F., not only in Northamptonshire but throughout the Midlands and Yorkshire. He was partly instrumental in the launching of the local S.D.F. paper, the *Northampton Pioneer*, in 1897. But Gribble was no writer, rather he relied upon his gift of oratory to spread his political message: one of his obituaries records: ". . . hundreds of people owe their conversion to his work . . ."[57]

During the Great War, Gribble originated the Northampton Allied War Fund. Weekly contributions were collected in the same manner as National Insurance, and in its first twelve months raised £10,351, with another £14,700 being added in the next year: the expenses were under £200. Out of this fund grew the town's Hospital and Convalescent Fund of the inter-war period. Gribble's other war work included membership of the Northampton Appeals Tribunal. From 1918 declining health forced Gribble to gradually reduce his public commitments. In 1925 his public life ended, when he retired to Hastings for two years to take over the

[55] B.P.P. 1910 (Cd. 5066] Minutes of Evidence, Appendix vol. VIII, no. XXXIII.

[56] See Appendix One, below.

[57] *NUBSO Monthly Report*, Aug. 1934, p. 423.

licence of an hotel. His last years were spent quietly in Northampton, where he took an interest in his wife's millinery business. He died from a cerebral hemorrhage in Northampton's General Hospital on 14 August 1934 aged 66 years.

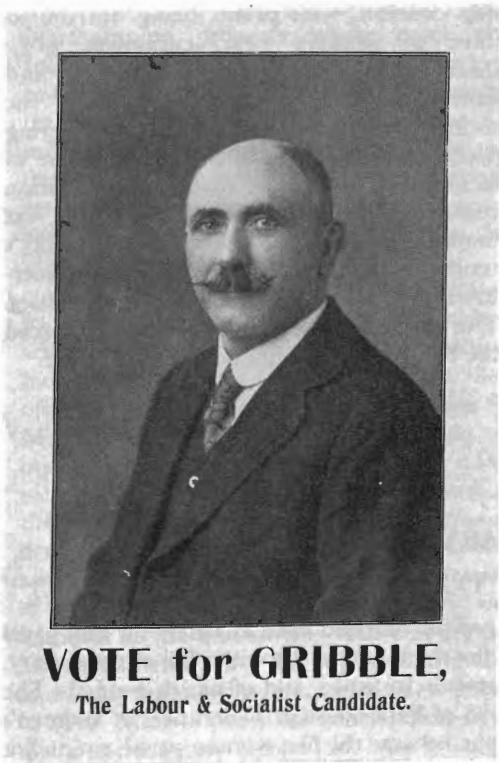


PLATE 4. JAMES GRIBBLE'S ELECTION HANDBILL WHEN HE CONTESTED CASTLE WARD AT THE MUNICIPAL ELECTION OF NOVEMBER 1919. (*Northampton Labour Party*).

V

Thus it can be seen that James Gribble firmly imprinted his tenacious and committed spirit on the Raunds strike. Both the man and the event hold an important place in the history of British Labour. The march, unique at that period, represents an important development toward the methods of direct industrial action to be taken by the rank and file in the years immediately prior to the Great War. Moreover, it was the precursor of several such marches staged not only in Edwardian and inter-war Britain, but in more recent times also. In this man one perceives not just a remarkable and colourful Northamptonian, who worked tirelessly to help the working people he sought to represent. He is a "grass-roots" activist, the sort of man who was so centrally important to the development of the British Labour movement during this period. But above all, he possessed those warm, personal attributes not always met with in trade union and political circles which gave both a credence and human dimension to his strongly held political beliefs. The Shoe Union's official historian makes a fitting assessment of the leader of the Raunds march with which to conclude:

> . . . Gribble is one of the most attractive and heartwarming personalities in union history . . . (he had a) long vigorous, and turbulent career in the labour movement, during which he was to earn a reputation as a generous, unswerving friend; persistent, vigorous and ready to sacrifice his own interests without hesitation or regret . . .[58]

APPENDIX ONE

THE PIONEER CO-OPERATIVE BOOT SOCIETY LTD., NORTHAMPTON 1904-24

This co-operative production society was instigated and launched by James Gribble. The initial object was to provide materials and make boots for S.D.F. members nationally, and then pass on the entire profits to the Federation for propaganda and other purposes. The active help of David and William Barratt, prominent Northampton manufacturers, was reflected not only in David's significant shareholding in the venture, but also in the adoption of a "boots by post" marketing structure, which the Barratts had pioneered. At this stage the society was merely an undercapitalised marketing organisation: Gribble, at the time unemployed, gave his services free. S.D.F. bootmakers in Northampton independently made boots, which were sold through the marketing co-operative to S.D.F. boot clubs. These

[58] A. Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

clubs quickly sprang up in S.D.F. branches throughout the country: the Federation paper, *Justice*, provided an excellent means of communication between customer and maker. At a time of unemployment and change in the trade, the society's provision of jobs based on hand work and the traditional, independent, outwork system, met a real need in the town. In the recruitment of labour, once manufacturing was undertaken by the society, Gribble followed this dictum:

