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Vol. VII 1986-87 No. 4

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Published by the Northamptonshire Record Society

Vol. VII No. 4

ISSN 0140 9131

Photoset and printed in England by Nene Litho, Irthlingborough, Northamptonshire

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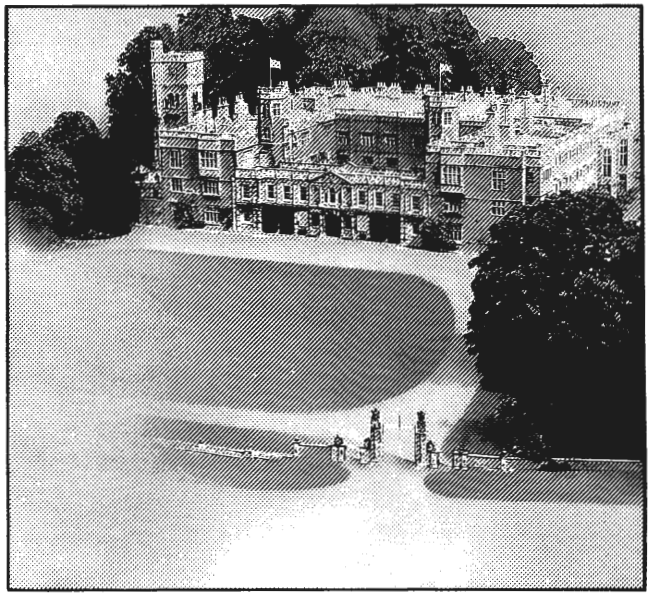

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NOTES AND NEWS

Local history has a mass following but no generally agreed concept of what it is. Academics, local societies, the British Association for Local History, County Local History Committees, CORAL (Conference on Regional and Local History, not the bookmaker) all have their own definitions which satisfy themselves but do not always convince others. In particular the task of getting the multifarious practitioners to come together and form a coherent 'local history interest' have usually failed, and probably always will. One recent if rather populist development has been the Regional History Fair. Last Spring the East Midlands held one at the Museum of Technology in Leicester. A truly amazing range of local bodies from Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Northamptonshire set out their stalls over the weekend of 17–18 May '86. There were displays by Local History Societies, preservation groups, academic bodies and learned societies, industrial archaeologists, genealogists, oral history projects, traditional food enthusiasts, Elizabethan music devotees, morris dancers, craftsmen, Civil War skirmishers, medieval archers and those marvellous men and their steam machines. Under the benevolent aegis of the Leicester Museums and Archives Service a rather wet and windy weekend was transformed by a thoroughly enjoyable show. The great marquee became a place to find out what was going on in local history, and to meet old acquaintances. The next Fair is planned to take place at Lincoln in June 1987, and Rachel Watson of the Northants Record Office is keen to hear from any Northamptonshire body which would like to take part.

Since the last number of this journal appeared members of this society have heard two lectures from distinguished speakers who live in or near to the county. On 26 October 1985 the Rt. Hon. Norman St. John Stevas on 'Historical Reflections' attracted a large audience to the great hall of St Andrew's Hospital. Alas for those of us who secretly hoped for the sort of insights Max Hastings gave us a year ago into the ways those who lead this country muddle through, disappointment lay in store. Mr Stevas was not dull (he is incapable of being that), but he was discreet. Scarcely a reference to his years in the Cabinet passed his lips. He was the very soul of discretion. Instead he spoke on two rather unconnected themes: the completion of his long task editing the works of Walter Bagehot, the first editor of *The Economist*, and 'Culture and the Arts'. On Bagehot he was entertaining, no mean achievement: on Culture and the Arts, less so. He spoke as one of the great and good (he is chairman of the Fine Arts Commission) for whom culture is 'high' or 'traditional' and he had things to say on the preservation of 'the nation's architectural heritage'. Problem is, culture has as many meanings as local history, but there was no hint of other great British cultures or other arts.

Our second lecturer was Dr Pamela Tudor-Craig, Lady Wedgwood, who lives at Little Gidding, whose address in May this year (1986) on 'Art as Historical Evidence'. The afternoon was not without its moments of splendour, but it is the snarl-ups which remain in the mind: the slides the wrong way round; the imperfect black-out; the microphone with a nerve-jangling whine. I also have a feeling, which others might not share, that it would be nice to have some local history again in a Record Society lecture.

Volume 2 of Professor Gordon's *The Red Earl: the Papers of the Fifth Earl Spencer, 1835–1910* has come to hand rather too late to review in this number. From a cursory glance it looks splendid and Peter Gordon and the General Editor are to be congratulated. The two volumes together complete notable additions to our knowledge of Victorian High Politics in the Indian Summer of the Whig aristocracy and to our Society's list of publications.

Volume VII No 3: A Correction The captions to Plates 1 and 2 on page 193 were printed in the wrong sequence. Plate 1 is of S.G. Stopford Sackville, and Plate 2 is of the 5th Earl Spencer. As any editor knows, *whatever can go wrong will go wrong . . .*

R.L.G.

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Acknowledgements and thanks are extended to David Hall and Peter Taylor for the drawing of maps, and to the staffs of the County Leisure and Library service at Kettering and Northampton for their help with illustrations for this number.

THE FORTY MEN* OF NORTHAMPTON'S FIRST CUSTOMAL AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF BOROUGH GOVERNMENT IN LATE TWELFTH CENTURY NORTHAMPTON

JOHN H. WILLIAMS

Northampton is fortunate to have four versions of its customary law contained in three customals. The first two versions appear in a single manuscript to be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Douce MS. 98, fols.158-63). Bateson (1904, xli) ascribed the manuscript to the early fourteenth century but argued that it is the copy of a document originally written in or soon after 1260.

The manuscript is divided into two sections: the first section (*see Plate 1.*) begins *Isti sunt subscripti qui providerunt leges Norhampton' et juraverunt eas observandas*; there follows a list of forty names and then twenty-four clauses on subjects such as property, inheritance, debt and the control of merchants from outside the town. Bateson suggested that the original version of this part of the customal could be dated to the late twelfth century. The second section of the manuscript begins with a list of twenty-four *jurati* and is followed by forty-one ordinances additional to those in the first section.

The second customal, in French, dates to sometime after 1341 (BL Add MS 34308), and the third customal, an English translation of the second, dates to *c.*1461 with additions up to 1549 (Liber Custumarum; Markham 1898, 213-36).

This paper is specifically concerned with the first section of the first customal and particularly with the forty men who appear at its head. Bateson noted that thirteen of the names of the *subscripti* could be found in the Pipe Rolls and elsewhere and this formed the basis for her dating of the document. Alderman Frank Lee, who published a transcription in 1951, located references for at least thirty of the forty men (*LVN*, 3; see also Lee's manuscript notes: NRO, Box X1055). In fact a thorough search of contemporary sources has produced at least one reference to perhaps thirty-eight of the forty men and, for some, rather more substantial 'careers' can be compiled.

Is it possible to be more precise with the dating of the first section of the first customal than Bateson and Lee? Bateson noted that the thirteen of the forty burgesses whom she had identified in the Pipe Rolls or Curia Regis Rolls belonged to the early years of Richard I's reign and ascribed the customal to *c.*1190, either 'from the close of the twelfth century or from the time when the borough first obtained the "firma burgi" (1184-5)' (Bateson 1904, xlii). Lee noted that 'at least thirty of "the 40 old wise men" are recorded between 1170 and 1210 in the Pipe Rolls and Curia Regis Rolls and elsewhere'. 'An exact date cannot yet be fixed but everything points to the conclusion that the drawing up of the Laws of Northampton . . . was about 1189, the year of Northampton's first royal charter' (*LVN*, 3-5). Lee's overall date range is still valid, but with the increased information now available (see appendix) it will be seen that the majority of records relate to the last two decades of the twelfth century. It should be noted, however, that Peter f Adam (1) died probably in 1201 or 1202 and that, whereas all the reeves recorded in the Pipe Rolls between 1184 and 1191 were members of the forty, seven of nine reeves recorded between 1192 and 1196 were not. Particularly noticeable for his absence from the forty is Adam de Gurnay, the son of William de Gurnay (19). Adam, in addition to being reeve twice, was frequently a witness to deeds of

* The names of the forty men have been standardised but variants may occasionally be given if there is some doubt as to identity. 'f' has been used for both 'filius' and 'fitz' in the original sources. I am grateful to Dr G.H. Martin and Mr M. Biddle for reading the text in draft form and offering helpful comments.

the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Thus the period *c.*1185-1190 appears to be the most reasonable date for the customal. The obtaining of the *firma burgi* and of the town's first charter both provide a suitable context but the codifying of the customary law need not be specifically related to either event.

The status of the forty men is open to question – there is no evidence that they were a formally elected council. When such a 'town council' is first mentioned in 1215, in association with the appointment of William Tilly as mayor, the council is composed of twelve members (*Rot Litt Claus* 1, 188a) and elsewhere during the Middle Ages councils of twelve or twenty-four are most common. The round number of forty, however, seems to give the *subscripti* some sort of official status but, whether this was the case or not, a body of forty men codifying the customary laws of Northampton must surely represent the main source of power, influence and probably wealth in the town at the time. The listing of the names of such a body at this time is unique. A study of these forty men may therefore provide a valuable insight into the political, economic and social fabric of late twelfth century Northampton when the town was at the height of its prosperity and one of the most important centres in the country (for a review of the evidence by the author see RCHM 1985, 47*f*). The period was also one of considerable governmental change with the burgesses, following the mood of the times, seeking to gain some independence and striving in particular to be free from the oppression of the sheriff. In this they seem to have succeeded: in 1184/5 they obtained the right to farm the town in chief (*PR 31 Hen II*, 46); in 1189 they received their first charter (Markam 1898, 25-9); and in 1215 they were granted the privilege of choosing a mayor. Does then the evidence accumulated regarding the forty men also throw light on the development of borough government in the late twelfth century?

The forty men are listed in the customal in the following order.

1. Peter f Adam
2. William Ruffus
3. Philip f Jordan
4. Bartholomew f Jordan
5. Robert f Henry
6. Ingram f Henry
7. Robert de Leicester
8. Robert f Gilbert
9. Theobald f Roger
10. William f Reimund
11. Adam f Reimund
12. Reginald f Reimund
13. William de Huntingdon
14. Gilbert f Durand
15. Warner Gobion
16. Hugh Sellarius
17. Robert f Thurstan
18. Henry f Hugh
19. William de Gurnay
20. Edward le Blund
21. Hugh de Plumpton
22. Adam le Dispencer
23. Richard of Ealnard
24. John f Nigel
25. Ralph f Godwin
26. William f Gilbert
27. Jocelin clericus
28. Ernald de porta
29. Walter f Walter
30. Geoffrey Walder
31. Richard Walder
32. Ingram f Wiger
33. William f Elwyn
34. Robert le Brun
35. William Passelewe
36. Robert Albus
37. Master Michael Beland
38. Ralph de Boseville
39. Simon Vitor
40. Aylrich Dod

(f= filius)

Detailed 'careers' for the above are contained in the appendix where it will be seen that most if not all of them were men of wealth and substance. But what general remarks can be made about the body?

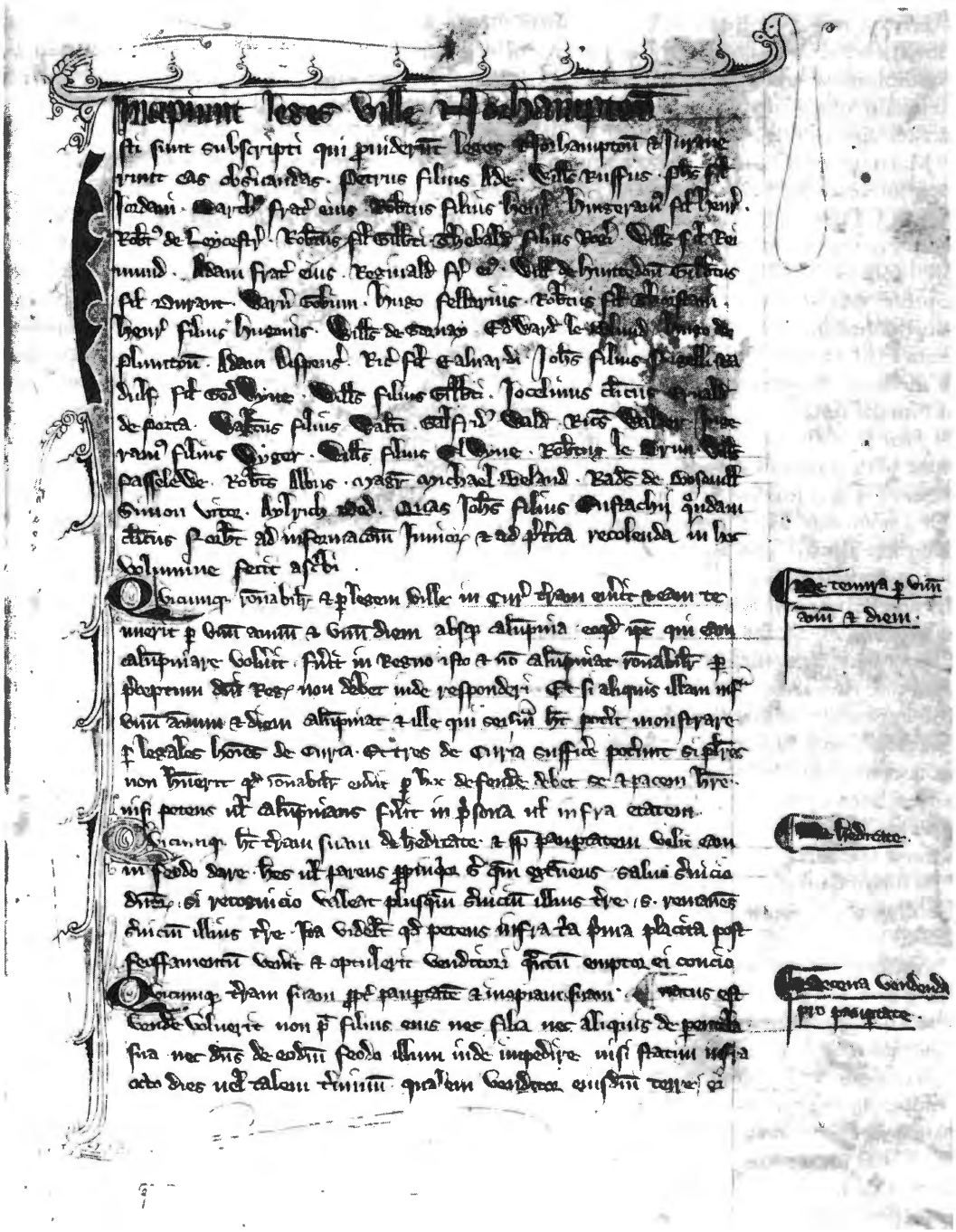

PLATE 1: BODLEIAN LIBRARY, DOUCE MANUSCRIPT 98, FOL.158.: THE OPENING OF NORTHAMPTON'S FIRST CUSTOMAL. In the first paragraph can be seen the list of the forty men. *Reproduced by kind permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, to which copyright belongs.*

Firstly, it is clear that many of the forty were related, but to what extent the group was a closed, self-chosen oligarchy is uncertain. Various groups of brothers can be identified: Bartholomew and Philip f Jordan (3 and 4); Robert and Ingram f Henry (5 and 6); Adam, Reginald and William f Reimund (10-12); Robert and William f Gilbert (8 and 26); Walter f Walter and Geoffrey and Richard Walder (29-31).

Marriage relationships between members of the group are more difficult to determine but two interesting examples can be quoted. The first relates to Henry f Tiard and his family. Henry f Tiard, who was not one of the forty men, is first mentioned in 1158 (*PR 4 Hen II*, 142). He was a contemporary and probable associate of Robert f Sawin and Hugh Gobion (*cf.* SJC, fols.144b, 171a; SAC1, fol.40b; *PR 4 Hen II*, 142). Robert f Sawin, lord of the manor of Upton, was sheriff of Northamptonshire from 1169 to 1174 and renderer of the farm of Northampton between 1155 and 1174, while Hugh Gobion was sheriff of Northamptonshire from 1161 to 1163 and the earliest known head of the Gobion family which was so important in medieval Northampton (Serjeantson 1911, 259-87). Henry supervised work on the castle at Northampton together with Philip f Jordan (3) between 1176 and 1179 (*PR 23 Hen II*, 89; *24 Hen II*, 49; *25 Hen II*, 61) and was responsible for supervising the construction of a new mint with Ralph f Godwin (25) in 1179/80 (*PR 26 Hen II*, 82). He was the father of Robert f Henry (5) and Ingram f Henry (6) (*PR 23 Hen II*, 93), William (SJC, fol.178b) and of Emma (*De Dominabus*, 22, 23 note 1) and is likely to have been born at least as early as 1125 since his daughter Emma was aged forty in 1185 (see below).

Emma married first Robert de St Paul, chamberlain of Henry II (*De Dominabus* 22, 23 note 1), and subsequently Hugh f Robert f Sawin who died in 1185 when Emma was forty (*De Dominabus* 21-22; for Emma see also Round 1911, 257-62). A Richard de Leicester is named as Emma's nephew (nepos) (SJC, fol.178b), but here there is a problem, for there was more than one Richard de Leicester and also more than one Robert de Leicester (SJC, fol.178a; see also appendix: Robert de Leicester). One Richard de Leicester was father of both a Richard de Leicester and a Robert de Leicester. It would seem a distinct possibility that the family of the Robert de Leicester of the *Laws* (7) was related to the family of Henry f Tiard which was in turn related to the fitz Sawin family, lords of Upton and provider of a sheriff of the county. This family in particular may therefore demonstrate the complex relationships which existed among the forty, not only within the town but also with the country aristocracy.

William Ruffus (2), one of the really substantial men of the forty, was married to Margaret Gobion, the Gobion family being the largest landowners in Northampton (Serjeantson 1911, 259-87).

Although these two examples have demonstrated marriage links between members of the forty and major landed families which both provided a sheriff for the county, it is striking that no important member of either family was one of the forty men. Indeed, outside the *Laws* there is only a single reference to Warner Gobion.

As might be expected, there is some evidence for the continuing influence of some of these families in the affairs of Northampton. The clearest examples of this are Henry f Peter and Adam de Gurnay, sons respectively of Peter f Adam (1) and William de Gurnay (19). Henry f Peter was vicar of St Peter's Church, Northampton (SAC2, fol.293). In 1206, as *custos* with Robert de la Saucei, he rendered the farm of Northamptonshire (*PR 7 John*, 255). He occurs elsewhere in the Pipe Rolls and is found as a witness to a number of deeds. It should be noted, however, that he is not the Henry of Northampton, canon of St Paul's, London, who seems to have died *c.*1192 (Le Neve 1968, 37; see also appendix: Peter f Adam). Adam de Gurnay, as previously noted, was reeve in 1192 and 1195. Possible descendants of Adam the Dispencer (22), Aylrich Dod (40), Ralph de Boseville (38), Robert Albus (36), Simon Vitor (39) and Theobald f Roger (9) were all among the twenty-four *jurati* of the Northampton customal of *c.*1260 (see appendix).

The origins of the forty are difficult to assess from their names alone, for over a century had elapsed since the Norman Conquest and the native Anglo-Saxons had absorbed much from Norman culture including names. Godwin (25), Elwyn (33) and Aylrich (40) suggest Anglo-Saxon antecedents and de Boseville (38) and de Gurnay (19) clearly indicate French origins. William Ruffus whose grandfather was Bertran Briton (not British but Breton) was also of French descent.

Very little is recorded about the occupations of the forty men, but it would be reasonable to expect that many were merchants. Bynames suggest that Hugh Sellarius (16) was a sadler, Adam le Dispencer (22) a steward, bursar or butler and Jocelin clericus (27) a clerk. A William de Huntingdon (*cf.* 13) is recorded as a clerk before 1176. Reginald f Reimund (12) was fined for selling wine by false measure and so was presumably a vintner. William f Reimund (10) had his capital messuage in Fuller Street and Adam f Reimund (11) also held property in the same area and both may have been engaged in cloth manufacture. Simon Vitor (39) appears to have been a professional advocate for he is recorded pleading not only in Northamptonshire but also in Rutland, Warwickshire, Lincolnshire and Middlesex.

Eight of the forty men undertook assignments, such as construction work on the castle, on behalf of the king, in an unspecified capacity but presumably as agents, and a further two in their capacity as reeve. Twelve are known to have been reeve at some time. It is noticeable that these two groups, those undertaking commissions for the king and the reeves, were virtually mutually exclusive, the only exceptions being William f Reimund (10) and William f Elwyn (33) (see below).

Is it possible to assess the wealth of the forty men? The marriage connections of Robert and Ingram f Henry (4 and 5) and William Ruffus (2), which in themselves suggest a certain level of prosperity, have already been noted. If the 'careers' of Peter f Adam (1) and William Ruffus are considered in more detail, it is possible to see why they are at the head of the list. Apart from some more direct evidence of his wealth to be considered later, it can be seen that Peter f Adam was responsible for the founding of the hospital of Holy Trinity at Kingsthorpe to which he gave Abington Mill and he or his son Henry also gave Wollaston Mill to the same hospital.

William Ruffus may have been an itinerant justice; in the 1180s and 1190s he can be seen acquiring property before making substantial grants to St Andrew's priory. In 1201 he granted to the priory £7 rent from at least fifteen houses and other property in Bridge Street, Abington Street, Newlands, the Market Place, opposite All Saints, in Holcot and in Warmington. At perhaps a similar date he granted the priory rents of 33*s.* in Northampton from at least five houses and two shops. According to the former grant, it would appear that he had constructed a chapel within the priory precinct. Associated with both grants was the provision that the poor should be fed on the obituary anniversary of himself and his wife, for more than three centuries later the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* indicates that 16*s.* was to be expended on charity on William's anniversary and 15*s.* on that of his wife Margaret; William is referred to as a benefactor of the priory.

An alternative approach to considering the wealth of the forty men is to assess the contributions they made to the royal revenue by way of taxes or fines as recorded in the Pipe Rolls, and the length of time they took to pay.

A typical case is that of Reginald f Reimund (12) rendering account of 2 marks for selling wine by false measure, paying in two instalments of 1 mark in 1186 and 1187. It is difficult to assess real values but various papers have examined price fluctuations in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, primarily of agricultural produce (Farmer 1956-7; Poole 1940; Harvey 1973) and it can be seen that between 1180 and 1200 the mean purchase price for cows varied between 3s. and 4s. and that for sheep between 4d. and 1s. (Farmer 1956-7, 41). Using an average value for the period, we could say that Reginald paid off his fine of 2 marks in two

annual equal instalments equivalent to four cows or twenty-six sheep. Even this, however, can only be some general indicator of wealth, for the relative value of a sheep to a burgess in twelfth century Northampton would have been considerably greater than in the developed modern economy.

Not all the forty men are represented in this exercise but Peter f Adam (1) stands out as a man of immense wealth. In 1175 he rendered account of £100 for a royal tallage, paying in instalments of £90 in 1175 and £10 in 1176. In 1176 he rendered account of and paid 500 marks for forest offences. In 1184 and 1185 he rendered account of £10 for buying or deforcing a house from a Jew. In 1186 he rendered account of 100 marks for arresting a woman without the King's licence and torturing her, paying in three instalments between 1186 and 1188. In 1190 he was fined and could pay in 1191 £100 for not attending the Chancellor's summons. Between 1196 and 1199 he contributed 220 marks to the King's ransom. Over the twenty-five years between 1175 and 1199 Peter f Adam is seen to have contributed on average more than £30 annually (the equivalent each year of 190 cows or 1250 sheep).

Philip f Jordan (3) in 1178 rendered account of 4 marks for a forest offence, and between 1180 and 1183 rendered account of 20 marks for communicating with the Count of Ferrarii in time of war. Between 1185 and 1188 he rendered account of £40 for impeding a judicial battle (duellum), paying in four instalments. Thus, in the eleven years 1178-1188 he paid almost £5 per year.

Working down a table arranged by manifestations of wealth we find Adam f Reimund (11) paying 20 marks between 1190 and 1192 for a false claim. In 1177 and 1178 Ingram f Henry (6) paid 10 marks in two instalments for a forest offence. In the same years his brother Robert (5) paid identical amounts for an identical offence; he also paid 10 marks in 1188 for a drowned stag. Between 1180 and 1187 Ralph f Godwin (25) paid 20 marks in six instalments for sending to Leicester for hauberks. Robert f Gilbert (8), however, in paying 1 mark for the chattels of a usurer, needed to make three annual instalments between 1180 and 1182. Jocelin clericus (27), on being fined £1 for a false claim in 1199, paid four instalments between 1199 and 1202 but was then still apparently owing 8s. Tardiness in settling up in some of these latter instances may possibly reflect reluctance to pay rather than restricted means but, on the other hand, men of substance were less likely to be fined for trivial offences.

On the basis of this evidence of taxes and fines there are indications that the forty men are listed in some hierarchical order based on notions of wealth, influence or seniority and this is confirmed by the other material which has been examined. Peter f Adam (1) stands out, but Philip f Jordan (3) and the sons of Henry f Tiard (5 & 6) were also wealthy men. Even those at the foot of the list appear to have been men of some substance.

In assessing the role of the forty men in late twelfth century Northampton it is necessary first to consider the evidence of the borough's administrative structure and then to examine the office of reeve (*prepositus*) and the way in which the borough farm was rendered.

Simon de Senlis I was probably granted the earldom of Northampton in 1089 and this dynasty continued in Northampton for the next 100 years. Simon died sometime between 1111 and 1113 and the town reverted to the King. Maud, Simon's widow, married King David of Scotland in 1113 and there is some evidence that David acquired the earldom. By 1138, however, Simon de Senlis II, had gained the earldom and the town. Simon de Senlis II died in 1153 but his son Simon de Senlis III, still a minor, did not become earl until 1159. He remained earl until 1184 when he died, but he never acquired the town which had reverted to Henry II and remained a royal borough from 1154. There is little evidence for the administration of the town in the first half of the twelfth century although charters of the Senlis earls refer to *prefecto suo de Northampton, omnibus prepositis . . . Northampton* and *omnibus ministris de Northampton* (SAC2, fol.3A).

Although there is no record of a merchant guild as such at Northampton, there is evidence that there was a guildhall and thus presumably a guild in the town, certainly by 1166 and probably by 1138. Its role in the affairs of the borough, however, is unknown, yet at the end of the fourteenth century a later *gihalda* was the place where the mayor and bailiffs held pleas and in 1387 was the location of the court of hustings. Could this be the same hall as the *communi aula* in which in 1285 the justices in eyre held sessions (Williams 1983–4)? Again, although the first mention of a borough court is in the charter of Richard I, where it is referred to as the court of hustings, it is reasonable to suggest that the *pleno portemoto* referred to in 1202 (*Northants Assize R*, 71) existed as a court of record before the grant of the charter. Indeed, Richard's charter seems virtually a replica of London's charter of 1155 in which there is also a mention of a court of hustings (Ballard 1913, clxii and *passim*) and it is necessary to query how the privileges formally granted by charter related to existing customs. It can be noted that the right to choose coroners first appears in John's charter although they certainly existed earlier and possibly even before Richard's charter (*cf. LVN*, 10, Law 3: *coronatoribus*).

Although Domesday Book (*DB* fol.219a) records that 'the burgesses of Northampton pay the sheriff £30.10s. a year', in the Pipe Rolls for the reign of Henry II the farm, though separate from that of the county, seems always to have been rendered by a royal agent or official. From 1156 to 1174 Robert f Sawin was responsible, in the last five years as sheriff, and after his death the sheriff continued to render the farm of the town.

In 1185 the burgesses paid 200 marks to have their town in chief from the King (*PR 31 Hen II*, 46). From then until 1196, when the 'burgesses' rendered the farm, we find generally two names responsible for the payment, but in 1188 and 1190 only one:

1185 William f Reimund (10) & William f Alfwin (33)	(*PR 31 Hen II*, 46)
1186 William f Reimund (10) & William f Alfwin (33)	(*PR 32 Hen II*, 2)
1187 William f Reimund (10) & William f Alfwin (33)	(*PR 33 Hen II*, 100)
1188 Robert de Leicester (7)	(*PR 34 Hen II*, 129)
1189 Robert de Leicester (7) & Gilbert f Durand (14)	(*PR 1 Ric*, 97)
1190 William f Reimund (10)	(*PR 2 Ric*, 26)
1191 Ralph de Buesevill (38) & John f Nigel (24)	(*PR 3 Ric*, 153)
1192 Henry f Hugh (18) & Simon de Bedford	(*PR 4 Ric*, 259)
1193 Adam de Gurnay & Roger f Petri	(*PR 5 Ric*, 94)
1194 Richard Vinitor & Thomas le Bacheler	(*PR 6 Ric*, 69)
1195 Theobald f Roger & William Passelewe (35)	(*PR 7 Ric*, 100)
1196 Adam de Gurnay & Henry f Conan	(*PR 8 Ric*, 34)

Eight of these are among the forty men and seven are not, the former, apart from William Passelewe, occurring in the years up to 1192 and the latter from 1192. Only two are identified in the Pipe Roll entries specifically as *prepositi* – Adam de Gurnay and Roger f Peter (in 1193). The following are identified as *prepositi* in other sources:

Magister Henry, Alexander Wace and William de Huntingdon (13) – undated but perhaps before 1185 (SJC fol.171b).

Gilbert f Durand (14), Robert de Leicester (7) and Ingram f Wiger (32) – 1188/9 (SJC fol.174a: *coram Gilb(erto) f Durand, Rob(erto) [de Leic'], Engram(o) f Wiger, qui tunc temporis erant prepositi North' . . . nos Gilb(ertus) f Durand, Rob(ertus) de Leic', Engelram(us) f Wigeri, qui ipso tempore [prepositi] de Norh' eramus sigill(i) nostri impressione confirmavimus).*

Henry f Hugh (18) and Adam de Gurnay – 11th December 1195 (SJC fol.174b).

In two of these instances three *prepositi* are recorded, but there must be some doubt over such a designation in the first instance for the succeeding witness list is apparently reordered with *Bartholomeo Jordan fratre ejus* (4) placed two names before *Phil' f Jordan* (3). The second group of three names includes the two men recorded on the Pipe Rolls rendering the borough

farm in the same year (1189). With regard to the last instance Adam de Gurnay, *prepositus* in December 1195, could well have rendered the borough farm as *prepositus* at Michaelmas 1196. There is little reason to believe that Henry f Hugh and Henry f Conan are confused and in fact the same person, for both are recorded separately elsewhere. It is clear that in 1188/9 there were in fact three *prepositi*, two of whom rendered the farm, and there may have been a similar number of *prepositi* in other years.

The evidence for the election of reeves recorded in royal charters to Northampton is as follows. In the charter of Richard I dated 18 November 1189 (Markham 1898, 28) 'the burgesses of Northampton shall make a reeve whom they will of themselves by the year who may be proper for us and them'. In the version of John's charter of 1200 contained in the Charter Rolls (*Rot Chartarum*, 45) 'the burgesses should choose two *de legalioribus et discrecioribus* of the town and present them to the sheriff and the sheriff would present one of them to the chief justice at Westminster'. The version contained in the *Cartae Antiquae* states, however, that the burgesses should choose two persons and present them both to the chief justice at Westminster (*Cartae Antiquae*, 108).

Ballard (1913, lxxxvi) thought that there was a close relationship between the right to farm the borough and the right to elect reeves: 'The reason for coupling these two privileges is obvious: the burgesses must have some control over the man who collects the dues if they are to be answerable for them or a sum paid out of them and it is not unreasonable to believe that the grant of the *firma burgi* always carried with it the right to appoint reeves whether this right had been mentioned in the charter or no'. Stephenson (1933, 166*ff*) argued, however, that this was not always the case: '. . . local men would merely bind themselves to pay a fixed annual sum, covering certain regular charges, but the royal officer would remain liable for that revenue'. Tait (1936, 185*ff*) strongly supported Ballard's point of view: 'Election was a natural consequence of the transference of the farm to the citizens'. Indeed he suggested that 'the Pipe Roll of 1185 shows that the burgesses had bought the farm, doubtless a revocable one, for 200 marks and that elected reeves began at once to account at the exchequer'. If, however, the election of reeves was not implicit in the grant of the *firma burgi* and also assuming that elections were held immediately after the grant of the charter, elected reeves could have rendered the farm at Michaelmas 1190. If the first elections were held at Michaelmas 1190, elected reeves would have rendered the farm for the first time at Michaelmas 1191.

It is generally accepted that rapid changes of reeves signify the election of such officials (*cf.* Tait 1936, 185-93) and the list of Northampton's reeves between 1184 and 1196 has been quoted as evidence of this practice. It is possible, however, to divide these names into two groups: up to 1190 and after 1190. In the first group William f Reimund appears four times, William f Elwyn three times, and Robert de Leicester twice. Could these still be royal appointees? Certainly William f Reimund and William f Elwyn regularly undertook commissions on behalf of the King, but there is no evidence of such work by either Robert de Leicester or Gilbert f Durand. A similar pattern to that at Northampton can be seen in the renderers of the farm of Colchester between 1181 and 1199, where certain names recur for two or more years. There is some doubt as to the status of the renderers of the farm during this period and Tait seems to suggest (1936, 188) that Walter de Crepingas who appears between 1196 and 1199 (*PR 7 Ric*, 14; *8 Ric* 120; *9 Ric* 72; *10 Ric*, 133) was a royal nominee. The list of renderers of the farm at Lincoln between 1164 and 1188, where the burgesses had paid, in 1130, 200 marks to hold the town in chief, also contains recurring names, for example Warner and Ralph between 1171 and 1173 (*PR 17 Hen II*, 109; *18 Hen II*, 94; *19 Hen II*, 139), although towards the end of the period regular annual changes are normal. Such a move towards a rapid alteration in names can also be noted at Canterbury (Urry 1967, 85). The case then for Northampton appears to be unproven.

