CONTAINS PULLOUTS

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF

BEDFORDSHIRE AND NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

1524 - 1674

(2 volumes)

VOLUME 2

by

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Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (D. Phil.)

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June 1978

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APPENDIX 1

DISTRIBUTION OF SHEEP IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE 1547 - 1641

1547 (1)

HUNDREDS OF THE WEST DIVISION	TOTAL SHEEP	SHEEP per Sq.M.	HUNDREDS OF THE EAST DIVISION	TOTAL SHEEP	SHEEP per Sq.M.
Sutton	8,700	112.6	Rothwell	7,000	105.0
Warden	2,020	60.53	Corby	4,500	48.5
Norton	7,000	202.9	Orlingbury	800	17.30
Towcester	No large flocks		Hamfordshoe	No large flocks	
Cleley	1,400	33.67	Higham Ferrers	400	8.41
Fawsley	10,800	140.6	Huxloe	1,700	25.83
Guilsborough	11,100	164.3	Navisford	1,400	70.2
Newbottle	3,200	59.95	Polebrook	600	19.01
Spelhoe	300	10.88	Willybrook	No large flocks	
Wymersley	3,400	60.39	Nassaburgh	2,000	24.21
TOTAL	47,920	98.06	TOTAL	18,400	35.18

1595 (2)

	TOTAL SHEEP	SHEEP per Sq.M.		TOTAL SHEEP	SHEEP per Sq.M.
Sutton	9,800	126.8	Rothwell	9,600	144.0
Warden	1,600	47.94	Corby	7,000	75.44
Norton	6,400	185.6	Orlingbury	2,700	58.39
Towcester	1,200	59.17	Hamfordshoe	660	25.57
Cleley	1,400	33.67	Higham Ferrers	700	14.72
Fawsley	8,200	106.7	Huxloe	1,900	28.87
Guilsborough	7,600	112.5	Navisford	1,000	50.16
Newbottle	2,900	54.34	Polebrook	1,400	44.34
Spelhoe	400	14.52	Willybrook	560	12.75
Wymersley	2,300	40.85	Nassaburgh	4,310	52.18
TOTAL	41,800	85.55	TOTAL	29,830	57.03

Eastern Division, only, 1609 - 41

	(3) TOTAL SHEEP	SHEEP per Sq.M.	RANKING ACCORDING TO TOTAL SHEEP	(4) RANKING 1636	(5) RANKING 1641
Rothwell	13,880	208.1	1	1	1
Corby	8,950	96.45	2	2	2
Orlingbury	6,450	139.5	4	4	4
Hamfordshoe	800	30.98	10	10	10
Higham Ferrers	980	20.61	9	9	9
Huxloe	2,620	39.81	6	6	6
Navisford	1,700	107.4	7	7	7
Polebrook	3,680	116.5	5	5	5
Willybrook	1,520	34.59	8	8	8
Nassaburgh	8,070	97.7	3	3	3
TOTAL	48,650	93.01			

1. This distribution is calculated from B.M., Addit. MSS., 25,084, fo. 1-11v, which is a list of the large flocks of sheep in 1547. All flocks containing one hundred sheep or more have been added together for each hundred. The acreages of each hundred are given in Appendix 3, but they have been taken from British Parliamentary Papers, Population 3, 1841 Census. This distribution is plotted on Map 5. The list was made, in 1547, to assess Northamptonshire's contribution to Purveyance, the supply of the royal household.

The largest flocks were those of Sir Valentine Knightley at Fawsley (2,500); the Copes of Canons Ashby (2,000); the Giffords of Watford (2,000); Lady Lane at Sulby (2,000); the Onleys of Catesby (2,000); and 2,000 in the parishes of Norton, Preston Deanery, and Brampton. Lady Russell possessed 1,500 at Clendon, together with the Darrells of Welford. There was also a flock of 1,500 at Catesby. The Spencers of Althorp had 1,200 together with the Andrewes of Charwelton, and there was a 1,200 flock at Grafton. The Caves of Stanford; the Lanes and Darrells at Ellington; the Andrewes family at Daventry; the Dormers of Newbottle; the Barkers at Steane; and the Treshams of Lyveden all had flocks of 1,000. Brackley, Sutton and Oxendon parishes contained similar sized flocks.

Unfortunately, the Sheep Poll Tax of 1549, mentioned by Beresford, M., in Ag.H.R., i, pp. 9-16, and ii, pp. 15-30, does not survive for this county.

2. The large flocks of sheep in each hundred in 1595 are among some of Miss J. Dore's notes on the Elizabethan gentry in a suitcase in the Northants Record Office. They are transcripts from Montagu papers, and the very similar totals for each division in 1595 given in H.M.C., Buccleuch MSS, iii, pp. 40-1, suggest that these were the documents she examined. The distribution is plotted on Map 6.

3. The large flocks in the east in 1610 are contained in N.R.O., Brooke MSS, B.113. The ranking in column 3 is according to total number of sheep and not according to density of sheep.

4. A purveyance return of 1636, N.R.O., Fitzwilliam MSS, F(M)839, does not give the total number of sheep, but the amounts paid by each hundred, which were determined by the total number of sheep. Therefore, the highest amount paid by a hundred indicates that it contained the most sheep. Hundreds have been ranked according to amount paid. The highest amount equals ranking 1.

5. N.R.O., Isham MSS., I.L. 2,555. This is a similar document to that of 1636. It only records amounts paid. The rankings are in order of payment. The highest sum equals ranking 1.

These 3 sets of rankings suggest that the rate for Purveyance remained the same throughout these years. In 1623, a letter to the Privy Council said that it was forty years since the rates had been altered (N.R.O., Finch-Hatton MSS, F.H. 3,826).

Overall, this Appendix suggests that the east division gradually caught up the west in total number of sheep and on the eve of Civil War, it may have had the greater density of sheep as well as a larger number.

APPENDIX 2

CASES OF ENCLOSURE IN BEDFORDSHIRE AND NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

This list is not intended to be exhaustive. For example, I have not looked at two of the classes of document mentioned by Beresford, M., 'Habitation versus Improvement: The Debate on Enclosure by Agreement', in Fisher, F., (ed.), Essays in The Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England, Appendix, pp. 67-69. These two classes are Chancery, C.78; and Exchequer, E.123.

But a check list of those enclosure cases which I have uncovered may prove useful. Other local enclosure detail is contained in Beresford, M., op.cit., Finch, M., The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640, N.R.S., xix; Kerridge, E., The Agricultural Revolution, and Agrarian Problems of The Sixteenth Century and After; Godber, J., History of Bedfordshire, 1066-1888; Pettit, P., The Royal Forests of Northamptonshire, 1558-1714, N.R.S., xxiii; Anstruther, G., Vaux of Harrowden; Select Cases before the King's Council in Star Chamber, 1509-44, Selden Society, xxv; H.M.C., 11th Report, pt. vii, Duke of Leeds M.S.S; Cal. S.P.D., 1623-5; Cal. S.P.D., 1595-7; P.C.R., i-ii, iii-iv, Tate, W., 'Enclosure Movements in Northamptonshire', Northants Past and Present, i; Gay, E., 'The Midland Revolt and Inquisitions of Depopulation, 1607', T.R.H.S., N.S., xviii; Parker, L., 'Agrarian Revolution at Cottesbach, 1501-1612', Trans. Leics. Arch. Soc., xxiv, Allan, D., 'Agrarian Discontent under the early Stuarts and in the last decade of Queen Elizabeth', University of London, M.Sc., 1950; Leadam, I., The Domesday of Enclosures.

References from private collections are given first, followed by those from public records. More analysis of enclosure riots is contained in Chapter 7.

BEDFORDSHIRE

PRIVATE COLIECTIONS

Bedfordshire Record Office

Lucas MSS, L.25/101	:	1600; The Earl of Kent
BO. 1,335	:	1631; Leigh family at Leighton
Chester MSS, CH. 7a	:	Litlington parish

PUBLIC RECORDS

Public Record Office

Court of Chancery

C2/Jas. I. B6/60	:	Bromsall family of Sandy
C1/951/69	:	1530's at Wymington
C1/1272/6	:	1544 at Milbrook
C2/Eliz. M.11/35	:	at Wootton
C2/Eliz. S5/47	:	at Whipsnade
C2/Jas. I. C1/60	:	at Marston Moretaine, 1614.

Court of Exchequer

E.321/27/98 : 1540's, Biggleswade and Sandy
E.321/15/67 : 1540's, at Steppingley
E.321/10/68 : 1538, at Kempston
E.321/10/34 : 1540's, at Maulden
E.112/1/15, 23, 155 : 1583-93, Biggleswade
E.112/1/65 : 1588, at Cranfield
E.134/26 & 27 Eliz/Michelmas 27 : 1585 at Old Warden
E.112/68/5 & 7 : 1603, at Ampthill
E.112/68/15 : 1607, at Elstow
E.112/68/49 : 1616, at Warden
E.112/68/36 : 1612, at Dunstable

State Papers

S.P.14/97/110 : 1618, Luton houses being converted into tenements

Court of Star Chamber

STAC.5/W66/37 : Swineshead on the Huntingdonshire border
STAC.2/Vol.8/fo. 193 : STAC.8/215/29 at Southill
STAC.3/3/22 : 1550's, at Sharnbrook STAC.8/210/30)
STAC.5/C.78/28 : 1567, at Lower Gravenhurst STAC.8/229/23) at Warden
STAC.5/K.5/22 : 1582, at Tempsford STAC.8/235/17)
STAC.5/C.54/14 : 1584, at Toddington STAC.8/16/13 : various
STAC.5/B.65/26 : at Bedford STAC.8/138/12: at Luton
STAC.5/M.3/15 : 1567, at Luton
STAC.8/70/1 : at Pulloxhill
STAC.8/63/26 : at Eaton Bray
STAC.8/267/14, and 8/275/2 : at Pertenhall
STAC.8/307/19 : at Leighton Buzzard

Gentry Prosecuted for Depopulation in 1608 (from P.R.O., C.205/5/3)

Anderson of Eyeworth
Boteler of Biddenham
Cheney of Sundon
Crawley of Luton
Dyer of Colmworth
Francklin of Thurleigh
Grey of Silsoe, Earls of Kent
Piggott of Stratton
Plomer of Warden
Rotherham of Luton

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

Northamptonshire Record Office

Langton MSS, LT.83 : 1590, at Teeton
Thornton MSS, Th. 520 : 1593, at Norton
Fermor-Hesketh Collection, F.H.715: 1588, at Nortoft
Cartwright MSS, C(A) 3,347 : 1611, at Aynho
Silverman MSS, S(G) 298 : 1612, at Gt. Houghton
Thornton MSS, Th. 574 : 1623, at Dodford
Th. 660 : 1623, at Weedon Beck
Miscellaneous, YZ 8,730 : 1620, at Edgcote
YZ 7,486 : 1636, at Gretworth
Westmorland MSS, Box 2, Parcel Xiii, no. 4 : 1641, at Apethorpe
Maunsell MSS, M(TM)59 : 1651, at Thorpe Malsor
Young MSS, YO. 1,194 : 1656, at Loddington
Knightley MSS, K. XXII, 230a & 229b : 1659, at Preston Capes
Brudenell MSS, BRU. I, xiv, 15 : 1640, at Corby
BRU. O, vi, 2 : 1640, at Corby
Society of Geneologists MSS, S.G.111 : 1640's, at Collyweston
Isham MSS, I.L. 5,349 : 1620's, at Faxton
Thornton MSS, Th. 586 : 1637; at Cold Ashby
Miscellaneous MSS, YZ. 1,309 : 1609, at Tichmarsh
Stopford-Sackville MSS, S.S. 3,749 & 2,626 : 1540's, at Lowick
Finch-Hatton MSS, F.H. 4,252-4,282 : Weldon and Corby
Bateman-Hanbury MSS, BH(K)89, fo.12 : 1619, at Kelmarsh
Isham MSS, IL. 3,006 : 1606-7, at Hanging Houghton
Finch-Hatton MSS, F.H.2,601 : at Brampton
Thornton MSS, Th. 525/1 & 627 : 1586-90, at Badby and Newnham
Photostat 834 : 1631, at Wollaston
Microfilm 48 : 1609 & 1633, on the Montagu estates

Leicestershire Record Office

Braye MSS., 1,414 : 1662, at Eydon

Lincolnshire Record Office

Hawley MSS., 1/C/14 : 1606, at Gayton

PUBLIC RECORDS

Public Record Office

Court of Chancery

C2/Eliz. D.5/61 : 1601, at Moreton Pinkney
C2/Jas. I. P.9/24 : 1622, at Moreton Pinkney
C2/524/55 : 1590's, at Pilton
C2/Jas. I.A5/59 : 1616, at Harringworth
C1/1043/47-51 : 1538-44, at Kelmarsh
C1/1485/19 : 1550's, at Upton
C2/Jas.I.K4/14 : 1613, at (Creaton

Court of Exchequer

E.134/10 Jas.I/Easter 10 : at Gretton
E.134/17 Chas.I/Easter 16 : at Grafton
E.315/117 : 1540's, at Maxey
E.315/130 : 1540's, at Rockingham
E.321/2/51 : 1538, at Blisworth
E.112/32/157 : 1590, at Kettering
E.112/32/39 : 1586, at Kettering
E.178/4318 : at Geddington
E.321/15/14 : at Easton Neston
E.178/5554 : 1634, at Gretworth
E.112/32/20 : Milton Malzor
E.112/32/139: 1599, at Ufford
E.112/226/31) 1616-30, at Rothwell
E.112/111/255)
E.112/111/299 : 1622, at Shutlanger
E.178/5553 : 1635, at Benefield and Brigstock

Court of Exchequer cont'd.

E.112/111/291 : 1621, at Ufford
E.112/226/11 : 1627, at Glendon
E.112/110/176 : 1607, at Stottesbury
E.163/17/8, fo.1. : 1610, various
E.112/226/75 : 1632, at Preston Deanery

Duchy of Lancaster

D.L.44/323 : 1582, at Raundes
D.L.44/392 : 1586, at Irchester
D.L.44/835 & 864 : 1610-11, at Irchester
D.L.4/47/12 : 1605, at Raundes
D.L.44/337 : 1583, at Wollaston
D.L.4/87/39 : 1635, at Higham Ferrers

Court of Requests

Req.2/149/112 : 1558, at Harringworth.
Req.2/207/38 : at Helpston
Req.2/8/215 : at Stoke Doyle
Req.2/87/7 : at Middleton Cheney
Req.2/398/46 : before 1619, at (Braybrook
Req.2/163/55 : 1562, at Barton (Seagrave
Req.2/190/72 : 1561, at Blakesley

Court of Star Chamber

STAC.5/C9/40 : 1597, at Aldwinkle
STAC.5/C45/23 : 1594, at East Deeping
STAC.5/W.37/23 : at Lutton
STAC.5/H.18/14 : 1591, at Irthlingborough
STAC.5/L.33/7 : 1570, at Horton
STAC.5/K1/16, STAC.5/K15/13, STAC.5/K10/17 : 1586-90, at Badby
STAC.5/C24/25 : at Cransley
STAC.8/244/14 : at Tichmarsh
STAC.8/293/21 : at Wappenham
STAC.8/149/4, STAC.8/241/21, STAC.8/159/16 at Raundes
STAC.8/121/20 : at Oundle
STAC.8/16/12 : 1608, various
STAC.8/15/21 : 1608, various
STAC.2/23/29 : 1532, at Warmington
STAC.2/24/362 : 1533, at Whitfield
STAC.2/27/111 : 1536, at Barnack
STAC.2/32/113 : 1530's, at Easton (Neston
STAC.8/273/24 : at Badby
STAC.8/145/7 : at Daventry
STAC.8/198/21 : at Stoke Bruerne
STAC.8/215/8 : at Aldwinkle
STAC.5/H6/36 : 1578, at (Duddington
STAC.8/293/29 : at Rockingham
STAC.8/295/22 : at Gt.Houghton
STAC.5/R5/27 : 1599, at Whittlebury
STAC.5/T.26/29: 1598, at Whittlebury
STAC.5/J.21/11: 1581, at Braunston
STAC.5/A13/36 : 1593, various
STAC.8/18/12 : 1608, various

Gentry prosecuted for Depopulation in 1593 and 1608

(from C.205/5/5; STAC.8/5/A.13/36; STAC.8/18/12; 8/16/12; 8/15/21.
On depopulation, see Allison, K; Beresford, M; Hurst, J., The Deserted Villages of Northamptonshire, University of Leicester, Department of Local History, Occasional Paper, xviii.)

Acton of West Haddon
Bawde of Walgrave
Belcher of Guilsborough
Bernard of Abington
Cave of Stanford
Claypole of Northborough
Cope of Canons Ashby
Danvers of Culworth
Dryden of Canons Ashby
Dillon of Farthingstone
Ekins of Irchester
Fermor of Easton Neston
Foster of Nassington
Foxley of Blakesley
Gage of Raundes
Harby of Adstone
Hatton of Kirby
Humphrey of Barton Seagrave
Isham of Lamport
Knightley of Fawsley
Lane of Horton
Montagu of Boughton
Mordaunt of Lowick
Mountstephen of Paston
Osborne of Kelmarsh
Palmer of Stoke Doyle
Pickering of Tichmarsh
Reade of Cottesbrooke
Samwell of Upton
Saunders of Harrington
Saunders of East Haddon
Styles of Walton
Syers of Loddington
Tanfield of Gayton
Tate of Delapre
Tresham of Rushton
Ward of Brayfield
Watts of Blakesley
Wilmer of Sywell
Wizeman of Bozeat

APPENDIX 3

POPULATION ESTIMATES AND THEIR SOURCES, FOR EVERY PARISH IN BEDFORDSHIRE AND NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, 1524-1676

Parishes marked with a + are market towns, and are taken from Everitt, A., 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', in Thirsk, J., (ed.), The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1640, pp.473-5.

Parishes marked with an * are forest parishes, and are taken from Pettit, P.J., The Royal Forests of Northamptonshire, 1558-1714, N.R.S., xxiii, Tables XXII and XXIII.

Density of population figures for hundreds, of which the population estimate for one or more parish is missing, have been calculated with the square mileage of that parish omitted from the total square mileage of the hundred. For example, the population estimate of Eaton Socon, in Barford hundred, Bedfordshire, is missing in 1603. Therefore, the population density of Barford hundred is calculated by dividing the combined population of the other parishes by the square mileage of the hundred, minus that of Eaton Socon. This practice has been adopted wherever there are gaps in the Appendix, and has been applied to overall densities of the county, as well.

All the calculations in this Appendix are mine, and the responsibility for any error is mine alone.

This Appendix forms the basis of the demography section of Chapter 2 and of Maps 8-13.

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	1545 (4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S. NUMBER ON CERTIFICATS	EST. POPULATION	1563 (5) ECCLESIASTICAL CENSUS NUMBER OF FAMILIES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	(6) J.GODBER'S ESTIMATES 1600	1603 (7) LIBER CLERI NUMBER OF COMMUNICANTS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	1671 (9) HEARTH TAX NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	1676 (10) COMPTON CENSUS NUMBER OF COMMUNICANTS	EST. POPULATION	(11) % age Change in Population 1563-1671	(11) % age Change in Population 1544/6 -1671
BARFORD HUNDRED						and Wyboston																		
						49	276																	
Gt.Barford	2,830	4.42				37	208	47.07			36	153	34.61		90	150	33.94	59	250	56.56	191	318	63.40	
Colmworth	2,310	3.61				41	234	64.82			43	184	50.97		147	245	67.87	51	220	60.94	173	289	19.56	
Eaton Socon	7,530	11.77				100	565	47.99			155	659	55.99	879				266	1,120	95.15	720	1,200	69.95	
Goldington	3,940	6.16				32	183	29.71			31	132	21.43		200	333	54.05	46	208	33.77	120	200	57.57	
Ravensden	2,160	3.37				26	149	44.22			23	98	29.08		80	133	39.48	27	115	34.13	80	133	17.45	
Renhold	2,360	3.69				34	191	51.76			28	119	32.25		100	167	45.26	37	153	41.47	132	220	28.58	
Roxton	2,880	4.50				49	276	61.34			51	217	48.22	369	200	333	73.99	61	259	57.55	181	302	19.35	
Wilden	2,160	3.37				43	242	71.81			34	144	42.74		140	233	69.15	59	255	75.67	168	280	77.07	
	26,170	40.89				411	2,324	56.82			401	1,706	41.71		957	1,594	54.74	606	2,580	63.08	1,765	2,942	51.24	11.02
BIGGLESWADE HUNDRED																								
Astwick	570	0.89				8	47	52.81			10	42	47.19		46	77	86.52	13	56	62.92	49	82	33.33	
Lt.Barford	1,190	1.86									20	85	45.69		72	120	64.52	34	144	77.43			69.42	
Biggleswade+	4,220	6.59				115	650	98.63			166	705	107.0					164	696	105.6			-1.28	
Cockayne Hatley	1,460	2.28									13	55	24.13		60	100	43.86	11	48	21.94	78	130	-12.73	
Dunton	2,840	4.44				35	200	45.04			38	151	34.01		192	320	72.06	67	285	64.18	186	310	88.74	
Edworth	1,100	1.72				17	98	56.98			12	51	29.66	63	40	67	38.95	12	50	29.07	44	73	-1.96	
Everton	975	1.52													132	220	144.7	23	100	65.60	127	212		
Eyeworth	1,370	2.14				16	89	41.59			15	61	28.50		30	50	23.36	14	60	28.04	62	103	-1.64	
Langford	2,100	3.28				32	183	55.80			43	183	55.80		200	333	101.5	73	310	94.52	167	278	69.39	
Potton +	2,200	3.44				72	408	118.6			80	340	98.83		422	703	204.4	189	802	233.1	510	850	135.5	
Sandy	3,800	5.94									47	200	33.67		480	800	134.7	135	576	96.96	310	517	158.0	
Sutton	2,470	3.86				43	242	62.69			44	187	48.44		110	183	47.42	57	242	62.69	159	265	29.42	
Tempsford	2,350	3.67							240	400	66	280	76.30		120	200	54.49	67	285	77.64	188	313	1.78	
Wrestlingworth	1,620	2.53				27	153	60.47			20	85	33.59		67	112	44.27	52	220	86.96	122	203	158.8	
	28,265	44.16				365	2,070	71.64			574	2,425	56.87		1,971	3,285	87.46	911	3,874	87.74	2,002	3,336	59.34	31.45
CLIFTON HUNDRED																		+ Chicksands = 9	38					
Arlesey	2,370	3.70				45	255	68.92			73	310	83.79		150	250	67.56	74	315	85.13	177	295	1.61	
Campton/ Shefford +	1,120	1.75				56	319	182.3			70	299	170.9		280	467	266.9	126	535	305.8	322	537	78.93	
Clifton	1,420	2.22				28	157	70.71			28	119	53.59		120	200	90.07	48	204	91.67	159	265	71.44	
Henlow	2,450	3.83				55	310	80.95			70	299	78.07		210	350	91.39	95	404	105.4	222	370	35.12	
Holwell	650	1.02				19	106	104.0			7	30	29.41		338	563	552.0	25	106	104.0	43	72	253.3	
Meppershall	1,690	2.64				15	85	32.0			17	72	27.27		80	133	50.39	23	98	37.12			36.12	
Shillington	(55%)	whole	=7.88					whole					whole				whole			whole			whole	
(part)	2,770	4.33				52	293	71.20			55	234	53.94		333	555	70.44	84	358	46.07	176	293	55.05	
Upper Stondon	575	0.90				11	64	71.12			2	8	8.89	21	22	37	41.11	20	85	94.45	21	35	962.5	
Stotfold (extra)	2,840	4.44				38	217	48.88			37	157	35.36		190	317	71.41	82	348	78.38	177	295	121.6	
	18,005	28.13				319	1,806	64.19			359	1,528	54.31		1,723	2,872	102.1	586	2,488	88.45	297	2,162	63.36	37.77

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY: NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY: NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	1545 (4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S.: NUMBER ON CERTIFICATE	EST. POPULATION	1563 (5) ECCLESIASTICAL CENSUS: NUMBER OF FAMILIES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	(6) J.GODBER'S ESTIMATES 1600	1603 (7) LIBER CLERI: NUMBER OF COMMUNICANTS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	1671 (9) HEARTH TAX: NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	1676 (10) COMPTON CENSUS: NUMBER OF COMMUNICANTS	EST. POPULATION	(11) % age Change in Population 1563-1671	(11) % age Change in Population 1544/6 -1671
FLITT HUNDRED																									
Barton le Clay	2,270	3.55	95	540	152.2	53	302	85.07			53	225	63.39		100	167	47.04	91	387	109.0	308	513	71.99		
Caddington	1,650	2.58	14	81	31.39						56	238	92.26		100	167	64.73	33	140	54.26	81	135	-41.77		
Clophill	2,140	3.34	38	217	64.98	33	187	55.99			30	127	38.03		120	200	59.88	81	344	103.0	238	397	170.9		
Flitton/ Silsbe	3,185	5.00				43	242	48.40			45	191	38.19		240	400	80.00	116	493	98.58	374	623	158.1		
Lower Gravenhurst	1,240	1.94	31	174	68.50	33	187	73.62			28	120	47.25		125	208	81.91	40	170	66.88	151	252	41.67		
Upper Gravenhurst	385	0.60																							
Hawnes	3,260	5.09	42	238	46.77	38	217	42.64			36	153	30.06		120	200	39.29	78	332	65.22	175	292	117.0		
Higham Gobion	770	1.20	3	13	10.83	2	13	10.83			2	8	6.67	9	9	15	12.50	4	17	14.17	23	38	112.5		
Luton †	15,500	24.22	237	1,343	55.46	258	1,462	60.37	1,350	2,250	190	807	33.32		1,200	2,000	82.56	433	1,840	75.97	1,179	1,965	128.0		
Pulloxhill	1,760	2.75				32	183	66.56			30	127	46.18		113	188	68.37	54	230	83.64	134	223	81.10		
Shillington (part)	2,260	3.53	45	255	72.23	47	268	75.91			45	191	See Clifton		271	452	See Clifton	70	296	See Clifton	144	240	See Clifton		
Streatley/ Sharpenhoe	2,180	3.41	20	115	33.72						14	60	17.60		60	100	29.32	27	114	33.43	111	185	89.99		
Sundon	2,160	3.37	31	174	51.63	23	132	39.17			21	89	26.41		140	233	69.15	58	247	73.30	154	257	177.5		
	38,760	60.58	556	3,150	59.64	562	3,193	58.49			550	2,336	38.56		2,598	4,330	71.47	1,085	4,610	76.08	5,072	5,120	97.43	36.42	
MANSHEAD HUNDRED																									
Aspley Guise	1,960	3.06									28	119	38.89		110	183	59.81	57	242	79.09	186	310	103.4		
Battlesden	1,140	1.78									10	42	23.59		62	103	57.86	13	56	31.47	45	75	33.33		
Chalgrave	2,130	3.33	28	157	47.15	42	238	71.48	180	300	42	178	53.46		200	333	100.0	64	272	81.70	195	325	52.81		
Dunstable †	520	0.81				93	527	650.6	420	700	149	633	781.4					207	880	1,086.0	386	643	39.02		
Eaton Bray	2,650	4.14	56	298	71.97				600	1,000	66	280	67.64		219	365	88.16	101	428	103.4	192	320	52.85		
Eversholt	2,010	3.14									64	272	86.64		220	367	116.9	93	395	125.8	288	480	45.22		
Harlington	1,815	2.82	25	140	49.65	46	259	91.85			45	191	67.74		70	117	41.5	69	293	104.0	184	307	53.40		
Hockliffe	1,370	2.14	20	115	53.74						13	55	25.70		34	57	26.64	32	136	63.54	92	153	147.2		
Hulcote	1,000	1.56	8	47	30.13	9	51	32.70			9	38	24.36		20	33	21.15	13	55	35.26	44	73	44.73		
Houghton Regis	4,500	7.13				62	353	49.51			67	284	39.83		340	567	79.52	99	421	59.05	296	493	48.23		
Husborne Crawley	1,520	2.37				44	251	105.9			66	280	118.1		193	322	135.9	83	353	148.9	232	387	26.07		
Leighton Buzzard	8,990	14.03	207	1,173	83.62	197	1,118	79.69	500	833								412	1,879	134.0	1,169	1,948			
Milton Bryan	1,480	2.31				22	123	53.25			24	100	43.29		120	200	86.58	44	187	80.95	114	190	87.00		
Potsgrove	1,370	2.16	12	68	31.48						13	55	25.46		44	73	33.79	10	42	19.44	36	60	-23.63		
Salford	900	1.41	25	140	99.28						18	76	53.91		83	138	97.88	20	85	60.29	86	143	11.84		
Studham	1,790	2.80	24	136	48.56						52	221	78.93		140	233	83.22	43	183	65.36	143	238	-17.20		
Tilsworth	1,510	2.36	21	119	50.42	13	72	30.51			10	42	17.79		96	160	67.79	24	104	44.07	80	133	147.7		
Tingrith	840	1.25	16	89	71.20						18	76	60.80	159	60	100	80.00	30	127	101.6	53	68	67.11		
Toddington†	5,390	8.42				87	493	58.55			91	390	46.33	600	467	778	92.41	171	727	86.34			86.40		
Totternhoe	2,370	3.70	33	187	50.54	17	98	26.49			21	89	24.05		110	183	49.46	48	204	55.13	128	213	129.2		
Westoning	2,210	3.45	29	166	48.11	48	272	78.84			38	161	46.67		190	317	91.89	72	306	88.69	189	315	90.07		
Whipsnade	1,350	2.11				10	55	26.07			11	47	22.27	36	42	70	33.17	14	60	28.44	40	67	27.66		
Woburn †	3,200	5.00	82	463	92.60	39	221	44.20			54	229	45.80		300	500	100.00	169	718	143.5	472	798	213.5		
	52,045	81.28	586	3,298	65.79	729	4,131	69.55			909	3,858	57.37		3,120	5,199	78.25	1,918	8,153	100.3	4,657	7,760	62.62	56.35	

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE.	1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	1545 (4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S. NUMBER ON CERTIFICATE	EST. POPULATION	1563 (5) ECCLESIASTICAL CENSUS NUMBER OF FAMILIES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	(6) J.GODBER'S ESTIMATES 1600	1603 (7) LIBER CLERI NUMBER OF COMMUNICANTS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	1671 (9) HEARTH TAX NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	1676 (10) COMPTON CENSUS NUMBER OF COMMUNICANTS	EST. POPULATION	(11) % age Change in Population 1563-1671	(11) % age Change in Population 1544/6 -1671
REDBORNESTOKE HUNDRED																								
Ampthill +	1,928	3.01				80	455	151.1			67	285	94.66		220	367	121.9	121	516	171.4	364	607	81.06	
Cranfield	3,500	5.47				42	238	43.51			41	174	31.81		50	83	15.17	173	735	134.4	605	1,008	321.9	
Elstow	1,522	2.38				49	276	116.0	320	533	52	221	92.85	492	260	433	182.0	88	374	157.1	231	385	69.23	
Flitwick	1,700	2.66				28	157	59.02			40	170	63.90		100	167	62.77	67	285	107.1	148	247	67.66	
Houghton Conquest	3,380	5.28				51	289	54.74			55	234	44.32		160	267	50.58	64	272	51.52	195	325	16.24	
Kempston	5,160	8.06				80	455	56.45			80	340	42.19		450	750	93.07	147	625	77.56	429	715	83.81	
Lidlington	2,520	3.94				57	323	81.98			63	268	68.01	468	400	667	169.2	99	421	106.9	152	253	57.10	
Marston Moretaine	4,500	7.03				64	361	51.35			70	297	42.25	582	400	667	94.86	129	548	77.94	294	490	84.50	
Maulden	2,574	4.02													210	350	89.10	145	616	153.2	266	443		
Milbrook	1,450	2.27				18	102	44.93			25	106	46.70		96	160	70.49	52	221	97.36	152	253	108.5	
Ridgmont	2,248	3.51				23	132	37.61			34	144	41.03		150	250	71.22	48	204	58.12	174	290	41.67	
Steppingley	1,060	1.66				19	106	63.86			21	89	53.62		50	83	50.00	29	123	74.09	80	133	38.20	
Wilhamstead	3,027	4.73				49	276	58.34			55	234	49.46		200	333	70.39	90	382	80.76	177	295	63.25	
Wootton	3,468	5.42				61	344	63.48			56	238	43.91		300	500	92.26	107	455	83.95	330	550	91.18	
	38,037	59.44				621	3,514	63.40			659	2,800	50.53		3,046	5,077	85.41	1,359	5,777	97.18	3,597	5,994	84.31	46.87
STODDEN HUNDRED																								
Bolnhurst	2,130	3.33				26	149	44.75			28	119	35.74		120	200	60.06	31	132	39.65	122	203	10.92	
Clapham	1,490	2.33				12	68	29.18			15	61	26.17		96	160	68.66	34	145	62.23	100	167	137.7	
Deane	2,370	3.70				35	200	54.05			47	200	54.05		180	300	81.08	59	251	67.84	154	257	25.5	
Keysoe	3,510	5.48				58	327	59.67			48	204	37.22		200	333	60.75	73	310	56.57	154	257	51.96	
Knotting	1,270	1.98				12	68	34.34			10	42	21.20		50	83	41.92	13	55	27.77	31	52	30.95	
Melchbourne	2,550	3.98				30	170	42.71			31	132	33.16		100	167	41.96	32	136	34.17	137	228	3.03	
Milton Ernest	2,070	3.23				39	221	68.42			30	127	39.31		120	200	61.91	43	183	56.66	117	195	44.10	
Oakley	1,740	2.72				39	221	81.25			30	127	46.69		140	233	85.67	55	234	86.02	99	162	84.26	
Pertenhall	1,680	2.62				24	136	51.90			24	100	38.17		100	167	63.74	32	136	51.90	107	178	36.0	
Riseley	2,980	4.66				54	306	65.66			57	242	51.93		220	367	78.75	98	417	89.48	303	505	72.31	
Shelton	1,080	1.69				11	64	37.87			15	64	37.87		76	127	75.15	31	132	78.11	92	153	106.3	
Lt.Staughton	1,660	2.59				34	191	73.74			38	161	62.16		113	188	72.59	44	187	72.19	118	197	16.15	
Tilbrook	1,680	2.62				36	204	77.85			17	72	27.48		124	207	79.02	39	166	63.36	123	205	130.5	
Yelden	1,380	2.16				24	136	62.95			26	110	50.93		122	203	93.97	38	161	74.52	115	192	46.36	
	27,590	43.09				434	2,461	57.11			416	1,761	40.87		1,761	2,935	68.11	622	2,645	61.38	1,772	2,951	50.2	7.48

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY EST. POPULATION	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY EST. POPULATION	1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	1545 (4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S NUMBER ON CERTIFICATE	1545 (4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S EST. POPULATION	1563 (5) ECCLESIASTICAL CENSUS NUMBER OF FAMILIES	1563 (5) ECCLESIASTICAL CENSUS EST. POPULATION	1563 (5) ECCLESIASTICAL CENSUS PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	(6) J.GODBER'S ESTIMATES 1600	1603 (7) LIBER CLERI NUMBER OF COMMUNICANTS	1603 (7) LIBER CLERI EST. POPULATION	1603 (7) LIBER CLERI PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	1671 (9) HEARTH TAX NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	1671 (9) HEARTH TAX EST. POPULATION	1671 (9) HEARTH TAX PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	1676 (10) COMPTON CENSUS NUMBER OF COMMUNICANTS	1676 (10) COMPTON CENSUS EST. POPULATION	(11) % age Change in Population 1563-1671	(11) % age Change in Population 1544/6 -1671
WILLEY HUNDRED																								
Biddenham	1,760	2.75				34	191	69.45	105	175	40	170	61.81					49	208	75.65	121	200	22.36	
Bletsoe	2,220	3.44	42	238	69.18	30	170	49.41			32	136	39.53	336	80	133	38.67	47	200	58.13	133	222	47.07	
Bromham	1,910	2.98	46	259	86.92	28	157	52.66			32	136	45.63		120	200	67.11	36	153	51.35	138	230	12.50	
Carlton	1,530	2.39	23	131	54.81	26	149	62.34			32	136	56.90		180	300	89.82	46	196	82.02	170	283	44.13	
Chellington	610	0.95	14	81	85.27	13	72	75.78			13	55	57.90					25	106	111.6	54	90	92.72	
Farndish	810	1.27	7	38	29.92	9	51	40.16			8	34	26.77		30	50	39.38	12	51	40.16	33	55	50.00	
Felmersham	2,400	3.75	26	149	39.74	45	255	68.00			66	280	47.95		200	333	88.80	72	306	81.60	177	295	86.78	
Harrold	3,240	5.06	31	174	34.38	49	276	54.54			43	183	36.16		217	362	71.53	82	348	68.77	234	390	90.16	
Odell	2,980	4.66	33	187	40.13	46	259	55.58			47	200	42.91		170	283	60.73	66	280	60.09	219	365	40.9	
Pavenham	1,340	2.09	36	204	97.61	31	174	83.26			incl. in Felmersham							51	217	103.9	188	313	with Felmersham	
Poddington	2,770	4.33	33	187	43.18	36	204	47.11			30	127	29.33		120	200	46.18	54	230	53.11	163	272	81.58	
Sharnbrook	2,880	4.50				43	242	53.78			44	187	41.56		12	20	4.44	64	272	60.45	160	267	45.45	
Souldrop	1,290	2.02	14	81	40.10	12	68	33.66			12	51	25.24		57	95	47.02	20	85	42.07	45	75	66.67	
Stagsden	3,320	5.19	55	310	59.73	46	259	49.90			54	229	44.12		140	233	44.89	53	225	43.35	138	230	-1.75	
Stevington	1,950	3.05	39	221	72.46	40	225	73.77			40	170	55.73		210	350	114.8	77	327	107.2	322	537	92.37	
Thurleigh	3,480	5.44	47	268	49.26	49	276	50.74			43	183	33.64	351	200	333	61.2	65	276	50.74	146	243	50.82	
Turvey	4,260	6.66	70	395	59.30	48	272	40.84			61	259	38.89	504	140	233	34.98	103	438	65.77	341	568	69.11	
Wymington	1,710	2.67	18	102	38.20	17	98	36.70			16	68	25.47		76	127	47.56	34	145	54.31	96	160	113.2	
	40,460	63.18	534	3,026	54.12	602	3,398	53.79			613	2,604	41.23		1,952	3,252	55.75	956	4,063	64.31	2,908	4,847	56.02	5.44
WIXAMTREE HUNDRED																								
Blunham	3,300	5.16				105	595	115.3	340	567	90	382	74.04		427	712	138.0	129	548	106.2	324	540	43.45	
Cardington	5,050	7.89				93	527	66.79			93	395	50.06		340	567	71.86	155	659	83.52	357	595	66.59	
Cople	2,170	3.39				54	306	90.26			45	191	56.33		127	212	62.53	56	238	70.21	197	328	24.61	
Northill	4,210	6.58				99	561	85.27	290	483	72	306	46.50		320	537	81.62	101	430	65.36	474	790	40.52	
Southill	6,180	9.66				66	374	38.72			76	323	33.44	720	560	933	96.58	135	573	59.53	500	833	78.02	
Warden	3,330	5.16				43	242	46.90			28	119	23.06		120	200	38.77	45	191	37.09	132	220	60.50	
Willington	1,650	2.58				58	327	126.8			22	93	36.04		128	213	82.56	22	94	36.43	96	160	1.07	
(extra Sandy)	210	0.36																						
	26,100	40.78				518	2,932	71.90			426	1,809	44.35		2,022	3,374	82.71	643	2,735	67.07	2,080	3,466	51.19	Decline
BEDFORD + BOROUGH	2,200	3.44				205	1,160	337.2			252	1,070	311.1		1,033	1,722	500.5	445	1,892	549.9	1,239	2,065	76.83	63.10
TOTAL	297,632	464.1				4,766	26,989	64.76 (excl.17 missing = 47.16 sq.m)				21,896	47.19		20,193	33,640	78.94	9,131	38,517	83.64	24,389	40,648	57.38	28.27

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY			1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY			1545(4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S.		1641-2 (8) PROTESTATION RETURNS		1670 (9) HEARTH TAX			1674 (9) HEARTH TAX			1676(10) COMPTON CENSUS	(11) % age change in population 1524-1670	(11) % age change in population 1524-1674	(12) SEE ROTHWELL HUNDRED
			NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER ON CERTIFICATES	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER ON RETURN	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER RECORDED			
CHIPPING-WARDEN HUNDRED																						
Aston-le-Walls	1,270	1.98	16	89	44.94								26	110	55.55				102	23.59		
Boddington	3,770	5.89	38	217	36.84								87	370	62.82				430	70.50		
Byfield	2,760	4.31	58	327	75.86								126	535	124.2				565	63.62		
Chipping-Warden	2,440	3.81	42	238	62.47								83	353	92.66				366	48.32		
Edgecott	960	1.50	17	98	65.33								18	76	50.67				86	-22.45		
Eydon	1,620	2.53	31	174	68.77								98	416	164.4				352	139.1		
Gretworth	1,010	1.58	15	85	53.79								21	89	56.32				81	4.71		
Sulgrave	4,100	6.41	44	251	39.15								82	348	54.29				313	38.65		
Woodford	3,440	5.37	55	310	57.73								94	399	74.30				456	28.71		
	21,370	33.38	316	1,789	53.60								635	2,696	80.79	639	2,716	81.37		50.70	51.82	
CLELEY HUNDRED																						
Alderton *	910	1.42	19	106	74.64								28	119	83.79				86	12.27		
Ashton *	1,290	2.02	20	115	56.93								60	255	126.2				125	121.7		
Cosgrove	1,760	2.75	55	310	112.7								82	348	99.15				462	12.26		
Easton Neston	720	1.12	29	166	148.2								27	115	102.7				121	-30.73		
Furtho	480	0.76	with Cosgrove										with Cosgrove						20	-		
Grafton Regis*	1,510	2.36	12	68	28.81								27	115	48.73					69.11		
Hartwell *	1,850	2.89	32	183	63.33								84	357	123.5				362	95.06		
Passenham*	2,230	3.48	36	204	58.61								132	561	161.2				503	175.0		
Paulerspury*	2,950	4.61	85	485	105.2								133	565	122.6				411	16.50		
Potterspury*	2,820	4.40	79	446	101.4						230	767	172	731	166.2				612	63.90		
Roade	1,600	2.50	28	157	62.81								75	319	127.7				361	103.1		
Stoke Bruerne	3,810	5.95	31	174	29.24								106	450	75.63				466	158.6		
Wicken *	4,690	7.33	31	174	23.73								58	246	33.56				275	41.38		
	26,620	41.59	457	2,588	62.24								984	4,181	100.6	998	4,241	102.0		61.55	63.87	

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY			1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY			1545(4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S.		1641-2 (8) PROTESTATION RETURNS		1670 (9) HEARTH TAX			1674 (9) HEARTH TAX			1676(10) COMPTON CENSUS	(11) % age change in population 1524-1670	(11) % age change in population 1524-1674	(12) SEE ROTHWELL HUNDRED
			NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER ON CERTIFICATE	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER ON RETURN	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER RECORDED			
CORBY HUNDRED																						
Ashley	1,190	1.87	29	166	88.78								58	246	131.5				286	48.19		
Blatherwick	2,750	4.30	37	208	48.38								48	204	47.43				201	- 1.92		
Brampton	2,290	3.60	42	238	66.12								48	204	56.66				127	-14.29		
Brigstock*	5,900	9.22	96	544	59.00								216	918	99.56				913	68.76		
Bulwick*	1,910	2.98	56	319	107.0				262	437			102	433	145.3				242	35.74		
East Carleton*	1,420	2.22	34	191	86.02								46	195	87.82				198	2.09		
Corby *	2,800	4.37	43	242	55.38								121	514	117.6				425	112.4		
Cottingham *	3,220	5.03	69	391	77.73								143	608	120.9				501	55.50		
Deane *	2,950	4.62	61	344	74.47								60	255	55.2				380	-25.87		
Dingley	1,500	2.34	22	123	52.57								34	144	61.55				85	17.07		
Geddington *	2,140	3.34	46	259	77.56								125	531	159.0				503	105.1		
Gretton *	4,450	6.95	80	455	65.46				220	367			167	710	102.0					56.04		
Harringworth	3,060	4.78	85	485	101.5								112	476	99.59				460	- 1.86		
Laxton	1,370	2.14	13	72	33.64								44	187	87.38				170	159.7		
Newton	1,050	1.64	27	153	93.30								19	81	49.4				92	-47.06		
Gt.Oakley *	2,810	4.39	48	272	61.95								64	272	61.95				200	14.29		
Lt.Oakley *	1,070	1.67	17	98	58.68								26	110	65.88				100	12.25		
Rockingham *+	890	1.39	33	187	134.5								48	204	146.8				194	9.09		
Stanion *	1,850	2.89	40	225	77.85								63	268	92.72				245	19.11		
Stoke Albany	1,770	2.77	35	200	72.19								91	387	139.7				194	93.50		
Sutton Bassett	720	1.12	14	81	72.33								21	89	79.47					9.88		
Wakerley	2,130	3.33	30	170	51.05								36	153	45.95				123	-10.0		
Weekley	1,800	2.81	37	208	74.03								28	119	42.35				115	-42.79		
Weldon *+	3,680	5.75	69	391	68.00								181	769	133.8				752	96.68		
Weston	1,040	1.62	24	136	83.95								36	153	94.45				251	12.50		
Wilbarston *	2,800	4.37	55	310	70.94								126	535	122.5				502	72.57		
extra	840	1.30																				
	59,400	92.81	1,142	6,468	69.69								2,063	8,765	94.45	1,895	8,054	86.80		35.52	24.53	

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY			1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY			1545(4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S.		1641-2 (8) PROTESTATION RETURNS		1670 (9) HEARTH TAX			1674 (9) HEARTH TAX			1676(10) COMPTON CENSUS	(11) % age change in popu-lation 1524-1670	(11) % age change in popu-lation 1524-1674	(12) SEE ROTHWELL HUNDRED
			NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPU-LATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS.	EST. POPU-LATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER ON CERTIFICATE	EST. POPU-LATION	NUMBER ON RETURN	EST. POPU-LATION	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPU-LATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPU-LATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER RECORDED			
FAWSLEY HUNDRED																						
Ashby St.Ledgers	2,050	3.20	17	98	30.63								53	225	70.33				202	129.6		
Badby	2,370	3.70	47	268	72.43								83	353	95.41				420	31.72		
Barby	3,700	5.78	40	225	38.93								103	438	75.78				452	94.66		
Braunston	3,930	6.14	42	238	38.77								109	463	75.41				510	94.54		
Catesby	1,990	3.11	12	68	21.86								6	25	8.04			with Hellidon		-63.24		
Charwelton	2,770	4.33	16	89	20.55								24	102	23.56				120	14.61		
Daventry +	4,090	6.39	53	302	47.26								299	1,271	198.9				1,458	320.8		
Dodford	1,180	1.84	22	123	66.85								36	153	83.16				143	24.39		
Everdon	1,900	2.97	44	251	84.50								96	408	137.4				410	82.47		
Farthingstone	1,820	2.84	14	81	28.52								45	191	67.25				177	1.36		
Fawsley	1,550	2.42	10	55	22.73								8	34	14.05				40	-38.18		
Hellidon	840	1.31	14	81	61.83								53	225	171.8				166	177.8		
Kilsby	3,200	5.00	31	174	34.80								85	361	72.20				282	107.5		
Lichborough	1,580	2.47	27	153	61.94								64	272	110.1				415	77.76		
Newnham	1,940	3.03	37	208	68.66								80	340	112.2			with Badby		63.46		
Norton	3,260	5.09	26	149	29.27				200	333			52	221	43.42				172	48.32		
Preston Capes	2,280	3.56	31	174	48.88								63	268	75.28				201	54.03		
Staverton	2,240	3.50	19	106	30.28								86	365	104.2				425	244.3		
Stowe	3,100	4.84	22	123	25.42								41	174	35.95				78	41.47		
Weedon Beck	1,710	2.67	38	217	81.28								122	518	194.0					138.7		
Welton	1,690	2.64	21	119	45.07								77	327	123.9				364	174.8		
	49,190	76.84	583	3,302	42.97								1,585	6,734	87.64	1,590	6,757	87.94		104.0	104.6	

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY			1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY			1545(4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S.		1641-2 (8) PROTESTATION RETURNS		1670 (9) HEARTH TAX			1674 (9) HEARTH TAX			1676(10) COMPTON CENSUS	(11) % age change in population 1524-1670	(11) % age change in population 1524-1674	(12) SEE ROTHWELL HUNDRED
			NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER ON CERTIFICATS	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER ON RETURN	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER RECORDED			
GREENS-NORTON HUNDRED																						
Canons Ashby	1,410	2.20	21	119	54.09								7	30	13.63					-74.8		
Adstone	1,190	1.86	18	102	54.84								25	106	56.99					3.92		
Blakesley	2,840	4.44	60	340	76.58								119	506	114.0				402	48.82		
Bradden	1,000	1.57	15	85	54.14								29	123	78.34				90	44.71		
Greens Norton	2,490	3.89	35	200	51.41								92	391	100.6				323	95.5		
Maidford	1,930	3.02	20	115	38.08								45	191	63.24				167	66.09		
Moreton Pinkney	2,460	3.84	40	225	58.60								95	403	105.0				215	79.11		
Plumpton	1,800	2.81	10	55	19.57								13	55	19.57				34	same		
Silverstone *	2,110	3.30	30	170	51.51								77	327	99.08					92.37		
Slapton *	930	1.45	15	85	58.61								33	140	96.54				154	64.71		
Weedon Lois	1,050	1.64	31	174	106.1								63	268	163.4				277	54.03		
Whittlebury *	2,870	4.48	18	102	22.77								78	331	73.87				659	224.5		
	22,080	34.50	313	1,772	51.37								676	2,871	83.24	689	2,928	84.87		62.01	65.22	
GUILSBOROUGH HUNDRED																						
Cold Ashby	1,940	3.03	18	102	33.67								39	166	54.79				178	62.75		
Long Buckby	3,900	6.09	40	225	36.95								150	637	104.6				772	183.1		
Clay Coton	1,380	2.16	12	68	31.48								34	144	66.67				82	111.8		
Cottesbrook	3,860	6.03	26	149	24.71								45	191	31.67				112	28.18		
Gt. Creaton	790	1.23	11	64	52.04								51	217	176.4				112	239.1		
Crick	3,930	6.14	27	153	24.92								125	531	86.48				552	247.1		
Ellington	1,720	2.69											7	30	11.15							
Guilsborough	3,080	4.81	20	115	23.91								77	327	67.98				400	184.4		
West Haddon	2,900	4.53	25	140	30.90								107	455	100.4				446	225.0		
Lilbourne	1,920	3.00	16	89	29.67								70	297	99.00				164	233.7		
Naseby	3,690	5.76	30	170	29.51								76	323	56.08				401	90.01		
Part of Ravensthorpe	860	1.34	7	38	see Newbottle								8	34	see Newbottle					see Newbottle		
Stanford	1,510	2,36	31	174	73.72								36	153	64.83				93	-12.07		
Thurnby	1,090	1.70	11	64	37.65								24	102	60.01				133	59.37		
Watford	3,080	4.81	25	140	29.11								51	217	45.12				185	55.00		
Welford	3,650	5.70	26	149	26.14								93	395	69.29				521	165.1		
Winwick	1,880	2.94	13	72	24.49								25	106	36.06				109	47.23		
Yelvertoft	2,080	3.25	26	149	45.84								89	378	116.3				412	153.7		
	43,260	67.58	364	2,061	31.77								1,107	4,703	69.6	1,100	4,675	69.18		126.7	125.4	