> . . . All the workmen have to be members of their trade union, and preference is given to those who, while good at their crafts, have not satisfied pace requirements elsewhere. No machine is used, but what is absolutely essential. . . .[59]

In July, 1905, with a capital of £145, including Gribble's life savings of £15, the Pioneer Society as a manufacturing concern was started at premises in Wellingborough Road. In 1906, a five year lease was obtained in factory premises in Clare Street to accommodate the expanding business. Then, when the S.D.F. splintered into three separate organisations in 1917, the basis of the society was reconstituted as an ordinary co-partnership concern, with profits being distributed thus: to workers 25%, customers 30%, shareholders 30%, provident fund 10%, and educational fund 5%.[60] By this time the society's lack of machinery was hampering profitability, so in 1919-20 a programme of factory extension and machine installation ensued. The completion of this project was hindered by the post war slump. The Society's resultant financial crises was further exacerbated by increasing marketing difficulties. This worsening situation ultimately forced the Society into liquidation in early 1924.

[59] *Northampton Daily Echo*, 13 May, 1905, p. 3.

[60] *Northampton Daily Echo*, 17 March, 1924, p. 5.

OBITUARY

MRS. ETHELWYN TYNAN, M.B.E.

Mrs. Ethelwyn Tynan died on 17 August 1980 aged 94. She had lived at Isham for fifty years and had taken a leading part in numerous activities there and in the wider life of the county. Her particular interests were in the work of Women's Institutes and of parish councils. She was chairman of the Northamptonshire and Soke of Peterborough Federation of Women's Institutes (as it then was) for four years. In 1934 she became the first woman parish councillor at Isham and served almost forty years. She was a Vice-President of the Northamptonshire Association of Parish Councils (now Local Councils) and a member of the national executive council. It was for these activities that she was awarded the M.B.E. in 1971.

Mrs. Tynan's degree was in history which she had studied at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, and she always took a great interest in local history. She joined the Record Society in 1947 and served on its council from 1951 to 1978. She was active in founding the Local History Committee of the Northamptonshire Rural Community Council and was chairman of its Committee from 1953 to 1968.

Mrs. Tynan was in fact a Londoner by birth, being one of the five surviving children of Edgar Austin of Highbury. After her time at Oxford she went to the London School of Economics where she had several famous contemporaries including Attlee. She then became first a lecturer, explaining the new National Insurance Act, and then an insurance inspector. During the 1914-18 war she was sub-warden of the Bristol Settlement where she also lectured part-time on local government at the University. After the war she became one of H.M. Inspectors of Factories. In 1925 she married John Tynan, a master at Kettering Grammar School. He died suddenly in 1949. Mrs. Tynan leaves a son and a daughter both of whom reside in the county.

A.L.

MONKS PARK, NORTHAMPTON: THE STORY OF A TOWN PROPERTY

BRUCE A. BAILEY

The year 1980 saw the demolition of a Northampton property whose name goes back certainly to the 16th and possibly even to the 12th century. "Monks Park" is situated on the eastern side of the town, some two miles from the town centre, and its history demonstrates the familiar pattern of a country estate being absorbed by a growing town and eventually disappearing save for a few isolated traces.

The name Monks Park immediately conjures up an idea of a tract of parkland where the monks of some medieval monastery tended their flocks as a respite from their religious duties. To conjure such a picture for Monks Park, Northampton, would do no injustice, since the first mention of the name so far found is in an inventory of the lands of the Priory of St. Andrew in Northampton drawn up in 1537 by the Commissioners appointed by Henry VIII for the suppression of the monastery. St. Andrew's Priory was founded at the end of the 11th century by Simon de Senlis, first Earl of Northampton, and richly endowed by him prior to his death in 1112. Most of the other benefactions were made to the Priory before 1200 and it would seem likely that Monks Park was already in existence by then.

St. Andrew's Priory survived till 1537, when, on March 1st, the monks surrendered their house to the King. Immediately was drawn up: "A Terrar of all the londes as well arabill as Pasture or Medeow which were in the occupacion of the Prior of Sant Andrews in Northampton . . ." and among those listed is: "Item in another ffurlonge lieth on pece of greysinge grounde callyd Monkys-parke next Wellingboroughe Waye on the northe part and the Est hed therof Abutithe uppon Abingdon feld—cont viij acars". St. Andrew's owned substantial lands in and around Northampton and the 8 acres of grazing ground forming Monks Park is just one small piece of these.

The site and lands of the monastery were sold by the Crown in 1550 to Sir Thomas Smyth of Theydon Mount, Essex. Smyth was a man of considerable influence in the realm, having risen to power under both Henry VIII and the Protector Somerset. His knighthood in 1548 was followed by him becoming Ambassador to France (in 1562 and 1572) and Secretary of State (in 1572). He had considerable interest in the arts and his Essex home, Hill Hall, was one of the foremost architectural statements of the late 16th century, being an early essay in the use of the then new Renaissance classical style. When he died in 1577 his brother George inherited his properties and from him it passed down to his grandson William, who in 1630 sold the Northampton portions to Sir Francis Crane.