An additional complicating factor is the presence of three reeves at Northampton, certainly in 1188/9, probably in 1195/6, and possibly in one other instance. This conflicts with the charter evidence which suggests that after 1189 the burgesses had the right to elect one or two reeves. The three reeves present at Southampton in the 1160s were regarded by Tait as royal officials (1936, 170).

It is possible, therefore, to argue that the process by which reeves at Northampton came to be elected is rather more complicated that previously perceived with an initial grant to the burgesses of the right to elect one or two reeves, with one or two further reeves continuing to be appointed by the crown. Additionally a case can be made that only in 1189 did Northampton get the right to elect any reeves at all, that the granting of the *firma burgi* did not necessarily imply elected reeves, and that after 1184 the King's reeves were regarded as acting for both the King and burgesses, without the sheriff as intermediary. The evidence is ambiguous. Although Ballard's and Tait's views may still prevail, this fresh analysis of the situation in Northampton certainly suggests that the town can no longer be used as the basis for their argument.

Whatever the precise role of the forty men, and however they were constituted, we can observe in them evidence of a developing burgess class with wealth and influence. In the climate of the late twelfth century with the devolution of power to urban communities these were the men to grasp the reins of local government. The process by which this occurred can be seen in outline but the difficulties of interpreting the documentary material relating to the reeves can only serve to emphasize the ambiguity of the evidence as a whole.

APPENDIX

'The Forty Men'

ADAM f REIMUND (11)
Adam was the brother of Reginald and William f Reimund, husband of Agatha and father of Rannulf and Robert (*LVN*; PRO C146/2002; E210/7397). In 1190 he rendered account of 20 marks for a false claim, paying in instalments of 9 marks in 1190, 6½ marks in 1191 and 4½ marks in 1192 (*PR 2 Ric*, 29; *3 Ric*, 156; *4 Ric*, 261). In 1203 Adam and his son Robert rendered account of 2 marks tallage, paying 1 mark and owing 1 mark (*PR 5 John*, 184). A [property] of his *versus fuleria* is mentioned in a deed probably of the early 13th century (SJC fol.178a) and in the late 12th or early 13th century he granted land and rent from property in *vico fullonum* to Richard f Richard Estreis (PRO E210/7397). He was witness to deeds of probably between 1190 and 1192 (PRO C146/2002) and the late 12th or early 13th century (SAC1, fol.80b).

ADAM the DISPENCER (22)
In 1175 he paid 1 mark for withdrawing from a voucher of warranty (*PR 21 Hen II*, 46). In 1203 he rendered account of and was pardoned 6 marks of tallage (*PR 5 John*, 184) yet he was still owing 6 marks of tallage in 1205 which he paid in instalments of 20s. and 60s. in 1206 and 1207 (*PR 7 John*, 263; *8 John*, 176; *9 John*, 134). He was witness to deeds of the last two decades of the 12th century (SJC, fols.174a, 182a; *FEC*, 158). A Robert Dispensator, perhaps a descendant, was one of the 24 *jurati* of the Northampton customal of *c.*1260 (Bateson 1904, xlii).

AYLRICH DOD (40)
No mention of Aylrich Dod has been found outside the *Laws* but Benedict Dod, perhaps a descendant, was one of the 24 *jurati* of the Northampton customal of *c.*1260 (Bateson 1904, xlii).

BARTHOLOMEW f JORDAN (4)
Bartholomew was the brother of Philip f Jordan (SAC 2, fol.9a), presumably the Philip f Jordan of the *Laws*, and also the brother of Jordan f Jordan (SJC, fol.174a; *cf.* fol.182a). He was granted a house by St James' abbey for 16d. yearly, probably between 1190 and 1205 (BL Harl Chart 84, F39). He was witness to various deeds relating to St James' abbey and St Andrew's priory in the late 12th century and soon afterwards, including one of Alice de Gaunt, widow of Simon de Senlis 3, in 1184–5 (SJC, fols.171b, 174a; SAC1, fols.33b, 98b, 99b, 106a, 107a, 126b, 127b; SAC2, fol.9a). The shop of Bartholomew was mentioned in a charter of Delapre abbey (*Mon Angl* 5, 209b).

EDWARD le BLUND (20)
In 1170 he received a payment of 119s.4d. to purchase robes for Reginald, the King's son, and the family of the King (*PR 16 Hen II*, 20). He was witness to deeds of perhaps the 1180s (SJC, fol.152b) and probably the 1190s (SAC1, fol.83a – *Edwardo Albo*).

ERNALD de PORTA (28)
This is possibly *Ernald Portarius* who witnessed a deed *c.*1215–1225 (SJC, fol.186a) and *Arn' ad portam* who was also a witness at the same time (Tresham Cart, fol.152).

GEOFFREY WALDER (30)
Geoffrey was probably the brother of Walter f Walter and Richard Walder who precede and follow him in the list of subscribers to the *Laws*. In 1198 he paid £10 to be free of the mintage of Northampton, to have the die in his custody broken and not to be forced to undertake the office again, paying in two tallies (*PR 10 Ric*, 104). In 1207/8 he oversaw building work on the castle to the value of £47.19s.8d. jointly with Rannulph de Fonte (*PR 10 John*, 173). He was probably the *Gaufridus f Walteri*, husband of Agnes de Derby, whose son Ingram granted to St James' abbey *c.*1215–17 a number of properties in Gold Street (that part now Marefair) and St Peter's Street (SJC, fol.179b).

GILBERT f DURAND (14)
Gilbert was reeve with Robert de Leicester and Ingram f Wiger probably in 1188/9 (SJC, fol.174a) and in 1189 with Robert de Leicester rendered account at the Exchequer of £120, the farm of Northampton (*PR 1 Ric*, 97). He was witness to several deeds in the late 12th or early 13th century (SJC, fol.188a; SAC1, fols.52, 84b, 85a, 85b, 86a, 86b, 126b).

HENRY f HUGH (18)
In 1192, together with Simon de Bedford, he rendered account of £120 of the farm of Northampton (*PR 4 Ric*, 259). He is recorded as reeve with Adam de Gurnay on 11th December 1195 (SJC, fol.174b), his term of office perhaps running from Michaelmas 1195 to Michaelmas 1196, although Adam de Gurnay and Henry f Conan are recorded as rendering the farm in 1196 (*PR 8 Ric*, 34). Conan is unlikely to have been a scribal error here as both Henry f Conan and Henry f Hugh appear as witnesses to the same deed (SAC1 fol.83a). In 1199 he owed ½ mark for a surety (*PR 1 John*, 14). He was witness to various deeds between *c.*1180 and 1201 (BL, Add Chart 22345; SAC1, fols.83a, 126b; SJC, fol.174b; *FEC*, 158). A deed dated 1206–7 (NBR, Priv Chart 6) mentions a Henry f Hugh f Hugh receiving the rent of 4 tenements and a shop and records that he had a brother Richard.

HUGH de PLUMPTON (21)
Hugh's capital messuage was in Abington Street at the corner of *venella St Michaelis* (SJC, fols.143a, 146a). A tenement of his held of Henry f Hugh is mentioned in a deed dated to 1205–13 (NBR, Priv Chart 6). In 1191/2 he was jointly responsible with William f Elwyn for repair of the royal house at Silverstone to the value of 19s.4d. and for building work on Northampton castle to the value of £3.6s.4d. and £23.10s.4d. (*PR 4 Ric*, 258f). He was witness to 4 deeds dating to the late 12th and early 13th centuries (SJC, fol.152b; SAC1, fols.85a, 85b, 86a).

HUGH SELLARIUS (16)
This is perhaps the Hugh Salnarius who in 1176 was paid 6s. for bringing armed men from Huntingdon to Northampton (*PR 22 Hen II*, 47).

INGRAM f HENRY (6)
Ingram was the son of Henry f Tiard and brother of Robert f Henry (*PR 23 Hen II*, 93), William (SJC, fol.178b; SAC1, fol.85a), Emma (*De Dominabus*, 22), Curia (SJC, fol.152b) and possibly Richard (Tresham Cart, fol.153). He had a son Thomas (SAC1, fols.84b, 86a) and a wife Alice (*Mon Angl* 5, 209b). For a description of the family connections see page 218. In 1177 he rendered account of 10 marks for a forest offence which he paid in two instalments of 5 marks in 1177 and 1178 (*PR 23 Hen II*, 93; *24 Hen II*, 51). In 1185 he held of Robert f Hugh of Upton, his nephew, one carucate in the Northampton fields (*De Dominabus*, 22). The same land was subsequently held from William Gobion who transferred it to Ingram Malebraunche (see Robert f Thurstan) in *c.*1215-25. Also included in the transfer was a house in Swinewellestrete and one other which Ingram held of William for 4s. and 2 capons rent (Tresham Cart, fols.152, 153). Possibly in the 1180s he confirmed to St James' abbey the grant of a shop (SJC, fol.152b). Probably in the 1190s he acquired Mervyn's mill and subsequently granted it to St Andrew's priory, perhaps in 1207-8 when he warranted it (SAC1, fols.83a, 85a, 85b). At some time he made separate grants to Delapre abbey of rents of ½ mark from a shop, ½ mark, 14d. from a house, 2s. from a house and 2s. and 2 days work from a tenement (*Mon Angl* 5, 209). The location of these properties is not stated but presumably they were in Northampton, Cotton or Hardingstone. Before 1200 he granted a stall (*seldam*) to Peter f Adam (SAC1, fol.128a). Perhaps before 1200 he granted to William Ruffus 3s. of rent (SAC1, fol.129a). He was witness to various deeds in the period *c.*1185-1215 (BL, Harl Chart 84, F39; SJC, fol.182a; SAC1, fol.129a; PRO C146/2002).

INGRAM f WIGER (32)
Probably in 1188/9 Ingram was reeve with Robert de Leicester and Gilbert f Durand (SJC, fol.174a), although only Gilbert f Durand and Robert de Leicester are recorded rendering the farm of Northampton in 1189 (*PR 1 Ric*, 97). He had a son William (SAC1, fol.52a). He was witness to 3 deeds within the period *c.*1180-1210 (BL, Add Chart 22345; SAC1, fol.127a; SJC, fol.182b).

JOCELIN CLERICUS (27)
In 1199 he rendered account of 20s. for a false claim which was partly paid by instalments of 5s., 5s., 1s. and 1s. in 1199, 1200, 1201 and 1202 but there is apparently no record of the balance of 8s. being paid (*PR 1 John*, 15; *2 John*, 59; *3 John*, 180; *4 John*, 148).

JOHN f NIGEL (24)
In 1191 together with Ralph de Boseville he rendered account of £120 of the farm of Northampton (*PR 3 Ric*, 153). He held a house in Abington Street (SJC, fol.186a).

MASTER MICHAEL BELAND (37)
Apart from his presence as one of the 40 men Michael only occurs as a witness to a deed of 1188/9 (SJC, fol.174a).

PETER f ADAM (1)
In 1174 he [rendered account] of £100 *de dono* which he paid in instalments of £90 and £10 in 1175 and 1176 (*PR 20 Hen II*, 54; *21 Hen II*, 43; *22 Hen II*, 48). In 1175 he and 'other jurors' of Northampton rendered account of 30 marks because they opposed the record of the King's court (*PR 21 Hen II*, 47). Also in 1175 he and Henry f Tiard paid £20 for a licence to agree (*licencia concordandi*) about disagreement over a bull (*PR 21 Hen II*, 46). In 1176 he owed 500 marks for forest offences which he paid in the following year (*PR 22 Hen II*, 52; *23 Hen II*, 91). In 1184 he rendered account of £10 for buying or deforcing a house off Samuel the Jew, paying instalments of £9.6s.8d. and 1 mark in 1184 and 1185 (*PR 30 Hen II*, 107; *31 Hen II*, 50). In 1186 he rendered account of 100 marks for arresting a woman without the King's licence and torturing her, paying in instalments of 25 marks, 40 marks and 35 marks in 1186, 1187 and 1188 (*PR 32 Hen II*, 8; *33 Hen II*, 103; *34 Hen II*, 131). In 1187, 1190 and 1191 he paid 8d. for a purpresture in Northampton (*PR 33 Hen II*, 100; *2 Ric* (Roll of Escheats), 6; *PR 3 Ric*, 160). In 1188 he paid 10 marks for 'false clamour' (*PR 34 Hen II*, 133). In 1190 he owed a fine of £100, which he paid in 1191, because he did not attend the chancellor's summons for the King's business (*PR 2 Ric*, 30; *3 Ric*, 157). Between 1191 and 1199 Deudon f Samuel owed 75s. of Peter f Adam (*PR 3 Ric*, 160; *4 Ric*, 263; *5 Ric*, 97; *6 Ric*, 73; *7 Ric*, 102; *8 Ric*, 36; *9 Ric*, 85; *10 Ric*, 99; *1 John*, 6). In 1196 he rendered account of 220 marks for the King's ransom paying £42.1s.10d. in 1196, £18 in 1197, £50 in 1198 and £30.11s.6d. in

1199 (*PR 8 Ric*, 40, 47; *9 Ric*, 88; *10 Ric*, 101; *1 John*, 8). In 1200 at the petition of Peter f Adam and his son, Henry f Peter, the hospital of St David and the Holy Trinity was established at Kingsthorpe (*Mon Angl* 5, 192; 6, 770). Between 1190 and 1192 William de Lisors alienated Abington mill to Peter f Adam for 50 marks of silver, and one pound of pepper annually, and with licence to convey it to a religious house (PRO C146/276, 2002). Peter subsequently granted the mill to Holy Trinity hospital (PRO C146/2004, 3534). Peter's right to the mill was disputed in 1202, by which time he was dead (*Northants Assize R*, 61). In 1199 Peter also acquired Wollaston mill and subsequently he or his son Henry gave it to the same hospital (*Book of Seals*, 240f.; PRO C146/1897, 1909). Perhaps in the 1190s he was granted a stall (*seldam*) by Ingram f Henry (SAC1, fol.128b). He was a witness to a deed of 1162-81 (*Langley Cart*, 50), to a deed of Alice de Gaunt, widow of Simon de Senlis 3, in 1184-5 (SAC2, fol.9a) and also to other deeds in the period *c.*1180-1200 (SAC1, fols.83a, 99b).

PHILIP f JORDAN (3)

Philip had a son Robert (SAC1, fol.112b) and a brother Bartholomew (*LVN*; SAC2, fol.9a). With Henry f Tiard he oversaw building work on the castle to the value of £58.17s.3d. in 1176/7, £23.13s.4d. in 1177/8 and £7 in 1178/9 (*PR 23 Hen II*, 89; *24 Hen II*, 49; *25 Hen II*, 61). In 1178 he was fined 4 marks for a forest offence (*PR 24 Hen II*, 52). In 1180 he rendered account of 20 marks for communicating with the Count of Ferrarii in time of war, paying £5 in 1180, £2.15s.4d. in 1181, £4 in 1182 and £1.11s.4d. in 1183 (*PR 26 Hen II*, 86; *27 Hen II*, 70; *28 Hen II*, 132; *29 Hen II*, 121). With William f Reimund he oversaw building work on the castle to the value of £64.1s.1d. in 1181/2, £43.9s.2d. in 1182/3 and on the gaol to the value of £7 in 1184/5 (*PR 28 Hen II*, 129; *29 Hen II*, 119; *31 Hen II*, 46). In 1185 he rendered account of £40 for impeding a judicial battle (*duellum*), paying £10 in 1185, £13.6s.8d. in 1186, £8 in 1187 and £8.13s.4d. in 1188 (*PR 31 Hen II*, 53; *32 Hen II*, 6; *33 Hen II*, 102; *34 Hen II*, 130). In 1186 he rendered account of 2 marks for a purpresture on the royal highway, paying 1 mark in 1186 and 1 mark in 1187 (*PR 32 Hen II*, 8; *33 Hen II*, 103). In 1185/6 he was involved in a suit in the King's court with Ingram Gobion (*PR 32 Hen II*, 9). He oversaw building work on the castle (*turris*) jointly with Reginald f Reimund to the value of £4.16s.3d. in 1189/90 and again with William f Reimund to the value of £67 (or £77).12s. in 1205/6 (*PR 2 Ric*, 26; *8 John*, 171). In 1199 Richard and Geoffrey de Pavilli quitclaimed to Philip 31½ acres in Hyrclesale for 10 marks of silver (*Pedes Finium 10 Ric*, 138). In 1205 he rendered account of £5 tallage, paying £2 in 1205, £1 in 1206 and £2 in 1207 (*PR 7 John*, 263; *8 John*, 175; *9 John*, 134). He was a witness to various deeds from the period *c.*1180-5 to 1215-25 (SJC, fols.171b, 172b; SAC1, fols.33b, 85a, 98b, 105b, 112b, 123b, 130b; SAC2, fol.9a; NBR, Priv Chart 10, 11; Tresham Cart, fol.153).

RALPH de BOSEVILLE (38)

In 1182 he rendered account of 1 mark for unjust disseisin which he paid in instalments of 5s. and 8s.4d. in 1182 and 1183 (*PR 28 Hen II*, 135; *29 Hen II*, 122). In 1192 together with John f Nigel he rendered account of £120, the farm of Northampton (*PR 3 Ric*, 153). In 1202 he was instructed by the justices to render 12d. rent to Henry f Peter (*Northants Assize R*, 86). In 1205 he owed 3s. tallage which he paid in 1206 but he is recorded paying a further 3s. in 1207 (*PR 7 John*, 263; *8 John*, 176; *9 John*, 134). In 1208, as reeve with William f Gilbert, he was granted £6.5s.11d. for buying cloth for the King (*Rot Litt Claus 1204-24*, 100). In 1210 and 1211 he owed 5 marks for a false claim (*PR 12 John*, 212; *13 John*, 266). At some time between 1215 and 1225 he held his capital messuage at the head of *vici sancti Sepulchri* (BL, Harl Chart 85, C1). He was witness to various deeds within the period *c.*1190-1210 (SAC1, fols.85a, 127b, 129a, 130a, 130b, 131a; SJC, fols.167a, 188a; *FEC*, 132). A Ralph de Boseville was also a witness *c.*1215-1225 (Tresham Cart, fol.152). In the 13th and 14th centuries the de Boseville family was a significant landowner in Hardingstone (*VCH Northants* 4, 255; Farrer 2, 342). A Nicholas de Osevile was one of the 24 *jurati* of the Northampton customal of *c.*1260 (Bateson 1904, xlii).

RALPH f GODWIN (25)

In 1179/80 together with Henry f Tiard he oversaw the construction of a new mint at Northampton, value £15 (*PR 26 Hen II*, 82). In 1180 he rendered account of 20 marks because he sent to Leicester for hauberks. He paid instalments of 17s.5d. in 1180, £2.3s.3d. in 1181, £1.17s.4d. in 1182, £2.13.4d. in 1185, £2.13s.4d. in 1186 and £3.2s. in 1187 (*PR 26 Hen II*, 87; *27 Hen II*, 70; *28 Hen II*, 132; *29 Hen II*, 121; *30 Hen II*, 104; *31 Hen II*, 48; *32 Hen II*, 4; *33 Hen II*, 101). In 1186 he rendered account of 3 marks for making a purpresture on the royal highway, paying in instalments of 1 mark in 1186 and 2 marks in

1187 (*PR 32 Hen II*, 8; *33 Hen II*, 103). He sold two pieces of land to William Ruffus, probably before 1202, for 15 marks (SAC1, fol.129b). A tenement of Ralph is mentioned in 1201 (SAC1, fol.131a) and a stall (*seldam*) of his in the market place of All Saints probably before 1202 (SAC1, fol.128b). He was witness to a deed probably before 1185 (SJC, fol.171b) and others in the period 1180-1220 (BL, Add Chart 22345; SAC1, fol.127a; SJC, fol.182b).

REGINALD f REIMUND (12)
Reginald was the brother of Adam and William f Reimund (*LVN*; PRO, C146/2002) and father of Gilbert (*ibid.*). In 1186 he rendered account of 2 marks for selling wine by false measure. He paid in two instalments of 1 mark in 1186 and 1187 (*PR 32 Hen II*, 8; *33 Hen II*, 100). In 1187, 1188, 1189, 1190 and 1191 he paid 4d. for a purpresture (*PR 33 Hen II*, 100; *34 Hen II*, 129; *1 Ric*, 98; *2 Ric* (Roll of Escheats), 6; *3 Ric*, 160). In 1190 together with Philip f Jordan he oversaw building work on the castle (*turris*) to the value of £4.16s.3d. (*PR 2 Ric*, 26). He was witness to a deed of 1190-1192 (PRO C146/2002).

RICHARD f EALNARD (23)
Richard had a son Philip (SJC, fol.162a; SAC1, fol.121a). In 1205 he rendered account of 2 marks tallage which he paid in instalments of 1 mark in 1205, 10s. in 1207 and the balance possibly in 1209 (*PR 7 John*, 263; *8 John*, 176; *9 John*, 134; *10 John*, 177; *11 John*, 184). He was witness to deeds from the end of the 12th century and the early 13th century (SAC1, fols.126b, 130a; SJC, fols.172b, 178a; PRO, C146/1873). A Richard f Ealnard was witness to deeds probably dating to 1231-1237 (SJC, fols.179a (twice), 181a).

RICHARD WALDER (31)
Richard was probably the brother of Geoffrey Walder and Walter f Walter who precede him in the list of subscribers to the *Laws*, but he is not recorded elsewhere.

ROBERT ALBUS (36)
Robert had a son Andreas and a wife Matilda (SJC, fols.179a, 181a). Between 1231 and 1237 he granted to St James' abbey *c.*36s. rent from various properties the locations of which included Gold Street, St Peter's Street and perhaps near the castle (*ibid.*). He was a witness to deeds of the late 12th-early 13th century (*FEC*, 154; PRO, E210/7397). A Robert Blund was one of the 24 *jurati* of the Northampton customal of *c.*1260 (Bateson 1904, xlii).

ROBERT de LEICESTER (7)
The tracing of the career of the Robert de Leicester of the *Laws* is extremely difficult as at least three persons of that name are known. This is perhaps most clearly seen in a deed dated *c.*1215-1225 (SJC, fol.185b) in which Robert f Robert de Leicester and Robert f Richard de Leicester both appear as witnesses. Robert f Richard de Leicester was referred to purely as Robert de Leicester as early as 1211 (compare *CRR 1210-1212*, 285 [but referred to as *Robinum* on pages 236 and 280]; *PR 13 John*, 65; *14 John*, 133; *16 John*, 23; *17 John*, 52; *3 Hen III*, 81 with PRO, E372/66, 69, 73, 74). In 1212 Robert de Leicester, father of Robert de Leicester, was represented by his son (*PBKJ* 4, 287; but *cf. CRR 1210-1212*, 362 where he represents himself in the same case and also 83 where he is represented by *Robertum Juvenem de Leic*'; presumably *Juvenem* is in error for *juniorem*). All three Roberts were thus alive in 1212. William de Ponte is named as son of 'Robert de Leicester' in *c.*1215-1225 (SJC, fol.186a).

Robert de Leicester f Richard de Leicester, who had brothers JRichard (SJC, fol.178a) and possibly Philip (SJC, fol.178b), does not seem to appear as such until *c.*1215-1225 (SJC. fols.153a, 162a, 162b, 176a, 185b, 186a) although a single deed in which he occurs is dated *c.*1200-15 (SJC, fol.178a). Robert de Leicester f Robert de Leicester similarly appears from *c.*1212 onwards (*PBKJ* 4, 287; NBR, Priv Chart 7; SJC, fols.177a, 185b, 186a).

References up to *c.*1212 to 'Robert de Leicester' may be considered as probably referring to the Robert de Leicester of the *Laws*. They are as follows:

Robert was reeve with Gilbert f Durand and Ingram f Wiger probably in 1188/9 (SJC, fol.174a). In 1188 he rendered account of £120 farm of Northampton (*PR 34 Hen II*, 129) and in 1189 he rendered account of the same jointly with Gilbert f Durand (*PR 1 Ric*, 97). Between 1194 and 1201 he acquired 8 acres of land at Milton Malsor for his homage and service at a yearly rent of a pound of cummin or 1½d. and granted the land and a yearly rent of 2s. to the leper hospital of St Leonard (*FEC*, 152, 154, 156). In

1195 his seal was used on a deed arguably in an official or semi-official capacity (SJC, fol.174b; *cf.* Williams 1983-4, 8). In 1199 he owed ½ mark for a surety (*PR 1 John*, 14). In 1208 he won a suit that he had been unjustly disseised of a tenement in Northampton (*CRR 1207-1209*, 250). Between 1210 and 1212 he was involved in a suit, which apparently originated in the time of Richard I, for £7.10s. for a third part of a messuage which he held (*CRR 1210-1212*, 25, 83, 362). Robert held a meadow in the Northampton fields from William Gobion (Tresham Cart, fol.153).

'Robert de Leicester' was witness to deeds of the late 12th and early 13th centuries (SAC1, fols.33a, 33b, 34, 69a, 80b, 85a, 126b, 127b; SAC2, fols.112a, 112b; SJC, fols.143a, 150b, 152b, 161b, 163a, 178a, 179b, 182b, 188a; PRO C146/1873, 1874, 1995, 2002; *FEC*, 158; NBR, Priv Chart 6, 10, 11; *Stogursey Chart*, 26; Tresham Cart, fol.153).

'De Leicester' seems to occur basically only with the group of names noted above and there is a distinct possibility that they are all part of a single family group in some way connected with the family of Henry f Tiard and his sons Robert and Ingram (*cf.* above, page 218). Emma de Northampton, daughter of Henry f Tiard (*cf. De Dominabus*, 22), had a nephew Richard de Leicester (SJC, fol.178b). It is also noticeable in the *Laws*, where the subscribers appear in family groups, that Robert de Leicester follows immediately after Robert f Henry and Ingram f Henry.

The problems with 'Robert de Leicester' are presently insuperable but a good case can be made for the 'de Leicester's', a clearly influential group, being in some way linked to the family of Henry f Tiard.

ROBERT f GILBERT (8)

Robert was the brother of William f Gilbert who was also a subscriber to the *Laws* (SAC1, fol.33b). In 1180 he rendered account of 1 mark for the chattels of a usurer, paying in instalments of 3s.5d. in 1180, 3s.9d. in 1181 and 6s.2d in 1182 (*PR 26 Hen II*, 86; *27 Hen II*, 70; *28 Hen II*, 132). In 1206 he was involved in a suit regarding land (*PBKJ* 3, 292). He was a witness to a deed of *c.*1200-1205 (SAC1, fol.33b).

ROBERT f HENRY (5)

Robert was the son of Henry f Tiard, brother of Ingram f Henry (*PR 23 Hen II*, 93), William (SJC, fol.178b), Emma (*De Dominabus*, 22), Curia (SJC, fol.152b) and possibly Richard (Tresham Cart, fol.153) and father of Walkelin, clerk (*Excheq of Jews 1218-72*, 34). For a description of the family connections see above page 218. In 1177 he rendered account of 10 marks for a forest offence, paying in two instalments of 5 marks in 1177 and 1178 (*PR 23 Hen II*, 93; *24 Hen II*, 51). In 1188 he paid 10 marks for a stag drowned (*PR 34 Hen II*, 134). In 1199 he rendered account of 10s. for default, paying 5s. in 1199 and 5s. in 1200 (*PR 1 John*, 15; *2 John 58*). In 1206 he rendered account of 3 marks tallage, paying in instalments of ½ mark in 1206 and 9s.4d. in 1207; 24s. was perhaps outstanding in 1209 (*PR 8 John*, 176; *9 John*, 134; *10 John*, 177; *11 John*, 184). Probably early in the 13th century he relaxed and quitclaimed his right in Mervyn's mill granted by his brother Ingram to St Andrew's priory (SAC1, fol.86b). In 1208 and 1209 Robert owed ½ mark for having an inquisition (*PR 10 John*, 179; *11 John*, 185). In 1211 Baron, the clerk of Northampton, appealed him with Robert de Leicester and Robert Blund for assaulting him and imprisoning him in the castle while he was in the King's peace at the King's pleas at Northampton as the King's serjeant. The appealed men offered two oblations of 40s. which were still owing in 1219, firstly to have an enquiry and secondly to be held in prison. On offering the King 300 marks and 3 good palfreys they were allowed to make peace with Baron (*CRR 1210-1212*, 236, 280, 285). Robert paid £10 in 1212 and £2.10s. in 1214 but was still owing £54.3s.4d. in 1219 (*PR 13 John*, 65; *14 John*, 133; *16 John*, 23; *17 John*, 52; *3 Hen III*, 81). In 1220 Robert f Henry, father of Walkelin, clerk, made complaint that the Jew David lent him money unlawfully (*Excheq of Jews 1218-72*, 34). The name Robert f Henry is recorded as witness to deeds of possibly before 1185 (SJC, fol.171b), 1188/9 (SJC, fol.174a), 1190-92 (PRO, C146/2002), 1201 (SAC1, fol.130b), 1205-13 (NBR, Priv Chart 6), 1215-17 (SJC, fol.179b), several during the mayoralty of William Tilly (1215-*c.*1225) (NBR, Priv Chart 7; SJC, fols.153a, 162b, 163a, 171b, 176a, 177a, 185b, 186a; SAC1, fols.69a, 84b; *Luffield Chart* 2, 35) and one certainly after 1220 (SJC, fol.171a) as well as others within the period *c.*1185-1220 (SJC, fols.143b, 146a, 150b, 155a, 161b, 172b, 178a, 178b; SAC1, fols.127b, 129a; SAC2, fols.104b, 112b; Tresham Cart, fol.153; BL, Harl Chart 84, F39).

ROBERT f THURSTAN (17)

Robert had a son Ingram Malebraunche (Tresham Cart, fol.152) who was a *juratus* for the second Northampton customal dating to *c.*1260 (Bateson 1904, xlii) and possibly had another son Richemund

(Tresham Cart, fol.153). He was a witness to a deed of Alice de Gaunt, widow of Simon de Senlis 3 in 1184-5 (SAC2, fol.9a) and also to a deed probably belonging to the 1190s (SAC1, fol.83a).

ROBERT le BRUN (34)
In 1205 he owed 1 mark tallage (*PR 7 John*, 263).

SIMON VITOR (39)
There is a problem tracing the career of the Simon Vitor of the 40 men in that in a deed of perhaps after 1210 [Simon] Vitor senior and Simon Vitor junior are both witnesses (SAC1, fol.124b; *cf.* BL, Harl Chart 49, D11). Simon Vitor senior may have been the first of that name as he is referred to as Simon f Vitoris (SAC1, fol.130a) and Simon f Victorii (*CRR Ric – 2 John*, 369). Simon f Simon f Victoris is recorded in 1230 (*CRR 1230-1232*, 153). It may be that Simon Vitor senior did not survive much beyond 1205 for the rather frequent appearance of Simon Vitor in the *Curia Regis Rolls* stop at that time with the name not reappearing again until 1214 but the total absence of the name in these rolls after 1219 may be more indicative. In this digest no further separation is attempted. In 1175 Simon paid ½ mark because he communicated with the enemies of the King (*PR 21 Hen II*, 46). In 1184 he rendered account of 2½ marks to be quit of a plea of *brevis calumpniati*, paying in instalments of 1½ marks in 1184 and 1 mark in 1185 (*PR 30 Hen II*, 106; *31 Hen II*, 49). It would appear from his frequent appearances in court, and not only in Northamptonshire but also in Rutland, Warwickshire, Lincolnshire and Middlesex that Simon was a specialist advocate (*cf.* the following and later entries). At some time between 1189 and 1199 he acted as an advocate for St Andrew's priory (SAC1, fol.114b). In 1200-1 he represented Henry de Armenters against Count David at Rutland (*CRR Ric – 2 John*, 210, 453; *3-5 John*, 25). Between 1200 and 1204 in Warwickshire he represented and pledged for Henry de Armenters against Geoffrey Salvagius (*CRR Ric – 2 John*, 369; *3-5 John*, 241; *PBKJ* 3, 161). He essoined for Henry de Armenters at Northampton in 1201 (*CRR Ric – 2 John*, 456). His association with that family continued for in 1214 he represented Reina, once wife of Henry de Armenters at Northampton (*CRR 1213-1215*, 63). In 1201 at Northampton he acted as attorney for Simon the deacon (*CRR Ric – 2 John*, 433; *PBKJ* 1, 332, 338), in 1203 for Gilbert f Walter in Middlesex (*CRR 5-7 John*, 2, 11, 69) and in 1205 at Lincoln for Simon de Lindon (*CRR 5-7 John*, 257). He essoined at Northampton for Henry de Alneto de Cornubia in 1201 (*CRR 3-5 John*, 31) and in the same year for Richard de Grimescote at Northampton (*CRR Ric – 2 John*, 450). In 1208/9 he was in mercy for contemptuous speech (*Forest Pleas*, 2). Simon was bailiff at some time during the mayoralty of William Tilly (1215-*c.*1225) (SJC, fol.185b). In 1219 Simon was involved in a dispute with Henry le Mareschal about 5 acres of land in Thorpe (*CRR 1219-1220*, 13, 86, 107). In 1221 he was in gaol at Northampton for the appeal against him made by Simon f Ralph de Trop for the death of his father but he was to be bailed out (Farrer 2, 386; *Rot Litt Claus 1204-1224*, 454). In 1241 the service of Simon (presumably the younger) of ¼ fee in Draughton and Holcot is mentioned and in 1242-3 he and his partners held ¼ fee in Holcot (*Book of Fees 1242-1293*, 938; Farrer 2, 386; *VCH Northants* 4, 127). A Simon Vitor sold his messuage in Old to the rector of Walgrave (SJC, microfilm fol.86). Simon Vitor occurs as a witness to various deeds of the late 12th-early 13th century (SAC1, fols.69b, 70a, 112b, 125a; SJC, fol.185b; *Luffield Chart* 1, 102). It is interesting to note that a Simon Vitor was one of the 24 *jurati* of Northampton's second customal dating to *c.*1260 (Bateson 1904, xlii).