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY			1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY			1545(4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S.		1641-2 (8) PROTESTATION RETURNS		1670 (9) HEARTH TAX			1674 (9) HEARTH TAX			1676(10) COMPTON CENSUS	(11) % age change in population 1524-1670	(11) % age change in population 1524-1674	(12) SEE ROTHWELL HUNDRED
			NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER ON CERTIFICATE	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER ON RETURN	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER RECORDED			
HAMFORDSHOE HUNDRED																						
Mears Ashby	1,890	2.95	36	204	69.15	32	183	62.07					81	344	116.6				343	68.63		
Gt.Doddington	1,310	2.05	39	221	107.7	35	200	97.54					77	327	159.5				404	47.96		
Earls Barton	1,760	2.75	60	340	123.7	62	353	128.3					147	625	227.3				627	83.81		
Ecton	1,790	2.80	36	204	72.85	41	234	83.56					69	293	104.7				451	43.63		
Holcot	1,670	2.61	23	132	50.58	30	170	65.13					84	357	136.8				310	170.4		
Sywell	2,500	3.90	26	149	38.20	27	153	39.22					35	149	38.2				142	no change		
Wellingborough +	4,490	7.01	188	1,067	152.2	151	854	121.8					510	2,167	309.1	509	2,163	308.9	2,715	103.1		
Wilby	1,120	1.75	16	89	50.87	21	119	68.0					41	174	99.42				162	55.50		
	16,530	25.82	424	2,406	93.19	399	2,266	87.78					1,044	4,436	171.8	1,062	4,513	174.8		84.37	87.56	
HIGHAM FERRERS HUNDRED																						
Bozeat	2,400	3.75	49	276	73.60	46	259	69.07					96	408	108.8				385	47.83		
Chelveston	1,730	2.70	32	183	67.78	28	157	58.15					50	212	78.5					15.84		
Easton Maudit	2,070	3.23	32	183	56.66	31	174	53.87					38	161	49.84				153	-11.48		
Hargrave	2,400	3.75	21	119	31.74	22	123	32.80					37	157	41.87				200	31.94		
Higham Ferrers+	2,260	3.53	117	663	187.8	77	438	124.1					179	761	215.6				602	14.78		
Irchester	1,980	3.09	57	323	104.5	68	387	125.2					109	463	149.8				503	43.34		
Newton Bromswold	1,740	2.72	14	81	29.78	18	102	37.50					24	102	37.50				100	25.92		
Raundes	3,680	5.75	101	574	99.82	97	548	95.30					179	761	132.3				989	32.58		
Ringstead	2,140	3.34	34	191	57.19	30	170	50.90					71	302	90.42				With Serford	58.12		
Rushden	2,770	4.33	84	476	109.9	56	319	73.67					169	718	165.8				600	50.84		
Stanwick	1,830	2.86	29	166	58.03	30	170	59.43					56	238	83.22				285	43.37		
Strixton	1,150	1.80	4	21	11.66	14	81	45.0					7	30	16.66				35	42.85		
Wollaston	3,640	5.69	83	472	82.94	65	370	65.03					146	620	109.0				720	31.36		
(extra)	640	1.00																				
	30,430	47.54	657	3,728	78.39	582	3,298	69.37					1,161	4,933	103.8	1,108	4,709	99.04		32.32	26.32	

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY			1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY			1545(4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S.		1641-2 (8) PROTESTATION RETURNS		1670 (9) HEARTH TAX			1674 (9) HEARTH TAX			1676(10) COMPTON CENSUS		(11) % age change in population 1524-1670	(11) % age change in population 1524-1674	(12) SEE ROTHWELL HUNDRED
			NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER ON CERTIFICATE	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER ON RETURN	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER RECORDED				
HUXLOE HUNDRED																							
Gt.Addington	1,230	1.92	28	157	81.77								45	191	99.47				130		21.66		
Lt.Addington	1,170	1.83	24	136	74.30								40	170	92.87				141		25.00		
Aldwinkle	2,450	3.83	58	327	85.37								120	510	133.1				589		55.98		
Barnwell All S.	1,680	2.62	27	153	58.39								38	161	61.45				153		5.23		
Barton Seagrave	2,030	3.17	29	166	52.36								15	64	20.18				75		-61.45		
Burton Latimer	2,690	4.20	61	344	81.93								120	510	121.4				580		48.25		
Cranford St. A) Cranford St. J)	2,420	3.78	53	302	79.89								68	289	76.45				146 230		-4.30		
Denford	1,940	3.03	29	166	54.79								67	285	94.06				274		71.68		
Finedon	3,650	5.70	56	319	55.97				400	667			133	565	99.10				684		77.11		
Grafton Underwood	2,050	3.20	32	183	57.20								46	195	60.94				198		6.56		
Irthlingboro'	3,720	5.81	100	565	97.23				320	533			170	722	124.3				610		27.79		
Islip	1,370	2.14	43	242	113.1								55	234	109.3				242		-3.31		
Kettering +	2,840	4.44	131	744	167.6								341	1,449	326.4				1,650		94.75		
Lilford	1,940	3.03	38	217	71.63								33	140	46.2				300		-35.48		
Lowick	2,200	3.44	51	289	84.01								73	310	90.12				311		7.27		
Slipton	720	1.12	19	106	94.64								25	106	94.64				112		same		
Sudborough	2,730	4.27	27	153	35.83								42	178	41.69				135		16.34		
Twywell	1,400	2.19	16	89	40.64								40	170	77.62				200		91.01		
Thrapston(part)	330	0.52	13	72	see Navisford																		
Warkton	1,810	2.83	35	200	70.66								30	127	44.87						-36.51		
Woodford	1,750	2.73	64	361	132.2								93	395	144.6				384		9.42		
	42,120	65.82	934	5,291	80.41								1,594	6,771	102.9	1,467	6,235	94.73			27.97	17.84	

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY			1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY			1545(4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S.		1641-2 (8) PROTESTATION RETURNS		1670 (9) HEARTH TAX			1674 (9) HEARTH TAX			1676(10) COMPTON CENSUS		(11) % age change in population 1524-1670	(11) % age change in population 1524-1674	(12) SEE ROTWELL HUNDRED
			NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER ON CERTIFICATE	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER ON RETURN	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER RECORDED				
KINGS-SUTTON HUNDRED																							
Grimsbury/ Nethercott	1,226	1.91											25	106	55.50								
Aynho +	2,330	3.64	27	153	42.04								87	370	101.60				361		141.9		
Brackley +	2,790	4.36	92	523	119.9				260	433			215	914	209.6				1,082		74.76		
Chalcome	1,730	2.70	34	191	70.73								43	183	67.78				160		- 4.19		
Croughton	2,620	4.09	25	140	34.23								54	229	55.99				771		63.57		
Culworth	2,060	3.22	52	293	90.99								78	331	102.8				300		12.97		
Evenley	2,760	4.31	17	98	22.74								51	217	50.35				150		121.4		
Farthinghoe	3,320	5.19											42	178	34.30				220				
Helmdon	3,560	5.56	37	208	37.41								90	382	68.71				361		83.64		
Hinton	2,070	3.23	22	123	22.99								23	98	18.31				124		-20.32		
Sutton	3,850	6.02	90	510	84.72								137	582	96.68						14.11		
Marston Lawrence	1,230	1.92	29	166	86.46								54	229	119.2				266		37.95		
Middleton Cheney	1,780	2.78	58	327	117.6								142	603	216.9				313		84.41		
Newbottle	2,990	4.67	24	136	29.12								76	323	69.16				226		137.5		
Radstone	810	1.27	15	85	66.92								20	85	66.92						same		
Steane	1,360	2.12	with Hinton										with Hinton						20				
Stottesbury	250	0.39											4	17	43.58								
Syresham *	4,060	6.34	36	204	32.18								133	565	89.10				530		177.0		
Thenford	890	1.40	18	102	72.86								30	127	90.72				100		24.51		
Thorpe Mandeville	1,230	1.92	13	72	37.50								17	72	37.50				40		same		
Wappenham *	2,980	4.66	65	370	79.39								87	370	79.39				164		same		
Warkworth	2,370	3.70											22	93	25.14								
Whitfield *	1,210	1.89	11	64	33.86								28	119	62.95						85.94		
	49,476	77.29	665	3,765	56.97								1,458	6,193	80.13	1,413	6,005	77.71			54.01	49.02	

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY			1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY			1545(4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S.		1641-2 (8) PROTESTATION RETURNS		1670 (9) HEARTH TAX			1674 (9) HEARTH TAX			1676(10) COMPTON CENSUS		(11) % age change in population 1524-1670	(11) % age change in population 1524-1674	(12) SEE ROTHWELL HUNDRED
			NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER ON CERTIFICATE	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER ON RETURN	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER RECORDED				
NAVISFORD HUNDRED																							
Clapton	1,900	2.97	30	170	57.23								19	81	27.27				70		-52.36		
Pilton	1,470	2.30	22	123	53.48								34	144	62.62				101		17.07		
Stoke Doyle	1,520	2.37	34	191	80.60								40	170	71.73				110		-11.00		
Thorpe Achurch	1,580	2.47	24	136	55.05								55	234	94.73				200		72.06		
Thrapston(part)	+ 660	1.03	24	136	Whole 134.2								106	450	290.3				Whole 343		116.3		
Tichmarsh	4,480	7.00	85	480	68.57								126	535	76.43				520		11.47		
Wadenhoe	1,650	1.80	25	140	77.76								50	212	117.8				220		51.42		
	12,760	19.94	244	1,376	69.01								430	1,826	91.58	382	1,623	81.39			32.71	17.95	
NEWBOTTLE HUNDRED																							
Church Brampton	1,100	1.73	10	55	31.80								29	123	71.11				} 267		123.6		
Chapel Brampton	1,330	2.08	14	81	38.94								37	157	75.48						93.83		
Brington	4,180	6.53	44	251	38.44				120	200			99	421	64.48				400		67.72		
Brockhall	720	1.12	12	68	60.71								16	68	60.71				70		same		
Bugbrooke	2,420	3.78	30	170	44.96								88	374	98.95				400		120.0		
Dallington	1,520	2.37	18	102	43.04								60	255	107.6				230		150.0		
Duston	1,760	2.75	32	183	66.56								75	319	116.0				220		74.3		
Floore	3,390	5.30	40	225	42.45								107	455	85.84				417		102.2		
East Haddon	2,990	4.67	16	89	19.05						108	360	78	331	70.87				363		271.9		
Harlestone	2,530	3.95	32	183	46.34								112	476	120.5				457		160.1		
Harpole	1,560	2.44	23	132	54.11								64	272	111.5				257		106.0		
Lower Heyford	1,690	2.63	} 34	191	46.92								55	234	88.96	} 75.18			143		60.22		
Upper Heyford	920	1.44													49.99								
Holdenby	1,790	2.80	13	72	25.71								11	47	16.78						-34.72		
Kislingbury	2,170	3.39	34	191	56.33								79	336	99.10				257		75.93		
Ravensthorpe(part)	2,010	3.14	30	170	Whole 46.43								77	327	whole 80.58				whole 313		73.55		
Upton	810	1.27	18	102	80.32								13	55	43.31						-46.08		
Whilton	1,270	1.98	18	102	51.51								41	174	87.86				199		70.58		
	34,160	53.37	418	2,367	44.35								1,058	4,496	84.24	1,091	4,637	86.90			89.93	95.9	

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY			1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY			1545(4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S.		1641-2 (8) PROTESTATION RETURNS		1670 (9) HEARTH TAX			1674 (9) HEARTH TAX			1675(10) COMPTON CENSUS		(11) % age change in population 1524-1670	(11) % age change in population 1524-1674	(12) SEE ROTHWELL HUNDRED
			NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER ON CERTIFICATE	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER ON RETURN	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER RECORDED				
ORLINGBURY HUNDRED																							
Brixworth	3,410	5.33	72	408	76.56	65	370	69.42	200	333			148	629	118.0				603		54.17		
Broughton	2,560	4.00	39	221	55.25	30	170	42.50					67	285	71.25				275		28.96		
Cransley	2,510	3.92	46	259	66.07	55	310	79.09					39	166	42.35				160		-35.91		
Hannington	1,270	1.98	17	98	49.49								38	161	81.30				173		64.28		
Hardwick	1,780	2.78	10	55	19.79	10	55	19.79					14	59	21.22				69		7. 27		
Gt.Harrowden	1,160	1.81	21	119	65.73								26	110	60.77				105		-7. 56		
Lt.Harrowden	1,480	2.31	33	187	80.95	47	268	116.0					62	263	113.9				220		40.64		
Isham	1,150	1.80	26	149	82.77								58	246	136.7				212		65.10		
Lamport	1,440	2.25	59	336	149.3	33	187	83.10			88	293	61	259	115.1				223		-22.92		
Faxton	2,120	3.31	21	119	35.95	41	234	70.69					36	153	46.23				180		28.58		
Old	1,650	2.58	40	225	87.22	38	217	84.12					80	340	131.8				407		51.11		
Orlingbury	1,990	3.11	30	170	54.66	21	119	38.25					31	132	42.44				201		-22.36		
Pytchley	3,980	6.22	66	374	60.13								55	234	37.61				244		-37.43		
Scaldwell	1,060	1.65	22	123	74.54								51	217	131.5				250		76.42		
Walgrave	2,040	3.19	44	251	78.68	25	140	43.88					95	403	126.3				465		60.54		
	29,600	46.24	546	3,094	66.92	365	2,070	63.16					861	3,657	79.09	831	3,532	76.38			18.20	14.16	
POLEBROOK HUNDRED																							
Barnwell St.A.	1,740	2.72	32	183	67.28								45	191	70.21				241		4.37		
Benefield	5,100	7.97	69	391	49.06								165	701	87.94				700		79.29		
Hemington	1,240	1.94	19	106	54.64								14	59	30.42				35		-44.34		
Luddington	580	0.91	10	55	60.45								11	47	51.65				62		-14.54		
Oundle +	5,300	8.28	177	1,003	121.4				800	1,333			381	1,619	195.5				2,262		61.42		
Polesbrook	2,730	4.27	41	234	54.80								62	263	61.60				350		12.40		
Warmington(part)	2,520	3.94	63	357	whole								79	336	whole				whole				
Winwick(part)	959	1.50	15	85	99.38								39	166	86.38				330		-13.09		
Thuming (part)	25	0.04	2	11	rest in Hunts.								4	17	rest in Hunts.								
	20,194	31.57	428	2,425	76.81								800	3,399	107.6	756	3,213	101.7			40.17	32.49	

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY			1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY			1545(4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S.		1641-2 (8) PROTESTATION RETURNS		1670 (9) HEARTH TAX			1674 (9) HEARTH TAX			1676(10) COMPTON CENSUS	(11) % age change in population 1524-1670	(11) % age change in population 1524-1674	(12) SEE ROTHWELL HUNDRED
			NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER ON CERTIFICATE	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER ON RETURN	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER RECORDED			K
ROTHWELL HUNDRED																						
Arthingworth	2,030	3.18	25	140	44.02				320	533			40	170	53.46				203	21.43		212
Lt.Bowden	1,670	2.63	23	132	50.19								80	340	129.3				140	157.6		300
Braybrook	3,060	4.79	50	285	59.50								92	391	81.64				234	37.19		404
Clipston	2,800	4.37	26	149	34.10				140	233			94	399	91.31				464	167.8		468
Desborough	2,410	3.74	58	327	87.42								93	395	105.6				390	20.80		468
Draughton	1,360	2.14	16	89	41.59								35	149	69.63				201	67.42		220
East Farndon	1,070	1.68	28	157	93.46								63	268	159.5				290	70.69		276
Glendon	1,490	2.33	1	5	2.15								6	25	10.73				40	400.0		15
Harrington	2,000	3.12	28	157	50.31								50	212	67.94				130	35.03		175
Haselbeach	1,790	2.80	17	98	34.99								34	144	51.42				143	46.95		119
Kelmarsh	3,750	5.83	42	238	40.83								31	132	22.64				79	-44.53		105
Loddington	1,020	1.62	22	123	75.93								26	110	67.90				109	-10.57		145
Maidwell	1,650	2.58	25	140	54.26								36	153	59.30					9.28		155
Marston Trussell	1,640	2.57	25	140	54.48				200	333	54	180	58	246	95.72				182	75.71		209
Oxendon	2,360	3.71	27	153	41.24								75	319	85.98				117	108.5		347
Rothwell +	3,490	5.45	106	599	109.9				500	833			259	1,101	202.0					83.81		1,091
Orton	940	1.46	18	102	69.85								34	144	98.63					41.17		120
Rushton	2,960	4.64	38	216	46.56				120	200			52	221	47.63				122	2.31		251
Sibbertoft	2,620	4.09	25	140	34.23								63	268	65.52				277	91.43		257
Sulby	700	1.09	7	38	34.86								5	21	19.27					-44.73		22
Hothorpe	1,150	1.80	13	72	39.99								22	93	51.66					29.17		110
Thorpe Malsor	680	1.08	17	98	90.74								39	166	153.7				160	69.39		184
	42,640	66.7	627	3,598	53.95								1,287	5,467	81.98	1,216	5,168	77.49		51.94	43.63	5,653

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY			1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY			1545(4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S.		1641-2 (8) PROTESTATION RETURNS		1670 (9) HEARTH TAX			1674 (9) HEARTH TAX			1676(10) COMPTON CENSUS	(11) % age change in population 1524-1670	(11) % age change in population 1524-1674	(12) SEE ROTHWELL HUNDRED
			NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER ON CERTIFICATE	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER ON RETURN	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER RECORDED			
SPELHOE HUNDRED																						
Abington	1,190	1.86	32	183	98.40								34	144	77.43				100	-21.31		
Gt.Billing	1,290	2.02	38	217	107.4								50	212	104.9				209	-2.30		
Lt.Billing	890	1.39	24	136	97.83								22	93	66.91				111	-31.62		
Boughton	1,850	2.87	24	136	47.39				120	200			46	195	67.94				110	43.29		
Kingsthorpe	1,800	2.81	55	310	110.4				400	667			111	472	168.0				576	52.25		
Moulton	1,680	2.63	67	378	143.7								153	650	247.1				549	71.96		
Overstone	1,940	3.03	21	119	39.27								42	178	58.75				226	49.60		
Pitsford	2,700	4.22	19	106	25.12								43	183	43.37				218	72.64		
Spratton	2,810	4.39	26	149	33.94				80	133			103	438	99.77				466	193.9		
Weston Favell	1,050	1.64	25	140	85.37								47	199	121.3				202	42.15		
(extra)	450	0.70																				
	17,650	27.56	331	1,874	68.00								651	2,764	100.3	629	2,673	97.01		47.50	42.64	
TOWCESTER HUNDRED																						
Abthorpe	1,960	3.05	33	187	61.31								82	348	114.1					86.1		
Cold Higham	1,660	2.61	23	132	50.58								50	212	81.23				189	60.6		
Gayton	1,580	2.47	26	149	60.33								47	199	80.58					33.56		
Pattishall	2,460	3.85	38	217	56.36								115	489	126.8				476	125.3		
Tiffield	2,530	3.95	21	119	30.12								31	132	33.42				76	10.92		
Towcester +	2,790	4.35	146	829	190.5								310	1,317	302.8				590	58.86		
	12,980	20.28	287	1,633	80.52								635	2,697	132.9	617	2,622	129.3		65.15	60.56	

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY			1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY			1545(4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S.		1641-2 (8) PROTESTATION RETURNS		1670 (9) HEARTH TAX			1674 (9) HEARTH TAX			1676(10) COMPTON CENSUS		(11) % age change in population 1524-1670	(11) % age change in population 1524-1674	(12) SEE RCTWELL HUNDRED
			NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER ON CERTIFICATE	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER ON RETURN	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER RECORDED				
WILLYBROOK HUNDRED																							
Apethorpe *	2,630	4.11	43	242	58.88								58	246	59.85						1.65		
Collyweston	1,690	2.63	36	204	77.56								57	242	92.00				160		18.63		
Cotterstock	690	1.09	17	98	89.91								25	106	97.25				100		8.16		
Duddington *	1,400	2.20	30	170	77.27								105	446	202.7						162.4		
Easton	3,170	4.95	67	378	76.37								108	459	92.72				260		21.43		
Fotheringhay *	2,110	3.29	67	378	114.9								70	297	90.28				250		- 21.43		
Clapthorne *	1,370	2.15	35	200	93.03								73	310	144.2				243		55.0		
King's Cliffe*	4,460	6.98	80	454	65.04								213	905	129.6				760		99.33		
Lutton	1,520	2.37	19	106	44.73								22	93	39.24						- 6.60		
Nassington *	1,660	2.59	60	340	131.3								96	408	157.5						20.00		
Southwick *	1,320	2.07	26	149	71.97								32	136	65.69				126		- 8.72		
Tansor	2,050	3.21	25	140	43.61								43	183	57.02				200		30.72		
Warmington(part)	630	0.98	23	132	see Polebrook								21	89	see Polebrook								
Wood Newton *	1,590	2.48	34	191	77.00								66	280	112.9						46.60		
Yarwell *	1,830	2.85	25	140	49.12								47	199	69.84						42.15		
	28,120	43.93	587	3,322	75.61								1,036	4,399	100.1	1,008	4,284	97.58			29.75	28.96	

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PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY			1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY			1545(4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S.		1641-2 (8) PROTESTATION RETURNS		(1670 (9) HEARTH TAX			1674 (9) HEARTH TAX			1676(10) COMPTON CENSUS	(11) % age change in population 1524-1670	(11) % age change in population 1524-1674	(12) SEE ROTHWELL HUNDRED
			NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER ON CERTIFICATE	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER ON RETURN	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER RECORDED			
WYMERSLEY HUNDRED																						
Castle Ashby	1,740	2.69	20	115	42.75								37	157	58.35				116	36.52		
Blisworth	1,980	3.09	65	370	119.8				200	333			74	315	102.0				312	-14.87		
Brafield	1,980	3.09	29	166	53.71								66	280	90.61				240	68.68		
Cogenhoe	960	1.48	25	140	94.58				140	233			31	132	89.19				154	-5.71		
Collingtree	1,190	1.86	18	102	54.84								32	136	73.11				143	33.34		
Courtenhall	1,510	2.36	21	119	50.42								46	195	82.62				185	63.87		
Denton	1,970	3.08	21	119	38.63								71	302	98.04				320	153.8		
Grendon	3,120	4.86	44	251	51.65								92	391	80.46				340	55.77		
Hardingstone	3,060	4.79	59	336	70.15								103	438	91.45				607	30.36		
Horton	2,790	4.35	10	55	12.65								13	55	12.65				73	same		
Gt.Houghton	1,570	2.46	40	225	91.47								51	217	88.22				163	-3.55		
Lt.Houghton	1,070	1.68	c39	221	131.5								63	268	159.5				281	21.26		
Milton Malzor	1,190	1.85	c33	187	101.0								72	306	165.4				302	63.63		
Piddington *	1,980	3.09	c51	289	93.53								106	450	145.6				320	55.71		
Preston Deanery	1,290	2.01	6	34	16.91								9	38	18.91				53	11.77		
Quinton *	1,170	1.82	14	81	44.50								30	127	69.77				100	56.79		
Rothersthorpe	1,200	1.87	35	200	106.9								47	199	106.4				172	-0.5		
Whiston	1,360	2.14	22	123	57.48								17	72	33.64				90	-41.47		
Wootton	1,420	2.24	34	191	85.27								70	297	132.6				323	55.50		
Yardley Hastings	3,510	5.48	42	238	43.43								103	438	79.93				556	84.03		
	36,060	56.30	628	3,562	63.25								1,133	4,813	85.49	1,126	4,785	85.00		35.13	34.35	

PARISH	(1) ACREAGE	SQUARE MILES	1524/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY			1544/6 (3) LAY SUBSIDY			1545(4) CHANTRY CERTIF'S.		1641-2 (8) PROTESTATION RETURNS		(1670 (9) HEARTH TAX			1674 (9) HEARTH TAX			1676(10) COMPTON CENSUS		(11) % age change in population 1524-1670	(11) % age change in population 1524-1674	(12) SEE ROTHWELL HUNDRED
			NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER ON CERTIFICATE	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER ON RETURN	EST. POPULATION	NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER OF UNINHABITED HOUSES	EST. POPULATION	PERSONS PER SQ. MILE	NUMBER RECORDED				
SOKE OF PETERBORO' (NASSABURGH HUNDRED)																							
Bainton	960	1.50	18	102	68.00								40	170	113.3						66.67		
Barnack	4,440	6.96	71	404	58.05				200	333			90	382	54.89				371		- 5.44		
Castor	7,020	10.98	103	582	53.01								177	752	68.48						29.20		
Etton	1,270	1.98	14	81	40.91								21	89	44.94				54		9.88		
Eye	2,670	4.20	30	170	40.48								76	323	76.91						90.01		
Glinton	1,380	2.20	42	238	108.1								61	259	117.7						8.82		
Helpston	1,860	2.94	45	255	86.74								72	306	104.1				306		20.00		
(city = 1430	6,310	9.46	133	752	336.6								599	2,546	1,140						185.1		
(Peterborough +			187	1,058	111.8								710	3,017	318.9				1,972				
Marsholm	1,790	2.80	33	187	66.77				140	233			15	64	22.86				63		-65.79		
Maxey	2,280	3.56	53	302	84.84				180	300			94	399	112.1				390		32.12		
Northborough	710	1.11	29	166	149.6								49	208	187.4				184		25.30		
Paston	3,150	4.96	84	476	95.96								153	650	131.0				480		36.56		
Peakirk	630	0.98	21	119	121.4								35	149	152.1				221		25.22		
Starford St.M.	2,170	3.38	108	612	181.1								145	616	182.3				407		0.654		
Thornhaugh	2,540	3.96	19	106	26.77								34	144	36.37				244		35.88		
Ufford	2,320	3.62	36	204	56.35								44	187	51.65				300		- 8.33		
Wansford	600	0.97	28	157	161.8								41	174	183.5						10.82		
Wittering	2,690	4.21	20	115	27.32								27	115	27.32				111		same		
(extra - Fen)	8,070	12.61																					
	52,860	82.60	941	5,334	64.57								1,884	8,004	96.9	1,925	8,181	99.06			50.06	53.38	
NORTHAMPTON +	1,520	2.37	470	2,665	1,125.0								819	3,481	1,469	803	3,413	1,441.0			30.62	28.06	
TOTAL	649,020	1,014.03	11,362	64,420 (i)	64.42 (ii)								22,901	97,328	95.98	22,345	94,964	93.69			50.59 (ii)	46.52 (ii)	
WESTERN DIVISON	312,846	488.69	4,362	24,713 (iii)	52.07 (ii)												41,645	85.22				(ii) 67.22	
EASTERN DIVISION	334,654	522.97	6,530	37,042	70.82												47,948	91.68				29.43	
Market Towns+		74.95		10,846	144.7								4,658	19,795	264.0						82.47		
Forest Parishes*		151.42		10,029	64.65								3,679	15,628	103.2						55.82		
Rest of County		773.57 (ii)		43,545 (ii)	56.28								14,453	61,905	80.02						41.43 (ii)		

(i) = excl. 14.09 sq.m. - 4 missing parishes
(ii) = excl. missing
(iii) = excl. 4 missing

1. Acreage of parishes in both counties has been taken from British Parliamentary Papers: Population 3, 1841 Census. This was before the major reorganization of local government boundaries in the second half of the nineteenth century, and it should represent, fairly accurately, the size of sixteenth and seventeenth century parishes. Thirsk, J., Sources of Information on Population, 1500-1760, recommends the use of directories, dated about 1850, to establish population densities for the early modern period. All square mileage figures are my calculations based on these acreages.
2. The 1524/5 Lay Subsidy is the most useful subsidy, for the purpose of population studies, which was levied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It includes those who were assessed on wages. To estimate the population, roughly the same method which was adopted by Pettit, P.J., The Royal Forests of Northamptonshire, 1558-1714, N.R.S., xxiii, Appendix IV, has been used. He says that approximately one third of the population escaped the subsidy; therefore, one third of the total taxpayers recorded on the subsidy has been added to the total number of taxpayers. This figure has been multiplied by 4.25 to give total population, because the size of the family in the sixteenth and seventeenth century is usually estimated at between 4 and 5 persons. For example, there are 16 taxpayers for Aston le Walls, in Chipping Warden hundred, Northamptonshire, on the 1524/5 subsidy roll. By adding a third (5), the total in 21, and by multiplying by 4.25, the estimated population of Aston is 89. 4.25 was chosen because Marshall, L., The Rural Population of Bedfordshire, 1671-1921, B.H.R.S., xvi, used it in her analysis of the Hearth Tax, and the Bedfordshire Record Office has adopted it for population calculations from other sources.
Pettit, P.J., op.cit., Glass, D.V., 'Gregory King's Population Estimates of England and Wales, 1695', Population Studies, iii, pp. 338-74; and Watts, S.J. and Susan, J., From Border to Middle Shire: Northumberland, 1586-1625, p.85, use or suggest a multiplier of 4. Hoskins, W.G., 'The Population of an English Village, 1086-1901; Transactions of The Leicestershire Archaeological Society, xxxiii, p. 19, suggests 4.25 - 4.5, and, according to Local Population Studies, vii, p.22, the multiplier is generally between 4.2 and 4.5. Schofield, R.S., in Local Population Studies, i, p.32, suggests 4.5; Laslett, P., 'The Size and Structure of the Household in England over three centuries', Population Studies, xxiii, p. 199ff, uses 4.75; and Howell, R., Newcastle and the Puritan Revolution, pp. 8-9, and Harrison, J., and Laslett, P., 'Clayworth and Cogenhoe', in Bell, A., and Ollard, R., (ed), Historical Essays, 1600-1750, advocate a multiplier of 4.5 to 5.0. Bouch, C.M., and Jones, G.P., A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake Counties, 1500-1830, used 4.5; and Hey, D., An English Rural Community: Myddle Under the Tudors and Stuarts, p.41, and Palliser, D., 'Dearth and Disease in Staffordshire, 1540-1670', in Chalklin, C., and Havinden, M., (ed.), Rural Change and Urban Growth, 1500-1800, p. 72, used 5.
So, although MacCaffrey, W, Exeter, 1540-1640, for example, used the multiplier of 6, I think there is ample justification for the choice of 4.25 as the multiplier for this thesis. It also confirms the view of Hollingsworth, T., Historical Demography, p. 327, and Stephens, W.B., Sources for the History of Population and their uses, University of Leeds, Institute of Education, paper xi, p.11, that the most frequent estimates of the size of the household or family are between 4 and 5 persons.
Sheail, J., 'The Distribution of Regional Wealth in England as indicated in the Lay Subsidy Returns, 1524/5', University of London, Ph.D., 1968, and 'The Distribution of Taxable Population and Wealth in England in the early sixteenth century', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, lv, has made an exhaustive study of this subsidy. On page 138 of his thesis, he says that Bedfordshire had the poorest documentary coverage of any county. Only fragments of the returns for Flitt,

Manshead and Willey hundreds survive, or are legible. P.R.O., E/179/71/109,110,112.
I have found legible returns for 17 of the 20 Northamptonshire hundreds, and the borough of Northampton. P.R.O., E/179/155/122-5, 128,130,132-3,136,145-6,154,159,160. My totals of taxpayers have been checked with those of Dr. Sheail in Volume 2 of his thesis (Gazeteer), and they closely correspond; and Pettit, P.J., op.cit., Tables XXII-XXIV, also lists some 1524 numbers of taxpayers, with which my figures also closely correspond. However, in all cases, in these 17 hundreds, I have used my own figures and calculations. Dr. Sheail's article (Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, lv, p.122) contains a checklist of taxpayers in Rothwell hundred.
However, I was unable to find a satisfactory return for the hundreds of Hamfordshoe, Higham Ferrers and Orlingbury; therefore the number of taxpayers for these hundreds has been taken directly from Dr. Sheail's thesis, Volume 2.
In this way, the whole of Northamptonshire, except for 4 parishes, has been covered.

3. Spufford, M., Contrasting Communities, p.12, says that Dr. Schofield's work has demonstrated that the 1544/6 Lay Subsidy is as useful for population and social structure studies as that of 1524/5, and Sheail, J., Thesis, p. 37, agrees, except that the wage earner has disappeared. Dr. Sheail's article, pp. 115 and 122, shows that there was little difference in the total number of taxpayers recorded in Rothwell hundred, or in the whole county of Northamptonshire, in 1524/5 and 1544/6. Smith, R.B., Land and Politics in the Reign of Henry VIII: The West Riding of Yorkshire, 1530-46, esp. pp. 85-120, makes extensive use of the 1544/6 Subsidy. The method of estimating population is the same as that adopted for the 1524/5 subsidy: (Taxpayers recorded + $\frac{1}{3}$) x 4.25.
The Bedfordshire returns are much more complete than those of 1524/5. Only five parishes in Biggleswade hundred; two in Flitt hundred; and rather more than half the parishes of Manshead hundred are missing or illegible. P.R.O., E/179/71/133,139,146. P.R.O., E.179/156/192 is useful for determining rates of assessment.
There is no reason, in this thesis, to use the 1544/6 Subsidy as a guide to Northamptonshire population because the 1524/5 returns are so well preserved. However, figures for Hamfordshoe, Higham Ferrers and Orlingbury hundreds are included, partly because originally I thought there was no way of obtaining their 1524/5 population and so I had worked the estimates out, and partly for possible comparisons. P.R.O., E.179/156/192, and 157/347.

4. Chantry certificates appear to have been lists of communicants (Stephens, W.B., op.cit., p.10). They are found in P.R.O., E.301/45, and some are printed by Russell, J.C., British Medieval Population, pp.18-21, which also gives a description of the source. These returns are suspiciously rounded to the nearest ten, and most commentators regard them as unreliable. However, the ten Bedfordshire and twenty two Northamptonshire certificates, which havebeen found, are included in this Appendix as an interesting comparison.
Historians and demographers have used various multipliers when attempting to estimate population from lists of communicants. Usually, such lists consist of adults over the age of sixteen, and adjustment is necessary to account for children. The Liber Cleri of 1603 and the Compton Census of 1676 are well-known examples of lists of communicants, and Marshall, L., op.cit., suggested an addition of 40 percent to account for the children, in her discussion of the Compton Census. Her multiplier was supported by Tranter, N., 'Demographic Change in Bedfordshire, 1670-1800', University of Nottingham, Ph.D., 1966. Hoskins, W.G., op.cit., adds 33 percent, whereas Cornwall, J.C., 'The English Population in the Early Sixteenth Century', Ec.H.R., 2nd s., xxiii, uses the $\frac{100}{56}$ multiplier.

Spufford, M., op.cit., p. 61, even suggests a 2.8 multiplier for the Compton Census.
By comparison with other estimates in the Appendix, the multiplier of 5/3 seems to be the best one to use for lists of communicants of these two counties. Chalklin, C., 'The Compton Census of 1676: Dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester', Kent Records, xvii, pp. 157-75, uses this one; and, according to Local Population Studies, x, p. 71, it is the multiplier most frequently used. So, for Chantry Certificates, the multiplier of 5/3 has been adopted. For example, Tempsford, in Biggleswade hundred, Bedfordshire, had 240 communicants, and this equals an estimated population of 400.

5. The Bedfordshire return of the 1563 Ecclesiastical Census is in B.M., Harleian MSS, 618, but there is a checklist in the B.R.O. Hoskins, W.G., op.cit., says there is little doubt about the substantial accuracy of the Census, but Cornwall, J., 'The English Population in the early sixteenth century', op.cit., believes that it underestimated the population, and a comparison of the 1544/6 estimates with those of 1563 suggests that this may be true. However, Mr. Cornwall uses it in 'An Elizabethan Census: 1563', Records of Buckinghamshire, xvi, pp. 258-70, together with Hey, D., op.cit., p.41.
Every Bedfordshire parish except Everton, Leighton Buzzard and Maulden are covered, and, since it is a list of the number of families, the 4.25 multiplier has been used (see note 2 for discussion of this multiplier). The Census does not survive for Northamptonshire.

6. Godber, J., History of Bedfordshire, 1066-1888, p. 216, estimated the population of 15 Bedfordshire parishes in 1600, using parish registers. These estimates are plotted in the Appendix.

7. The 1603 Liber Cleri for Bedfordshire is a list of communicants, and it is printed in Wigfield, M., Recusancy and Nonconformity in Bedfordshire, 1622-1842, B.H.R.S., xx. Another copy is printed in Foster, C.W., (ed.), The State of the Church in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1603, Lincolnshire Record Society, xxiii. Returns for 6 parishes are not given, and the 5/3 multiplier has been used (see note 4). There is no comparable source for Northamptonshire.

8. There are only 4 surviving Protestation Returns of 1641-2 for Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire. They are those for the Northamptonshire parishes of East Haddon, Lamport, Marston Trussell, and Potterspury. (N.R.O., Photostat 749; Isham Correspondence, I.C. 3,260; Photostat 733; and Miscellaneous MSS., YZ. 4,397). It is assumed that the Protestation was signed by all adult males, except many catholics, and, therefore, to estimate the population, the figure needs to be doubled to adjust for women, and then multiplied by 5/3 to account for children under the age of 16. This method has been adopted and follows that recommended by Stephens, W.B., op.cit., p. 11.

9. The Hearth Tax is a common source for population estimates. The Bedfordshire Hearth Tax of 1671 has been chosen because it is complete and is printed in Marshall, L., The Rural Population of Bedfordshire, 1671-1821, B.H.R.S., xvi. The 1670 Northamptonshire Hearth Tax (P.R.O., E.179/157/446) has been analysed for every individual parish, and it is complete. The 1662 tax does not include exemptions. However, the 1674 tax (P.R.O., E.179/254/14) has also been used for Northamptonshire hundreds as a comparison with that of 1670.
All inhabited houses have been multiplied by 4.25 to estimate total population (see note 2 for discussion of this multiplier); houses designated as empty have been discounted. Miss Marshall calculated population from the 1671 Bedfordshire Hearth Tax using the 4.25 multiplier, and her results appear in the printed return. Her estimates have been accepted by Tranter, N., Thesis, op.cit., and are used in the B.R.O. checklist; but I disagree with her results in certain instances. For the larger towns of Ampthill, Bedford, Biggleswade, Kempston, Luton, Northill, Potton, Sandy and Toddington, my multiplication of inhabited houses by 4.25

results in a combined total of more than one thousand less than hers. In Dunstable, I count 207 inhabited houses, which equals an estimated population of 880, but her result in 680. In the Appendix, I have made my own calculations for every parish because of these discrepancies.

10. The Bedfordshire Compton Census returns are printed in Wigfield, M., Recusancy and Nonconformity in Bedfordshire, 1622-1842, B.H.R.S., xx, and there are no returns for four parishes. The multiple of 5/3 has been used because it is a list of communicants (see note 4.) The Northamptonshire Compton Census is in the Staffordshire Record Office, William Salt Library, Salt MSS.33. There are no returns for 34 parishes. However, this census for Northamptonshire presents problems for population estimates. When Bedfordshire returns are multiplied by 5/3, the results are comparable to those estimates established from the 1671 Hearth Tax; but the Northamptonshire returns total 84,695 individuals. If the 5/3 multiplier is used, a population of about 140,000 is suggested, but the Hearth Taxes indicate a population for the whole county of between 95 and 98,000. Therefore, it is probable that the Compton Census is a list of total inhabitants for many parishes, but we have no way of knowing which parishes returned communicants and which returned inhabitants, and so it is useless as a source for population estimates. This is the conclusion reached in Local Population Studies, x, p.71, and, for this reason, the census returns have not been translated into population estimates in the Appendix.

11. The percentage change in population figures are my calculations based on the estimates of population at various dates.

12. After the percentage change in population calculations in Rothwell hundred, Northamptonshire, there is a single column of figures headed M. These are the population estimates for the hundred by John Morton in B.M., Sloane MSS., 3,560, fo. 97-97v: A Comparison of Northamptonshire in 1720 with the situation at the time of the Domesday Book (1720). These are included for interest, and as a comparison with those of 1670 and 1674.

APPENDIX 4

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AND ITS SOURCES, OF EVERY PARISH IN BEDFORDSHIRE AND NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, 1524-1674

Parishes marked with a + are market towns, and are taken from Everitt, A., 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', in Thirsk, J., (ed.), The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1640, pp. 473-5.

For Northamptonshire, parishes marked with a * are forest villages, and are taken from Pettit, P.J., The Royal Forests of Northamptonshire, 1558-1714, N.R.S., xxiii, Tables XXII and XXIII.

Gaps in the columns mean that no details were given, or that they were indecipherable.

PARISH		1524/5 (1) LAY SUBSIDY: No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-10	Assessed + £10	1544/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY: Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-10	Assessed + £10	Houses Exempt	% age Exempt	1671 HEARTH TAX (3) NUMBER OF HOUSES WITH HEARTHS: 1	2	3	4	+4	Total Hearths (excluding exemptions)
BARFORD HUNDRED	Gt.Barford					30	16	3								
	Colmworth					16	19	2	12	20.33	18	12	11	2	4	107
	Eaton Socon					22	18	1	8	15.69	25	8	3	1	6	114
	Goldington					67	28	6	71	26.69	117	32	19	8	19	408
	Ravensden					22	9	1	21	45.64	9	7	2	4	3	72
	Renhold					16	8	1	7	12.99	9	2	6	2	1	48
	Roxton					22	10	2	8	21.67	8	9	7	2	3	83
	Wilden					30	16	3	14	22.95	23	10	7	4	3	109
	TOTAL					28	15	0	14	23.72	23	8	5	4	5	94
						253	139	19	155	25.6	232	88	60	27	44	1,035
BIGGLESWADE HUNDRED	Astwick					+ 10	6	1								
	Lt.Barford					4	4	0	0	0	3	6	0	1	3	38
	Biggleswade +								13	38.23	6	9	3	1	2	53
	Cockayne Hatley					65	39	7	11	6.71	67	27	28	13	18	389
	Dunton								0	0	2	6	0	1	2	33
	Edworth					20	7	2	12	17.91	29	13	7	3	3	104
	Everton					13	4	0	0	0	5	1	4	0	2	31
	Eyworth								6	26.09	8	6	2	0	1	32
	Langford					11	5	0	0	0	6	3	3	1	1	50
	Potton +					20	12	0	4	5.48	34	23	6	4	2	122
	Sandy					42	22	8	45	23.81	69	28	16	17	14	322
	Sutton								21	15.55	49	33	16	5	11	261
	Tempsford					26	15	2	23	40.34	14	7	6	1	6	103
	Wrestlingworth								3	4.48	36	15	4	2	7	135
	TOTAL					18	8	1	26	50.00	8	7	6	1	4	64
						229	122	21	164	18.0	336	184	101	50	76	1,757
CLIFTON HUNDRED	Arlesey								2		1	2	2	1	1	38 (Chicksands)
	Campton/Shefford+					26	17	2	11	14.87	38	8	8	4	5	150
	Clifton					41	14	1	35	27.77	40	11	21	7	12	237
	Henlow					19	7	2	5	10.42	20	11	1	4	7	112
	Holwell					35	17	3	27	28.43	31	14	11	7	5	155
	Meppershall					12	6	1	4	16.00	9	3	3	3	3	52
	Shillington(part)					7	5	3	0	0	10	5	5	1	2	59
	Upper Stondon					35	17	0	14	16.66	21	22	19	4	4	101
	Stotfold					7	4	1	0	0	9	2	2	1	6	53
	TOTAL					25	11	2	12	14.63	34	23	7	2	4	133
						207	98	15	110	18.8	213	101	79	34	49	1,150

PARISH		1524/5 (1) LAY SUBSIDY: No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-10	Assessed + £10	1544/6 (2) LAY SUBSIDY: Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-10	Assessed + £10	Houses Exempt	% age Exempt	1671 HEARTH TAX (3) NUMBER OF HOUSES WITH HEARTHS: 1	2	3	4	+.	Total Hearths (excluding exemptions)
FLITT HUNDRED	Barton le Clay	52	28	12	3	42	11	0	24	6.37	17	25	15	2	8	173
	Caddington								7	21.3	6	5	5	3	7	80
	Clophill	26	6	5	1				32	39.5	24	15	2	3	5	111
	Flitton and Silsoe	20	6	4	5	37	7	3	48	41.37	18	24	15	1	10	223
	Lower Gravenhurst	7	5	0	0				1	25.0	4	0	1	2	1	22
	Upper Gravenhurst	9	0	8	2				9		9	6	4	1	2	55
	Hawnes	5	4	13	1				36	46.15	16	14	4	3	5	113
	Higham Gobion	2	0	0	1				0	0	0	1	0	0	3	20
	Luton +	57	10	36	13	69	68	15	135	31.18	84	75	62	36	41	902
	Pulloxhill					22	9	1	11	20.37	18	13	3	6	3	103
	Shillington (part)	23	11	8	3				20	28.57	15	19	8	4	4	118
	Streatley/Sharpenhoe	7	2	9	2				8	29.63	6	4	4	3	2	50
	Sundon	15	4	9	3	17	4	2	19	37.76	18	8	7	4	2	94
	TOTAL	223	76	104	34	187	99	21	350	32.3	235	209	130	68	93	2,064
MANSHEAD HUNDRED	Aspley Guise								16	28.06	22	6	5	2	6	96
	Battlesden								0	0	3	4	3	0	3	44
	Chalgrave					28	14	0	14	21.87	15	19	10	2	4	121
	Dunstable +					51	34	8	95	45.88	22	23	27	15	25	414
	Eaton Bray								26	25.74	37	19	12	3	4	175
	Eversholt								23	24.73	28	16	19	5	2	148
	Harlington	3	6	12	4	31	14	1	10	14.5	30	13	3	4	9	154
	Hockliffe								14	43.75	2	2	5	4	5	68
	Hulcote	2	3	3	0	1	6	2	1	7.69	8	2	0	1	1	33
	Houghton-Regis					40	20	2	10	10.1	39	19	19	5	7	198
	Husborne Crawley								14	16.87	46	15	4	1	3	117
	Leighton Buzzard +	63	71	55	18	78	44	3	100	22.62	124	96	51	32	39	861
	Milton Bryan					15	7	0	9	20.45	19	9	4	1	2	68
	Potsgrove	3	2	7	0				0	0	4	1	2	3	0	24
	Salford	9	7	7	2				0	0	6	8	4	1	1	48
	Studham								8	18.61	16	4	7	3	5	101
	Tilsworth	12	6	2	1				8	33.33	5	8	2	0	1	34
	Tingrith								8	26.67	8	5	2	2	5	64
	Toddington +					38	14	3	40	23.4	60	32	23	7	9	326
	Totternhoe					12	5	0	5	10.42	20	14	5	1	3	87
	Westoning					32	15	1	12	16.67	31	13	9	6	1	113
	Whipsnade					8	2	0	0	0	3	2	7	0	2	45
	Woburn +								58	34.32	45	24	17	17	8	349
	TOTAL	92	95	86	25	334	175	20	471	24.6	593	354	240	115	145	3,688

		1524/5 (1) LAY SUBSIDY				1544/6 (2) LAY SUBSIDY			1671 HEARTH TAX (3)							
		No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-10	Assessed + £10	Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-10	Assessed + £10	Houses Exempt	% age Exempt	NUMBER OF HOUSES WITH HEARTHS 1	2	3	4	+4	Total Hearths (excluding exemptions)
REDBORNESTOKE HUNDRED	Ampthill +					60	17	3	24	19.84	15	32	18	12	20	396
	Cranfield					29	13	1	45	26.01	74	27	19	3	5	228
	Elstow								27	30.68	25	18	8	3	7	155
	Flitwick								10	14.92	38	7	7	3	2	103
	Houghton Conquest								15	23.44	19	8	11	1	10	157
	Kempston								33	22.45	47	36	11	7	13	288
	Lidlington								20	20.1	41	17	11	3	7	169
	Marston Moretaine								32	24.8	57	18	9	5	8	192
	Maulden								39	26.89	64	16	16	3	7	199
	Milbrook					14	4	0	11	21.15	21	10	2	4	4	97
	Ridgmont					15	7	1	8	16.67	27	6	1	1	5	97
	Steppingley					17	2	0	4	13.79	8	5	7	2	3	66
	Wilhamstead					27	22	0	33	36.67	27	13	9	6	2	114
	Wootton								30	28.03	37	20	9	3	8	178
	TOTAL					162	65	5	331	24.3	500	233	138	56	101	2,439
STODDEN HUNDRED	Bolnhurst					20	5	1	8	25.8	8	6	3	3	3	65
	Clapham					7	4	1	13	38.23	7	7	3	3	1	56
	Deane					22	9	3	25	42.36	13	11	5	4	3	81
	Keysoe					42	16	0	18	24.66	28	17	6	2	2	101
	Knotting					6	5	1	0	0	3	3	2	3	2	43
	Melchbourne					25	5	0	0	0	16	8	6	0	2	89
	Milton Ernest					27	11	1	7	16.28	17	10	3	2	4	78
	Oakley					26	12	1	12	21.82	20	13	5	2	3	92
	Pertenhall					12	9	2	9	28.13	10	3	4	3	3	73
	Riseley					39	12	3	28	28.58	39	23	4	0	4	120
	Shelton					3	7	1	17	54.83	4	3	5	0	2	37
	Lt.Staughton					22	12	0	8	18.18	23	8	3	1	1	58
	Tilbrook					25	11	0	12	30.77	12	10	3	1	1	56
	Yelden					18	5	1	12	31.58	15	4	1	3	3	57
	TOTAL					294	123	15	169	27.2	215	126	51	27	34	1,006

		1524/5 (1) LAY SUBSIDY				1544/5 (2) LAY SUBSIDY			Houses Exempt	% age Exempt	1671 HEARTH TAX (3) NUMBER OF HOUSES WITH HEARTHS					Total Hearths (excluding exemptions)
		No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-10	Assessed + £10	Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-10	Assessed + £10			1	2	3	4	+.	
WILLEY HUNDRED	Biidenham					21	10	3	14	28.57	19	6	2	4	4	90
	Bletsoe	17	13	10	2	17	11	2	10	21.27	15	7	9	0	6	122
	Bromham	26	8	9	3	15	10	2	9	25.0	13	7	4	1	2	64
	Carlton	5	10	7	1	13	12	1	15	32.60	13	11	2	2	3	69
	Chellington	6	2	6	0	9	5	0	10	40.00	8	5	1	1	0	25
	Farndish	3	2	2	0	6	2	0	0	0	3	1	1	2	5	20
	Felmersham	4	9	13	0	27	15	3	22	30.56	28	11	6	2	3	95
	Harrold	11	6	11	3	39	9	1	25	30.49	31	8	9	2	7	136
	Odell	9	11	13	0	32	13	1	11	16.67	32	16	3	2	2	101
	Pavenham	13	11	9	3	17	14	1	15	29.41	19	10	5	0	2	69
	Poddington	17	7	6	3	24	12	1	9	16.67	29	5	3	3	5	101
	Sharnbrook					32	9	2	13	20.31	35	6	4	1	5	101
	Souldrop	7	1	6	0	6	6	0	4	20.00	11	2	2	0	1	26
	Stagsden	26	8	16	5	27	17	2	17	32.07	16	12	5	2	1	68
	Stevington	14	7	13	5	25	12	4	20	25.97	34	14	4	2	3	106
	Thurleigh	17	6	22	2	34	13	2	15	23.08	28	12	6	1	3	102
	Turvey	35	13	20	2	26	20	2	54	52.43	20	12	5	7	5	125
	Wymington	10	2	6	0	13	4	0	11	32.35	8	7	2	4	2	55
	TOTAL	220	116	169	29	383	194	27	274	28.7	362	160	64	27	69	1,475
WIXAMTREE HUNDRED	Blunham					75	27	3	15	11.62	54	42	9	3	6	222
	Cardington					60	31	2	42	27.10	62	25	6	9	11	250
	Cople					36	14	4	14	25.00	17	14	2	5	4	124
	Northill					74	21	4	0	0	61	14	9	8	9	212
	Southill					47	15	4	44	32.60	37	25	12	4	13	236
	Warden					31	11	1	0	0	17	12	7	1	8	156
	Willington					30	26	2	0	0	10	6	5	0	1	55
	TOTAL					353	145	20	115	17.9	258	138	50	30	52	1,255
	BEDFORD +					124	60	22	145	32.58	101	76	37	31	55	874
	TOTAL					2,526	1,220	185	2,284	25	3,045	1,669	950	465	718	16,743