Crane, like Smyth, held an influential position at Court, having acted as secretary to Charles I when he had been Prince of Wales. For his services to Charles in 1617 he had received his knighthood, and in 1619 embarked upon a further financial scheme, the setting up of a tapestry manufactory at Mortlake in Surrey. Charles I also invested heavily in the Mortlake Tapestry Factory and while this allowed some of the finest artists of the medium to be employed it further added to Charles's financial problems. Crane frequently loaned the King sums of money and in 1628, after a further amount of £7,500, Charles granted Crane the manor of Grafton and this was followed a year later with the manor of Stoke Park, Stoke Bruerne. It was, of course, at Stoke Park that Crane chose to build himself a country house after the model of the Palladian villas near Vicenza, a scheme in which he had the assistance, as

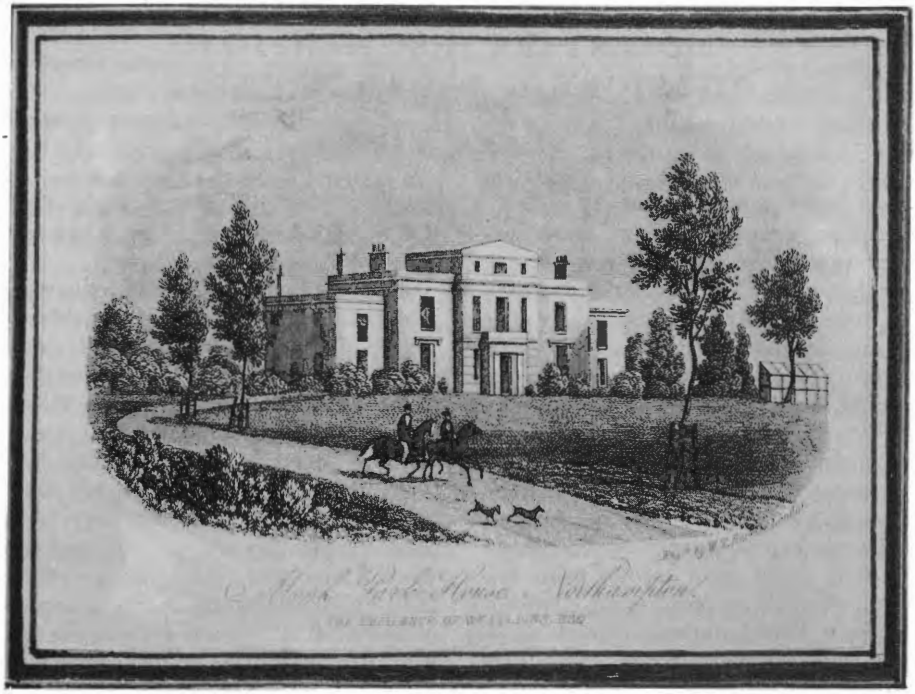


PLATE 1. 'MONK PARK HOUSE. THE RESIDENCE OF Wm COLLINS ESQ.'.
A notepaper heading of about 1850.

architect, of Inigo Jones. Stoke Park was the very first house to be built on the Palladian plan, a central block with connecting curved wings leading to pavilion blocks, a plan form which was to inspire designers a hundred years later during the Georgian Palladian movement. Two years after gaining possession of Stoke Park Crane added the lands of St. Andrew's Priory to his estates.

In the case of both Sir Thomas Smyth and Sir Francis Crane, the St. Andrew's lands were acquired purely as an investment, and Monks Park formed just a small portion of these. Had it not been quite so insignificant it is tempting to imagine it as the site of one of the most important Elizabethan mansions in England, or as the site of the first house in England in the Palladian manner.

Crane died in 1636 and the estates passed to his nephew, Francis Arundel, and until the 19th century the property of Monks Park is linked with the Arundel estates and the other St. Andrew's lands. They passed in the female line into the Harding family in 1748, and so remained until the death of Richard Harding in 1832, and during the following years the family estates were gradually dispersed. The immediate sale was of the actual site lands of St. Andrew's Priory, an important tract of land immediately alongside the built-up areas of the town of Northampton, a roughly triangular shaped plot to the north of Grafton Street today. Having belonged to the Priory it was excepted from parish rates, being termed extra-parochial land. The buyer of a considerable portion of the site was Thomas Grundy, a local iron-founder and property developer. Quickly a network of streets was built over the site with their names recalling former owners of the property: Francis, Arundel and Harding.