THEOBALD f ROGER (9)
In 1195 as *prepositus* together with William Passelewe he rendered account of £120, the farm of Northampton (*PR 7 Ric*, 100). In 1204 for receiving judgement on 27 marks owed to him by William of Hastings he rendered account of 9 marks, paying 3 marks in 1207, the balance still being owed in 1209 (*PR 6 John*, 138; *7 John*, 260; *8 John*, 174; *9 John*, 173; *10 John*, 176; *11 John*, 184). He was witness to deeds probably of the later 12th and early 13th centuries (SAC1, fols.86b, 127b; Tresham Cart, fol.153). Roger f Theobald was one of the *jurati* of Northampton's second customal dating to soon after 1260 (Bateson 1904, xlii).

WALTER f WALTER (29)
Walter was probably the brother of Geoffrey and Richard Walder who follow him in the list of subscribers to the *Laws*. In 1195 he owed ½ mark for disseisin (*PR 7 Ric*, 105). From 1196 to 1199 he owed 1 mark for disseisin (*PR 8 Ric*, 39; *9 Ric*, 87; *10 Ric*, 99; *1 John*, 7). His capital messuage is recorded as having been in *vico sancte Marie* (BL, Add Chart 22344).

WARNER GOBION (15)
Apart from his appearance among the 40 men Warner is only known as a witness to a deed of 1188/9 (SJC, fol.174a).

WILLIAM de GURNAY (19)
William was the father of Adam de Gurnay (SJC, fols.172b, 182a). He was witness to deeds of before 1176 (SJC, fol.173b) and the later 12th century (SJC, fols.172b, 182a), and another of similar date (SAC2, fol.104b). Adam de Gurnay was reeve in 1192 and 1195 (*PR 5 Ric*, 94; SJC, fol.174b) and is recorded as rendering the farm of Northampton in 1192 and 1196 (*PR 5 Ric*, 94; *8 Ric*, 34).

WILLIAM de HUNTINGDON (13)
A William 'clerk' de Huntingdon is a witness before 1176 (SJC, fol.173b). He is recorded as reeve of Northampton with Alexander Wace, probably in the period before 1185 (SJC, fol.171b). In 1190 William owed 3 marks for the right of 20 marks which the Jew Vivus owed him; in 1194 he paid off 1 mark, in 1195 he paid off ½ mark and still owed 1½ marks in 1202 (*PR 2 Ric*, 29; *3 Ric*, 156; *4 Ric*, 261; *5 Ric*, 95; *6 Ric*, 71; 7 *Ric*, 101; *8 Ric*, 35; *9 Ric*, 84; *10 Ric*, 97; *1 John*, 5; *2 John*, 53; *3 John*, 175; *4 John*, 145). He was fined ½ mark for default in 1199 (*PR 1 John*, 14). He had a curtilage outside the east gate (SJC, fol.177a). He was witness to deeds of probably before 1185 (SJC, fol.171b), 1184–5 (SAC2, fol.9a), probably the 1190s (SAC1, fols.127b, 128a, 130a), 1190–92 (PRO, C146/276, 2002), 1194–1201 (*FEC*, 152, 156), *c.*1200–1205 (SAC1, fols.33b, 34a) and others of the late 12th and early 13th centuries (SAC1, fols.43b, 44a, 52a, 58a, 98b; SAC2, fol.104b; SJC, fol.182a; NBR, Priv Chart 10; PRO, C146/1894, 2004, 3534).

WILLIAM f ELWYN (33)
With William f Reimund he rendered account of £120 for the farm of Northampton in 1185, 1186 and 1187 (*PR 31 Hen II*, 46; *32 Hen II*, 2; *33 Hen II*, 100). In 1192 with Henry de Plumpton he oversaw building work on the King's houses at Silverstone to the value of 19s.3d. and on Northampton castle to the value of £3.6s.4d. and £23.10s.4d. (*PR 4 Ric*, 258*f*). In 1205 he owed 5 marks tallage, in 1206 he apparently owed only ½ mark tallage but in 1207 he rendered account of 5 marks tallage, paying off 3½ marks, the balance possibly being paid off in 1209 (or still being owing) (*PR 7 John*, 263; *8 John*, 176; *9 John*, 134; *10 John*, 177; *11 John*, 184). In 1205 with Robert f Nigel he oversaw the placing of a warden on the King's larder (*PR 7 John*, 255). He was witness to a deed dating probably to the late 12th or early 13th century (SJC, fol.151b).

WILLIAM f GILBERT (26)
William was the brother of Robert f Gilbert who was also a subscriber to the *Laws* (SAC1, fol.33b). He was reeve in 1208 with Ralph de Boseville and was deputed to buy robes for the King (*Rot Litt Claus 1204-1224*, 100). In 1231 a William f Gilbert was involved in a dispute over a messuage in Northampton (*Cal Close R 1227-1231*, 385). Probably in the early 13th century he granted to St Andrew's priory for 1 mark a toft in Cotton (SAC2, fol.113). He was witness to a deed of *c.*1200–1205 (SAC1, fol.33b), the early 13th century (PRO C146/1909) and another deed (SAC1, fol.107a) and is mentioned in a deed of 1205–1217 (SJC, fol.177b).

WILLIAM f REIMUND (10)
William was the brother of Adam f Reimund and Reginald f Reimund (*LVN*; PRO, C146/2002). With Philip f Jordan he oversaw building work on the castle to the value of £64.1s.2d. in 1181/2, £43.9s.2d. in 1182/3 and on the gaol to the value of £7 in 1184/5 (*PR 28 Hen II*, 129; *29 Hen II*, 119; *31 Hen II*, 46). In 1182 he rendered account of 5 marks for one messuage in Northampton, paying 23s.6d. in 1182, 26s.8d. in 1183 and 16s.6d. in 1184 (*PR 28 Hen II*, 135; *29 Hen II*, 122; *30 Hen II*, 105). From 1184 to 1189 he paid 2s. annually for a messuage in Northampton and from 1190 to 1193 he seems to have paid 2s. annually for 2 stalls (*PR 30 Hen II*, 103; *31 Hen II*, 46; *32 Hen II*, 2; *33 Hen II*, 100; *34 Hen II* 129; *1 Ric*, 97; *2 Ric* (Roll of Escheats), 7; *3 Ric*, 160; *4 Ric*, 259; *5 Ric*, 94). Perhaps all these entries refer to the same property. In the late 12th or early 13th century he held his capital messuage in '*vico fullonum*' (PRO, E210/7397). With William f Elwyn he rendered account of £120 for the farm of Northampton in 1185, 1186 and 1187 (*PR 31 Hen II*, 46; *32 Hen II*, 2; *33 Hen II*, 100) and in 1190 he rendered account of the same on his own (*PR 2 Ric*, 26). In 1191 he owed ½ mark, which he paid in 1192, to have a quitclaim

enrolled on the Great Roll (*PR 2 Ric*, 30; *3 Ric*, 157). He was involved in a suit over land tenure in 1202 (*Northants Assize R*, 56). With Philip f Jordan he oversaw building work on the castle in 1206 to the value of £67.(or £77.)12s. (*PR 8 John*, 171). He bought the mill at Finedon (Tingden) at some time in the late 12th or early 13th century and later granted it to St Andrew's priory (SAC1, fols.80a-81b). He was witness to deeds of 1184-5 (SAC2, fol.9a), 1190-92 (PRO, C146/2002), 1200-1205 (SAC1, fol.33b), 1205-13 (NBR, Priv Chart 6), and others of the late 12th or early 13th centuries (BL, Harl Chart 84, F39; SAC1, fols.58a, 85a, 105b, 130b-131a; SAC2, fol.112b; SJC, fol.170b).

WILLIAM PASSELEWE (35)

In 1189 he rendered account of ½ mark as surety for Robert paying 2s.8d. in 1189, 2s. in 1190 and 2s. in 1191 (*PR 1 Ric*, 103; *2 Ric*, 28; *3 Ric*, 156). As reeves Theobald f Roger and William rendered account of £120 for the farm of Northampton in 1195 (*PR 7 Ric*, 100). In 1203 he owed ½ mark tallage (*PR 5 John*, 184). He was a witness to two deeds (SJC, fol.161b; SAC1, fol.57a). Heirs of William Passelewe are mentioned in a deed of 1215-25 (SJC, fol.186a).

WILLIAM RUFFUS (2)

William was the grandson of Bertrann Briton (*PR 8 Ric*, 40), was married to Margaret Gubion (SAC1, fols.130a, 131a) and had a nephew Ralph, a clerk (SAC1, fol.131a). It is uncertain whether he was the same William Ruffus who was an itinerant justice in 1182-5 (*PR 29 Hen II*, 122; *30 Hen II*, 105; *31 Hen II*, 48) and 1193 (*PR 5 Ric*, 97). He should not be confused with the sheriff of Devonshire (22-23 Henry II) and of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire (26 Hen II – 6 Ric with interruptions) who would seem to have been murdered *c.*1195 (Foss 1848, 303).

A series of deeds in St Andrew's cartulary (SAC1, fols.126b-129b), dating probably to the 1180s and 1190s shows William acquiring property before making substantial grants to St Andrew's (SAC1, fols.130a-131a). Precision in regard to these documents is impossible because of considerable fire damage to this part of the cartulary. In the 1180s or 1190s he bought 2 messuages from William de Goldinton for 4 marks of silver and a yearly rent of 7d. (SAC1, fol.127a; BL, Add Chart 22345). Probably in the 1190s he bought 3 shops from William f Robert (SAC1, fol.127a), a chamber and shops before All Saints from William f Robert for 25 marks (SAC1, fol.127b), 1½ virgates of land in Warmington from Robert Garget for 16 marks (SAC1, fol.127b; SAC2, fol.225a), 2 virgates and 2 acres of land in Warmington from Robert Garget for 27 marks (SAC1, fol.128a), the moiety of a shop in the *Cordwaneria* from Humphrey for 10½ marks (SAC1, fol.129a) and land in the Northampton fields from Ralph f Godwin for 15 marks and 4s.6d. and two capons per annum (SAC1, fol.129b) and acquired 3s. rent from Ingram f Henry (SAC1, fol.129a). Probably between 1198 and 1201 he bought probably 2 tenements from Hugh f Walerand for 10 marks (SAC1, fol.126b). In 1201 he granted to St Andrew's priory £7 rent from at least 15 houses and other property in *vico pontis, lariestwychene, vico Habinton, foro, nova terra, contra ecclesiam Omnium Sanctorum*, Holcot and Warmington (SAC1, fol.131a). At perhaps a similar date he granted the priory rents of 33s. in Northampton from at least 5 houses and 2 shops (SAC1, fol.130a). According to the former grant (SAC1, fol.131a) it would appear that he had had constructed a chapel within the priory precinct. Associated with both grants was the idea that the poor should be fed on the obituary anniversary of himself and his wife. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* records that at the time of Henry VIII 16s. charity was to be expended on William's anniversary and 15s. on Margaret's; William is referred to as a benefactor of the priory (*Valor Ecclesiasticus* 4, 315).

In 1196 William for ½ mark had had enrolled on the Great Roll that he had granted to John de Benefeld for 8 marks of silver and 5½ ells of green cloth and a sable fur all the land which his grandfather Bertrann Briton had held and the right of presentation to Horton church to be held by William and his heirs for 1/25 part of a knight's fee and all other service pertaining to John. The ½ mark was paid in 1198 (*PR 8 Ric*, 40; *9 Ric*, 89; *10 Ric*, 101). In 1196 £25.8s.6d. from Peter f Adam was paid into the treasury *per manum* William Ruffus and William f Richard (*PR 8 Ric*, 47) and 8 marks from Eudo Martel relating to Warwickshire and Leicestershire *per manum* William Ruffus of Northampton (*PR 8 Ric*, 52). In 1201 William owed 5 marks for a writ of summons against William de Albeni for unjustly disseising him of the custody of the land and heir of Peter de St Elegio; he paid 1 mark in 1207 and 2 marks in 1208 (*PR 3 John*, 183; *4 John*, 150; *5 John*, 180; *6 John*, 136; *7 John*, 258; *8 John*, 173; *9 John*, 132; *10 John*, 175). This is presumably the same dispute as that with William de Aubeni over the custody of a certain boy (*CRR Ric – 2 John*, 455). In 1207 William Ruffus gave ½ mark for a licence of agreement with Hugh Gargate of 2 virgates of land in Warmington (*CRR 1207-1209*, 117; *PR 10 John*, 179). In

1207 he was called to warrant against Hugh Gargate by the prior of Northampton (*PBKJ* 4, 29). He was witness to various deeds at about the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th centuries (SJC, fols.155a, 161b, 174b; SAC1, fol.112b; SAC2, fol.112b; NBR, Priv Chart 10).

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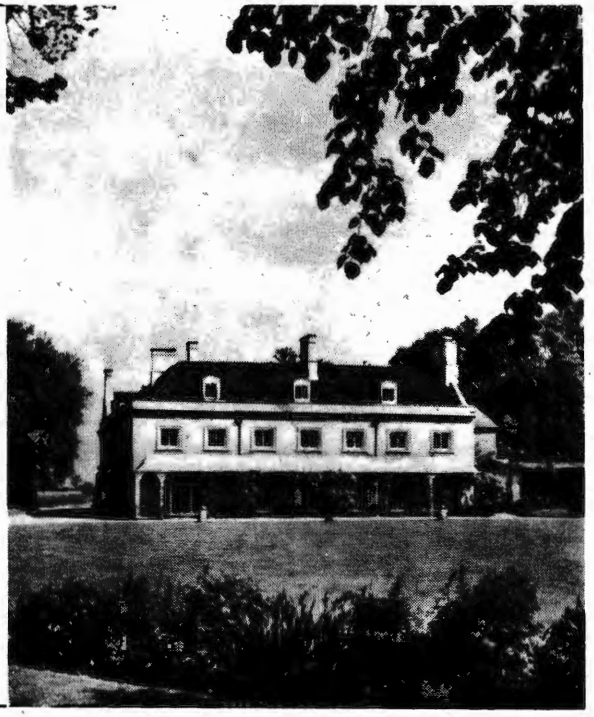

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THE BUILDING HISTORY OF ST JOHN-THE-BAPTIST CHURCH, PETERBOROUGH

ANDREW WOODGER

There is only one church (St Peter and St Paul, Wisbech) in the present County of Cambridgeshire which is larger than St John-the-Baptist, Peterborough, and few churches are so well documented or, indeed, illustrated, as St John's, yet there has never been a serious attempt to marry the history and archaeology of this church. The account in the *Victoria County History*, published in 1906,[1] appeared long before W.T.Mellow's edition of the early *Churchwardens' Accounts* of 1939,[2] so its authors were neither able to use this material nor the mass of subsequent papers now assembled in the Northamptonshire Record Office. Pevsner, in his volume on Northamptonshire in his 'Buildings of England' Series pays scant attention to its building history. He notes that the window over the west door 'looks late thirteenth century in style',[3] an impossible date for a fitting in the tower: in fact it is a window inserted in 1907-9 by Charles Nicholson. Pevsner, like so many others, concentrated on the great Norman Cathedral nearby, and St John's did not receive the attention it deserves.

The date of St John's is not in doubt. It was moved from Bondgate, the other side of the cathedral, together with the nave of the chapel of St Thomas the Martyr in the Abbey forecourt, to a site in the middle of the market place in 1402. After much preliminary negotiation Pope Boniface finally gave his permission for the move on 15 November,[4] and the church was dedicated by Abbot Genge, on the Patronal Festival, 24 June, in 1407. Very little of this original church survives today: that which does is the lower part of the south porch and some, but not all, of the arcade piers together with the east window, twice removed.

The church is of seven bays, a very singular and unusual circumstance when one considers that Great St Mary's, Cambridge; St Mary's, St Neots, and indeed every other major church in old Huntingdonshire (except Ramsey) is of only five bays. Seven bays occur at St Thomas of Canterbury, Ramsey, which was originally a late twelfth-century Hospice; in the former Hospital of St John at Huntingdon (the remains are now the Cromwell Museum) also of the 1180s; and additionally at St Mary's, Ely, likewise of this date and in the right place to have been a former Hospice. The point of all this is that five bays are the norm for early fifteenth-century churches and seven bays are very exceptional, being used principally in a secular context in Norman times. The position of the south porch is also very signficant. Normally the south porch is placed one bay to the east of the tower or west wall of the church; here it is two bays from the tower. If, however, the church was originally of the normal five bays, then the porch is exactly in its expected position. The suggestion must be, therefore, that the nave and aisles were extended westward at some time after 1407. The south porch is thus co-incidentally demonstrated to be of certain early fifteenth-century date and it is an excellent example of its period, of two bays with vaulting and ridge-ribs with bosses. The upper part and

[1] *Northamptonshire*, Vol II, p.430

[2] *Peterborough Local Administration, Parochial Government before the Reformation, Churchwardens' Accounts 1467-1573 with supplementary Documents 1107-1488.* Edited with an Introduction by W.T.Mellows. Northamptonshire Record Society, IX, 1939

[3] N.Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Northamptonshire*, 1961, p. 370, repeated in *Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon and Peterborough*, 1968, p. 325. The failure by Pevsner to mention J.L.Pearson is astonishing, particularly when one considers that Pevsner had done more than anyone else to popularise Victorian architecture.

[4] Mellows, pp. 199-230 and xxx.

stairs were added in the late sixteenth century, as is evidenced by the straight joint between the newel stair (which has the post-1540 notch – *see below*) and porch and the square Tudor drip mouldings of the windows. Since there is no record of this addition in the Churchwardens' accounts, it must have been built soon after 1573.

St John's has one of the oldest sets of Churchwardens' accounts in the country; these date from 1467 to 1573. There is then a gap until 1901, although this is partly compensated for by an abundance of other documents. From the old accounts it is clear that they had a tower in the fifteenth century, for the church charged the exorbitant fee of iiij*d.* for tolling the bell on the death of a parishioner. This, however, (as is explained below) was not the tower which we see today. No major building work is recorded during the period covered by these accounts.

On 1 April 1611 the 'chauncell' was reported to be 'in decaie'[5] and in 1612 a church rate was levied on the parishioners.[6] The church authorities tried to have the costs of the chancel work included in with the rest of the improvements so that they would be paid for out of the rate, instead of the chancel repair being paid for by the recipients of the great tithe. This imposition was successfully resisted by the parishioners, but it is clear that both jobs were part of the same building contract, carried out by the same firm, and indeed both west and east ends of the church have today identical string courses, which do not occur elsewhere in the fabric. These church rates required an Act of Parliament and were, almost invariably, for major works on the structure of the church. At Great St Mary's, Cambridge, the rate and public subscription, both at the same time, were for rebuilding part of the tower and casting new bells; at St Wendreda's, March, the rate seems also to have been for rebuilding the tower and the same can be said for St Mary's, Godmanchester, where the tower is dated 1623. It is, therefore, most probable that the rate of St John's paid for the re-building of the tower. There is no other major work in the church of an early seventeenth-century character and the rate must have been for some structural purpose, which has to be identified as, in order to form a true picture of the archaeology, all the evidence has to be taken into consideration and accounted for. So, what seems to have happened, is that the pressure of a growing population called for more space in the church and this, coupled for a desire for improved bellringing,[7] lead the churchwardens to move the position of the tower westward by two bays, erect a new tower, demolish the old and, additionally to extend the aisles westward to their maximum so that they embraced the tower, *c.f.* Glatton, Yaxley and Holywell, all sixteenth and seventeenth century work. The archaeological evidence for an early seventeenth-century date for the tower is also good. The lower part of the tower is of rubble construction while the upper is of ashlar: this does not, however, represent two different stages of construction for the lower part matches the walls of the aisles while the smooth ashlaring of the upper part is appropriate for what became a landmark for miles around. The two stages are held together by the newel stair in the south-west buttress, which has a straight newel notch rising throughout its height,[8] the vice narrowing only above the ringing chamber. This stair demonstrates conclusively that the tower is all of one build. Some of the windows at the west ends of the aisles (those showing Perpendicular style characteristics) were altered by J.L.Pearson in 1882 but all the others in the extension have intersecting 'Y' tracery, copying the thirteenth century

[5] *Ibid*, xxix.
[6] *Ibid*, lxxxix.

[7] A.Woodger, 'Post-Reformation Mixed Gothic in Huntingdonshire Church Towers and its Campanological Associations,' *Archaeol. J.*, Vol 141, 1984, pp. 269-308.
[8] *Ibid*, Fig 2.

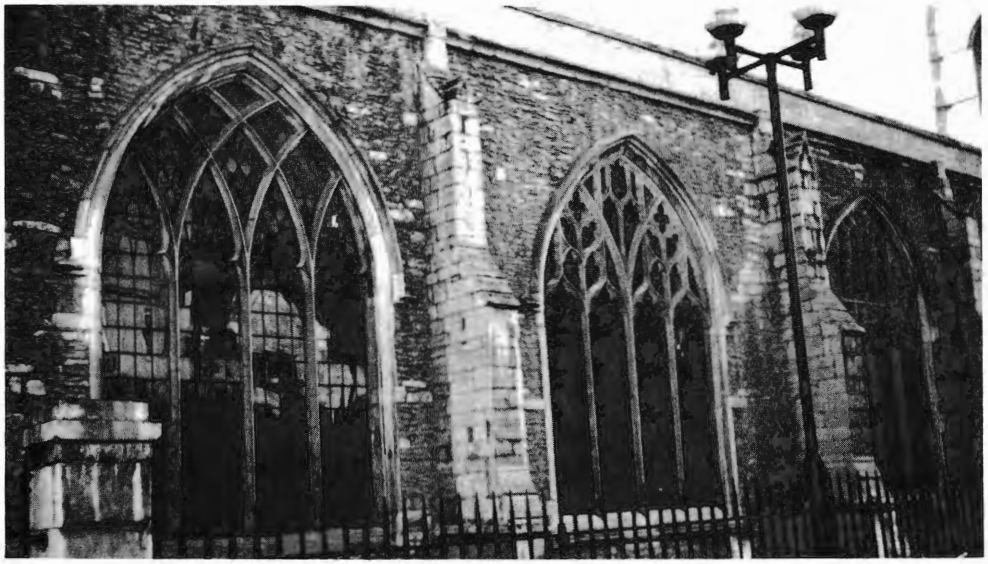


PLATE 1: NORTH EAST CORNER OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST. The window on the left is of 1612, the two on the right are of 1882.
[Photograph: the author]

PLATE 2: NORTH VIEW OF THE AISLE AND TOWER. On the right are two windows of 1612 and on the left one of 1882.
[Photograph: the author]

but with much larger window openings and different cusps, and these are in fact typical of 1612. Apart from the two 1612 windows at the west end of the north aisle (which, not being part of the external processional route, are not often seen) all the 1612 work, windows, buttresses, and tower, are held together by a string course which runs externally over the west door and under the windows. It does not occur in the 1404 work. As previously stated there is an identical string course at the east end of the church, associated with the 1611 window at the north-east corner of the church. The east wall was, therefore, rebuilt in part at this time, preserving, however the 1404 east window.

The tower has polygonal castelettes instead of pinnacles at its upper corner terminations: these occur at St Peter's Oundle, Northamptonshire, 1634; Great St Mary's, Cambridge, 1593-1608, and elsewhere in a seventeenth-century context. There are also circled quatrefoils, a favourite late Gothic motif. The internal lower arches and piers of the tower have two different mouldings: the ovolo moulding, consisting of two quarter rounds with a fillet between them, was first used during the Decorated period of architecture (and therefore before this 1404 church), not in the Perpendicular period, but it was revived and commonly used for transoms and mullions from *c.*1570 to *c.*1660 in a secular context; the other moulding, the roll moulding, was primarily a Romanesque device but it also occurs in the early fourteenth century, as at Holy Trinity, Elsworth, Cambridgeshire. The use of a combination of these two mouldings suggests an era of Mixed Gothic styles, therefore 1612 rather than the purer Perpendicular of 1404; they cannot be re-used from the earlier church behind the cathedral because the idea of aisles embracing the tower, and hence this type of arch, was unheard of before the Perpendicular period. The west windows and the west door of the tower represent four different periods of architecture, a very Mixed Gothic instance, and it is significant that one of these, with square-headed drip mouldings of sixteenth-century style, cannot possibly be of 1404. The tower must, therefore, date from 1612.

A print by S. and N. Buck entitled 'South-West Prospect of the City of Peterborough, in Northamptonshire'[9] published in 1731 shows St John's with a delicate spire set behind the surviving parapet and castellated pinnacles. This spire no longer exists, having been removed in 1818[10] to relieve the pressure on the tower arches, this in turn being perhaps aggravated by the stress caused by the new ring of eight bells cast by Dobsons of Downham Market, Norfolk, in 1808. However, before this the increasing population of Peterborough led once again to demands for more accommodation in their only church so galleries were erected, that in the south aisle in 1732, the one at the west end in 1744.[11] These are illustrated in a coloured picture preserved in the south porch of the church.

By 1818 serious deterioration had occurred, as is reported in various letters to the Vicar,[12] and modernisation was also in the air. The butt ends of the medieval oak rafters of the nave roof had rotted where they joined the north and south walls and the whole roof was in danger of collapse. The tracery of the windows had also decayed and the weight of the tower and spire was crushing the three arches at the base of the tower. These arches were therefore supported by brickwork: a photograph now in the ringing room shows them blocked up. The print of 1731, which seems quite accurate, depicts the church without clerestory windows, a defect which was corrected in 1819 (the date on the rainwater heads) when they took down the roof, raised the height of the nave by the use of a clerestory with windows and constructed a new steep-pitched roof of fir which was

[9] Brampton Park Officers' Mess, R.A.F. Brampton, Huntingdon, in passage to lounge.
[10] N.R.O., P.S.J., 156/2.
[11] *Ibid*, 140/1-2.
[12] *Ibid*, 141/4.

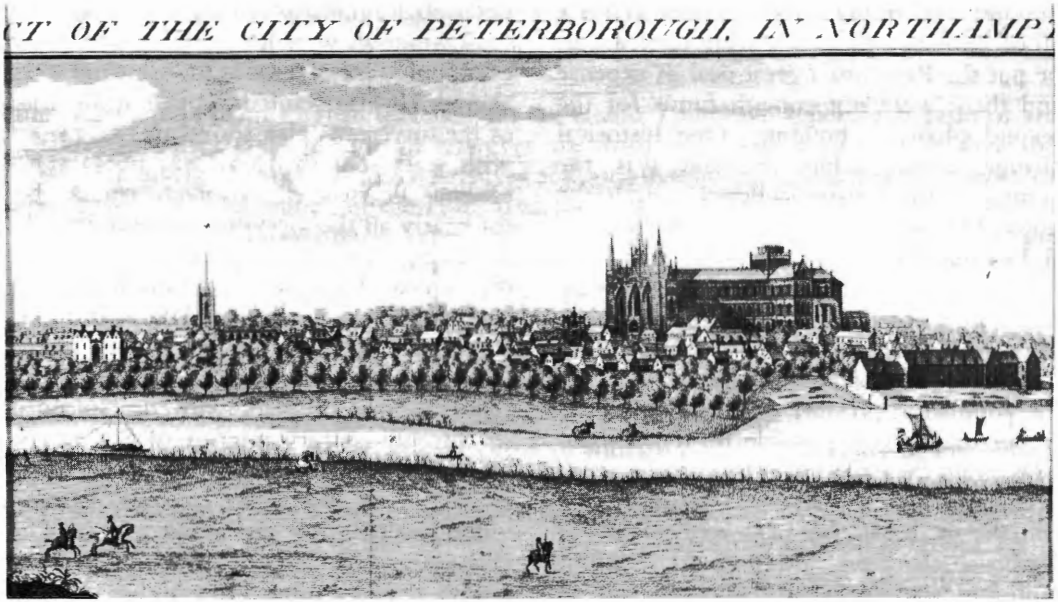


PLATE 3: PART OF S. AND N. BUCK'S 'SOUTH WEST PROSPECT OF THE CITY OF PETERBOROUGH IN NORTHAMPTON' OF 1731 showing St John's with its spire (demolished 1818)

covered with blue Welsh slates.[13] The lead from the old flat roof was sold off. Although a church rate was levied in 1820, which raised £617-0-2½*d.*, and an appeal was made to the Commissioners for Church Building for funds (this curiously does not mention the expenses which had actually been incurred but went on at length about increasing the accommodation in the church – it is possibly somewhat fraudulent as this is what was done in 1612 and the mid eighteenth century).[14] The work of this time was not really of the highest quality, perhaps due to lack of funds, and one is torn between applauding their work of preservation and agreeing with J.L.Peason's later criticisms. None of the 1818 work remains today, as it was all altered again by Pearson. One, perhaps unforgivable, act of modernisation was the conversion of the 1404 Perpendicular tracery in the aisle windows to round-headed Palladian type windows such as one sees at St Rumbald's, Stoke Doyle, Northamptonshire, although the old tracery was said to be decayed. The 1612 windows, being 200 years younger, were, of course, still quite sound and they were permitted to remain.

By 1874 John Loughborough Pearson, a Victorian architect second in fame only to Sir George Gilbert Scott, had been appointed consultant architect to Peterborough Cathedral and while at Peterborough he was asked to advise also on St John's. Pearson's original letter to the Vicar, a fascinating document running to some 10 pages, survives together with a plan of what he proposed to do, the faculty, and the itemised accounts of John Thompson, the

[13] *Ibid*, 156/5.

[14] *Ibid*, 151/1. Perhaps the Commissioners looked more favourably on plans to enlarge churches rather than fitting new roofs and so this aspect was emphasised. There are no surviving records of sums spent on pews etc and although the accommodation was said to have almost doubled it it is very difficult to see how this could have been achieved.

builder.[15] From the latter it is clear that not all of Pearson's proposals were carried out: he put the Parish to a great deal of expense and there were not enough funds for the second phase of building. One historical change which helped Pearson was the coming of the railway to Peterborough: the population was greatly increased thereby and so three new churches, St Mark (1856), St Mary (1859) and St Paul (1868), were built in the northern part of the city to cater for a greater demand for religious facilities. This had the secondary effect of reducing the population pressure on St John's to the extent that it was possible for Pearson to take down the galleries.

Pearson was in favour of restoring the church to what he perceived to be a medieval character, although he did not quite understand what had happened in previous centuries. It was mainly the work of 1818 which aroused his scorn. He described the steep-pitched roof, which after only 60 years of use can have had little wrong with it, as 'fit only for the commonest shed or outhouse' so it had to come down to be replaced by the present flat-pitched one. The clerestory was to be 'restored to its original width and height', which is a misunderstanding, there being no clerestory before 1819. Pearson also proposed to convert the round-headed Palladian aisle windows back to a medieval character and all the Perpendicular style windows, except the east one, seen at present are his work, done in 1882. He treated the Perpendicular style in a rather whimsical fashion: contrary to medieval practice most of his windows have differing patterns but one occasionally finds two which are alike. The 1612 windows were left until last and in the event only four of these at the west end were altered. He also wanted to open up the base of the tower, his plan shows this area filled with seats, but this also was not accomplished. Pearson is, however, responsible for nearly all the woodwork in the church, he designed the roof, pews, stalls, pulpit and the screens between the chancel and the chapels at the eastern ends of the aisles. This almost complete set of woodwork is the finest in Cambridgeshire of the nineteenth century, and competes with the splended seventeenth-century interior of St Mary's, Leighton Bromswold, Cambridgeshire. Having built up the clerestory Pearson found that the great east window, which he said was medieval, was now slightly too low so he had it moved to a higher position in the east wall. He also lowered the floor of the nave and, as a consequence, had to repair the bases of the arcade piers. The cost of Pearson's completed work was over £11,000.

The next, and last, building campaign came in 1907-9,[16] when the tower arches were finally opened up and strengthened, without, however, altering the mouldings, and the Nicholson window was inserted over the west doorway, which would, of course, lighten the area at the foot of the tower. During this century the chancel screen was erected in 1917 and the rood in 1938 as the Parish moved towards a more High Church form of worship.[17]

[15] *Ibid*, 167/2 and 167/5, Thompson 167/7-9.
[16] *Ibid*, 140/8, 169/4-9.
[17] *Church Guide*.