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, 1524-1670

		1524/5 LAY SUBSIDY (1)				1662 HEARTH TAX (3)					1670 HEARTH TAX (3)		
		No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-£10	Assessed over £10	1 Hearth Houses	2 Hearth Houses	3 Hearth Houses	4 Hearth Houses	4+ Hearth Houses	Exempt Houses	%age of all houses exempt	Total Houses not exempt
CHIPPING-WARDEN HUNDRED	Aston-le-Walls	2	5	9	0	10	5	2	0	3	9	34.61	17
	Boddington	10	9	13	1	22	13	4	4	5	34	39.08	53
	Byfield	23	13	20	2	59	16	rest illegible			45	35.72	81
	Chipping Warden	16	8	13	5	33	18	7	2	2	30	36.14	53
	Edgcott	6	2	6	3	7	6	0	0	2	3	16.67	15
	Eydon	11	4	12	4	30	12	3	1	4	36	36.74	62
	Gretworth	3	5	5	2	3	2	3	1	3	9	42.85	12
	Sulgrave	10	8	11	15	39	12	10	4	2	28	34.15	54
	Woodford	30	7	13	5	44	18	14	3	1	38	40.42	56
	TOTAL	111	61	102	37	247	102	51	18	27	232	36.5	403
CLELEY HUNDRED	Alderton *	5	3	10	1	8	3	4	2	0	11	39.28	17
	Ashton *	3	5	11	1	16	6	1	1	5	26	43.33	34
	Cosgrove	7	4	12	3	26	14	6	6	3	18	21.96	64
	Easton Neston	13	2	8	6	7	5	0	0	1	8	29.63	19
	Furtho		with Cosgrove				with Cosgrove				with Cosgrove		
	Grafton Regis *	5	2	3	2	11	2	5	1	5	8	29.63	19
	Hartwell *	10	9	10	3	23	6	0	2	2	35	41.67	49
	Passenham *	10	5	16	3	47	10	3	2	9	69	52.26	63
	Paulerspury *	30	25	20	10	59	rest illegible 18	4	1	3	45	33.83	88
	Potterspury *	29	17	27	6	74	32	3	1	3	67	38.95	105
	Roade	10	7	8	3	31	11	4	1	2	21	28.00	54
	Stoke-Bruerne	11	7	10	3	44	12	11	2	3	53	50.00	53
	Wicken *	10	6	5	2	9	6	6	1	3	26	44.83	32
	TOTAL	143	92	140	43	355	125	47	20	39	387	39.3	597

		1524/5 LAY SUBSIDY (1)				1662 HEARTH TAX (3)					1670 HEARTH TAX (3)		
		No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-£10	Assessed over £10	1 Hearth Houses	2 Hearth Houses	3 Hearth Houses	4 Hearth Houses	4+ Hearth Houses	Exempt Houses	%age of all houses exempt	Total Houses not exempt
CORBY HUNDRED	Ashley	4	15	10	0	28	6	3	3	2	18	31.03	40
	Blatherwick	15	13	6	3		u n c l e a r				20	41.67	28
	Brampton	12	25	3	2	20	9	2	0	2	20	41.67	28
	Brigstock *	23	37	25	11	41	rest illegible 20	5	1	2	90	41.66	126
	Bulwick *	10	30	14	2	31	8	4	3	4	56	54.91	46
	East Carleton *	5	19	8	2	19	6	2	0	3	28	60.87	18
	Corby *	2	24	16	1	50	27	6	1	6	48	39.67	73
	Cottingham *	19	26	17	7	55	18	8	3	10	53	37.07	90
	Deene *	20	23	15	3	26	9	3	1	4	15	25.00	45
	Dingley	7	8	4	3	11	6	2	1	2	11	32.35	23
	Geddington *	11	22	10	3	36	15	6	0	2	51	40.81	74
	Gretton *	1	60	17	2	85	25	7	7	10	64	38.32	103
	Harringworth	0	60	23	2	43	11	9	1	4	56	50.0	56
	Laxton	4	2	5	2	13	7	3	1	1	19	43.18	25
	Newton	11	7	8	1		u n c l e a r				6	31.58	13
	Gt. Oakley *	21	19	5	3	12	9	2	0	1	32	50.00	32
	Lt. Oakley *	3	6	7	1	12	1	2	2	2	9	34.61	17
	Rockingham *+	3	13	15	2	15	7	1	3	1	21	43.75	27
	Stanion *	1	23	16	0	22	6	3	2	1	34	53.98	29
	Stoke Albany	3	16	15	1	34	5	3	2	3	38	41.77	53
	Sutton Bassett	2	4	8	0		u n c l e a r				1	4.76	20
	Wakerley	3	19	6	2		u n c l e a r				18	50.0	18
	Weekley	10	13	11	3	5	rest illegible 4	1	3	1	6	21.43	22
	Weldon *+	2	43	22	2	58	rest illegible 17	5	3	7	78	43.09	103
	Weston-by-Welland	6	5	12	1	20	10	7	1	2	18	50.0	18
	Wilbarston *	1	38	15	1	41	17	8	3	1	48	38.09	78
	TOTAL	199	570	313	60	677	243	92	41	71	858	39.3	1,205

		1524/5 LAY SUBSIDY (1)				1662 HEARTH TAX (3)					1670 HEARTH TAX (3)		
		No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-£10	Assessed over £10	1 Hearth Houses	2 Hearth Houses	3 Hearth Houses	4 Hearth Houses	4+ Hearth Houses	Exempt Houses	%age of all houses exempt	Total Houses not exempt
FAWSLEY HUNDRED	Ashby St.Ledgers	0	6	11	0	34	6	0	2	1	17	32.07	36
	Badby	6	16	21	4	42	13	7	1	1	28	33.74	55
	Barby	5	7	27	1	44	20	6	1	1	24	23.3	79
	Braunston	3	5	30	4	49	31	3	1	2	38	34.86	71
	Catesby	10	1	1	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	6
	Charwelton	13	0	0	3	7	4	1	2	2	7	29.17	17
	Daventry +	8	8	30	7	67	31	28	24	28	132	44.15	167
	Dodford	1	4	17	0	17	2	1	1	2	14	38.89	22
	Everdon	8	15	18	3	32	15	5	1	2	34	35.42	62
	Farthingstone	2	4	7	1	15	6	2	1	2	20	44.44	25
	Fawsley	8	0	0	2	3	1	0	0	3	0	0	8
	Hellidon	1	3	10	0	20	14	0	3	2	20	37.73	33
	Kilsby	5	8	18	0	38	22	7	2	2	17	20.00	68
	Lichborough	15	2	9	1	26	13	6	4	3	18	28.13	46
	Newnham	7	9	19	2	30	14	6	2	1	27	33.75	53
	Norton	3	4	17	2	11	rest illegible 2	1	3	1	20	38.46	32
	Preston Capes	6	2	20	3	35	14	4	1	4	12	19.05	51
	Staverton	1	5	13	0	44	13	7	2	2	21	24.42	65
	Stowe	6	1	13	2	11	9	2	2	2	18	43.9	23
	Weedon-Beck	3	8	23	4	57	16	12	4	6	60	49.18	62
	Welton	2	5	13	1	19	9	7	4	3	48	62.33	29
	TOTAL	113	113	317	40	603	255	107	61	71	575	36.3	1,010

		1524/5 LAY SUBSIDY				1662 HEARTH TAX (3)					1670 HEARTH TAX (3)		
		No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-£10	Assessed over £10	1 Hearth Houses	2 Hearth Houses	3 Hearth Houses	4 Hearth Houses	4+ Hearth Houses	Exempt Houses	%age of all houses exempt	Total Houses not exempt
GREENS-NORTON HUNDRED	Canons Ashby	12	4	3	2	0	2	0	0	2	1	14.29	6
	Adstone	6	2	8	2	5	7	3	1	2	7	28.0	18
	Blakesley	20	rest illegible	22	2	45	16	4	1	6	52	43.7	67
	Bradden	5	2	6	2	12	2	2	1	1	12	41.38	17
	Greens Norton	11	5	15	4	38	9	5	7	6	37	40.22	55
	Maidford	8	3	6	3	15	6	2	1	2	22	48.89	23
	Moreton Pinkney	18	4	16	2	30	14	7	0	3	40	42.11	55
	Plumpton	2	2	5	1	4	4	1	0	1	7	53.86	6
	Silverstone *	10	6	11	3	34	13	2	2	0	30	38.95	47
	Slapton *	5	4	4	2	11	1	3	1	3	13	39.4	20
	Weedon Lois	9	7	14	1	24	8	2	6	3	29	46.04	34
	Whittlebury *	5	2	7	4	39	15	4	1	4	35	44.87	43
	TOTAL	111	52	117	28	257	97	35	21	33	285	42.2	391
GUILSBOROUGH HUNDRED	Cold Ashby	2	4	8	4	9	5	0	7	2	8	20.51	31
	Long Buckby	0	9	28	3	63	23	6	0	2	71	47.32	79
	Clay Coton	0	5	5	2	10	6	4	2	0	16	47.06	18
	Cottesbrook	0	2	19	5	33	4	0	0	2	17	37.78	28
	Gt. Creaton	0	3	7	1	13	9	8	3	1	21	41.17	30
	Crick	1	8	17	1	29	21	8	2	5	51	40.81	74
	Ellington										2	28.58	5
	Guilsborough	1	2	13	4	10	9	6	2	6	39	50.65	38
	West Haddon	0	4	16	5	67	16	10	1	3	24	22.43	83
	Lilbourne	0	5	10	1	21	20	5	1	0	25	35.72	45
	Naseby	0	10	15	5	45	7	2	0	1	24	31.58	52
part of	Ravensthorpe	0	1	3	3	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	8
	Stanford	8	9	12	2	14	8	3	1	1	10	27.77	26
	Thurnby	0	3	5	3	7	3	6	1	3	5	20.84	19
	Watford	1	rest illegible	9	7	20	11	0	3	2	23	45.09	28
	Welford	3	9	13	1	29	17	2	2	3	48	48.39	45
	Winwick	0	4	8	1	11	2	2	0	3	7	28.00	18
	Yelvertoft	1	4	20	1	42	18	6	1	1	33	37.08	56
	TOTAL	17	83	208	49	425	184	70	26	35	424	38.3	683

		No. Assessed on wages	1544/6 LAY SUBSIDY (2)			1662 HEARTH TAX (3)					1670 HEARTH TAX (3)		
			Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-£10	Assessed over £10	1 Hearth Houses	2 Hearth Houses	3 Hearth Houses	4 Hearth Houses	4+ Hearth Houses	Exempt Houses	%age of all houses exempt	Total Houses not exempt
HAMFORDSHIRE HUNDRED	Mears Ashby		15	16	1	22	11	5	2	3	37	45.67	44
	Gt.Doddington		20	12	3	13	12	3	0	7	35	45.45	42
	Earls Barton		35	25	2	15	16	6	4	0	64	43.54	83
	Ecton		17	18	6	17	11	6	2	5	32	46.37	37
	Holcot		17	10	3	24	9	5	2	0	34	40.48	50
	Sywell		10	17	0	8	9	1	0	2	15	42.85	20
	Wellingborough+		82	47	22	79	44	39	17	15	260	50.98	250
	Wilby		9	11	1	10	8	5	1	3	16	39.02	25
	TOTAL		205	156	38	188	120	70	28	35	493	47.2	551
HIGHAM FERRERS HUNDRED	Bozeat		29	15	2	46	9	3	1	2	29	30.21	67
	Chelveston		10	18	0	17	9	4	3	0	19	38.0	31
	Easton Maudit		17	13	1	16	5	0	0	4	17	44.73	21
	Higham Ferrers+		40	29	8	29	26	19	9	15	68	37.98	111
	Irchester		35	32	1	43	17	6	6	4	35	32.11	74
	Newton Bromswold		10	8	0		rest illegible				0	0	24
	Raundes		47	39	11	70	25	13	8	3	40	22.35	139
	Ringstead		9	19	2	30	13	4	3	2	24	33.80	47
	Rushden		23	30	3	48	21	12	6	5	62	36.68	107
	Stanwick		15	12	3	27	5	3	2	3	9	16.07	47
	Strixton		6	7	1	1	1	0	1	1	3	42.85	4
	Wollaston		29	31	5	60	12	15	4	3	50	34.25	96
	Hargrave		5	13	4	20	5	2	2	1	9	24.32	28
	TOTAL		275	266	41	407	148	81	45	43	365	31.4	796

		1524/5 LAY SUBDIDY (1)				1662 HEARTH TAX (3)					1670 HEARTH TAX (3)		
		No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-£10	Assessed over £10	1 Hearth Houses	2 Hearth Houses	3 Hearth Houses	4 Hearth Houses	4+ Hearth Houses	Exempt Houses	%age of all houses exempt	Total Houses not exempt
HUXLOE HUNDRED	Gt.Addington	3	18	5	2	24	2	2	0	3	20	44.44	25
	Lt.Addington	0	16	7	1	21	8	4	0	1	9	22.5	31
	Aldwinkle	11	28	15	4	35	17	6	2	6	54	45.0	66
	Barnwell All Sts.	3	11	10	3	8	9	5	2	2	12	31.58	26
	Barton Seagrave	9	4	15	1	5	1	1	0	4	5	33.34	10
	Burton Latimer	8	30	18	5	46	17	6	2	4	63	52.49	57
	Cranford St.Andrew	6	22	19	6	6	2	4	1	3	19	47.06	14
	Cranford St.John					9	4	3	1	1	13		22
	Denford	6	15	4	4	11	14	2	2	0	31	46.27	36
	Finedon	12	19	12	13	32	25	4	6	6	39	29.32	94
	Grafton Underwood	3	16	13	0	13	6	5	1	0	21	45.64	25
	Irthlingborough	15	49	29	7	39	22	5	4	1	71	41.78	99
	Islip	10	20	8	5	8	4	4	5	4	23	41.81	32
	Kettering +	12	59	46	14	94	50	28	17	11	114	33.43	227
	Lilford	5	13	18	2	13	8	3	1	2	12	36.32	21
	Lowick	9	29	7	6	9	11	9	2	5	29	39.73	44
	Slipton	3	7	6	3	3	2	3	4	1	13	52.0	12
	Sudborough	4	12	6	5	5	4	1	4	2	19	45.25	23
	Twywell	1	4	9	2	8	2	2	1	4	21	52.50	19
	Thrapston (part)	3	8	2	0	with main part of Thrapston							
	Warkton	10	6	12	7	10	11	1	2	2	5	16.67	25
	Woodford	5	30	22	7	32	12	8	2	5	39	41.94	54
	TOTAL	138	416	283	97	431	231	106	59	67	632	39.6	962

		1524/5 LAY SUBSIDY (1)				1662 HEARTH TAX (3)					1670 HEARTH TAX (3)		
		No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-£10	Assessed over £10	1 Hearth Houses	2 Hearth Houses	3 Hearth Houses	4 Hearth Houses	4+ Hearth Houses	Exempt Houses	%age of all houses exempt	Total Houses not exempt
KING'S SUTTON HUNDRED	Grimsbury/ Nethercott					14	4	0	0	3	6	24.00	19
	Aynho +	5	9	11	2	27	5	1	3	7	42	48.27	45
	Brackley +	39 rest	illegible	21	7	79	35	18	16	18	60	27.91	155
	Chalcombe	12	6	15	1	13	8	7	3	1	9	20.92	34
	Croughton					15	7	5	1	2	26	48.15	28
	Culworth	19	17	13	3	29	11	4	2	5	35	44.87	43
	Evenley	6	2	7	2	11	3	6	4	4	24	47.06	27
	Farthinghoe					12	6	2	2	6	19	45.25	23
	Helmdon	14 rest	illegible	7	1	35	14	9	2	4	32	35.55	58
	Hinton		9			7	4	5	2	2	3	13.04	20
	King's Sutton	42	20	15	10	42	25	11	4	3	69	50.36	68
	Marston Lawrence	2	11	13	3	23	9	3	2	3	21	38.89	33
	Middleton Cheney	18	16	18	6	37	22	13	3	3	74	52.11	68
	Newbottle	8 rest	illegible	4	1	32	5	9	3	6	33	43.42	43
	Radstone	4 rest	illegible	3	1	3	6	2	0	1	6	30.00	14
	Steane		with Hinton					with Hinton					
	Stottesbury					4	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
	Syresham *	13	7	11	5	37	15	4	2	3	73	54.88	60
	Thenford	4	5	8	1	13	2	3	2	1	8	26.67	22
	Thorpe Mandeville	5	2	5	1	6	2	0	1	1	4	33.54	13
	Wappenham *	23 rest	illegible	21	2	35	11	4	3	4	32	36.78	55
	Warkworth		15			10	5	0	0	2	8	36.37	14
	Whitfield *	2	2	4	3	8	4	1	1	3	11	40.74	17
	TOTAL	219	138	176	49	492	204	107	56	82	595	40.8	863

		1524/5 LAY SUBSIDY				1662 HEARTH TAX (3)					1670 HEARTH TAX (3)		
		No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-£10	Assessed over £10	1 Hearth Houses	2 Hearth Houses	3 Hearth Houses	4 Hearth Houses	4+ Hearth Houses	Exempt Houses	%age of all houses exempt	Total Houses not exempt
NAVISFORD HUNDRED	Clapton	7	6	14	3						No	details	
	Pilton	13	3	3	3	14	8	2	2	3	15	44.12	19
	Stoke-Doyle	16	5	9	4	8	4	3	3	3	15	37.5	25
	Thorpe Achurch	11	1	10	2	25	3	5	2	2	20	36.36	35
most of	Thrapston +	12	2	7	3	16	10	15	4	6	35	33.04	71
	Tichmarsh	35	10	35	5	64	17	7	4	4	29	23.01	97
	Wadenhoe	13	3	7	2	18	1	4	1	3	18	36.0	32
	TOTAL	107	30	85	22	145	43	36	16	21	132	32.1	279
NEWBOTTLE HUNDRED	Chapel Brampton	1	3	10	0	31	1	1	1	0	11	29.73	26
	Church Brampton	4	0	4	2	3	1	3	0	1	18	62.07	11
	Brington	5	13	26	0	37	14	7	0	3	37	37.38	62
	Brockhall	6	2	3	1	10	2	2	0	1	3	18.75	13
	Bugbrook	5	9	14	2	24	7	4	5	5	39	44.32	49
	Dallington	4	5	9	0	2	10	3	0	1	38	63.33	22
	Duston	18	5	9	0	27	14	6	2	0	32	42.66	43
	Flore	8	6	24	2	43	15	3	2	2	29	27.10	78
	East Haddon	1	2	11	2						25	32.05	53
	Harlestone	4	8	18	2	24	10	4	0	2	78	69.65	34
	Harpole	5	2	14	2	20	19	3	3	2	13	20.31	51
	Lower Heyford	7	7	13	7	38	3	2	0	2	26	47.28	29
	Upper Heyford					8	7	3	0	0	3	17.65	14
	Holdenby	0	3	9	1						2	18.18	9
	Kislingbury	8	8	16	2	27	13	4	0	2	29	36.71	50
part of	Ravensthorpe	6	7	11	6	35	12	1	2	2	31	40.26	46
	Upton	7	1	8	2	3	1	0	0	1	4	30.77	9
	Whilton	3	4	11	0	28	8	0	0	0	16	39.02	25
	TOTAL	92	85	210	31	360	137	46	15	24	434	41.0	624

		1544/6 LAY SUBSIDY (2)				1662 HEARTH TAX (3)					1670 HEARTH TAX. (3)		
		No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-£10	Assessed over £10	1 Hearth Houses	2 Hearth Houses	3 Hearth Houses	4 Hearth Houses	4+ Hearth Houses	Exempt Houses	%age of all houses exempt	Total Houses not exempt
ORLINGBURY HUNDRED	Brixworth		28	rest illegible 23	9	34	12	3	3	8	82	55.4	66
	Broughton		9	rest illegible 17	1	18	8	3	5	3	21	31.34	46
	Cransley		13	39	3	16	2	4	3	1	15	38.46	24
	Hannington			rest illegible		12	8	2	0	2	13	34.21	25
	Hardwick		0	3	1	2	6	1	1	1	3	21.43	11
	Gt.Harrowden					5	5	3	0	4	9	34.61	17
	Lt.Harrowden		33	13	1	21	10	6	1	0	29	46.77	33
	Isham					18	16	0	1	4	27	46.56	31
	Lamport					9	0	2	0	3	39	63.95	22
	Faxton					24	4	1	0	1	13	36.11	23
	Old		22	15	1	17	17	6	1	1	47	58.75	33
	Orlingbury		10	9	2	8	7	0	1	4	9	29.02	22
	Pytchley					23	9	1	1	5	18	32.73	37
	Scaldwell					16	12	2	1	2	24	47.06	27
	Walgrave		12	11	2	11	rest illegible 8	2	2	1	58	61.05	37
	TOTAL		127	130	20	234	114	36	20	40	407	47.3	454
		1524/5 LAY SUBSIDY (1)											
POLEBROOK HUNDRED	Barnwell St.Andrew		17	14	1	13	6	7	6	3	8	17.78	37
	Benefield *		44	21	4	43	23	13	3	7	69	41.81	96
	Hemington		11	7	1	5	5	2	2	1	2	14.29	12
	Luddington		5	5	0	1	5	0	2	0	0	0	11
	Oundle +		106	42	29	84	50	45	11	40	41	10.76	340
	Polebrook		25	14	2	28	14	4	3	6	14	22.58	48
	Warmington(part)		31	rest illegible 10	6	25	11	9	3	2	14	19.00	65
	Winwick (part)		7	5	3	21	7	2	1	1	9	23.08	30
	Thurning (part)		1	1	0						0	0	4
	TOTAL		247	119	46	220	121	82	31	60	157	19.6	643

		1524/5 LAY SUBSIDY (1)				1662 HEARTH TAX (3)					1670 HEARTH TAX (3)		
		No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-£10	Assessed over £10	1 Hearth Houses	2 Hearth Houses	3 Hearth Houses	4 Hearth Houses	4+ Hearth Houses	Exempt Houses	%age of all houses exempt	Total Houses not exempt
ROTHWELL HUNDRED	Arthingworth					9	7	3	1	1	14	35.0	26
	Lt.Bowden	0	9	14	0	25	10	2	5	4	37	46.25	43
	Braybrook	4	22	18	1	35	14	3	0	3	no	detail	
	Clipston	0	9	12	5	63	14	6	1	2	31	32.98	63
	Desborough	7	26	22	3	44	10	2	0	2	44	47.32	49
	Draughton	0	8	6	2	10	2	0	2	3	13	37.14	22
	East Farndon	2	12	12	2	30	10	4	3	1	17	26.99	46
	Glendon	0	0	1	0						0	0	6
	Harrington	8	3	15	2	15	9	2	2	2	13	26.0	37
	Haselbeach	3	6	5	3	12	2	0	1	2	20	58.82	14
	Kelmarsh	6	19	15	2	0	2	1	1	4	20	64.51	11
	Loddington	1	12	3	3	8	3	2	3	2	7	26.93	19
	Maidwell	1	14	8	2	23	3	1	0	2	14	38.89	22
	Marston Trussell	1	12	11	1	18	rest illegible 8	1	1	3	26	44.83	32
	Oxendon	3	9	13	2	57	14	2	0	0	38	50.66	37
	Rothwell + Orton	0	10	8	0	47 12	rest illegible 25 6	9 2	7 0	4 0	137 10	52.89 29.41	122 24
	Rushton	0	24	12	2	36	7	2	3	5	20	38.46	32
	Sibbertoft	0	11	13	1	18	9	3	2	2	28	44.45	35
	Sulby	5	2	0	0						0	0	5
	Hothorpe	2	4	4	3	7	6	1	1	0	6	27.28	16
	Thorpe Malsor	2	2	12	1	14	6	0	1	1	18	46.15	21
	TOTAL	45	214	204	35	483	167	46	34	43	513	42.9	682

		1524/5 LAY SUBSIDY (1)				1662 HEARTH TAX (3)					1670 HEARTH TAX (3)		
		No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-£10	Assessed over £10	1 Hearth Houses	2 Hearth Houses	3 Hearth Houses	4 Hearth Houses	4+ Hearth Houses	Exempt Houses	%age of all houses exempt	Total Houses not exempt
SPELHOE HUNDRED	Abington	16	7	7	2	9	7	2	0	1	24	70.58	10
	Gt.Billing	20	9	6	3	8	12	1	1	2	0	0	50
	Lt.Billing	18	2	3	1	5	4	1	1	1	8	36.37	14
	Boughton	11	3	8	2	9	10	2	2	2	22	47.82	24
	Kingsthorpe	34	6	10	5	32	10	7	5	5	44	39.65	67
	Moulton	33	14	19	1	22	16	rest illegible	0	1	80	52.29	73
	Overstone	14	1	4	2	24	1	1	0	2	11	26.19	31
	Pitsford	10	0	9	0	16	5	1	2	1	22	51.16	21
	Spratton	7	6	13	0	30	11	6	3	3	43	41.76	60
	Weston Favell	14	4	4	3	14	11	2	0	4	21	44.68	26
	TOTAL	177	52	83	19	169	87	29	14	22	275	42.2	376
TOWCESTER HUNDRED	Abthorpe	13	9	9	2	13	7	5	1	0	53	64.65	29
	Cold Higham	5	4	12	2	21	4	5	0	2	19	38.0	31
	Gayton	3	9	10	4	1	6	1	4	6	29	61.70	18
	Pattishall	5	5	19	9	34	17	11	7	6	32	27.83	83
	Tiffield	12	5	4	0	9	6	2	1	1	9	29.02	22
	Towcester +	69	30	31	16	45	36	26	13	18	135	43.54	175
	TOTAL	107	62	85	33	123	76	50	26	33	277	43.6	358

		1524/5 LAY SUBSIDY				1662 HEARTH TAX (3)					1670 HEARTH TAX (3)		
		No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-£10	Assessed over £10	1 Hearth Houses	2 Hearth Houses	3 Hearth Houses	4 Hearth Houses	4+ Hearth Houses	Exempt Houses	%age of all houses exempt	Total Houses not exempt
WILLYBROOK HUNDRED	Apethorpe *	16	14	11	2	24	8	6	1	1	21	36.21	37
	Collyweston	5	15	15	1	15	11	3	2	4	16	28.06	41
	Cotterstock	4	4	9	0	3	1	1	1	2	12	48.00	13
	Duddington *	16	3	7	4	23	6	8	3	3	53	50.48	52
	Easton	10	36	16	5	45	25	7	5	4	25	23.15	83
	Fotheringhay *	13	31	16	7	31	15	rest illegible	1	2	24	34.29	46
	Glapthorne *	3	20	10	2	13	13		1	2	36	49.32	37
	King's Cliffe*+	15	39	24	2	47	22	11	10	9	92	43.19	121
	Lutton	0	11	7	1	6	10	0	2	1	3	13.63	19
	Nassington *	19	18	22	1	29	14	15	2	4	37	38.54	59
	Southwick *	2	13	8	3	19	9	0	0	1	6	18.75	26
	Tansor	5	8	9	3		illegible				7	16.28	36
	Warmington(part)	4	13	6	0	8	5	1	0	1	5	see Polebrook Hundred	16
	Wood Newton *	4	17	11	2	25	12	4	0	1	20	30.3	46
	Yarwell*	10	6	8	1	16	11	1	4	2	14	29.79	33
	TOTAL	126	248	179	34	304	162	62	32	37	371	35.8	665

		1524/5 LAY SUBSIDY				1662 HEARTH TAX (3)					1670 HEARTH TAX (3)		
		No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-£10	Assessed over £10	1 Hearth Houses	2 Hearth Houses	3 Hearth Houses	4 Hearth Houses	4+ Hearth Houses	Exempt Houses	%age of all houses exempt	Total Houses not exempt
WYMERSLEY HUNDRED	Castle Ashby	11	2	5	2	6	7	1	2	2	16	43.24	21
	Blisworth	34	rest illegible 8	18	3	28	9	2	3	0	23	31.09	51
	Brafield	12	5	11	1	25	10	8	2	2	26	39.30	40
	Cogenhoe	9	7	6	3	18	4	3	1	2	8	25.80	23
	Collingtree	7	2	6	3	17	2	1	2	0	7	21.88	25
	Courtenhall	8	1	9	3	20	9	0	0	3	17	36.95	29
	Denton	12	1	4	4	18	8	2	0	1	28	39.44	43
	Grendon	21	9	12	2	40	14	8	4	3	24	26.08	68
	Hardingstone	34	7	17	1	43	13	14	1	3	41	39.81	62
	Horton	5	1	3	1	4	2	1	0	1	6	46.16	7
	Gt.Houghton	20	8	8	4	25	0	0	3	2	26	50.98	25
	Lt.Houghton	16	9	13	1	21	rest illegible 12	5	0	3	20	31.75	43
	Milton Malzor	14	rest illegible 3	14	0						33	45.83	39
	Piddington *	29	rest illegible 7	13	0	40	10	2	2	0	53	50.00	53
	Preston Deanery	5	0	0	1						2	22.22	7
	Quinton *	6	2	6	0	10	6	0	0	1	15	50.0	15
	Rothersthorpe	15	6	14	0	41	4	2	2	0	24	51.06	23
	Whiston	9	4	6	3	3	7	0	1	0	9	52.94	8
	Wootton	15	6	13	0	16	15	2	2	1	34	48.57	36
	Yardley Hastings	27	5	9	1	15	16	1	2	4	53	51.46	50
	TOTAL	309	93	187	33	390	148	52	27	28	465	41.0	668

		1524/5 LAY SUBSIDY				1662 HEARTH TAX (3)					1670 HEARTH TAX (3)		
		No. Assessed on wages	Others Assessed up to £2	Assessed £3-£10	Assessed over £10	1 Hearth Houses	2 Hearth Houses	3 Hearth Houses	4 Hearth Houses	4+ Hearth Houses	Exempt Houses	%age of all houses exempt	Total Houses not exempt
NASSABURGH HUNDRED (SOKE OF PETERBOROUGH)	Bainton	0	12	3	3	26	5	0	2	1	10	25.0	30
	Barnack	10	38	15	8	36	16	12	1	5	18	20.0	72
		rest illegible											
	Castor	0	33	20	7	74	29	8	11	6	52	29.38	125
	Etton	0	6	6	2	12	2	2	0	3	0	0	21
	Eye	0	22	7	1	30	16	4	1	0	0	0	76
	Glinton -	0	24	14	4	26	14	2	2	1	10	16.40	51
	Helpston	0	28	16	1	30	13	4	1	2	21	29.17	51
	Peterborough+	1	128	45	13	415	120	87	37	72	205	28.87	505
	Marholm	0	22	9	2	9	4	2	1	1	0	0	15
	Maxey	0	21	25	7	36	12	9	2	3	6	6.38	88
	Northborough	1	19	6	3	30	10	1	0	2	2	4.08	47
		rest illegible											
	Paston	0	40	22	9	78	39	9	9	5	26	16.99	127
	Peakirk	6	6	7	2	19	6	5	1	0	8	22.86	27
		rest illegible											
	Stamford St. Martin	0	15	5	1	15	20	18	9	16	0	0	145
	Thornhaugh	0	12	6	1	8	8	2	0	3	0	0	34
	Ufford	0	23	10	3	29	5	2	1	4	8	18.18	36
	Wansford	0	18	9	1	12	6	3	2	3	18	43.90	23
		rest illegible											
	Wittering	8	0	0	0	8	5	2	2	1	8	29.63	19
	TOTAL	26	476	225	68	523	330	172	82	128	392	20.8	1,492
	NORTHAMPTON	212	86	119	53	134	137	69	40	97	249	30.4	570
	TOTAL 1524/5	2,252	2,871	3,152	777	7,167	3,231	1,446	712	1,036	8,518	37.38	14,272
	TOTAL 1544/6	-	607	552	99								

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

1674 Hearth Tax : Analysis by Hundreds (3)

	Exempted Houses	Other houses of 1 Hearth	Houses of 2 Hearths	Houses of 3 Hearths	Houses of 4 Hearths	Houses of 5 Hearths	Houses of more than 5 Hearths
Chipping Warden	253	188	99	45	23	17	14
Clelcy	394	324	130	71	30	16	33
Corby	825	564	238	114	69	34	51
Fawsley	594	523	234	104	58	25	52
Greens-Norton	308	188	87	52	21	13	20
Guilsborough	423	369	175	60	29	15	29
Hamfordshoe	499	232	155	90	39	21	26
Higham Ferrers	376	390	158	95	40	16	33
Huxloe	615	396	204	114	57	34	47
King's Sutton	591	334	213	109	74	32	60
Navisford	129	124	52	37	18	10	12
Newbottle	473	330	173	47	34	14	20
Orlingbury	395	203	125	46	24	12	26
Polebrook	150	319	102	80	42	28	35
Rothwell	517	362	182	59	34	24	38
Spelhoe	282	163	102	36	22	4	20
Towcester	267	165	73	48	24	16	24
Willybrook	360	318	169	76	44	13	28
Wymersley	489	318	161	69	32	29	28
Nassaburgh	509	684	320	164	85.	52	111
NORTHAMPTON	249	133	162	78	53	36	92
WHOLE COUNTY	8,698	6,627	3,314	1,594	852	461	799
Wellingborough	258	78	68	52	25	10	17

1. The 1524/5 Lay Subsidy was the most comprehensive subsidy undertaken in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Only approximately one third of the population were not covered by it, according to Pettit, P.J., The Royal Forests of Northamptonshire, 1558-1714, N.R.S., xxiii, Appendix IV. It is the only comprehensive subsidy to include a category of persons assessed on wages. Pettit, P.J., op.cit., Thirsk, J., English Peasant Farming, Spufford, M., Contrasting Communities; Clark, P., and Slack, P., English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700; and Cornwall, J., 'English County Towns in the 1520's', Ec.H.R., 2nd s., xv, are some of the studies which use this particular subsidy as a guide to social structure.
Pettit, P., op.cit., p. 165, uses the following classification. Those assessed at upto £2 were mainly cottagers with a fair proportion of wage-labourers. Those assessed at between £3 and £10 were middling farmers, husbandmen and craftsmen; and those assessed at more than £10 constituted the wealthy section of society, prosperous yeomen, businessmen and gentry. Everitt, A., 'Farm Labourers', in Thirsk, J., (ed.), The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1640, p. 397, says that those assessed on wages can generally be regarded as farm labourers in rural parishes.
These two sources are the basis of the methodology which I have used for social structure from the 1524/5 Subsidy. My categories are those assessed on wages; others assessed upto £2; those assessed between £3 and £10; and persons assessed at more than £10.
Unfortunately, only fragments of this subsidy survive for Bedfordshire, and partsof these are illegible. Most of Flitt and Willey hundreds are complete, and about a quarter of Manshead hundred is covered, but that is all. P.R.O., E.179/71/133,139,146.
Survival is much greater for Northamptonshire, where seventeen of the twenty hundreds and the borough of Northampton are covered, although there are some gaps in Sutton hundred. P.R.O., E.179/155/122-5,128,130,132-3,136,145-6,154, 159, and 160. However, in some parishes, not all the assessments are legible. In these cases, the totals for those assessment categories which are legible have been entered in the columns, and 'rest illegible' has been written above. This explains why the total number of taxpayers for some parishes in this Appendix does not correspond to the total number of 1524/5 taxpayers, for the same parishes, in Appendix 3. Sometimes, it is possible to count the overall number of taxpayers in a parish, whereas the individual assessments may be missing or mildewed.
I was unable to find a complete, legible 1524/5 return for the hundreds of Hamfordshoe, Higham Ferrers, and Orlingbury hundreds. In the population statistics in Appendix 3, I was able to fill the gap by consulting Sheail, J., 'The Distribution of Regional Wealth in England as indicated in the Lay Subsidy Returns, 1524/5', University of London, Ph.D., 1968, Volume 2, which lists the total number of taxpayers. However, clearly, he does not record their individual assessments. Therefore, I used the returns of 1544/6, a subsidy which is discussed in note 2, for these hundreds, and thereby managed to cover the whole county of Northamptonshire. This forms the basis of Table XV in Chapter 2, and Map 15.
Finally, for some reason the 1524/5 return for Polebrook hundred does not record anyone assessed on wages. It seems unlikely that there was no one assessed on wages in this hundred, and it probably reflects a local administrative lapse or deficiency. Indeed the variations in proportion of those assessed on wages are so great that they may reflect the vagaries of tax officials rather than objective social and economic differences, or at least an element of the former as well as the latter.

2. Spufford, M., Contrasting Communities, p. 12, says that Dr. Schofield's work has shown that the 1544/6 Lay Subsidy is as useful for population and social structure studies as that of 1524/5. Sheail, J., Thesis, op.cit., p. 37 agrees, although the wage earner disappears from the 1544/6 rolls. Sheail, J., 'The Distribution of Taxable Population and Wealth in England in the early sixteenth century', Transactions of The Institute of British Geographers, lv, pp. 115 and 122, demonstrates that there was little difference in the total number of taxpayers recorded in Rothwell hundred,

Northamptonshire, or in the county as a whole, in the subsidies of 1524/5 and 1544/6. The same categories of assessment, which were used for the 1524/5 Subsidy have been used for this one. Smith, R.B., Land and Politics in the Reign of Henry VIII: The West Riding of Yorkshire, 1530-46, is the best example of the use of this source.
The Bedfordshire returns are fairly complete, but approximately half of Flitt, Manshead, and Redbornestoke hundreds are missing or illegible, together with about a quarter of Biggleswade hundred. As was the case with the 1524/5 Subsidy, in several parishes, the individual assessments are illegible, although the total number of taxpayers is calculable. This explains why the parish figures in this Appendix do not always correspond with the figures for the 1544/6 Subsidy in Appendix 3, for the same parishes. This subsidy forms the basis of Table XIII in Chapter 2. The Bedfordshire returns are P.R.O., E.179/71/133,139,146. Since the 1524/5 Subsidy is mostly complete for Northamptonshire, only the three hundreds of Hamfordshoe, Higham Ferrers, and Orlingbury, which are missing from the 1524/5 rolls, have been analysed from the returns of 1544/6. P.R.O., E.179/156/192, and 157/347.

3. The Hearth Tax is a common source for the study of social structure. It has been used by Howell, R., Newcastle and the Puritan Revolution; Clark, P., and Slack, P., op.cit.; Spufford, M., op.cit.; and 'The Significance of the Cambridgeshire Hearth Tax', Proceedings of The Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society, lv, pp. 53-64. Styles, P., 'The Social Structure of Kineton Hundred in the Reign of Charles II', Birmingham Archaeological Society Transactions, lxxviii, p. 117, says that Hearth Tax returns, whatever their value for estimating population, are the most valuable of all pre-nineteenth century records as a starting-point for intensive social analysis.
Everitt, A., 'Farm Labourers', in Thirsk, J., (ed.), op.cit., p. 397, says that most of those exempted from the Hearth Tax were probably labourers. Those who paid neither Church nor poor rate; persons inhabiting a house worth less than £1 per annum, and not having any property exceeding that value nor an annual income of more than £10; industrial hearths; and charitable institutions with an endowed income of under £100, were all exempted. See Meekings, C.A., The Surrey Hearth Tax, 1664, Surrey Record Society, xvii, pp. xii-xiii; and Dorset Hearth Tax Assessments, 1662-4. Pettit, P., op.cit., p. 182, says that most of those with houses of one hearth were cottagers, the poorer stratum of which was exempt.
It is worth summarizing Mrs. Spufford's analysis of Hearth Tax returns combined with probate inventories, which is in 'The Significance of the Cambridgeshire Hearth Tax', op.cit., This gives an approximate guide to the social structure associated with each category, and also, since Cambridgeshire borders upon Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire, there may be some similarity between them.

1 hearth: most commonly 2-4 rooms; the median value of the inventories of the occupiers was £24, and 84% had less than £50.
2 hearths: two thirds had 4-6 rooms; median value was £60, and 75% had £10-100. 30% of yeomen in the inventories were in this group. The rest were probably husbandmen.
3 hearths: three quarters had 6-8 rooms; vast majority of occupiers had £30-200. This category comprised the largest group of yeomen.
4 hearths or more: 6-14 rooms; five-eighths of the occupiers possessed over £300, and median value was £360. In general, these were prosperous yeomen and shopkeepers.

The 1671 Bedfordshire Hearth Tax is printed in Marshall, L., The Rural Population of Bedfordshire, 1671-1921, B.H.R.S., xvi. For this reason, together with its completeness, it was selected for analysis.
The three Northamptonshire Hearth Taxes of 1662, 1670, and 1674 have been analysed. P.R.O., E.179/254/11, (1662); E.179/157/446, (1670); and E.179/254/14, (1674). The 1662 tax hasbeen analysed by parish, because it is chronologically nearest to the end of the Civil War, and it was thought that it would more accurately reflect the situation of that period than

the later ones. However, it does not record exemptions, so for these, and their percentages in every Northamptonshire parish, the 1670 tax has been examined. Finally, since 1674 is the most complete one, this was analysed by hundreds, and it forms the basis of Table XVI in Chapter 2, and of Map 16.
No 1670 details are available for Clapton, in Navisford hundred, and Braybrook, in Rothwell hundred. The total number of houses is calculable and this appears in Appendix 3, but the number of hearths in each house is illegible. This explains why the total number of houses in this Appendix is 22,790 for 1670 Northamptonshire, compared to 22,901 in Appendix 3. Clapton had 19 houses, and Braybrook 92, but it is impossible to tell how many were exempted.

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND ERRATA

APPENDIX 5

PARISHES WITH AN ESTIMATED POPULATION OF MORE THAN FIVE HUNDRED, 1524-1671 (1)

BEDFORDSHIRE

1544/6		1563		1671	
Luton	1,462			Bedford	1,892
				Leighton	1,879
				Luton	1,840
Bedford	1,160				
Leighton	1,118	Bedford	1,070	Eaton Socon	1,120
				Dunstable	880
		Luton	807	Potton	802
				Cranfield	735
				Toddington	727
				Woburn	718
		Biggleswade	705		
				Biggleswade	696
				Shillington	659
Biggleswade	650	Eaton Socon	659	Cardington	659
		Dunstable	633		
				Kempston	625
				Maulden	616
Blunham	595				
				Sandy	576
				Southill	575
Eaton Socon	565				
Northill	561			Marston	548
				Blunham	548
Dunstable	527				
Cardington	527			Ampthill	516

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

1524		1670	
		Northampton	3,481
Northampton	2,665	Peterborough	3,017
		Wellingborough	2,167
		Oundle	1,619
		Kettering	1,449
		Towcester	1,317
		Daventry	1,271
Wellingborough	1,067	Rothwell	1,101
Peterborough	1,058	Brigstock	918
Oundle	1,003	Brackley	914
		King's Cliffe	905
Towcester	829	Weldon	769
		Higham Ferrers	761
		Raundes	761
Kettering	744	Castor	752
		Potterspury	731
		Irthlingborough	722
		Rushden	718
		Gretton	710
Higham Ferrers	663	Benefield	701
		Moulton	650
		Paston	650
		Long Buckby	637
		Brixworth	629
		Earls Barton	625
		Wollaston	620
		Stamford Baron	616
Stamford Baron	612	Cottingham	608
		Middleton Cheney	603
Rothwell	599	Sutton	582
Castor	582	Finedon/Paulerspury	565
Raundes	574	Syresham	565
Irthlingborough	565	Passenham	561
Brigstock	544	Byfield/Tichmarsh	535
		Wilbarston	535
		Crick/Geddington	531
Brackley	523	Weedon Beck	518
		Corby	514
Sutton	510	Aldwinkle	510
		Burton Latimer	510
		Blakesley	506

1. This Appendix is compiled from the estimates of population in Appendix 3.

The 1544/6 Lay Subsidy for Bedfordshire is complete except for seventeen parishes and so there may have been more parishes with over five hundred inhabitants. There is no estimate for Leighton Buzzard in 1563, but it is probable that it was one of the three largest towns in Bedfordshire in 1563.

APPENDIX 6

PARISHES WITH THE HIGHEST DENSITIES OF POPULATION, 1524-1671[1]

BEDFORDSHIRE

1544/6 Over 90 persons per sq. mile		1563 Over 90 persons per sq. mile		1671 Over 100 persons per sq. mile	
Dunstable	650.6	Dunstable	781.4	Dunstable	1,086
Bedford	337.2	Bedford	311.1	Bedford	549.9
Shefford	182.3	Shefford	170.9	Shefford	305.8
Ampthill	151.1	Husborne Crawley	118.1	Potton	233.1
Willington	126.8	Biggleswade	107	Ampthill	171.4
Potton	118.6	Potton	98.83	Elstow	157.1
Elstow	116.0	Ampthill	94.66	Maulden	153.2
Blunham	115.3	Elstow	92.85	Husbone Crawley	148.9
Husbone Crawley	105.9	Caddington	92.26	Woburn	143.5
Holwell	104.0			Cranfield	134.4
Biggleswade	98.63			Leighton	134
Harlington	91.85			Eversholt	125.8
Cople	90.26			Chellington	111.6
				Barton	109.0
				Stevington	107.2
				Flitwick	107.1
				Lidlington	106.9
				Blunham	106.2
				Biggleswade	105.6
				Henlow	105.4
				Harlington	104.0
				Holwell	104.0
				Pavenham	103.9
				Eaton Bray	103.4
				Clophill	103
				Tingrith	101.6

NORTHANTS

1524 Over 100 persons per sq. mile		1670 Over 150 persons per sq. mile	
Northampton	1,125	Northampton	1469
Towcester	190.5	Kettering	3264
Higham Ferrers	187.8	Peterborough	318.9
Stamford	181.1	Wellingborough	309.1
Kettering	167.6	Towcester	302.8
Wansford	161.8	Thrapston	290.3
Wellingborough	152.2	Moulton	247.1
Northborough	149.6	Earls Barton	227.3
Lamport	149.3	Middleton Cheney	216.9
Easton Neston	148.2	Higham Ferrers	215.6
Moulton	143.7	Brackley	209.6
Rockingham	134.5	Duddington	202.7
Thrapston	134.2	Rothwell	202
Woodford	132.2	Daventry	198.9
Lt. Houghton	131.5	Oundle	195.5
Nassington	131.3	Weedon Beck	194
Earls Barton	123.7	Northborough	187.4
Oundle	121.4	Wansford	183.5
Peakirk	121.4	Stamford Baron	182.3
Brackley	119.9	Gt.Creaton	176.4
Blisworth	119.8	Hellidon	171.8
Middleton Cheney	117.6	Kingsthorpe	168
Fotheringhay	114.9	Pottersbury	166.2
Islip	113.1	Rushden	165.8
Cosgrove	112.7	Milton Malzor	165.4
Peterborough	111.8	Eydon	164.4
Kingsthrope	110.4	Weedon Lois	163.4
Rushden	109.9	Passenham	161.2
Rothwell	109.9	Gt.Doddington) East Farndon) Lt. Houghton)	159.5
Glinton	108.1		
Gt.Doddington	107.7	Geddington	159
Gt.Billing	107.4	Nassington	157.5
Bulwick	107.0	Thorpe Malsor	153.7
Rothersthorpe	106.9		

NORTHANTS

1524		1670	
Over 100 persons per sq. mile		Over 150 persons per sq. mile	
Weedon Lois	106.1	Peakirk	152.1
Paulerspury	105.2		
Irchester	104.5		
Harring-worth	101.5		
Potters-pury	101.4		
Milton Malzor	101		

1. This Appendix is compiled from material in Appendix 3.
The 1544/6 Subsidy for Bedfordshire is complete except for seventeen parishes.
The 1563 Bedfordshire estimates do not include those for Leighton and Maulden, which may conceivably have had high densities.
There is no estimate for Stamford Baron, Northamptonshire, in 1524 and this may have been densely populated.
In Northamptonshire, in 1670, there were also 71 other parishes with densities of over one hundred persons per square mile.
Area of parishes is given in Appendix 3, and it is taken from British Parliamentary Papers, Population 3, 1841 Census.

APPENDIX 7

PARISHES WITH THE GREATEST AND SMALLEST INCREASE OF POPULATION, 1563-1671 (BEDFORDSHIRE), AND 1524-1670 (NORTHAMPTONSHIRE)

BEDFORDSHIRE, 1563-1671[1]

More than Trebled		Increases of between double and treble		Increase of Less than 25 per cent		Decrease	
Percentage Increase		Percentage Increase		Percentage Increase		Percentage Decrease	
Upper Stondon	962.5	Sandy	188	Cople	24.61	Biggleswade	1.28
Cranfield	321.9	Sundon	177.5	Colmworth	19.56	Eyworth	1.64
Holwell	253.3	Clophill	170.9	Roxton	19.45	Stagsden	1.75
Woburn	213.5	Wrestlingworth	158.8	Ravensden	17.45	Edworth	1.96
		Flitton/Silsoe	158.1	Houghton Conquest	16.24	Cokayne Hatley	12.73
		Tilsworth	147.7	Lt.Staughton	16.15	Studham	17.2
		Hockliffe	147.2	Bromham	12.5	Potsgrove	23.63
		Clapham	137.7	Salford	11.84	Caddington	41.17
		Potton	135.8	Bolnhurst	10.92		
		Tilbrook	130.5	Melchbourne	3.03		
		Totternhoe	129.2	Tempsford	1.78		
		Luton	128	Arlesey	1.61		
		Stotfold	121.6	Willington	1.07		
		Hawnes	117				
		Wymington	113.2				
		Higham Gobion	112.5				
		Milbrook	108.5				
		Shelton	106.3				
		Aspley	103.4				

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, 1524-1670(2)

More than trebled		Increase of between double and treble		Increase of less than 25 percent		Stationary or Decrease	
Percentage Increase		Percentage Increase		Percentage Increase		Percentage Decrease	
Glendon	400	Spratton	193.9	Thenford	24.51	Brockhall, Sywell, Horton, Plumpton, Radstone, Slipton, Thorpe Mandeville, Wappenham, Wittering	Stationary
Daventry	320.8	Peterborough	185.1	Dodford	34.39		
East Haddon	271.9	Guilsborough	184.4	Aston le Walls	23.59		
Crick	247.1	Long Buckby	183.1	Gt.Addington	21.66		
Staverton	244.3	Hellidon	177.8	Arthingworth, Easton	21.43		
Gt.Creaton	239.1	Syresham	177.0	Lt.Houghton	21.26	Rothersthorpe	0.5
Lilbourne	233.7	Passenham	175	Desborough	20.8	Harringworth	1.86
West Haddon	225	Welton	174.8	Nassington	20.0	Blatherwick	1.92
Whittlebury	224.5	Holcot	170.4	Stanion	19.11	Gt.Billing	2.3
		Clipston	167.8	Collyweston	18.63	Islip	3.31
		Welford	165.1	Dingley/ Pilton	17.07	Gt.Houghton	3.55
		Duddington	162.4	Paulerspury	16.5	Chalcombe	4.19
		Harlestone	160.1	Sudborough	16.34	Cranford	4.30
		Laxton	159.7	Chelveston	15.84	Barnack	5.44
		Stoke Bruerne	158.6	Higham Ferrers	14.78	Cogenhoe	5.71
		Lt.Bowden	157.6	Charwelton	14.61	Lutton	6.6
		Denton	153.8	Gt.Oakley	14.29	Gt.Harrowden	7.56
		Yelvertoft	153.7	Sutton	14.11	Ufford	8.33
		Dallington	150	Culworth	12.97	Southwick	8.72
		Aynho	141.9	Weston-by-Welland	12.5	Wakerley	10.0
		Eydon	139.1	Polebrook	12.4	Loddington	10.57
		Weedon Beck	138.7	Alderton	12.27	Stoke Doyle	11.0
		Newbottle	137.5	Cosgrove	12.26	East Maudit	11.48
		Ashby St. Ledgers	129.6	Lt.Oakley	12.25	Stanford	12.07
		Pattishall	125.3	Preston Deanery	11.77	Warmington	13.09
		Church Brampton	123.6	Tichmarsh	11.47	Brampton	14.29
		Ashton	121.7	Tiffield	10.92	Luddington	14.54
		Evenley	121.4	Wansford	10.82	Blisworth	14.87
		Bugbrook	120	Etton	9.88	Hinton and Steane	20.32
		Thrapston	116.3	Woodford	9.42	Abington	21.31
		Corby	112.4	Maidwell	9.28	Fotheringhay	21.43
		Clay Coton	111.8	Rockingham	9.09	Orlingbury	22.36
		Oxendon	108.5	Sutton Bassett	9.08	Edgcott	22.45
		Kilsby	107.5	Glinton	8.82	Lamport	22.92
		Harpole	106	Cotterstock	8.16	Deene	25.87
		Geddington	105.1	Hardwick/ Lowick	7.27	Easton Neston	30.73
		Wellingborough	103.1	Grafton Underwood	6.56	Lt.Billing	31.62
		Roade	103.1	Barnwell All S.	5.23	Kislingbury	34.72
		Floore	102	Gretworth	4.71	Lilford	35.48
				Barnwell St.A.	4.37	Cransley	35.91
				Adstone	3.92	Warkton	36.51
				Rushton	2.31	Pytchley	37.43
				Carlton	2.09	Fawsley	38.18
				Apethorpe	1.65	Whiston	41.47
				Farthingstone	1.36	Weekley	42.79
				Stamford Baron	0.65	Hemington	44.34
						Kelmarsh	44.5
						Sulby	44.73
						Upton	46.08
						Newton	47.06
						Clapton	52.36
						Barton Seagrove	61.45
						Catesby	63.24
						Markholm	65.79
						Canons Ashby	74.8

1. These changes are taken from Appendix 3. Upper Standon was a small parish which increased its population from 8 to 77, 1563-1671. Similarly, Holwell was a small parish whose population rose from 30 to 106. The percentage increases exaggerate the population increase in these two small villages, and the really significant growth took place in the larger towns of Cranfield and Woburn.
No increases are calculable for Everton, Leighton Buzzard and Maulden because of the absence of 1563 population estimates.
2. These changes are taken from Appendix 3. Glendon's population rose from 5 to 25, in these years, so the percentage change exaggerates the real growth. No increases are calculable for Ellington, Farthinghoe, Stottesbury and Warkesworth because of the absence of 1524 population estimates.