In 1833 a further plot of land was offered for sale, a wide strip running northwards from the River Nene and across the Wellingborough Road, containing Monks Park as well as the plot which was to become the new

cemetery and that which was to be the site for the new Lunatic Asylum, later to become known, appropriately, as St. Andrew's Hospital. Monks Park was purchased by William Collins, the son of a successful Northampton draper who further augmented his wealth by marrying a lady of considerable means. Collins became auditor to the Northamptonshire Union Bank in the Drapery, Northampton (now the National Westminster Bank), and both he and his wife were strict Quakers and gave the plot of ground in Wellington Street Northampton, on which was built a meeting house in 1830.

Within a few years of purchasing the land Collins set about building a house for himself. Monks Park was then a completely rural estate, the nearest houses being on an adjacent tract of St. Andrew's land which had been bought by Thomas Grundy and developed as "New Town" and apart from a few more houses in St. Edmund's End (Abington Square today) there was nothing till the edge of the old town at the junction of Abington Street, York Road and the Mounts. To the east of Monks Park lay the parish of Abington with on the north side of Wellingborough Road a large spinney called "No Mans Land"—it had been called that since the 17th century—roughly the site now occupied by the Manfield Shoe Factory. Collins's house was built on the upper level of the plot and had commanding views across the Nene valley towards Hardingstone and Houghton: it must have been a very pleasant place to live.

William Collins died in 1876 and in the following year his widow sold an adjoining plot to the west of Monks Park to Henry Billington Whitworth which was soon to be built upon—hence, again, Billington Street and Whitworth Road. In 1888 Collins's widow died and so once more Monks Park was put up for sale. Although the expanding town was fast creeping eastwards towards Monks Park, the estate, with its house set back from the main road, was still a most attractive property. After a somewhat protracted sale negotiation it was eventually purchased by Henry Randall, a prominent Northampton boot and shoe merchant with a large factory in Ladys Lane. Randall was a Conservative and active in the political life of the town rising to become its Mayor in 1894. In 1900 he contested, unsuccessfully, for a seat in Parliament and it was about this time rumoured that he was about to be knighted. The rumour seemed to lack foundation and gave rise to an amusing local riddle: "Why is Monks Park like Heaven?"—"Because there is no (k)night there!" In 1905 the riddle was confounded, however, when Edward VII bestowed the honour.

It was during Randall's mayorality that his neighbour, the owner of the Abington estate, Lady Wantage, gave the manor house at Abington and its estate to the people of Northampton as a public park. Among Randall's other interests were horse racing—in 1903 his horses won the principal races at Ascot and Goodwood—and an active support for the Church of England, he being one of the chief names behind the building of Christ Church. At Monks Park, in the 1890s, he wrought considerable changes, adding wings to the original house and bay windows on the ground floors. Internally the house was refitted and a large billiard room was added at the back of the house. Also during the '90s Randall sold off a strip of land fronting the Wellingborough Road which was to be covered by new streets and rows of red brick houses. The street names recall Randall's children, Percy and Florence. This development necessitated building a new lodge house which still stands on the corner of Florence Road. It was in 1894, when its owner became Mayor of Northampton, that Monks Park enjoyed some of its palmiest days and when it formed a most unusual existence—a small country estate completely surrounded by the streets of the expanding Northampton. Shortly after 1920 further additions were made with an extra staff wing to the east of the main house and an extension of the eastern bay window to cover the first floor room. The gardens became the main concern of Lady Randall who designed extensive rose gardens and rockeries. The estate existed till after Sir Henry's death in 1930. He is commemorated by the large window at the east end of Christ Church.