THE GRAND TOUR OF THE HON. CHARLES COMPTON

PETER McKAY

Numerous letters from English travellers on the Grand Tour have appeared in print or are well known by extract. Almost all however are from the grand tourist rather than the bear-leader. In the Compton Family Archives at Castle Ashby exists an interesting series of letters from the "Governor" of the Hon. Charles Compton (1698-1755), youngest son of George, 4th Earl of Northampton, who went on the Grand Tour between July 1717 and the late spring of 1720.[1] Few letters from a bear-leader to his charge's parents appear to have been published and because Charles Compton's Tour appears to be so typical of a particular type of tour undertaken by the aristocracy of the early eighteenth century, these letters seem worthy of wider attention.[2]

In the early eighteenth century the Grand Tour was primarily educational, designed to "finish" the young tourist with the acquisition of some foreign languages (particularly French) and the social graces. It also provided an education in the university of life (which Oxford and Cambridge, in their decline, did not) and took a raw adolescent off the hands of his parents to return him (as they hoped) polished and fit to take up his position in the world. Both Lord Burlington in 1715 and Thomas Coke in 1718 returned from their Grand Tours within months of achieving their twenty-first birthday to enter into their inheritances.

Mention of these latter also points to a further purpose of the Tour, namely the acquisition of taste (and in this period, particularly a taste for architecture). As we shall see, Charles Compton had a master for architecture while in Rome. Italy "is the great school of music and painting and contains in it all the noblest productions of Statuary and Architecture both Ancient and Modern" wrote Addison in the preface to his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1705). Dr. Hay was however less ambitious; the 'improvement' of Charles Compton was his brief and it is the sheer plainness of these letters, their preoccupation with the practical which gives them their interest. Most of them could have been written from the next county rather than some far-off country. References to conditions in Europe and to current affairs are minimal and are only mentioned when they interfere with the travellers' plans.

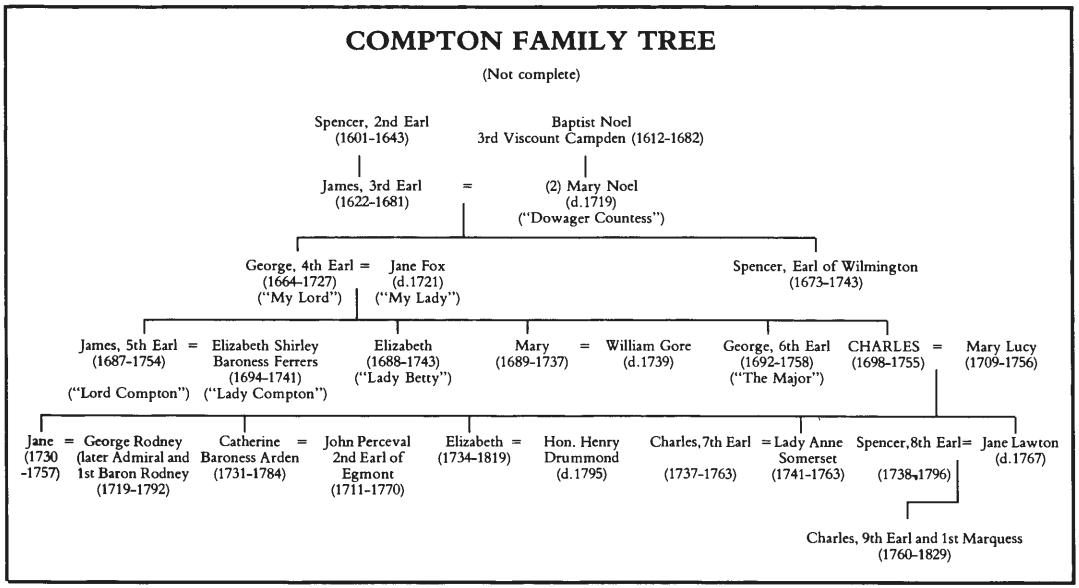
[1] The original manuscripts of the letters transcribed below are in the Compton Family Archives at Castle Ashby (FD.1187). I am most grateful to The Marquess of Northampton for permission to publish them.

This series consists of 24 letters of which 20 are from a Dr. James Hay to the Countess of Northampton. Lady Northampton usually endorsed Hay's letters with "answered (date)" and internal evidence suggests that this sequence is complete. A similar series of 39 letters from Dr. Hay and James, Lord Compton, chronicling the latter's tour between June 1707 and July 1709 is preserved amongst the Townshend Papers in the British Library (Add. MS.38507, ff.1-77). These letters are however no more informative about Dr. Hay than those transcribed above.

Modern spelling, punctuation and capitalisation have been used, though within this convention the style (i.e. English or foreign) of place names has not been changed. Abbreviations have not usually been expanded except that "-ed" has been consistently used instead of "'d" and "Lord" or "Lordship" and "Lady" or "Ladyship" are given in full. Dates are shown as written. Generally Hay dated his letters N.S. (New Style), while Lady Northampton used O.S. (Old Style, eleven days earlier). Omissions are indicated by three dots. To improve the fluency of the letters, words have occasionally been added; these are italicised. All the letters are from Hay to Lady Northampton unless otherwise indicated.

Apart from the sources mentioned in the notes, G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage* has also been extensively used as has *The History of the Comptons of Compton Wynyates* by the late (6th) Marquess of Northampton (London, 1930) which is indispensable for information about the Compton family.

[2] J. Black, *The British and The Grand Tour* (London, 1985), examines a number of aspects of the Grand Tour in the light of predominantly unpublished letters and journals. While the letters in the British Library referred to above were used, the series above was not. For extracts from other governors' letters of the early eighteenth century, see C.W. James, *Chief Justice Coke: His Family and Descendants at Holkham* (London, 1929) (Thomas Hobart on tour with Thomas Coke between 1712 and 1718); J. Curling, *Edward Wortley Montagu* (London, 1954) (John Anderson on tour with Edward Wortley Montagu in 1732); G.E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1963) (Peter Platel and Nathan Hickman on tour with the Duke of Kingston between 1726 and 1736).



The first letter from Dr. Hay is to Lady Northampton, written once he and his pupil had arrived at their "winter quarters". For this purpose the town of Montauban had been chosen. This town, about 30 miles north of Toulouse, was presumably selected for its remoteness from normal Grand Tour routes and perhaps its Huguenot sympathies. It was also reputedly a healthy place to stay.

Montauban, December 24, 1717 (endorsed: ans. January 13th O.S. 1717)

Madam,

Since I had the honour of seeing your Ladyship hitherto, it was not seasonable to opportune you with any of my letters. All that time till the 12th instant, that we got into lodgings here, we were upon the wing, either in places, or from place to place so that I could not form any particular judgement of Mr. Compton's either inclinations or acquisitions, only in general found him a young gentleman of very good natural endowments, good humoured and well mannered, which qualified him for an excellent companion . . . It's since we came hither, and that Mr. Compton begins to apply to business, that I see evidently what your Ladyship was pleased to take notice of to me, that he had, indeed, never been set in a method, else, I'm confident his improvement had been much more proportionable to his capacity. Good God, what a great deal of precious time squandered away. I dare say had he been in the hands of any honest man, five hundred miles from London, that knew anything of the matter, he would have improved more in three years, in letters, languages and numbers than he has done all the years that he spent in school and university.[3] *He seems indeed to be very sensible of it and very willing to retrieve what he can, goes cheerfully about what he is put to.*

I'm sure whatever I have done for myself, I have chosen the fittest place in France for him; no Englishman within forty miles of him, looses as few minutes as possible, has one to hear him read and explain French and examine his translation from one language into the other. He has a dancing master come to him twice a day. He has one to teach him arithmetic.

The place is very pleasant and wholesome; the people civil and courteous, especially the fine sex, gracious & free in their conversation, modest and prudent in their behaviour. He generally spends a part of the evening with them so that, except it be from me, he hears nothing but French and consequently must needs pick it up. And as for arithmetic, I'll answer for it that he'll know as much of it, both in integers and fractions as will be sufficient for a man of business before he leaves this place. *So that there is nothing wanting here but a fencing master, nor is there any nearer than Toulouse where there is an English colony and where consequently he would lose more than he could get by fencing . . . He has truly sufficient upon his hands and thus with the entire freedom of the*

[3] Like his brothers, Charles had been to Eton, 1706-7 and Christ Church, Oxford where he matriculated in October 1714. R. A. Austen-Leigh, *The Eton College Register 1698-1752* (Eton, 1927), p.79 and J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (1968 reprint), Vol. I, p.314.

PLATES 1 AND 2: GEORGE, 4TH EARL OF NORTHAMPTON AND JANE (FOX) HIS WIFE, THE PARENTS OF THE HON. CHARLES COMPTON
(*A History of the Comptons of Compton Wynyates*)

gentleman, he improves in the exercises of the scholar without the least tincture of the pedantry of the academic. Which account, I believe, will not be unacceptable to your Ladyship.

And now it's time to draw near an end but being Christmas Eve, I cannot omit wishing your Ladyship and all the honourable family, including my Lord and my Lady Compton, a happy Christmas and many a happy New Year in health and prosperity.

If your Ladyship will honour me with a line, be pleased to address it thus: A Monsieur Monsieur Jaques Hay, Chez Monsr. Gordon, Banquier Ecossais à Paris.[4] *I conclude with my most humble service to the Earl of Northampton and all the honourable family and remain, Madam, your Ladyship's most humble and obedient servant.*

Ja: Hay

Lady Northampton replied as follows: (copy letter dated January 16th 1717/18)

. . . The account you give of him agrees so perfectly with what I told you that you may find (though . . . I was very sensible what was wanting . . .) that Nature had been very liberal to him & has endowed him with such a capacity as makes him capable of what he pleases . . . If he will pursue the paths of virtue & be industrious in what he is about, I doubt not but he will be very capable to follow some sort of business at his return home . . .

My Lord & I both send our blessings to Charles . . . Pray tell the young gentleman I think he might write a little oftener.

So the winter was passed at Montauban and the next letter comes from Dr. Hay as the travellers made their way towards Italy.

[4] Probably the same William Gordon whom the Jacobite Lord Pitsligo used both as a banker and for *poste restante* facilities in 1719. *Lord Pitsligo's Narrative . .* in *The Jacobite Court at Rome in 1719*, ed. H. Tayler (Publication of the Scottish History Society, 3rd series, vol XXXI) (Edinburgh, 1938), pp. 78-94.

Marseilles, March 25, 1718 (endorsed: ans. May 6th O.S. 1718)

Your Ladyship's of the 16th of January came to my hand ten days ago at Montpellier, being obliged to leave Montauban sooner than I at first designed by an indisposition which *seized my stomach, that I was fain to have recourse to the waters of Balaruc*[5] *in the neighbourhood of Montpellier by which I found some benefit and now intend to make the best of my way into Italy to see what good influence that benign air may have upon me. Nor indeed did I judge it very convenient for Mr. Compton to stay much longer in his winter quarters; the time of the Carnival*[6] *gave me an opportunity to alter my opinion of the place . . .*

I gave Mr. Compton the reading of your Ladyship's letter to let him *know over and over again what was expected of him . . .*

Where he is going now is like to be the place of his longest abode while abroad, and indeed the most proper for his improvement of any I know. Rome, I mean, if he'll be so good to himself as not neglect his time . . .

Direct your Ladyship's letters henceforth to the care of Messieurs Williams and Smith, Marchands Anglais à Venice[7] *. . .*

P.S. We embark in this place for Genoa Wednesday next.

The journey to Genoa was a difficult one and the next letter Dr. Hay wrote was from Rome. He had made his own way to Rome leaving Charles at Siena. The choice of Siena is not surprising; it was a suitable compromise of relative obscurity and provincial courtesy. As a place it received a unanimously good press from eighteenth-century writers. Addison referred to "the cleanliness of its streets; the beauty of its piazza".[8]

Horace Walpole found it "old and very snug".[9] Peter Beckford in about 1787 wrote "you cannot pass a summer more pleasantly than at Siena . . . Nor will you find so much courtesy and so much cordiality in any other town in Italy".[10] Smollett commented "The city is large and well built; the inhabitants pride themselves upon their politeness and the purity of their dialect. Certain it is some strangers reside in this place on purpose to learn the best pronunciation of the Italian tongue".[11] It may have been for this reason that Charles was put to work there.

Rome, May 21 1718 (endorsed: ans. June 5th N.S. 1718, though this appears to be an error for June 5th O.S.)

My last to your Ladyship was from Marseilles, which place I left the 1st April in company with Mr. Compton and Sir George Brown[12] *in a felucca for Genoa, where, meeting with crosswinds and storms, we arrived only the tenth day. All that time Mr. Compton was the only passenger that escaped being seasick nor indeed was he in his voyage from England to Holland, no more than if he had been born a native Tarpawlian.*

At Genoa we stayed 13 days where meeting with an opportunity of the Preston,[13] *an English man of war, Capt. Johnson Commander, and being kindly importuned to pass with him to Leghorn, we accepted of it and arrived the sixth day at Leghorn where we stayed three days and being informed there of the numerous train of*

[5] Balaruc is a village about 20 miles south-west of Montpellier, just off the coast road between Toulouse and Marseilles.

[6] i.e. the week before Lent.

[7] Thomas Williams appears to have founded his bank in Venice in the 1680s and it was used by the British Government to channel funds to the Austrians during the War of the Spanish Succession. Joseph Smith ("Consul" Smith) appears to have joined the bank in about 1700. Thomas Williams returned to England in 1711 leaving Smith to conduct the Venice end of the business which at that stage already included the procurement of works of art. See F. Vivian, *Il Console Smith, Mercante e Collezionista* (Vicenza, 1971), Chapter 1.

[8] J. Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (London, 1705), p.391.

[9] Letter to Richard West, 22 March 1740. *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. P. Toynbee (Oxford, 1903), Vol. I, p.53.

[10] *Familiar Letters from Italy*, quoted in *The Grand Tour in Italy* by P. F. Kirby (New York, 1952), p.133.

[11] T. Smollett, *Travels through France and England*, ed. F. Felsenstein (Oxford, 1979), p.242.

[12] The departure of Sir Robert (sic) Brown and Mr. Compton, "two very honest gentlemen", from France was reported to the Pretender's court on 5 April 1718. "We drank his Majesty's health and yours (the Duke of Mar's) and they design to go and see his Majesty if it be possible without danger." *HMC Stuart Papers*, Vol. VI (1916), p.253. Sir George Brown was probably the son of Sir John Brown(e) of Caversham, Oxfordshire. He succeeded to the baronetcy in c.1692 on the death of his brother after a career in the Austrian army. He died in 1730. G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Baronetage*, Vol. IV, p.14.

[13] The *Preston* was on its way to Constantinople to collect Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and her husband at the conclusion of his embassy there. R. Halsband, *The Life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (Oxford, 1956), p.79.

FIG 1: ROUTE OF THE HON. CHARLES COMPTON'S GRAND TOUR OF 1717-20
(Peter Taylor)

English young gentlemen that were at Rome, it was then that I was at no small trouble to dispose of Mr. Compton . . . But arriving at Florence where we stayed 13 nights and had audience of the Great Duke[14] *and knowing that the Great Princess*[15] *resided as Governess at Siena, my concern began to diminish . . . So leaving Florence the 13th instant, we arrived that evening at Siena, the next day was presented to the Great Princess . . . I told* her Mr. Compton *had a mind to stay some time at Siena under Her Highness' protection. Next day* we *went and saw her Highness dine in public (which she does every day). She ordered her Great Chamberlain to retain us to dinner by which means Mr. Compton had an opportunity to be known to the best gentlemen of the Court . . .* I *settled him in a good pension, gave him his masters, regulated, in writing, all his necessary expenses, left with him (also in writing) an easy method how to make a quick and easy improvement in his studies of languages, history and mathematics with some advices what company to keep and what to avoid. Engaged a gentleman to lend him whatever books he would call for, summing up all with "Now or Never" and an expression in the Countess of Northampton's letter that he can have no further reason for negligence . . .*

Mr. Compton wrote both from Leghorn and Siena to the Earl of Northampton the necessity he lay under of drawing for a hundred pounds at this time, his purse being exhausted a while before he left France, and being just coming into Italy I did not think it advisable to draw there since he might lose considerably by bringing French money into Italy. Sir George Brown advanced him the whole value of a hundred pounds betwixt what he lent him in France and the rest at Leghorn and this completes the two hundred and fifty pounds I told his Lordship it would cost him the first year.

He bought a fine summer suit at Florence.

He acquainted my Lord which way he might remit Sir George his money to Mr. Gordon in Paris which I doubt not but will be done forthwith. For the future it will be much more convenient to lodge fifty pounds quarterly in Mr. Williams' hands to be remitted to him every quarter day since it will cost him less that way than by drawing. He'll have enough *to serve him sufficiently at Siena till his quarter day which expires the 13th July O.S. against which time Mr. Williams may remit it to his correspondent at Venice and for the rest of the time he is to stay at Siena, I can remit him from this place. Mr. Williams lives in a little court upon the left hand without Bishopgate* (sic), *and this method may continue while he stays in Italy. I shall write to Venice that they may expect fifty pounds against such a time and to acquaint me when it comes to their hand . . .*

Dr. Hay's letter of 21 May would scarcely have reached Lady Northampton before he was writing again to justify his decision to settle Charles in Siena while he himself went to Rome.

Rome, June 18 1718 (endorsed: ans. August 10th O.S. 1718)

. . . Mine to your Ladyship of the 21st May from this place will give you a full account how advantageously Mr. Compton is disposed of in respect both to air and improvement which no doubt will please both your Ladyship and the Earl of Northampton . . .

I hear from him and write to him every week . . . so that he must needs advance in all that I propose to him in the while he is to stay there and truly he is happy not to be here at this time where it is considerably hotter than ever I saw it so early in the year and three times more British noblemen and gentlemen than there has been at any time since the Holy Year. There are no less than four noblemen[16] *with their governors and . . . eighteen gentlemen who flock together every day and not two of them frequents any other company. I do not see what better contrivance could be fallen upon in nature for Mr. Compton's advantage than what is done where he sees no persons but strangers and that the best persons of both sexes, besides his different masters . . .*

This letter seems to betray a degree of nervousness about the reaction of Charles's parents to the separation. In this he was correct as we shall see from the next letter. What business Dr. Hay had in Rome we do not know nor is there any hint of it in the correspondence, but it was not too unusual for a governor and pupil to have a holiday from one another. Thomas Coke's

[14] Cosimo III (1641-1723), 6th Grand Duke 1670-1723.

[15] Princess Violante Beatrice of Bavaria (1672-1725), the widow of Cosimo's eldest son, Ferdinand who died in 1713. In 1717 the princess was appointed Governess of Siena, where she patronised a number of literati and musicians. H. Acton, *The Last Medici* (London, 1932), pp. 290-2.

[16] Two of whom can probably be identified, namely Lord Lempster (see below) and the Duke of Queensberry, both of whom commissioned paintings from William Kent in the autumn of 1718. M. I. Wilson, *William Kent* (London, 1984), p.19. The Duke of Queensberry (but not Lord Lempster) is mentioned in one of two lists of English visitors in Rome on 1 January 1718. *HMC Stuart Papers*, Vol. V, (1912), pp.351-2.

governor, Dr. Thomas Hobart, left his charge for nearly six months between August 1717 and February 1718, reuniting only in Paris for the final leg of the journey home.

But Lord Northampton's reaction was not favourable. His letter does not survive, but Dr. Hay's reply starts as follows:

Rome, July 16 N.S. 1718 (not endorsed)
My Lord,
The last post from Venice brought me the favour of your Lordship's of the 1st June from Ashby, signifying your displeasure for having left Mr. Compton at Siena . . . I was not so great a stranger to Mr. Compton's genius but I foresaw the inconveniences which *would attend his coming hither at this time where there are so many English gentlemen . . .*

The rest of the letter continues in the same tone of self justification and a week later Dr. Hay followed this up with a further letter to Lady Northampton. This rehearsed the previous arguments but ended with a request to Lady Northampton to write to her son.

Rome, July 23 N.S. 1718 (not endorsed)
. . . Now I entreat your Ladyship that you write pretty soon to this effect: give him a full account of mine to your Ladyship of the 21 May; leave him entirely inexcusable if he in the *least neglect the injunctions that I left with him in writing with express orders not to move from Siena till I call for him . . .*

Lord and Lady Northampton were presumably satisfied by Hay's arguments and no further objections were made. The next letter is no longer defensive in tone and Dr. Hay reports his future plans.

Rome, September 29 N.S. 1718 (endorsed: ans. but without date)
Last night I had the honour of your Ladyship's of the 10th August O.S. from Ashby and this day I send Mr. Compton his that came along with it . . . As to conditions in Rome *there is not a person alive today that has ever seen either so long or so hot a summer as this has been . . . yet, God be thanked, none of our young gentlemen have been anything the worse for it. They are now beginning to drop off, the weather being somewhat moderated. We still have here – and is to stay a month longer – one of the choicest of them, your Ladyship's neighbour in the country, my Lord Lempster, a truly virtuous, sensible and worthy young nobleman, of a close application to his improvement and a true pattern to all youth for moderation, virtue and sweet temper*[17]*. Happy is his lady mother in such a worthy son . . .*
Tomorrow I retire into the country for some few days to cool my lungs of the late flames. At my return I shall call for Mr. Compton to come hither . . .

The reunion was reported as follows:

Rome, December 24 1718 (endorsed: ans. January 18 O.S. 1718)
. . . It was but a few days before that Mr. Compton and I joined, and now, I hope, nothing but providence or England will separate us. I must do him justice . . . he has improved in French, Italian and numbers during his stay at Siena. . . .
My Lord as well as your Ladyship must be sensible that he is exposed to much more expenses here than in any place he has been hitherto. There being very ordinary gentlemen here who keep their coaches[18]*, he cannot decently be without one, and I believe the other fifty pounds extraordinary will not be grudged him for your own honour and his encouragement . . . Be it as it will, he shall have it and if you do not send him sufficiently to pay for it, there is nothing more easy for me than to pawn him, and I know you'll be very glad to relieve him!*

[17] Thomas Fermor, 2nd Baron Leominster (Lempster) (1697-1753), created 1st Earl of Pontefract (Pomfret) in 1721. Son and heir of Sir William Fermor (1648-1711), the builder of Easton Neston. The fact that there is a portrait of Sir William Fermor at Castle Ashby suggests a measure of friendship between the two families.

[18] Coaches were the great status symbol for the Grand Tourist in Rome. See for example J. Fleming, *Robert Adam and his Circle* (London, 1962), p.158 and *Memoirs of Thomas Jones*, Walpole Society Vol. 26 (Oxford, 1951), p.71.

Living is by far dearer here than ever I saw it before, the Government is sank so weighty upon the people. I shall trouble your Ladyship with an example of it in two instances, that it is impossible to live without. In a pound of meat that is sold for seventeen quadrins, the Government has nine. In bread sold for five, the government has three. Happy England that lies under such taxes, that in an age nobody is heard to complain and may that happiness grow daily upon them . . .

It is tempting to suppose that the xenophobic sentiments expressed in this letter were intended to "trouble" the Pretender's spies rather than Lady Northampton or the English censors of incoming foreign mail.

Lady Northampton's reply is preserved in undated copy form. It is clear from Hay's letter of 4 March, however, that the original was dated 18 January O.S. Having reported a fit of gout she continued:

. . . I did impatiently wish to hear that Charles & you was together again, to know how you found he had employed his time during his stay in Siena and I do assure you it was the greatest satisfaction to me in the world to hear from you that you found he had improved himself . . . My Lord will comply with the other £50 as you desire since My Lord is willing to give him all encouragement that may complete a good education not doubting but you will be very careful not to encourage him in any extraordinary expenses . . .

Hay replied with conventional condolences about the gout and thanked Lady Northampton for "complying with it", (*i.e.* the request for money). He then went on to describe his life in Rome and his intentions for 1719.

Rome, March 4th N.S. 1719 (endorsed: ans. April 14th)

. . . He has his three masters a day (besides the time he passes with me), his fencing, language and architect master; I will not say that he's gone so regularly during the last two months, being the time of the Carnival, but there was no help for that . . . As I left at Siena a regulation of his hours with him, I have given another in writing since the Carnival is past, which he has promised to observe punctually.

In all probability – before I shall have the honour of a return to this – immediately after Easter, we shall go for Naples and pass perhaps one month there and *so return hither. But where we shall pass the summer, I am not yet determined though my inclination is most for this place; yet if I find it in the least troublesome upon the account of countrymen, I have choice enough of places in Italy where to pass it to Mr. Compton's advantage. The present disturbances in Sicily has barred us from that country but God send a firm, reasonable peace . . .*[19]

Before Lady Northampton's reply could have reached him, Hay wrote again:

Rome, April 8 1719 (endorsed: ans. May 4th O.S. 1719)

In my letter to your Ladyship of 4th March, I mentioned that before I should have the honour of a return to that, I should go to Naples with Mr. Compton, which, God willing, I design to do the next week. But at the same time omitted to desire your Ladyship to remit the hundred pounds to Mr. Compton's use – which is the allowance for the remaining part of the year, which indeed would be wanting before it could arrive here and much more so now since in all probability, it will not be done before this comes to your Ladyship's hands. However since in all probability he is to go in good company who may be somewhat better provided than himself, he is not like to be driven to very hard necessities but may make a shift to subsist until that arrives . . .

[19] By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Sicily was ceded by Spain to Duke Victor Amadeus of Savoy – Piedmont. This brought the aspiring house of Piedmont a royal title, King of Sicily and Jerusalem. The Piedmontese did not succeed in establishing themselves in Sicily and in June 1718 the Spaniards invaded, thus sparking off the War of the Quadruple Alliance with Britain and Austria supporting Piedmont against the Spanish aggression. The British Mediterranean fleet under Admiral Byng defeated the Spanish navy off Cape Passaro to secure the straits of Messina, which enabled the Austrian army under General Seckendorf to launch a counter-invasion. An armistice was agreed in February 1720 and, by the Treaty of London, Sicily became part of the Austrian empire, Piedmont being compensated with the Kingdom of Sardinia from Austria. D. Mack Smith, *Modern Sicily after 1713* (London, 1968), pp.243-58.

There are unfortunately no letters written either from Naples or on the journey to or from that city. It was in any event a short visit; by 10 June Dr. Hay and his pupil were both back in Rome and thoughts of a return home begin to appear.

Rome, June 10th 1719 (endorsed: ans. June 28th O.S. 1719)

The last week at my return hither from Naples, I had the honour of your Ladyship's of the 14th April. It might have come sooner to my hand but went so far as Naples whence it was sent back hither to me. Mr. Compton is this far returned from Naples homeward. It is true that, however my intentions were of leaving this place this summer, I had no manner of inclination to leave Italy so soon & now Mr. Compton, seeming to take some delight in language and architecture, desires earnestly to pass the summer here as the most proper place to acquire them in. I own I'm no ways averse to humour him *in it, especially considering that not intending to move out of Italy, it is but just to stay where he can, if he pleases, improve most. But if your Ladyship be very desirous to have him in England, it is but commanding and I'll make it my business to obey, so that, God willing, your Ladyship may have him before Christmas.*

This I think your Ladyship judges aright, you may find yourself at a loss, at this time, what to do with him when you have him or how to apply him so well as where he is – except your Ladyship has got an extravagantly rich match in store for him & then he'll go all the way past. All I can say is, as due is, your Ladyship's orders will be punctually obeyed & executed . . .

Hardly had Dr. Hay sent off the above than he was writing again.

Rome, June 17 N.S. 1719 (endorsed: ans. September 14 O.S.)

Tho' I wrote to your Ladyship this day sev'night, yet, having by this last post received the honour of your Ladyship's of *the 4th May O.S., I'm fain to give your Ladyship the trouble of this also in return to it. The same post brought also orders from Venice to pay Mr. Compton the value of a hundred pounds, which was done, of which a good part was spent before it came to hand. It's true it lay some time at Venice but* I *would not call for it before our return from Naples, tho' I hope what remains will suffice to complete the year, that is the 24 July N.S.*

My last will satisfy your Ladyship as to what determined me to pass the summer here, after which, when Mr. Compton has seen Venice and the best part of Lombardy, we'll see, God willing, to pass the winter in some convenient town in France where he cannot find many of his countrymen. And I hope that you'll find that he has redeemed some time by his being abroad, at least in languages and numbers and some exercises. Nor will there be any more pleading for additional allowance . . .

The rest of the letter above continues with a substantial paragraph (13 lines) about General Seckendorf's invasion of the island of Lipari which "I had the last post from Naples". Perhaps topicality was the chief reason for including it but the General's reported ferocity in sparing "none but big bellied women and children" was remarkable in view of the relatively civilised conventions of eighteenth-century warfare.

The next letter was written towards the end of the summer in reply to Lady Northampton's letter of 28 June (O.S.). Lady Northampton's letter does not survive but it is clear that she was not entirely happy with Hay's decision to pass the summer in Rome.

Rome, August 12 N.S. 1719 (not endorsed)

. . . I hope . . . your Ladyship has received mine of the 17th of the same month which proves a full answer to this last of your Ladyship's to me for it will inform your Ladyship why I was determined to pass the summer here . . . I thank your Ladyship for approving of a resolution I have made a while ago never to travel in the winter except necessity oblige me . . .

But the summer soon passed and in the autumn Dr. Hay and his pupil moved on. Exactly when they left Rome and by what route they travelled north is not revealed but some time in September or October they arrived in Venice whence Hay's next letter was written.

Venice November 3 1719 (not endorsed)

It's now a fortnight since I received here the honour of your Ladyship's of the 14 September. I little thought at that time to trouble your Ladyship with an answer to it from this place, expecting to do it from Turin, being fully determined to leave it the 19th of the last. But the weather came on so extremely rainy that there was no possibility of travelling, tho' now it begins to hold up, yet will take some time to make the roads practicable for such as travel after our manner. All which, I suppose, Mr. Compton informed your Ladyship of in his letter of this day sev'night . . .

After expressing condolences on the death of "the late Countess dowager of Northampton", the letter continues:

I'm sorry your Ladyship's commands for Naples soap[20] were not sent to me six months ago . . . however by good luck I have a small parcel but not near so much as I would have got for your Ladyship had I received your commands more seasonably. Wednesday last the E. of Burlington[21] left this place intending for England. He stayed here a fortnight. I wish we could afford to travel after his manner but without his train . . .

In fact the travellers stayed a further month in Venice before moving on, visiting the major cities of northern Italy en route.

Grenoble, December 27 1719 (endorsed: ans. January 12th O.S. 1719)

In my last to your Ladyship from Venice in November, I told you we were to leave that place the 23rd of that month. But there fell such a prodigious deal of rain before that time, that it not only made travelling impracticable that the rivers overflowed the whole country to a degree that had not been known in three hundred years before, drowning several hundreds of such sort of *Christians as the country afforded besides cattle, houses, bridges that the finest monument that the great Palladio left of that nature over the River Brenta near Bassano was carried away by the violence of the torrent.[22] And the fine city of Verona suffered more damage by the overflowing of the Adige than can be repaired by some millions of ducats. This obliged us to stay* until *the 2nd instant that the weather seemed to be settled and the roads more practicable which day we left Venice, visiting Padua, Vicenza (betwixt which two places we found very bad roads[23]), Verona, all its curiosities with the mischief the Adige made there, Brescia, Milan and arrived the 15th at Turin.*

The 16th I went to wait upon Baron Rebender, Chief General of his Sicilian Majesty's army, formerly well known to my Lord Compton, and indeed he asked very kindly for his Lordship as did his Lady, who is Irish.[24] I told them *I hoped his Lordship very well, that his youngest brother was in town and had a desire to do himself the honour to wait upon them and by this means to wait upon Madame Royale, the King and Queen being at Tivoli, 12 miles out of town. He told me Madame Royale received none but such as first waited upon the King and Queen and that himself would go along with us and present him to the King, which he did the 18th, first to the King, the Prince of Piedmont being present. His Majesty entertained him a full half hour; he was next presented to the Queen, to the Princess of Carignian and that day he had the honour to see them all at dinner. That evening he was presented to Madame Royale at which court he passed two hours. The next night the General presented him to the Princess Mary of Carignian who seven years ago was not very indifferent for my Lord Compton and indeed she asked very kindly for him. She is a princess of an extraordinary spirit, she*

[20] Soap is not mentioned as an export by Henry Swinburne in his survey of the economy of the Kingdom of Naples, *Travels in the Two Sicilies* (2nd edition, London, 1790), Vol. I, pp. 110-27, but Burrell Massingberd of Ormsby, Lincolnshire ordered Naples soap from William Kent in 1713 (Wilson, *William Kent*, p.9).

[21] Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington (1694-1753). Burlington had already completed one Grand Tour of about twelve months in 1714-15, a tour which gives little indication of the passion for the architecture of Andrea Palladio to which Burlington appears to have been "converted" in about 1716. A second tour of about six months was therefore undertaken in the summer of 1719 in order "to get architects to draw all the fine buildings of Palladio". J. Lees-Milne, *Earls of Creation* (London, 1962), p.122.

[22] The bridge referred to was built (of wood) by Palladio in 1569 over the River Brenta at Bassano della Grappa, a small town in the foothills about 20 miles north of Vicenza. The bridge itself is described and illustrated in the *Four Books*, Book III, Chapter IX. While this bridge has been repaired often over the centuries, Palladio's basic design has been preserved.

[23] They were probably still flooded.