APPENDIX 8

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE MOST POPULOUS SETTLEMENTS IN BEDFORDSHIRE (1544/6 and 1671), AND NORTHAMPTONSHIRE (1662 and 1670)

BEDFORDSHIRE

Social Structure from the 1544/6 Subsidy of settlements with an estimated population of more than 500 (1)

	Total number of Taxpayers whose Assessments are legible	Number Assessed up to £2	% age	Number Assessed at £3-10	% age	Number Assessed over £10	% age
Luton +	152	69	45.4	68	44.7	15	9.9
Bedford +	206	124	60.2	60	29.1	22	10.7
Leighton +	125	78	62.4	44	35.2	3	2.4
Biggleswade +	109	65	59.6	39	35.8	7	4.6
Blunham	105	75	71.4	27	25.7	3	2.9
Eaton Socon	101	67	66.3	28	27.7	6	6.0
Northill	99	74	74.7	21	21.2	4	4.1
Dunstable +	93	51	54.8	34	36.6	8	8.6
Cardington	93	60	64.5	31	33.3	2	2.2

Social Structure of market towns and settlements with more than 500 inhabitants from the Hearth Tax of 1671 (2)

	Percent of Houses Exempted	Percent of other 1 Hearth Houses	Percent of exempt and 1 Hearth Houses	Percent of 2 Hearth Houses	Percent of 3 Hearth Houses	Percent of 4 Hearth Houses	Percent of Houses with more than 4 Hearths	Percent of Houses with 4 Hearths and above
Bedford	32.6	22.7	55.3	17.1	8.3	7.0	12.3	19.3
Leighton Buzzard +	22.62	28.05	50.67	21.72	11.54	7.24	8.82	16.06
Luton	31.18	19.4	50.58	17.32	14.32	8.31	9.47	17.78
Eaton Socon	26.69	43.98	70.67	12.03	7.14	3.01	7.14	10.15
Dunstable +	45.88	10.63	56.51	11.11	13.04	7.25	12.08	19.33
Potton +	23.81	36.51	60.32	14.81	8.46	8.89	7.41	16.3
Cranfield	26.01	42.78	68.79	15.61	10.98	1.73	2.89	4.62
Toddington +	23.40	35.10	58.5	18.71	13.45	4.09	5.26	9.35
Woburn +	34.32	26.63	60.95	14.20	10.06	1006	4.73	14.77
Biggleswade +	6.71	40.86	47.57	16.46	17.08	7.93	10.97	18.9
Shillington	22.08	23.37	45.45	26.63	17.54	5.19	5.19	10.38
Cardington	27.10	40.0	67.1	16.13	3.87	5.81	7.10	12.91
Kempston	22.45	31.98	54.43	24.49	7.48	5.76	8.84	13.6
Maulden	26.89	44.14	71.03	11.04	11.04	2.07	4.83	6.9
Sandy	15.55	36.29	51.84	24.44	11.85	3.70	8.15	11.85
Southill	32.6	27.41	60.01	18.52	8.89	2.96	9.63	12.59
Marston	24.8	44.19	68.99	13.95	6.97	3.88	6.20	10.08
Blunham	11.62	41.86	53.48	32.56	6.98	2.33	4.66	6.99
Ampthill +	19.84	12.40	32.24	26.44	14.88	9.92	16.53	26.45
Campton/ Shefford +	27.77	31.75	59.52	8.73	16.66	5.55	9.52	15.07

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Social Structure from the 1662 and 1670 Hearth Taxes of those parishes with an estimated population of more than five hundred in 1670 (3)

	Percent Exempt in 1670	1662 HEARTH TAX					
		Percent of 1 Hearth Houses	Percent of 2 Hearth Houses	Percent of 3 Hearth Houses	Percent of 4 Hearth Houses	Percent of Houses with more than 4 Hearths	Percent of Houses with 4 Hearths and above
Northampton +	30.4	28.09	28.72	14.46	8.39	20.33	28.72
Peterborough+	28.87	56.76	16.42	11.91	5.06	9.85	14.91
Wellingborough+	50.98	40.71	22.69	20.1	8.76	7.73	16.49
Oundle +	10.76	36.53	21.74	19.56	4.78	17.40	22.18
Kettering +	33.43	47.0	25.0	14.00	8.5	5.50	14.0
Towcester +	43.54	32.6	26.08	18.84	9.42	13.04	22.46
Daventry +	44.15	37.64	17.42	15.73	13.48	15.73	29.21
Rothwell +	52.89	51.09	27.17	9.78	7.61	4.35	11.96
Brigstock	41.66	59.43	28.98	7.25	1.45	2.90	4.35
Brackley +	27.91	47.58	21.09	10.84	9.64	10.84	20.48
King's Cliffe+	43.19	47.47	22.22	11.11	10.1	9.09	19.19
Weldon +	43.09	64.45	18.89	5.46	3.33	7.78	11.11
Higham Ferrers+	37.98	29.59	26.54	19.39	9.18	15.31	24.49
Raundes	22.35	58.83	21.01	10.92	6.72	2.52	9.24
Castor	29.38	57.81	22.66	6.25	8.59	4.69	13.28
Paulerspury	38.95	65.48	28.31	2.65	0.88	2.65	3.53
Irthlingborough	41.78	54.93	30.98	7.04	5.63	1.41	7.04
Rushden	36.68	52.17	22.82	13.04	6.52	5.44	11.96
Gretton	38.32	63.43	18.65	5.22	5.22	7.46	12.68
Benefield	41.81	48.32	25.84	14.61	3.37	7.86	11.23

Social Structure of those six other parishes, with more than 500 inhabitants in 1670, which had a higher percentage of houses exempted from the 1670 Hearth Tax than Wellingborough

Moulton	52.29	48.89	35.55	13.34	0	2.22	2.22
Brixworth	55.4	56.66	20.0	5.0	5.0	13.33	18.33
Burton Latimer	52.49	61.34	22.67	8.0	2.67	5.33	8.0
Middleton Cheney	52.11	47.43	28.2	16.66	3.85	3.85	7.7
Passenham	52.26	66.19	14.08	4.22	2.82	12.68	15.5
Syresham	54.88	60.66	24.6	6.56	3.28	4.92	8.2

This Appendix is designed primarily to compare the social structure of Dunstable and Wellingborough with that of other populous towns, and it is particularly relevant to Chapter 8.

1. These figures are taken from Appendix 4, where sources are listed and discussed. Appendix 5 lists the parishes with more than 500 inhabitants. Parishes designated + are market towns.
2. These percentages are calculated from the details of social structure from the 1671 Hearth Tax, which are contained in Appendix 4. Readers are referred to that material. Appendix 5 lists the towns with more than 500 inhabitants, and the symbol + signifies a market town.
3. These percentages are calculated from the details of social structure from these Hearth Taxes, which are contained in Appendix 4. Readers are referred to that material. Appendix 5 lists the most populous settlements, and + signifies a market town.

Since one purpose of this Appendix is to compare Wellingborough to other populous settlements, and because Wellingborough's proportion of exempted houses in 1670 was particularly high, only the social structure of those other parishes which contained more than five hundred inhabitants, and which had a higher percentage of exemptions than Wellingborough, have been included in the Appendix. Those parishes with more than 500 inhabitants which had smaller proportions of exemptions do not concern us, here.

APPENDIX 9

PARISHES WITH THE HIGHEST AND LOWEST PROPORTION OF HOUSES EXEMPTED FROM THE HEARTH TAX, AND WITH THE HIGHEST NUMBER OF EXEMPTIONS (1)

BEDFORDSHIRE, 1671

Highest percentage of houses which were exempted		Lowest percentage of houses which were exempted
Shelton	54.83	Astwick
Turvey	52.43	Battlesden
Wrestlingworth	50	Cokayne Hatley
Hawnes	46.15	Edworth
Dunstable	45.88	Eyworth
Goldington	45.64	Farndish
Hockliffe	43.75	Knotting
Deane	42.36	Melchbourne
Flitton/Silsoe	41.37	Meppershall
Sutton	40.34	Northill
		Potsgrove
		Salford
		Upper Standon
		Warden
		Whipsnade
		Willington

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, 1670

Highest percentage of houses which were exempted		Lowest percentage of houses which were exempted
Abington	70.58	Gt.Billing
Harlestone	69.65	Catesby
Abthorpe	64.65	Etton
Kelmarsh	64.51	Eye
Lamport	63.95	Fawsley
Dallington	63.33	Glendon
Welton	62.33	Luddington
Church Brampton	62.07	Marholm
Gayton	61.7	Newton Bromsworld
Walgrave	61.05	Stamford Baron
East Carleton	60.87	Stottesbury
Haselbeach	58.82	Sulby
Old	58.75	Thornhaugh
Brixworth	55.40	
Bulwick	54.91	
Syresham	54.88	
Stanion	53.98	
Plumpton	53.86	
Whiston	52.94	
Rothwell	52.89	
Twywell	52.5	
Burton Latimer	52.49	
Moulton	52.29	
Passenham	52.26	
Middleton Cheney	52.11	
Slipton	52.0	
Yardley Hastings	51.46	
Pitsford	51.16	
Rothersthorpe	51.06	
Wellingborough, Gt.Houghton	50.98	
Oxendon	50.66	
Guilsborough	50.65	
Duddington	50.48	
Sutton	50.36	
Harringworth, Gt.Oakley, Piddington, Quinton, Wakerley, Weston	50.0	

BEDFORDSHIRE, 1671

Highest number of exemptions

Bedford	145
Luton	135
Leighton	100
Dunstable	95
Eaton Socon	71
Turvey	54

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, 1670

Highest number of exemptions

Wellingborough	260
Northampton	249
Peterborough	205
Rothwell	137
Towcester	135
Daventry	132
Kettering	114
King's Cliffe	92
Brigstock	90
Brixworth	82
Moulton	80
Harlestone, Weldon	78
Middleton Cheney	74
Syresham	73
Irthlingborough, Long Buckby	71

1. This Appendix is compiled from the detailed lists in Appendix 4, where sources are discussed and noted. The highest percentage column for Bedfordshire, 1671, includes all parishes which had more than 40 percent of their houses exempted; but there were another 80 Northamptonshire parishes in 1670, which are not listed, with more than 40 percent of their houses exempted, in addition to those in the highest percentage column.
The highest number of exemptions listed for Bedfordshire includes all parishes which possessed more than 50 exempted houses; but, in addition to those in the Northamptonshire list, another 25 parishes possessed more than 50 exempted houses.

APPENDIX 10

SIZE OF GENTRY HOUSES RECORDED IN THE HEARTH TAX (1)

BEDFORDSHIRE 1671 (2)

Number of Hearths

82: Earl of Bedford(Woburn)
60: Napier of Luton
55: Earl of Ailesbury (Ampthill)
52: Countess of Kent (Silsoe)
45: Lady Wentworth (Toddington)
38: Earl of Bolingbroke (Bletsoe)
33: Earl of Bolingbroke (Melchbourne)
32: Huxley of Eaton Bray
27: Luke of Cople
25: Anderson of Eyeworth
23: Osborne of Chicksands
Crawley of Luton
20: Dyer of Colmworth
Walker of Bedford
Palmer of Warden
18: Edwards of Arlesey
Gostwick of Willington
Burgoyne of Sutton
17: Daniel of Silsoe
Becher of Renhold
Charnock of Holcot
Becher of Elstow
Wild of Houghton Conquest
16: Lady St.John (Tempsford)
Palmer of Warden
15: Earl of Ailesbury (Clophill)
Watson of Ampthill
Emery of Ampthill
Boteler of Biddenham
Dyve of Bromham
14: Grey of Eaton Socon
Squire of Eaton Socon
Squire of Ampthill
Chester of Lidlington
Alston of Odell
Lady Chester (Ampthill)
13: Duncombe of Battlesden
Conquest of Houghton Conquest
Taylor of Clapham
Clerke of Ampthill

12. Abbis of Stotfold
Vaux of Whipsnade (demolished)
Wingate of Harlington
Hasledon of Goldington
Monoux of Wootton
Armiger of Cople
St.John of Warden
11. Edwards of Lt. Barford
Ventris of Campton
Cheney of Luton
Thompson of Husborne Crawley
Vaux of Heath and Reach
Sadler of Ampthill
Snagge of Milbrook
Barnardiston of Northill
Bury of Wootton
10. Richardson of Turvey
Cokayne of Hatley Cokayne
Neale of Pulloxhill
Snagge of Marston
Nodes of Southill
Taylor of Eaton Socon
Charnock of Salford
Duncombe of Flitwick

Among those below 10

9. Nodes of Clifton
Hunt of Roxton
Edwards of Sandy
Snagge of Marston
Cobbe of Oakley
Fishe of Northill
Blundell of Cardington (2 houses)
Child of Poddington
8. Cheney of Sundon
Rotherham of Luton
Sadler of Aspley
Mordaunt of Oakley
Neale of Deane (2 houses)
Cobbe of Sharnbrook (2 houses)
Alston of Pavenham
Bromsall of Blunham
7. Staunton of Milton Bryan
Jones of Lidlington
Nodes of Southill
Bromsall of Biggleswade
6. Hanscombe of Holwell

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE 1662 (3)

Number of Hearths

64: Earl of Exeter(Burghley)
63: Earl of Sunderland (Althorp)
60: Earl of Northampton (Castle Ashby)
Earl of Peterborough (Lowick)
49: Earl of Banbury (Old Vaux house at Boughton)
48: Earl of Westmorland (Apethorpe)
45: Earl of Cardigan(Deene)
Lord Montagu (Boughton, nr.Kettering)
44: Viscount Cokayne (Rushton)
42: Cave of Stanford
Yelverton of Easton Maudit
39: Countess of Thomond (Gt.Billing)
37: Montagu of Barnwell
35: Shirley of Astwell
Elmes of Lilford
St.John of Longthorpe
34: Crewe of Steane
Lord Fitzwilliam(Milton)
31: Earl of Exeter (Wothorpe)
28: Hatton of Kirby
27: Griffin of Dingley
Knightley of Fawsley
26: Lord Rockingham (Rockingham)
Cartwright of Aynho
24: Earl of Banbury (old Vaux house at Harrowden)
23: Gray of Wellingborough
22: Holman of Warkworth
Pickering of Tichmarsh
Isham of Lamport
21: Fermor of Easton Neston
Onley of Catesby
Norwich of Brampton
Lord Stanhope(Harrington)
20. Knightley of Preston Capes
Egerton of Farthinghoe
Compton of Grendon
Compton of Sywell
Palmer of Carleton
Lady Fermor(Northampton)
19: Langham of Cottesbrooke
Morgan of Heyford
Fleetwood of Aldwinkle
Walcott of Barnack
18. Dryden of Canons Ashby
Bernard of Abington
Palmer of Stoke Doyle
Arundell of Stoke Bruerne
17. Shuckburgh of Norton
Kirton of Thorpe Mandeville
Watson of Whittlebury
Lynne of Southwick
Nicholls of Faxton
Haslewood of Maidwell
Hanbury of Kelmarsh
Dove of Upton
16. Tate of Delapre
Chauncey of Edgcott
St.John of Woodford
Orme of Peterborough
Wildbore of Wittering
The Mayor of Northampton
Fleetwood (Northampton)
Pickering (Oundle)
15. Harby of Adstone
Tresham of Pilton
Norton of Cotterstock
Goodman of Passenham
Claypole of Northborough
Stafford of Blatherwick
Kirkham of Fineshade
Warner of Hemington
Downhall of Cottingham
14. Saunders of Welford
Montagu of Lt.Oakley
Atkins of Bulwick
13. Lord Watson(Stoke Albany)
Adams of Charwelton
Clerke of Watford
Woodhull of Thenford
Samwell of Upton
Chibnall of Orlingbury
Brooke of Oakley
Jenison of Irchester
Preston of Weston Favell
Samwell of Gayton
12. Janson of Ashby St. Ledgers
Lady Knightley(Fawsley)
Nedham of Lichborough
Lisle of Evenley
Emyley of Helmdon
Steward of Greens Norton
Thornton of Brockhall
Breton of Ravensthorpe
Briscoe of Yarwell
Mulshoe of Finedon
Sawyer of Kettering
Saunders of Brixworth
Maunsell of Thorpe Malsor
Syers of Loddington
Quarles of Ufford
Elmes of Warmington
Lord Hatton (Brigstock)
Danvers of Culworth
11. Pargiter of Gretworth
Hacke of Peterborough
Ekins of Rushden
Morgan of Kingsthorpe
Ward of Lt.Houghton
10. Norton of Cotterstock
Neale of Wollaston
Thornton of Newnham
Wyrley of Flore
Saunderson of Addington
Harvey of Weston Favell
Rainsford (Dallington and Northampton)
Bagshawe of Moreton Pinkney
Andrews of Harlestone
Freeman of Higham Ferrers

Among those below 10

9. Clerke of Potterspury
Blencowe of Marston Lawrence
Tryst of Maidford
Elmesof Greens Norton
Wade of Fotheringhay
Poulton of Desborough
Bourne of Ufford
Pentlow of Wilby
Catesby of Ecton

8. Kenwick of Sutton
Onley of Plumpton
Matthew of Bradden
Washington of Thrapston
Thoroughgood of Nassington
Kinnesman of Broughton
Styles of Walton
Wildbore of Glinton

Tresham of Geddington
7. Longueville of Cosgrove
Butler of Preston Capes
Levins of Evenley
Steward of Pattishall
Thursby of Castor
Longueville of Lt.Billing
Guy of Isham

6. Benson of Towcester
Bird of Bainton
Foxley of Blakesley
Watts of Blakesley
5. Manley of Spratton

1. Only those families which were gentry in 1642 have been entered in this Appendix. This is not a complete list of those 1642 gentry families in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire, because the main concern is with the larger houses.
2. This is taken from the printed version of the 1671 Hearth Tax in Marshall, L., The Rural Population of Bedfordshire, 1671-1821, B.H.R.S., xvi. The Brownes of Arlesey, yeomen in 1642, but gentry by 1671, had a 22 hearth house. Sir William Glynne had a twenty hearth house at Sutton, and Sir Philip Cartwright possessed a 16 hearth house at Hawnes, but neither of these families were in Bedfordshire in 1642.
3. The 1662 Northamptonshire Hearth Tax is P.R.O., E.179/254/11. The Jacksons of Duddington, yeomen in 1642, possessed an eleven hearth house in 1662.

APPENDIX 11

LIST AND ANALYSIS OF THE LEADING GENTRY FAMILIES OF 1642 (1)

BEDFORDSHIRE

	DATE OF TITLE	DATE OF SETTLEMENT IN COUNTY	ESTIMATED ANNUAL INCOME in £	RELIGION OF FAMILY	RISING OR DECLINING	CIVIL WAR LOYALTY
PEERS (2)						
Edward Bruce, 1st Earl of Elgin (Ampthill)	BARONY: 1604 EARLDOM: 1633	1613	£1,750-2,000		RI	P
Anthony Grey, 9th Earl of Kent (Silsoe)	BARONY: 1325 EARLDOM: 1465	C13th	500	PU	DE	N
William Russell, 5th Earl of Bedford (Woburn)	BARONY: 1539 EARLDOM: 1550	1625	8,500	PU	DE	CH
Oliver St.John, 1st Earl of Bolingbroke (Bletsoe)	BARONY: 1559 EARLDOM: 1624	1415	2,200-4,399	PU	DE	P
Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Cleveland (Toddington)	BARONY: 1529 EARLDOM: 1626	1614	1,750-2,000		DE	R
BARONETS (3)						
Sir Thomas Alston of Odell	1642	POST-1603	700		RI	P
Sir John Burgoyne of Sutton	1641	C13th	800-1,000		DE	P
Sir John Fishe of Southill	1622(Irish)	POST-1558	2,000	PU		
Sir Edward Gostwick of Willington	1611	C13th	900		DE	N
Sir Robert Napier of Luton	1611	POST-1603	1,600		RI	U
KNIGHTS (4)						
Sir Edward Alston of Wymington	PRE-1641	POST-1603			RI	R
Sir William Ashton of Tingrith	1628	POST-1603				P
Sir William Boteler of Biddenham	1641	C14th	+ 1,000		RI	CH
Sir John Brackin of Eaton Socon	1628	POST-1603				
Sir William Briers of Pulloxhill	1627	POST-1603	1,300		RI	CH
Sir Roger Burgoyne of Sutton	1641	C13th			DE	P
Sir George Bynnion of Eaton Socon	PRE-1642	POST-1603	500			
Sir Henry Cayson of Harrold		POST-1603			DE	
Sir Robert Charnock of Holcot	1619	1540	600	CA	DE	P
Sir Richard Conquest of Houghton	C.1607	C13th	1,000	CA	DE	R
Sir Francis Crawley of Luton	1632	C14th	800			R
Sir William Crayford of Ampthill	1621	POST-1500	500			
Sir Lewis Dyve of Bromham	1620	1510	650		DE	R
Sir William Fishe of Biggleswade	1617	POST-1558	500			
Sir John Hewett of Ampthill	1630's(?)	POST-1558		CA		
Sir Oliver Luke of Cople	1603	1510	500	PU	DE	P
Sir Samuel Luke of Cople	1624	1510		PU	DE	P
Sir Peter Osborne of Chicksands	1611	1580's	1,200		DE	R
Sir William Palmer of Warden	1641	1627	550		DE	R
Sir John Rolt of Ravensden	1641	1578	500		RI	CH
Sir Beauchamp St.John of Tilbrook	1619	1415	600			P
Sir Alexander St.John of Thurleigh	1608	1415				P
Sir Henry St.John of Sharnbrook	1619	1415		PU		P
Sir John Saunders of Potsgrove	1624	1552				
Sir Thomas Savage of Cardington	1616	1610's	less than 500		DE	
Sir John Thompson of Husborne Crawley		1566	900			P

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

	DATE OF TITLE	DATE OF SETTLEMENT IN COUNTY	ESTIMATED ANNUAL INCOME in £	RELIGION OF FAMILY	RISING OR DECLINING	CIVIL WAR LOYALTY
PEERS (2)						
Thomas, 1st Lord Brudenell (Deene)	1628	C14th	2,200-4,399	CA	RI	U
David Cecil, 3rd Earl of Exeter (Burghley)	BARONY 1571 EARLDOM 1605	1526	2,300		DE	P
Charles Cokayne, 1st Viscount Cullen (Rushton)	1642 (Irish)	1613	2-3,000		DE	R
Spencer Compton, 2nd Earl of Northampton (Castle Ashby)	BARONY 1572 EARLDOM 1618	1560's	6,330	CA	DE	R
Mildmay Fane, 2nd Earl of Westmorland (Apethorpe)	1624	1610's	4,400-6,599		DE	CH
William, 1st Lord Fitzwilliam (Milton)	1620 (Irish)	1502	800-1,000	PU	DE	N
Edward, 1st Lord Montagu (Boughton)	1621	C14th	2,200-4,399	PU		R
John Mordaunt, 1st Earl of Peterborough (Lowick)	BARONY 1532 EARLDOM 1628	1560's	1,500	CA	DE	P
Henry, 3rd Lord Spencer (Althorp)	1603	1508	4,400-6,599		DE	CH
Charles, 2nd Lord Stanhope (Harrington)	1605	1599 -	1,100-2,199	CA	DE	N
Edward, 4th Lord Vaux (Harrowden)	1523	C14th	800-1,000	CA	DE	N
BARONETS (3)						
Sir William Andrewes of Denton	1641	C15th	less than 500	CA	DE	N
Sir Robert Browne of Walcot	1621	1506	2,000	CA		R
Sir Thomas Cave of Stanford	1641	C15th	1,200			R
Sir John Dryden of Canons Ashby	1619	1540's	+1,000	PU	RI	P
Sir Rowland Egerton of Farthinghoe	1617	1605	1,200			R
Sir James Enion of Flore	1642	POST-1603	750			R
Sir William Fermor of Easton Neston	1641	1527	+1,000	CA		R
Sir John Isham of Lamport	1627	C12th	1,800	PU	RI	R
Francis Nicholls of Faxton	1641	1520's	800	PU	RI	P
Sir John Norwich of Brampton	1641	C15th	+1,000	CA	DE	P
Sir Gilbert Pickering of Tichmarsh	1638 (Nova Scotia)	c.1500	+1,000	PU		P
Sir Charles Shirley of Astwell	1611	1580's	c.2,000	CA	DE	R
Sir William Tresham of Lyveden	1611	C15th	+1,000	CA		N
Sir John Wake of Salcey	1621	C13th	500		DE	R
Sir Lewis Watson of Rockingham	1621	1554	1,500		RI	R
Sir Christopher Yelverton of Easton Maudit	1641	1578	1,000-1,500	PU	DE	P

	DATE OF TITLE	DATE OF SETTLEMENT IN COUNTY	ESTIMATED ANNUAL INCOME in £	RELIGION OF FAMILY	RISING OR DECLINING	CIVIL WAR LOYALTY
KNIGHTS (4)						
Sir John Andrews of Denton	PRE-1642	C15th		CA	DE	N
Sir William Aprice of Tansor	c.1605	C15th	250	CA	DE	N
Sir Robert Bannister of Passenham	1605	1635	+1,000		RI	R
Sir Richard Cave of Stanford	1641	C15th				R
Sir William Chauncey of Edgcott	1603(?)	C15th	800	PU		
Sir Toby Chauncey of Edgcott		C15th		PU		P
Sir George Clerke of Watford	1641	POST-1603	1,500		RI	R
Sir Charles Compton of Grendon	1642	1560's		CA	DE	R
Sir John Danvers of Culworth	1624	C15th	800	PU	DE	P
Sir John Egerton of Farthinghoe	PRE-1642	1605				P
Sir William Fleetwood of Aldwinkle		POST-1558	500	PU		R
Sir Edward Griffin of Dingley	1625	C13th	+1,000	CA	DE	R
Sir Anthony Haslewood of Maidwell	1621	C15th	+1,000		DE	R
Sir Christopher Hatton of Kirby		Early C16th	2,530		DE	R
Sir Robert Heath of Collyweston	1620's	POST-1603	800		DE	R
Sir Justinian Isham of Lamport		C13th	600	PU	RI	R
Sir Brian Janson of Ashby St. Ledgers	PRE-1633	1611	800		RI	R
Sir Ferdinando Knightley of Fawsley	1616	C15th		PU	DE	P
Sir John Lambe of Rothwell	1621	POST-1603	500			R
Sir Anthony Morgan of Heyford	1642	1550's	+1,000	CA	DE	R
Sir Humphrey Orme of Peterborough			800			P
Sir Thomas Roe of Bulwick		1630's			RI	R
Sir Rowland St.John of Woodford		1621	350	PU	RI	P
Sir Richard Samwell of Upton	1617	Early C16th	700	PU	RI	P
Sir John Washington of Thrapston	1623	1520's	150	PU	DE	R
Sir Edward Watson of Stoke	1619	1554	250		RI	R
Sir William Wilmer of Sywell	1617	1570	+1,250		RI	R
Sir Richard Wingfield of Haselbeach		1544	600		DE	R

1. This Appendix contains the leading gentry of 1642 in both counties. Date of title has been obtained from the sources listed in the notes below; date of settlement in the county has been obtained from numerous sources; and Appendix 12 discusses the income of the gentry. Appendix 15 lists known catholic and puritan gentry families; Appendix 13 lists rising and declining families; and Appendix 16 list royalist and parliamentarian gentry. The sources for all these categories are discussed in those Appendices.
   In the religion column, CA equals Catholic, and PU equals puritan; in the 'rising or declining' column, RI equals rising, and DE equals declining; and in the 'Civil War loyalty' column, P equals parliamentarian, R equals royalist; N equals neutral; CH equals changed sides; and U equals uncertain.
   Gaps in all columns signify lack of knowledge, but it is probable that gaps in the religion column, rising or declining column, and Civil War loyalty column, mean that many of these gentlemen supported the established church; were static in their economic fortunes; and were neutral in the Civil War.
2. The sources for the peers are Cokayne, G.E., Complete Peerage, and Stone, L., Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641. The place in brackets after the name of each peer is the main residence. In Northamptonshire, Viscount Cullen and Lord Fitzwilliam held Irish titles, and they are not discussed in Stone's book. Case studies of these noble families appear in Appendix 21.

In 1643, Sir Christopher Hatton of Kirby was created Lord Hatton; Sir Lewis Watson, baronet, was created Lord Rockingham in 1645; and John Crewe of Steane was created Lord Crewe in 1661. In 1692, the Fermors of Easton Neston were created Lords Leominster, and they obtained the Earldom of Pomfret in 1721. In 1688, the Griffins of Dingley were created Lords Griffin; the Yelvertons of Easton Maudit acquired the Earldom of Sussex in 1717; and the Shirleys of Astwell, the Earldom of Ferrers, in 1711. The Caves of Stanford acquired the Barony of Braye in 1839, and the Knightleys of Fawsley were created Lords Knightley in 1892.
In 1661, the first Lord Brudenell was created Earl of Cardigan, and in 1643, the third Lord Spencer was created Earl of Sunderland. The Lords Montagu were given a Dukedom in 1705; the Lords Rockingham were given an Earldom in 1715; and the Lords Fitzwilliam became Earls Fitzwilliam in 1716.
These are all Northamptonshire families, and it helps to reinforce the point made in Chapter 4 that this county was particularly well-endowed with landed magnates. In Bedfordshire, the Bruces, Earls of Elgin, obtained a second earldom, of Ailesbury, in 1664; the Russells, Earls of Bedford, were given a Dukedom in 1694; and the Greys, Earls of Kent, acquired a Dukedom in 1710.
Anthony Grey, ninth Earl of Kent, was neutral in the Civil War, but Henry, tenth Earl, who succeeded in 1643, was a fierce parliamentarian. William, 1st Lord Fitzwilliam, was neutral, but his son and heir was a keen parliamentarian, together with the second Lord Montagu, who succeeded his royalist father in 1644.

3. The source for the baronets is Cokayne, G.E., Complete Baronetage. Sir John Fishe of Southill held an Irish baronetage, and Sir Gilbert Pickering of Tichmarsh held one of Nova Scotia.
Between 1660 and 1664, five new Bedfordshire baronets were created. The Andersons of Eyeworth (1664); The Charnocks of Holcot (1661); the Monoux of Wootton (1660); the Osbornes of Chicksands (1662); and the Winches of Everton (1660). In Northamptonshire, Samuel Danvers of Culworth was created baronet in 1643; Sir William Neale of Wollaston in 1646; Sir Bryan Janson of Ashby St. Ledgers in 1652 (by the King); and George Buswell of Clipston, William Dudley of Clapton, John Langham of Cottesbrooke, Geoffrey Palmer of Carleton, Oliver St. John of Woodford, and John Robinson of Cransley, in 1660.
Cromwellian creations of peers and baronets have been ignored.

4. The sources for Knights are Shaw, W.A., The Knights of England; Marshall, G.W., (ed.), Le Neve's Pedigree of the Knights, Harleian Society, viii; and Metcalfe, W.C., A Book of Knights, 1426-1660. However, these are not complete in their coverage, and they have been supplemented by Exchequer Lay Subsidy Rolls, particularly those of 1641/2, and V.C.H. Bedfordshire, and V.C.H. Northamptonshire. The use of these supplementary sources explains the absence of dates of knighthood for some of the gentlemen in the Appendix. Knights are the most difficult of the three categories to identify, because of the incomplete nature of printed sources, and, although my lists are as accurate as I can make them, I have more reservations about this group, than either the peers or baronets.
In Bedfordshire, Charles Ventris of Campton was knighted in 1645; John Duncombe of Battlesden in 1648; William Becher of Renhold; James Beverley of Eaton Socon, Samuel Browne of Arlesey, Edward Cater of Kempston, Henry Chester of Tilsworth, Henry Piggott of Gravenhurst, and Christopher Turnor of Milton Ernest in 1660; George Blundell of Cardington in 1661; and John Huxley of Eaton Bray in 1662.
In Northamptonshire, William Neale of Wollaston was knighted in 1643; Richard Lane of Courtenhall in 1644; and John Bernard of Abington, Samuel Jones of Courtenhall, and Richard Knightley of Fawsley, in 1661.

APPENDIX 12

ESTIMATED INCOMES OF BEDFORDSHIRE AND NORTHAMPTONSHIRE GENTRY IN 1642 (1)

BEDFORDSHIRE

Over £1,000 p/a

Russells, Earls of Bedford	c.£8,500	Stone, p.761; Trevor-Roper, p.54.
St.Johns,Earls of Bolingbroke	£2,200-£4,399	Stone, p. 761.
Anderson of Eyeworth	£3,000	Cal. S.P.D., 1660-1, p.149.
Duncombe of Battlesden	£1,200-£2,000	Cal. S.P.D., 1660-1, p.149; Burke,
Wentworths, Earls of Cleveland	£1,750-£2,000	Stone, p. 761.
Bruces, Earls of Elgin	£1,750-£2,000	Stone, p. 761.
Fishe of Southill	c.£2,000	assessed at £40 in 1641 Subsidy, P.R.O., E.179/72/282.
Hillersdon of Elstow	£1,500-£2,000	B.H.R.S., v, p. 85.
Briers of Pulloxhill	c.£1,300	Cal.Committ. Adv. of Money, ii, p. 660.
Blundell of Cardington	£1,200	Burke
Becher of Renhold	c.£1,500	Burke
Osborne of Chicksands	£1,000-£1,250	assessed at £25 in 1641; B.R.O., Osborne MSS., O/1667,
Boteler of Biddenham	c.£1,300	assessed at £20 in 1590, and they were rising.
Napier of Luton	c.£1,600	Underdown; B.M., Addit. MS., 5,491, fo.88v.
Conquest of Houghton Conquest	c.£1,000	assessed at £25 in 1590, and Cal. Committ. Adv. of Money, iii, p. 1191.

£800-£1,000 p/a

Thompson of Husborne Crawley	assessed at £18 in 1628, P.R.O.,E.179/72/269,272,278.
Crawley of Luton	Burke; Cal. Committ for Compounding, ii, p. 1562.
Burgoyne of Sutton	Cal. Committ.Adv. of Money, i, p.399; assessed at £14 in 1641.
Gery of Bushmead	Cal.Committ.for Compounding, ii, p.1588; iii, p.1680, B.R.O., W.G.891.
Gostwick of Willington	assessed at £18 in 1641.
Chester of Tilsworth	assessed at £17 in 1628.
Taylor of Clapham	Burke

£500-£800 p/a

Keynsham of Tempsford	assessed at £15 in 1641.
Dyve of Bromham	£650 B.M., Addit. M.S., 5,491, fo. 83-83v.
Astrey of Harlington	£600-£700 Thurloe, iv, p. 207.
Luke of Cople	Underdown; assessed at £8 in 1641.
Bromsall of Blunham	assessed at £15 in 1641.
Alston of Odell	c.£700 Cal.Committ. for Advance of Money, ii, p.680.
Palmer of Warden	c.£550 assessed at £10 in 1641, Cal.Committ. for Advance of Money, ii, p. 605.
Huxley of Eaton Bray	assessed at £13/6/8 in 1628.
Spencer of Cople	Burke
Bynnion of Eaton Socon	£500 assessed at £10 in 1628.
Crayford of Ampthill	£500
Rolt of Ravensden	c.£500 assessed at £10 in 1628
St. John of Tilbrook	c.£600 assessed at £12 in 1628
Charnock of Hulcot	£600 assessed at £12 in 1628
Wingate of Harlington	assessed at £10 in 1628
Clerke of Houghton Conquest	assessed at £10 in 1628
Crayford of Ridgmont	assessed at £10 in 1628
Cheney of Sundon	assessed at £10 in 1628
Staunton of Woburn	assessed at £10 in 1628
Francklin of Thurleigh	B.R.O., F.N. 1,254
Greys, Earls of Kent	c.£500 Stone; Cokayne, G., Complete Peerage
Fishe of Biggleswade	c.£500 assessed at £10 in 1628

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Over £1,000 p/a

Comptons, Earls of Northampton	£6,300-£6,330	Stone, p. 761; Trevor-Roper, p.54
Fanes, Earls of Westmorland	£4,400-£6,599	Stone, Trevor-Roper
Spencers, Lords Spencer	£4,400-£6,599	Stone
Brudenells, Lords Brudenell	£2,200-£4,399	Stone
Montagus, Lords Montagu	£2,200-£4,399	Stone (p. 477
Cokaynes, Viscounts Cullen	£2,500-£3,000	Cal.Committ. for Advance of Money,i, assessed at £30 in 1641
Hatton of Kirby	£2,500-£3,000	Keeler; assessed at £40 in 1641
Stafford of Blatherwick	£2,000-£3,000	Burke; assessed at £40 in 1641
Clerke of Watford	£1,000-£3,000	Burke; but only assessed at £16 in 1641
Isham of Lamport	c.£1,800	Finch; assessed at £20 in 1641
Palmer of Carlton	£1,500-£2,000	Cal.Committ. for Adv. of Money, p.436, Keeler; Burke.
Browne of Walcot	£2,000	
Shirley of Astwell	c.£2,000	Stone; Cal.Committ. for Adv.of Money,i,p.485
Tate of Delapre	£1,000-£1,500	Underdown; Keeler; Burke
Mordaunts, Earls of Peterborough (2)	c.£1,500	Stone, Cal.Committ. for Adv. of Money, ii, p. 634 (see note 2)
Cecils, Earls of Exeter (2)	£2,000-£2,500	N.R.O., Exeter MSS, Ex.66/1; Habakkuk (see note 2)
Stanhopes, Lords Stanhope	£1,100-£2,199	Stone
Watson of Rockingham	£1,500	Cal.Committ. for Adv. of Money, ii, p.652; assessed at £25 in 1641
Wilmer of Sywell	c.£1,250	assessed at £25 in 1641
Tryon of Bulwick	£1,200-£3,000	Cal.Commit. for Adv. of Money, i, p. 135; assessed at £25 in 1641
Yelverton of Easton Maudit		Keeler; Underdown; Cal. Committ. for Adv. of Money, i, p. 391.
Tresham of Lyveden		assessed at £30 in 1641
Egerton of Farthinghoe		assessed at £25 in 1641
Knightley of Fawsley		assessed at £20 in 1641
Holman of Warkworth		"
Pickering of Tichmarsh		" Underdown
Griffin of Dingley		" Cal.Committ.for Adv.of Money, ii, p.785
Elmes of Lilford		" Burke
Fermor of Easton Neston		" Cal.Committ.for Adv.of Money, ii, p.663
Bannister of Passenham		" Cal.Committ.for Adv.of Money, ii, p.585
Dryden of Canons Ashby		"
Cartwright of Aynho		"
Crewe of Steane		"
Cave of Stanford		assessed at £25 in 1641
Haslewood of Maidwell		Burke
Norwich of Brampton		Burke
Morgan of Heyford		assessed at £20 in 1641
Osborne of Kelmarsh		assessed at £30 in 1600

£800-£1,000 p/a

Fitzwilliams, Lords Fitzwilliam	Underdown; Cal.Committ.for Adv.of Money,i, p.248
Vauxes, Lords Vaux	Stone, Cal.Committ.for Adv.of Money, ii, p.642
Orme of Peterborough	Burke
Janson of Ashby St.Ledgers	Burke
Onley of Catesby	Burke
Adams of Charwelton	Burke
Arundel of Stoke	Burke
Thursby of Abington	Burke
Kirkham of Fineshade	Burke
Chauncey of Edgcote	assessed at £15 in 1641
Nicholls of Faxton	assessed at £15 in 1641
Danvers of Culworth	assessed at £14 in 1641
Heath of Collyweston	assessed at £16 in 1641
Dillon of Farthingstone	Cal.Committ. for Adv. of Money
Tate of Hardingstone	Underdown

£500-£800 p/a

Hanbury of Kelmarsh	assessed at £13 in 1641
Buswell of Clipston	assessed at £12 in 1641
Rainsford of Dallington	Burke
Mulshoe of Finedon	Burke
Willoughby of Grendon	Burke
Fleetwood of Aldwinkle	assessed at £10 in 1641
Isham of Braunston	"
Craven of Winwick	"
Charnock of Harrowden	"
Elmesof Norton	"
Cope of Canons Ashby	"
Samwell of Upton	"
Edmonds of Preston	"
Bawde of Walgrave	"
Poulton of Desborough	"
Lambe of Rothwell	"
Saunders of Welford	"
Shugborough of Naseby	"
Enion of Flore	assessed at £15 in 1641
Tresham of Newton	assessed at £10 in 1641; Burke
Chamberlain of Aston	"
Dudley of Clapton	"
Wizeman of Bozeat	"
Wake of Salcey	Cal.Committ. for Adv. of Money, ii, p. 868
Lane of Horton	Burke
Wingfield of Haselbeach	assessed at £12 in 1641

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1. I think it is more difficult to assess the income of the gentry than it is to find out about any other aspect of their life. Many of the sources used are of varying dates and it is very difficult to relate a 1660 estimate of income to the situation in 1642, for example. This is the most uncertain part of my entire study of the gentry and these figures should be treated with the utmost caution. In some cases, they are nothing more than inspired guesses based on some reference or other. However, I think some attempt can and should be made.
Cliffe, T., The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War, p.139, says that subsidies can be used to gauge income. Few gentlemen who were assessed at £20 had an income of less than £1,000 per year; and a £10 assessment equalled an approximate income of £500. Watts, S.J., and Susan, J., From Border to Middle Shire: Northumberland, 1586-1625, p. 63, used Dr.Cliffe's method as a means of estimating income, and, so, I have used it as well. On this basis, a £20 assessment equals over £1,000 p/a; £16 equals approximately £800 p/a; and £10 equals about £500. But I have made some adjustments where other evidence supplements this, and, in any case, subsidies had become notoriously inaccurate by the late sixteenth century. They are indeed, a very rough guide. Blackwood, B., 'The Economic State of the Lancashire Gentry on the eve of the Civil War', Northern History, xii, also uses subsidies as a guide to income. See pp. 54-6, especially.
The Bedfordshire subsidy of 1590 is reproduced by Hallinan, T., 'The Changing Composition of the Class of Larger Landowners in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire, from the Reformation to the Civil War', University of Oxford, D.Phil, 1956, p. 494ff. The 1628 one is P.R.O., E.179/72/269,272,278; and the 1641 subsidy is P.R.O., E.179/72/282. This last one exists for only the eastern part of the county and this means that my estimates of Bedfordshire gentry incomes are very few, compared to Northamptonshire.

There is much less material for Bedfordshire. It is clear that many of the wealthy Bedfordshire gentry are not covered in this Appendix.
The Northamptonshire subsidy of 1600 is P.R.O., E.179/254/2 and 157/360-1.
The 1641 subsidy is P.R.O., E.179/157/421-3, but this excludes Nassaburgh hundred.
Other sources include:
Green, M., (ed.), Calendar of The Committee for Advance of Money, pts. i-iii.
Green, M., (ed.), Calendar of The Committee for Compounding with Delinquents, pts. i-v.
Some estimates of income are given in these calendars, and some others can be calculated from the assessments. But they are very unreliable, and probably only record net income (Aylmer, G., The King's Servants, p.330).
Stone, L., The Crisis of The Aristocracy, 1558-1641, pp. 760-1, (Stone in the list) estimates the income of the English peerage in 1559, 1601, and 1641.
Trevor-Roper, H., 'The Gentry, 1540-1640', (using material supplied by J.P. Cooper) Ec.H.R., Supplement i, 1953, pp. 54-5, (Trevor-Roper in the list), estimates the income for some peers, as well.
Finch, M., The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640, (Finch in the list) is also useful.
Underdown, D., Pride's Purge: politics in the Puritan Revolution, Appendix, P.391, estimates the income of various members of parliament (Underdown in the list).
Keeler, M., The Long Parliament, 1640-1, a biographical study of its members, includes some incomes among her pen portraits (Keeler in the list).
Habakkuk, H., 'Landowners and the Civil War', Ec.H.R., 2nd s, xviii; and 'English Landownership, 1680-1740', Ec.H.R., x, mention some incomes. He regards the average income of peers to be about £3,000 p/a; and substantial squires to be £800-£2,000 p/a. (Habakkuk in the list).
Burke, J., A Genealogical and Heraldic History of The Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland, i, Appendix, pp. 688-94, is a list of the proposed knights of the Royal Oak in 1660 and it gives their estimated incomes. The problem is to assess from this what the 1642 income was, and this involves some careful guess work. (Burke in the list).
Birch, T., (ed.), A Collection of The State Papers of John Thurloe, iv, p.207 assesses the Astrey of Harlington income (Thurloe in the list).
Also useful are Cal. S.P.D., 1660-1, p.149; and B.M., Addit. MS. 5,491, Sequestration papers of royalists.
Appendix 21 is composed of case studies of many of the leading gentry of both counties and income is mentioned in these brief surveys.

2. Although Professor Stone estimated the income of the Mordaunts, Earls of Peterborough, at between £2,200 and £4,399 in 1641, and a document in Warwickshire Record Office gives a yearly rental of £3,329/10/0 in 1607 (Mordaunt of Walton MSS, CR.133/47), the Earl did not have outright possession of all the estate in 1642. Probably a half was in the hands of his mother. (Calendar of Committee for Compounding, ii, p.1307). So I have put his income at about £1,500.
Similarly, there is some dispute over the Cecils, Earls of Exeter. Professor Stone estimates their income at between £6,600 and £8,699 in 1641, but Professor Habakkuk ('English Landownership, 1680-1740', op.cit.) says that it was less than that of some substantial squires. No squire in Northamptonshire had an income of anywhere approaching £6,000 p/a, and a rental of the Cecil estates of 1654 totals £2,278 p/a. (N.R.O., Cat. of Exeter MSS at Burghley, Ex.66/1). So, I have estimated it at between £2,000 and £2,500.
Some of these figures are used in Appendices 11 and 16. In both of these, all estimated incomes of below £500 have been calculated from subsidy assessments.

APPENDIX 13

LIST AND ANALYSIS OF GENTRY FAMILIES WHICH CAN BE CLASSIFIED AS RISING OR DECLINING (1)

RISING

	DATE OF SETTLEMENT IN COUNTY	RELIGIOUS TRADITION OF FAMILY	CIVIL WAR LOYALTY
Bedfordshire			
Alston of Odell	POST-1603		P
Alston of Wymington	POST-1603		R
Bagshawe of Eaton Socon	POST-1603		
Blundell of Cardington	C13th		R
Boteler of Biddenham	C14th		CH
Briers of Pulloxhill	POST-1603		CH
Bruce, Earls of Elgin, of Ampthill	1613		P
Cater of Kempston	POST-1603		P
Chester of Tilsworth	1628		N
Edwards of Henlow	1520's		P
Fishe of Northill	POST-1558	PU	P
Hale of Clifton	POST-1603		
Hillersdon of Elstow	1560's		R
Huxley of Eaton Bray	1623		P
Napier of Luton	1611		U
Nodes of Tempsford	c.1540's		
Rolt of Milton Ernest	1560's		P
Rolt of Ravensden	1560's		
Staunton of Woburn	EARLY C16	PU	P
Taylor of Clapham	C16		R
Winche of Everton	1550's		P
Northamptonshire			
Andrewes of Harlestone	C15		P
Bannister of Passenham	POST-1603		R
Benson of Charwelton	POST-1603		P
Brudenell, Lords Brudenell	C14	CA	U
Cartwright of Aynho	1616	PU	P
Chybnall of Orlingbury	c.1600		
Clerke of Watford	POST-1603		R
Crewe of Steane	1580's		P
Dryden of Canons Ashby	1540's	PU	P
Ekins of Irchester	POST-1500	PU	
Hanbury of Kelmarsh	POST-1603	PU	P
Holman of Warkworth	POST-1603		P
Isham of Lamport	C12	PU	R
Janson of Ashby St. Ledgers	1612		R
Lane of Courtenhall	c.1500		R
Langham of Cottesbrook	POST-1603		R
Lawe of Ashton	EARLY C16	CA	
Maidwell of Geddington	C16		P
Maunsell of Thorpe Malsor	POST-1603	PU	P
Nicholls of Faxton	c.1520's	PU	P
Palmer of Carleton	C15		R
Rainsford of Dallington	POST-1558		R
Roe of Bulwick	1630's		R
St.John of Woodford	1621	PU	P
Samwell of Upton	EARLY C16	PU	P
Thornton of Brockhall	C15		P
Tryst of Maidford	C15	PU	P
Tryon of Bulwick	POST-1603		P

Northamptonshire cont'd.	DATE OF SETTLEMENT IN COUNTY	RELIGIOUS TRADITION OF FAMILY	CIVIL WAR LOYALTY
Warner of Thorpe Lubbenham	1619		R
Watson of Rockingham	1554		R
Wilmer of Sywell	1570	PU	R
DECLINING			
Bedfordshire			
Alleyn of Blunham	1540's		
Anscell of Barford	POST-1500		D.O.
Astrey of Harlington	C15		P
Barnardiston of Northill	1540's	PU	
Beverley of Eaton Socon	LATE C16		P
Braye, Lords Braye, of Eaton Bray	C13		D.O.
Bredyman of Tingrith	1554	CA	D.O.
Bromsall of Sandy	POST-1603		P
Burgoyne of Sutton	C13		P
Cayson of Harrold	POST-1603		R
Charnock of Holcot	1540	CA	P
Cheyney,Lords Cheyney, of Toddington	1520's		D.O.
Child of Podington	1628		
Conquest of Houghton Conquest	C13	CA	R
Daniel of Flitton	1525		
Duncombe of Battlesden	1560		R
Dyve of Bromham	1510		R
Fitzgeoffrey of Thurleigh	C14	CA	
Fitzgeoffrey of Clapham	C14	CA	
Fitzhugh of Wilden	1350		D.O.
Fowler of Tilsworth	C15		D.O.
Francklin of Thurleigh	C15		P
Gascoigne of Cardington	C15	CA	D.O.
Grey, Earls of Kent, of Silsoe	C13	PU	P
Gery of Bushmead	C13		R
Gostwick of Willington	C13		N
Hill of Silsoe	c.1510's		
Keynsham of Tempsford	1566		D.O.
Luke of Cople	c.1510	PU	P
Newdigate of Hawnes	1580		D.O.
Norton of Sharpenhoe	1540's	PU	
Osborne of Chicksands	1580's		R
Palmer of Warden	1627		R
Piggott of Gravenhurst	C15	CA	R
Plomer of Warden	1604		D.O.
Radcliffe of Elstow	1540's		D.O.
Rotherham of Luton	C15		
Rowe of Clapham	1562		
Russell, Earls of Bedford, of Woburn	1625	PU	CH
St.John,Earls of Bolingbroke, of Bletsoe	C15	PU	P
Savage of Cardington	1616		
Tyringham of Farndish	C14		
Ventris of Campton	1560		R
Wentworth, Earls of Cleveland	1614		R
Wingate of Sharpenhoe	C14		

Northamptonshire	DATE OF SETTLEMENT IN COUNTY	RELIGIOUS TRADITION OF FAMILY	CIVIL WAR LOYALTY
Acton of West Haddon			D.O.
Agard of Broughton	C15	PU	
Allicock of Sibbertoft	1550's	CA	N
Andrewes of Charwelton	C15	PU	D.O.
Andrewes of Denton	C15	CA	N
Aprice of Tansor	C15	CA	N
Barker of Ashton	C15	CA	D.O.
Bernard of Abington	C15		P
Barnwell of Cransley	1510's	CA	D.O.
Belcher of Guilsborough	C15		D.O.
Breton of Ravensthorpe	C13	CA	P
Burnaby of Watford	C13		D.O.
Butler of Preston Capes	1545	PU	P
Catelin of Raundes	EARLY C16	PU	D.O.
Catesby of Ashby St.Ledgers	C14	CA	D.O.
Catesby of Whiston	C14	PU	P
Cecil, Earls of Exeter, of Burghley	1526		
Charnock of Harrowden/Wellingboro'		CA	
Cheney of Woodford		CA	
Chetwood of Warkworth	C14		D.O.
Cokayne, Viscounts Cullen, of Rushton	POST-1603	CA	R
Compton, Earls of Northampton, of Castle Ashby	1560's	CA	R
Cope of Canons Ashby	1540's	PU	
Danvers of Culworth	C15	PU	P
Dormer of Purston	POST-1500	CA	R
Dove of Upton	POST-1603		R
Eaton of Brockall	1582	CA	
Elmes of Greens Norton	C15	PU	P
Elmes of Lilford	C15	PU	P
Fane of Apethorpe, Earls of Westmorland	POST-1603		CH
Fitzwilliam of Milton, Lords Fitzwilliam	1502	PU	P
Foxley of Blakesley	C13	PU	D.O.
Gage of Raundes	C15		R
Griffin of Dingley	C14	CA	R
Haslewood of Maidwell	C15		R
Hatton of Kirby	c.1510		R
Heath of Collyweston	POST-1603		R
Hartwell of Preston	C15	PU	D.O.
Humphrey of Barton Seagrave	C14		
Keble of Radstone	EARLY C16		D.O.
Kirkham of Fineshade	c.1508		R
Knightley of Fawsley	C15	PU	P
Kinnesman of Loddington	C15	CA	R
Lane of Horton	c.1500	PU	R
Lenton of Woodford	C14		
Lisle of Brackley	1570's		P
Mallory of Woodford	C14	CA	D.O.
Marmion of Aynho	1545		D.O.
Mildmay of Apethorpe	1550	PU	D.O.
Mole of Culworth		PU	P
Mordaunt, Earls of Peterborough	1560's	CA	P
Morgan of Heyford	1550's	CA	R
Neale of Wollaston	POST-1603	CA	R
Norwich of Brampton	C15	CA	P
Osborne of Kelmarsh	C15		
Ouseley of Courtenhall	1570		P

Northamptonshire cont'd.	DATE OF SETTLEMENT IN COUNTY	RELIGIOUS TRADITION OF FAMILY	CIVIL WAR LOYALTY
Robinson of Longthorpe			R
Saunders of Welford	C15	CA	
Saunders of East Haddon	C15	CA	
Shirley of Astwell	1580's	CA	R
Spencer of Althorp, Lords Spencer	1508		CH
Stafford of Blatherwick	C15	PU	R
Stanhope of Harrington, Lords Stanhope	1599	CA	N
Syers of Loddington	C16	CA	R
Tanfield of Gayton	POST-1500	PU	D.O.
Tresham of Rushton	C15	CA	D.O.
Vaux of Harrowden, Lords Vaux	C14	CA	N
Wake of Salcey (Hartwell)	C13		R
Washington of Thrapston	1520's	PU	R
Willoughby of Grendon (Hackleton)	C15		R
Wingfield of Haselbeach and Upton	1544		R
Wyrley of Dodford	1546	CA	P
Yelverton of Easton Maudit	1578	PU	P
Zouche of Harringworth, Lords Zouche	C13	PU	D.O.