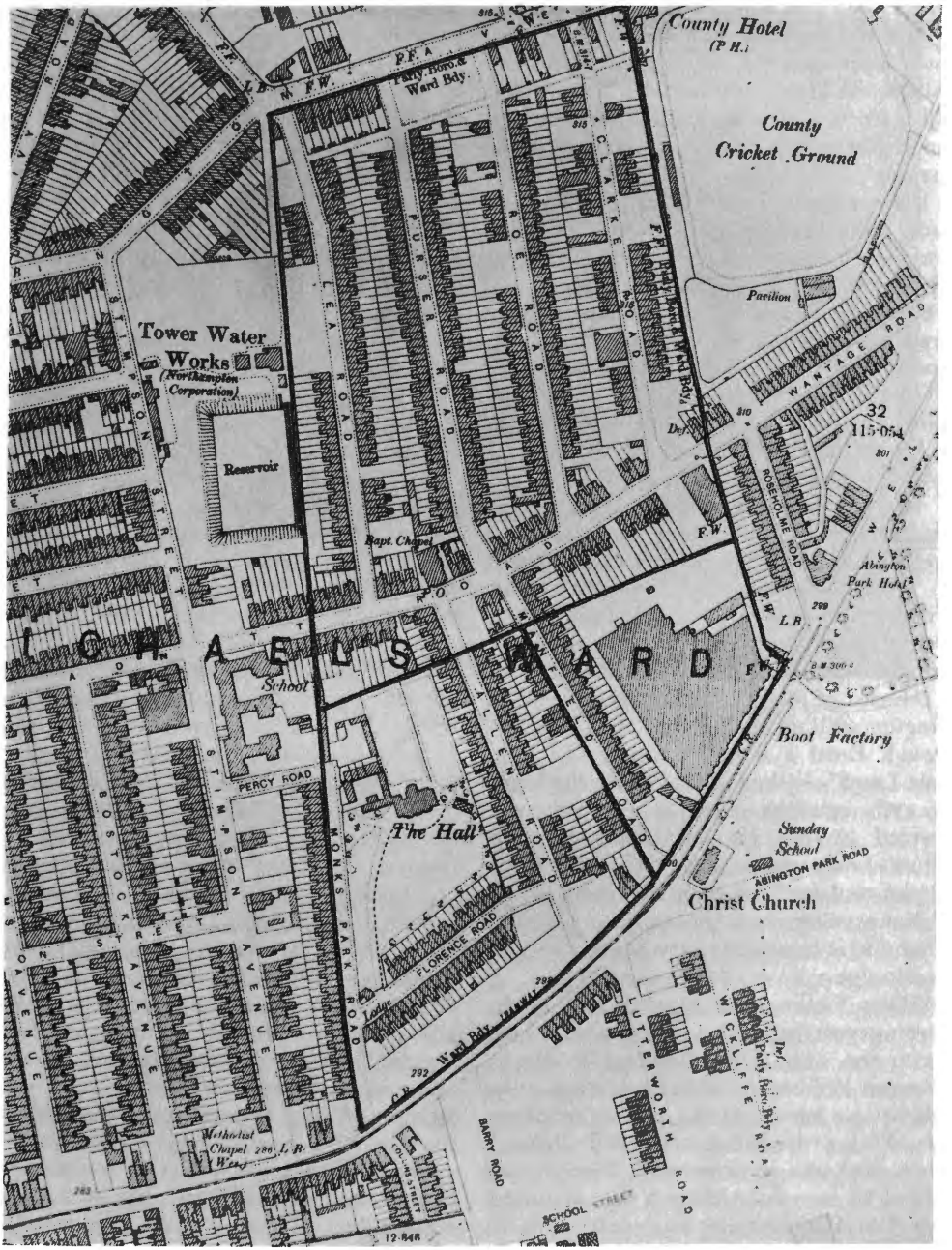


PLATE 2. THE BOUNDARIES OF MONKS PARK, WITH THE SITE OF 'NO MANS'S LAND' with the Manfield factory, shown on the Ordnance Survey 25 inch map of 1901. (*Reproduced by permission of the Director General of the Ordnance Survey*)

PLATE 3. THE LODGE IN FLORENCE ROAD, NORTHAMPTON,
with one of the surviving gates, photographed in 1964 by the author.

By the mid-1930s the property had again changed hands and the parklands and gardens had at last disappeared beneath streets and houses, the present Monks Hall Road, while Monks Park Road is roughly on the line of the original drive which William Collins had made to his new house in the 1830s. The Hall itself remained as flats till 1978, although the main block of the house had been unoccupied for some years save for the use of the ground floor and its billiard room by a succession of pentecostal and evangelical churches.

The final chapter in the history of the house occurred in the Spring of 1980 when, because of its structural decay, the building was demolished to make way for a scheme of small living units which are designed to be erected on the main site and that of the former orchard and kitchen garden behind. It is to be hoped that the dwellings that are erected will do justice to the pedigree of the property, a pedigree which derives from a monastery founded by a crusading knight, and contains Queen Elizabeth I's ambassador to France, the proprietor of the Mortlake Tapestry Factory, a prominent 19th century Quaker and a Mayor of Northampton.

Author's Note: This article is based on researches made over several years when I was living in part of Monks Park Hall. Sources are varied but apart from the Dissolution Deed of St. Andrew's Priory, which is in the Public Record Office, all other sources are either in the Northamptonshire Room, Northampton Central Library, or at the Northamptonshire Record Office, Delapre Abbey. Much is taken from sale particulars of the property and from various articles in the *Northampton Independent*. The 19th century background inevitably owes much to the researches of Mr. Victor Hatley, and I am most grateful to him for suggesting amendments to this script.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE COUNTY COMMUNITY UNDER HENRY VIII: THE MILITARY SURVEY, 1522, AND LAY SUBSIDY, 1524-5, FOR RUTLAND

Edited by JULIAN CORNWALL

(*Rutland Record Series*, **I**, 1980, price £7.95 plus 85p p & p)

The sheer indefatigable effrontery of Rutland (traditionally in the face of overwhelming political and geographical odds, and now in the darkening context of economic recession) in daring to float within a single year not only a much-to-be-desired journal of the district's history (*Rutland Record*), but also a "Rutland Record Series", is yet again triumphantly vindicated in the case of the volume under review.