[24] James, Lord Compton, stayed in Turin between November 1708 and April 1709, but the letters he and Dr. Hay wrote during that period do not mention Baron Rebender. British Library, Add. MS.38507, ff. 50-62.

entertained the young gentleman with an hour's conversation as agreeably as ever he was in his life. The 20th we left the Court of Turin, well satisfied with all he had seen, as he had reason. The last three days we dined always with the General and at parting he *sent us ten bottles of his good wine to help us over the hills . . .*

In six days and a half we passed the hills and arrived here yesterday, thank God, in very good health, having indeed suffered some smart cold by the way. Mr. Compton will divert your Ladyship in a winter's evening more with a relation of this part of his travels than any other part. Crossing such prodigious hills that astonished him at the very sight of them in a season when winter appeared in its most dismal, horrible aspect; he can tell you how he was like to leap down the most half of Mont Cenis all at once and God knows whither next, passing all along the habitation of grey wolves, white partidges, grisly bears, white hares, ramping wild goats, furious pole cats, crows quite different from what he hath seen anywhere else that are distinguished by a more shrill harmonious tone than those you have in England and other strange, hideous monsters whose names I do not know because not mentioned in history.

And what is most remarkable in this country is that a great part of the fair sex have a singular advantage above all those in other nations; the older they grow they increase the more in beauty, and yet I dare say, none of the English ladies would change with them either climate, constitution or complexion.

Thus your Ladyship has a sketch of the mountain travels. I refer the rest to be enlarged upon by Mr. Compton when he has the honour to wait upon your Ladyship. He may say that in one year he has suffered the greatest heat and greatest cold that ever he is like to do in his lifetime, except he has the curiosity to return the same way again . . .

All the damage . . . suffered in this journey fell to the share of your Ladyship's most humble servant. I had the misfortune to lose him who was my bed companion during the heats of the last summer; he continued gay & healthy all the way from Rome even till we passed Mont Cenis, very constantly with us except three weeks he made escapade at Venice, a city of Vast Gallantry, yet as if he had no mind to part, returned again four nights before we left the place. He was longer than I at the very entry of the hills, he seemed not to like them, yet at noon and night ceased not to be diverting and never more than the night before he died . . . We sent him before with the baggage but being a native of the gentle mild climate of Rome he could not resist so very rigorous a frost, it killed him downright. He *died as he lived, quietly without either sigh, sob or groan, regretting, as I believe, nothing more than to leave his bones in such a barbarous country. Which we never perceived till arriving at St. Michael at night, found him quite expired to our no small regret.*

The ground was so hard with the frost that we could not make a decent burial place for him. Mr. Compton was one of his chief mourners yet I could never prevail with him to exercise his poetic vein and make a handsome epitaph upon him. We recommended him to the physician of the place, who I believe, honoured him with a burial place in his guts for he was a delicate morsel. But for his sake, I'll never entertain such another Roman companion.

Being only arrived here last night & this proving a post day, I have yet had no time to see the place, and consequently can give your Ladyship no account of it, but must refer to it the next . . .

P.S. Your Ladyship may direct your letters as formerly to the care of Mr. Gordon, Banquier, at Paris. I cannot tell where they'll find us but probably it may be here. My landlord in Seymour Court can inform any of your Ladyship's servants where his correspondent lives, so let the money that is to be sent be negotiated with him at the best rate that *can be had. It is true there is none due before the 13th of the next month O.S. but Venice is no cheap place to live at ten weeks and continual travelling since.*

Grenoble, January 18 1720 (endorsed: ans. 25th January *O.S. 1719)*

*I wrote to your Ladyship at our first arrival here which was the 27*th *of the last month, but at that time, as I mentioned, could give no account of the place. But* we *did not continue long in that ignorance. The next day we waited upon Count Medans, Commander in Chief in the province and soon afterwards upon other honourable persons of both sexes. As well people of learning, as gentlemen of the sword with whom young and old may pass the evenings very agreeably. The mornings and afternoons Mr. Compton passes with me and at his exercises and the evenings, twice a week in an assembly of learned gentlemen, once a week at a concert of music and the other evenings in an honourable assembly of ladies and gentlemen in the same house where we lodge . . .*

But what I must regret heartily is that a cruel misfortune that happens me in England will oblige me to go thither sooner than I thought of, and consequently give me the smart mortification of parting with one of the best yet of *the many companions that ever travelled, several months before the time I proposed except your Ladyship give positive orders to recall him before. I wish his uncle Mr. Spencer Compton had the same hearty kindness for him that I have. I believe his honourable parents should be very little troubled with him.*

However our journey homeward will not be so precipitous but that I'll endeavour to make the remnant part of his travels as pleasant and useful to him as what is past. Our longest stay will be in Burgundy where I have the

greatest fund of good acquaintances and am afraid must be very short at Paris, all things being so exorbitant there, according to the accounts we have daily from it, that they are increased ten fold to what they were . . .

Comments about everything being exceedingly dear in Paris at this time were not exaggerated. The huge amount of liquidity which the financier John Law had created with the paper money issues of his Banque Royale and the expansion of credit when his Company of the Indies assumed the national debt produced rapid inflation and a scarcity of goods, particularly in Paris. In February Lord Strafford's agent in Paris was writing to England to request two pairs of good leather shoes.[25]

The letters below provide an interesting commentary on Paris in the months after the peak but before the final collapse of Law's system. In England the House of Commons had accepted the South Sea Company's offer to assume the national debt on 2 February. The "Bubble" was to develop over the summer of 1720 and collapse by the autumn.

Beaune in Burgundy, March 19 1720 (not endorsed)

*. . . I deferred sending any return to it (*Lady Northampton's letter of 25 January O.S.*) until I should have an account of a commission that I gave an intimate friend, my Lord Milsington's[26] governor, who parted with me at Lyons to go for Paris, to inform me how he would find that place as to convenience & which he was so good as to send me the last week which I send your Ladyship here in his own words:-*

We have been here these three days, where hitherto we have found nothing agreeable, everything excessively dear and hardly to be come at. You cannot imagine how much I'm hurried to procure bare necessaries and they hardly to be got. We have been three nights and have not slept the quarter of one, too happy not to have spent them in the street.

*Indeed as your Ladyship mentioned in your first (*i.e. of 12th January O.S.*), never was there any such doings in the world . . . if some few have gained millions, many hundreds have lost thousands . . . After we shall have stayed some few more days here, where we have very good company, we'll step on to Dijon where we shall wait the return to a letter I sent by this post to a friend at Paris, whence people begin to decamp as fast as they went thither, the most of them pesting, cursing and blaspheming that at the same time it's a matter of horror and pity to hear them. But in the main they owe it to their own levity . . .*

As this Grand Tour drew to its conclusion there were thoughts of a family meeting in Paris, a prospect which daunted Dr. Hay.

Dijon, April 2nd N.S. 1720 (endorsed: ans. 10th April O.S.)

. . . Mine of the 19th of the last month from Beaune will satisfy your Ladyship as to the time we designed to be in London but . . . I can anticipate it very near a month if your Ladyship thinks it convenient, or wait the Major's arrival at Paris[27] – if he sets out soon after this comes to your Ladyship's hand because I would contrive our stay at Paris but very short, the living there being very inconvenient upon many accounts. Besides the great dearth of the place, there are assassinating, murdering and robbing in the streets every day so that the Greve there is as well employed as ever Tyburn was near London. And no less person than the Count of Horn, a young nobleman of three and twenty years of age was broke publicly there upon the wheel the other day, with some of his accomplices of no mean note, for murdering and robbing . . .

In fact Charles Compton and Dr. Hay did go to Paris – it was an inevitable decision. No Grand Tour would be complete without a visit to the centre of elegance and style. We may suppose however that Dr. Hay was not entirely in favour of a visit to a city in such a state of unrest.

Paris, April 16 1720 (endorsed: ans. 16th April *O.S.)*

Perhaps this trouble will not be very unpleasant to your Ladyship when it informs you that Mr. Compton, after a tedious, troublesome, fatiguing, expensive journey betwixt this place *and Dijon for eight days together is*

[25] J. Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble* (London, 1961), p. 118.
[26] See footnote 30 below.
[27] Charles's elder brother, George Compton, later 6th Earl of Northampton.

at length God be thanked, arrived safe in this place and I may say in very great state – being driven one half of the road in a coach with eight horses and the other half with ten horses – none else in the coach with him but his humble servant except for sixteen leagues out *of sixty-eight, for few people come into town now, but many leaving it as fast as they came to it six months ago, some of them glutted with millions, others with curses and imprecations and these last by far the greatest number.*

Being arrived only last night, I can give your Ladyship very little account of the place, only that it abounds with cruel murders and assassinations and everything excessively dear . . .

Charles Compton wrote to his mother on the same day as follows:

Paris, April the 16 N.S. 1720 (endorsed: ans. 16 April *O.S.)*

Dear Madam,

I received your Ladyship's letter of February the 15th when I was at Dijon for *which I give your Ladyship a great many thanks. In a few days after the receipt of yours we left that place and after eight tedious days we arrived at this place where we hear nothing talked of but millions – but now no more to be got; people go away as fast as they came some time past. I suppose London will have some of them. We hear here that millions are to be got there now as easy as they got them here.*[28] *I hope if that is true my friends will have their share.*[29]

I was sorry to find by your letter that you had been ill of the gout; I hope it was not very severe nor a long indisposition, but that you were soon able to partake of the pleasures that town affords.

I am not able to tell you any of this place *yet being arrived very lately, this is but the second day. I hear a great number of my countrymen are here. I have seen but few, my Lord Milsington*[30]*, one who is almost my next neighbour, but found him very much out of order, an ague having been his companion for some time, which I remember to be a very bad one but, now he* has *got quit of it, I hope he will soon be well. My Lord Portmore*[31] *was here but is gone to Versailles. There are a great many more that I do not know so make no mention of them. News, I don't know one word so must let alone till another time. The Parliament we hear will sit long this year, if that is true I suppose you will be obliged to be in London longer perhaps than your Ladyship would choose to be. If that is so, probably the first agreeable meeting I shall have with you will be there. I won't trouble you any longer at present for now being settled I shall often do myself the pleasure to write to your Ladyship.*

I beg you to believe me,

Dear Madam,

Pray give me duty to my father and service to all friends.

Your Ladyship's dutiful son
Charles Compton

In fact the stay in Paris lasted a little over a month, though the two remaining letters from Paris give us very little idea how the time was spent. The first from Dr. Hay is chiefly about money.

[28] The price of South Sea Stock had been fluctuating violently during March 1720 as the South Sea Bill made its way through Parliament. From about 170 in early March, the stock reached 400 on 21 March when the Bill passed its second reading, but declined temporarily thereafter and was 335 on 7 April when the Bill received the Royal Assent. J. Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble*, pp. 120-2, 127.

[29] "My friends" might refer to, among others, his brother-in-law William Gore of Tring Park who in 1709 married Lady Mary Compton. William Gore was the son of Sir William Gore who was one of the founders of the Bank of England, and Lord Mayor of London in 1701-2. In the Compton Family Archives (F.D.1106) are four letters from him to the Earl of Northampton all dated August 1720 about South Sea Company business. That of 25 August refers to the fourth subscription (at £1000, 20% payable on application) and reads as follows: "*As* I was desirous your Lordship should be concerned, I gave Mr. Blunt £1000 if he would venture his person in the crowd, which he did and has succeeded. It is taken in Mr. Charles Compton's name and as I have £200 of his in my hands, if your Lordship pleases to let him go £100 with you in it, he'd be very much obliged". But the market was about to collapse – even William Gore had some "dismal apprehensions" – and Charles would have lost most of his money if he was allowed to take this £100 of stock.
The Mr. Blunt referred to above and in Hay's letter of 9 May 1720 appears to have been the family banker (a letter from William Gore of 23 August states "Mr. Blunt tells me *he* has no orders"). He was probably Henry Blunt, son of Sir John Blunt, one of the most influential of the South Sea Company directors. Henry Blunt was a partner in the South Sea Company's banking arm, the Sword Blade Company. Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble*, p.185.

[30] David Colyear, Viscount Milsington (1698-1729). Eldest son and heir of the Earl of Portmore. In 1724 he married Bridget, daughter of John Noel of Walcot, Northamptonshire but died of consumption on the continent.

[31] David Colyear, Earl of Portmore (c.1656-1730). Born in Brabant but gained his peerage after a distinguished military career in Flanders. In 1699 he was created Lord Portmore and Blackness and in 1703 Earl of Portmore.

Paris, May 9th 1720 (not endorsed)

Wednesday last I received the honour of your Ladyship's of 10th April from Ashby which puts me out of expectation of seeing the Major here. I believe his worse course will not be to spend more of his time in France at his return from Italy than at this time where the late doings have even altered the tempers of the people, and soured them to a degree . . .

It is no wonder that your Ladyship admired that Mr. Charles called for no more money in so long a time nor did I discover the reason of it till the last week.

The explanation is somewhat complicated but in essence funds had been drawn in Lyons on the banker, Gordon's, correspondent there, in the expectation that Gordon had received the funds. In fact he had not . . . *By this post Mr. Charles has drawn upon Mr. Blunt for a hundred pounds, fifty already spent and the fifty I wrote to your Ladyship of at my first coming here . . .*

I believe he'll leave this place in ten or twelve days time so that your Ladyship needs send no more letters this way. He is in very good health and gives his humble duty to my Lord and your Ladyship . . .

In fact the party did leave "ten or twelve days" later. The last letter from Dr. Hay brings this sequence of letters to a slightly worried and rushed conclusion.

Paris, May 18 1720 (not endorsed)

It was but two days ago that I had the honour of your Ladyship's letter of the 16th April O.S. I went straight in order to execute your Ladyship's orders to lay out some money for some French pretty things. I consulted three gentlewomen of my acquaintance here, how to do it, but your Ladyship having mentioned no particular thing, they were at as great a loss as *I that understands nothing of it, what to choose. However some small matter of money was laid out that your Ladyship's orders might not be entirely neglected but whether it will please your Ladyship or not is what I cannot tell, besides the risks of having it took away by the rascally waiters in England. But whatever your Ladyship wants from this place I can have it sent over as well when I am in England as when here . . .*

We leave this place, God willing, Monday, by the way of Rouen, the coach of Calais being took up for three weeks. So that this will be the last trouble that your Ladyship will have from me of this nature till I shall have the honour of waiting upon you in England. Mr. Compton is in very good health and gives his duty to my Lord and your Ladyship . . .

Exactly when Charles and his tutor returned is not recorded, nor do we know anything more of Dr. Hay. Charles himself, after some delay, did become a man of business, in the diplomatic service. In August 1727 he made a good, if not "extravagantly rich" marriage to Mary, the elder daughter and coheiress of Sir, Berkeley Lucy, 3rd Bart. of Broxbourne, Herts., who however did not die until 1759. Shortly after his marriage he must have departed for Lisbon for he was already there in January 1728 when he was appointed *chargé d'affaires* following the dismissal of Brigadier James Dormer in November 1727. It is tempting to assume that this appointment was due to his uncle Spencer (later Earl of Wilmington), who had been politically allied with George II when still Prince of Wales.

For most of the time Charles was in Lisbon, James O'Hara, 2nd Baron Tyrawly, was Envoy Extraordinary and for a brief period between 1735 and 1737 there was also a Minister Plenipotentiary, Admiral Sir John Norris. Tyrawly left in July 1741 and in 1742 Charles himself, after another spell as chargé, was at last apointed Envoy Extraordinary. He returned to England in 1745[32], by which time it would have been clear that the title was likely to pass to his own line. It is not therefore surprising to hear that after 1745 his two sons Charles and Spencer were often at Castle Ashby. Between December 1754 and his death in November 1755 the elder Charles represented the family interest as MP for Northampton.

The younger Charles went on his Grand Tour in 1757-58 with his brother-in-law George (later Admiral) Rodney. From the letters of contemporaries it appears that his was a much more social, and artistically important, tour than that of his father. But that is another story.

[32] D. B. Horn, *British Diplomatic Representatives 1689-1789*, Camden Third Series Vol. XLVI (London, 1932), pp. 98-9.

I should like to acknowledge the encouragement and help given to me by Sonia Anderson in the preparation of this article. I am also grateful to Jeremy Black for comments on an earlier draft. I am however solely responsible for any errors that remain. (P.M.)

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

YOUNG HORACE SMITH SEES 'THE ZEPPELIN'

Quite recently I received a letter from Mr Horace Smith of Northampton, who was born in the town and has lived there most of his life, and who for many years was much involved in local amateur dramatics. He had read my article on "The Airship Scare at Northampton, 1909" (*N.P.&P.*, VII, 1984–85, No.2, 114–5), and this is what he told me:

'I remember as a boy of nine or ten being in Northampton with my mother one Saturday evening, and we were in the Drapery outside Cockerill's shop [a fruiterer's business at Nos.18 & 20 The Drapery]. Everyone was looking up to the sky and I remember people saying "There it is", and I was told "That's a Zeppelin". All I remember seeing was a bright star, and being rather frightened, and so were many people. I hope that this will corroborate your article, and I now know that the year was 1909. Your article is the only time that I have heard of the incident, and I had begun to think that it was a figment of my imagination!'

There is something very satisfying in reading an account from a living eye-witness of an event which took place nearly eighty years ago, and I am grateful to Mr Smith for taking the trouble to write to me. I wonder if there is anybody else who can still remember the airship scare at Northampton in 1909?

VICTOR A. HATLEY

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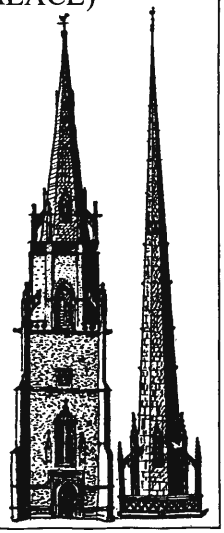

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A CELEBRATED LITTLE GARDEN

Kingswell Street is now one of the dreariest streets in central Northampton, flanked mostly by waste spaces serving as car parks or by decrepit-looking business premises, and not much used by pedestrians even as a thoroughfare. It runs parallel to the west side of Bridge Street. Yet it once contained a tiny but quite famous garden, as is revealed by the following extract from the *Northampton Mercury* of 23rd August 1817:

> The following is a description of Mr Cornfield's celebrated little garden [in Kingswell Street], in this town, which is now arrived at the very acme of perfection, and shows what may be done by perseverance and industry, when blended with genius and patience, which is there most fully exemplified. The dimensions of the garden are 39 feet by 33 feet 8 inches, containing exactly two thousand four hundred pots of plants, which comprehend a far greater variety than can, it is supposed, be found in the Universe, on so small a plot of ground, and are so judiciously and tastefully arranged, that a hundred people, at the same time, may walk round to view them, beholding, in one minute, some of the most beautiful and wonderful productions of nature, which have been the labours for several centuries, of the most esteemed and indefatigable botanists, to collect from all corners of the globe.
>
> The garden has been examined repeatedly by many of the first Nurserymen and Gardeners in the kingdom, who have unanimously declared it to be one of the most compact places they have ever met with, and that it is *multum in parvo* in every sense of the words.

In the same issue of the *Mercury*, Mr Cornfield advertised that his garden was open for inspection every day except Sunday from 10.00 a.m. to 7 p.m., and that an entrance fee was charged of 1s. [5p.] for ladies and gentlemen, reduced to 6d. [2½p.] for children and servants. He sold carnation and picotee layers at 2s. [10p.] to 10. 6d. [52½p.] per pair, cloves of various shades at 3s. [15p.] to 7s. 6d. [37½p.] per dozen, and mixed ranunculuses from 2s 6d. [12½p.] to 7s 6d. per dozen, or £1 1s. [£1.05] per hundred. Picotees are carnations with dark-edged petals, and clove (clove-gillyflower in full) is an old name for a scented variety of pink.

Pearce Cornfield of Kingswell Street was a tailor by trade and is listed as such in several Northampton pollbooks, and also in the Northampton section of Pigot and Co's *London & Provincial New Commercial Directory* for 1823-4. He died aged 72 on the 29th January 1837.

VICTOR A. HATLEY

HELMDON STONE

E.G. PARRY

Introduction.

Northamptonshire is well known for the high quality of its building stone; the quarries at Barnack and Weldon, for example, were of national importance and consequently they have received much attention from historians.[1] At the opposite, South-Western end of the county in the parish of Helmdon there are the remains of quarries which were once the source of a much praised stone. But Helmdon has been little noticed even in works dealing specifically with Northamptonshire building materials.[2] One aim of this paper is to rescue an important stone from such undeserved obscurity. The historical background of the quarries and the uses made of the stone will be examined and an attempt made to determine the effects which stone working had on the local community. A second reason for treating this subject at present is the state of the physical evidence in Helmdon. During the last thirty years the sites of the quarries have been obscured by infilling; during the same period the appearance of the village which owed so much to the local stone has altered. A number of older buildings have been reconstructed, some so radically as to be unrecognizable, and many of the newer houses are built of materials alien to the parish.

Historical Background.

Helmdon is four miles north of Brackley and eight miles east of Banbury. The village shares the historical anonymity of hundreds of similar settlements; it was the scene of no great event nor the birthplace of a famous person. For this reason a brief account of its evolution is necessary to provide a background to the origins and growth of the quarrying which gave Helmdon – for a hundred years – more than parochial importance.

Helmdon differs from many neighbouring villages in two respects. The shape of the village is unusual: the church, situated on the highest ground, is close to the parish boundary and far from the centre of the settlement. From the church, houses stretch down the hill to the Green from where they continue in an arc to a second nucleus, the Square, at the eastern end. (*see map, Fig. I.*) This linear layout is unlike most local villages which are nucleated and grouped around their church. A second difference is the absence of a large house. There are a number of substantial farmhouses and an imposing rectory, but nothing to suggest that Helmdon was a 'closed', squire-dominated village. The landscape of the parish is still dominated by the arrangements made when Helmdon was enclosed in 1758. The timing and organisation of enclosure was typical of many Northamptonshire parishes but not of Helmdon's immediate neighbours to east and west. Both Astwell and Falcutt & Stuchbury were the subjects of private enclosure centuries earlier which turned them into 'Deserted Medieval Villages.' How far the survival and success of Helmdon was due to the absence of one powerful landowner and how far to the growth of the quarries must remain an open question for the moment.

It is not easy to establish with accuracy when the quarries were first exploited. The earliest written reference occurs in a charter of the first half of the thirteenth century which mentions a virgate 'qua Rob le Macun ten'.[3] This does not prove the

[1] See for example, D.Purcell *Cambridge Stone* (1967); A.Clifton-Taylor *The Pattern of English Building* (1962); N.Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Northamptonshire* (2nd.edition revised by Bridget Cherry) (1973).

[2] J.M.Steane, 'Building materials used in Northamptonshire and the area around,' *Northamptonshire Past & Present* Vol. IV 1967/68 No. 2.

[3] MS. Top. Northants. c 29, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

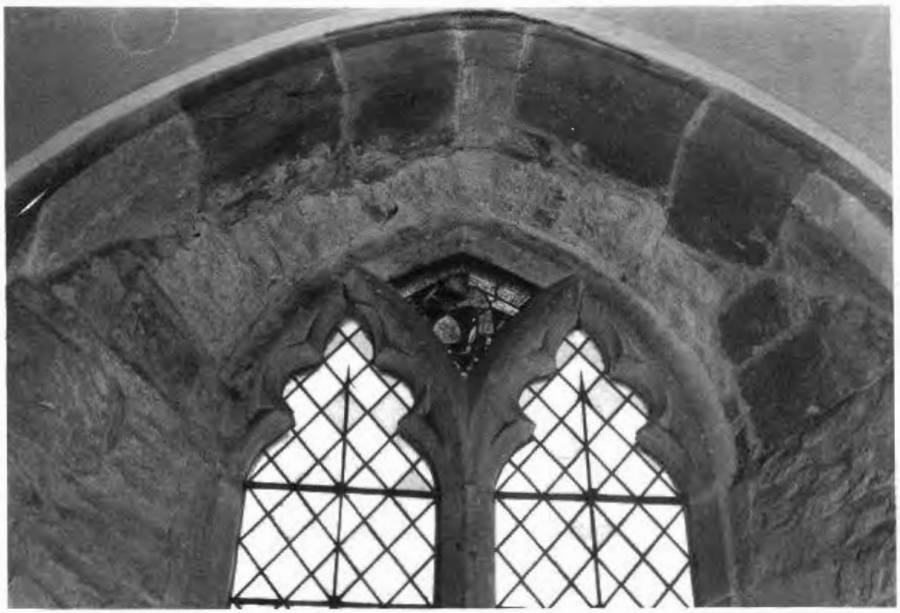

PLATE 1: MEDIEVAL STAINED GLASS IN HELMDON CHURCH
showing William Campiun, wielding a stonemason's pick
[Photo: the author]

existence of quarries but together with other evidence it is indicative. The church is the oldest surviving building for which the stone was used; the nave arcades date from *c.*1250. More specific information is provided by a remarkable piece of medieval stained glass in the north aisle. This is a donor window with an inscription referring to William Campiun, who is shown wielding a stonemason's pick (*see Plate 1*). The probable date of the glass is 1313, which makes it the earliest in England to show an artisan at his trade.[4] The first proof of the working of the quarries, rather than the existence of masons in the village, comes in 1356. In a Proof of Age it is stated that when one John Janekyn was baptised (*i.e. c.*1340), 'the church at Sulgrave was destroyed and twenty carts were at Helmydene fetching stone for the repair of the said church.'[5] The scale of this operation is a significant clue to the importance of the quarries at this date. Topographical evidence supports this impression. The following field names are mentioned in a charter of 1317; 'Tursputte', 'Thorsputweye' and 'Staindelfpece'.[6] That such names were accepted local usage in 1317 implies that the quarries were well established by then.

The area which was quarried is confined to a few fields on both sides of the Weston road leading north from the village (*see Fig.1*). To the east of the road the medieval ridge and furrow is interrupted by irregular depressions; to the west, pits and spoil heaps are visible extending as far as the Sulgrave

[4] I am grateful to Dr. Richard Marks, Keeper of the Burrell Collection, Camphill Museum, Glasgow for information about the stained glass. Dr. Marks supervised the conservation of the window and he has published an account of the work, 'An English stonemason in stained glass,' in *The Vanishing Past*, edited by Alan Borg & Andrew Martindale, B.A.R. International Series III, (1981).

[5] *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Vol.X No. 270, pp.237-8, (1921).

[6] Helmdon MS., No. 68, Magdalen College, Oxford. 'tursputte' and 'thorsput' mean rock pit or quarry; 'staindelfpece' means the piece of land at the stone quarry.

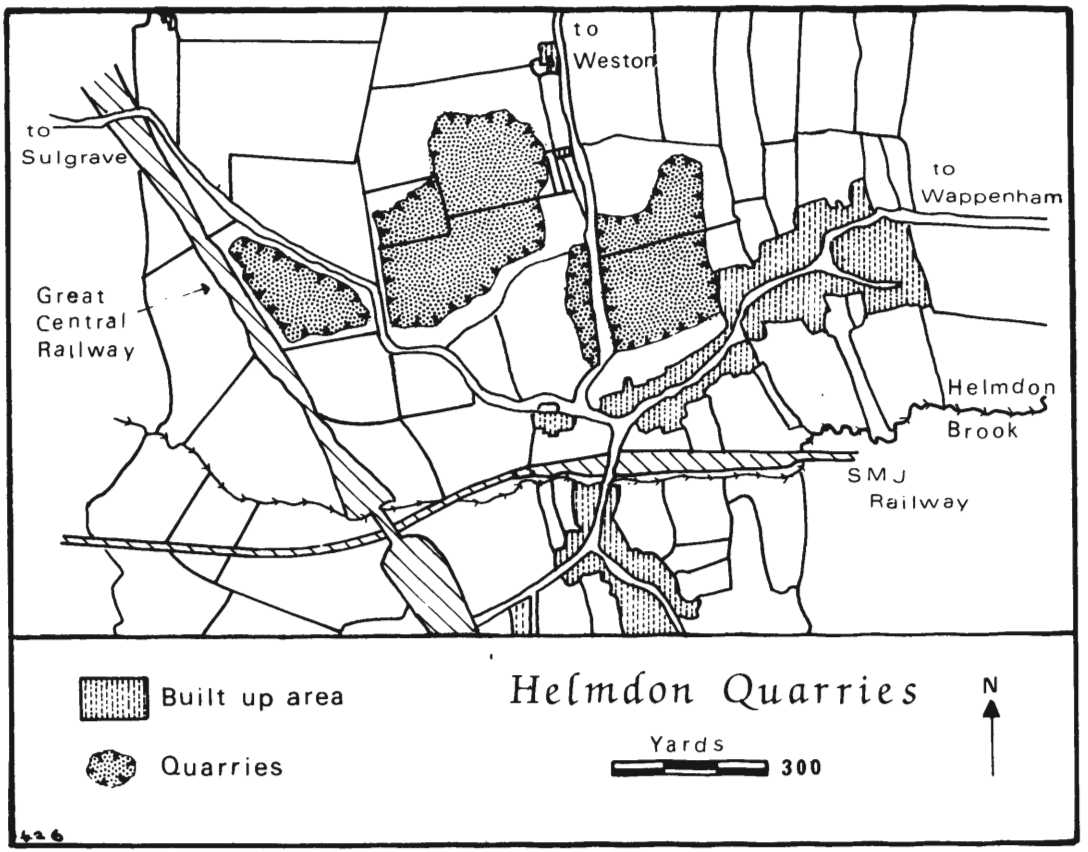

FIG 1: LOCATION OF HELMDON'S QUARRIES
[David Hall]

road. An Indenture of 1726 is the only document which gives a precise location for the quarries.[7] This was an agreement between Worcester College, Oxford, and Edward Bayliss, a 'ffreemason' of Helmdon. It refers to the lease of a 'piece of arable ground lying upon Marwell Hill . . . and abutting the Banbury Highway'. Marwell Hill – now known as Marrow-well – is the field to the west of the Weston road, which was the Banbury Highway in the eighteenth century. Bayliss leased the land so that he could 'dig and cast up all or any of the said arable lands, hades and balks for stones'.

The expansion of the late seventeenth and the eighteenth century.

For a hundred years (from *c.*1670 to *c.*1770) Helmdon's stone was used on some of the most important buildings in the country. Morton, writing in 1712, described Helmdon as among the four quarries 'at this time of the chiefest Note with us'.[8] He drew attention to Easton Neston, 'built of a fair white durable stone from Helmdon, which is freer from an intermixture of yellowish Spots than is that of Ketton, and is indeed the finest building Stone I have seen in England.'[9] Bridges, also writing in the early

[7] Helmdon MS., Box 13, Worcester College, Oxford.

[8] J.Morton *The Natural History of Northamptonshire*, (1712) p. 110.
[9] *Ibid.*

PLATE 2: NORTH WEST FRONT OF EASTON NESTON, faced with Helmdon stone *c.* 1700-2
[Photo: National Monuments Record]

PLATE 3: STOWE: 'YE LADYS BUILDING', LATER KNOWN AS THE QUEEN'S TEMPLE built by Thomas Blencow in the 1740s. It was given the portico thirty years later.
[Photo: the author]

eighteenth century, noted that 'Helmdon is famous for its quarries of soft stone for building and of rag-stone for paving.'[10] Few modern writers have been so complimentary, but Nigel Nicolson echoes Morton's praise when he refers to Easton Neston and writes that 'The Helmdon stone is the finest of all building stones, for it is unmottled and unveined, as clear as liquid . . . it can be carved with a crispness that two hundred and fifty years of weathering have not dulled.'[11] The stone which inspired these eulogies is a limestone of the Great Oolite. It is a grey, close-grained material which attracted customers by its versatility and durability.[12] The increased demand for the stone is reflected in a wide variety of contemporary documents. John Stockley, a village mason, made his will in 1714 and he referred to 'all that ground that is to digg att the quarr and all the stones and all the materials belonging to the quarr . . .'[13] In 1729 another mason, Francis Blencowe, bought land and the vendor agreed to allow 'free ingress way and passage . . . for the said Francis Blencowe, his heirs . . . their workmen, horses, teams, carts and carriages' to the property.[14] The expansion is also indicated by the movement of masons to Helmdon from neighbouring villages. The John Stockley mentioned above was described after his death as 'heretofore of Culworth and since of Helmdon, mason'.[15] In 1688 William Wigson, freemason of Eydon, purchased a house and close in Helmdon and his descendants were to become prosperous masons in the eighteenth century.[16] The reason for all this activity is that Helmdon stone was being used in the construction of four great houses: Easton Neston, Stowe, Blenheim and Woburn.

The relatively short distances between the quarries and these houses presumably influenced the choice of stone. Helmdon, unlike the quarries at the north-eastern end of the county, is far from a navigable waterway and this must have limited the use of the stone especially in the medieval period. Personal contacts among patrons and architects may also provide an explanation for this sudden prominence. Hawksmoor, who was responsible for the reconstruction of Easton Neston between 1700 and 1702, had already worked with Vanbrugh – at Castle Howard – and the two men continued their collaboration at Blenheim. Vanbrugh had been employed by Sir Richard Temple on the first stages of the eighteenth century rebuilding of Stowe. Temple was a political supporter and military subordinate of the Duke of Marlborough. This network of commercial, personal and artistic links helps to explain Helmdon's growing importance as a source of building stone at this time.

Helmdon & the four great houses.

Easton Neston.

The only house whose external appearance relies primarily on the use of Helmdon stone is Easton Neston, near Towcester. (*see Plate 2*) It is also, unfortunately, the only one of the great houses drawing on the quarries for which there are no surviving building accounts. Vanbrugh's building of 1700-2 used Helmdon stone for all the ashlar work and it was the stunning effect this created which prompted Morton's praise. There is no direct evidence to connect Helmdon men with the work. However there were masons in the village when the house was remodelled and, by analogy with Stowe, Blenheim and Woburn, it is likely that they were responsible for extracting and supplying the stone and perhaps for some of the work on site as well.