1. Rising families have been defined as those which are known to have purchased property in more than one parish in the thirty years or so before the Civil War, or who are known to have increased their income in the same period. However, it is much more difficult to identify rising families than declining ones, because only the estate documents of the most important families survive, and many gentry rose gradually and unrecorded from the ranks of the local yeomanry. The financial decay or extinction of a family is more easily detected. Therefore, the list of rising gentry is certainly incomplete, and it mainly includes those whose ascent was fairly rapid.
Declining families have been defined as those who were selling property in more than one parish in the generation or so before the Civil War; but this information has been supplemented by evidence of severe debt, and of lease or mortgage of the main family property.
This Appendix includes those families which declined before they died out or sold out between about 1570 and 1640, but it is primarily concerned with the economic situation of the gentry on the eve of the Civil War.
Those families in the Appendix, which were still members of the gentry in 1642, were either rising or declining between approximately 1610 and 1642.
Cliffe, J.T., The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War, and Blackwood, B., 'The Economic State of the Lancashire Gentry on the eve of the Civil War', Northern History, xii, (1976), are useful for comparative purposes.
It is impossible to give a comprehensive bibliography for this Appendix because it is based on almost every manuscript family collection which has been consulted, and numerous secondary authorities. Estate documents are the main source, but other important sources are V.C.H., Bedfordshire; V.C.H., Northamptonshire; Stone, L., Crisis of The Aristocracy, 1558-1641; Finch, M., The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640; and Hallinan, T., 'The Changing Composition of the Class of Larger Landowners in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire between the Reformation and the Civil War', University of Oxford, D.Phil., 1956. This thesis contains considerable information about rising and declining gentry.

The case studies in Appendix 21 examine the economic fortunes of many of the leading gentry in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire, and the Knightley family's finances are discussed in Section 10 of Chapter 4.

Dates of settlement in the county are taken from numerous sources, but Appendix 16 mentions the most valuable ones. The religious details are taken from Appendix 15, and PU equals puritan, and CA equals catholic. Civil War loyalty is taken from Appendix 16, and P signifies parliamentarian; R signifies royalist; N signifies neutral; U equals uncertain; and CH means that the family changed sides. The letters D.O., mean that the family had died out or left the county before 1642.

It is perhaps surprising that the Russells, Earls of Bedford have been defined as declining; but the evidence for this, which is detailed in Appendix 21, seems clear. Thomson, G.S., Life in a Noble Household, 1641-1701, pp. 17-81, notes that the expenditure of the Russells in 1641 was dangerously close to their income, and they sold a considerable amount of property in the early seventeenth century. See Appendix 21.

APPENDIX 14

LIST AND ANALYSIS OF INVESTORS, ENTREPRENEURS, AND AGRICULTURAL IMPROVERS AMONG THE GENTRY (1)

BEDFORDSHIRE

	MAJOR SOURCE OR TYPE OF ACTIVITY	DATE OF SETTLEMENT IN COUNTY	RELIGIOUS TRADITION OF FAMILY	RISING OR DECLINING	CIVIL WAR LOYALTY
Anderson of Eyeworth	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	1531			N
Becher of Renhold	Rabb	1603			N
Blundell of Cardington	Irish Office and investment	C13		RI	R
Boteler of Biddenham	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	1313		RI	CH
Briers of Pulloxhill	ENCL. - riot Jas.I.	POST-1603		RI	CH
Bromsall of Sandy	ENCL. - Jas.I.	POST-1603		DE	P
Bruce,Earls of Elgin(Ampthill)	Rabb; ENCL.	1613		RI	P
Burgoyne of Sutton	Rabb	C13		DE	P
Cater of Kempston	Rabb	POST-1603		RI	P
Charnock of Holcot	ENCL.	1541	CA	DE	P
Cheney of Sundon	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	1521			P
Cheyney, Lords Cheney	ENCL. - 1584 riot	1520's		DE	D.O.
Child of Podington	Rabb; Bottigheimer	1628		DE	
Crawley of Luton	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	C14			R
Daniel of Flitton	Bottigheimer	1525		DE	CH
Duncombe of Battlesden	Rabb	1560		DE	R
Dyer of Colmworth	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	1567			
Dyve of Bromham	one of two most extensive C16 enclosers	1510's		DE	R
Faldoe of Goldington	Rabb	C12			
Fishe of Southill	Irish office and investment	POST-1558		RI	
Francklin of Thurleigh	Rabb; ENCL.- prosec. 1608	C15		DE	P
Grey of Silsoe, Earls of Kent	Rabb; ENCL.- prosec. 1608; riots	C13	PU	DE	P
Hillersdon of Elstow	One of two most extensive C16 enclosers	1560's		RI	R
Hoddesdon of Leighton	Rabb	1580's			D.O.
Keynsham of Tempsford	ENCL.	1566		DE	D.O.
Luke of Cople	Rabb	1510	PU	DE	P
Napier of Luton	Rabb; ENCL.	1611		RI	U
Newdigate of Hawnes	Rabb	1580		DE	D.O.
Osborne of Chicksands	Rabb	1580's		DE	R
Palmer of Warden	ENCL.	1610's		DE	R
Piggott of Stratton	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	C15			
Plomer of Warden	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	1604		DE	D.O.
Rotherham of Luton	Rabb; ENCL.-prosec. 1608	C15		DE	
Russell, Earls of Bedford	Rabb; and See Appendix 21	1625	PU	DE	CH
Sadler of Aspley	ENCL.	EARLY C17			P
St.John,Earls of Bolingbroke	Rabb; Fen Drainage	C15	PU	DE	P
Savage of Cardington	Irish investment	1616		DE	
Snagge of Marston	Rabb; Irish office	1560's	PU		P
Spencer of Cople	Ouse Navigation	1530			
Squire of Eaton Socon	Bottigheimer; Rabb	POST-1603			P
Staunton of Woburn	Bottigheimer	PRE -1530	PU	RI	P
Wentworth, Earls of Cleveland	London development (Stone)	1614		DE	R
Winche of Everton	Rabb	MID - C16		RI	P

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	MAJOR SOURCE OR TYPE OF ACTIVITY	DATE OF SETTLEMENT IN COUNTY	RELIGIOUS TRADITION OF FAMILY	RISING OR DECLINING	CIVIL WAR LOYALTY
Acton of West Haddon	ENCL. - prosec. 1608			DE	D.O.
Andrewes of Charwelton	ENCL.	C15	PU	DE	D.O.
Aprice of Tansor	ENCL.	C15	CA	DE	N
Bawde of Walgrave	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	C16	CA		R
Belcher of Guilsborough	ENCL. - prosec. 1593/1608	C15		DE	D.O.
Bernard of Abington	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	C15		DE	P
Breton of Ravensthorpe	ENCL.	C13	CA	DE	P
Brooke of Gt.Oakley	Rabb	C15	PU		P
Brudenell, Lords Brudenell	Rabb; ENCL.	C14	CA	RI	U
Carey of Cottesbrooke	Rabb	LATE C16			R
Carleton of Wollaston	Fen drainage;Irish investment	1540's	PU		D.O.
Cartwright of Aynho	ENCL.	1616	PU	RI	P
Cave of Stanford	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	C15			R
Cecil, Earls of Exeter	Rabb; Fen Drainage	1526		DE	P
Charnock of Harrowden	Rabb		CA	DE	R
Chauncey of Edgcott	ENCL.	C15	PU		P
Claypole of Northborough	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	C16	PU		P
Cokayne, Viscounts Cullen	Rabb	c.1614		DE	R
Comptons,Earls of Northampton	Rabb	1560's	CA	DE	R
Cope of Canons Ashby	Rabb; ENCL. - prosec. 1608	1540's	PU	DE	
Crane of Grafton	Rabb	1627			
Crewe of Steane	Rabb	1580's		RI	P
Danvers of Culworth	Rabb; ENCL. - prosec. 1608	C12	PU	DE	P
Downes of Pytchley	Rabb				
Dryden of Canons Ashby	Rabb; ENCL. - prosec. 1608	1540's	PU	RI	P
Dillon of Farthingstone	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	1617	PU		R
Egerton of Farthinghoe	Rabb	c.1605			HEAD-R S&heir-P
Edmonds of Preston Deanery	Rabb	c.1620			R
Ekins of Irchester	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	PRE-1558	PU	RI	
Fane,Earls of Westmorland	Rabb	POST-1603		DE	CH
Fermor of Easton Neston	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	1527	CA		R
Fitzwilliam,Lords Fitzwilliam	Rabb	1502	PU	DE	P
Fleetwood of Aldwinkle	Rabb; river navigation	POST-1558	PU		R
Foster of Nassington	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	PRE- 1600			
Foxley of Blakesley	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	C13	PU	DE	D.O.
Gage of Raundes	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	C15		DE	R
Griffin of Dingley	ENCL.	C14	CA	DE	R
Hacke of Peterborough	Rabb		CA		R
Harby of Adstone	Rabb; ENCL. - prosec. 1608	1540's	PU		P
Hatton of Kirby	Rabb; ENCL. - prosec. 1608	EARLY C16		DE	R
Heath of Collyweston	Rabb	c.1630		DE	R
Humphrey of Barton Seagrave	ENCL. - prosec.1593/1608	C14		DE	
Isham of Lamport	Rabb; ENCL. - prosec.1593/1608	C12	PU	RI	R
Janson of Ashby St.Ledgers	Rabb	1612		RI	R
Jenison of Irchester	Irish office and land	POST-1558			R
Kirkham of Fineshade	Rabb	c.1508		DE	R
Knightley of Fawsley	Rabb; ENCL.-prosec. 1608	C15	PU	DE	P
Kinnesman of Loddington	ENCL.	EARLY C15	CA	DE	R
Lambe of Rothwell	ENCL. 1616-30	POST-1603			R
Lane of Horton	Rabb; ENCL. - prosec. 1608	c.1500	PU	DE	R
Lynne of Southwick	Rabb	C15	PU		R
Maidwell of Geddington	ENCL.	C16		RI	P
Mildmay of Apethorpe	Rabb	c.1550	PU	DE	D.O.
Montagu, Lords Montagu	Rabb; ENCL. - prosec. 1608	C14	PU		HEAD-R S&heir-P
Mordaunt,Earls of Peterborough	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	1560's	CA	DE	P
Mulshoe of Finedon	Rabb; ENCL.	C15			R
Mountstephen of Paston	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	1550	CA		D.O.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE cont'd.	MAJOR SOURCE OR TYPE OF ACTIVITY	DATE OF SETTLEMENT IN COUNTY	RELIGIOUS TRADITION OF FAMILY	RISING OR DECLINING	CIVIL WAR LOYALTY
Nicholls of Faxton	Rabb; ENCL.	POST-1500	PU		P
Onley of Catesby	Rabb	1530's			
Orme of Peterborough	Rabb			HEAD-P S&heir-R	
Osborne of Kelmarsh	ENCL. - prosec.1593/1608	C15		DE	
Palmer of Stoke Doyle	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	C15		RI	R
Pargiter of Gretworth	ENCL.	C15	PU		R
Pickering of Tichmarsh	Rabb; ENCL.-prosec. 1608	c.1500	PU		P
Quarles of Ufford	ENCL.	POST-1500			P
Reade of Cottesbrooke	ENCL. - prosec.1593/1608	1540's			D.O.
St.John of Woodford	Rabb	1621	PU	RI	P
Samwell of Upton	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	1510's	PU	RI	P
Saunders of Harrington	ENCL. - prosec.1593/1608	C15	CA	DE	
Saunders of East Haddon	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	C15	CA	DE	
Sawyer of Kettering	ENCL.	EARLY C16			P
Spencer, Lords Spencer	Rabb; ENCL.	1508		DE	CH
Stanhope, Lords Stanhope	Rabb; ENCL.	1599	CA	DE	N
Shirley of Astwell	Irish Office and land	1580's	CA	DE	R
Styles of Walton	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	POST-1558			R
Syers of Loddington	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	C16	CA	DE	R
Tanfield of Gayton	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	POST-1500	PU	DE	D.O.
Tate of Delapre	Rabb; ENCL. - prosec.1608	1540's	PU		P
Thornton of Brockhall	ENCL.	C15th			P
Throckmorton of Paulerspury	Rabb; ENCL.	1551	PU		D.O.
Tresham of Rushton	Famous enclosers;prosec.1608	C15	CA		D.O.
Tresham of Lyveden	Rabb	C15	CA		N
Tryst of Maidford	Rabb	C15		RI	P
Vaux of Harrowden, Lds.Vaux	ENCL.	C15	CA	DE	N
Ward of Brayfield	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	POST-1558			P
Watson of Rockingham	Rabb	1554		RI	R
Watts of Blakesley	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	1560			
Wilmer of Sywell	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	1570	PU	RI	R
Wingfield of Upton	Rabb	1544		DE	R
Wizeman of Bozeat	ENCL. - prosec. 1608	1598	PU		P
Wyrley of Dodford	ENCL.	1546	CA	DE	P
Yelverton of Easton Maudit	Rabb.	1578	PU	DE	P
Zouche of Harringworth, Lds. Zouche	Rabb; Stone	C13	PU	DE	D.O.

1. This is a list of those gentry families which are known to have invested in colonial enterprise, and which, in many cases, were members of overseas trading companies; which were engaged in entrepreneurial activity, such as fen drainage, river navigation, industry, or urban development; and which undertook extensive enclosure in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many families enclosed a part of their estates in this period; but this list only includes those which can be classified as extensive enclosers, and, particularly, those gentry who were prosecuted for depopulation in 1593 and 1608.
Dates of settlement in the county have been obtained from numerous sources, but Appendix 16 notes the most valuable ones. The religion of the gentry has been taken from Appendix 15, and PU equals puritan and CA equals catholic. Rising or declining families are listed in Appendix 13, and RI signifies rising, and DE equals declining.
Civil War loyalty is taken from Appendix 16. P equals parliamentarian, R equals royalist; N signifies neutral; CH signifies that the family changed sides; U equals uncertain; and the letters D.O. mean that the family had died out, or left the county before 1642, and was not numbered among the gentry of 1642.
Blank spaces in the list signifies lack of knowledge.

The sources for colonial investment are Rabb, T.K., Enterprise and Empire, (Rabb in the 'major source or type of activity' column); and Bottigheimer, K., English Money and Irish Land: The Adventurers in the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland, (Bottigheimer).
The main sources for entrepreneurial activity are Price, W., The English Patents of Monopoly; Stone, L., Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641, (Stone); and P.R.O., Long Room c.124, Chronological Index of Patents of Invention, 1617-1823. Appendix 21 gives further detail for some of the families, and fen drainage and river navigation are examined in Chapter 1. However, various composite sources have been used to supplement these.
In the 'major source or type of activity' column, ENCL signifies enclosure. This is discussed in greater depth in Chapter 1, and individual enclosure riots are examined in Section 3 of Chapter 7. Appendix 2 is a list of important enclosure cases, which I have traced in these two counties, and it contains the sources for enclosure. The depopulation returns of 1608 are P.R.O., C.205/5/3 and 5; and P.R.O., STAC.5/A.13/36, and STAC.8/18/12, STAC. 8/16/12, and STAC.8/15/21, include the prosecutions for depopulation in Northamptonshire in 1593 and 1608. See Appendix 2 for more detail.

APPENDIX 15

LIST AND ANALYSIS OF PURITAN AND CATHOLIC GENTRY FAMILIES (1)

PURITAN FAMILIES (2)

Bedfordshire	MAJOR SOURCE	DATE OF SETTLEMENT IN COUNTY	RISING OR DECLINING	CIVIL WAR LOYALTY
Barnardiston of Northill	V.C.H., P.R.O., C.2/Jas.I. 03/63	1540's	DE	
Bulkeley of Odell	Venn	POST-1603		D.O.
Cokayne of Hatley	Cockett	1417		P
Eston of Biggleswade	Thurloe	C15		
Grey of Silsoe, Earls of Kent	B.R.O., Lucas MSS; Hallinan, Thesis; Stone; various	C13	DE	P
Fish of Southill	D.N.B.	POST-1558	RI	
Luke of Cople	D.N.B.; Hallinan, Thesis	c.1510	DE	P
Norton of Sharpenhoe	D.N.B.	PRE- 1554	DE	
Payne of Poddington	B.R.O., Orlebar MSS., OR	1545		D.O.
Russell of Woburn, Earls of Bedford	Stone; D.N.B.	1625	DE	CH
St.John of Tilbrook	B.R.O., St.John MSS., J.	C15		P
St.John of Bletsoe, Earls of Bolingbroke	Stone; D.N.B.; various	C15	DE	P
Shepherd of Maulden	Venn	POST-1603		
Snagge of Marston	Godber, p.283	1560's		P
Staunton of Woburn	Matthews, A., Calamy Revisited	c.1510's	RI	P
Northamptonshire				
Agard of Broughton	N.R.O., X	PRE- 1500	DE	
Andrewes of Charwelton	S.P.14/12/69	C15	DE	D.O.
Blencowe of Marston Lawrence	S.P.14/12/69	C15		P
Brooke of Oakley	Bate; Sheils, Thesis	C15		P
Butler of Preston Capes	S.P.14/12/69	1545	DE	P
Buttrie of Marston Lawrence	S.P.14/12/69			
Carleton of Wollaston	Sheils, Thesis	1540's		D.O.
Cartwright of Aynho	N.R.O., Cartwright MSS	1616	RI	P
Catelin of Raundes	D.N.B.	C15	DE	D.O.
Catesby of Whiston	Sheils, Thesis; B.M., Thomason, E.163/13	C15	DE	P
Chauncey of Edgcott	S.P. 14/12/69	C15		P
Claypole of Northborough	D.N.B.	C15		P
Cope of Canons Ashby	S.P. 14/12/69	1540's	DE	
Danvers of Culworth	Gleason	C15	DE	P
Downhall of Geddington	N.R.O., X, 1570 Visitation	C15		P
Dryden of Canons Ashby	S.P.14/12/69	1540's	RI	P
Dillon of Farthingstone	S.P.14/12/69	1617		R
Ekins of Isham	Northants Past and Present, i, p.20	1520's	RI	
Elmes of Greens Norton	S.P.14/12/69	C15	DE	P
Elmes of Warmington	Bate; N.R.O., X.	C15	DE	
Fitzwilliam, Lords Fitzwilliam	Finch	1502	DE	P
Fleetwood of Aldwinkle	Aylmer, p. 381	POST-1558		R
Fosbrook of Cranford	Sheils, Thesis	C14		
Fox of Chalcombe	S.P. 14/12/69	1540's		
Foxley of Blakesley	S.P. 14/12/69	C13	DE	D.O.

Northamptonshire cont'd.	MAJOR SOURCE	DATE OF SETTLEMENT IN COUNTY	RISING OR DECLINING	CIVIL WAR LOYALTY
Grendon of Caldecott	N.R.O., X; Bate; S.P.29 (1670)	C15		P
Hanbury of Kelmarsh	S.P.14/12/69	POST-1603	RI	P
Harby of Adstone	Bate	1540's		P
Hartwell of Preston Deanery	B.M., Thomason, E.163/13	1429	DE	D.O.
Isham of Lamport	S.P.14/12/69	C11	RI	R
Isham of Pytchley	S.P.14/12/69	C11	RI	R
Knightley of Fawsley	Sheils, Thesis; SP.14/12/69	1415	DE	P
Lane of Horton/Grendon	SP.14/12/69	c.1500	DE	R
Lynne of Southwick	Sheils, Thesis	1442		R
Matthew of Bradden	SP.14/12/69	1510		
Maunsell of Thorpe Malsor	Bate	POST-1603	RI	P
Mildmay of Apethorpe	D.N.B.; Sheils, Thesis	1550	DE	D.O.
Montagu, Lords Montagu	SP.14/12/69; Northants Past/Present, ii.	C14		HEAD-R S&heir-P
Mole of Culworth	SP.14/12/69		DE	P
Nedham of Lichborough	SP.14/12/69	1596		P
Nicholls of Faxton	D.N.B.	1530's	RI	P
Pargiter of Gretworth	SP.14/12/69	C15		R
Pickering of Tichmarsh	Bate; Baildon,(ed.),p.222	1500		P
St.John of Woodford	B.R.O., St.John MSS	POST-1603	RI	P
Samwell of Upton	SP.14/12/69	c.1510	RI	P
Stafford of Blatherwick	SP.14/12/69	C15	DE	R
Steward of Pattishall	SP.14/12/69	POST-1558		
Tanfield of Gayton	Sheils, Thesis	POST-1500	DE	D.O.
Tate of Delapre	SP.14/12/69	1540's		P
Throckmorton of Paulerspury	Sheils, Thesis; D.N.B., Garrett, N.R.O. Tryon MSS.	1551		D.O.
Tryon of Bulwick	The Ancestor, ii, pp.175-96 (1902)	1610's	RI	P
Tryst of Maidford	N.R.O., X.	C15	RI	P
Washington of Thrapston	SP.14/12/69	1520's	DE	R
Wilmer of Sywell	SP.14/12/69	1570	RI	R
Wizeman of Bozeat	Cal.S.P.D.,1611-18,p.272	1598		P
Yelverton of Easton Maudit	Sheils; Thesis	1578	DE	P
Zouche of Harringworth, Lds. Zouche	Sheils, Thesis	C13th	DE	D.O.

CATHOLIC FAMILIES (3)

Bedfordshire	MAJOR SOURCE	DATE OF SETTLEMENT IN COUNTY	RISING OR DECLINING	CIVIL WAR LOYALTY
Bredyman of Tingrith	V.C.H.	1554	DE	D.O.
Charnock of Holcot	P.R.O.,E.377/eg.49; SP.12/195/116	C15	DE	P
Cobbe of Sharnbrook	P.R.O., E.377	C15		
Colbeck of Tempsford	E.377/eg.49			
Conquest of Houghton C.	E.377/eg.28,49	C13	DE	R
Gascoigne of Cardington	Bateson	C15	DE	D.O.
Fitzgeoffrey of Thurleigh	V.C.H.	C14	DE	
Fitzgeoffrey of Clapham	B.R.O.,Catalogue of ABP.	C14	DE	D.O.
Hewett of Ampthill/Milbrook	SP.12/195/116	POST-1558		R
Hunt of Roxton	B.R.O.,Catalogue of ABP: E.377/eg.22	1414		
Monoux of Wootton	E.377/eg.23	1514		P
Mordaunt of Oakley	E.377	C14		
Piggott of Gravenhurst	B.R.O.,C.R.T.120/Mem.3	C15	DE	R
Scroggs of Renhold	E.377/eg.16	c.1540		
Watson of Ampthill	CCC., p.2057			R
Northamptonshire				
Allicock of Sibbertoft	CCC., p.88; E.377/37	1550's	DE	N
Andrewes of Denton	CCC., pp.1739,1884; E.377/43	C15	DE	N
Aprice of Tansor	E.377/eg.21	C15	DE	N
Arden of Evenley	E.377/eg.7,9,10	C13		
Barker of Ashton	N.R.S., vii, p.225	C15	DE	D.O.
Barnwell of Cransley	Sheils, Thesis	1510's	DE	D.O.
Bawde of Walgrave	N.R.S., vii; E.377	EARLY C16		R
Breton of Ravensthorpe	N.R.S., vii	C13	DE	P
Browne of Walcot	N.R.O.,Isham Correspondence, 376	c.1505		R
Brudenell,Lords Brudenell	Finch; Wake; E.377; CCC.	C14	RI	U
Brudenell of Glapthorne	E.377/eg.41	C14		
Bird of Bainton	N.R.O., X.3582;X.648/1	POST-1603		R
Bowker of Slipton	N.R.S., vii			
Braye of Whittlebury	N.R.S., vii			
Butler of Aston-le-Walls	N.R.S., vii	c.1540		D.O.
Catesby of Ashby St.Ledgers	E.377/16,D.N.B., Anstruther	C14	DE	D.O.
Charnock of Harrowden/ Wellingboro'	E.377/eg.21		DE	R
Cheney of Woodford	E.377/eg. 7,9.		DE	
Compton,Earls of Northampton	Lindley, p.159	1512	DE	R
Darcy of Gt.Addington	E.377/eg.43	PRE-1558		
Dormer of Purston	N.R.O., X.3582		DE	R
Eaton of Brockhall	N.R.S., vii	1582	DE	
Everard of Yelvertoft	N.R.O., Dore notes	POST-1558		
Fermor of Easton Neston	D.N.B.,V.C.H.; N.R.O., Dore notes	1527		R
Fitzhugh of Shutlanger	V.C.H.	1280		
Fitzwilliam of Glapthorne	E.377/eg.21	1502		
Flamstead of Denton	N.R.S., vii; E.377/26			
Forrest of Peterborough	V.C.H.; N.R.S.; xiii	1540's	DE	
Garter of Brigstock	E.377/45	1550		
Griffin of Dingley	Anstruther	C14	DE	R
Griffin of Braybrook	N.R.S., vii	C14	DE	D.O.
Hacke of Peterborough	N.R.O.,Mellows notes,M(T)1			R
Hussey of Oundle	E.377/7	c.1510's		
Kenwrick of Sutton	E.377/14	1598		

Bedfordshire cont'd.	MAJOR SOURCE	DATE OF SETTLEMENT IN COUNTY	RISING OR DECLINING	CIVIL WAR LOYALTY
Kinnesman of Loddington	E.377/49	C15	DE	R
Knight of Piddington	E.377/21	POST-1558		
Lawe of Ashton	E.377/33	c.1524	RI	
Lewis of Earl's Barton	N.R.S., vii			D.O.
Longueville of Cosgrave	V.C.H.	C13		R
Lovett of Astwell	N.R.O., X: V.C.H.	C15		D.O.
Lumley of Clipston	N.R.O., X.	C14		
Mallory of Woodford	N.R.S., vii; E.377/21	C14	DE	D.O.
Marriott of Arthingworth	E.377/7			
Mordaunt, Earls of Peterborough	Complete Peerage; see Appendix 21	POST-1550	DE	P
Morgan of Heyford	N.R.S., vii	1550's	DE	R
Mountstephen of Paston	N.R.S., xiii	PRE- 1550		D.O.
Neale of Wollaston	E.377/47,49	POST-1603	DE	R
Newport of Welton	N.R.S., vii;E.377/21	POST-1558		
Norwich of Brampton	N.R.O., X.3582; X.648/1; E.377/28	C15	DE	P
Plowden of Aston	C.C.C., p.1592	1617		R
Poulton of Desborough	E.377/43	C12		N
Preston of Sudborough	E.377/21	C15		
Pratt of Weldon	E.377/41			
Roane of Wellingborough	E.377	POST-1558		R
Saunders of Welford	N.R.S.,vii;E.377/43	C15	DE	
Saunders of East Haddon	V.C.H; E.377	C15	DE	
Saunders of Harrington	V.C.H; E.377	C15	DE	D.O.
Shirley of Astwell	N.R.S., vii		DE	R
Shuckburgh of Naseby	E.377/33,N.R.O., Aa 59	C15		P
Stanhope, Lords Stanhope	See Appendix 21	1599	DE	N
Staresmore of Deene	E.377/41	POST-1558		
Stockley of Adthorp	N.R.O., X; E.377			R
Stottesbury of Evenley	N.R.O., X.3582			D.O.
Stoughton of Lowick	N.R.S., vii;E.377/9			
Syers of Loddington	E.377/33	C16	DE	R
Symmes of Welton	E.377/33			
Tresham of Rushton	Finch; D.N.B.; Anstruther	C15	DE	D.O.
Tresham of Lyveden	E.377/30;CCC., p.88	C15		N
Vavasor of Harrowden	E.377/32	POST-1500		
Vaux, Lords Vaux	E.377;Anstruther;CCC., p.2011	C15	DE	N
Wakelyn of Eydon	N.R.O., X.3582; X.648/1	1300	DE	D.O.
West of Cotton End	E.377/41			
Wildbore of Glinton	N.R.O., X, Archdeaconry 24			
Wyrley of Dodford	E.377/eg.16	1546	DE	P

1. Unfortunately, the sources for an analysis of the religion of the Bedfordshire gentry are scarce. The Archdeaconry of Bedford records in the County Record Office are very fragmentary, and there are very few documents relating to Bedfordshire among the diocesan records at Lincoln. Most of the sixteenth and seventeenth century material at Lincoln has been printed or transcribed, and copies are held by the Bedfordshire County Record Office. Overall, they are very inadequate compared to the excellent records of the Diocese of Peterborough in the Northamptonshire Record Office. Peterborough diocese was created out of the vast diocese of Lincoln in 1541, and it embraced the counties of Northamptonshire and Rutland. This means that the number of Bedfordshire puritan and catholic gentry is undoubtedly underestimated, especially in the case of puritan families. However, the use of Exchequer Recusant Rolls confirms the impression from this Appendix that, despite the imbalance of sources between the two counties, Bedfordshire catholicism was

much less pronounced than that of Northamptonshire; but few conclusions should be assumed from the very small number of Bedfordshire puritan families which have been identified.
The major sources are discussed below; but the dates of settlement in the county are taken from numerous sources (Appendix 16 notes the most valuable ones).
The 'rising and declining' column is based on material in Appendix 13, and DE signifies declining, and RI signifies rising.
Civil War loyalty is taken from Appendix 16, and P equals parliamentarian; R equals royalist; N equals neutral; CH signifies that the family changed sides; and U equals uncertain. The letters D.O. mean that the family had died out, or had left the county before 1642, and were not members of the gentry at that date.
Gaps in the Appendix signify lack of knowledge, although, in the 'rising and declining' column, it may mean that the family was in a static economic position.

2. The major sources for puritan families are as follows: the abbreviation in brackets, after the source, refers to the reference in the 'MAJOR SOURCE' column.
V.C.H., Bedfordshire; V.C.H., Northamptonshire, (V.C.H): Venn, J., Alumni Cantabrigienses (Venn); Cockett, C., 'George Cokayn', Transactions of the Congregational History Society, xii, (Cockett); Thurloe, J., A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe edited by T. Birch, (Thurloe); Stone, L., Crisis of The Aristocracy, 1558-1641, (Stone); Hallinan, T., 'The Changing Composition of the Class of Larger Landowners in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire between the Reformation and the Civil War', University of Oxford, D.Phil., 1956, (Hallinan, Thesis); Godber, J., History of Bedfordshire, 1066-1888, (Godber).
N.R.O., Diocesan Records, which include court books, bishop's visitations, and churchwardens presentments, (N.R.O., X); The Northamptonshire Petition of 1605 on behalf of deprived puritan ministers, and signed by forty five gentlemen, which is in the Public Record Office, (S.P.14/12/69); Bate, F., The Declaration of Indulgence, (Bate), lists the houses of gentry which were licensed as conventicles in 1672, and they include some Northamptonshire puritan gentry. Turner, G.L., (ed.), Original Records of early Nonconconformity under Persecution and Indulgence, gives an even more comprehensive list of conventicles. Sheils, W., 'Puritans in Church and Politics in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1570-1610', University of London, Ph.D., 1974, (Sheils, Thesis); Gleason, J., The Justices of The Peace in England, 1558-1640,(Gleason); Finch, M., The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640, N.R.S., xix, (Finch); Aylmer, G.E., The King's Servants, (Aylmer); Stone, L., 'Lord Montagu's Directions to his son', Northamptonshire Past and Present, ii; Baildon, W.P., (ed.), Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata, 1593-1609, from the original manuscripts of John Hawarde, (Baildon, (ed.)); Garrett, C.H., The Marian Exiles, (Garrett).
The other references in the 'MAJOR SOURCE' column are self-explanatory.

3. The major sources for catholic families are as follows: the abbreviation in brackets, after the source, refers to the reference in the 'MAJOR SOURCE' column.
Most important of all are the Recusant Rolls (P.R.O., E.377). I have examined the roll for every second year between 1596 and 1642, although occasionally I have looked at successive rolls. The earlier ones are printed: Calthorp, M., (ed.), Recusant Roll 1: 1592-3, Catholic Record Society, xviii; Bowler, H., (ed.), Recusant Roll 2: 1593-4, and Recusant Rolls 3-4: 1594-6, Catholic Record Society, lvii and lxi.
V.C.H., Bedfordshire; V.C.H., Northamptonshire, (V.C.H); Bateson, M., (ed.), Collections of Letters from Bishops to the Privy Council, 1564, with returns of Justices of the Peace classified according to religion, Camden Society, N.S., liii, (Bateson); Green, M., (ed.), Calendar of the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents, 1643-60, (C.C.C.); Wake, J., (ed.), The Montagu Musters Book, 1602-23, N.R.S., vii, pp.222-5, A list of recusant houses in Northamptonshire, which were searched for arms in 1612, (N.R.S., vii); Wake, J., The Brudenells of Deene, (Wake); Anstruther, G., Vaux of

Harrowden, (Anstruther); Lindley, K., 'The Lay Catholics of England in the reign of Charles I', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, xxii, (Lindley); N.R.O., suitcase of handwritten notes on the Elizabethan gentry of Northamptonshire by Miss Jane Dore; N.R.O., notes on Peterborough recusants by Mr. W. Mellows, M(T)1; Cokayne, G.E., Complete Peerage.

The case studies in Appendix 21 also contain information about the religion of some of these families. For Finch, an abbreviation in the column, see note 2. Another useful source is the card index of Northamptonshire recusants, compiled by G. Anstruther, which is held by the County Record Office.

According to Miss Dore, the Jansons of Ashby St. Ledgers; the Kirkhams of Fineshade; the Mulshoes of Finedon; and the Watsons of Rockingham were other Northamptonshire families which had catholic sympathies, although they conformed to the established church.

APPENDIX 16

LIST AND ANALYSIS OF ROYALIST AND PARLIAMENTARIAN GENTRY (1)

A key to the numbered columns in this Appendix is given below, but further detail appertaining to these columns can be found in the notes, after the tabulated lists.

Some of the most important neutrals and gentlemen who changed sides are discussed after the notes about the tables.

KEY TO TABLES

MAJOR SOURCE: This is discussed in the notes after the tables.

Column number 1: Date of settlement in the county

Column number 2: Estimated income per annum in pounds, about 1642. A discussion of sources and approach is given in Appendix 12, from which most of the larger incomes have been taken. The smaller incomes, (below £500, mainly), have been estimated from subsidy rolls, and Appendix 12 discusses the use of these.

Column number 3: Religious tradition of the Family.
PU equals puritan; and CA equals catholic.
This is based on material in Appendix 15.

Column number 4: Rising or Declining.
RI equals rising; and DE equals declining.
This is based on material in Appendix 13.

Column number 5: Were these gentlemen investing, extensively enclosing, or engaged in entrepreneurial activity?
YES indicates that they were, and the column is based on the lists in Appendix 14.

Column number 6: Were these gentlemen courtiers or central office holders?
YES indicates that they were, and further detail is given in the notes.

Column number 7: Position in the family, with regard to the head.
H equals head; YS equals younger son of the head; ES equals eldest son of the head; and B equals brother of the head.
The sources are listed in the notes.

Column number 8: Education.
OU equals Oxford University; CU equals Cambridge University, GI equals Gray's Inn; L.I. equals Lincoln's Inn; IT equals Inner Temple; and Mid.T equals Middle Temple. Sources are discussed in the notes.

The place of residence of peers, baronets and knights is not given. This can be found in Appendix 11.

These royalists and parliamentarians are plotted on Maps 18 and 19.

ROYALIST (2)

Bedfordshire	MAJOR SOURCE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Thomas; 1st Earl of Cleveland	CCC., p. 2156	1614	1,750-2,000		DE	YES	YES	H	OU.1602
Thomas, Lord Wentworth	CCC., p. 2156	1614			DE		YES	E.S.	G.I.1620
Sir Edward Alston	CCC., p. 1263	POST-1603			RI			H	CU. 1628
Sir Henry Cayson	CCC., p. 906	POST-1603			DE			H	
Sir George Bynnion	B.M.,Addit MSS,5,491	POST-1603						H	
Sir Richard Conquest	CCC.,p.1821;CAM., p.1191	C13	1,000	CA	DE			H	CU. 1612 Mid.T.1614
Sir Francis Crawley	CCC., p. 1562	C14	800			YES		H	CU. 1627 G.I. 1623
Sir Lewis Dyve	B.H.R.S., xxvii	1510	650		DE	YES	YES	H	OU. 1614
Sir John Hewett	B.M., Addit.MSS,5,491	POST-1558		CA				H	CU. 1637
Sir Peter Osborne	CCC.,p.1974; CAM., p.1140	1580's	1,200		DE	YES	YES	H	CU. 1603
Sir William Palmer	CCC.,p.1482;CAM., p.605	1627	550		DE	YES	YES	H	CU. 1632 Mid.T.1634
Thomas Abbis of Stotfold	CCC., p. 895							H	CU. 1633 LI. 1637
George Blundell of Cardington	B.H.R.S.,xlix,p.109	C13	1,200		RI	YES	YES	E.S.	CU. 1638 LI. 1641
Owen Brett of Southill	Tibbutt (2)	1599						H	OU. 1615 LI. 1618
Edward Brett of Southill	CCC.	1599						Y.S.	
George Burye of Toddington	V.C.H.	EARLY C16						Y.S.	
John Duncombe of Battlesden	Beds N&Q,ii, pp.44-7	1560's	+1,000		DE	YES		H	CU.1611 G.I. 1613
Richard Duncombe of Battlesden	B.H.R.S.,xlix,p.96	1560's			DE	YES		Y.S.	
Edward Duncombe of Battlesden	CAM., p. 1162	1560's						H	
Richard Fermor of Westoning	CCC.	C16							
Thomas Foster of Cardington	CCC., p. 3256	POST-1603	250					H	G.I. 1634 CU. 1628
William Gery of Bushmead	CAM., p. 983	C13	800		DE		YES	H	L.I. 1630
George Gery of Bushmead	CCC., pp.1558, 1680	C13			DE			Y.S.	L.I. 1636
John Grigge of Dunstable	VCH., ii, p. 43		100					H	
Richard Jones of Litlington	CAM., p. 479	POST-1603						H	
Thomas Hillersdon of Elstow	Tibbutt (1), p.9	1560's			RI	YES		H	

Bedfordshire	MAJOR SOURCE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Edward Nicholls of Ampthill)	The Topographer and	1560	100-250					H	Mid.T.1634
Francis Nicholls of Ampthill)	Genealogist,iii,	1560						Y.S.	
Richard Nicholls of Ampthill	pp. 533-63.	1560						Y.S.	
Henry Piggott of Gravenhurst	CCC., p. 2979	1509	100-250	CA	DE			H.	CU. 1599 CU.1630's
Richard Taylor of Clapham)	CCC.,pp.1120, 1275	C15	800		RI			H.	LI.1637
William Taylor of Clapham)		C15			RI			B	CU. 1641 LI. 1642
Christopher Turnor of Milton E	V.C.H.	c.1560						H	CU. 1623 Mid.T.1626
Charles Ventris of Campton	BM,Addit MSS, 34,368 fo. 12v	1560	250		DE			H	CU. 1616
Richard Watson of Ampthill	CCC., p. 3117		150-250	CA				H	OU. 1614
John Wingate of Ampthill	CCC., p. 860	C14	100-200					H	OU. 1616
Spencer Potts of Chalgrave	CCC., p. 1592		200						OU. 1613

Northamptonshire	MAJOR SOURCE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Charles, Viscount Cullen	CCC., p. 1383	1613	1,500-2,000		DE	YES	YES	H	CU. 1614
Spencer, 2nd Earl of Northampton	CCC., p. 1246	1560's	6,630	CA	DE	YES	YES	H	GI. 1633
James, Lord Compton		1560's		CA	DE	YES	YES	E.S.	CU. 1637
Edward, 1st Lord Montagu	see Appendix 21	C14	2,200-4,399	PU		YES		H	OU. 1574 Mid.T.1580
Sir Robert Browne, bart.	see Appendix 21	1506	2,000 1656	CA				H	
Sir Thomas Cave, bart.	CAM., p. 1048	C15	1,200			YES		H	OU. 1608
Sir Rowland Egerton, bart.	see Appendix 21	1605	1,200			YES		H	
Sir James Enion, bart	CAM., p. 1291	POST-1603	c.750					H	OU. 1604 GI. 1603
Sir William Fermor, bart	CCC., p. 1063	1527	+ 1,000	CA		YES	YES	H	OU. 1636
Sir John Isham, bart	CAM., p. 1314	C12	c.1,800	PU	RI	YES		H	CU. 1597
Sir Charles Shirley, bart	see Appendix 21	1580's	2,000	CA	DE			H	
Sir John Wake, bart	CCC., p. 1589	C13	500		DE		YES	H	
Sir Lewis Watson, bart	CCC., p. 1435	1554	1,500		RI	YES	YES	H	OU. 1599 Mid.T.1602
Sir Robert Bannister	CCC., p. 1671	1635	+1,000		RI		YES	H	CU. 1583
Sir Richard Cave	CAM., p. 1048	C15				YES		E.S.	
Sir George Clerke	BM,Addit MSS,15,750 fo.78	POST-1603	1,500		RI			H	
Sir Charles Compton	N.R.O., General Notes,	1560's		CA	DE	YES		H	
Sir William Fleetwood	CCC., p. 1403	POST-1558	500	PU		YES	YES	H	CU. 1618
Sir Edward Griffin	CCC., p. 1206	C13	+ 1,000	CA	DE	YES	YES	H	OU. 1601 or 1616
Sir Anthony Haslewood	CCC,p.1862;CAM,p.1382	C15	+ 1,000		DE			H	OU. 1616
Sir Christopher Hatton	CCC., p. 1579	EARLY C16	2,530		DE	YES	YES	H	CU. 1620 GI. 1620
Sir Robert Heath	CCC., p. 88	POST-1603	800		DE	YES	YES	H	CU. 1587 I.T. 1593
Sir Justinian Isham	CCC., p. 1494	C12	600	PU	RI	YES		E.S.	CU.1627, Mid.T.28
Sir Brian Janson	CAM., p. 712	1611	800		RI	YES	YES	H	CU.1605, I.T. 1605
Sir John Lambe	CCC., p. 1514	POST-1603	500			YES	YES	H	CU. 1590
Sir Anthony Morgan	CCC., p.1898;CAM,p.893	1550's	+ 1,000	CA	DE			H	
Sir Thomas Roe	D.N.B. only	1630's			RI		YES		CU.1593,Mid.T.1597
Sir John Washington	BM,Addit MSS, 15,750 fo. 78	1520's	150	PU	DE				
Sir Edward Watson	CCC., p. 1595	1554	250		RI			H	OU.1599,Mid.T.1603
Sir William Wilmer	CCC., p. 1462	1570	+1,250	PU	RI	YES		H	CU. 1598 IT. 1599

Northamptonshire	MAJOR SOURCE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sir Richard Wingfield	Thurloe, v, p.512	1544	600		DE	YES		H	
John Adams of Charwelton	CAM, p. 1078	C16	100					H	OU. 1635, LI.1637
John Atkins of Stanwick	CCC, p. 88	1622	200					H	
John Bagshawe of Moreton Pinkney	CCC, p. 2108		150					B	
William Bawde of Walgrave	CCC, p. 1806	EARLY C16	500	CA		YES		H	
Thomas Beale of Peterborough	N.R.O., Mellows notes	POST-1558						H	
..... Bird of Bainton	CAM, p. 1376	POST-1603		CA				H	
John Bourne of Ufford	CCC, p. 1374								LI. 1635
Charles Carey of Cottesbrook	CCC, p.2839, CAM, p.617	LATE C16				YES		H	
James Carrier of Helpston	CCC, p. 1042								
....Charnock of Harrowden	CCC, p. 88		500	CA	DE			H	
John Cooke of Ashton	CCC, p. 1415								
John Cresswell of Purston	CAM, pp. 966-7	PRE -1558	250					H	
William Dillon of Farthingstone	Levack	1617	900	PU		YES		H	OU. 1618
Fleetwood Dormer of Purston	CCC, p. 2804	POST-1500	150	CA	DE			H	OU. 1634, Mid.T.1637
Thomas Dove of Upton	CCC, p. 1016	POST-1603			DE			H	OU. 1623, Mid.T.1626
William Dudley of Clapton	BM, Egerton MSS, 2,541, fo. 364	C14	500					H	
Charles Edmonds of Preston D.	CAM, p. 1415	1620	500			YES	YES	H	
Alexander Ekins of Weston F.	Thurloe	POST-1500	150	PU		YES		B	CU. 1645
George Gage of Raundes	CCC, p. 1949	C15	150		DE	YES	YES	H	
Francis Gray of Wellingborough	CAM, p. 554	POST-1603	200					H	
William Hacke of Peterborough	CCC, p. 1019			CA		YES		H	CU. 1619,
Edward Heath of Collyweston	CCC, p. 88	POST-1603			DE	YES	YES	E.S.	CU. 1626, I.T.1625
Euseby Isham of Pytchley	CCC, p. 88	C12		PU				H	
Thomas Jenison of Irchester	V.C.H.	POST-1558	250					H	CU. 1621
Richard Kinnesman of Loddington	CCC, p. 1897	C15	300	CA	DE	YES	YES	H	CU. 1619
Walter Kirkham of Fineshade	CCC, p. 1088	c.1508	800		DE	YES		E.S.	CU. 1637, G.I.1638
Robert Kirkham of Fineshade	CCC, p. 1088	c.1508			DE	YES	YES	H.	
Richard Lane of Courtenhall	CCC, p. 2104	c.1500	700		RI		YES		CU. 1602, Mid.T.1605
Francis Lane of Grendon	Burke	c.1500	600	PU	DE	YES	YES	H	CU. 1643, Mid.T.1647
John Langham of Cottesbrook	V.C.H.	POST-1603			RI			H	CU. 1626?
..... Longueville of Cosgrave	V.C.H.	C13	200	CA					CU. 1631, GI. 1632
Samuel Clarke of West Haddon	CAM, p. 1080	POST-1603						B	

Northamptonshire	MAJOR SOURCE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
John Lynne of Southwick	CCC, p. 1352	C15		PU		YES			CU. 1631, GI.1632
Thomas Morgan of Heyford	CCC, p.1898;CAM,p.893	1550's		CA	DE			B	
Robert Mulshoe of Finedon	CCC,p.1538;CAM,p.965	C15	500	CA		YES		H	CU. 1632,Mid.T.1635
Edmund Neale of Wollaston	CAM, P. 119	POST-1603	350	CA	DE			E.S.	CU. 1642
William Neale of Wollaston	D.N.B.	POST-1603		CA	DE			H	
Humphrey Orme of Peterborough	N.R.O.,Mellows notes Burke					YES		E.S.	
Geoffrey Palmer of Carleton	CCC,pp.1064, 1433	C15	+1,500		RI		YES	H	CU. 1612,Mid.T.1616
Roger Palmer of Carleton	CCC, p. 1394	C15	800(1660)		RI		YES	E.S.	
Edward Palmer of Stoke D.	V.C.H.; Burke	C15	300					H	CU.1606,Mid.T.1608
Robert Pargiter of Gretworth	CAM, p. 1327	C15	200	PU		YES		H	CU.1616, LI. 1619
William Pargiter of Gretworth	CAM, p. 1327	C15		PU		YES		B	
Goddard Pemberton of Rushden	V.C.H.	POST-1500						B	CU. 1631
Christopher Pickering of Tichmarsh	CCC, p. 904	c.1500		PU		YES		Y.S.	
Francis Plowden of Aston	CCC, p. 1592	1617		CA				H	
Richard Rainsford of Dallington	V.C.H.	POST-1558	100		RI			H	
William Roane of Wellingborough	Levack	POST-1558		CA				H	CU. 1626
Henry Robinson of Longthorpe	CCC,p.2918;CAM,p.1401				DE				
Thomas Rudd of Higham Ferrers	CCC, p. 1534	EARLY C16	250				YES	H	CU. 1614
Robert Shirley of Astwell	see Appendix 21	1580's		CA	DE			E.S.	CU. 1645
Edmund Sawyer of Kettering	CAM, p. 1405	EARLY C16				YES		B	CU. 1631, Mid.T.1634
William Stafford of Blatherwick	CCC,p.1589;CAM, 946	C15	2-3,000	PU	DE		YES	H	
Richard Stidolph of Wittering	CCC, p.88, Levack	1524						Y.S.	OU. 1609
Francis Stockley of Adthorpe	CAM, p. 1420			CA					
Thomas Styles of Walton	CCC, p. 88	AFTER 1558				YES		E.S.	CU. 1640's
Thomas Styles of Paston	CCC, p. 1928	AFTER 1558				YES		H	CU. 1611
John Syers of Loddington	CCC, p. 1145	C16	200		DE	YES		H	Mid.T.1622
Christopher Thursby of Abington	CCC, p. 2118	C16	800					H	
Thomas Tresham of Geddington	CCC, p. 1288	C14	150	CA	DE			H	CU. 1627, Mid.T.1636
George Warner of Thorpe Lubbenham	CCC, p. 88	1619			RI				
Robert Willoughby of Hackleton	CCC, p. 1999	C15	500		DE			H	
Thomas Willoughby of Hackleton	CCC, p. 2096	C15			DE			B	
Edward Wyrley of Dodford	CAM	1546		CA	DE	YES		B	