The audacious *eminence grise* behind these publishing ventures of the newly founded Rutland Record Society is Dr. Bryan Waites, and for the opening volume of the series he has netted not only one of the leading experts on early sixteenth-century taxation history to act as editor—Dr. Julian Cornwall—but also a documentary scoop. Probably no survey since Domesday Book—with the possible and anyway partial exception of the 1279 Hundred Rolls—was so thorough as that taken of England's wealth and people at the behest of the Lord Cardinal Wolsey in 1522. And yet—to the utter frustration of local historians nationwide—there survives from this erst-while treasure-house of information but documentary fragments: for two cities; and for parts of three counties: that is, apart from the survey of Rutland itself—perhaps one of the most informative of all the *rural* areas.

There is not room enough here to recount the full background to the 1522 survey which Dr. Cornwall judiciously summarizes. Suffice it to say that the whole exercise was, of course, a central government "con". The fiscal machinery of the previous 150 years was so inefficient that the traditional financial resources of that overweeningly ambitious monarch, Henry VIII, were inadequate to meet what historians now recognise as an artificial (and quite unnecessary) recrudescence of the Hundred Years War with France. Under the guise of a traditional muster of able-bodied men "meet for war", therefore, the opportunity was taken to swear all males and non-dependent females above the age of fifteen to their varying degrees of wealth in either land or goods. On this basis, and doubtless to the dismay of the good people of Rutland who, as Dr. Cornwall shows, appear to have felt it a matter of nationalistic pride to boast of their prosperity, Wolsey pressed through an acrimoniously debated statute (during the 1523 session of Parliament) which imposed an unprecedentedly swinging tax on the wealth so admitted. The resulting rates (now, in Rutland's case, fortunately re-appraised) of tax taken in one or other of the most revealing instalments of it—in either 1524 or 1525—are also included as a further bonus in this beautifully presented volume.

What then does the 1522 assessment of Rutland reveal? Interested readers will of course wish to consult Dr. Cornwall's own pioneering synoptic analysis of it in *The Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society*, XXXVII, 1961-2. For those who want to probe the social intricacies of their particular township, however, this volume will be a necessity. It tells us at one and the same time the names, the occupations and the wealth in lands or goods of apparently most householders—whether absentee lord or sometimes resident steward, absentee parson or curate, or resident freeholders or tenants. It adds a somewhat mystifying category of labourers or servants who might be young or old and impoverished—and hence raises the one note of doubt with regard to the inclusiveness of the survey. On this Dr. Cornwall has

published views of his own, but it is fair to warn the reader who is uninitiated into the controversies of current academic debate, that the proportion of "households" omitted could possibly have exceeded 20 per cent of those concerned. This apart, we also learn of those who were fit or equipped for varying military roles as, for example, archers or bill-men. What other general documentary source, then, can be so microscopically revealing as this? Perhaps its only rival in terms of detail might be one of the censuses taken some three centuries later.

If local historians in Northamptonshire may reasonably be envious of this remarkable snap-shot of virtually a whole society from the past; they should also feel a peculiar responsibility to support these newly launched and thoroughly worth-while publications of a district which, after all, was once at least partly a portion of their own historic county.

C. V. PHYTHIAN-ADAMS

University of Leicester

AN INVENTORY OF THE HISTORICAL MONUMENTS IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHAMPTON. VOL. III. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN NORTH-WEST NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

(*Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, London: H.M.S.O.*, 1981. lv + 213 pp. 158 figures. 23 pp. plates, £40)

The Royal Commission has now published three of what will total five volumes devoted to the county. We have already seen more than enough to be sure that in so doing they are setting a new standard in a distinctive type of field-work, in which the surviving monuments are used as indicators of the chronology and the dynamic of settlement. In the area studied here the only town is Daventry, though Long Buckby was a medieval market centre and has the modern distinction of a railway station. It is the villages and the great houses that take pride of place. Althorp is the first parish recorded, but the entry is relatively brief. Two other houses though have contributed to the preservation of what are singled out as "total historic landscapes". The first of these is Holdenby, entirely reorganised in a single decade, the 1580s, by Sir Christopher Hatton; here even the outline of the flower-beds is preserved. The second is at Fawsley, where eighteenth-century parkland preserves the landscapes of two medieval villages.

This is an area comparatively poor in prehistoric and roman remains. The great hill fort at Borough Hill, Daventry is the most important prehistoric site described; and the major Roman monument is the town of *Bannaventa*, which lay across Watling Street, in the modern parish of Norton. Not every monument is what it seems. Groups of ring ditches at Brixworth and elsewhere turn out to be the sites of Second World War anti-aircraft batteries; while a site at Kelmarsh, published as a Civil War sconce, 'is much more likely to have been a medieval fish-pond".