[10] John Bridges *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, Vol. 1 (1791), p. 172.

[11] Nigel Nicolson *The National Trust Book of Great Houses of Britain* (1978), p. 208.

[12] I am grateful to Dr. Martin Bradshaw for his advice on the geological characteristics of Helmdon stone. For useful comments on the strata still exposed in the 1920's see Beeby Thompson, *Lime Resources of Northamptonshire* (1927).

[13] Northants. Wills, 5th. Series, 1705-1751, Vol.9, 232; at N.R.O.

[14] Stockton MS., VIII(XI); N.R.O.

[15] Stockton MS., VIII(IV), 10 April 1752.

[16] *Ibid.*, 23 July 1688.

Stowe.

The building work carried out at Stowe from the 1670's to the 1770's was the most important project which involved the use of Helmdon stone. It gave the local masons the chance to work on a scale and at a level of sophistication beyond their normal experience. The house of *c.*1680 built by Sir Richard Temple was 'a very fine thing of its kind and typical of its period; red brick, hip-roof, stone quoins, thirteen bays wide.'[17] It was the construction of this house and the laying out of the impressive gardens to the south that produced the first contacts between Stowe and Helmdon.

Stone had been brought from Eydon, six miles north-west of Helmdon, in the early 1670's but on the 4th May 1677 Sir Richard Temple instructed Mr. Miller, his master bricklayer, how to proceed with the building. The advice was that 'Helmdon men [are] to consider going below the present course of stone since what they found already is without ragg and better stone.'[18] Thirty years later another Sir Richard, later Viscount Cobham, began the work which transformed the modest seventeenth century house into the palace of the Dukes of Buckingham. Helmdon men were closely involved in most stages of this metamorphosis between 1710 and 1777.

The Stowe manuscripts mention frequent payments to Helmdon men for quarrying and working their stone. A telling indication of the scale of the enterprise occurs in 1726 when the carters were paid for eighty-three journeys made from the quarries to Stowe during the year up to the 31st. October. It is significant that in the same year Edward Bayliss negotiated the lease from Worcester College, Oxford, referred to earlier, in order to extract more stone. His brother Nathaniel is mentioned many times in the building accounts; he was a regular worker on the site between 1719 and 1729. The other local family employed at this time were the Stockleys. William Stockley first appeared in 1711 and he was, until 1719, the Helmdon man most closely connected with the house. In 1719 he was joined by Nathaniel Bayliss and the two men cooperated on numerous commissions during the next decade. Among these were the Stables, Coach-house, 'House of Office' (lavatories) and, on an altogether different plane, the Summer House. This building later known as the Temple of Bacchus, designed by Vanbrugh, was demolished when the school chapel was built in the 1920's. William Stockley's second son Robert joined the Helmdon masons in the 1720's and in 1729 he was working on the pedestal for the equestrian statue of George I which stands at the north front of the house.

Unfortunately the Stowe papers provide no evidence for the work done in the 1730's, but two isolated pieces of Helmdon material suggest that the village's connection with the house was sustained. Francis Blencowe's purchase of land in 1729 has been mentioned, and it is most probable that this investment was bound up with work at Stowe. His will, made in 1741, reinforces this impression: he left to his son Nathaniel, also described as 'mason', '£20 out of ye Lord Cobham's money when the work is accomplished'.[19] Nathaniel was instructed to complete the task and his name duly appears in the building accounts until 1747 when the balance of his bill was paid. But before this happened another generation of the Blencowe family was working at Stowe.

[17] Michael Gibbon, 'Stowe House, 1680-1779', in 'The Splendours of Stowe,' in *Apollo*, June 1973.

[18] Most of the information about the building work carried out at Stowe between 1670 and 1780 is to be found in the Temple Mss. at the Henry Huntingdon Library, California. I have not consulted this collection personally but have relied on the very generous help of Mr. George Clarke of Stowe School. Mr. Clarke is working on a history of Stowe and he has made extensive use of the Temple papers; he has passed to me all the references to Helmdon that he has found. Because the Temple Mss. are only roughly catalogued it is difficult to give precise footnotes for the Helmdon items. Therefore it is to be assumed that the following paragraphs are based on the Temple Mss. unless other sources are indicated in the footnotes.

[19] Northants. Wills, 5th. Series, 1705 – 1751, April 26th. 1742. N.R.O.

Nathaniel's son Thomas was employed in the early 1740's on 'ye Lady's Building' – better known by its later name, the Queen's Temple. (*see Plate 3*) In June 1743 the project is referred to as 'Blinchon's Building' which implies that the Blencowes were the masons in overall charge. The Temple was remodelled in the 1770's and given the impressive portico it has today. The Blencowe link persisted. In 1773 among the items on a 'Bill for stones Sarv'd by Nathaniel Blencowe mason from helmdon Quarry' occurs, 'for 36 foot of Colloms at 12s ye foot Ladys Building £21 12s. 0d.'

In the interval between these two periods of work on the Queen's Temple much more had been done to both house and grounds and Helmdon men were involved in some of the major schemes. The rebuilding of the South Front was preceded by the erection of the Corinthian Arch. The men employed on the Arch were later to work on the house and it has been suggested that 'in retrospect the building of the Corinthian Arch seems like a trial run for the building of the mansion.'[20] Edward Bayliss supplied Helmdon stone to the value of £108 12s 1d but the construction and carving was in other hands. From the late 1740's the Batchelors, Edward and Richard, from Buckingham are noted in the accounts and they were responsible for the building of the Arch and for much of the subsequent work on the house.

Lord Temple's large-scale rebuilding of the 1770's is well documented.[21] Almost half of the new stone used, worth £444 14s 8d, came from the Helmdon quarries. Between June 1772 and March 1773 Nathaniel Blencowe and Edward Bayliss were working for Temple. Blencowe's role was as supplier of stone and there is no reference to him working on the site; Bayliss supplied and worked the stone. The accounts detail the particular uses to which the stone from the various quarries was put. Three examples will illustrate the versatility of Helmdon's stone. 'To carving of 56 flowers in the Planceer at 2s pr flower'; 'Setting the 2 Dubble Corinthn Capitals'; and 'Ashlar work and set under ye Boycott stone for weather stones'.

The work done in the 1770's marks the end of the century-long association between Helmdon and Stowe. No other building exercised such an influence over the quarries and the masons of the village. For the owners of Stowe the attraction of Helmdon stone was not only its intrinsic quality but also the proximity of the source to the site. This combination of advantages ensured that the eighteenth century was the most productive period in the quarries' history. Although Helmdon has provided little building stone since 1800 it is pleasing to note that the connection with Stowe lasted into modern times. In 1947 half a dozen men from Helmdon and neighbouring villages were employed on restoration work at the school, but there was no Bayliss, Stockley or Blencowe among them.[22]

Blenheim.

The connection between Stowe and Helmdon was closer and lasted longer than that with any other house. But before the work undertaken by Viscount Cobham was begun, the quarries were contributing stone to the most prestigious, controversial project of the early eighteenth century: the building of Blenheim Palace.[23] Most of the stone used at Blenheim came from nearby Cotswold quarries, particularly Burford and Taynton. Helmdon was a subsidiary, but nonetheless significant source of stone and given the problems of transporting stone overland there must have been particular reasons for going twenty miles for the stone. Perhaps Hawksmoor, who made such effective use of Helmdon stone at

[20] Michael J. McCarthy 'The Rebuilding of Stowe House, 1770 – 1777,' *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, Vol. XXXVI No. 3, May 1973.

[21] McCarthy, *ibid.*

[22] Information based on conversations with Mr. Reg Jeacock and other Helmdon people.

[23] David Green *Blenheim Palace*, (1951).

Easton Neston recommended it to Vanbrugh who is known to have been 'meticulous about using the best possible stone in the most prominent places'.[24] Temple, who had already made use of the quarries, reinforced his close connection with Marlborough during the building of Blenheim; great quantities of timber were purchased from Stowe in the early stages of the work at Woodstock.[25]

Between 1705 and 1710 Helmdon occurs ten times in the monthly accounts which detail the building costs.[26] These references are concentrated in three years: 1706, 1709 and 1710. The total value of the stone supplied – and this included the cost of transport – was just under £600. This represents a small proportion of the total amount spent on stone; the Burford quarries, for example, supplied over £770 worth in just two months of 1706. Unfortunately the accounts give no indication of the particular uses to which Helmdon stone was put, except that on three occasions John Phillips was paid for 'paving stone'. Otherwise the entries refer simply to 'stone' or 'freestone'. Six men are named as suppliers and with the exception of Phillips they are men whose names are known from other projects. No carriers or carters are mentioned, and the village masons are paid in full for the stone and its transport to Blenheim; e.g. 'To John Stockley for ^{f}1053 of Helmden Stone and Carriage at ^{d}13p. foot Cub^{ll}. £57 – 00 – 9.' [April 1706][27]

The Blenheim evidence is important for the history of the quarries principally because it proves that they were in production on a significant scale in the earliest years of the eighteenth century. This can be inferred from the example of Easton Neston but there the manuscripts have not survived. Also, for the first time we have some indication of the names and numbers of men involved in stone working. The six men noted above came from four families, three of which were to play an important part in the history of the quarries in the eighteenth century.[28]

Woburn.

The fourth great house with which Helmdon was connected was Woburn. Here as at Blenheim the stone from the village was of relatively minor importance. The main quarries drawn on were Ketton and Totternhoe with additional material coming from Collyweston and Oakley. In 1749-50 and in 1754 some Helmdon men were employed at Woburn chiefly, it would appear, as suppliers of paving stone. In March 1749 Edward Bayliss was paid £27 11s 0d. 'for paving stone'.[29] During the next five years the Bayliss family was paid just over £120 for their services. In none of the entries in the building accounts is there any reference to the village by name, but the details given in the carters' accounts point to Helmdon. 'Dec 17 1750 Paid Wm. Granborough for Carriage from Helmdon'.[30] That there can be no doubt about the commodity that was carried is made clear by the next entry: 'Dec 17 1750 Paid Do [John Adams] for Do [Carriage] of Stone from Helmdon.'[31] One of the carriers was Thomas Burbidge, the village mason who otherwise only appears in Helmdon deeds. None of the later account books refers to Helmdon stone or to any of the masons so far identified. However the connection probably continued. Between 1775 and 1780 substantial sums were paid to a Martha Bayliss 'For stonemasons work on account'.[32]

[24] David Green, personal communication to the author, 24/10/'79.
[25] Green, *ibid.*
[26] British Library, Add. Mss., 19.592 – 19.601.
[27] B.L. Add. Mss., 19.593 fol. 27 v.

[28] The three families were the Wigsons, Baylisses and Stockleys; the one leading family not represented at Blenheim was Blencowe.
[29] Russell Mss., R5/1092, fol.33; at the Bedfordshire Record Office. I wish to thank the Trustees of the Bedford Estates for permision to use the material on Woburn.
[30] *Ibid.*, fol. 45.
[31] *Ibid.*, fol. 45.
[32] *Ibid.*, R5/1098, fol. 2.

Minor Commissions.
After 1780 Helmdon's role as a supplier of stone on more than a local level came to an end. However it is likely that during the eighteenth century the quarries provided stone for a number of buildings of secondary importance for which documentary evidence is lacking or incomplete. The work done at Canons Ashby House will serve as an example. The rather sketchy account books for 1709-12 include familiar names.[33] Members of the Wigson family worked at the house in those years and at least one, Joshua Wigson, appears at Blenheim and later emerges as a prosperous mason in the 1730's. The same is true of James Stockley, who worked at Canons Ashby in 1712. These records give no evidence for the use of Helmdon stone on the site. The only reference to a quarry is to Culworth. This is unsurprising, given the Stockleys' connection with that village and also the easier communications with Canons Ashby.

The only other commission undertaken by Helmdon men outside their village was for the Purefoys in their house at Shalstone, Buckinghamshire. In 1739 Henry Purefoy wrote two letters to Edward Bayliss 'a ffreestone mason at Helmdon' about setting up a 'Turkey marble mantle piece'.[34] The most significant point is made at the end of the first letter: 'If you can't come yourself you may send one of your men who is skillfull in the businesse.' This underlines those other pieces of evidence which show the masons as employers and, in this case, employers of skilled labour.

Apart from the work they did for aristocratic or gentry patrons the Helmdon masons were much involved in vernacular building. All the surviving houses and agricultural buildings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are constructed of the local stone. They must have been the 'bread and butter' business for quarries and men but few have left any manuscript evidence. However two houses can be connected with eighteenth century masons. The Old Cross and Wigson's Farm are both decorated in unusually grand style for such comparatively humble buildings. (*see Plates 4 and 5*) This together with some circumstantial documentary evidence suggests strongly that these houses were owned or occupied by masons. Many anonymous examples of the stonemason's craft are to be seen on the older houses; their fine chimney stacks, kneeler stones and other embellishments testify to the enduring quality of the local stone and to the skills of masons.

The Masons and the Local Community.
Such men comprised an important social and economic group in the village. Before examining the evidence for their familial connections and administrative activities it is necessary to define their occupation more exactly. What does the word 'mason' mean at this period? Although this is the only label given in documents, their range of skills and occupations was broad. There are no 'quarrymen' in the records but it is clear that John Stockley and Francis Blencowe were extracting stone from the ground they owned or leased. Whether they themselves dug the stone or employed men to do so is not stated. The stone had to be moved from Helmdon to the building sites and some of the masons arranged or provided transport. In the Blenheim accounts they are paid for 'carriage'. Thomas Burbidge worked as mason and carrier. Some of the men also worked the stone when it reached its destination. The Stowe references to 'Blinchon's building' and to other specific commissions make it clear that some of the village men were masons in the sense that they carved the stone.

Such men occupied a social position alongside the yeomen and the farmers of the middle rank. Some idea of their wealth and possessions can be gleaned from wills and

[33] Dryden (Canons Ashby) 306 & 308; at N.R.O.
[34] G.Eland, *Purefoy Letters, 1735 – 1753*, (1931), No. 81, December 19th. 1739.

PLATES 4 AND 5: LOCAL BUILDINGS: The Old Cross, Helmdon (left) and a detail from Wigson's Farm (right), probably both local masons' houses
[Photo: the author]

PLATE 6: HELMDON: SITE OF OLD QUARRY *[Photo: the author]*

miscellaneous deeds.[35] From 1729 to 1739 Francis Blencowe spent at least £250 on property; this included land he bought for quarrying and two houses. The Stockleys and the Wigsons combined stone-working with farming. It is as farmers and landowners that the sons and grandsons of the men who worked at Stowe and Woburn are described; William Stockley in 1752, William Bayliss in 1804 and Thomas Blencowe in 1813 are referred to as yeomen. Members of these families could afford to make generous bequests. For example in 1714 John Stockley left his three children £40 each, while Joshua Wigson in 1735 disposed of land in Helmdon and Eydon as well as £100 in cash, which included a legacy of £5 to the poor of Helmdon.[36]

How important were these prospering masons in the economy of the village? Any answer must be tentative because of the incomplete evidence. Even trying to establish how many masons there were at any one time is not a straightforward matter. The Militia Lists for 1762, 1777 and 1781 give very useful, but not comprehensive, surveys of the occupations in the village.[37] Each list names only three masons, although two of those mentioned in the first are apprentices. Masons represented 8% of the occupations given; few villages in the county had more than three in their list. Where there were five, at Kings Cliffe, they represented a smaller proportion of the total than in Helmdon. But by the time these lists were drawn up the quarries were past their peak. In *c.*1730 when they were probably at their most productive, ten masons can be identified. In addition there were workmen or labourers employed by the masons which meant that stone working was second only to agriculture in the village economy. It is therefore not surprising to find the masons prominent in local administration. Edward Bayliss was an Overseer of the Poor in 1739, 1745 and 1748; he was also a Churchwarden in 1737 and 1746. Earlier in the century William Stockley had been severally Constable, Churchwarden and Overseer.[38]

Decline.

When the railways reached the village the quarries were once more of only parochial importance. References to the last use of the stone for building are contradictory. According to Baker, 'the quarries have not been worked for architectural purposes in the present [i.e. nineteenth] century'.[39] But an enigmatic letter dated 1829, written to the Rev. Sir Henry Dryden of Canons Ashby begins, 'Honoured Sir . . . we shall begin drawing the stone from Helmdon next week.'[40] The letter contains no information about the use to be made of the stone. Four masons are listed in the Census Returns for 1841, all members of the same family – the Bransons. In the same year the south porch of the church was repaired and local stone was used.[41] By 1871 the only mason noted in the Census was Martin Humphrey and presumably he employed the 'Mason's labourer' included in the Returns. By the middle of the century the monopoly which stone had enjoyed for so long as a building material was being challenged. The earliest brick building is the Church School dated 1853. Thereafter brick was used in increasing quantities. The two railway companies whose lines traverse the parish built in brick: red for the stations, sheds and houses; blue for the bridges and for the major artefact, the viaduct of the Great Central.

Despite the encroachment of brick the

[35] These comments on the masons' social standing are based on their wills and records of property transactions; see Northants. Wills and the Stockton Mss. at N.R.O.

[36] For further comments on local testators see E.G.Parry 'Helmdon Wills, 1603-1760,' in *Northamptonshire Past & Present*, Vol. V. 1975 No. 3.

[37] V.A.Hatley, *Northamptonshire Militia Lists, 1777*, Northamptonshire Record Society, 1973, p.xx and p.120. For 1762 and 1781 see the Militia Lists at N.R.O.

[38] Churchwardens' Accounts, MS. Top. Northants.c 47. Constables' Accounts, MS. Top. Northants.d 8. Overseers' Accounts, MS. Top. Northants. d 10. All the above are at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

[39] Baker, *op. cit.*, p.627.

[40] Dryden (Canons Ashby) 387/4, N.R.O.

[41] The date is on the porch.

stone continued to be worked on a small scale until the present century. A number of houses at the eastern end of the village are of local stone and one of them is dated 1916.[42] Twenty years earlier Mr. W. P. Ellis, who farmed the land on the right of the Weston road wrote a letter in which he referred to the problems presented by the quarries, 'I have mounded in the stonepit with thorns & I had barbed wire sufficient belonging to me and an old gate . . . I have not hung it but put an old chain round it & lock it as people lookd on it as their right & fetchd stones without my knowing . . .'[43] During the inter-war years stone was burnt for lime and dug for road metalling.[44] However by the late 1950's the quarries had become overgrown, waterlogged and dangerous; consequently the deeper pits were filled, leaving only the surface signs of stone working to be seen today (*see Plate 6*).

Whether Helmdon stone is as fine a building material as some writers claim must remain a matter of opinion, but it certainly deserves greater recognition. This paper should go some way towards establishing that recognition. Helmdon now takes its place in the list of notable Northamptonshire quarries which includes Weldon, Barnack and Kings Cliffe.

[42] Miss Jean Spendlove, a former occupant of the house, thinks that 1916 is the date of the brick extension and that the original stone cottage is late nineteenth century.

[43] I am grateful to Mr. Mike Gidman for drawing my attention to this letter.

[44] Information from Mr. Frank Branson of Helmdon.

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OUNDLE BEFORE SANDERSON : AN EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF A GREAT SCHOOL

DAVID ALLSOBROOK

The development of Oundle School during F.W.Sanderson's headmastership from 1892 till 1922 is one of the most significant episodes, not only in the evolution of the Public Schools, but in the whole history of secondary schooling in England and Wales. The coming of Sanderson marked the beginning of an epoch in curriculum reform whose effects were felt far beyond the closed circle of the Great Schools. This splendid publicist of his own educational principles did not lack apostles after his death. H.G.Wells, who sent his son to Oundle, might well have written of the man even had they not been sitting on the same public platform at the moment of Sanderson's death.[1] The articles Wells published in the *New Statesman* in 1922 were largely impressionistic, being grounded in Sanderson's own public statements, and were coloured by the author's prejudice against the classical monopoly still operating in most public schools. Apart from a few scathing prefatorial remarks about the Grocers' Company, the School's Governors, and about the inadequacies of earlier headmasters, Wells made little attempt to provide an historical context for his subject. His articles constitute a political monograph designed to expand his own ideas about a curriculum liberated from the classical tyranny and refounded upon scientific method.

W.G.Walker's monumental history of the Schools, on the other hand, provides a minutely detailed context for Sanderson's career at Oundle.[2] Adopting the framework of a conventional school history, Walker, sometime master at the School, manages to convey his story with the ironic detachment of a committed mid-twentieth-century commentator recording the Schools' fluctuations of fortune and the foibles of headmasters and governors in the Victorian period. However, his loyalty is still manifest; and he wrote surrounded by a mass of local and Company documentation which enabled him to produce a sharply focussed picture of the institution. His book bears on its title page the inscription, "Printed for the Grocers' Company". He was careful to say in the Preface, "While acknowledging the great debt I owe to the Company . . . I wish it to be realised that no suggestion has ever been made to me as to the light in which not merely the whole course of events but even the individual episodes should be presented."[3]

The fact remains that, while Sanderson is both the strongest character in Walker's long story, and the subject of Wells's adulatory articles, neither writer explained, in anything approaching a satisfactory way, why in 1892 a conservative City Company decided upon a course so revolutionary as to appoint to the headmastership of its greatest school a science master from Dulwich College, whose own formal education had begun in a Durham elementary school. Although Walker acknowledged "the kindness of the officials at the Public Record Office"[4], he seems to have overlooked information deposited there in the files of the Endowed Schools Department of the Charity Commission, which partly explains such a novel kind of appointment and such a new role for the Schools after 1892. This article is an attempt to use this information as a pendant to *A History of Oundle Schools*, and to examine the educational activities of

[1] Wells, H.G., *The Story of a Great Schoolmaster*, London, 1924.

[2] Walker, W.G., *A History of the Oundle Schools*, printed for the Grocers' Company, London, 1956.

[3] *ibid.*, viii.

[4] *ibid.*, ix.

the Grocers' Company at Oundle in the two decades following the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission in 1867.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

The comments of the S.I.C. upon the endowed schools managed by City Companies were only a little less scathing than those they made upon the schools of which the Fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges were the trustees.[5] The Commission identified twenty-seven Company schools, of which only "ten or twelve may be said to be really useful, though even these are not in their present condition doing by any means all the good that such very considerable endowments ought to confer." But they noted the liberality of some Companies : they had received evidence from Thomas Hare, Inspector at the Charity Commission, about the generosity of the Goldsmiths' Company when they relinquished their trusteeship of Stockport Grammer School[6]; and he said that "the Grocers have been liberal at Oundle". In further mitigation of the Grocers, the S.I.C. commented on the relatively low fees at Oundle "which appears thereby to draw to a liberal education some who would otherwise have gone without".[7] But the Companies, said assistant commisioner Fearon in his General Report, "often take a great interest in the schools of the first or second grade which are under their management, because it is strongly for their interest so to do. In the School they get the sons of their members educated at a trifling charge."[8]

The special attention devoted to the City Companies' trusteeship of their schools did not end with the publication of the Schools Inquiry Commission Report : an emphatic attack upon them was delivered and maintained by the three temporary Endowed Schools Commissioners appointed under the 1869 Endowed Schools Act. More particularly this attack became a campaign waged by one of the Commisioners, Arthur Hobhouse, a former Charity Commissioner, with the assistance of the former Secretary of the S.I.C., Henry Roby.[9] Almost as soon as the 1869 Commissioners were appointed, Hobhouse chose to make an assault, not merely upon the patronage of one Livery Company, but upon the chief citadel of 'corrupt' Company trusteeship, the Court of Aldermen of the City of London. He directed his attention initially to the City's Westminster charities. In fact the test case for the work of the Endowed Schools Commission became the scheme of reform they published in 1872 for Emanuel Hospital School, Westminster, where the members of the Court of Aldermen were trustees.[10] The melée created by the Emanuel Hospital case was reduced to some order in the short term only by the dramatic intervention of Gladstone, on behalf of the reforming commissioners, in the Commons.[11] But the attack upon the charity patronage of the City Companies was sustained into the 1880s and 1890s.

The effects of the Emanuel controversy were immediate. The more enlightened members of courts of City Companies decided to trim : the Haberdashers, having unilaterally 'reformed' their school at Monmouth already in the 1860s, applied to the Endowed Schools Commissioners with a comprehensive set of schemes for their other schools at Hoxton and Newport, Salop.[12] The Grocers' Company capitulated with similar haste and, by means of a scheme under the 1869 Act, created from a group of their non-educational charities a completely

[5] *Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission*, I, 1867, 257-60.
[6] S.I.C., V, 408.
[7] S.I.C., I, 260.
[8] Quoted in S.I.C., I, 260.

[9] See D.I.Allsobrook, 'An Investigation of Precedents for the Recommendations of the Schools Inquiry Commission . . .', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester, 1979, particularly chapter XII.
[10] *ibid.*, 629 ff.
[11] *Hansard* Series III, CCXV, May-June, 1873, 1875-1960.
[12] PRO ED 27/3977, Newport (Salop), Adams Charity file.

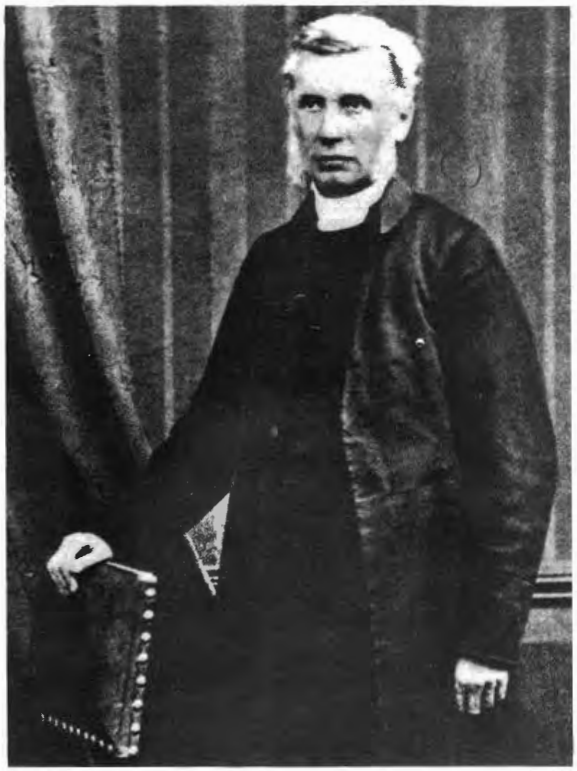

PLATE 1: THE REV. JOHN FORTUNATUS STANSBURY DD, HEADMASTER 1848-1876
(*Walker's History of the Oundle Schools*)

new middle-class school at Hackney Downs.[13] But most significantly the Grocers also made an application to the Commissioners for a joint scheme for three of their schools: Oundle, Witney, and Colwall in Herefordshire. There is a striking similarity between the form of the Grocers' application and the slightly earlier one of the Haberdashers.

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Walker's account of Oundle's development during Dr. Stansbury's headship, between 1848 and 1876, is perhaps the most exhaustive and detailed record which exists of an endowed school in a period when there was increasing general awareness of the depressed condition of middle-class education in England.[14] A Chancery suit, engineered by some of the townspeople in 1841, was typical of many such attempts by local tradespeople in country towns to secure the rights of their sons to a free and appropriate education in a local endowed school. In this case the decision of Lord Langdale in 1843 was in favour of the Oundle governors; and it was one of Stansbury's tasks, after he took over in 1848 to re-establish harmonious links between the Company and the townspeople.[15] The maintenance of mutual confidence was essential for the continued

[13] *Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners to the Lords of the Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council on Education*, 31 December, 1874, Appendix A, 26; see also Walker, *op. cit.*, 392.

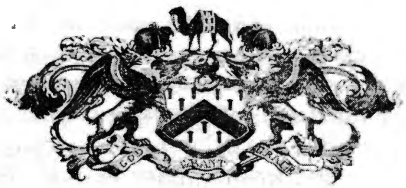
[14] Walker, *op. cit.*, 332-83.
[15] *ibid.*, 311 ff.

health of not only the School but the town itself. The Company effectively dominated the economic and social life of Oundle. They were also governors of the almshouses and munificent patrons of the Improvement Commissioners, the 'local authority' which had been established by Act of Parliament in 1826. And at various times in the nineteenth century they dipped into the pocket of the Laxton charity to provide funds for re-building and re-furnishing the parish church and for the progressive extension of the School buildings. They also subscribed £50 to help found the National School for the children of the poor in Oundle.

The Laxton bequest was open to a wide range of legal interpretation. Walker states that, generally speaking, whenever the use of charity money was in dispute, the Grocers' sense of their rights was the correct one. The founder, Sir William Laxton, had bequeathed certain lands and tenements within the City of London to the Grocers' Company in 1556. The Company was to provide a schoolmaster to teach grammar freely, and an usher, the master to be paid £18 a year and the usher £6 13s. 4d; and to maintain seven poor parishioners of Oundle. These remained the only legal and financial obligations of the Company at Oundle, and they were not disturbed by Langdale's Chancery decision in 1843. But in the years 1866-7 the Company paid £420 to cover masters' salaries and also contributed a capitation fee of £5 per boy up to the number of a hundred, and £31 10s. for the annual examination of the School. The Chancery suit against the Company had revealed that in 1841 the London property produced £1,561 12s. a year; while in 1866-7 £1,367 9s. 1d. was expended by the Company on the School. So, although Thomas Hare of the Charity Commission failed to discover what was the actual income of the Laxton property in the early 1860s, at that time the Company was spending considerably more on Oundle School than was required by the Will. It will be seen later, however, that this situation produced in members of the Company an almost seigneurial assumption of power in their regulation of the School's status and fortunes.

Stansbury had been able to negotiate with the Company and gain concessions from them. Under him the School acquired a considerable reputation for classical and mathematical scholarship, and on a number of occasions he proposed the introduction of a large measure of science teaching, a plan which the Company consistently rejected. In the last seven years of his tenure at Oundle he encountered some misfortune and the number of pupils declined. T.H.Green's report on the School for the Schools Inquiry Commission, published in 1868, was a lukewarm acknowledgement of Stansbury's achievements over the previous twenty years. But Walker attributes the later decline to local mistrust of the School's sanitation and, more significantly, to the misguided educational policy of the Company. In his representation to the Company requesting a science teacher in 1870, Stansbury had submitted as supporting evidence the regulations for the recently instituted Cambridge University Middle-class Examinations, including details of courses in natural science. His demands for a laboratory, a lecture-room and a museum were deflected by the Company on the grounds that they were expecting a ruling from the Endowed Schools Commissioners on the future of the School, and that they were deep in negotiations for the establishment of their new Hackney Downs School. There can be little doubt but that Stansbury thought a more 'modern' curriculum would have enabled the School to achieve much wider local support. There had been intense local interest in the reform of middle-class education in Northants since the 1850s.[16] Stansbury's demand for better facilities for

[16] See D.I.Allsobrook, 'The reform of the Endowed Schools : the work of the Northants Education Society, 1854-74', in *History of Education*, 2, i, January, 1973, 35-55.



Oundle Grammar School,

under the patronage of the Grocers' Company, London, is limited to 136 boys. The 6 resident Masters have taken University degrees; three being Clergymen.

A boy, who can read and write, is admitted into the School, on payment of the Entrance Fee £1. 1s. For £2. 2s. per annum afterwards, he is instructed not only in Greek, Latin, French, and Mathematics, but also in all the branches of a liberal English education, including the Holy Scriptures.

Terms for Boarders:

	Gs.		Gs.
At the Head Master's house, Rev. J. F. Stansbury, D.D.	40	per annum, Washing	3
at his Son's, the 3rd Master, Rev. J. A Stansbury, M.A.	30	,, ,,	2
at Albion House, under the 3rd. Master's care	25	,, ,,	2

Above 14 years of age, on admission, 5 guineas per annum extra. Dancing, Drawing or Music, if required, 1 guinea per Quarter each.

Each boarder brings to School, marked with his name in full, 3 suits of clothes, 6 shirts, 3 night do., 8 collars, 6 pairs of socks, 6 pocket-handkerchiefs, 3 pairs of boots, 2 pairs of sheets, 6 towels, and a silver fork and spoon.

A Quarter's notice is required before the removal of a Pupil.

PLATE 2: OUNDLE GRAMMAR SCHOOL PROSPECTUS IN STANSBURY'S TIME
(*Northamptonshire Libraries*)

science teaching was reinforced in 1873 by a petition to the Grocers' Company from the Northants Chamber of Agriculture; Walker quotes this in full :

> That whilst fully recognising the high position to which the Grammar School of Oundle has attained with regard to Classical and Mathematical education, this Chamber, seeing that the School is situated in the midst of a purely agricultural population, strongly urges upon the Grocers' Company the necessity of adding to the present subjects taught in the School the following, viz., Chemistry, Natural Science and Mechanical Drawing, as the education now given is not of such a nature as to meet the requirements of the present population.[17]

[17] Walker, *op. cit.*, 376.

The reply, from J.H. Warner, Warden of the Company, again mentioned that the governors were waiting upon the Endowed Schools Commissioners, but also implied that the Company really had it in mind to make Oundle a truly first-grade classical school by increasing salaries, extending buildings, and raising the age-limit for university exhibitions to nineteen.