Bedfordshire	MAJOR SOURCE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Henry,10th Earl of Kent	Complete Peerage								
	B.R.O.,Lucas MSS,	C13	500	PU	DE	YES		H	CU. 1611
Oliver,1st Earl of Bolingbroke	Complete Peerage	1415	2,200-4,399	PU	DE	YES	YES	H	CU. 1595
	B.R.O.,St.John MSS								GI. 1597
Oliver, Lord St. John	Ibid	1415		PU	DE	YES		E.S.	LI. 1627
Edward, 1st Earl of Elgin	see Appendix 21	1613	1,750-2,000		RI	YES	YES	H	CU. 1612
Sir Thomas Alston, bart	B.H.R.S., xviii	POST-1603	700		RI			H	CU. 1626, IT.1627
Sir John Burgoyne, bart	CAM, p. 399	C13	800		DE	YES		H	CU.1607, Mid.T.1611
Sir William Ashton	B.R.O., Orme	1628						H	
Sir Roger Burgoyne	Underdown	C13			DE	YES		E.S.	CU. 1634, LI. 1637
Sir Robert Charnock	B.R.O., Orme	1540	600	CA	DE	YES		H	
Sir Oliver Luke	F. & R., Underdown	1510	500	PU		YES		H	CU. 1588, Mid.T.1592
Sir Samuel Luke	F. & R.,his Letter-Books	1510		PU	DE	YES		E.S.	CU. 1619
Sir Alexander St.John	F. & R.	1415		PU	DE			H	CU. 1601
Sir Beauchamp St. John	F. & R.	1415	600	PU				H	CU.1610, LI.1613
Sir Henry St.John	F. & R.	1415		PU				H	CU. 1604
Sir John Thompson	F. & R.	1566	900					H	CU. 1612
Ralph Astrey of Harlington	F. & R.,i, p. 169	1494	600-700		DE			H	CU & Mid.T.1628
Francis Astrey of Harlington	F. & R,i, p. 543	1494			DE			B	LI. 1637
James Beverley of Eaton Socon	CAM, p. 326	LATE C16	500		DE			H	CU.1619, LI.1622
Robert Beverley of Eaton Socon	F. & R.,ii, p.293	LATE C16			DE			Y.S.	CU.1627, LI. 1630
Thomas Bromsall of Blunham	F. & R.,ii, p. 656	POST-1603	750						
Edward Cater of Kempston	F. & R.	POST-1603	400		RI	YES		H	CU. 1631,Mid.T.1634
Thomas Cater of Kempston	F. & R. ii,p.293	POST-1603			RI	YES		B	CU.1623, Mid.T.1632
St.John Charnock of Holcot	F. & R. ii, p.293	1540		CA	DE	YES		E.S.	CU. & GI. 1637
Thomas Cheyne of Sundon	F. & R: B.R.O.,Orme	1521	500			YES		E.S.	CU.1628, GI.1620
Richard Cokayne of Hatley	F. & R.,ii, p.757	1417	300	PU				H	CU.1634
John Cokayne of Hatley	B.H.R.S.,xviii, p.24	1417		PU				B	
Edward Duncombe of Battlesden	F. & R.	1560's			DE	YES		Y.S.	
Richard Edwards of Henlow	F. & R., i, p.169	1530's	150		RI			H	CU.1620, IT.1628
Humphrey Fishe of Northill	F. & R.	POST-1558		PU	RI	YES		H	
George Francklin of Thurleigh	F. & R.	C15	700		DE	YES		H	
John Harvey of Thurleigh	F. & R.,i, p. 543	C13	250					H	CU. 1626, GI.1628

Bedfordshire	MAJOR SOURCE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
John Hasledon of Goldington	F. & R., ii, p.656								
John Huxley of Eaton Bray	B.R.O, Orme	POST-1603	+ 750		RI			H	
Edmund Jones of Lidlington	F. & R., i, p.169	POST-1603						Y.S.	
Ralph Mallory of Shelton	F. & R., i, p.169	C14	200					H	
John Manley of Wilhamstead	F. & R., ii, p.293	1580's	150						CU. 1606
Humphrey Monoux of Wootton	BR.O, AD. 2,003	1514		CA				H	CU. 1617, GI. 1621
John Neale of Deane	F. & R., i, p.169	1500-58	300					H	Mid.T. 1632
Edward Osborne of Northill	F. & R.	EARLY C17	100					H	CU. 1621
Thomas Rolt of Milton Ernest	F. & R., i, p.619	1578	300		RI			H	CU. 1604, LI. 1605
Thomas Sadler of Aspley	F. & R.	EARLY C17				YES			
Ralph Snagge of Marston	Godber, p. 283	1560's	400	PU					
Gaius Squire of Eaton Socon	F. & R.	1620's	400			YES			CU. 1624, Mid.T. 1626
Robert Staunton of Woburn	F. & R.	PRE-1530	500		RI	YES		H	CU. 1625
John Vaux of Whipsnade	F. & R.	1606	250					H	CU. 1637
Onslow Winche of Everton	F. & R., i, p.960	MID-C16	+500		RI	YES		H	CU. 1604, LI. 1606
Edmund Wingate of Harlington	BM, Addit MSS, 34,369, fo.33v.	EARLY C16	500				YES	H	OU. 1610, GI. 1610
Northamptonshire									
David, 3rd Earl of Exeter	see Appendix 21	1526	2,300		DE	YES	YES	H	CU. 1620, LI. 1627
John, Lord Burghley	see Appendix 21	1526			DE	YES		E.S.	
John, 1st Earl of Peterborough	see Appendix 21	1560's	1,500	CA	DE	YES	YES	H	
Sir John Dryden, bart	Underdown, F. & R., i, p.49	1540's	+1,000	PU	RI	YES		H	OU. 1596, Mid.T. 1602
Francis Nicholls, bart	F. & R.; Complete Baronetage	c.1520's	800	PU	RI	YES	YES	H	OU & Mid.T. 1602
Sir John Norwich, bart	F. & R., i, p.49	C15	+1,000	CA	DE			H	CU. 1629, Mid.T. 1632
Sir Gilbert Pickering, bart	Underdown, F. & R., i, p.49	c.1500	+1,000	PU		YES		H	CU. 1625, GI. 1629
Sir Christopher Yelverton, bart	F. & R., i, p.49	1578	1,-1,500		DE	YES		H	CU. 1619
Sir Toby Chauncey	F. & R., i, p.960	C15	800	PU		YES		E.S.	OU. 1622
Sir John Danvers	F. & R., i, p.960	C15	800	PU	DE	YES		H	OU & IT. 1594
Sir John Egerton	F. & R., i, p.960					YES		E.S.	
Sir Ferdinando Knightley	D.N.B.	C15		PU	DE	YES		H	
Sir Humphrey Orme	F. & R., i, p.49		800			YES		H	
Sir Rowland St.John	F. & R., i, p. 49	1621	350	PU	RI	YES		H	CU. 1604

Northamptonshire	MAJOR SOURCE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sir Richard Samwell	F. & R., i, p.49	EARLY C16	700	PU	RI	YES		H	OU. 1606, Mid.T.1610
Thomas Andrewes of Harlestone	F. & R., i, p. 960	C15	300		RI			H	Mid.T.1593
Robert Andrewes of Harlestone	Underdown, F. & R., i, p.960	C15			RI			B	OU & Mid.T.1623
Richard Andrewes of Thorpe U.	F. & R., i, p.960	C15	250					H	
Abel Barker of Culworth	F. & R.	C15							
John Bernard of Abington	F. & R., i, p.49	C15	300		DE	YES		H	CU.1621, GI.1624
William Bernard of Abington	F. & R., i, p.960	C15			DE	YES		S	GI.1631
Henry Benson of Charwelton	F. & R., ii, p.119	POST-1603			RI				
John Blencowe of Marston L.	F. & R., i, p.49	C15	400	PU				H	OU. 1591
Mr. Bletsoe of Irchester	F. & R., ii, p.287								
John Breton of Ravensthorpe	F. & R., i, p.528	C13	300	CA	DE	YES		H	
Thomas Brooke of Gt.Oakley	F. & R., i, p.960	C15	350	PU		YES		G.S.	
John Butler of Preston Capes	V.C.H., F. & R.	1545	100	PU	DE			H	
John Cartwright of Aynho	CAM, p.189; F. & R.	1616	+1,000	PU	RI	YES	YES	H	OU.1630, LI. 1629
George Catesby of Whiston	F. & R.	C14	300	PU	DE			H	CU. 1591
John Claypole of Northborough	D.N.B.	C15	500-700	PU		YES			GI. 1619
John Clerke of West Haddon	F. & R.	POST-1603	150					H	OU & LI ?
John Crewe of Steane	Underdown; F.&R.,i,p.49	1580's	+1,000		RI	YES		H	OU.1616, LI. 1618
Samuel Danvers of Culworth	F. & R.,i,pp.49, 960	C15		PU	DE	YES		E.S.	LI. 1633
William Downhall of Geddington	F. & R., i, p.1082	C15						H	Mid.T.1604
Erasmus Dryden of Canons Ashby	F. & R.,i, p.960	1540's		PU	RI	YES		E.S.	GI. 1622
William Dryden of Canons Ashby	F. & R., i, p.960	1540's		PU	RI	YES		Y.S.	
Thomas Elmes of Greens Norton	F. & R., i, p. 528	C15	500	PU	DE			H	OU.1609
William Elmes of Lilford	V.C.H.	C15	+1,000	PU	DE			H	
Anthony Fane of Apethorpe	The Ancestor	POST-1603			DE	YES		B	
William Fitzwilliam of Milton	Underdown, F.&.R.,i,p.49	1502	800-1,000	PU	DE	YES		E.S.	CU. 1621
John Fisher of Hartwell	F. & R.	c.1550						E.S.	OU. 1640
Charles Fleetwood of Aldwinkle	D.N.B.	POST-1558		PU		YES		B	CU.1635, GI.1639
George Fleetwood of Aldwinkle	F. & R., i,p.1254	POST-1558	150	PU		YES		B	
Henry Freeman of Higham Ferrers	F. & R., i, p.960	LATE C16	300					H	CU. 1633
George Grendon of Caldecott	SP.16/489/15	C15	100	PU					
Edward Hanbury of Kelmarsh	F. & R., i, p.49	POST-1603	700	PU	RI			H	CU. 1622
Edward Harby of Adstone	F. & R., i, p.49	1540's	400	PU		YES		H	CU.1614, LI.1618

Northamptonshire	MAJOR SOURCE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Edward Harvey of Hardingstone	Underdown,F.& R.,i,p.93	POST-1558	350						
Thomas Haslerig of Alderton	V.C.H.	C16	150					H	
Philip Holman of Warkworth and Fawsley	F. & R., i, p.49 Underdown	POST-1603	+1,000		RI			H	
Richard Knightley of Preston C.	F. & R., i, p.49	C15	+1,000	PU	DE	YES		H	CU.1628, GI.1633
William Lisle of Brackley	F. & R., i, p.49	1570's	200		DE		YES	H	
Lawrence Maidwell of Geddington	F. & R.	C16	200		RI	YES		B	
John Maunsell of Thorpe Malsor	F. & R., i, p. 1088	POST-1603	200	PU	RI			H	CU.1621, LI.1624
George Mole of Kingsthorpe	V.C.H.	POST-1603		PU	DE				
Edward Montagu of Weekley	Underdown,F.&R, i,p.49	C15		PU		YES		E.S.	CU. 1631
George Nedham of Lichborough	SP.16/489/15	1596		PU				H	
Edward Nicholls of Faxton	F. & R., i, p.49	1520's		PU	RI	YES		E.S.	OU.1635, Mid.T.1637
John Norton of Cotterstock	F. & R., i, p.960	POST-1603							
Richard Ouseley of Courtenhall	F. & R.	1570	300		DE			H	OU.1604,Mid.T.1616
Thomas Pentlow of Weston F.	F. & R., i, p.115	POST-1578							
Francis Quarles of Ufford	F. & R., i, p.49	PRE-1558	400			YES		H	CU.1593, GI.1595
Francis Quarles jnr.of Ufford	F. & R., i, p.960	PRE-1558				YES		E.S.	CU.1614, GI.1618
Richard Samwell of Upton	F. & R., i, p.49	EARLY C16		PU	RI	YES		E.S.	Mid.T.1634
John Sawyer of Kettering	F. & R., i, p.49	EARLY C16	400			YES		H	CU.1611
Edward Shuckburgh of Naseby	F. & R., i, p.49	C15	500	CA				H	CU.1587, LI.1590
Zouch Tate of Hardingstone	Underdown,F.&R,i,p.49	1540's	+500	PU		YES		E.S.	OU.1621,Mid.T.1625
John Thornton of Brockhall	F. & R., i, p.528	C15	300		RI	YES		H	OU.1608, LI.1609
Richard Tryst of Maidford	F. & R., i, p.960	C15	200		RI	YES		H	
Richard Tryst,jnr. of Maidford	F. & R., i, p.960	C15			RI	YES		E.S.	Mid.T.1624
Peter Tryon of Bulwick	N.R.O., Tryon MSS.	POST-1603	+1,250	PU	RI			E.S.	OU.1623, LI.1624
William Ward of Brafield	F. & R., i, p.233	POST-1558	200			YES		H	OU. 1609
John Ward of Lt.Houghton	F. & R., i, p.1088	POST-1558	250					H	CU., early C17
John Wizeman of Bozeat	F. & R., i, p.960	1598	500			YES		E.S.	CU. 1620, LI.1623
John Wyrley of Dodford	F. & R., i, p.49	1546	250	CA	DE	YES		H	OU. 1589
John Wolston of Burton Latimer	N.R.O., FH. 704								

1. Except for recusant catholics and a few leading, or notorious royalists, who were sequestred, but not allowed to compound, an historian of the county region is more likely to overlook parliamentarians than royalists (or neutrals who paid the fifth and twentieth). Except for those on county committees or who were Justices of the Peace, there is no standard parliamentarian source comparable to the Calendars of the Committee for Compounding and the Committee for Advance of Money. (I am grateful to Professor Aylmer for clarifying this point for me).
However, the use of supplementary sources has enabled me to trace almost as many parliamentarians in both counties (123) as royalists (132).
2. The most important sources for the identification of royalists are Green, M., (ed.), Calendar of the Committee for Advance of Money, 1642-56, 3 pts., (CAM in the major source column in the lists); and Calendar of the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents, 1643-60, 5 pts., (CCC in the major source column). Also, particularly useful are B.M., Addit. MSS, 5,491, (Sequestration Papers); B.M., Egerton MSS, 2,541, fo. 364, A List of Northamptonshire royalists; N.R.O., Mellows notes, M(T)1, about Peterborough royalists; N.R.O., General Notes, Box file CA-COT, Civil War, which contains a handlist of local royalists, (C.W. in the major source column).
Other sources are Tibbutt, H.G., Bedfordshire and the first Civil War, Elstow Moot Hall, Leaflet iii, (Tibbutt (1) in the major source column); and Bedfordshire and the Protectorate, Elstow Moot Hall, Leaflet vi, (Tibbutt (2) in the major source column); V.C.H., Bedfordshire, and V.C.H., Northamptonshire, (V.C.H., in the major source column): Bell, P., (ed.), Minutes of Bedfordshire Sequestrations Committee, 1646-7, B.H.R.S., xlix, (B.H.R.S., xlix in the column); Bedfordshire Notes and Queries, (Beds N & Q in the column); Thurloe, J., A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe edited by T. Birch, v, p.512, (Thurloe in the column), lists some local royalists; Levack, B., The Civil Lawyers in England, 1603-41, (Levack in the column); Burke, J., A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commons of Gt. Britain and Ireland, i, Appendix, (Burke in the column); includes some royalists among the proposed knights of the Royal Oak in 1660; Dictionary of National Biography, (D.N.B. in the column).
The case studies in Appendix 21 include the sources for Civil War loyalty of most of the noble families, and readers are referred to this Appendix.
3. The central source for identification of parliamentarians is Firth, C.H., and Rait, R., (ed.), Acts and Ordinances of The Interregnum, 1642-60, 3 vols., (F & R in the major source column. Page references are from the 1972 Florida reprint of the 1911 edition). Green, M., (ed.), Calendar of the Committee for Advance of Money, 1642-56, (CAM in the column), is also useful.
Other sources are Cokayne, G.E., Complete Peerage; and Complete Baronetage; Orme, R., 'The Parliamentary Cause in the Civil War', a B.R.O. typescript article (CRT. 120/133) about Bedfordshire, (Orme in the column); Underdown, D., Pride's Purge: politics in the Puritan Revolution, (Underdown in the column): Tibbutt, H.G., (ed.), The Letter Books of Sir Samuel Luke, 1644-5, B.H.R.S., xlii and H.M.C., J.P.4; Godber, J., History of Bedfordshire, 1066-1888, (Godber in the column.

I realise that neither the list of royalist gentry, nor that of parliamentarian gentry, are complete; but they are the ones uncovered from my own researches into the sources mentioned above. Professor Everitt found 103 royalist families in Northamptonshire (The Local Community and the Great Rebellion, Historical Association, general series, lxx), and Mr. Orme (op.cit) includes some parliamentarian gentry, whom I have been unable to verify as parliamentarian from the major sources. However, as in other parts of the thesis, I have kept to my own figures, and, although I think my totals are large enough to justify general analysis, an historian with more time to devote to the gentry of these counties is bound to uncover a greater number of royalists and parliamentarians than I have.

Date of Settlement in county (column 1)

This is taken from nunerous sources, which cover the whole range of material in the bibliography. However, V.C.H., Bedfordshire; V.C.H., Northamptonshire, Blaydes, F., (ed.), Visitations of Bedfordshire; Metcalfe, W.C., (ed.), Northamptonshire Visitations, 1564 and 1618-19; Longden, H.I., The Northamptonshire Visitation of 1681; and College of Arms, Bedfordshire Visitation of 1669, are particularly valuable.

Courtiers and Central office-holders (column 6)

Again, the sources are composite; but Aylmer, G.E., The King's Servants: the Civil Service of Charles I, 1625-42; is especially useful, together with his typescript list of officials 1625-42 at the Institute of Historical Research. In Bedfordshire, the Wentworths, Earls of Cleveland, were courtiers and Lords Lieutenant of Bedfordshire; Sir Lewis Dyve was brother-in-law of Lord Digby and a courtier; the Osbornes were hereditary Lords Treasurers Remembrances; and Sir William Palmer was royal carver. George Blundell was a commissioner for the disarming of Irish catholics; and William Gery was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. Of the parliamentarians, the Bruces, Earls of Elgin were courtiers and Stewards of the Honour of Ampthill, and Edmund Wingate was mathematical tutor to Queen Henrietta Maria.

In Northamptonshire, the Comptons, Earls of Northampton, were prominent courtiers and office-holders (see Cokayne, G.E., Complete Peerage), and the father of Viscount Cullen, Sir William Cokayne, would have been Lord Treasurer if he had not died before the appointment. Sir William Fermor was councillor to the Prince of Wales; the Wakes were Rangers of Salcey Forest; the Watsons were courtiers and masters of the royal buckhounds; the Fleetwoods were hereditary receivers of the court of Wards; and Sir Christopher Hatton was made Comptroller of the Household in 1643. Sir Robert Bannister had been Master of the Household to James I; Sir Edward Griffin was Treasurer of the King's Chamber, in reversion; Sir Robert Heath was Chief-Justice of King's Bench in 1643; Sir Brian Janson was Groom of the Bedchamber; Sir John Lambe was Chancellor to the Queen, 1629-41, and Sir Thomas Roe was Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. Charles Edmonds' father was to have been Secretary of State; Robert Kirkham was Clerk of the Signet; Richard Lane of Courtenhall was Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales in 1634, and the Earl of Staffords's lawyer in 1641; the Lanes of Grendon were esquires of the stables; and the Palmers of Carleton were royal Cofferers and courtiers. Thomas Rudd was chief engineer to Charles I, and William Stafford was the son of an Ambassador to France.

Among Northamptonshire parliamentarians, the Cecils, Earls of Exeter, and Mordaunts, Earls of Peterborough, held Lord Lieutenancies; Francis Nicholls was secretary to Elector Palatine; John Cartwright was cursitor in Chancery in the 1630's; and Lawrence Maidwell was six clerk in Chancery.

D.N.B.; V.C.H.; Complete Peerage; Complete Baronetage; and various family histories, supplement Professor Aylmer's book and typescript list.

Position in Family (column 7)

The main sources are the Visitations (see earlier for details); Baron, O., Northamptonshire Families; Baker, G., The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton; V.C.H., Bedfordshire; V.C.H., Northamptonshire; The Ancestor, 12 vols., 1901-5; and various family histories and genealogical references.

Education (column 8)

Sources are Venn, J., Alumni Cantabrigienses, pt. i, 4 vols; Foster, J., Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714, 4 vols.; Clark, A., (ed.), Register of the University of Oxford, 1571-1622, 3 vols., (more accurate than Foster); Baildon, W.P., (ed.), Records of Lincoln's Inn, i, Admissions, 1420-1799; Foster, J., (ed.), Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889; Sturgess, A.H., Register of Admissions to the Middle Temple, i; and Inner Temple Library, Typescript of Admissions.

It is often difficult to identify the correct member of the family from these sources, especially in the case of a family where the same christian name is passed down through successive generations. Some doubtful instances are signified in column 8, and the accuracy of these details cannot be completely guaranteed. All reasonable precautions and cross-checks have been taken, but I may have missed one or two admissions to educational institutions of some of these gentry. I think I am more likely to have missed some entries than to have entered incorrect details in column 8.

It should be noticed that among the Northamptonshire parliamentarians are William Fitzwilliam, who became second Lord Fitzwilliam in 1644, and Edward Montagu, who became second Lord Montagu in 1644.

Some notable neutrals and gentlemen who changed sides.

Bedfordshire

Sir Edward Gostwick, baronet, was deaf and dumb, and remained neutral

Sir William Boteler of Biddenham changed sides (see Appendix 21)

Sir William Briers of Pulloxhill was a royalist Commissioner for the Peace in 1643 (B.M., Addit. MSS, 15,750, fo. 78), but he appears on the 1644 Parliamentarian county committee (Firth and Rait).

Henry Chester of Tilsworth was a royalist Commissioner for the Peace (B.M., Addit. MSS., 15,750, fo. 78), but he is said to have been neutral with parliamentarian sympathies at a later date, (Waters, E.C., Genealogical Memoirs of the Chesters of Chicheley).

Sir John Rolt of Ravensden was a royalist until 1643, when he changed sides.

William Russell, fifth Earl of Bedford, changed sides (see Appendix 21).

There is a great deal of uncertainty regarding the loyalty of Sir Robert Napier, baronet, and he has not been classified as royalist or parliamentarian. This uncertainty is discussed in Appendix 21.

Northamptonshire

Edward, fourth Lord Vaux; Sir William Tresham of Lyveden, baronet; Sir William Andrewes of Denton, baronet, and his son, Sir John Andrewes, were sequestred as recusants only, and they appear to have been neutral. (Calendar of the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents, pp. 2011, 88, 1739, and 1884).

William, first Lord Fitzwilliam was neutral (Habakkuk, H., 'Landowners and the Civil War', Ec.H.R., 2nd s., xviii); and, although Charles, second Lord Stanhope, contributed to the royal cause in 1642 (Calendar of the Committee for Advance of Money, p. 444), he was probably mentally unstable and was allowed to leave for France in 1644 (Cokayne, G.E., Complete Peerage).

It was suspected that Thomas, first Lord Brudenell, was present in royalist garrisons, but his delinquency is unproven and he was only sequestred as a recusant. (See Appendix 21, and also CCC., pp. 88, 1078, 2641).

Mildmay, second Earl of Westmorland, and Edward Onley of Catesby began the war as royalists, but changed sides in 1644 and 1643, respectively. (See Appendix 21 for Westmorland; B.M., Addit. MSS., 15,750, fo. 78; Firth and Rait, i, p. 49).

Henry, Lord Mordaunt, second Earl of Peterborough in 1643, began as a parliamentarian, but later changed sides (See Appendix 21); and Henry, third Lord Spencer, created Earl of Sunderland in 1643, started the war as parliamentarian Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire, but then changed sides. (Firth and Rait, i, p.1; CCC., p. 1291).

BEDFORDSHIRE

Appearance of families on the Commissions

	1542	1549	1558-9	1561	1573-4	1579	1583	1604	1608	1621-2	1625	Jan. 1626	1626	Oct. 1626	1636	1650	1657	1663
NOBLE FAMILIES IN 1642																		
Bruce, Earls of Elgin											/	/	/	/	/			/
Grey, Earls of Kent			/		/	/	2/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/		2/
Russell, Earls of Bedford			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/		/	2/
St.John, Earls of Bolingbroke	/	/	2/	/	/	2/	/	/	3/	3/	2/	2/	2/	2/	/			2/
Wentworth, Earls of Cleveland									/	/	/	/	/		/			2/
BARONET FAMILIES IN 1642																		
Alston of Odell																/	/	2/
Burgoyne of Sutton																		/
Fishe of Southill									/									
Gostwick of Wellington		/						/	2/									
Napier of Luton									/	/	/	/	/	/	2/			
KNIGHTLY FAMILIES IN 1642																		
Alston of Wymington																		
Ashton of Tingrith																		
Boteler of Biddenham						/		/		/	/				2/	/		/
Briers of Pulloxhill										/			/	/	/	/		
Cayson of Harrold																		
Bynnion of Eaton Socon																/	/	/
Charnock of Hulcot		/				/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/				
Conquest of Houghton C.										/	/	/	/	/				/
Crawley of Luton																		
Crayford of Ampthill																		
Brackin of Eaton Socon		/	/	/	/	/	/	/										
Dyve of Bromham																		
Fishe of Biggleswade	/	2/	/	/		/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/			/
Luke of Cople																		
Hewett of Ampthill																		

	1542	1549	1558-9	1561	1573-4	1579	1583	1604	1608	1621-2	1625	Jan. 1626	1626	Oct. 1626	1636	1650	1657	1663
KNIGHTLY FAMILIES IN 1642 con'd.																		
Osborne of Chicksands								/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/			/
Palmer of Warden															/			/
Rolt of Ravensden															/	/		
St. John of Sharnbrook																		
St. John of Tilbrook																		
St. John of Thurleigh																		
Saunders of Potsgrave										/			/	/	/			
Savage of Cardington																		
Thompson of Husborne Crawley					/		/											/
FAMILIES WHICH HAD HELD KNIGHTHOODS, 1558-1641																		
Astrey of Harlington			/		/	/	/			/	/	/	/	/			/	
Becher of Renhold										/								/
Blundell of Cardington										/	/	/	/	/				/
Anderson of Eyeworth								/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/			/
Cheyne of Sundon					•	•	•	/	/	/	/	/						
Crofts of Toddington								/	/	/								
Duncombe of Battlesden										/	/	/	/	/	/			/
Hillersdon of Elstow										/								
Rotherham of Luton		/	/		/	/	/	/	/									/
Rowe of Clapham						/												
Piggott of Luton	/	/	/	/	/	/		/										/
Snagge of Marston					/	/	/			/	/	/	/	/				/
Staunton of Woburn										/	/	/	/	/	/	/		
Tyringham of Farndish									/	/	/	/	/	/	/			
Ventris of Campton										/	/	/	/	/				/
Winche of Everton								/	/	/								/
OTHERS																		
Acworth of Luton		/		/												/		
Alleyne of Moggerhanger																/	/	
Anscell of Barford									/	/								/
Armiger																/		
Arnold																		/
Audley of Houghton C.																		

	1542	1549	1558 -9	1561	1573 -4	1579	1583	1604	1608	1621 -2	1625	Jan. 1626	1626	Oct. 1626	1636	1650	1657	1663
OTHERS cont'd.																/	/	
Barbor																	/	
Bedford					/	/	/											/
Barnardiston of Northill																		/
Booth	/	/																
Brockett			/															/
Browne of Arlesey	/	/																
Bryan of Woburn																		/
Carey			/	/	/													
Catelin of Newnham																/	/	
Cater of Kempston																		/
Chester of Tilsworth								/		/			/	/				
Clerke of Houghton C.	/	/	/	/														
Colbeck of Tempsford																		/
Cotton																	/	
Cokayne of Hatley																		/
Crompton										/								/
Daniel of Flitton	/	/																
Dycons								/										/
Dyer of Colmworth																/	/	
Edwards of Arlesey															/	/		
Eston of Biggleswade	/	/																
Farmer	/	/																
Fisher						/	/											/
Fitzhugh of Wilden								/	/									
Fortescue of Eyeworth																		/
Foster of Cardington								/	/									
Francklin of Thurleigh				/														
Fuller			/	/														/
Gascoigne of Cardington															/			
Gery of Bushmead																/		
Grew	/	/								/	/	/	/	/				
Harding																/	/	
Hasledon of Goldington								/	/							/	/	
Harvey of Thurleigh																		

OTHERS cont'd.	1542	1549	1558 -9	1561	1573 -4	1579	1583	1604	1608	1621 -2	1625	Jan. 1626	1626	Oct. 1626	1636	1650	1657	1663
Hatley						/												
Keyling of Southill																		/
Keynsham of Tempsford						/												
Lea								/	/									
Leigh			/	/						/								/
Lyon		/	/															
Mordaunt of Oakley								/	/									
Morgan	/	/																
Monoux of Wootton																		/
Neale of Yelden																/	/	/
Newdigate of Hawnes				/	/	/	/	/	/									
Norton of Sharpenhoe					/	/											/	
Okey																/		
Osborne of Northill																/	/	
Pecke	/	/																
Plomer of Warden									/	/								
Potts of Chalgrave								/	/	/								
Prior																		
Radcliffe of Elstow				/		/	/	/	2/								/	
Sandes					/	/	/	/										
Sayers																	/	
Smith																/		
Snowe	/	/																
Spencer of Cople						/	/			/	/							/
Squire of Eaton Socon																	/	/
Taylor of Clapham										/	/	/	/	/	/			/
Turnor of Milton Ernest																		/
Vaux of Whipsnade																		/
Wagstaffe																/	/	
Walker																/		
Whitbread of Cardington																/	/	
Wingate of Harlington								/							/	/	/	/

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Appearance of Families on the Commissions

	1545	1549	1558 -9	Dec. 1561	1573 -4	1579	1583	1584	1604	1608	1621 -2	1625	1626	Oct. 1626	1630	1636	1650	1657	1663
NOBLE FAMILIES IN 1642																			
Brudenell, Lords Brudenell	/	/	/	/	2/	2/	2/	2/	/	2/	/	2/	2/	2/	/	/			/
Cecil, Earls of Exeter						/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/			/
Cokayne, Viscounts Cullen											/	2/	/	2/		/			/
Compton, Earls of Northampton			/	/	/	/	/	2/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	2/	/	3/
Fane, Earls of Westmorland	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	2/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/			/
Fitzwilliams, Lords Fitzwilliam	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	2/	2/	2/	2/	/	/			/
Montagu, Lords Montagu					2/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/					/
Mordaunts, Earls of Peterborough																			
Spencer, Lords Spencer																			
Stanhope, Lords Stanhope																			
Vaux, Lords Vaux																			
BARONET FAMILIES IN 1642																			
Andrewes of Denton	/	/	/			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	2/	/	/
Browne of Walcot																			
Cave of Stanford																			
Dryden of Canons Ashby																			
Egerton of Farthinghoe																			
Enion of Flore			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	2/	2/	2/	/	/	/	/	/	/
Fermor of Easton Neston			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
Isham of Lamport																			
Nicholls of Faxton																			
Norwich of Brampton																			
Pickering of Tichmarsh																			
Shirley of Astwell																			
Tresham of Lyveden																			
Wake of Salcey	/	/	/		/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
Watson of Rockingham																			
Yelverton of Easton Maudit																			

	1545	1549	1558-9	Dec. 1561	1573-4	1579	1583	1584	1604	1608	1621-2	1625	1626	Oct. 1626	1630	1636	1650	1657	1663
KNIGHTLY FAMILIES OF 1642																			
Aprice of Tansor																			
Bannister of Passenham											/	/	/	/	/	/			
Chauncey of Edgcote	/	/	/			/	/	/	/	/			/						
Clerke of Watford						/	/	/								/			/
Compton of Grendon																			
Danvers of Culworth												/	/	/	/	/			
Griffin of Dingley	2/	2/	2/	2/			/	/	/	/									/
Haslewood of Maidwell	/	/											/						
Hatton of Kirby					/	/	/	/							/	/			2/
Heath of Collyweston																			/
Janson of Ashby Ledgers																			/
Fleetwood of Aldwinkle												/	/	/	/	2/		2/	/
Lambe of Rothwell											/	/	/	/	/	/			
Morgan of Heyford	/	/							/	/									/
Orme of Peterborough													/						/
Roe of Bulwick																			
St.John of Woodford												/	/	/	/	/	/	/	
Samwell of Upton									/	/	/	/	2/	/	/	/	/	2/	/
Washington of Thrapston																			
Watson of Stoke																			
Wilmer of Sywell											/	/	/	/	/	/			
Wingfield of Haselbeach	/	/	/						/	/	/		/			/			
FAMILIES WHICH HAD HELD KNIGHTHOODS, 1558-1641																			
Brooke of Oakley					/	/				/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	
Carey of Cottesbrook									/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/			
Claypole of Northborough																	/	/	
Crewe of Steane											/	/	/	/	/	/		2/	2/
Dove of Upton													/						/
Edmonds of Preston												/	2/		/	2/			/
Freeman of Higham Ferrers										/									
Gifford of Northampton																			
Hanbury of Kelmarsh													/				/		
Harvey of Weston Favell											/	/	/	/	/			/	/
Hampden of Rothwell											/	/	/	/					

	1545	1549	1558 -9	Dec. 1561	1573 -4	1579	1583	1584	1604	1608	1621 -2	1625	1626	Oct. 1626	1630	1636	1650	1657	1663
FAMILIES WHICH etc., cont'd.																			
Lane of Horton	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/		/		/	/	/		2/		/	/
Nedham of Lichborough									/	/									
Knightley of Fawsley			/	/	/	/	/	2/	2/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
Onley of Catesby					/	/			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/			/
Osborne of Kelmarsh					/	/			/	/	/	/	/	/					
Ouseley of Courtenhall																	/		
Pemberton of Rushden													/						/
Robinson of Cransley													/						2/
Saunders of East Haddon	/	/	2/	2/	2/					/	/		2/						
Stafford of Blatherwick			/		/														/
Tate of Delapre						/	/	/	/	/							/		/
OTHERS																			
Andrewes of Harlestone	/	/	/	/		/	/	/	/	/			/				/		
Audley		/																	
Baynes																		/	
Belcher of Guilsborough										/									
Berkeley																	/		
Bernard of Abington	/	/					/	/											/
Benson of Charwelton																	/	/	
Blake of Peterborough																		/	
Blencowe of Marston L.													/						
Bletsoe of Irchester																	/	/	
Boteler of Barnwell																		/	
Bourne of Ufford												/	/	/					
Braye						/	/												
Breton of Ravensthorpe													2/						
Brokesby	/	/																	
Buckby																			/
Burnaby of Watford										/	/								
Butler of Preston			/								/								
Buttne of Marston L.											/	/							
Carleton of Wollaston					/	/													
Cartwright of Aynho											/	/	/	/	/		/	/	/
Catesby of Whiston			/	/									/						/

	1545	1549	1558 -9	Dec. 1561	1573 -4	1579	1583	1584	1604	1608	1621 -2	1625	1626	Oct. 1626	1630	1636	1650	1657	1663
OTHERS cont'd.																			
Catelin of Raundes	/	/																	
Chauntrell of Heyford	/	/																	
Chetwood of Warkworth									/	/	/	/	/	/	/				
Conyers of Wakerley			/									/	/	/	/				
Cope of Canons Ashby	/	/						/											
Crane of Grafton													/	/	/				
Dale									/	/	/	/							
Dolben												/	/						
Downes of Pytchley															/		/		
Downhall of Geddington																/			/
Dudley of Clapton													/						/
Elmes of Lilford			/	/	/	/	/	/			/	/	2/	/	/	/	/		/
Ellis						/		/											
Farmer of Daventry																	/	/	
Gooday of Higham Ferrers											/	/	/	/	/	/		/	
Hacke of Peterborough													/						
Harby of Adstone																	/	/	
Haslerig of Alderton																	/		
Hensman																		/	
Holman of Warkworth																	/		/
Houghton									/	/									
Humphrey of Barton	/	/											/				/		
Jenyson of Irchester													/		/		/		
Jones of Courtenhall																			/
Kenwrick of Sutton													/						
Kinnesman of Loddington													/						/
Kirkham of Fineshade	/	/											/						
Kirton of Thorpe Mandeville							/	/					/						
Langham of Cottesbrook							/	/					/					/	2/
Lewis													/						
Lindley																			/
Lisle of Evenley									/	/									
Longueville of Cosgrave			/																
Lovett of Astwell			/	/	/	/	/	/	/				/				/		
Lynne of Southwick																			

	1545	1549	1558 -9	Dec. 1561	1573 -4	1579	1583	1584	1604	1608	1621 -2	1625	1626	Oct. 1626	1630	1636	1650	1657	1663
OTHERS cont'd.																			
Malory	/	/					/												
Marmion of Aynho			/				/												
Marshe			/														/	2/	
Maunsell of Thorpe Malsor			/	/	/	2/	/	2/	/	/			/				/		
Mildmay of Apethorpe													/				/		
Mole of Culworth													/				/		
Morrison													/						
Mountstephen of Paston	/	/	/	/			/	/	/	/									/
Mulshoe of Finedon	/												/				/	/	/
Newnham												/	/	/	/	/			2/
Naylor													/						/
Norton of Cotterstock													/						
Ogle of Potterspury													/						
Palmer of Carleton													/						
Pargiter of Gretworth			/	/									/				/		
Parr of Horton													/						
Pentlow of Wilby			/										/						
Quarles of Ufford													/						
Rainsford of Dallington													/						
Rand													/						
Sawyer of Kettering													/						
Shuckburgh of Naseby													/						
Tanfield of Gayton													/						
Thornton of Brockhall													/						
Throckmorton of Paulerspury			/	/					/	/	/	/		/					
Thursby of Abington													/						
Tryon of Bulwick													/						
Ward of Brafield													/						
Warner of Thorpe Lubbenham	/	/		/	/	/													
Watts of Blakesley													/						
Willoughby of Grendon													/						
Wiseman of Bozeat													/						
Wyrley of Dodford													/						
Zouche of Harringworth	/	/	/	/		/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/			
Tresham of Newton									/	/	/	/	/	/	/				

1. The source for obtaining Libri Pacis references is Barnes, T., and Smith, A.H., 'Justices of The Peace, 1558-1688': Revised List of Sources', B.I.H.R., xxxii.
The references for the Commissions analysed in the table of appearances are:

BEDFORDSHIRE
Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of Henry VIII, xvii, p.663, (1542); P.R.O., C.193/12/1, fo. 2-2v, (1549); B.M., Lansdowne MSS., 1,218, fo. 4, (1558-9); and fo. 5, (1561); B.M., Egerton MSS., 2,345, fo. 6, (1573-4); P.R.O., S.P.12/145, fo. 5-5v, (1579); B.M., Royal MSS., xviii, D.iii, fo. 41, (1583); B.M., Addit MSS., 38,139, fo. 108v, (1604); P.R.O., S.P.14/33, fo. 5, (1608); P.R.O., C.193/13/1, fo. 5, (1621-2); Rymer, T., Foedera, T. VIII, pt. III, p. 3ff., (1625); B.M., Harleian MSS, 1,622, fo. 1-2v., (Jan. 1626); P.R.O., C.193/12/2, fo. 1-1v, (1626); P.R.O., E.163/18/12, fo. 2-3, (Oct. 1626); P.R.O., S.P.16/405, fo. 46v-47v, (1636); B.M., Thomason Trects. E.1238/4, (1650); P.R.O., C.193/13/5, fo. 1-2v, (1657); P.R.O., C.193/12/3, fo. 1-1v, (1663).

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE
Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of Henry VIII, xx, pt.i, p.316, (1545); P.R.O., C.193/12/1, fo. 24-24v, (1549); B.M., Lansdowne MSS, 1,218, fo. 21v, (1558-9); and fo.72v-73v(Dec. 1561); B.M. Egerton MSS, 2,345, fo. 25, (1573-4); P.R.O., SP.12/145, fo. 28v-29, (1579); B.M., Royal MSS., xviii, D.iii, (1583); Gleason, J., The Justices of The Peace in England, 1558-1640, pp. 167-8, (1584); B.M., Addit. MS, 38,139, fo. 143v, (1604); Gleason, J., op.cit., pp. 170-1, (1608); P.R.O., C.193/13/1, fo. 68v-70v, (1621-2); Rymer, T., Foedera, T.VIII, pt. III, p. 12, (1625); Gleason, J., op.cit., pp. 172-4, (1626); P.R.O., E.163/18/12, fo. 55-57v, (Oct. 1626); Wake, J., (ed.), Quarter Sessions Records of the County of Northampton, 1630, 1657, 1658, Appendix, (1630); Gleason, J., op.cit., pp. 179-80, (1636); B.M., Thomason Tracts, E.1238/4, (1650); P.R.O., C.193/13/5, fo. 76-9, (1657); P.R.O., C.193/12/3, fo. 70v-73, (1663).

Gleason, J., op.cit., Appendix C., pp. 164-186, also reproduces the 1562 Commission of the Peace for Northamptonshire. Indeed, this county was one of those which he studied in depth as a basis for his book. On page 241, he also gives the 1609 Bedfordshire justices.

The Northamptonshire Commissions in this Appendix are for the whole county. But the Soke of Peterborough had its own Bench, as well. However, no attempt has been made to analyse this. For this, see N.R.O., Microfilm 196, Quarter Sessions for the Soke, 1623-32 (from Exeter MSS.)
In the lists, where a '2' appears above the tick, it means that two members of the family appear on the Commission.
Appendix 11 lists the nobility, baronets, and knights of the two counties in 1642.

APPENDIX 18

SCHOOLS IN BEDFORDSHIRE AND NORTHAMPTONSHIRE (1)

BEDFORDSHIRE

Aspley, before 1636 (Venn)
Bedford, c1160, and 1548-66 (Vincent, Orme)
Biggleswade, 1557 (Vincent)
Bushmead, projected 1332 (Orme)
Clapham, before 1636 (Vincent)
Clifton, before 1609 (Vincent)
Deane, before 1630 (Venn)
Dunstable, 1097-1244 (Orme)
Eaton Bray, before 1578 (B.R.O., A.B.C.3)
Eaton Socon, before 1569 (Vincent)
Everton, before 1636 (Venn)
Felmersham, before 1563 (Vincent)
Houghton Conquest, before 1632 (Vincent)
Houghton Regis, 1515 (Orme, and B.R.O., FAC. 18/5)
Knotting, before 1674 (Venn)
Leighton Buzzard, 1441 (Orme), before 1626 (Vincent)
Lidlington, 1624 (B.R.O., CRT.130/Lidlington 1.)
Luton, before 1591 (Vincent)
Oakley, before 1547 (Vincent)
Podington, before 1621 (B.R.O., OR 1,048)
Potton, before 1635 (Vincent)
Ravensden, before 1623 (Vincent)
Roxton, before 1660 (Venn)
Sandy, before 1605 (Vincent)
Sharpenhoe, Ed. VI (B.R.O., FAC. 18/5)
Shefford, before 1659 (Vincent)
Shillington, before 1657 (Vincent), before 1578 (Venn)
Southill, before 1599 (Vincent)
Stotfold, before 1599 (Vincent)
Sutton, before 1614 (Vincent)
Tempsford, projected 1517 (Orme)
Thurleigh, 1618 (Venn)
Toddington, before 1591 (Vincent)
Wilden, before 1580 (Vincent; B.R.O., FAC.18/5)
Woburn, before 1604 (Vincent); 1582 (B.R.O., CRT.130/Woburn 12)
Wymington, before 1640 (Vincent)

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Abthorpe, 1646 (Tracts), 1649 (Vincent)
Adstone, before 1641 (Vincent)
Aldwinkle, 1489-1546 (Orme)
Aynho, 1654 (N.R.O., C(A) 7,043)
Ashley, before 1639 (Vincent)
Barnack, before 1579 (Vincent), 1359 (Orme)
Barnwell, 1604 (Tracts)
Blakesley, 1646 (Tracts), 1669 (VCH.)
Blatherwick, 1620 (Tracts)
Blisworth, 1474 (Tracts), 1503 (Vincent), 1505 (Orme)
Brackley, 1100's (Carlisle), 1447 (Tracts)
Braybrooke, 1630 (Tracts)
Brigsrock, 1620 (Tracts), 1620 (N.R.O., R.O.P., 1,101)
Brington, 1522 (Orme)
Broughton, before 1635 (Venn)
Burton Latimer, 1587 (Stowe), 1587 (N.R.O., I.L. 3,801)
Bulwick, before 1661 (Venn)
Carleton, before 1659 (Vincent
Clipston, 1667 (V.C.H.)
Collyweston, before 1639 (Vincent)
Cottesbrook, before 1650 (Vincent)
Courtenhall, before 1593 (V.C.H.)
Daventry, 1576 (Vincent)
Everdon, before 1636 (Vincent)
Farthinghoe, 1443 (Orme)
Fawsley, 1528 (Orme)
Finedon, 1542-80 (Vincent, Stowe, Tracts)
Gretton, before 1654 (Vincent)
Guilsborough, 1668 (V.C.H.)
Hargrave, before 1661 (Venn)
Harrington, before 1641 (Vincent)
Little Harrowden, 1661 (V.C.H.)
Hellidon, 1618 (Tracts)
Higham Ferrers, 1372-1400 (Orme), 1422 (Vincent)
Hothorpe, before 1628 (Venn)
Kelmarsh, before 1569 (Vincent)
Kettering, before 1584 (Vincent)
Kingsthorpe, before 1654 (Vincent)
Moulton, 1560 (Stowe)
Naseby, before 1622 (Venn)
Northampton, 1176 (Orme), 1542 (Vincent)
Orlingbury, before 1634 (Venn)
Oundle, 1556 (Vincent, Jordan)
Peterborough, 1402, 1512-26 (Orme), 1541 (Vincent)
Plumpton, before 1630 (Vincent)
Preston Capes, 1635 (N.R.O., K. IV, 54), 1647 (Vincent, Tracts)
Pytchley, 1661 (V.C.H.)
Rothwell, 1581 (Carlisle, Vincent, Stowe)
Slapton, 1646 (Tracts)
Spratton, 1520 (Orme)
Stamford, 1532 (Register of Stamford School)
Strixton, before 1650 (Vincent)
Sywell, before 1618 (Vincent)
Tichmarsh, before 1625 (Vincent)
Towcester, 1448-51 (Orme, Carlisle, Tracts)
Weedon Beck, before 1574 (N.R.O., Archd.4, fo.19v)
Weekley, 1619 (Tracts)
Wellingborough, Ed. VI (Carlisle)

Fotheringhay, 1415 (Orme)
Geddington, before 1634 (Vincent)
Glinton, before 1632 (Vincent)
Grafton Underwood, before 1577 (N.R.O., Archdeaconry 5, fo. 123)
Grendon, before 1629 (Vincent)
Welton, before 1581 (N.R.O., X648/1, fo.43)

1. The date after the place refers to the date of foundation or to the first date at which mention of a school is made.
The sources are:
The chapters on schools by Leach, A., in V.C.H. Bedfordshire, i; V.C.H., Northamptonshire, ii; Stowe, A.M., English Grammar Schools in the Reign of Elizabeth, (new edition, 1969); Jordan, W., The Charities of London, 1480-1660; Orme, N., English Schools in the Middle Ages, pp. 295-321; Vincent, W., The State and School Education, 1640-60, in England and Wales, pp. 120-35; Carlisle, N., A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales, 2 vols.; Taylor, J., (ed.), Tracts Relating to Northamptonshire, 3rd series, list of endowed schools; Venn, J., (ed.), Alumni Cantabrigienses, pt. i, 4 vols.
These are abbreviated (V.C.H.); (Stowe); (Jordan); (Orme); (Vincent); (Carlisle); (Tracts); and (Venn) in the list.
Other references refer to documents in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire County Record Offices.
Venn, J., op.cit., mentions schools, occasionally, in the pen portraits of those who matriculated at Cambridge colleges. The reliability of this source is uncertain, but these references have been included.
These schools are plotted on Maps 20 and 21.

APPENDIX 19

DUNSTABIE AND WELLINGBOROUGH POPULATION GRAPHS FROM PARISH REGISTERS

FIGURE A - DUNSTABIE

FIGURE B - WELLINGBOROUGH

(Chapter 8 discusses the sources and furnishes the background)

Key to the figures

Baptisms

Burials

Decennial Average of Baptisms

Decennial Average of Burials

The vertical axis signifies the number of baptisms or burials.

The horizontal axis signifies the year of the register.