In this volume most of the roads lead to the medieval village. There has been much destruction, but "some of the most interesting deserted villages of Midland England still survive intact in the area under review". One token of this is that of the seventy villages surveyed in the new edition of Beresford and St. Joseph's splendid *Medieval England. An Aerial Survey* (Cambridge U.P., 1979, £10) no less than six are in this area of north-west Northants. As has been noted, some of these are villages in name only. A nice example is Chilcote in Thornby parish, which started its life as "the cottages of the young people", became a grange of Pipewell Abbey, and is now a group of cottages again. Few sites are as straight-forward as this. A student who wished to earn his spurs in medieval archaeology might well be set to grapple

with the history of Braunstonbury and the other settlements in Braunston parish, as set out in Beresford and St. Joseph and more fully here. Nothing is missing in such examples that a student could desire: a large plan of the earthworks, an aerial photograph, and one of a splendid series of little sketch-maps which show parish and estate boundaries (some times the boundaries of the fields also). If there is still something tentative about several of these fine reconstructions, it is because the history of settlement is inextricably bound up with the history of lordship; a more dynamic fieldwork calls for a more dynamic history than can be looked for in Bridges or our truncated *V.C.H.* A start has been made in identifying multiple estates in Anglo-Saxon England, which suggests that the discussion of settlement in the Guilsborough area is on the right lines, but may need to be carried further. Historians should also set themselves to find the builders of motte and bailey castles at Lilbourne, Sibbertoft, and elsewhere.

Sydney Smith's famed description of paradise had him eating foie-gras to the sound of trumpets. This reviewer would ask for little better, at least for the first few hundred years, than sitting with a small scotch and a set of these R.C.H.M. volumes, the maps spread across the floor. The R.C.H.M.'s staff, coming to the end of a decade tramping the fields of Northamptonshire, though they have earned their reward, might reasonably have quite other ambitions.

EDMUND KING

University of Sheffield

PHILIP DODDRIDGE OF NORTHAMPTON 1702-51
by MALCOLM DEACON

(*Northamptonshire Libraries*, 1980. Price £4.95)

and

PHILIP DODDRIDGE, NONCONFORMITY AND NORTHAMPTON
edited by R. L. GREENALL

(*Dept. Adult Education, Leicester University*, 1981. Price £1.50 incl. post)

The 150th anniversary of the commencement of Philip Doddridge's ministry at Castle Hill, Northampton, has provided the opportunity for a new biography of this influential eighteenth-century Dissenting divine. Mr. Deacon sets out to reassess Doddridge's contribution to the religious and social life of the period and his influence upon his own and subsequent generations. The result has been a handsomely produced and lavishly illustrated volume with over 50 plates and line drawings, including eight in colour. The first chapter, on the background of English Dissent, relies heavily on secondary sources and might have been incorporated more successfully with the later account of the history of Dissent in Northampton. In subsequent chapters, Doddridge's formative years, the dilemma he faced over accepting the Castle Hill pulpit, his marriage and early years of family life at Northampton are carefully set out. The narrative is then replaced by a consideration of Doddridge's ministry, the conduct of his academy and the influence he exerted through his writings and teaching, particularly upon family religion. We find Doddridge conscientious in his ministry, self-critical of the time his other interests engaged and anxious to avoid religious intolerance even at the cost of personal misunderstanding. Mr. Deacon has been able to take advantage of Dr. Nuttall's recently published *Calendar* of Correspondence to discover new details relating to Doddridge's life and to portray the warmth and vitality of his subject. The most valuable part of the biography concerns the new evidence on the extent of Doddridge's contacts and involvement in local and

national affairs. His contacts included both churchmen and peers and his correspondence reveals the extent of his activities, ranging from active participation in the founding of the Northampton Infirmary to national preaching tours and concern for overseas religious work. Mr. Deacon has provided a lively and detailed account of Doddridge's life, but it is perhaps to be regretted that more emphasis was not placed on the nature of Doddridge's appeal which helped to establish his reputation.

Some of these themes were developed further in the series of lectures first delivered as part of the Doddridge celebrations and now made available in print to a wider audience as *Philip Doddridge, Nonconformity and Northampton*. Dr. Nuttall expresses some of the enjoyment of studying Doddridge through his letters as well as the difficulties involved in editing the *Calendar* of Correspondence. Some of the letters are used by Mr. Hatley to provide a timely reminder that Dissenting ministers, as well as the Established clergy, were involved in local political and social issues. The electoral assistance Doddridge gave the Earl of Halifax is most interesting, but his practical support for the Hanoverians in 1745 was parallelled in other towns; according to tradition, volunteers were drilled in the yard of the Presbyterian Meeting at Leicester. Nor was Doddridge's social background as unusual amongst Dissenters as Mr. Hatley supposes. Joseph Hunter traces many similar families in his *Familiae Minorum Gentium* and indeed Doddridge's own tutor married the daughter of a knight. Dr. Mayor, in a paper which expects some familiarity with the history of Congregationalism, sees Doddridge as providing a link between old and new Dissent and in helping to bring about the general acceptance of the Evangelical Revival by Congregationalists. Prof. Everitt uses Doddridge's writings to consider the nature of his appeal and to make an important contribution to our understanding of the Evangelical Revival. He points out that Doddridge's work involved a change in emphasis rather than any radical break with orthodoxy and, from the subscription lists of the *Family Expositor*, he illustrates how Doddridge's influence extended across the religious and social spectrum affecting both Anglicans and Dissenters. Doddridge's hymns are assessed by the late Dr. Payne, who concludes that, although they cannot be compared with Watts' poetry, their "simplicity, sincerity and tenderness" made them "near perfect vehicles for the expression of religious emotion". Finally, the editor provides a helpful introduction placing the contributions in perspective, but, in a lecture series considering Doddridge and Northampton, it is perhaps unfortunate that his Academy did not receive more attention.