Of the first real contact between the Grocers and the Endowed Schools Commisioners over Oundle, Walker says only that the Commissioners were invited "to send a special commission to Oundle to report on the present state and efficiency of the School, but they declined to do so. Mr. Joseph Warner had seen them and explained what Dr. Stansbury wanted, inviting their assistance."[18] Walker is here putting the Grocers' side of the story. In fact, their application, as it stands in the Charity Commission files, referred to all three of their existing schools.[19] The Commissioners received the application in the midst of the Emanuel agitation in June, 1873, and they noted that "the Grocers' Company wish 'to put their house in order' in the case of three schools of which they are the Governors"; and that the Company requested inspection of Oundle particularly by an assistant commissioner to help them in considering "the requirements of the town and neighbourhood in reference to secondary education and the best mode of meeting those requirements." The Company sought to retain their dignity by requiring that the resulting report be "sent to them for perusal in order that they may themselves consider what is best done in the matter." The mode of the application, the references to the requirements of the locality, and to the educational principles which might be suggested as a basis for re-organising the School – all these considerations point to the Grocers' Company being at the intersection

[18] *ibid.*, 377.

[19] PRO ED 27/3684/44933, interview memorandum, Assistant Commissioner Hall and Joseph H. Warner for the Company, 5 June, 1873.

PLATE 3: GROCERS' MUNIFICENCE: THE SCHOOL OF 1888
(*Northamptonshire Libraries*)

of three dilemmas : how best to satisfy the requirements of recent legislation while preserving a show of independence; how to deal with the immediate problem of the School's recent decline, and how best to meet the proposals being put forward by Stansbury.

A single way out of these dilemmas was created fortuitously by Stansbury's behaviour between 1873 and 1876. Within that time, Walker records, "the uxorious old man", as he was described in a national newspaper, disposed of two wives in quick succession, and married a third; by his second wife he had a son; the third wife had been a maid in the Stansbury household. In 1875 Stansbury was seventy years of age. The publication of the story could only serve to bring the School into disrepute and accelerate its decline. Since he was already contemplating retirement, the Company decided, firmly for once, to buy up his interest in the School and pension him off.

Walker says that the impending retirement of Stansbury prompted the Grocers' Oundle Committee to approach the Endowed Schools branch of the Charity Commission in order that they might define more clearly their own ideas about the School's future.[20] According to the Charity Commision files, however, this is not a strictly accurate account. The initiative in fact came from the Commissioners. In June, 1875, a month before a new Committee was appointed to consider Stansbury's retirement, the Commissioners, unprompted, informed the Company that "at an early date" they intended dealing with the reform of Oundle School. They were already preparing a scheme for the Grocers' School at Witney. An interview with J.H. Warner took place in the Endowed Schools Department on 26 October, 1875. He told Richmond, the Commission's Secretary, that Stansbury was to leave by arrangement at Christmas, and that "the Company desires to come to an agreement with the Commissioners as to the further character of the School for their guidance in electing a new master." This plea by the Grocers for advice amounted to an admission that they felt some obligation, under the Endowed Schools Acts, to gain the official consent of the Charity Commission for any alterations they proposed making in the character and structure of the School. Also Warner claimed that the Company spent between £1,500 and £2,000 a year on the School, "their obligation being only £300 a year, as settled by Lord Langdale." The reference to

[20] Walker *op. cit.*, 384.

the Chancery case is interesting, and will be referred to later. Warner said that the Company was willing to spend more, but that they were "decided in their wish not to admit any external governors; to a local visiting body they had no objection."[21] Evidently the recommendations of the Schools Inquiry Commission about the composition of governing bodies,[22] in conjunction with the Emanuel controversy, still inflamed the anxieties of the City Companies in their role as educational trustees.

At this interview Richmond suggested, on behalf of the Endowed Schools Department, that a first-grade modern school should be created, "lest as a Classical School it should clash with Uppingham, Stamford and others close by." To satisfy local demand for a lower grade school he recommended that "the Company should subsidise the Latham, or Blue Coat, School in Oundle" which, by this time, had declined to the status of a poor elementary school. To Warner the idea seemed "not unacceptable." It was arranged that Richmond should subsequently meet the School Committee of the Company to discuss the whole question further.

Walker's account of this 1875 episode contains no reference to the interview with Warner, though he does say, inaccurately, that Richmond at the subsequent meeting with the School Committee in November presented a "report" on the School. This seems very unlikely. In an Appendix added later to the first interview memorandum, Richmond recorded that the future character of the School was "discussed at length" during the meeting; but there was in any case hardly sufficient time for the Commissioners to have prepared a report on the School. Probably Richmond used notes culled from two sources : T.H. Green's report for the S.I.C., and the extensive scheme prepared for the Endowed Schools Commissioners by the members of the Northants Education Society in 1873 which, though never implemented, had favourably impressed the Commissioners.[23]

According to Walker's account, little came of Richmond's suggestions at the meeting. There was evidently a political struggle in process among the members of the School Committee, and Warner changed his mind : he supported the majority decision of the Commitee that Oundle should become a first-grade classical school, with special provision for the teaching of 'modern' subjects to boys who would choose not to do Latin and Greek. In the opinion of most members of the Company, Oundle had to remain a boarding school partly because their purchase of Stansbury's boarding houses had been one of the conditions of his retirement.[24]

Under the Endowed Schools Acts such a decision by the Company was quite in order, and there were a number of precedents for this kind of division. It was unfortunate, however, in the light of later developments, that the Company chose to ignore the educational opinions of Richmond who represented the moderate reforming attitude of central government and expressed the official principles enunciated by the S.I.C.[25] The Company appointed H.St.John Reade to succeed Stansbury. Walker suggests that Reade, one of the original masters at 'progressive' Haileybury in 1862, must have found Oundle a comparatively old-fashioned School. But the new man, though he made a number of changes in school etiquette and increased the School population, did nothing more radical than create a 'Public Services' Department in which modern languages and mathematics were taught to those older pupils not intending to proceed to the Universities.

But in June, 1876, Reade put rather more

[21] PRO ED 27/3684/44933, interview memorandum, D.C.Richmond and J.H.Warner, 26 October, 1875.

[22] *S.I.C.*, I, chapter VII.

[23] Allsobrook, 'The Reform of the Endowed Schools . . .", 53.

[24] Walker, *op. cit.*, 384-5.

[25] Hobhouse, L.T. and Hammond, J.L., *Lord Hobhouse, a Memoir*, London, 1905, 51.

sweeping proposals to the Company.[26] He recommended a clear-cut division of the School into two. At first he thought that the fees should remain at two guineas; but later he spoke of raising the fees of the first-grade school. He was a thorough, though indiscreet, publicist for his new ideas, and in July, 1876, he called a public meting in Oundle at which his proposal seems to have met with general approval.[27] The lower-school fees were to remain at two guineas; but he did not mention fees for the upper school. While it was predicted that each school would have a distinctive social character, there was to be facility for transfer of lower-school boys to the classical school; and in the upper school there was to be a non-Greek department for those gentlemen's sons who did not intend going on to the Universities. The Company accepted Reade's proposals and the plans for considerable extensions to the buildings which were attached to them. By the beginning of September, 1876, there were two Laxton Schools in Oundle.

Walker's account of the next stage in the process of change is interesting chiefly for its omissions, and it misrepresents what happened so as to imply that there can be no doubt about the legality or propriety of the Company's activities in the years from 1876 to 1886. Using the evidence of the Grocers' archives, he states quite correctly that in October, 1876, the Company consulted Richmond about their position at Oundle; and he quotes a short passage from Richmond's reply : "understanding . . . that under the (proposed) Scheme the Company will undertake the spend £15,000 on new buildings and to appropriate to the maintenance of the School a sum equal to the average amount so spent during the last few years, the Commisioners on their part are willing to provide in the Scheme that the entire administration shall be vested as heretofore in the Grocers' Company." Walker himself notes that "the schoolroom, the school house and £300 a year formed an Educational Endowment, and so came under the control of the Charity Commissioners." He also shows that "a year or two later" the Company thought it wise to obtain a licence from the Crown to confirm their title to what had already been bought – Dryden House, Laxton House, and some property in Church Lane.[28] Nevertheless, despite Walker's claim that the Charter granted to the Company in 1640 had removed all limitation on the amount of land they were allowed to hold, the Attorney-General, on receipt of their application "a year or two after 1876", declared that any property acquired without licence from the Crown had become forfeit to the Crown.

In his original letter to Richmond, 15 August, 1876, Ruck, clerk to the Company, had written, "I am also to ask whether in the event of the Court (of the Company) desiring to make a material alteration in, or to reconstruct, the existing school building, it will be necessary to obtain the authority of the Commissioners for the purpose." It will be remembered that by this time the Company was already committed to dividing the School and the accompanying necessity of providing new buildings on a large scale. In a section of his letter omitted from Walker's account, and in reply to Ruck's question, Richmond said, "It will be enough to direct your attention to the 55th Section of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, and to say that if building operations are begun before a scheme takes effect, the consent of the Commissioners under that section will be requisite."[29]

Apart from Walker's omission of long sections of the 1876 correspondence with the Commissioners which might have been of crucial importance in relation to future developments at the School, two interpretative points emerge from Richmond's letter.

[26] Walker, *op. cit.*, 388.
[27] *ibid.*, 389.
[28] *ibid.*, 395.
[29] PRO ED 27/3684/44933, letter of D.C.Richmond to W.Rusk, Clerk to the Grocers' Company, 25 October, 1876.

Firstly, the Grocers' anxiety about the legality of their proceedings in 1876 is clearly evident. Secondly, Walker's treatment of the letter might be taken to suggest that a scheme had already been drafted by the Commissioners for the Company, or that a Company scheme had been submitted to them and been officially accepted. No such official scheme ever existed. By the end of August, 1876, the Company's School Committee must have known that their decisions to divide the School and spend munificently on buildings without the consent of the Charity Commissioners were illegal.

The story of Reade's headmastership, the sudden collapse of his hopes and his dismissal by the Company in 1883 are dealt with by Walker in a manner unflinchingly critical of both headmaster and governors.[30] He records in some detail the episode in 1882 of Reade's raising the classical-school fees, and the objections of the townspeople. Yet it was the indiscreet manner of Reade's action, rather than the fact of the increase, which brought about his dismissal. He had seemed to over-reach himself in trying to create a 'great school' under the noses of the governors without clearly explaining his educational policy to them. T.C.Fry came from Cheltenham to replace him but left after a year because of ill-health. He was succeeded by Mungo Park, who came from Louth Grammar School with conventional credentials as a sound classics teacher.

The Grocers still had no clearly defined set of principles to guide them in the management of the School, and at this particular point, another acutely embarassing problem arose. Walker mentions briefly the Royal Commission on the City of London Livery Companies whose report was published in 1884,[31] and he suggests that "the cynical have said that the Companies, knowing that the Commission was coming, had made efforts to set their houses in order before being summoned to give evidence. It was so said in Oundle in 1882 . . ." The same phrase had been used by Richmond in relation to the Company in 1876. Walker continues, "needless to say, no action followed the publication of (the 1884 Report); perhaps the work had already been done (at Oundle)". But the proceedings of the Livery Companies Commission had a closer bearing on events at Oundle than this comment implies. The Commission was a continuation of the campaign against the patronage and privileges of closed corporations undertaken by Hobhouse and Roby in 1869. Thomas Hare and Henry Longley, who had investigated at various times City Companies' charities, gave evidence to the Liveries Commission and were critical of them as trustees.[32]

Despite the need for professional discretion Hare was careless in the presentation of some of his opinions. As a result, the Grocers sent a deputation to the Commission, one of their aims being to attack Hare for saying that he "he did not know of any City Companies having applied for a scheme" under the 1869 Act, "and that the City Companies are not likely to apply for schemes." The reason for his mistake, they suggested, was probably that "Mr. Hare is an official of the Charity Commission and that he is not thoroughly acquainted with the proceedings of the Endowed Schools Commision to whose functions the Charity Commissioners succeeded in 1875."[33] In fact Hare had said, "I think there are few cases in which Companies have applied for schemes, and what I say is that the Charity Commissioners have no power to impose a scheme unless the Companies apply for it." He did admit, "I do not know of any Company having applied for it, I will not say there are none, because the matter need not pass under my observation."[34] In the

[30] Walker, *op. cit.*, 419 ff.

[31] *Ibid.*, 391. Its title was, *The Royal Commission on the Livery Companies of the City of London*, 1883.

[32] *Report of the Livery Companies Commission, Minutes of Evidence*, Mr. Henry Longley, 22 March, 1882, 107 ff.

[33] *ibid.*, deputation from the Grocers' Company, 21 February, 1883, 268. [34] *ibid.*, evidence of Thomas Hare, 15 March, 1882, 97 ff.

circumstances, the Company seems to have been protesting too much; but they did make the legitimate point that they had as a Company applied for schemes for their schools at Witney, Colwall and Oundle; and their intervention was chiefly designed to remind their opponents of the creation of the School at Hackney Downs entirely on their own initiative. They said, "The Endowed Schools Commissioners expressly thanked the Company for setting what the Commissioners termed so good an example." In addition they might have said that Hare had overlooked the scheme which he, as Inspector of Charities, had helped to make for the Haberdashers at Monmouth in the 1860s, and the same Company's aplication for schemes for their schools at Hoxton and Newport.[35]

J.H.Warner, reading the Grocers' evidence to the Livery Commission, seems to have kept the matter of the Company's expenditure on its schools deliberately vague. He said that they were legally, by Langdale's judgement, to provide only an extra £300 at Oundle; and that the rest of the income, under Laxton's will, about £4,000, belonged to the Company as their private property. In fact, however, they spent "upwards of £3,000 a year" on that School, and had "within the last eight years, laid out £28,000 on school buildings, masters' houses and playgrounds." They also boasted of spending £433 in 1877 and £862 in 1878 on Witney School, though they had not been legally obliged to do so. "They are also maturing a scheme, with the advice of some of the most eminent scientific men of the day, for the endowment of original research in sanitary science."[36]

It might be thought that this startling flurry of evidence about the Company's expenditure at Oundle would have provoked immediate inquisitorial activity in the Charity Commission office. But Richmond remained silent until 28 July, 1886, when he sent the following memorandum to his junior colleague, and brother-in-law, the Hon.W.N.Bruce :

> . . . I should like to see the Clerk to the Grocers' Company myself, but this can hardly be arranged till after the Vacation. At your leisure a letter may be forwarded to the Clerk to say that the Commissioners are engaged upon several Endowed Schools in the county, and in connexion therewith are desirous of being fully and accurately informed concerning the present condition of Laxton's school, in the development of which they are aware the Company have taken an active interest during the ten years which have elapsed since our last letter. If the Clerk would make it convenient to call at an early date in October . . . a Commissioner would be glad to have some conversation with him on the matter unless the Master of the Company should prefer to call himself.[37]

Walker makes no reference to the above letter, nor to any of its important direct consequences. Yet it can be argued that it was this letter which set off the chain of events which culminated in the appointment of Sanderson in 1892.

The inquiry into Northants schools which Richmond mentioned was not merely a stratagem : inquiry and reform were indeed proceeding in the county at this time. A scheme had already been ratified for the neighbouring Cathedral School in Peterborough, and a number of other schools were being examined, albeit in a leisurely way.[38] However, there can be little doubt but that the revelation of the Company's recent extravagant activities at Oundle provided the chief reason for Richmond's letter to Bruce and the subsequent inquiry.

Bruce did not write to the Company until October. The new Clerk, Somers-Smith, whom Walker describes as a good friend of Oundle, attended for interview at the Charity Commission on 29 October, and

[35] PRO ED 27/6612, Monmouth School file.

[36] *Report of the Livery Companies Commission*, deputation from the Grocers' Company, 21 February, 1883, 268.

[37] PRO ED 27/3684/44933, memorandum of D.C. Richmond to Assistant Commissioner W.N.Bruce, 28 July, 1886.

[38] PRO ED 27/3686, Peterborough file, The Peterborough scheme had been approved, 30 November, 1882.

told Bruce that there were indeed now two schools in Oundle : Laxton's with 47 boys (5 of whom were boarders) mainly the sons of tradesmen and farmers, paying fees of from 2 to 4 guineas; and a first-grade classical school, called Oundle School, with 135 boys (only 20 of these were day-scholars) paying fees of 8 to 15 guineas with an additional £65 for boarders. The headmaster of Oundle School exercised a general supervision over Laxton's School but did not teach there.[39]

> The buildings of the two schools are very near to one another. Laxton's school occupies the old buildings but a new boarding house for Laxton's has been built to accommodate nearly 50 boarders. The old School House is at present being used as the headmaster's boarding house, but a new house is being built for the purpose.

Somers-Smith thought that there had been no new building on the lands of the Charity, but he was not sure, and promised to furnish information on that point. He was personally of the opinion that the existing buildings were too good for the School, and said that the Grocers were subsidising Laxton's School to the extent of £400 per annum, in addition to the £200 which they were bound to furnish. Separate accounts were kept for the two schools, and he thought that the schools were easily separable. The Company had made a 'Scheme' for the School in 1883, but he could not claim that the Company had been given specific powers to do such a thing by the Founder's will.

The Clerk should have been congratulated for his candour, for the information he provided placed the Company in a difficult position. Apparently the Grocers had put up buildings in contravention of the 1869 Endowed Schools Act; they had divided the School without obtaining necessary permission from the Charity Commission; there was considerable vagueness about the Company's spending on the School, though there was no doubt as to their generosity; and it was clear that there were still considerable differences of opinion among the Grocers as to what sort of school, or schools, Oundle should be.

Bruce drafted a letter to the Clerk on 1 November, 1886, saying that he had been instructed to visit Oundle at an early date, with a view to making an inquiry on the spot into the condition of the School. He suggested that some members of the Company might wish to attend, and he requested further information in the meantime. He wished to know, in connexion with the first-grade school, firstly "the position in life of the parents of Boarders and Day scholars respectively . . . the localities from which the Boarders come to the School . . . The character of the instruction now given . . . the age to which the boys commonly remain," and lastly, "Is it contemplated that the School should fulfil the functions of a County school or should draw boys indifferently from all parts of the country?"[40] Each of these requests was closely in accord with the blueprints for inquiry first set down by the S.I.C. between 1865 and 1867, and with the methods of procedure practised by Richmond and his colleagues at the Charity Commission after 1875.

In reply Somers-Smith sent a prospectus which listed the masters in the Upper School; the prizes – for instance, the prize presented by Lord Rothschild to the boy who passed the best examination in Science; the University Exhibitions – four of £50 for four years at Oxford or Cambridge; and a large number of University successes achieved in the period 1882 to 1886. There were eleven masters in the Upper School, including Park. The Laxton School had four masters, and the prospectus stated, "the school educates boys for Commercial and Agricultural life, the lower branches of the Civil Service, the University Local and other examinations." Appended was a map of Oundle showing the schools and the Grocers' property coloured in imperial pink.

[39] PRO ED 27/3684/44933, interview memorandum, Richmond and Somers-Smith, 29 October, 1886.

[40] *ibid.*, letter of W.N.Bruce to Somers-Smith, 1 November, 1886.

After visiting Oundle Bruce submitted his report to the Charity Commission on 2 March, 1887.[41] The bland tone of his remarks concealed the incisive import of his findings. He began with a brief history of the foundation, noting particularly Green's 1866 report and the scandals of Stansbury's later years when the School had been held together by the "excellent teaching of Mr. Brereton", the assistant master. He recounted the 1873 and 1875 attempts to make new schemes, and the long interval from 1875 to 1886 in which the Company had remained silent. He said, "nothing was known of the further action of the Company until last October when an interview . . . disclosed the fact that the Company had spent about £15,000 in buildings for a first-grade school . . . In concert with Mr. Reade the Company formed an ambitious scheme for the development of the educational work at Oundle without the knowledge or assistance of the Commissioners."

Bruce found that in the lower school, of the 5 boarders, 3 came from London and were the sons of Liverymen of the Company, Scholarships for boarders were in the gift of the Company and were not open to competition.

> "The Company professes to give scholarships at the Oundle School to be competed for by boys who have been at least one year at Laxton's School, but only one boys has passed from one school to the other in the present headmaster's time (that is, in the past three years), and I gathered from him that the Company did not care to foster the connexion of the two schools."

It seemed that none of the day boys at Oundle School was expected to go on to the Universities.

The buildings were "of handsome solid stone . . . The classrooms are exceedingly good . . . Italian workmen were employed in much of the decorative work, and every part of the building shows signs of lavish expenditure." The Oundle people hated the full-length statue of Sir William Laxton on the face of the main tower. "The documents relating to Sir William Laxton's bequest were destroyed some years ago by a fire at Grocers' Hall." Consequently there was no evidence to show whether the new buildings had been erected on trust land or not. But even the townspeople who hated the new School were unwilling to accuse the Company of misappropriation in this respect.

The headmaster, Park, thought the schools would benefit from closer interconnexion by means of scholarships, and he considered the Company to have been most unenlightened on the subject of transfer : they would not even allow the housemasters to found 'House Scholarships'. No remission of fees by the headmaster was permited. Even Somers-Smith thought the Company's policy "rather a mistaken one". He said that the Company's explanation of their refusal to grant scholarships was that they wanted to give education at a cheap rate, not to compete with other schools. But he thought that the Company was failing to carry out even this policy with any determination : the fees should be still lower.

The Vicar of Oundle did not object to the creation of two schools, but he too disliked the lack of an adequate bridge between them. His opinion of the educational policy of the Company was that it was poor : the buildings were certainly those of a first-grade school, but the teaching was of a mediocre quality; the headmaster had never been "a first-class man". The local stationer thought most of the inhabitants felt injured by the recent changes. Formerly they got their sons educated for two guineas a year at a school of good social standing; now they must either pay nine guineas for a 'first-grade' education, or send their sons to a school with a limited course of studies. He also complained that "the townspeople never come face to face with the Company except on Speech-day, and then the Company entertain the leading citizens so sumptuously that it is felt impossible to enter on the subject of grievances." Dr. Calcott, the

[41] *ibid.*, Assistant-Commissioner Bruce's Report on Oundle Schools, 2 March, 1887.
[42] Wells, *op. cit.*, 22, 26.

local surgeon, challenged the validity of the 1843 Langdale decision and upheld the right of Oundle to the enjoyment of all Laxton's property. He thought the town should take steps to reverse the ruling. When he had made a fuss about the increased fees he was expected to pay for one of his younger sons, the Company, to keep him quiet, granted the boy an exceptional scholarship to cover the difference in dispute.

However, Bruce did not consider that the local people's grievances were as great as they appeared at first sight. The population of the town, about 3,000, was unlikely to increase. "The only persons to whom the grievances are real are the comparatively small class of superior tradesmen, farmers and commercial men." He said that the Company were "pleased with the idea of making their schools at once the chief ornament and support of a picturesque country town and a monument to their disinterested benevolence in the cause of education." They considered that

> in providing the money for buildings of unusual and needless magnificence they were doing all that was required to secure the fulfilment of their wishes. Although they have no qualifications as a body for dealing with questions of Higher Education, they do not appear to have sought independent advice

Their claim to eschew competition was hardly realistic in a School within fifty miles of Rugby and only fifteen miles from Uppingham. And alongside these schools Oundle, with only one exhibition a year at the Universities, cut a very poor figure. The same principle applied to Laxton's School : the town was too close to Northampton, Bedford and Peterborough to be sure of 36 boarders. Somers-Smith thought that if the Company were approached "in a friendly spirit, the opinion and advice of the Commissioners would be gladly received and carefully considered."

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Bruce's report was never published; it remains in typescript in the Charity Commission file for Oundle School at the Public Record Office. No official action was ever taken against the Company for obvious irregularities in their attempts to reform the School on their own. Walker's history of the Schools remains a valuable source of information and interpretation for historians of both middle-class education and the public schools in the nineteenth century; but it is hardly surprising that, as an official history, it contains no discussion of the Charity Commission inquiry undertaken by Bruce. The chastening of the Grocers was followed five years later by their positive act of appointing Sanderson to the headmastership which soon brought the School to the forefront of developments in secondary education.

The Grocers certainly acted high-handedly in their management of the School from the 1840s onwards; but it was misleading of Bruce to attribute to then "disinterested benevolence". Up to the early 1880s their expenditure of money in excess of what was required by Langdale's judgement could be seen as benefiting some of the people of Oundle; but there is strong evidence for supposing that, like other Livery Company governors, they used the School as part of their system of patronage in relation to children of their London employees and dependents. Their grants in support of the parish church and other local causes were components of their broad policy of softening the local people by means of ostentatious generosity at Company 'festivals' in the town. Like other governors of their kind, who were usually not in a position to assess educational needs except in their own commercial terms or according to pretensions to University education, the Grocers were above taking advice from such experts as were available to them in the field of secondary education. They failed to respond to approaches from the Northants Education Society whose members possessed general experience of

the developing pattern of secondary schooling in the County; and, more culpably, they seem to have ignored the chance that now and then a group of its members had the conscience and intelligence to rise above the normal indifference of such people to the full possibilities of the Laxton bequest. Generally, Wells thought, the Company's conduct had varied "between half-hearted help and negligence, and the diversion of the funds to other ends; it has no tradition of competent governorship." His prejudices were too obvious; but his judgement, though extreme, contains a strong element of truth in relation to the Grocers in the second half of the nineteenth century. In Sanderson, Oundle gained a great headmaster; and Sanderson, in Wells, found a great apologist. But Laxton's bequest was a local public charity; and it can be argued that, as a result of the diversion of its income to the support of a great school, the area around Oundle became, in terms of secondary education, a desert for most elements in the local community until very recent times.

THE EDUCATION ACT OF 1902 AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

BRIAN YORK

The existing condition of the grammar schools and the need which an increasingly industrialized and urbanized society felt for secondary education forms one of the main themes of the history of English education in the nineteenth century.[1]

By 1902 government recognized that only positive state intervention could improve the secondary schools of England and Wales. The Education Act of that year turned the county councils and county boroughs (established in 1888) into local education authorities. One of their prime duties was to provide new rate-aided secondary schools, and to assist or acquire the older endowed grammar schools. Board of Education regulations of 1904 ensured that the new secondary schools were modelled on the endowed grammar schools of the late nineteenth century and therefore expansion of middle class secondary education, which could now proceed at a much faster rate than before 1902, meant in practice the growth of county *grammar* schools. However, the introduction of the free place system in 1907 ensured that in those schools twenty-five per cent of the places were "free" and therefore a higher proportion of "poorer" children was admitted.

The 1902 Education Act is now generally regarded as one of the major progressive developments in the history of English education. Yet, at the time, it was passed by a *Conservative* government led by A.J. Balfour, and *opposed*, often bitterly, by the *Liberal* Party. It was not that the Liberals opposed the provisions for secondary education but they could not stomach other parts of the Bill which abolished the School Boards (for elementary education), first created by Gladstone's government in 1870. The Party had consistently held power in most of the city and large town School Boards. County councils and county boroughs were to inherit the School Boards' powers and the former were predominantly Conservative. Even worse for the Liberals, representing the Nonconformist interest and conscience, the 1902 Education Act gave rate aid to Anglican and Catholic elementary voluntary schools, or, as Lloyd George maintained, 'Rome is to be put on the rates'. The Liberal Party therefore felt that the 1902 measure in all its provisions had to be opposed. The Party division in Parliament, however, was not always reflected faithfully at local level, especially once that the 1902 Act was on the statute book.

This article illustrates that Party political views and interests were more complex by examining the record of the Conservative Northamptonshire County Council in providing new secondary schools after 1902 and especially in relation to the grammar school question in one town, Kettering. Kettering had a population of just under 30,000 in 1901 and an urban district council which was predominantly Liberal. The article reveals how the County Council Conservatives attempted to avoid, or at least reduce to a minimum, their new responsibilities for secondary education given to them by 'their' government, and how other bodies, including local Liberals who had conducted a major and sometimes wild campaign against the 1902 legislation, attempted to pressurize the County Council into using its new powers fully.

One of the new powers *not* given to the new government department, the Board of Education, when it was established in 1899, was that of positive initiation. The result was that county councils could provide increased secondary school places after 1902 as quickly or as slowly as they wished.

[1] P.H.J.G. Gosden, *The Development of Educational Administration in England and Wales*, Oxford, 1966, 57.

Northamptonshire County Council took full advantage of the Board's lack of a 'whip'.

During the 1890s the predominantly Liberal governors of the old endowed Kettering grammar school (founded in 1577)[2] had serious negotiations with the Charity Commission, the Science and Art Department, and with the Technical Education Committees of Northamptonshire County Council and Kettering Urban District Council. It was agreed in 1898 that the endowment should form the basis of a 'Modern and Technical' school. This plan was overtaken, unfortunately for the contemporary child population of the Kettering area, by the 1902 legislation. The new Education Committee of the County acted far more slowly than anyone anticipated. The result was that Kettering did not see its new secondary school in existence until 1913. The basic attitude of Northamptonshire Conservatives towards rate-provided schooling had long been suspect in Liberal ranks. When Kettering Urban District Council decided in 1903 to be a 'Part III authority' under the terms of the 1902 Act and thus preserve the town's responsibility for providing its own elementary schools rather surrendering them to the County authority, it stressed that the dominant farming interest controlling the County Council would be more concerned with keeping the rates down than with promoting high educational standards.[3]

The delay of eleven years between the passing of the 1902 Act and the opening of a new grammar school in Kettering was without doubt the responsibility of the County authority. The Unionists and 'Independents', who controlled the County Council from 1888, in the main represented the Church and particularly the landowning interest. They were not in general sympathetic towards the objectives of the 1902 Act concerning secondary schools, and continued to uphold the nineteenth century attitude that provision of middle class education was the responsiblity of the parent and not of local government. Whenever there was an opportunity to hinder the pace of development or economize on educational expenditure, especially in secondary schooling, the Unionists took it. A Board of Education Minute of 1914 stated the consequential problem for grammar school education in Northamptonshire.

> The real opposition to Secondary Education comes from the leading land owners and well-to-do farmers who are often utterly unreasonable, selfish and ever ready to veto expenditure on Education. And it is these men who practically control the County Council.[4]

Indeed they often appeared to resent having to raise a rate for most local services.

The Education Committee of the County Council did not appoint a paid education secretary until September 1904.[5] The choice of J.L. Holland well suited the dominating Unionist interest. He was certainly not an expansionist, and willingly served the delaying and 'penny-pinching' policies of the Committee and Council, not least in the matter of the new secondary school in Kettering. The elected Liberal County Councillors from Kettering made surprisingly little impact. J.A. Gotch, an architect, and R.B. Wallis both came from manufacturing and Dissenting families and were heavily involved in promoting elementary education. They seemed to feel that the promotion of the secondary education needs of Kettering was best left to the governors of the endowed grammar school. Certainly the most influential Kettering politician in educational matters after 1902 was Henry Gale Gotch, brother of the County Councillor. He was a member of Kettering U.D.C. Education Committee and its first chairman. From 1905 he was also chairman of the old grammar school governors and he

[2] For a discussion on the foundation of the school see B.A. York, 'The Origins of Kettering grammar school', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, VI(I), 1978, 21-27.

[3] Kettering Urban District Council (K.U.D.C.), Special Education Committee, 4 March 1903.

[4] Public Record Office (P.R.O.), Ed.53/181.

[5] Northamptonshire County Council (N.C.C.), 24 Sept. 1904.

PLATE 1: HENRY GALE GOTCH
(*Northamptonshire Libraries*)

emerged as the clear leader of the Kettering community on the secondary school problem.

Indeed if H.G. Gotch, the Board of Education and the local press had not applied pressure, Kettering might not have seen its new school until after the First World War. As early as August 1902 even the Conservative *Kettering Guardian* saw the Education Bill as providing the answer to the town's problems in secondary education.

> . . . there is no doubt a great need exists in this connection, as partly shown by the fact that many boys leave Kettering to be educated at other places, when that education should be provided in the town . . . It is important that ample opportunities should be afforded locally for scholars to rise from the elementary schools up the educational ladder.[6]

[6] *Kettering Guardian*, 8 Aug. 1902.

The *Guardian* had a long wait to see its hope realised.

Every year from 1903 the Kettering Part III authority asked the County Council to speed up the process of providing the new secondary school.[7] The Liberal *Kettering Leader* pleaded in 1907:

> We join in the exhortation addressed at the Kettering Council meeting this week to the new County Council members that they will give their authority no rest until the town is rescued from its quandary.[8]

Similarly the mainly Liberal governors of the existing endowed Kettering grammar school felt frustrated because of the delays. As a body they had been displeased that the passing of the 1902 legislation had halted the progress of their previous plans for a new school, and when they discovered in 1903 that the Northamptonshire Education Committee had decided to make an extensive survey of the needs of the county before committing itself to supporting the construction of a particular secondary school in Kettering, they decided to attempt to finance and establish a new school themselves. Naturally the Board of Education in London quashed this under-financed plan, while sympathizing with the evident frustration, and argued that the major financial input to the new grammar school must come from the County Council.[9]

After 1904 the governors constantly complained about the slow-moving Council since they had told the Board in that year that the new school was 'really urgent'.[10] In 1905 their chairman, H.G. Gotch, cited the examples of the neighbouring Northampton County Borough, Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, which had all provided new secondary school places since 1902.[11] He became so annoyed with the County authority that he was even prepared to

[7] *e.g.* K.U.D.C., 19 Aug. 1903, 21 March 1910.
[8] *Kettering Leader*, 12 April 1907.
[9] P.R.O., Ed.27/8221, Board to governors, 3 May 1904.
[10] *Ibid.*, governors to Board, 29 Aug. 1904.
[11] *Kettering Leader*, report of governors' meeting, 27 Jan. 1905.

drastically reduce the size of the proposed new school in order to achieve some progress.[12] The governors, in a letter to the Education Committee, argued that in a town of 32,000, where 5,500 children were attending elementary schools, the minimum secondary provision should be for 300, without considering the needs of surrounding villages and of the training of pupil teachers. Yet, if the authority would move, the governors were prepared to accept a school initially for just 200, or even for 120 boys only, leaving provision for a girls' school for the future. They concluded with a plea:

> We state the needs of our District to you – as the appropriate Committee of the body charged by Parliament with the duty of making provision for those needs; of the body which has already rated Kettering . . . in support of Secondary Education.