PAGE NUMBERING AS ORIGINAL

FIGURE A : DUNSTABLE

Baptisms

Burials

Decennial Average of Baptisms

Decennial Average of Burials

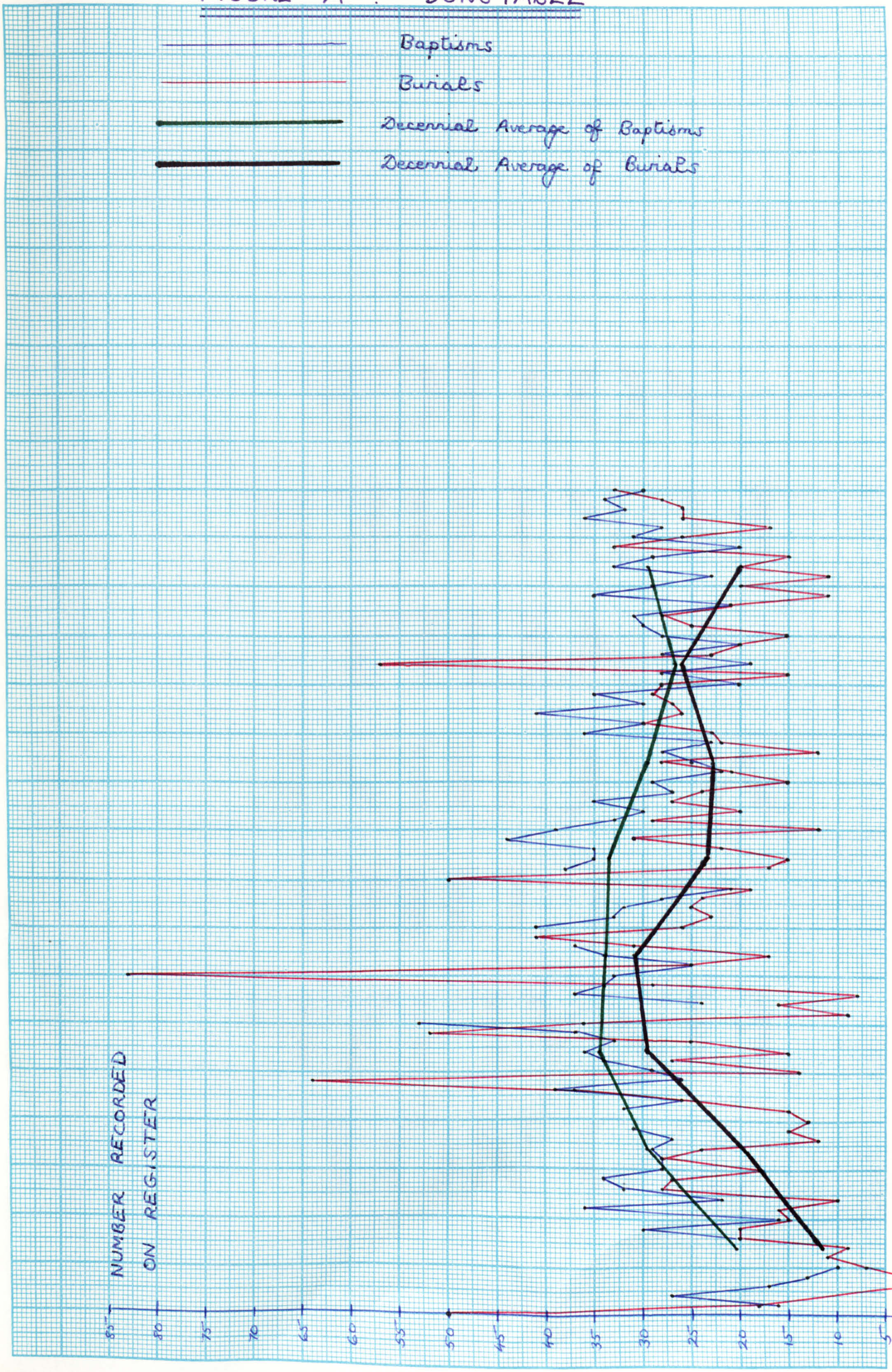
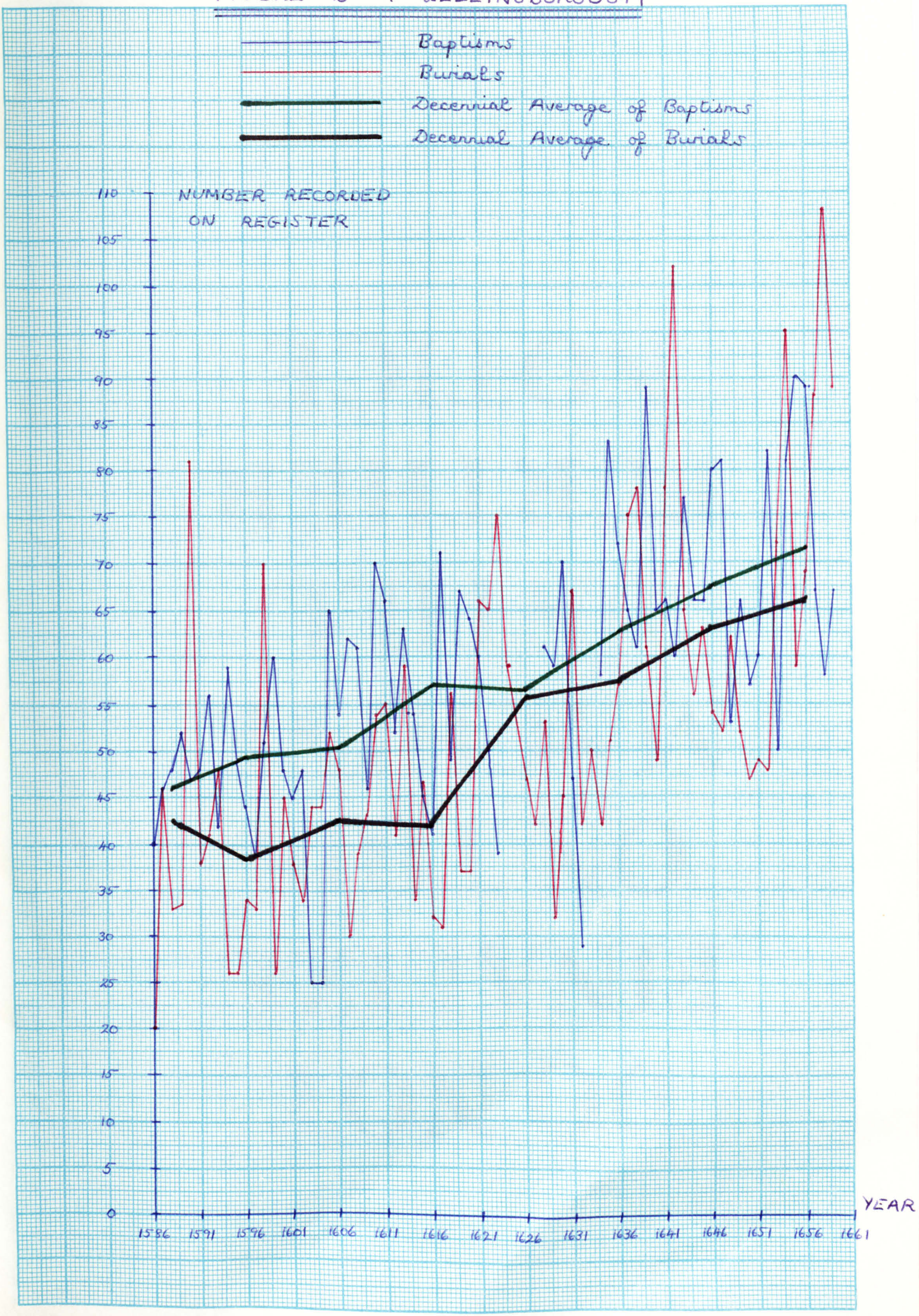


FIGURE B : WELLINGBOROUGH



A COMPARISON OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AMONG SETTLEMENTS WITH OVER FIVE HUNDRED INHABITANTS, 1524-1649 (1)

BEDFORDSHIRE (2)

1524/5			1544/6			1637			1641/2		
	AMOUNT PAID IN £	PENCE PER PERSON		AMOUNT PAID IN £	PENCE PER PERSON		AMOUNT PAID IN £	PENCE PER PERSON		AMOUNT PAID IN £	PENCE PER PERSON
Luton	63.2	18.79	Luton	54.65	8.97	Marston	47.15	20.6	Marston	35	15.3
Dunstable	27.6	10.47	Dunstable	15.3	6.98	Southill	48.85	20.4	Kempston	36	13.8
Woburn	5.95	6.26	Bedford	29.85	6.17	Kempston	51	19.6	Southill	32.65	13.6
Leighton	21.4	6.03	Potton	9.05	5.32	Luton	143.6	18.7	Woburn	36 }	10.6
Shillington	3.45	4.36	Biggleswade	12.5	4.61	Shillington	50.5	18.2	Luton	81 }	
Toddington	4.85	2.99	Cardington	9	4.1	Cardington	48.35	17.6	Eaton Socon	46.9	10.1
			Eaton Socon	18.15	3.47	Leighton	123.45	15.8	Toddington	30	9.9
			Northill	6	2.56	Bedford	120	15.2	Cranfield	28.5	9.3
			Blunham	5	2.02	Blunham	33	14.0	Blunham	20.95	9.2
			Woburn	1.95	2.01	Woburn	38.5	12.9	Shillington	24.55	8.9
						Eaton Socon	59.5	12.6	Leighton	69.75	8.8
						Cranfield	35.3	12.2	Bedford	62.4	7.9
						Sandy	27	11.3	Cardington	19.05	6.9
						Toddington	31.7	10.5	Biggleswade	17.45	6.0
						Campton/Shefford	20.7	9.3	Ampthill	11.5	5.3
						Ampthill	19	8.8	Compton/Shefford	11.6	5.2
						Biggleswade	20.65	7.1	Sandy	12.15	5.0
						Maulden	17.5	6.8	Maulden	12.5	4.9
						Potton	22.1	6.6	Dunstable	10	2.7
						Dunstable	20.4	5.5			

1524/5	AMOUNT PAID IN £	PENCE PER PERSON
Sutton	28.4	13.4
Raundes	26	10.87
Peterborough	44.35	10.06
Brigstock	20.1	8.9
Kettering	27.2	8.8
Oundle	36.05	8.6
Northampton	91.2	8.2
Towcester	23.6	6.8
Wellingborough	30.2	6.79
Brackley	13.3	6.1
Castor	10.9	5.65
Irthling-borough	13	5.5
Higham Ferrers	11.25	4.07
Rothwell	9.5	3.81

1641/2	AMOUNT PAID IN £	PENCE PER PERSON
Aldwinkle	35.8	16.8
Rushden	23.45	7.8
Tichmarsh	14.15	6.3
Wollaston	14.75	5.7
Raundes	17.75	5.6
Finedon	12.8	5.4
Passenham	12	5.1
Northampton	66	4.5
Crick	9.6	4.3
Irthlingborough	12.75	4.2
Brixworth	10.8	4.1
Burton Latimer	8.65	
Higham Ferrers	12	3.8
Long Buckby	10	
Oundle	23.4	
Benefield	10.4	3.6
Blakesley	7.6	
Sutton	8.4	3.5
Cottingham	8.8	3.4
Potterspury	10.4	
Gretton	9.6	3.2
Earls Barton	7.6	2.9
Weedon Beck	6.4	
Middleton Cheney	6.8	2.7
Daventry	12.8	2.4
Rothwell	10.85	
Brackley	8.65	2.3
Kettering	13.05	2.2
Towcester	6.8	
Wellingborough	19.15	2.1
Byfield	4.4	2.0
Paulerspury	4.8	
Geddington	3.75	1.7
Weldon	5.15	1.6
Wilbarston	3.6	

1644	AMOUNT PAID IN SHILLINGS AND PENCE	PENCE PER PERSON
Castor	15/9	0.249
Blakesley	9/8	0.229
Tichmarsh	8/6	0.191
Brackley	14/0	0.184
Paulerspury	8/2	0.173
Passenham	8/-	0.171
Wollaston	8/2	0.158
Long Buckby	8/4	0.157
Sutton	7/4	0.151
Benefield	8/6	0.145
Northampton	42/-	
Weedon Beck	6/-	0.139
Finedon	6/6	0.138
Brigstock	10/4	0.135
Raundes	8/4	0.131
Earls Barton	6/8	0.128
Rushden	7/4	0.123
Middleton Cheney	6/2	
Irthlingborough	7/2	0.119
Oundle	16/-	
Potterspury	7/2	0.118
Burton Latimer	4/8	0.110
Brixworth	5/6	0.105
Cottingham	5/4	
Gretton	6/-	0.101
Peterborough	24/9	0.098
Byfield	4/4	0.097
Aldwinkle	4/-	0.094
Daventry	9/8	0.091
Wilbarston	3/10	0.086
Higham Ferrers	5/4	0.084
King's Cliffe	6/4	
Paston	4/6	0.083
Moulton	4/4	0.080
Wellingborough	14/6	

1649 East Division only	AMOUNT PAID IN £	PENCE PER PERSON
Brigstock	58.7	15.3
Finedon	24.25	10.3
Irthlingborough	28.95	9.6
Gretton	26.65	9.0
Cottingham	22.5	8.9
Aldwinkle	18.35	8.6
Burton Latimer	17.9	8.0
Benefield	22.85	7.8
Wilbarston	16.05	7.2
Tichmarsh	15.45	6.9
Wollaston	17.8	6.9
Corby	14.15	6.6
Oundle	42.45	6.3
Brixworth	15.75	6.0
Weldon	19.35	6.0
Raundes	17.7	5.6
Rushden	16.65	5.6
Rothwell	28.05	4.3
King's Cliffe	15.75	4.2
Geddington	13.7	4.0
Higham Ferrers	12.4	3.9
Earls Barton	9.55	3.7
Kettering	21.7	3.6
Wellingborough	19.3	2.1

Northamptonshire cont'd.

Brigstock	5.25	1.4	Corby	3/4	0.078
Moulton	3.2	1.2	Geddington	3/4	0.075
Corby	2.4	1.1	Rothwell	6/6	0.071
			Towcester	7/4	0.067
			Weldon	4/-	0.062
			Kettering	5/8	0.047
			Syresham	2/2	0.046

1. This Appendix is mainly related to Chapter 8, and it is an attempt to place Dunstable and Wellingborough within the context of relative distribution of wealth among the populous settlements of Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire. Buckatzsch, J., 'The Geographical Distribution of Wealth in England, 1086-1843', Ec. H.R., 2nd s., iii, 1950, pioneered the study of distribution of wealth by dividing various tax assessments into acreage of counties. Schofield, R., 'The Geographical Distribution of Wealth in England, 1334-1649', Ec.H.R., 2nd s. xviii, 1965, although disagreeing with some of the tax assessments which Buckatzsch used, confirms the validity of the methodology. However, this method is appropriate for a larger area like a hundred or a county (see Section 3 of Chapter 2 for use of this method), but it is inappropriate for a concentrated urban settlement because the ratio will reflect the size of the settlement, rather than its relative wealth.
Therefore, I have adopted my own formula of relating tax assessments to estimated population figures on a pence per person basis. I have not found any other source which uses this method, but it seems a more appropriate means of analysis. The Appendix shows that the richest towns, according to pence per person, were not necessarily those with the highest population. As an illustration of the method, Luton was assessed at £63.2 in 1524/5, and it had an estimated population of 1,343 in 1524/5 (See Appendix 3). Therefore, the town was assessed at 18.79 pence per person.
However, there are some uncertainties in this method. I have no population estimates to correspond to the taxes of the 1630's and 1640's, and, therefore, I have used those estimates from the Hearth Taxes of 1670 and 1671 as the population figures for these taxes. Also, Dr. Schofield, op.cit., criticised the use of the 1641/2 Subsidy for distribution of wealth calculations because post-1544/6 subsidies are notoriously inaccurate indicators of wealth. Nevertheless, I believe this subsidy does highlight relative distribution of wealth among the towns, even if the actual assessments are unreliable. The same criteria and bases of rating were used throughout the two counties. Despite these uncertainties, I think that some attempt to establish relative wealth on these lines is worthwhile.
Appendix 5 lists those parishes which contained more than five hundred inhabitants at various dates.
2. The 1524/5 Subsidy is very fragmentary for Bedfordshire (see Appendix 3, note 2), and P.R.O., E.179/237/9, (catalogued under Cambridgeshire in the List and Index Society catalogues of Lay Subsidy Rolls), is the only source which gives the assessment of any towns, and this only covers Flitt and Manshead hundreds. The population estimates of 1524/5 are in Appendix 3, and also in Appendix 5.
The 1544/6 Subsidy is more complete, and ratings are given for every town with over 500 inhabitants, except Leighton Buzzard. P.R.O., E.179/71/133, 139, 146. Population estimates for 1544/6 are in Appendix 3, but they are also listed in Appendix 5.
The 1637 assessments are from the Ship Money levy of that year, and they are printed in Emmison, F.G., (ed.), The Ship Money Papers of Henry Chester and Sir William Boteler, 1637-9, B.H.R.S., xviii. Population estimates used are those from the 1671 Hearth Tax (see Appendix 3, and also Appendix 5.)
The 1641/2 assessments are taken from the Subsidy payment of that year P.R.O., E.179/72/282, 284 and 287. The assessment for Potton is illegible. Population estimates used are also those of 1671.
Unfortunately, the military tax of 1649 (P.R.O., E.179/72/293), which Dr. Schofield (op.cit.) says is more reliable than the 1641/2 subsidy, does not give the individual assessments for the parishes of Manshead hundred, of which Dunstable is one, and so it cannot be used.
3. The assessments for the Northamptonshire 1524/5 Subsidy are taken from P.R.O., E.179/155/122-5, 128,130,132-3,136,145-6,154,159,160; and Sheail, J., 'The Distribution of Regional Wealth in England as indicated in the Lay Subsidy Returns, 1524/5', University of London, Ph.D., 1968, Volume 2, Gazeteer.

See note 2 of Appendix 3 for discussion of these sources. The population estimates for 1524/5 are taken from Appendix 3, but they are also in Appendix 5.
The 1641/2 assessments are from a payment of the Subsidy, P.R.O., E.179/157/421,422,443; but Nassaburgh and Willybrook hundreds are not covered. Therefore, Castor, King's Cliffe, Paston, Peterborough and Stamford Baron are missing from the list. The population estimates used are those from the 1670 Hearth Tax, and are given in Appendices 3 and 5.
The 1644 assessments are from a military tax, P.R.O., E.179/157/424,429, and are in shillings and pence, rather than pounds, because it was a weekly tax. There are no amounts given for Crick and Stamford Baron. Population estimates from the 1670 Hearth Tax have been used.
The 1649 assessments cover the Eastern Division, only, with the exception of Nassaburgh hundred. So, Castor, Peterborough and Stamford Baron are missing. N.R.O., Maunsell MSS., M(TM)481/13-14. Population estimates are taken from the 1670 Hearth Tax. Dr. Schofield (op.cit.), says that the 1649 Tax is particularly reliable as a guide to distribution of wealth.

APPENDIX 21

CASE STUDIES: BRIEF ACCOUNTS OF THE ORIGINS, POLITICS AND FINANCES OF SOME OF THE LEADING GENTRY FAMILIES OF 1642

This Appendix is intended to be a complement to the analysis of the gentry in chapter four. It provides more detail about the peers, baronets and some of the other leading gentry of 1642, together with a bibliography of references about each family.

The families examined in the Appendix are:

BEDFORDSHIRE

Bruce of Ampthill
Grey of Silsoe
Russell of Woburn
St. John of Bletsoe
Wentworth of Toddington
Braye of Eaton Bray
Cheney of Toddington
Alston of Odell
Burgoyne of Sutton
Fishe of Southill
Gostwick of Willington
Napier of Luton
Blundell of Cardington
Boteler of Biddenham
Charnock of Holcot
Duncombe of Battlesden
Gery of Bushmead
Luke of Cople
Osborne of Chicksands

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Cecil of Burghley
Cokayne of Rushton
Compton of Castle Ashby
Fane of Apethorpe
Montagu of Boughton
Mordaunt of Lowick
Stanhope of Harrington
Vaux of Harrowden
Zouche of Harringworth
Andrews of Denton
Browne of Walcot
Cave of Stanford
Dryden of Canons Ashby
Egerton of Farthinghoe
Enion of Flore
Fermor of Easton Neston
Isham of Lamport
Nicholls of Faxton
Norwich of Brampton
Pickering of Tichmarsh
Shirley of Astwell
Tresham of Lyveden
Wake of Salcey
Watson of Rockingham
Yelverton of Easton Maudit
Bernard of Abington
Breton of Ravensthorpe
Cartwright of Aynho
Catesby of Ashby St. Ledgers
Cope of Canons Ashby
Crewe of Steane
Griffin of Dingley
Hatton of Kirby
Palmer of Carleton
Stafford of Blatherwick

Key to Abbreviations used in the Appendix

Baker	:	Baker, G., The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton, 2 vols., (1822-41)
Bridges	:	Bridges, J., The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire compiled from the manuscript collections of John Bridges by the reverend Peter Whalley, 2 vols., (1791)
Burke	:	Burke, J., A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland, i, Appendix, pp. 688-94.
C.A.M.	:	Green, M., (ed.), Calendar of the Committee for Advance of Money, 1642-56, 3 pts., (1888)
C.C.C.	:	Green, M., (ed.), Calendar of the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents, 1643-60, 5 pts., (1889-93)
Clarendon	:	Clarendon, E., Earl of, History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, 6 vols., Oxford, (ed. W.I. Macray) (1888 edition)
Complete Baronetage	:	Cokayne, G.E., The Complete Baronetage, 6 vols.
Complete Peerage	:	Cokayne, G.E., The Complete Peerage, 13 vols.
Firth and Rait	:	Firth, C.H., and Rait, R.S., (ed.), Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-60, 3 vols., (1972 reprint)
Gleason	:	Gleason, J.H., The Justices of the Peace in England, 1558-1640.
Habakkuk	:	Habakkuk, H.J., 'Landowners and the Civil War', Ec.H.R., 2nd s., xviii, (1965)
Habakkuk (2)	:	Habakkuk, H.J., 'English Landownership, 1680-1740', Ec.H.R., x, (1939-40)
Hallinan, Thesis	:	Hallinan, T., 'The Changing Composition of the Class of Larger Landowners in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire between the Reformation and the Civil War', University of Oxford, D. Phil., 1956.
Keeler	:	Keeler, M., The Long Parliament, 1640-1.
N.R.A.	:	National Register of Archives.
Sainty	:	Sainty, J., Lords Lieutenant of Counties, 1558-1642, B.I.H.R., Supplement.
Sheils, Thesis	:	Sheils, W.J., 'Puritans in Church and Politics in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1570-1610', University of London, Ph. D., 1974.
Stone	:	Stone, L., The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641.
Thurloe	:	Birch, T., (ed.), A Collection of The State Papers of John Thurloe, 7 vols., (1742).
Trevor-Roper	:	Trevor-Roper, H., 'The Gentry, 1540-1640', Ec.H.R., Supplement 1, (1953)
Underdown	:	Underdown, D., Pride's Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution.

Other abbreviations used are referred to in the list of abbreviations at the beginning of the thesis.

Appendix 10 gives the size of the houses of most of these families in the 1660's and early 1670's.

The Botelers of Sharnbrook, Bedfordshire, baronets, had moved to Kent in the 1620's and were no longer resident in Bedfordshire in 1642. (Hasted, E., The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent, ii, pp. 290-2; Cokayne, G.E., Complete Baronetage, ii, p. 96).

BEDFORDSHIRE

Noble families in 1642 (see Appendix 11 for dates of titles)

Bruce of Ampthill, Earls of Elgin

The Bruces were a Scottish family which rose to prominence in the service of James I. Edward, 1st Lord (d.1611), was Master of the Rolls in the early years of the reign. Thomas, 3rd Lordand 1st Earl of Elgin, was granted the Stewardship of the Honour of Ampthill in 1613, and took up residence at Houghton House, Ampthill, in the 1620's. Ampthill manor was acquired in 1630, and an estate at Maulden between 1633 and 1635; but ownership of Bedfordshire property appears to have remained limited. Stone estimated their income at between £1,100 and £2,199 in 1641, which placed them among the lesser peers. Habbakuk says that Robert, 2nd Earl of Elgin and 1st Earl of Ailesbury (d.1685), was one of the heavily indebted royalists; but between 1655 and 1656 he purchased two Clophill manors for £9,360.(1)

Thomas, 1st Earl, seems to have been a parliamentarian; but Robert, 2nd Earl, was a supporter of the Sealed Knot in 1659 and was supposed to be a leader of the Bedfordshire royalist rising of that year, which did not materialise. The Earldom of Ailesbury in 1664 was a recognition of his services to the Restoration.(2)

1. Complete Peerage, i, pp. 58-9; ii, pp. 350-4; v, pp.41-6; Stone, p. 761; Habbakuk, p. 149; B.R.O., Lucas MSS., L.4/38, 4/53.
2. Firth and Rait, i, p. 1234: Thomas, Lord Bruce, was Commissioner for the Militia in Dec. 1648, and this is probably the Earl of Elgin, who was styled Lord Bruce of Whorlton (1641). His son, Lord Bruce of Kinloss, was called Robert. Underdown, D., Royalist Conspiracy in England, pp. 259, 266, 273n, 298, 300. Thurloe, vii, p. 763, B.M., Stowe MSS., 189, fo. 66; Ailesbury, 2nd Earl, Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury, 2 vols. For other information, see H.M.C., Sixth Report, p. 40; L.J., v., p. 433.

Grey of Silsoe, Earls of Kent

They were the most senior noble family in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire in 1642, and were the only one whose peerage dated from before 1500. In 1480, they were the richest Bedfordshire family, with a total of 33 manors; but Richard, 3rd Earl (d.1523), was a profligate gambler and probably mentally unstable, and Henry VII took control of Ruthin lordship, partly as security for debt, but mainly to prevent Richard from alienating his whole estate. His heir, Sir Henry (d.1562), refused the title because of insolvency, and his son, Reynold (d.1573), reassumed the title as 4th Earl in 1572. The family never recovered and remained among the lesser peerage until the 1650's, although they were Lords Lieutenant of Bedfordshire almost continuously between the 1580's and 1639. Their annual income had fallen from nearly £1,500 in 1468 to about £500 in 1639. Rather than heavy sales, the Greys leased out most of their

estates, and rents were doubled or trebled in 1628; but they did not change to rack-rents or shorten the terms of leases until 1656. They were also keen enclosers, and provoked serious riots at Blunham in 1581 and 1604.(1)

The second marriage of Henry, 9th Earl (d.1651), to Amabel, daughter and heiress of Sir Anthony Benn, Recorder of London, and widow of two gentlemen, dramatically restored the family fortunes. She purchased a Clophill manor in 1654 and Higham Gobion in 1657 for £12,700 and £8,550, respectively, and Anthony, 10th Earl (d.1702), married the heiress of Lord Lucas of Shenfield. His heir, Henry, 1st Duke (d.1740), inherited the barony of Lucas of Crudwell through his mother, and he married a coheir of the second Lord Crewe, who had a portion of £20,000. These marriages were the basis of Grey renaissance after 1650, which was crowned with the Dukedom of 1710.(2)

The family were fierce puritans between 1570 and 1650, and Henry 9th Earl was a parliamentarian and supporter of the Army in 1647.(3)

1. Hallinan, Thesis, p.47; B.R.O., Orlebar MSS., OR 1064, fo. 9-10; Lucas MSS., L24/453 and 548 (as late as 1604, Ruthin had not been returned to them); L.24/16; L.31/169; Jack, R., The Grey of Ruthin Valor, 1467-8, B.H.R.S., xlvi, esp. p.33; Complete Peerage, vii, pp. 164-179; and vi, pp. 151-162; Stone, p.761; Keeler, p.195; Sainty, J.C., Lords Lieutenants of Counties, 1558-1642, B.I.H.R., Supplement B.R.O., L.15/34, L.5/1091, L.7/1-2, 40-9; L.1/15-50; L.1/14; L.26/162-5; B.R.O., HA13/1-5, C.1256. Stone, p.321; Godber, J., Some Documents Relating to Riots, B.H.R.S., xlix, pp. 148, 151-2.
2. B.R.O., L.21/2,8,11-15, 41; L.4/16-17; L.9/43-5, 14-15, 20, 46-7; L.4/357; L.5/388-90; L.32/9.
3. Stone, p. 729. Anthony, 8th Earl (1639-43), was an 82 year old clergyman in 1642 and was neutral; but Henry, 9th Earl, was Commissioner of the Great Seal for Parliament, 1643-6, and Speaker of the House of Lords, 1646-7. I have called Henry, 9th Earl, because I have left Sir Henry (d.1562) out of the list of earls, although the Complete Peerage includes him, and calls Henry, 10th Earl. The Lucas MSS., the family papers, are the largest collection in the Bedfordshire Record office.

Russell of Woburn, Earls of Bedford

Bedfordshire only became the main residence of the Russells in the 1620's, and before this, their main concern was their Devon estates or their house at Chenies, Buckinghamshire. Their fortunes were founded by John, 1st Earl (d.1555), Lord Privy Seal 1542-1555, and recipient of vast tracts of ex-monastic land. In 1559, Francis, 2nd Earl (d.1585), had a gross landed income of £2-3,000, and he was Governor of Berwick in 1564 and Lord President of Wales in 1576. But he died indebt, and his grandson Edward, 3rd Earl (d.1627) was fined £10,000 for his participation in the Essex Revolt, and he sold property worth £6,000 between 1591 and 1602. His gross rental in 1602 was £3,600-£5,399, in 1607 he was negotiating the sale of Melchbourne, and would have sold more had not his heir apparent, Francis, prevented him. Even in 1641, the 4th Earl (d.1641) had debts of £14,000 and had sold land worth £9,000; but his development of the Covent Garden estate and investment in fen drainage laid the foundation of later

prosperity. Landed income was £8,500 p/a in 1641, and by 1660 debts had been paid, income from Covent Garden substantially increased , and the territorial benefits of fendrainage were realised. A Dukedom followed in 1694, and by 1800 one authority believed that the family were the largest landowners in England with £63,000 p/a income.(1)

They were puritans in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the first Earl was a Marian exile. Francis, 4th Earl, was the leading Opposition peer of 1640 and close ally of Pym; but William, 5th Earl and 1st Duke, pursued a chequered Civil War career. He began as Master-General of the Parliamentary Horse, but defected to the King in 1643 and was sequestred. He was with the parliamentarians in 1644.(2)

The Russells were eclipsed by the financial burden of office between 1585 and 1650, but they regained their former fortunes by entrepreneurial adventure and shrewd estate management after 1660.

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1. Thomson, G.S., Two Centuries of Family History, and Life in a Noble Household, 1641-1701, esp. pp. 17-81. Complete Peerage, iii, pp. 73-83; D.N.B., xvii, p. 432 ff; Stone, pp. 484, 779-9, 355-6, 361, 377, 760-1. Trevor-Roper, H.H., 'The Gentry, 1540-1640', Ec.H.R., Supplement, p. 54; Keeler, p. 330; P.R.O., S.P.12/195/48 (1586 Valor); B.R.O., C.R.T., 130/ Melchbourne 2/24-5. Olsen, D., Town Planning in London, pp. 39-40; Survey of London, xxxvi (St.Paul's, Covent Garden), esp. p.33; Catalogue of Bedford Estate Records at Greater London Record Office, p. vii; P.R.O., E.214/211, and Reports of Deputy Keeper of Public Records, xlviii, p. 484. Darby, H., The Draining of the Fens; B.R.O., R.4-5 (Catalogues); The Lock Gate, i, p. 119; B.R.O., Bagshawe MSS., X.171/1,4,15. The 1800 authority is O. St.John Cooper (B.M. Addit. MSS., 34,374 fo.2v). In 1671, they possessed the largest house in either Bedfordshire or Northamptonshire (See Appendix 10).
2. Stone, pp. 734, 743; Neale, D., History of the Puritans, ii, p.315; Garret, C., The Marian Exiles, p. 112; Toon, P., Correspondence of John Owen, p.130; Clarendon, i, pp. 182, 210, 233, 254; Manning, B., 'The Aristocracy and the Outbreak of Civil War, in Manning, B., (ed.), Politics, Religion and the English Civil War; Howell, T., (ed.), State Trials, iii, pp.387-99, and B.M., Stowe MSS., 159, fo. 16v-25v (for 1630's sedition trial of 4th Earl). L.J., v, p.211; vi, pp. 356, 361, 529, 634; Abbott, W., (ed.), The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, i, p.233; Thurloe, v, p. 99; C.C.C., p.846 (for rest of family).

St. John of Bletsoe, Earls of Bolingbroke

The St. Johns acquired Bletsoe in 1415 by marriage with the Beauchamp heiress, and the family fortunes were founded by a series of marriages, and by the offices of Oliver, 1st Lord (d.1582), Lieutenant for the defence of the Kingdom in 1569. In 1559 he had a gross rental of £500-1,000; but John, 2nd Lord (d.1596), was one of the most profligate peers of the age. Gross rental rose to £900-1,799 by 1601, and to between £2,200-4,399 by 1641; but land sales had begun in the 1590's, and vast debts had been accumulated by the eve of the Civil War. At least eight manors were sold between 1593 and 1622, and Oliver, 1st Earl (d.1646), sold property worth £26,089/8/6 between November 1639 and December 1640 to help pay debts totalling £34,089. Financial difficulties

remained until the eighteenth century: Yelden was mortgaged for £12,600 in 1701, and a £7,000 bond was taken out in 1705. But despite decline, they remained the largest landowners in north Bedfordshire. Their most important local offices were in Huntingdonshire; the family were prominent puritans; and the first Earl and Oliver, 5th Lord (killed at Edgehill), were fierce parliamentarians.(1)

1. Complete Peerage, ii, pp. 203-5; xi, pp. 333-40; D.N.B., xvii, pp. 639-40; Stone, pp. 171-2, 760-1, 777,779; B.R.O., Lucas MSS., L.4/32; Pym MSS., P.M. 1,171-2; St.John MSS., J.40, 191-2; Huntingdonshire Record Office, Manchester MSS., dd. M.48/4. Clarendon, ii, pp. 369, 371; H.M.C., Fourth Report, p.84; and Habakkuk, p. 141 (for debts). Sainty; Underdown, p. 391.

Wentworth of Toddington, Earls of Cleveland

Thomas Wentworth, 4th Lord of Nettlestead, Suffolk, and later 1st Earl (d.1667), was heir, by marriage, of the Lords Cheney of Toddington, which came to him in 1614. The family fortunes were founded by Thomas, 1st Lord (d.1551) Lord Chamberlain, and their gross rental was £500-1,000 in 1559; £900-1,799 in 1601; and between £1,100 and £2,199 in 1641, and they were among the lesser peerage. By 1640, their debts totalled more than £60,000, and the 1st Earl was forced to sell his rich London manors of Hackney and Stepney; which were worth at least £1,000 p/a. By this time, his borrowings were estimated at over £112,000, and they are a classic example of a declining family. In 1667, the 1st Earl died without issue, and the line was extinct with the death of his widow. The 1st Earl was a royalist Brigade Commander, and his son, Thomas (d.1665), was Goring's Master of the Field in 1645, and a General of the Horse in 1646.(1)

1. Complete Peerage, xii, pt. 2, pp. 497-510; Stone, pp. 361-2, 760-1, 779; Thirsk, J., 'The Sales of Royalist Land during the Interregnum', Ec.H.R., 2nd s., V; L.J., iv, pp. 227-9; H.M.C., 5th Report, p. 66; 4th Report, p.30; 7th Report, p.112; Blundell, J., Toddington, its annals and people; B.M., Addit MS., 5,491, fo. 94v.

Noble families which became extinct before 1642

Braye of Eaton Bray, Lords Braye

They had been in Bedfordshire since the thirteenth century, but the family fortunes were founded by Sir Richard, Privy Councillor to Henry VI, and by his son, Sir Reginald (d.1503), Chief financial adviser to Henry VII. His nephew and heir was Edmund, 1st Lord (d.1539), and John, 2nd Lord, was a protestant soldier who was killed at St.Quentin in 1557, when the title fell into abeyance. His nephew and heir male, Sir Edward, inherited most of the estate, which amounted to twenty three Bedfordshire manors in 1530, but it is clear that financial decay set in, due in part to the existence of six co-heiresses of the 2nd Lord. At least thirteen manors were sold between 1547

and 1580. Economic ruin preceded demographic extinction in the 1580's.(1)

1. Complete Peerage, ii, pp. 287-9; D.N.B., ii, p. 1145; A.P.C., iv, p.416; v, p. 285; Hallinan, Thesis, pp. 105-6; V.C.H., Bedfordshire, topographical sections; see Richardson, W.C., Tudor Chamber Administration, 1485-1547, esp. pp. 451-8.

Cheney of Toddington, Lord Cheney

In 1529, Sir Thomas Cheney of Kent, nephew and heir of John, Lord Cheney of Shurland (d.1499), succeeded to Toddington through his second marriage with a Broughton heiress. He was a favourite of Wolsey and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and died in 1559. His son, Sir Henry, 1st Lord of Toddington (1572), was a spendthrift gambler. His rebuilding of Toddington and lavish hospitality for the Queen in 1563 and 1576 further increased his difficulties, and by the time of his death without issue in 1587, economic ruin was imminent.(1)

1. Complete Peerage, iii, pp. 192-3; Blundell, J., Toddington, its annals and people, esp. p.49; Rulton, W.L., 'Cheney of Shurland, Kent, and of Toddington, Bedfordshire', Archaeologia Cantiana, xxiv, pp.122-7, (1900); Cave-Browne, J., 'Shurland House', Archaeologia Cantiana, xxiii, pp.86-93, (1898).

Families which held baronetcies in 1642 (see Appendix 11 for dates of baronetcies)

Alston of Odell

William Alston (d.1637) purchased the Bedfordshire property of the Chetwoods in 1632, which consisted of about seven manors. Odell was one of them, and the family moved here from Suffolk. Stevington was purchased in 1636, and Hinwick Hall in 1637 for £3,900; but despite this rise they were not among the greater gentry in income. They were assessed at only £600 by the Committee for Advance of Money, and their house had fourteen hearths in 1671. Law was the source of their rise, because William held a reversionary interest in the office of keeper of the Briefs in Common Pleas and King's Bench, and his brother and heir, Sir Thomas, 1st baronet (d.1678), was a barrister. Sir Thomas was a parliamentarian, but opposed the Commonwealth, and supported restoration of the monarchy by the mid-1650's.(1)

1. V.C.H., Bedfordshire, topographical sections; B.R.O., Orlebar MSS., OR. 333; B.R.O., G.A., 1,652; Complete Baronetage, ii, p. 182; I am grateful to Professor Aylmer for the point about reversionary interest. B.M., Addit MSS., 34,365, fo. 16v; Appendix 10 lists size of gentry houses; CAM., ii, 6; Firth and Rait, i, p. 543; Thurloe, i, p. 750; C.C.C., ii, p. 1263, (for royalism of Sir Thomas' brother, Sir Edward).

Burgoyne of Sutton

This family had been in the Cambridgeshire-Bedfordshire region since the early thirteenth century; but the family fortunes were founded by Robert, an official of Augmentations and Commissioner for the Suppression of Lesser Monasteries, and Thomas, Auditor of The Duchy of Lancaster, 1509-40; and by

sheep farming. Evidence of their financial situation is scarce; but three Dunton manors were sold in the 1590's, and their Sandy manor was alienated in 1635. Their income was over £1,000 p/a in 1642, and they were among the greater gentry. Sir John, 1st baronet (d.1657), was M.P. for Warwickshire between 1645 and 1648, and his son Sir Roger, (d.1677), was M.P. for Bedfordshire, 1641-8, and for Warwickshire, 1656-8. Both were secluded at Pride's Purge.(1)

1. B.R.O., X.143/24; Mellows, W., (ed.), The Last Days of Peterborough Monastery, N.R.S., xii, p. lxv; Somerville, History of the Duchy of Lancaster, i; Hallinan, Thesis, p. 290; V.C.H., Bedfordshire, topographical sections; Underdown, p. 391; CAM, i, p.399; Firth and Rait, i, p. 960; Keeler, p. 122; Complete Baronetage, ii, p. 104.

Fishe of Southill (Irish baronetcy)

They appear to have settled in Bedfordshire from Hertfordshire after 1558. George was Surveyor of Crown Lands in Bedfordshire in 1584, and his son and heir, John, 1st baronet (d.1623), was M.P. for County Cavan in Ireland, 1613-15, and Sheriff in 1616. Sir Edward, 2nd baronet (d.1658), was assessed at £40 for the 1628 Subsidy, which was the highest rating in the county. This wealth was probably based on Irish investments and property.(1)

1. B.R.O., Harvey MSS., catalogue: introduction; P.R.O., E.134/26-27 Eliz./Mich.27, Complete Baronetage, i, p.236; P.R.O., E.179/72/278 (this probably suggests an income of £2,000 p/a in 1628, see Appendix 12).

Gostwick of Willington

They had been in Bedfordshire since the thirteenth century, but their fortunes were founded by Sir John, Treasurer of the 1st Fruits and Tenths in the 1530's, who had acquired Willington in 1529. He received considerable amounts of ex-monastic land, and by 1560, the family had thirteen manors. But from this date economic decline set in, mainly through John's (d.1581) bad estate management, and three manors were sold in 1587, and another three in 1624. Sales increased in the early seventeenth century, and in 1628, Sir Edward, 2nd baronet (d.1630), was assessed at only £12 for the subsidy. In terms of income, they were not among the greater gentry. The Gostwicks were catholic until the 1580's, and Sir Edward, 3rd baronet (d. c.1665), was deaf and dumb and neutral in the Civil War.(1)

1. Finberg, H.P., The Gostwicks of Willington, B.H.R.S., xxxvi; Complete Baronetage, i, p. 100; Hallinan, Thesis, p. 111; Mellows, W., (ed.), The Last Days of Peterborough Monastery, N.R.S., xii, p.c.; B.R.O., Wade-Gery MSS., W.G.539; V.C.H., Bedfordshire, topographical sections.

Napier of Luton

Sir Robert, 1st baronet (d.1637), was a Turkey merchant and member of the

Grocer's Company, and he declined to serve as Sheriff of London in 1613. He purchased nine Bedfordshire manors between 1602 and 1637, and there is no evidence of financial trouble before 1642, when the income of Sir Robert, 2nd baronet (d.1660), is estimated at £1,587/13/6 p/a from his Bedfordshire estates. He was assessed at £1,500 by the Committee for Advance of Money, and their sixty hearth house in 1671 was the second largest in the county. The second baronet's Civil War loyalty is uncertain. He was M.P. for Peterborough between 1640 and 1648, but he was decidedly lukewarm to the Parliament, and some authorities term him a royalist. He certainly supported the Restoration of the monarchy by the late 1650's. (1)

1. Complete Baronetage, i, p.80; D.N.B., xiv, p.72; Underdown, p.391; C.A.M., i, p.490; Hallinan, Thesis, p.158; B.M., Addit. MSS., 5,491, fo. 88v, Keeler, p.284; Austin, W., History of the Crawleys, p.195; V.C.H., Bedfordshire, ii, p.354; Thurloe, iv, p.640. C.A.M., iii, p.1260, says he went to Oxford, 1642-3; and P.R.O., S.P.28/205, calls him a "supposed" delinquent. See also, B.R.O., Catalogue of Luton Hoo MSS., and N.R.A., Catalogue of Uthwatt MSS., in Buckinghamshire Record Office (for Gt. Linford estate).

Other families

Blundell of Cardington

They had been a prominent medieval gentry family in Bedfordshire, but had declined in the late fifteenth century. The fortunes were restored by the Irish Offices of Sir George (d.1627) and Sir Francis (d.1625), sons of John of Gt.Linford, Buckinghamshire. Sir George married a Gascoigne and acquired Cardington in the early seventeenth century, and he purchased a considerable estate in the parish between 1610 and 1616. His descendant, George, (knt.1661), was nominated a knight of the Royal Oak in 1660, and he had been sequestred as a royalist in 1646. His income was estimated at £1,200 in 1661, but most of this must have been derived from his extra-Bedfordshire property because Cardington and Marston were worth only £224 p/a in the 1640's, and in 1628 Lady Blundell had been assessed at only £3 for the subsidy. In 1671 the family possessed two nine hearth houses at Cardington, which were small by the standards of their social equals. (1)

1. Blundell, J.H., The Blundells of Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire; Complete Baronetage, i, p.225; Complete Peerage, ii, p.197; Burke, pp.688-94; B.H.R.S., xviii, p.33; xlix, p.109; B.M., Addit. MSS., 5,491, fos. 86v, 90v; P.R.O., E.179/72/278; B.R.O., Ancient Deeds, 3,193; Whitbread MSS., W.135.

Boteler of Biddenham

The Botelers had been at Biddenham since the fourteenth century, but the family fortunes were founded by Sir William (d.1534), Citizen and Grocer and Lord Mayor of London, 1515-16. By 1602 the Biddenham estate totalled one thousand acres, and by 1650 it was two thousand acres. Sir Thomas (d.1625) had

married the heiress of the Farrer estate and had acquired Harrold and Odell, and his son William (knt.1641, d.1656) married a daughter of George Nodes, Merchant Taylor of London, in 1627. In the 1670's, the family were mortgagees of several properties and their fortunes remained healthy. They were among the greater gentry in 1642 with an income of more than £1,000 p/a. Sir William (d.1656) began the Civil War as a royalist, but he became a prominent member of the parliamentarian county committee after 1644. However, he opposed the King's execution and was considered an enemy by Cromwell in the 1650's. (1)

1. N.R.A., Catalogue of Trevor-Wingfield MSS., in the B.R.O., pp. ii-vi; B.R.O., T.W.402, 474/4, 616, 623, 829, 626, 627. C.A.M., ii, p.753; B.R.O., C.R.T. 120/Memorandum 4.
   The Cromwellian Major-General, William Boteler; and the Lords Boteler were from different families to the Botelers of Biddenham.

Charnock of Holcot

Holcot was acquired in 1541, but the family origins are obscure. Financial difficulties were apparent by the 1630's, when Sir Robert (Knt.1619, d.1670) was indebt to the St.John family and a Clophill manor was sold. His son and heir, St.John (d. c.1680), sold another Clophill manor in 1655, and took out mortgages totalling £4,300 between 1650 and 1663. In 1590, the family had been rated at £30 for the subsidy, but this had fallen to £12 for the 1628 subsidy. The Committee for Advance of Money assessed Sir Robert at only £300 and in 1642 the Charnocks were among the middling gentry with an income of about £500 p/a. They were a famous recusant family, but Sir Robert was a passive parliamentarian, and St. John served on the county committee and was created baronet in 1661. (1)

1. B.R.O., St.John MSS., J.177; Ancient Deeds, 1,631-1,647; 3,871; Lucas MSS., L.4/35, L.4/51; L.4/53; B.R.O., X.95/58; B.R.O., C.R.T.120/33; Firth and Rait, ii, p.293; Complete Baronetage, iii, p.202; P.R.O., E.179/72/278; Hallinan, Thesis; C.A.M., ii, p.585; P.R.O., E.377/12,49.

Duncombe of Battlesden

In 1560, William Duncombe (d.1603) acquired Battlesden and Potsgrave by marriage with a Saunders heiress and the family moved from Buckinghamshire. By the 1620's severe financial troubles had arisen, and in 1626 William's heir, Sir Edward (d.1638), alienated two Potsgrave manors. The following year he had debts of £6,440, and most of the estate was in the hands of trustees before 1630, when debts totalled £8,310. Sir Edward was assessed at £13 for the 1628 subsidy, which suggests an income of about £650 p/a, and placed him among the middling gentry. In 1590, the family had been assessed at £20. Sir Edward's son, William, was a parliamentarian, but William's son, Sir John (knt.1648), was a prominent royalist. His support for the monarchy was the source of his family's revival, and he was proposed as a knight of the Royal Oak in 1660 with an estimated income of £1,000 p/a. He was a Privy Councillor in 1667, and

Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1672-9.(1)

1. B.R.O., Page-Turner MSS., Catalogue, pp. 27, 35, 38; T.18/28; 8/29; 15; 21/1; 22/14; 22/17; 16/5; 16/6; 16/27; 16/30; 18/25; 18/24; 18/28; 18/35; pp.11-21. B.R.O., G. 11, 16; T.W.626; P.R.O., E.112/168/40; Bedfordshire Notes and Queries, i, pp. 364 ff; ii, pp. 44-7. Hallinan, Thesis; P.R.O., E.179/72/278; Firth and Rait, i, 620; Bedfordshire Notes and Queries, ii, pp. 44-7; N.R.O., Stopford-Sackville MSS., S.S. 4,317 and 4,320.

Gery of Bushmead (Eaton Socon)

The Gerys were one of the oldest Bedfordshire families, but they did not become prominent landowners until the mid-sixteenth century, after a long period of gradual ascent from the yeomanry. In the 1580's, William borrowed £5,100 from a London merchant, and it had not been repaid by the 1630's, when Richard (d.1638), Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, was in severe financial difficulty. Almost the entire estate was put in the hands of trustees, and debts of £2,566 were outstanding in 1644, and as late as 1678 an Act was passed for the settling of the Gery estate upon trustees to pay debts, and the loan of the 1580's was still unpaid. A 1648 rental suggests a landed income of £423/1/8 p/a and they were among the middling to lesser gentry in 1642. William and George Gery, brothers, were royalists during the Civil War, and in 1662 it was claimed that William had lost £12,000 in the service of the King. (1)

1. V.C.H., Bedfordshire, ii, p.23; Hallinan, Thesis; B.R.O., Wade-Gery MSS., G.Y. 3/7; 3/2; W.G.511; 776; 781; 779; 807; 891 fo.4; 853; 891 fo. 5; fo.7; fo.8; fo.9; B.R.O., Pym MSS., P.M.902; C.A.M., i, p.983; C.C.C., pp. 1,558 and 1,680; Thurloe, iii, p. 559; Cal. S.P.D., 1662-3, p. 391.

Luke of Cople

The family fortunes were founded by Sir Walter (d.1544), Justice of King's Bench and husband of Anne Launcelyn, nurse of Henry VIII, who established himself at Cople between 1500 and 1520. His son, Sir Nicholas, was Baron of the Exchequer, and by 1558 the Lukes were one of the four wealthiest Bedfordshire families with twelve manors. In 1590, Sir Nicholas (d.1613), grandson of the first Sir Nicholas, was assessed at £30 for the subsidy. But financial difficulties were evident by the 1620's, and in 1622 Sir Oliver (d. c.1650) sold three manors for £4,500. Langford was sold in 1642, and a substantial estate in Hawnes was sold in 1651 for £3,000. Decline culminated in the alienation of two Hawnes manors for £19,000 in 1665. In 1628 they were assessed at £20, but their rating had fallen to £8 in 1642. They had declined to middling gentry with an income of about £500 p/a by 1642. Both Sir Oliver and Sir Samuel were keen parliamentarians in the Civil War. (1)

1. D.N.B., Hallinan, Thesis, p.135; V.C.H., Bedfordshire; B.R.O., Pym MSS., P.M., 1,171-2; 1,279; Whitbread MSS., W.1,432; S.A. 2,6,7,11,12,13,14; C.R.T. 110/35/14,15,94,98,101; P.R.O., E.179/72/278; E.179/72/282; Underdown, p.391, Keeler; Tibbutt, H., (ed.), The Letter Books of Sir Samuel Luke, 1644-5; B.M., Addit. MSS., 34,368, fo. 3v; 34,373, fo. 14.

Osborne of Chicksands

The family fortunes were founded by Peter (d.1592), Remembrancer of the Exchequer in 1553, an office which the family continuously held into the late seventeenth century. Peter's son, Sir John (knt. 1619, d.1628), purchased Chicksands and Hawnes in the 1580's, but on the eve of the Civil War, Sir Peter (knt.1611, d.1653) was in severe debt of £6,494, and by 1648 it had risen to £7,445. However, he was able to pay out of income and avoid heavy land sales. His landed income from his Bedfordshire estates was estimated at £894/6/0 in the 1640's, and when he compounded for royalism his total properties were said to yield £1,011 p/a. In 1590, 1628 and 1642 they were assessed at £25 for the subsidy and they were among the greater gentry. Sir Peter was royalist Governor of Guernsey and the Isle of Wight in the Civil War, and his son and heir, John (d.1699), was created baronet in 1662. (1)

1. D.N.B., xiv, pp. 1186-7; Habakkuk, pp. 146-7; B.R.O., Osborne MSS., on Microfilm, O.166/7; 166/8; 28-30; B.M., Addit. MSS., 5,491, fo. 90; C.A.M., ii, p.282; C.C.C., p.1,974; Hallinan, Thesis; P.R.O., E.179/72/278, 282; Complete Baronetage, iii, p.243; B.M., Addit. MSS., 34,371, fo. 32; D.N.B., xiv, pp. 1179-80; B.M., Addit. MSS., 5,491, fo. 93.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Noble families in 1642 (See Appendix 11 for dates of titles)

Cecil of Burghley, Earls of Exeter

The Cecils acquired Burghley in 1526, and their fortunes were founded by William, 1st Lord (d.1598), Elizabeth's Lord Treasurer. Stone estimated their 1602 gross rental between £5,400-7,199, and between £6,600-8,699 in 1641; but Habakkuk believed that their 1640 income was less than that of many substantial squires, and a 1654 rental records only £2,278/12/9 from landed property. They clearly suffered economic decline in the early seventeenth century. In 1618, Thomas, 1st Earl (d.1623) sold four manors, and the previous year Crowland, Bourne, and Maxey had been placed in the hands of trustees for £17,900. Four Lincolnshire, and one Yorkshire manor were sold between 1627 and 1629, and most of the Cecil estate was mortgaged during the Interregnum. In 1670, despite a portion of £15,000 from a Cavendish marriage for his heir, John, 4th Earl (d.1678) sold property worth over £10,000 to secure a portion for his sister, and he died in considerable debt in 1678, which precipitated a new wave of mortgages. However, after 1700, the family solved their problems and remained the socially preeminent noble family in east Northamptonshire.

William, 2nd Earl (d.1640), was one of the peers who petitioned for a Parliament in 1640, and David, 3rd Earl (d.1643), was Parliamentarian Lord Lieutenant of Rutland. John, 4th Earl, only fifteen in 1643, was a Commissioner for the Militia in 1648, and seems to have been a parliamentarian. (1)

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1. Stone, pp. 760-1; Habakkuk (2), p.4; N.R.O., Catalogue of Exeter MSS., E.66/1,16; 64/16,17a,29,34,36; 69/8,23; 22/6; 62/6,21; 94/3; 29/4; 28/12, 48; 5/85; 89/12; 92/22; Manning, B., (ed.), Politics, Religion and the English Civil War, p.43; Complete Peerage, v, p.217; L.J., vi, p.716; Firth and Rait, i, p. 1234.