Both volumes are to be welcomed for their excellent value and the contribution they make to our knowledge of Doddridge, Northampton and eighteenth-century Dissent, a rather neglected aspect of religious history.

D. L. WYKES
University of Leicester

SHORTER NOTICES

John Clare enthusiasts will be pleased to hear that Eric Robinson and Geoffrey Summerfield's edition of *The Shepherd's Calendar*, first published in 1964, has been re-issued by Oxford University Press, price £5.95. Illustrated with David Gentleman's woodcuts, "the truest poem of English Country life ever written", as the poet wrote it, is also available in paperback.

The production of village guides and directories seems to be on the increase, and a particularly good one has come from Braunston. It consists of a local directory, some advertising, a section on "Things to See", and a village map, all preceded by an unusually good 11 page historical introduction. Written by Leslie Herne, this is the product of the researches of the Braunston Local History Group. Well-produced, with good photographs, it is a splendid effort by a village which has much to attract the local historian, canal enthusiasts, and other visitors.

Even more handsome is the first number of *Rutland Record*. Clearly printed on good quality paper with superb illustations, it is available from the Editor, Dr Bryan Waites, at Rutland County Museum, Catmos Street, Oakham, Rutland LE15 6HW, price £1.95 (plus 35p. p & p). Its 48 pages contain articles on the origins and early history of Rutland, its medieval hunting grounds, its field-names, a piece on the history of Quaintree Hall, one on the incidence of illiteracy in 19th century Rutland, and a number of useful shorter pieces. My only criticism of this new, and very welcome publication is its awkward A4 format, difficult to house on ordinary bookshelves.

R.L.G.

A CORRECTION

Mr. Arthur E. Jordan from Gretton writes

"May I draw your attention to an error in 'John Clare's Last Journey' by Trevor Hold in the last issue of *NP&P* in which one reads '. . . 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 . . .' I do not believe George Stephenson ever left the shores of our island but his son, Robert, sailed for Venezuela on June 18th, 1824."

Mr. Jordan is quite correct, and Mr. Hold regrets the slip of his pen. It should perhaps be noted that the source Mr. Hold quoted—Mr. Hatley's article "The Poet and the Railway surveyors, An Incident in the Life of John Clare" (*NP&P* Vol. V, No. 2, 1974)—makes it quite clear (p. 105) that it was Robert Stephenson and not his father, George, that was absent abroad.

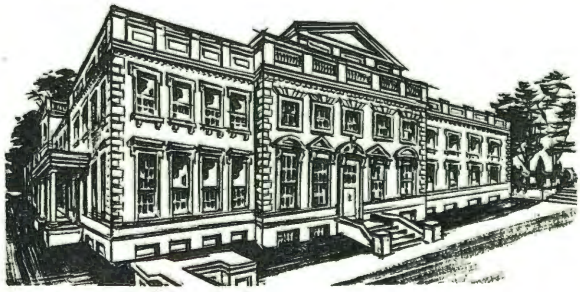
R.L.G.

CHURCH'S CHINA STORES

Specialists in fine china and glass for over 130 years

in the rebuilt 16th Century Welsh House on the Market Square, Northampton

Telephone 38082



LAMPORT HALL

Available for private Group visits (30 or more) at any time by arrangement. School parties especially welcome. Buffet meals available. Open to the public Easter - September 2.15 - 5.15 on Sundays, Bank Holidays and additional days in July and August. Exhibitions and events in the world of the Arts. Full details from Bryan Porteous, the Administrator.

The Diary of THOMAS ISHAM 1671 - 1673

Published in 1971 with introduction, appendices and notes by SIR GYLES ISHAM, Bart.

The final few copies of this fascinating insight into the life of a boy in 17th Century Lamport have been bound by C.U.P. and are available from :— Lamport Hall or the Record Society at £9.75 each.

Postage and packing £1.75 extra.

Cheques payable to "Lamport Hall Trust".

LAMPORT HALL TRUST

Lamport, Northampton NN6 9HB Telephone: Maidwell (060 128) 272

Directors: Sir Hereward Wake, Bt, MC, DL; J. B. Farnsworth, FRICS; Sir Oliver Millar, KCVO; Commander L. M. M. Saunders-Watson; E. E. Wright, MBE

Probably the best
lager in the world.