Until a scheme was finally agreed in 1911 the governors were amenable to any suggestions from either the Board or the County which might encourage the early provision of the new school.

Between 1902 and 1913 the local press and particularly the *Kettering Leader* continually complained about the long delays. In 1903 the Liberal newspaper asked what was being done.

> The subject is not being dealt with in the serious manner that it deserves . . . Is it not time that the local bodies who pretend to have the matter in hand wake up and make a definite move? . . . no practical effort (is made) to provide a school for those who win the scholarships and who have to attend schools in other towns because their own town cannot boast an educational establishment to meet their needs.[13]

Six years later the editorials on the subject were sceptical, even cynical on occasion:

> The subject has been so long in abeyance . . . and hopes have so often been raised only to die away without realization, that the townspeople may well be pardoned if they are not yet in a mood to loudly acclaim

the news that the parties had reached an agreement to build the new school.[14]

> Meanwhile the needs of the young people, the prestige of the town, and the welfare of the community unite in the cry 'Oh, let it be soon!'

The major pressure, however, operating on the Unionist County Council, came from the Board of Education, although it was often applied indirectly through the agency of Kettering U.D.C.'s Education Committee, whose pupil-teacher centre operated in inadequate premises. The County Council had no centre, used the out-dated system of tuition by individual elementary school headteachers, and from 1904 paid for places at the Northampton County Borough centre and that at Kettering. The Board regarded the County Council 'as among the most backward of the rural Education Authorities in putting the Regulations (on pupil-teachers) into force'.[15] There were no scholarships for pupil-teachers and the County had 'so far relied mainly on the initiative of other Local Authorities'. With the provision in Kettering unsatisfactory the Board recognized that centre for government grants only until August 1907, and made further recognition conditional on reasonable progress being made with plans for a new grammar school, which would incorporate a pupil-teacher centre.[16] The H.M.I.s' report on the centre in 1907 stressed that pupil-teachers should attend a good secondary school as soon as was possible.[17] From that year the Board made a reluctant recognition of the centre for one year only each autumn, and usually asked the Kettering authority to demand speedy adequate provision of a new secondary school from the County.[18] Indeed the Board

[12] Messrs. Lamb and Holmes, solicitors, West Street, Kettering (holders of Kettering grammar school pre-1913 records), governors to Northants. Education Committee, 20 July 1905.

[13] *Kettering Leader*, 21 Aug. 1903.

[14] *Ibid.*, 5 March 1909.

[15] P.R.O., Ed.53/179, Board report on pupil teachers in Northants. and Kettering Urban District, 25 Aug. 1905.

[16] *Ibid*; Kettering Ed. Cmt., 21 Aug., 2 Sept. 1905.

[17] *Ibid.*, 8 April 1907; *Kettering Guardian*, 12 April 1907.

[18] Kettering Ed. Cmt., 12 Aug., 13 Nov. 1907.

only granted recognition for 1908-09 once that the County had been forced into drafting a scheme for secondary education throughout Northamptonshire under the terms of the 1902 Act.[19] In 1909 the Board informed the Kettering Education Committee that recognition for the forthcoming year would not be given unless the physical construction of a new school had actually been begun.[20] Although the Board relented on that occasion, an internal Minute early in 1910 commented: 'It should be explained that the L.E.A.'s readiness to build at Kettering was due to the Board's refusal to continue recognition to the Pupil Teacher Centre'.[21] The view was frequently expressed within the Board that the County Council was only too anxious to find excuses for further delays.[22] From 1910 the Board refused recognition and therefore grants to the Kettering centre until the new school was in the course of erection.[23] The board did not relent this time until construction work was begun in 1912.[24] Indeed if the Board had not exerted pressure on the County authority indirectly through the Kettering Education Committee but also directly, the building of a new Kettering grammar school would have been postponed even longer.

Direct pressure was of course exerted frequently by the Board on the County Education Committee over the question of pupil-teachers' training but also over wider questions. In 1907 it produced a Report on secondary education in the administrative county.[25] Out of a total population of 207,485 only 432 boys and 48 girls were attending secondary grammar schools in Northamptonshire and the County Borough. There were only 2.08 boys at secondary schools per 1,000 of population compared with 3.53 in Derbyshire, 6.11 in Essex and 6.85 in Hampshire. Because of the paucity of scholarship provision 'It will be seen how very slender are the chances of a poor boy securing a University career if he happens to be born in Northamptonshire'. The *Report* concluded: '. . . the present condition of secondary education in the County is lamentable'. Although the Northamptonshire Education Committee received the *Report* in diluted form its reaction was only to take note.[26] An internal Board Minute commented: 'The County as a County are against Secondary Education and they have not yet "considered the needs of the area . . ."'.[27] However, whatever the extent of the pressure exerted by the Board, the County Council still managed to delay formal agreement on a new Kettering school until 1911.

Not until 1907 did the County Council begin to pay a penny to maintain *any* secondary school, and even then the first was provided by Northampton County Borough. One third of the places was reserved for County boys and the rural authority contributed just £400 annually towards maintenance costs.[28] In the same year, however, the County did provide its own schools, one at Wellingborough for boys only, an entirely new foundation, and the other at Daventry, where the development was from an existing endowment.[29]

The protracted production of a secondary schools' scheme for the county as a whole was finally approved by the County Council in March 1909.[30] At least it could be argued that the County had been thorough and the Board of Education thankfully gave swift

[19] P.R.O., Ed. 53/180, Board *Report on secondary schools in Northants.*, 23 Nov. 1907; K.U.D.C., 2 Nov. 1908.
[20] Kettering Ed. Cmt., 22 Feb. 1909; Northants. Ed. Cmt. Higher Education sub-committee, 24 April 1909; *Kettering Leader*, 30 July 1909.
[21] P.R.O., Ed 35/1969, 14 Jan. 1910.
[22] *e.g. ibid.*, 1 June 1910.
[23] Kettering Ed. Cmt., 22 April 1910; Northants. Higher Education sub-committee, 4 June 1910.
[24] Kettering Ed. Cmt., 23 Sept. 1912.
[25] P.R.O., Ed. 53/180, *Report on secondary schools in Northants.*, 23 Nov. 1907.
[26] Northants. Ed. Cmt., 29 Feb. 1908.
[27] P.R.O., Ed. 53/180.
[28] N.C.C., 24 Oct. 1907.
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] *Ibid.*, 18 March, 1909.

approval to the proposals.[31] However, the delaying tactics of the County continued. In relation to Kettering, not until February 1910 did the Council vote the money to purchase the site for the new school.[32] Furthermore, although a draft scheme seemed to have been agreed by all parties, in 1909 further delay ensued.

Northamptonshire Education Committee made it quite clear that it was more interested in the cost to county ratepayers than in education.

> At Kettering there has been for some years a small and struggling Grammar School conducted in premises which are quite inadequate for educational purposes.
>
> In settling the details of their Scheme the Committee have had careful regard to three leading principles. In the first place . . . wherever there are local endowments attached to a School . . . those endowments . . . should be entirely devoted to the general support and maintenance of the School.[33]

In addition the Kettering U.D.C. was to contribute its full rate for 'higher education' and the County Council, on contributing the bulk of maintenance cost, was to enjoy a large majority on the governing body of the new school.

The minutes of the County Council and its Education Committee reveal consistently the view of their normal Unionist-Independent majority that education was too expensive. The most outspoken Unionist was J.H. Timms, who consistently opposed estimates for educational and most other social purposes. For example, in July 1909 he protested against the 'constant and abominable increase' in the cost of education.[34] Timms received considerable support. As an immediate result spending on a new elementary school (at Blisworth) was reduced by £250. Timms complained consistently and specifically about the excessive cost of both elementary and secondary education in Kettering. He even did so in 1911, though there was as yet no County grammar school in the town.[35]

So anxious were the Liberals on the old grammar school governing body and the Kettering Education Committee to see a new secondary school that they raised no major objections to the County's proposals of 1909. There was to be a dual school in which the sexes would be taught separately but certain teachers would divide their time between boys and girls. Economy was provided for in that the hall, laboratories and a few additional rooms would be used by both sexes. Initially accommodation was to be for 200 boys and 200 girls serving a population of 53,435. In fact the scheme in these respects was very similar to the original plan put forward during the 1890s. The school was part of the County secondary education scheme, which also provided schools for both sexes in Daventry, Towcester, Brackley, Wellingborough and Oundle as well as the interest in the Northampton town and county school.

When the scheme for the Kettering school appeared to have been agreed in 1909 the *Kettering Leader* expected it to open in the following year.[36] It was to be disappointed, because the County and its Education Committee, or more accurately the Unionist and farming interests, opposed the Board of Education's insistence that the income of £927 per annum from the old Kettering grammar school endowment should be used for the provision of scholarships and not simply be devoted to help to pay the running costs of the new school, as the County Education Committee argued.[37] Until agreement could be reached the County stopped negotiations to purchase the site for the new school, a repetition of

[31] P.R.O., Ed. 53/180, internal minute, 1909; Northants Higher Education sub-committee, 6 Nov. 1909.
[32] N.C.C., 24 Feb. 1910.
[33] P.R.O., Ed 35/1969, 18 March 1909.
[34] N.C.C., 8 July 1909; *Kettering Leader*, 9 July 1909.
[35] *Kettering Guardian*, report of N.C.C meeting, 12 May 1911.
[36] *Kettering Leader*, 31 Dec. 1909.
[37] Northants. Higher Education sub-committee, 7 May 1910; P.R.O., Ed. 35/1969, Northants. Ed Cmt. to Board, 13 May 1910.

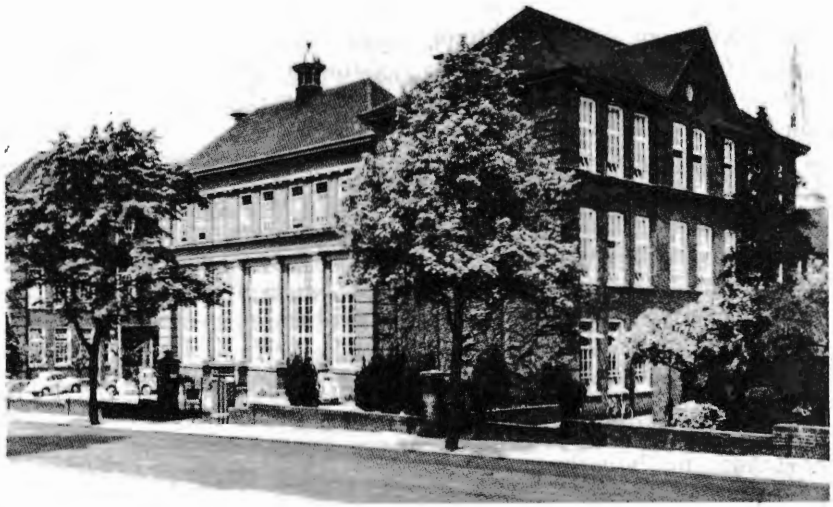


PLATE 2: THE GRAMMAR AND HIGH SCHOOLS OF 1913
(*Northamptonshire Libraries*)

the tactic it had used over the same issue in relation to the scheme for Towcester grammar school, in order 'to keep the rates down'.[38] The Minute of the Board expressed the view that Northamptonshire County Council was only too pleased to find a reason for yet further delay.[39]

However, in order to expedite matters, the Board did make a compromise, which was largely a victory for the County and a setback for potential scholars in Kettering's elementary schools. As was the case at the Wellingborough County secondary school, *only 12* scholarships *in total* were to be held at any one time. There was no provision for exhibitions to universities. The entrenched position of the Unionist and farming majority had forced the Board to give way.[40] In practice only £90 each year would be spent on scholarship provision, and the remainder of endowment income was to disappear into the County's maintenance fund. Because the old school governors would not contemplate a further prolonged period of negotiation in providing a new school, which they had first proposed 12 years earlier, like the Board they succumbed to the miserly demand of the County, as did the Kettering Education authority.[41]

Further quibbles by the County over the precise distribution (which was finally agreed to be that of strict equality) of scholarships and free places between the sexes, delayed even longer a final agreement on the draft scheme for the new dual school until 1911.[42] The scheme was approved by the King in Council on 4 May but the County continued to cause delay by raising questions of minute detail over the architects's design and financing (down to the level of the cost of desks). This meant that the beginning of construction work was

[38] *Ibid.*, internal minute, May 1910.
[39] *Ibid.*, 1 June, 1910.
[40] Northants. Higher Education sub-commitee, 23 July 1910.

[41] Governors' Committees' minute Book, III, 8, 22 Sept. 1910; K.U.D.C. General Purposes Committee, 28 Sept. 1910.
[42] P.R.O., Ed. 35/1967, correspondence of Board and Northants. Ed. Cmt., 25 Aug. 1910 – 15 Feb. 1911; Northants. Higher Education sub-committee, 8 Oct., 3 Dec., 1903, 4 March 1911; *Kettering Guardian*, 3 Feb., 28 July 1911.

delayed for another whole year until June 1912.[43]

The new dual Kettering grammar school and high school (as the girls' section was named) finally opened in September 1913 although construction work was not completed until eight months later. However, before either school was recognized by the Board of Education for government grant, it insisted that the Education Committee applied official standards on staffing by appointing additional teachers. This was done rather reluctantly by the Education Committee in January 1914, and again gave yet more evidence to the Board that Northamptonshire, as an education authority, was not enthusiastic about the provision of secondary education.[44]

Nevertheless the pressure of the old grammar school governors, the Kettering Part III authority, the local press and the Board of Education had eventually succeeded in prodding the Unionist County authority into providing a new secondary grammar school in Kettering. When it opened in 1913 the *Kettering Leader* commented:

> Although secondary education is old in the town . . . the local accommodation for education of this calibre was totally inadequate for the district. In fact it has been asserted that the proportion of children to population obtaining a secondary education in Northamptonshire has been the smallest of any county in England . . . Now . . . that lowly position is to be remedied . . . Such a school . . . is absolutely necessary for the educational equipment of the district.[45]

It is true that Northamptonshire is rather an extreme example, but there were other rural county authorities dominated by the Unionist and landed interests which did not share the enthusiasm of A.J. Balfour's Conservative government, or indeed the civil servants (headed by Robert Morant) at the Board of Education, for a massive expansion of secondary education in the early twentieth century.

[43] P.R.O., Ed. 35/1967, correspondence of Board and Northants Ed. Cmt., 15 May 1911 – 14 May 1912; Northants Higher Education sub-committee, 3 June, 1 July, 1911, 27 April, 1 June 1912; Northants. Ed. Cmt., 22 July 1911.

[44] Northants Higher Education sub-committee, 10 June 1914; P.R.O., Ed. 35/1967, Northants. Ed. Cmt. to Board, 29 Jan. 1914, internal minute, Jan. 1914.

[45] *Kettering Leader*, 26 Sept. 1913.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE LETTERS OF JOHN CLARE
edited by MARK STOREY
(Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1985. *Price* £48.00)

This book contains all Clare's known extant correspondence. The Tibbles' 1951 edition included 249 letters: this, 450. Drafts, scraps and poems incorporated in the letters have been included in what is a most impressive piece of scholarship. Even after the most scrupulous search, odd Clare letters will inevitably remain, lurking in uncatalogued archives and remote libraries or surface at sales and auctions. Some missing letters however will probably always remain so because destroyed, either on purpose or by accident. The saddest lacunae are the letters to Eliza Emmerson, one of his earliest encouragers. Only nine remain from this, his most persistent correspondent after his publisher, John Taylor.

It is a remarkable collection, spanning the whole of his adult life, from J.B.Henson, the Market Deeping bookseller who had printed his 'Proposals for publishing by subscription a Collection of Original Trifles' (dated 1818) to the famous 'last letter' (dated 8 March 1860) to James Hipkins:

> Dear Sir
>
> I am in a Madhouse & quite forget your Name or who you are you must excuse me for I have nothing to communicate or tell of & why I am shut up I dont know I have nothing to say so I conclude
>
> yours respectfully John Clare

Between these epistolatory points are letters to a large circle of correspondents – friends, family, publishers, patrons, as well as total strangers. In addition there are 22 letters *to* Clare, from his publisher and family, including the only surviving one from his wife, Patty. These, chosen with great care, help to balance the one-sided view-point.

It is not easy in a few quotations to give a flavour of Clare as letter-writer. Because he is so unaffected and artless, it is as though he were talking to you in the same room. "I write to you . . . as I should do to a Country friend", he remarks to his publisher, Hessey, and to another correspondent: "Letter writing is a thing that I dont give any brush of correction or study to tis just set down as things come to my 'tongues end'".

Clare was a professional poet and inevitably much of his correspondence is to do with his poetry: sending copies to friends and to prospective publishers and replying to admirers. (Sadly, he makes few comments about the origins of his poetry – those on "The Last of March", April 1821, being an exception.) At the heart of the book is his correspondence with his publishers, Taylor and Hessey. Much of this is 'business': answering queries and adding corrections and alterations to poems. Absolutely fascinating is the crucial two-way correspondence ("paper-war") between Clare and Taylor from April 1825 to May 1827 when Taylor seems (to Clare) to be procrastinating over the publication of *The Shepherd's Calendar* by finding petty faults with the poetry. One cannot help sympathising with poor Taylor, who had much to put up with from his prolix, often illegible, not always self-critical poet: "But there should be some Delicacy observed towards even me . . . I feel I must confess a little sore at having had more imposed upon me than it was possible for me to perform."

Clare covers a wide range of subject-matter, showing himself to be a man of wide and critical reading, an astute judge of his fellow men, with a strong sense of humour, and a family man with a deep love for his children and concern for their health and welfare. He invariably shows great generosity in his comments on fellow-poets, such as Keats, Hogg,

Cunningham and Bloomfield, notably his great concern for the dying Keats (29/6/1820), and he has some pertinent comments to make on Keats' poetry (4/7/1820). His racy sense of humour is best captured in his assessment of Hilton's portrait of himself (letter to Taylor, 20/5/1820). That he could be an astute businessman when he wanted to be, can be gauged from his letter to the publisher, James Power, on the setting to music of his poem, 'The Maid of Bromsgrove' by John Barlett (24/9/1825).

Despite Clare's own assertion that his letters are full of "gossip" and "tittle-tattle", there is in fact very little. The scandal surrounding George IV and Queen Caroline is briefly alluded to, and there are occasional references to major political and social events such as the anti-slavery and Reform Bill debates, but Clare is no Horace Walpole. What we do have is a fascinating peep into his everyday domestic life. To him, the breaking of the tail-piece of his cherished 'Cremona' violin is just as important a matter as an impending visit to Milton Hall (13/1/1823). (Hessey had earlier warned Clare of the dangers of devoting too much time to music: "It is an infatuating luxury, and unless taken in moderation has a great tendency to weaken the mind . . ."!) Some of his most personally intimate letters are to artist friends: the sole extant letter to the painter, Edward Rippingille (14/5/1826) and particularly his letters to the sculptor, Henry Behnes ("My dear Harry") who so brilliantly preserved Clare's noble features in the bust in Northampton Library:

> my Father & Mother are well & my Children all noising round me in bustling happiness & Fred & John are bowling your kind presents about the floor with more noise than fair Play while Anna & Eliza are arranging their domestic miniatures in more order & less noise . . ." (30/12/1827)

His affection for his family is underlined in letters to his wife Patty (25/2/1828 and particularly 21/3/1828) and no more poignantly than those from High Beech and Northampton asylums:

> I write to tell you I am getting better I cant write a long letter but wish to know how you all are the place here is beautiful & I meet with great kindness the country is the finest I have seen write & tell me how you all are . . .

Natural history does not feature as prominently in his correspondence as one would expect – probably because he put it all into his poetry. (The 'Natural History Letters' are not included here as they are not genuine corespondence.) His letters of 1824/25 show his newly-developed passion for collecting ferns: "for I love wild things almost to foolishness." There are several touching notes to his gardening friend, Joseph Henderson, asking for seeds, flowers and shrubs: "have you got a drooping willow & double blossomed furze my wife also wants a red japonica . . ." (13/1/1836)

The bulk of the letters were written before his severe illness of 1831/2. After that there is a tailing-off as Clare turns away from his public and in on himself. The later letters make sad reading, darkened by the twin themes of poverty and illness. There are several pathetic begging letters, to Taylor, to the Royal Literary Fund and to wealthy private patrons such as Earl Spencer. His distressing illness is made even more poignant by his own realisation that it is bound up with his essentially melancholic disposition. After 1837 there is a gap of four years before he writes from the asylum at High Beech: a letter in which every word has an initial capital. These are the writings of a man whose mind has, in his own words, "turned the wrong way". "My dear Wife Patty," he writes, "If you are my wife (and I am sure you used to be so – aye, ever since I was twenty-five years of age), write to me here and acknowledge that you are so now . . ." There are letters to Mary Joyce – dead years before, a fact he refused to accept. In the last letters, from Northampton Asylum, mostly to his family, he enquires of and reminisces about "old Neighbours and Labouring Companions of my

single Days". The letters become a litany of "old familiar faces" with the recurrent refrain, "There's no place like Home". "I have been here Nine Years or Nearly & want to come Home very much." (7/11/1849). The correspondence trickles away to nothing.

This edition fulfils its editor's wish – to provide "the fullest and most accurate text of Clare's letters that could reasonably be asked for, so that we are able, quite simply, to read what he wrote." Mr Storey has nosed out every truffle. The editing is meticulous; smudges, tears, illegible handwriting: it could not have been an easy task. He has provided a perceptive Introduction and valuable footnotes, making use of the 1200 or so letters to Clare in the British Library Egerton MSS. There are two excellent Indexes, one of correspondents, the other a general index which includes references to all poems mentioned in the letters. As is the editorial policy of the 'Oxford Clare', idiosyncrasies of spelling and punctuation have been preserved.

Clare, as he himself was only too aware, fell easily from prose to verse. Yet his prose and verse stand distinctly apart. His prose has a vigour, raciness and unselfconsciousness rarely come upon in the nineteenth century. The letters, with their admixture of prose and poetry, therefore capture the man as nearly as anything will do. As Storey says, "they become part of a narrative, a version of the writer's life".

> there as some things that I shall regret leaving & some journeys that I shall make yearly – to see the flood at Lolham Briggs – to gather primroses in hillywood & hunt the nightingales nest in royce wood & go to see the furze in flower on Emmonsails Heath.

TREVOR HOLD

THE NORTHAMPTON AND HARBOROUGH LINE

by JOHN GOUGH

(The Railway and Canal Historical Society, 1984,
Price £3.95 from bookshops, or £4.45 inc. p&p if ordered direct from the RCHS
Sales Officer: C. R. Thomas, 23 Beanfield Avenue, Coventry CV3 6NZ)

This work is the product of an immense amount of documentary research by John Gough. He relates this to Northampton's early desire of being on a main line railway and shows that the Northampton – Market Harborough line eventually came to realisation as a pawn in a contest between the London & North Western Railway and the Midland Railway for other prizes. Unfortunately when the Act was passed in 1853 other factors led to the line's importance declining in the eyes of the LNWR so that they were tardy in actually building, and constructed it as cheaply as possible. It opened in 1859 as a single line. The railway only became important, and consequently doubled, when the LNWR and the Great Northern Railway came together to build a joint line in Leicestershire to gain access to the lucrative coal traffic of the East Midlands and Yorkshire.

Mr Gough does not give much consideration to the physical features of the line or the district through which it passed. He presents some interesting strip maps of the routes of the different lines proposed but these are related only to the contours and not to the location of villages, mineral resources or even roads (except on just one of the maps). Apart from some track diagrams, these maps are the only ones in the book and in his Author's Note, Mr Gough refers his readers to the relevant 1" or 2½" OS maps. This emphasises that this is a scholarly work aimed at researchers or railway buffs. Other readers would have found useful the addition of a map of the area, showing the lines connecting with the Northampton-Market Harborough line and their pre-grouping ownership.

The financial and organisational aspects of building the line are described in detail. However, apart from a reference to liberal prices being advertised for brickmakers at the tunnel at Oxenden, John Gough gives no information on the workmen involved in building the line, or the effect this had on life in the area through which it passed. Because the Northampton & Market Harborough Railway was built as a Branch line, the author concludes that there is no evidence that any great amount of through-traffic was at first envisaged and therefore the expected intermediate traffic was of great significance. He discusses the evidence concerning decisions as to the siting of the stations, but although he states that the plans of the four intermediate stations still survive, these are not reproduced and little indication is given of the facilities provided. There are photographs of the exteriors of the stations on the line but from these it is difficult to ascertain the interior layout and the balance of accommodation between that for workers and that for travellers on the railway. It is unfortunate that the poor standard of reproduction has taken away any sparkle that these photographs might have had and it is also sad that all are so devoid of life of any form.

Mr Gough has used to advantage the Board of Trade inspections reports prior to opening the line. The Inspector found plenty wrong. Much of the work concerning stations and signalling was incomplete and where the construction was supposed to have been finished they found it unsatisfactory. Could his findings have been otherwise when we are told that the locomotive he was using for his inspection mounted the rails and left the track soon after the start from the junction at the Northampton end of the line? Subsequent inspections were also unsatisfactory, and it was not until 16 February 1859 that the line was opened.

With the line open, services were as befitted a rural branch line, but with the opening of the LNWR-GNR Joint line to Market Harborough in November 1879 and the doubling of the Market Harborough-Northampton line in March 1880, service patterns altered considerably because of the heavy flow of LNW coal traffic which came into being. John Gough discusses the activities of the different railway companies which brought this about. He describes the train services and the growth of facilities at Northampton following the opening of the lines to Roade and to Rugby.

For those with an interest in local industries, perhaps the most disappointing feature of the book is the scant reference to the ironstone traffic originating on the line. There is a statement that the Reverend Charles Frederic Watkins, Vicar of Brixworth "in 1863 opened the Brixworth Old Pits, the first ironstone workings along the line". Later there is mention that in 1866 the LNWR Working Timetable "showed four daily passenger trains in each direction, together with a daily iron ore train in both ways". It is not clear as to where the traffic for these trains originated. A track diagram of 1872 is reproduced and shows a number of un-named sidings. One was 32 chains south of Northampton Castle station and presumably was the line into Northampton Gas Works. Another siding went off to the west, 33 chains north of Castle Station and could have been associated with the Dallington iron ore workings. Even more tantalising are sidings shown east of the line, about 1 mile 62 chains south of Brampton station. These would be quite close to the site of the Welford Road Hospital. Is this the site of other early iron-stone workings? There is an extract from the LNWR Working Timetable for 1883 which gives details of the marshalling and working of ironstone traffic from Northampton. Numerous ironstone sidings are listed for the Blisworth-Northampton-Peterborough line but none for the Northampton-Market Harborough line!

The author attempts to assess the contribution of the line to the railway company's revenues and concludes that it is doubtful if the building of the line could have been justified on straight financial grounds. He does refer to justification in terms of inter-company politics but he does not consider the benefits to the local communities or non-railway commerce such

as the exploitation of the iron ore deposits near the line which was only possible with the existence of the Northampton-Market Harborough line.

This book is based almost entirely on documentary sources. The availability of such information means that the early days are covered in considerable detail, but the last 100 years of the railway's life up to closure on 15 August 1981 is allocated only 7½ pages. Incidentally, it is very difficult to locate key dates because the book has no chronology of the line. Another odd feature is that the index is only of persons.

This book is excellent for bringing together the documentary evidence relating to the early days of the line, but a railway is more than a set of rails, gradients and the frequency of its trains. It involves people, both those who wished to use it and those who worked on it. There is an interaction between railway, countryside, local communities and industries. These aspects get little attention in Mr Gough's book. To this extent he has told only half the story of the Northampton-Market Harborough line, although that half he does cover is done extremely well.

G.H. STARMER

SHORTER NOTICES

As remarked above (Under 'Notes and News') local history has a large following but no generally accepted concept of what it really is. For many enthusiasts this is not a problem. Local history is, by definition, all that can be found out and recorded about a particular place. It is the *individual* village (or parish) which attracts the passionate attention of most local historians (towns for some reason are not so popular). The output of single-village histories continues unabated. They are usually competently researched and well produced, and they satisfy a local audience. But serious questions can be asked. Do, for instance, 'single-parish histories' make a contribution to historical (as opposed to merely local) knowledge?

A number of recently published histories of places in the county have appeared recently. The first two are produced by a new publisher, Buscott Publications of Newton Road, Rushden. *Woodford Juxta Thrapston* (1985) is by Eric and Mary Humphries, the result of six years' work during retirement (Dr Humphries being a botanist and Mrs Humphries a science teacher). A labour of love, carefully researched, illustrated with line drawings and maps and dozens of photographs, it is notably well-produced. It will please people in the Woodford and Thrapston area, and exiles from these places, with its evocation of the local past. It is conventionally organised into 'vertical compartments', once the early and medieval information has been summarised and the open fields have been enclosed (in chapter 3). It is full of factual information and listings, from which conclusions are not always drawn.

David Hall's and Ruth Harding's slightly oddly titled (titles are a problem) *Rushden A Duchy of Lancaster Village* (1985), also superbly produced, is more professional and substantial, the early sources for Rushden being richer than those for Woodford. Mr Hall is an archaeologist with a particular interest in the evolution of the medieval landscape, and the chapters on the early and medieval periods are the best in the book. There is much to be learned here by the reader, Mr Hall's familiarity and ease with medieval material coming through very strongly. Nevertheless, there is a certain amount of 'vertical compartmentalising' in chapters such as 'Churches and Chapels', where material from very different periods is rolled together, rather inappropriately from the historical viewpoint. The effect of the Reformation, for instance, was so marked that it surely should never be wrapped up with descriptions of medieval church architecture merely because it is to do with 'religion'. Another customary criticism of 'single-parish histories' can also be laid: there is a great deal of reproduction of undigested chunks of primary source material, as if such material is

self-explanatory. Alas, it all too rarely is. It is also a pity that the reasons for Rushden's transformation into a little footwear town in the last 20 years of the 19th century are not really explained.

Nevertheless Hall and Harding's *Rushden* is, overall, an impressive piece of work. It has a vast range of sources handled with confidence, and is well written. The same can be said of Nicholas Cooper's *Aynho A Northamptonshire Village* (Leopard's Head Press, in conjunction with Banbury Historical Society, Vol 20, 1984, price £9.95). It is similar in depth and approach to the Rushden volume, but partly because the source material is stronger for different periods (notably the Early Modern), a more compelling book results, at least for this uncommitted non-local reader. The book is really about the Cartwrights and their domination of Aynho from 1615 down to the Great War of 1914–18. It thus has a central theme which parish histories often lack. Mr Cooper, an architectural historian with a feel for the place, writes well. It is no accident that the buildings of the village as well as the great house are described with confidence and real knowledge. The book is a splendidly produced hardback, with excellent maps and photographs.

Partly by accident (the material and the family), and partly by design Mr Cooper has produced an unusally satisfying single-village history. His use of sources is sophisticated (not many chunks of raw evidence here), though it is a matter of regret that footnotes and references are not given. However, even here important general points are put in almost as afterthought. The penultimate chapter, 'A Close Village', could usefully have come earlier, because it has important things to say about what kind of place Aynho had become under the Cartwrights. It is also a pity Mr Cooper does not say more about the decline of the Cartwrights, and the reasons for it. He says plenty about the 18th century and mid-19th century 'High Farming' but relatively little about the Agricultural Depression of the last quarter of that century, which brought down the Cartwrights and much of the landowner class as well. This is a pity. The fall of a family is usually as interesting as its rise. Here the Cartwrights are written out with rather indecent haste. It is odd how local historians, by and large, shy-off the 20th century.

To turn from 'single-parish' histories to another subject of great interest in the history of our county, it is a pleasure to welcome the appearance of June Swann's *Shoemaking* (Shire Album 155, Shire Publications Ltd, 1986 £1.25). Miss Swann, Keeper of the Boot and Shoe Collection at Northampton Museum for the past 30 years, summarises her vast knowledge of the history of 'the gentle craft' in a mere 32 pages in this valuable booklet. The whole thing is a miracle of compression: not only does she manage to outline the history of the trade from Roman times down to the 1980's, she also includes a superb collection of 50 pictures and photographs, and a decent bibliography as well. It is hard to image better value for money than this little publication.

Amongst others which have come to hand *A History of the Church in Holcot* by Derek Charman (Derek Charman and Associates, PO Box 35, Northampton Chambers, Berridge Street, Leicester LE1 5JX, 1986, £2.94 inc. p&p) is a nicely produced booklet which (as its title suggests) is rather more than a guide to the parish church there. It is produced as part of the church restoration appeal. Mr Charman and his associate Jill Hampson (who lives in Holcot) run 'an international consultancy in Records and Archives Management' and have produced this booklet as part of a lively and vigorous campaign of fund raising events.

Finally, *Rutland Record* No 6, 1986, again contains a good range of short articles on that now extinguished county whose memory is kept green by the Rutland Record Society. There is a strong architectural theme in this number, with pieces on 'Transitional Architecture', 'A Family of Rutland Stonemasons' and 'The Restoration of Exton Church'.

R.L.G.

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