Cokayne of Rushton, Viscounts Cullen (Irish peerage)

Sir William Cokayne, cloth merchant and Lord Mayor of London, 1619-20, purchased Rushton in 1614 for approximately £15,000. He built up a vast estate in ten counties, and his fortune has been estimated at £125,000. The family suffered moderate decline between 1630 and 1680, partly because of the losses in a 1623 fire; the collapse of the Cloth-Finishing project; and the portions required for the five daughters of Sir William, who all married noblemen. The Norfolk estate was alienated in 1634, and four Yorkshire manors were sold in 1638. Coombe Neville, Surrey, was sold in the 1640's, and although Brian, son and heir of Charles, 1st Viscount, a keen royalist, married an heiress of the de Vere estate in Essex, worth £6,000 p/a in 1657, she was so extravagant that most of it was alienated by 1676, when Brian resorted to Act of Parliament to

pay her debts. But the Cokaynes remained very wealthy, and in 1628 the estate had been valued at £4,527 p/a. In 1641, Charles was assessed at £30 for the subsidy, and the Committee for Advance of Money assessed him at £2,000, so sales had probably reduced the 1628 income to between £1,500 and £2,000 in 1642. (1)

1. Complete Peerage, iii, pp.561-3; D.N.B; Price, W.H., English Patents of Monopoly, Habbakuk, pp,140-1; Cal. S.P.D., 1623-5, p. 110; Lang, R.G., 'Social Origins and Social Aspirations of Jacobean London Merchants', Ec.H.R., 2nd s xxvii, p.30; C.C.C., p. 1380; N.R.O., Cokayne MSS., C. 3,081; 3,047; 3,028; 3,013; 2,557; 3,210; 3,251; 3,302; 3,313; 3,222; 3,004; 2,484; 2,491; N.R.O., Maunsell MSS., M(TM)580; N.R.O., YZ. 9,794; Stone, p.761 (to compare English peers); P.R.O., E.179/157/421-3; C.A.M., i, p.477.

Compton of Castle Ashby, Earls of Northampton

Castle Ashby was purchased in 1512, but title was only established in 1574 after a bitter dispute with the Earls of Kent, and from this date the Comptons lived in Northamptonshire and began building a new mansion. They were the wealthiest local noble family with an income between £8,000 and £9,000 in 1642, but their building, their extravagance, and their permanent position as courtiers resulted in severe decline. In 1629, William, 1st Earl (d.1630) demised the entire estate to his brother, Sir Henry, for payment of debts of £26,350, and the family had debts of £19,000 in the 1590's, which even a mercantile marriage could not reduce. The same William, had spent £72,000 within weeks of inheriting £300,000 from his father-in-law, a Lord Mayor of London. Spencer, 2nd Earl, was killed at Newbury in 1643, in the service of the King, and James, 3rd Earl, was also a royalist. (1)

1. Complete Peerage, ix, pp.678-84; C.C.C., ii, pp.1246-7; Keeler, p.138; L.J., v, pp.138-41; Habbakuk, pp.135,139; Stone, L., 'The Peer and the Alderman's Daughter', History Today, xi; Trevor-Roper, p.54; Stone, pp.760-1; B.R.O., Lucas MSS., L.22/2; C.A.M., i, p.435, ii, p.640; Compton, W.B., History of The Comptons of Compton Wynyates; Northampton Public Library, Records Relating to Northamptonshire, 1-806 (transcripts by A. di Alberti), II, Vol. 45, pp.15, 19,31,44; Vol. 15, p.503 (for debts). For their catholicism, see Lindley, K., 'The Lay Catholics in England in the Reign of Charles I', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, xxii.

Fane of Apethorpe, Earls of Westmorland

The Fanes had risen by marriage with the Mildmay heiress and acquired Apethorpe in 1617. They were able to pay debts out of income, and avoid heavy sales until after 1660, but they definitely declined before the Civil War. Their income in 1641 was about £5,500 p/a, but by 1644 Mildmay, 2nd Earl, had debts of over £38,000. He changed sides in the Civil War, and in 1656 he revoked the entails on his Northamptonshire estates. Tansor, Wadenhoe and Yarwell were sold in 1667; Woodston in 1665; and Apethorpe was mortgaged in

1668. In 1690, the administration of the will of Charles, 3rd Earl, was granted to his principal creditor. (1)

1. Stone, pp.175,780; C.C.C., p.833; Habbakuk, p.143; N.R.O., Westmorland MSS., Box 1/X/15; Box 2/X/3[D.7.]; N.R.O., W.H. 301,304,313, Westmorland MSS., Box 1/XII/3 and 5; Box 2/II/1; Box 2/III/6; Box 2/XVII/2; Box 2/XII/3[A.3.]; Misc. Vol. 15, fo.149; D.N.B.; Complete Peerage; Barron, O., Northamptonshire Families.

Montagu of Boughton, Lords Montagu

Their fortunes were founded by Sir Edward (d.1566), Chief Justice of King's Bench, 1538-45, and of Common Pleas, 1545, and by the early eighteenth century his descendants included the Dukes of Montagu and Manchester, and the Earls of Halifax and Sandwich. The income of Edward, 1st Lord (d.1644), was between £2,200 and £4,399 in 1641, and there is no evidence of financial trouble. The barony was purchased for £10,000 and four Rutland manors were purchased in 1634, and further property was acquired in the 1650's. The 1st Lord was a leading puritan, but he was a royalist and died in the Tower. Edward, 2nd Lord (d.1684), was a parliamentarian, but opposed the King's execution and supported the Restoration. (1)

1. Complete Peerage, ix, pp.104-7; D.N.B; Stone, p.761; H.M.C. Buccleuch MSS, i and iii; H.M.C., Montagu of Beaulieu MSS.; Wise, C., The Montagus of Boughton and their Northamptonshire houses; N.R.O., Tryon MSS., 228, 229/2; Microfilm 48; L.J., v, p.346; Stone, L., 'Lord Montagu's Directions to his son', Northants Past and Present, ii, pp.221-3; Complete Peerage, ix, Appendix D; Sheils, Thesis, p.249.

Mordaunt of Lowick, Earls of Peterborough

Originating from Turvey, Bedfordshire, and founded by the legal expertise of Sir John (d.1504) and by a series of fruitful marriages, the Mordaunts moved to Lowick in the mid-sixteenth century. John, 1st Earl (d.1643), was the first of his line not to be a catholic, but Henry, 2nd Earl, became a catholic in 1687. Their income was £2-3,000 in 1559; £3,600-5,399 in 1602; and £2,200-4,399 in 1641, but they were in severe decline by 1642. Henry, 4th Lord (d.1609), was fined 10,000 marks for complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, and by 1640, the entire estate, including the house, was in the hands of trustees and there was severe debt. Sudborough Park was sold in 1648, and Thrapston in 1650, and when he compounded in 1650, having changed to the royalist side, the 2nd Earl claimed his income was only £800 p/a because his mother held two-thirds of his estate. Drayton house was still mortgaged in 1677. John, 1st Earl, was parliamentarian General of Ordnance. (1)

1. Complete Peerage, x, pp.496-505; ix, pp.193-8; D.N.B., xiii, p.852; Stone, pp. 760-1; B.R.O., C.R.T.120/Memorandum 3; Baildon, W.P., (ed.), Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata 1593-1609 from the original manuscripts of John Hawarde, pp. 287-9; B.M., Addit. MSS., 34,365, fo.10v; Underdown, D., Royalist Conspiracy in England; and Coate, M., (ed.), The Letter-Book of John, Viscount Mordaunt, 1658-60, Camden Society, 3rd s., lxix, (for

royalism of the brother of the 2nd Earl); N.R.O., Stopford-Sackville MSS., SS. 4,286; 4,546; 4,556; 3,564; 459a; 4,016; 3,989; 4,289; 4,317; 3,645-7; 4,035; 3,485; 472-4; 481a; 3,643; C.C.C., ii, p.1307.

Stanhope of Harrington, Lords Stanhope

This branch of the illustrious Nottinghamshire family acquired Harrington in 1599. They were among the lesser peerage, with an income of £1,100-£2,199 in 1641, and they were Masters of the Post from 1590-1637, but they played little part in local affairs. John, 1st Lord (d.1621), was implicated in the Gunpowder Plot, and Charles, 2nd Lord, was mentally unstable and emigrated to France in 1643. (1)

1. Stone, p.761; Cal. S.P.D., 1603-10, p.244; Complete Peerage, xii, pt. 1, pp. 239-42; N.R.O., Wykes MSS., WY 66; Isham MSS., I.L. 2,088; Aylmer, G.E., The King's Servants.

Vaux of Harrowden, Lords Vaux

They were the most ancient of the 1642 Northamptonshire nobility, and had risen through the military and court career of Nicholas, 1st Lord (d.1523), and by marriage. They were prominent catholics and declined after 1570. By 1592, William, 3rd Lord (d.1595), was pawning his ceremonial robes, and in 1593 he obtained an Act of Parliament to sell property for payment of debts. They were lesser nobility with an income of £1,153/12/8 p/a in 1612, and less than £1,100 in 1641. Edward, 4th Lord (d.1661), was a recusant and neutral in the Civil War, and in 1660, he claimed he had an income of only £300 p/a. This is possible, because in 1646 most of the estate was settled on the Earl of Banbury, whose mother had married the 4th Lord in 1632. Gt. Harrowden, the family home, was not regained until 1895, and the title lapsed with the death of Henry, 5th Lord, in 1663. (1)

1. Anstruther, G., Vaux of Harrowden; B.M., Lansdowne MSS., 78/26; L.J., iii, p.1776, Stone, p.761; C.C.C., p.2011; H.M.C., Seventh Report, p.100; N.R.O., Clayton MSS., 96; Complete Peerage, xii, pt. 2, pp.224-6; D.N.B., xx, pp.192-6. See Appendix 10 for Earl of Banbury's ownership of Vaux houses in 1662.

The estates and finances of the Brudenells of Deene, Lords Brudenell; the Fitzwilliams of Milton, Lords Fitzwilliam (Irish peerage); and the Spencers of Althorp, Lords Spencer, are examined in detail in Finch, M., The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640, N.R.S., xix.

For the Brudenells, see also Complete Peerage, iii, p.13; D.N.B., iii, p.138; Stone; Habakkuk; Wake, J., The Brudenells of Deene. They were catholics and the Civil War loyalty of Thomas, 1st Lord and 1st Earl of Cardigan (1661)., (d.1663) is uncertain. Lindley, K., 'The Catholics in the Civil War', in Manning, B., (ed.), Politics, Religion and the English Civil War, says he was neutral; and he compounded only as a catholic (C.C.C., ii, p.1078). But he was present in Gloucester and Hereford garrisons, although he gave an innocent

explanation for this (H.M.C., Sixth Report, pp. 88-9 and 191; L.J., v, p.557, and viii, pp.61 and 98). Wake, J., op.cit., and Complete Peerage call him a royalist.

William, 1st Lord Fitzwilliam (d.1644), was neutral (Habakkuk, p.143); but William, 2nd Lord (d.1651), was a parliamentarian and was M.P. for Peterborough, 1640-8. Their income was only £500-1,000 in 1642 and they were among the lesser peerage. See Firth and Rait, i, p.528; Underdown p. 391.

Henry, 3rd Lord Spencer and 1st Earl of Sunderland (1643) (killed at Newbury 1643), changed sides (see Appendix 16, some notable neutrals and gentlemen who changed sides). See also Clarendon, ii, p.181.

Stone, p.761, puts the 1641 Spencer income at £4,400-6,599 p/a; and the Brudenells at £2,200-4,399.

A noble family which was extinct before 1642: Zouche of Harringworth, Lords Zouche.

This family, the most ancient Northamptonshire nobility between 1524 and 1625, had acquired Harringworth in the thirteenth century. They were the wealthiest family in the county in 1480, with eighteen manors. Financial difficulties were evident by 1580, when Edward, 11th Lord (d.1625), said that his debts necessitated foreign travel. His offices of Ambassador to Scotland; Lord President of Wales, 1602-7; and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 1615-24, increased his debts. He was a lesser nobleman with an income of £900-1,799 in 1602, and in the 1590's he sold property worth £9,000, but still had debts of £6,000 in 1604. The family manors of Harringworth and Bulwick were sold for £15,360 between 1606 and 1621, and, after his death, his widow had debts of £2,012 still outstanding. Financial ruin preceded extinction in 1625. (1)

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1. Complete Peerage, xii, pt.2, pp.930-54; Hallinan, Thesis, p.59; B.M., Lansdowne MSS., 30/41; Stone, pp.461,761,778; V.C.H., Northamptonshire, topographical sections; N.R.O., Tryon MSS., Catalogue introduction and 54/1, 55/1, 61. He was a prominent puritan; see Sheils, Thesis, pp.146, 231; B.M., Egerton MSS., 2,812; D.N.B., xxi, pp. 1,331-2.

Families which held baronetcies in 1642 (see Appendix 11 for dates of titles)

Andrews of Denton

They were catholics who had settled in the county in the fifteenth century. Rothersthorpe manor was sold in 1650, and, although Sir William, 1st baronet (d. before 1649) appears to have been neutral, three of his sons were killed at Worcester in 1651. (1)

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1. N.R.S., vii, p.225; C.C.C., pp. 1,739 and 1,884; N.R.O., Thornton MSS., Th.897; Complete Baronetage, ii, p.146, (which calls him a royalist, but I doubt this); P.C.R. (Micro), 1635-6, p. 273.

Browne of Walcot

Descended from a Lord Mayor of London, they acquired this Barnack manor about 1506. Little is known except that they were catholic, and royalist in the Civil War. They were assessed at £15 for the 1600 Subsidy. (1)

1. Gleason, p.56; P.R.O., E.179/157/360-1, 254/2; I am grateful to Mr. P.R. Newman for the information that Sir Robert, 3rd baronet, was a royalist captain under Sir Charles Cavendish.

Cave of Stanford

They settled at Stanford in the early fifteenth century, and their fortunes were founded by an Abbot of Selby (1429-36), and Richard, a friend of Thomas Cromwell. There is no evidence of financial difficulty before the late seventeenth century, although the family papers are mainly post-1700. In 1642, they were assessed at £20 for the subsidy, which suggests an income of over £1,000 p/a, and placed them among the greater gentry. They were royalist in the Civil War.(1)

1. Complete Baronetage, ii, p.93; Waters, E.C., Genealogical Memoirs of the Chesters of Chicheley, i, pp.73-88; N.R.A., Catalogue of Braye MSS. (Leicestershire Record Office) - the family acquired the barony of Braye in 1839 - p.1; P.R.O., E.179/157/421-3; Thurloe, iv, pp.511-12; Hartshorne, E.S., Memorials of Holdenby, p.37. Complete Peerage, ii, p.289.

Dryden of Canons Ashby

The Drydens came from Cumberland in the mid-sixteenth century, and they appear to have suffered no financial problems before 1642. Indeed, they were enlarging their holdings in the 1650's and 1660's. The neighbouring property of the Cope family was purchased in the 1660's, notably the manor for £5,750 in 1665. Sir John, 2nd baronet (d.1658), was M.P. for Northamptonshire between 1640 and 1653, and again in 1654. He was one of the few local parliamentarians to remain loyal to the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and he had an income of more than £1,000 p/a, and was one of the greater gentry. They were rising gentry, and Sir John's will alloted £2,500 each to his seven children out of his Warwickshire and Huntingdonshire estates, alone. (1)

1. Complete Baronetage, i, p.129; Keeler, p.161; Underdown, p.391, N.R.O., Dryden MSS., D(CA)30,580,620,642. They were also prominent puritans: Erasmus, 1st baronet (d.1632), signed the 1605 Petition (P.R.O., S.P.14/12/69).

Egerton of Farthinghoe

This branch of the legal dynasty founded by Thomas, Viscount Brackley, acquired Farthinghoe in 1605. In 1642, Sir Rowland, 1st baronet (d.1646), was assessed at £25 for the subsidy, which suggests an income of about £1,250 p/a, and they were greater gentry. By the 1630's, they had twelve manors in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire. Sir Rowland was a royalist, but Sir John, 2nd baronet (d.1674), was a parliamentarian. (1)

1. Complete Baronetage, i, p.108; Firth and Rait, i, p.960; P.R.O., E.179/157/241-3; Hallinan, Thesis, p.136.

Enion of Flore

James Enion, a Whitechapel brewer, had purchased Flore sometime before his death in 1623. His heir, James, 1st baronet, was killed in mid-1642 during a duel in Gloucester royalist garrison, and the baronetcy died out. In 1641, an Act of Parliament enabled him to sell his lands for payment of debts, and economic trouble is suggested. His subsidy assessment of £15 placed him among the middling gentry. (1)

1. Complete Baronetage, ii, p.167; N.R.O., Thornton MSS., Th. 1,934; C.J., ii, p.71. P.R.O., E.179/157/241-3.

Fermor of Easton Neston

The Fermors were established by Richard (d.1552), a merchant of the Calais staple. Easton Neston was given to him by his brother, William, a wool merchant, and by 1600 they owned ten manors in south Northamptonshire, alone. They were catholics who probably outwardly conformed in the early seventeenth century, and there is no evidence of financial difficulties. Indeed, William, 2nd baronet (d.1711), married a daughter of the Duke of Leeds, and was able to support the barony of Leominster in 1692, and the construction of the magnificent house at Easton Neston. His son, Thomas, was created Earl of Pomfret in 1721. They were assessed at £20 in 1642, which indicates an income of more than £1,000 p/a, and Thurloe favourably compared their estate with that of the Earl of Westmorland in greatness. Sir William, 1st baronet (d.1661), was a royalist Colonel of Horse and Councillor to the Prince of Wales.

1. Sheils, Thesis, p.244; Sir George (d.1630) was implicated in the Gunpowder Plot. Complete Baronetage, ii, p.143; Complete Peerage, vii, p.613; x, p.573; D.N.B., vi, pp.1,233-4; P.R.O., E.179/157/421-3; Thurloe, iv, p.511; C.C.C., ii, p.1063. For the Fermor Hesketh MSS., at Easton Neston, see Bibliography.

Isham of Lamport

Their estates and finances before 1640 are examined by Finch, M., The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640, N.R.S., but they continued to rise after 1640. Sir Justinian, 2nd baronet (d.1674), considered the purchase of Haselbeach in 1646, and constantly acted as money-lender and mortgagee. East Haddon, Brixworth and Hanging Houghton manors were purchased between 1661 and 1670, and rebuilding of Lamport House began in 1655. Their income was nearly £2,000 p/a in the 1640's. Both Sir John, 1st baronet (d.1651), and Sir Justinian were royalists.

1. Ramsey, G., (ed.), John Isham's Accounts, 1558-72, N.R.S., xxi; Barron, O., Northamptonshire Families, Habakkuk, p.159; D.N.B., x, p.509; Complete Baronetage, ii, p.21; C.A.M., p.1314; C.C.C., p.1494; N.R.O., Isham Correspondence, I.C.376,379,380,381,413-4,405,449,465,487; Isham MSS., I.L.949; I.C. 4,967; Finch, op.cit., p.34. Sir John was a puritan (P.R.O., S.P. 14/12/69).

Nicholls of Faxton and Hardwick

This family settled in the county between 1500 and 1558. Sir Augustine (d.1616), judge of King's Bench, purchased Faxton in 1606, and his brother Francis was Governor of Tilbury in 1588. The latter's son and heir, Francis, 1st baronet (d.1642), was also nephew and heir of Sir Augustine. However, Sir Augustine died in debt and some property was alienated between 1616 and 1642. In 1642, Sir Edward, 2nd baronet (d.1683), was assessed at £15 for the subsidy, which suggests an income of £750 p/a, and they were among the middling gentry. Sir Edward was a parliamentarian. (1)

1. Complete Baronetage, ii, p.114; N.R.O., Catalogue of documents relating to Northamptonshire in the P.R.O., Chancery Masters Exhibits, Hardwick 10-18, 25. N.R.O., Dore, J., notes (for will of Sir Augustine and debts). Broughton manor was sold in 1616. Francis, 1st baronet, was Secretary to the Elector Palatine in 1640, and was also a parliamentarian.

Norwich of Brampton

This family was founded by the marriages of Simon (d.1468) to the heiress of the Holts, and of John (d.1504) to a niece of Lord Hastings. They were prominent sixteenth century recusants, but seem to have conformed in the early seventeenth century. Six Northamptonshire manors were sold between 1560 and 1600, and the family were in decline. They were assessed at £13 in 1642, which suggests an income of £650, and they were among the middling gentry. Sir John, 1st baronet (d.1661), was parliamentarian Governer of Rockingham Castle in 1643; Sheriff, 1645-6; and M.P. for Northamptonshire, 1654-5. (1)

1. They appear on several recusant rolls (P.R.O., E.377); Hallinan, Thesis; V.C.H., Northamptonshire, topographical sections; Complete Baronetage, ii, p.110; N.R.O., Stopford-Sackville MSS., 55. 1,841; H.M.C., Sixth Report, p.181; H.M.C., Portland MSS., i, p.581. He supported the restoration of the monarchy by the late 1650's, and opposed the radicals in 1655. P.R.O., E.179/157/241-3.

Pickering of Tichmarsh

They moved to the county from Cumberland about 1500, but I have found no information relating to their finances. Sir Gilbert, 1st baronet, (d.1668), was a puritan, a parliamentarian, and a republican in the late 1650's. With Sir John Dryden, he was one of the few Northamptonshire parliamentarians to remain loyal to the regimes of the 1650's. He was M.P. for the county, 1640-58, and Cromwell's Lord Chamberlain in 1657, and Tichmarsh was licensed as a conventicle in 1672. His income was more than £1,000 p/a in 1642, and the family were greater gentry. (1)

1. Complete Baronetage, ii, pp.432-3; Baildon, W., (ed.), Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata, p.222 ff; Underdown, p.391; Thurloe, vii, p.496; Turner, G.L., (ed.), Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence; Firth and Rait, ii, p.304 (his son and heir, Henry, was also a Parliamentarian) P.R.O., E.179/157/241-3, Sir Gilbert was assessed at £20 in 1642.

Shirley of Astwell

This Leicestershire family acquired Astwell by marriage in 1566, and were catholic, although Sir George, 1st baronet (d.1622), was an outward conformist. Sir Robert, 4th baronet (d.1656), was the first to be educated as a protestant. They were in financial difficulties by the early seventeenth century, and in 1608 and 1609 nine Derbyshire manors were leased to pay Sir George's debts. A 1650 document suggests that the entire estate was still in the hands of trustees and lesees, except for Chartley and other property inherited from the 3rd Earl of Essex in 1646, which helped to restore the family fortunes. Stone says they had an income comparable to that of many peers, and in 1655, Astwell alone was yielding £1,552/16/0 p/a. Sir Robert was a zealous royalist and died in the Tower, and the 7th baronet succeeded to the barony of Ferrers in 1677, and was created Earl Ferrers in 1711. (1)

1. Cal. S.P.D., 1581-90, p.200; N.R.S., vii, p.225; Leicestershire Record Office, Ferrers MSS., 2,598(b), 919,735,516,354,350,295. N.R.A., Catalogue of Ferrers MSS., Introduction; Complete Baronetage; pp. 5-6; D.N.B., xviii, p.137; C.A.M., i, p.485; Stone, p.379; Ferrers MSS., 2,330; Complete Peerage, v, p.329; Ferrers MSS.,2,329(b): an excellent account book, 1592-6, (see Chapter 6).

Tresham of Lyveden

This family constituted the remnants of the illustrious Treshams of Rushton, whose decline is fully treated by Finch, M., The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, N.R.S., xix. Sir Lewis, 1st baronet (d.1639), succeeded his brother, Francis, the Gunpowder Plotter, in 1605, and he sold Rushton in 1614, and moved to Lyveden. He was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and accompanied Buckingham to Spain in 1616. Sir William, 2nd baronet (d.1643), a recusant neutral in the Civil War, was the last of the main line, and his 1642 income was probably less than £500 p/a. (1)

1. Finch, op.cit., pp.94-9; Complete Baronetage, i, pp. 56-7; C.A.M., i,p.386. There was still a Tresham line at Geddington, which was royalist (C.C.C., ii, p.1288).

Wake of Salcey (Hartwell)

This thirteenth century Northamptonshire family sold their ancient Blisworth residence in 1523 and moved to Hartwell. They were deep in debt by the time of the death of Sir Baldwin, 1st baronet, in 1627. Sir John, 2nd baronet (d. c.1660), petitioned for protection against his father's creditors in 1631, and said he had sold most of the estate, and given £9,000 to these creditors. He was a royalist and is said to have mortgaged the rest of his estate to serve the King, and he died a prisoner in King's Bench with debts of over £5,000. By 1642, there income was probably about £500 p/a.

1. Barron, O., Northamptonshire Families, pp.319-36; Complete Baronetage, i, p.180; A.P.C., xlvi, p.224; P.R.O., C.82/2057/50; C.82/2040/655; C.82/2066/404; C.C.C., p. 1,589; Cal. S.P.D., 1660-1, p.240; C.A.M., ii, p.868.

Watson of Rockingham

This family was founded by Edward (d.1530), Surveyor-General to the Bishop of Lincoln, and his son, Edward (d.1584), a Receiver in Augmentations, who acquired the first estate in Rockingham in 1554, when he moved from Rutland. However, the castle and royal demesne were not purchased until 1616. The Watsons were among the rising gentry, and were given a barony in 1645. Sir Lewis, 1st baronet and 1st Lord (d.1653), purchased at least four manors in the 1630's, and he purchased a substantial estate at Gt.Gidding and Lutton between 1633 and 1660. In 1666, Lady Rockingham was mortgagee of two manors of the Duke of Newcastle, and a Warmington manor was bought for £9,700 in 1669. They were assessed at £25 in 1642, which suggests an income of approximately £1,250 p/a, and they were certainly among the greater gentry. They appear to have had catholic sympathies, and Sir Lewis was a royalist, although in 1643 he surrendered Rockingham Castle without a fight, and was temporarily arrested by royalists, so his ardour for the cause may not have been great. Sir Lewis was a courtier, a friend of Buckingham, and Master of the Royal Buckhounds in 1634. (1)

1. Wise, C., Rockingham Castle and the Watsons; Complete Baronetage, i, p.165; Complete Peerage, xi, pp.56-9; D.N.B., xx, pp.931-2; Habakkuk, p.139; N.R.O., Watson (Rockingham) MSS., W.R. 25,26(a),41-2,46,52,111,87,239,323-8, 333,338,350,401,85; N.R.O., Rockingham (Watson) MSS., B.10/13, B.12/26/1, B.10/34, A.4/35/1, B2/57/10, B.4/54, B.7/45; P.R.O., E.112/227/97; P.R.O., E.179/157/421-3; C.A.M., i,p.652; C.C.C., p.1435. For suspected catholicism, see H.M.C., Montagu of Beaulieu MSS., p.105, and N.R.O., Dore, J., notes. In 1582, Sir Edward's (d.1616) religion was suspected by the Bishop, and he congratulated the Treshams for Francis' temporary escape from London after the Gunpowder Plot. He married a daughter of the notorious, recusant, Digby family of Rutland, and Sir Lewis married a sister of the catholic Earl of Rutland as his second wife.

Yelverton of Easton Maudit

There is very little information about their finances. Christopher Yelverton, (d.1612), Justice of King's Bench, 1601-2, purchased Easton Maudit in 1578, and his son, Sir Henry (d.1629), was Solicitor-General (1613), Attorney-General (1617), and Judge of Common Pleas (1625). His son, Sir Christopher, 1st baronet (d.1654), was a parliamentarian, M.P. for Bossiney, 1640-8; and had an income of more than £1,000 p/a in 1642. He opposed the Commonwealth and supported the Restoration. Sir Henry, 2nd baronet (d.1670), married the heiress of Lord Grey of Ruthin, and their son was called Lord Grey. Talbot Yelverton, Lord Grey, was created Earl of Sussex in 1717. (1)

1. Complete Baronetage, ii, pp.95-6; D.N.B., xxi, pp. 1,230-3; N.R.O., Northampton Public Library MSS., N.P.L., 201,206; Gunning of Horton MSS., G(H)288, 293. Cal. S.P.D., 1612-23, pp. 150, 192; Underdown, p.391; Keeler, p.404; P.R.O., E.179/157/421-3; C.A.M., i, p.391; Complete Peerage; ii, p.661.

Other families

Bernard of Abington

The Bernards acquired a Northamptonshire estate by marriage with the heiress of Sir Nicholas Lylling in the early fifteenth century. The family fortunes were founded by Sir John, Deputy Governor of the Channel Islands, and his grandson, Sir John (d.1485), who married a grandaughter of the Earl of Westmorland. The latter is said to have been impoverished by the Wars of the Roses and a prolonged period of decline followed. At least five manors were sold between 1574 and 1602, and John (b.1604, knt.1661) was described as "very importunate" in 1659. His entire estate was put in trust in 1663 to pay his debts, and Abington was finally sold in 1669 for £13,750. In 1600, they were assessed at £10 for the subsidy, but this had fallen to £6 in 1642, and they were among the lesser gentry with an income of about £300 p/a. John was a parliamentarian. (1)

1. Higgins, N., The Bernards of Abington and Nether Winchendon, i; V.C.H., Northamptonshire, topographical volumes; N.R.O., Finch-Hatton MSS., FH 613, 4,117; N.R.O., YZ 5,099; Harvey-Thursby MSS., HT(A)4; Isham Correspondence, I.C.487; P.R.O., E.179/157/422, E.179/254/2; Firth and Rait, i, pp.93, 547, 970, 1,240; ii, 472, 670.

Breton of Ravensthorpe

They were at Ravensthorpe in the early thirteenth century, and they acquired a second manor in 1590; but they were in financial trouble by the mid-seventeenth century. Francis' will of 1656 conveyed most of his estate to trustees for the payment of debts, and he had debts of more than £7,000 at the time of his death. Teeton, the home manor, was finally sold in 1718, and in 1642 their income was about £250 p/a. They were recusants in the early seventeenth century, but John was a parliamentarian in the 1640's and was probably a protestant. He had also resisted the forced loan of 1626. (1)

1. N.R.O., Langton (Teeton)MSS., LT.57,174,176,178,187,344,348,410. Francis' son and heir Robert had debts of £3,515/9/9 in the late seventeenth century. N.R.S., vii, p.225; Gleason, p.77,174; Firth and Rait, i, p.528.

Cartwright of Aynho

The Cartwrights made a spectacular ascent into the ranks of the greater gentry after 1616. Richard (d.1637) of Cheshire, cursitor in Chancery, purchased Aynho for £8,250 in 1616, and he married an Egerton. His son and heir, John, (d.1676), married a daughter of William Noy, Charles I's Attorney-General. Deddington, Oxfordshire, was purchased in 1623. In 1642, they were assessed at £20 for the subsidy, which suggests an income of more than £1,000 p/a, and John was a parliamentarian. Aynho was burnt by the royalists in 1645. (1)

1. Barron, O., Northamptonshire Families, pp.4,11-12; The Ancestor, x, pp.1-13; N.R.O., Cartwright MSS., C(A). 1; 2; 4; 201; 239; 327; 345; 367; 1,229;

1,409; 1,420; 1,457, 1,466; 1,575-6; 1,581; 1,695; 1,702; 1,726; 1,785; 1,811; 2,013; 2,165; 2,106; 2,188; 2,261; 2,274; 4,607-9; P.R.O., E.179/157/422; C.A.M., i, p.189. N.R.O., C(A)7,508.

Catesby of Ashby St.Ledgers

The Catesbies had been at Ashby St.Ledgers since the late fourteenth century, and they were founded on office. Sir William (exec.1485) was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1483, and one of Richard III's chief ministers. His uncle, Sir John (d.1486), had been Judge of Common Pleas in 1481, and he founded the Whiston Branch. Financial problems were evident by the 1560's, when two manors were sold, and in 1581 Sir William (d.1598) was in bond to Sir Christopher Hatton for £9,000. Virtually the entire estate was mortgaged in 1587, and recusancy increased their difficulties. Sir William was fined 1,000 marks for harbouring Jesuits, and his heir, Robert (d.1605) was fined £3,000 for his role in the Essex Rebellion. The Gunpowder Plot sealed their fate, and the estates were forfeit after Robert, main protagonist of the Plot, was killed while trying to escape. Ashby St. Ledgers was sold in 1613 and the family disappeared from the county (except the Whiston branch). (1)

1. Bridges, i, p.245; D.N.B., iii, p.1,193; N.R.O., Bullivant MSS., B(MT)170; Crawley MSS., C(H)77; Ashley MSS., ASL 73-4; Thornton MSS., Th.820; Finch-Hatton MSS., FH. 3,014; N.R.A., Catalogue of Gunpowder Plot papers in the hands of messrs. Catesby, 6-7; Anstruther, G., Vaux of Harrowden.

Cope of Canons Ashby

They were in Northamptonshire in the fourteenth century, but their fortunes were founded by William (d.1513), cofferer to Henry VII, who purchased Hanwell, Oxfordshire, in 1498. Sir Anthony (d.1551) was Chamberlain to Queen Catherine Parr, and his brother Sir John (d.1558), a Marian exile, established a branch at Canons Ashby, which was acquired after the Dissolution. The family were puritans, and financial problems had arisen by the 1620's. Michael's will of 1661 devised all his Canons Ashby estate to trustees for payment of debts. The home manor was sold to the Drydens in 1665 for £5,750. In 1600, they had been assessed at £20 for the subsidy, but this had fallen to £6 by 1642, which suggests an income of £300 p/a, and they had slumped to the ranks of the lesser gentry. No trace of their Civil War role has been found, and they may have remained neutral. (1)

1. V.C.H., Northamptonshire, topographical sections; V.C.H., Oxfordshire, ix, pp. 115-16,119; Garrett, C., The Marian Exiles; Sheils, Thesis, p.249; D.N.B., iv, pp. 1,090-1; N.R.O., Dryden MSS., D(CA)33,603,604,605,610,612, 615-16,620,627,629,642; P.R.O., E.179/157/422; E.179/254/2, and 157/360-1; The Copes of Hanwell were in similar financial trouble.

Crewe of Steane

This family enjoyed a rapid ascent based on legal wealth. Sir Thomas (d.1634) married a coheir of Reginald, descendant of the Lords Braye, and

inherited Steane and Hinton about 1600. He was speaker of the House of Commons in 1623 and 1625, and he was a younger brother of Sir Randolph, Chief Justice of King's Bench in 1625. In 1642, John (d.1679) was assessed at £20 for the subsidy, and had an income of more than £1,000 p/a. They were among the greater gentry; and in 1661, John was created 1st Lord Crewe, partly for his services to the Restoration. He had been imprisoned after the Short Parliament (1640) for refusing to deliver parliamentary papers to the Clerk, but, although he was a parliamentarian and M.P. for Brackley, 1640-8, he opposed the attainder of Strafford and the execution of the King. He was a moderate and was imprisoned by the Army in 1648.(1)

1. Complete Peerage, iii, p.532; D.N.B., v, p.81; P.R.O., E.179/157/422; Underdown, p.391; Keeler; C.A.M., i, p.275; Clarendon, iii, p.497; Nalson, J., Impartial Collections of the Great Affairs of State, i, p.344; ii, p.367.

Griffin of Dingley

The Griffins were in Northamptonshire in the early fourteenth century, and John (d.1445) was heir to Lord Latimer of Braybrooke. But the family fortunes were founded by Edward, Attorney-General 1553-8, a brother of Thomas Griffin, de jure Lord Latimer. In 1600, they were assessed at £70 for the subsidy, the highest Northamptonshire rating (excluding the peerage), but financial difficulties were soon evident. Ashley was sold for £1,900 in 1610, and Wakerley for £8,500 in 1617. Thorpe Lubbenham had been conveyed for £4,360 in 1605; and Stoke Albany was sold in the 1630's. Finally, in 1647, Braybrook was alienated for £8,500. Their subsidy assessment was only £20 in 1642, but their gross income was about £1,200 p/a, and they were still among the greater gentry. Sir Edward (d.1680), a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, was a royalist. The family were catholic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Sir Edward's heir, Edward was created Lord Griffin in 1688, by James II, and died a Jacobite prisoner in the Tower.(1)

1. Complete Peerage, vii, p.456ff; vi, pp.202-4; P.R.O., E.179/157/360-1; 254/2. Bloom, J., The Griffins of Dingley; N.R.O., Catalogue of Exeter MSS., 28/12, 13, 1, 37; N.R.O., Bullivant MSS., B(MT)162; Watson MSS., B.2/57/6; B.7/45; N.R.A., Catalogue of Palmer MSS., in Leicestershire Record Office, 257; P.R.O., E.179/157/422-3; Keeler, p.196; Baildon, W.P., Braybrooke: its Castle, Manor and Lords; Carlisle, N., An Enquiry into the Place and Quality of Gentlemen of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, p.141; C.C.C., ii, p.1206; C.A.M., ii, p.785; Cal. S.P.D., 1603-10, p.493; Catholic Record Society Publications, lx, p.6; xxii, p.125. Sir Edward was M.P. for Downton in 1640. Edward Compion, the Jesuit, confessed to visiting Dingley in 1581, and Edward was Mary's Attorney-General.

Hatton of Kirby

The Hattons moved from Cheshire to Holdenby in the early sixteenth century, but Holdenby was sold to the King in 1608, and Kirby Hall, in Gretton parish, became the main residence. The family fortunes were founded by Sir

Christopher (d.1591), Elizabeth's Lord Chancellor; however, central office caused severe financial problems. Sir Christopher was £10,000 in debt as early as 1575, and he died £42,139 in debt to the Queen. The family never recovered, and were still £18,600 in debt in 1642, and £8,500 in 1666. Between 1637 and 1640, Sir Christopher (d.1670) took out bonds of £26,500, and Wellingborough and Berefield manors were sold, and Gretton and Brampton were continually mortgaged from 1616-60. Property worth £6,600 was sold in the 1650's. However, despite decline, Sir Christopher had an income of £2,530 p/a in 1640, and his £40 assessment for the 1642 subsidy was the equal highest of any outside the peerage. In 1643, he was created Lord Hatton and was appointed Comptroller of the Household. He was a leading royalist. (1)

1. D.N.B., ix, p.159; Stone, p.423; B.M., Lansdowne MSS., 20/57; Northants Past and Present, iii, p.255; N.R.O., Finch-Hatton MSS., 601; 602; 669; 841; 919; 923; 944; 945-58; 993-4; 1,005; 1,015; 1,210; 1,263; 1,338; 1,795; 1,853; 1,880; 1,622; 1,152; 2,241; 2,348; 3,028; 3,091; 3,142; 3,295; 4,115-7; 4,120-3; 3,105; 1,174; 1,235; 1,162-3; 3,990; 3,134; 3, 368; 4,014; 3,378; Isham Correspondence, I.C.380-1; P.R.O., E.112/110/91; Northamptonshire Notes and Queries, v, p.7; Keeler, p.208, (Sir Christopher was M.P. for Higham Ferrers in 1640); P.R.O., E.179/157/421-3; C.C.C., p.1,579; C.A.M., ii, p.640; Complete Peerage, vi, pp.396-8; Habbakuk.

Palmer of Carleton

They acquired Carleton in the early fifteenth century, and until 1600, and 1642, when they were assessed at £6 for the subsidy, they consolidated themselves within the lesser gentry. Their ascent to the greater gentry during the Interregnum was due to Geoffrey Palmer (baronet 1660, d.1670), a lawyer and M.P. for Stamford, 1640-2. Although he managed the evidence against Strafford, he opposed the Grand Remonstrance and became a Royalist. In the 1650's and 1660's, he acquired a large estate in Leicestershire and Derbyshire from the declining Shirley family, and in 1660, his son Roger, Cofferer to the King, was reputed to have an income of £880 p/a. Sir Geoffrey was Attorney-General from 1660-70. (1)

1. P.R.O., E.179/157/360-1; 254/2; E.179/157/421-3; Barron, O., Northamptonshire Families; D.N.B., xv, pp.126-7; Complete Baronetage, iii, p.28; Keeler, p.293; C.C.C., p.1433; C.A.M., i, p.436; N.R.A., Catalogue of Palmer MSS in Leicestershire Record Office, 26,32,34,37-8,40,71,73; N.R.A., Catalogue of Ferrers MSS in Leicestershire Record Office, 516; Habakkuk,p.139.

Stafford of Blatherwick

Their absence from Visitations makes it difficult to establish their pedigree, but a close affinity with the Staffords, Dukes of Buckingham, is suggested. They settled at Blatherwick in the Fifteenth century, and a Sir Humphrey was Governor of Calais, and was killed in Cade's Rebellion. His son, Sir Humphrey, was executed after Lord Lovell's 1486 uprising, and the family estates were restored in the early sixteenth century. William Stafford became

a very powerful figure by his two marriages: first, he married Mary Boleyn, sister to the Queen; second, he married Dorothy, daughter of Henry Lord Stafford, heir of the Duke of Buckingham, and Ursula Pole, grandaughter of the Duke of Clarence. This gave the Staffords an involved claim to the throne. William's son Sir Edward (d.1605) was Ambassador to France, 1583-90, and Remembrancer of 1st Fruits and Tenths in 1597. They declined in the early seventeenth century, possibly because of office; but they were assessed at £40 in 1642, the equal highest assessment, and William, a Royalist, was said to have had lands worth £3,000 p/a in 1660. They were clearly among the greater gentry. (1)

1. Bridges, ii, pp.276-80; Hallinan, Thesis, pp.59, 495; V.C.H., Northamptonshire; N.R.O., Finch-Hatton MSS., 602; Knightley MSS., K.LIV, 575; P.R.O., E.179/157/421-3; C.C.C., p.1,859; and 88; C.A.M., ii, p.946; Burke; P.R.O., E.112/110/163. The Staffords were firm protestants in the sixteenth century, and signed the 1605 Petition against the Deprivation of Puritan Clergy: see Garrett, C., The Marian Exiles; Cal. Patent Rolls, 1553-4, p.414; B.M., Lansdowne MSS., 103/1; P.R.O., S.P.14/12/69.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A thesis of this kind necessarily involves an examination of the entire range of sources, both primary and secondary, concerning most aspects of English history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and, more particularly, most aspects of the history of these two counties. The indexes of numerous manuscript collections and printed works have been consulted, and, in many cases, only a single reference has been obtained. It would be very misleading if those sources which have yielded only an isolated reference were placed on an equal footing with those which have proved to be fundamental bases of the thesis. Therefore, only the most important sources are contained in this bibliography, and the reader is referred to textual footnotes for collections or works of minor importance.

However, an explanation should be given for the absence of certain archives from this bibliography.

I systematically examined the catalogues of manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Cambridge University Library. The latter appears to contain very few documents of relevance to these two counties, between 1524 and 1674, and facsimiles or transcripts of most of them, particularly the 1624 Survey of Dunstable, are held by the County Record Offices. Similarly, transcripts or facsimiles of Bodleian Library manuscripts relating to Northamptonshire are in the County Record Office, in one form or another. The material relating to Peterborough recusants and elections (Bodleian Library, R.C.366; T.147. 37) appears in the papers of Mr. W. Mellows; the 1606 Survey of the Nene (TN c.10,5) is also in the County Record Office; and notes about local royalists (RA.35, 81) appear in other sources. In my estimation, the only important Bodleian document which has not been consulted is a geographical description of Northamptonshire by John Innys in 1744 (MSS. 30,748, Topographical, Northants, 2.) But there are several other similar descriptions (Norden, J., (1610); Morton, J., (1712 and 1720)) which are probably equally as useful.

According to Miss Finch, (The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640, p.204), the Spencer manuscripts at Althorp, Northamptonshire, are rather scanty, especially for the seventeenth century. She has studied this family in depth, and there are some Spencer papers in the British Museum (Addit. MSS., 25,079-82). So, the Althorp collection has not been consulted.

Catalogues of the Compton manuscripts, at Castle Ashby, and of the Watson manuscripts, at Rockingham, which are in the Northamptonshire Record Office, reveal that there are few documents of relevance in these collections.

There is a card catalogue of the Exeter manuscripts, at Burghley; in the

Northamptonshire Record Office, and many of the most important ones have been photographed. This card catalogue gives very full descriptions of the documents.

Apparently, many of the Montagu manuscripts, at Boughton, are still uncatalogued, which presents severe difficulties for the researcher. Fortunately, the correspondence is on microfilm in the Northamptonshire Record Office, together with an eighteenth century description of the land deeds. Several other Montagu papers have been photographed, and H.M.C., Buccleuch MSS., 3 vols.; and H.M.C., Montagu of Beaulieu MSS., give fairly detailed descriptions of many Montagu documents.

The Bedfordshire estate documents of the Russells, Earls of Bedford, are in the Bedfordshire Record Office, and, according to the staff, there is little relevant material left at Woburn. I regret that several attempts to see some of the private papers of the Earls of Bedford in the Bedford Estate Office, Montagu Street, London, proved unsuccessful. The times I suggested were inconvenient to the archivist, and her suggested dates were inconvenient for me. This may prove an important untapped source, but some of these papers have been used by Thomson, G.S., in Two Centuries of Family History, and Life in a Noble Household, 1641-1700.

If other collections have been missed, it is because of lack of knowledge of their existence. However, there are extensive manorial documents relating to Cranfield, Bedfordshire, among the Sackville of Knole manuscripts in the Kent Record Office. These have been catalogued by the National Register of Archives, but have not been consulted.

One basic criterion of division of sources in this bibliography should be mentioned. All histories and descriptions of parishes within these two counties, or of the counties, themselves, which were published after 1700, have been classified as secondary authorities.

1. SOURCES

(i) Manuscript Sources

British Museum (now the British Library)

Egerton MSS., 2,541	:	Nicholas Papers
Hargrave MSS., 321	:	'Causes of Povertie and Abuses in Northamptonshire in the early seventeenth century'.
Harleian MSS	:	numerous volumes
Lansdowne MSS	:	numerous volumes
Sloane MSS., 3,560	:	Morton, J., Comparison of the Present State of Northamptonshire with Domesday, (c.1710)
Additional MSS., 5,491	:	Sequestration Papers, 1642-8
6,178	:	Excerpts from the Burghley Papers
25,079-082	:	Miscellaneous Spencer Papers
25,084-085	:	Sheep for the King's Household, 1547, and miscellaneous papers concerning Northamptonshire and Warwickshire.
25,302	:	Miscellaneous topographical papers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
570-1, 25,549-50	:	Hatton Correspondence
34,214	:	Papers of the Fanes, Earls of Westmorland
34,217-218	:	Sir Francis Fane's Letters
34,222	:	Letter Book of Mildmay, second Earl of Westmorland 1660-5.
34,364-383	:	Oliver St.John Cooper's Collections towards a history of Bedfordshire, (1741-1801)
39,828-38	:	Tresham Papers

Public Record Office

Chancery Early Proceedings	:	C.1.
Proceedings, Series I	:	C.2.
Series II	:	C.3.
Six Clerks Series, Bridges Division	:	C.5.
Decree Rolls	:	C.78.
Warrants for the Great Seal, Series II	:	C.82.
Miscellaneous Books (Crown Office)	:	C.193.
Special Commissions (Petty Bag Office)	:	C.205.
List of Coroners	:	C.242.
Duchy of Lancaster Depositions and Examinations	:	D.L.3 and 4
Parliamentary Surveys	:	D.L.32
Miscellenea and Miscellaneous Books	:	D.L.41 and 42
Rentals and Surveys	:	D.L.43
Special Commissions and Returns	:	D.L.44

Exchequer King's Remembrancer

Bills and Answers	:	E.112
Depositions taken by Commission	:	E.134
Inventories of Goods and Chattels	:	E.154
Miscellanea of Exchequer	:	E.163
Special Commissions of Inquiry	:	E.178
Lay Subsidy Rolls, etc.	:	E.179

Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer

	Memoranda Rolls	: E.368
	Recusant Rolls	: E.377

Augmentations Office

Certificates of Colleges and Chantries		: E.301
	Miscellaneous Books	: E.315
	Parliamentary Surveys	: E.317
Proceedings of Court of Augmentations		: E.321

Land Revenue Office

	Miscellaneous Books	: L.R.2
	Privy Council Registers, 1631-7, (Microcards)	: P.C.2

Probate Room	Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills	:	PROB. 11
Requests	Proceedings, Henry VIII to Charles I	:	REQ.2
	Miscellaneous Proceedings	:	REQ.3
Special Collections	Rentals and Surveys	:	S.C.12
Star Chamber	Proceedings, Henry VIII	:	STAC.2
	Edward VI	:	STAC.3
	Mary	:	STAC.4
	Elizabeth	:	STAC.5
	Elizabeth, Supplement	:	STAC.6
	Addenda	:	STAC.7
	James I	:	STAC.8
	Charles I	:	STAC.9
	Miscellaneous	:	STAC.10

State Paper Office

State Papers, Henry VIII, General Series	:	S.P.1
State Papers Domestic, Edward VI	:	S.P.10
Mary	:	S.P.11
Elizabeth	:	S.P.12 and 13
James I	:	S.P.14
Addenda: Edward VI to James I	:	S.P.15
Charles I	:	S.P.16 and 17
Interregnum	:	S.P.18
Charles II	:	S.P.29
Committee for Compounding with Delinquents:		S.P.23
Commonwealth Exchequer Papers	:	S.P.28
State Papers, Supplementary	:	S.P.46

Catalogues Chronological Index of Patents of Invention, 1617-1823 (Long Room C/124)

Catalogue of Feodaries Surveys (Wards 5, Round Room)

Bedfordshire County Record Office

Every catalogue and index drawer in the Rec ord Office have been examined. The collections and items listed below are those of major importance to this thesis. Those collections which are not mentioned have only yielded an occasional land deed or document of relevance. Most useful of all to the historian of early modern Bedfordshire are, I think, the Chester MSS; the Francklin MSS; the St.John MSS; the Lucas MSS; which contain the papers of the Greys, Earls of Kent; the Orlebar MSS.; the Russells, Earls of Bedford's estate documents, and the Trevor-Wingfield MSS., which contain the papers of the Boteler family, and considerable information relating to the Civil War.

Chester MSS.	:	CH.
Francklin MSS.	:	FN.
Harvey MSS.	:	HY.
Kroyer-Kielburg MSS.	:	KK.
Lady Lucas MSS.	:	L
Orlebar MSS.	:	OR
Osborne MSS.	:	O
Russell estate MSS.	:	R, RH and RO
St.John MSS.	:	J
Saunderson MSS.	:	SA
Squire MSS.	:	SQ
Trevor-Wingfield MSS.	:	TW
Wade-Gery MSS.	:	WG and GY
Whitbread MSS.	:	W
Wingfield MSS.	:	WW
Wynne MSS.	:	WY

ABP	:	Archdeaconry of Bedford Records, including Wills and Churchwardens Presentments
CRT	:	Record Office Transcripts
CRT.100/25	:	Transcripts of Ministers' Accounts for the Honour of Ampthill, 1542
CRT.130/Dunstable	:	Transcripts of Dunstable Records
P.72	:	Parish Records of Dunstable
H.S.A.	:	Fragments of Assize Records for the old Norfolk Circuit
FAC.18/5	:	Facsimile of Wase Inquiry into Schools, 1678, in the Bodleian Library
FAC.7	:	Facsimile of Survey of Dunstable, 1624, in Cambridge University Library (MSS., Ee. 3,34)

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Talbot MSS.	:	Vol.L.

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Ferrers MSS. (Shirley family)

National Register of Archives

Various catalogues of family papers have been examined and index read. Also, Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire references in the catalogue drawers of the Register have been followed up. But most of the National Register of Archives catalogues which concern families in these two counties are held by the County Record Offices.

Northampton Public Library

The Local History Room contains many useful items

Northampton County Record Office

Every catalogue and index drawer have been examined. The collections and items listed below are those of major importance to this thesis. Those collections which are not mentioned have only yielded an occasional relevant document. Most useful of all are the Brudenell MSS., the Isham MSS., and Isham Correspondence; the Finch-Hatton MSS.; the Fitzwilliam MSS.; the MSS., of the Fanes, Earls of Westmorland; the Cokayne MSS.; the Dryden MSS.; the Cartwright MSS.; the Knightley MSS.; the Samwell MSS.; and the Stopford-Sackville MSS., which contain the papers of the Mordaunt family.

Brooke MSS.	:	B
Brudenell MSS.	:	BRU
Cartwright MSS.	:	C(A)
Cokayne MSS.	:	C
Dryden MSS.	:	D(CA)
Ellesmere MSS.	:	E.B. (the Egerton family)
Finch-Hatton MSS.	:	F.H.
Fitzwilliam MSS.	:	F(M)

Isham MSS. and Isham Correspondence	:	I(L), and I.C.
Jackson MSS.	:	J(D)
Knightley MSS.	:	K
Langton MSS.	:	L(T) (contain papers of the Breton family)
Maunsell MSS.	:	M(TM.)
Rockingham MSS.	:	R. (the Watson family)
St.John MSS.	:	S
Samwell MSS.	:	S(U)
Stopford-Sackville MSS.	:	SS.
Taylor MSS.	:	T.L.B.
Thornton MSS.	:	Th.
Wake MSS.	:	W
Watson MSS.	:	W.R.
Westmorland MSS.	:	Westm. (the Fane family)
Wykes MSS.	:	Wy.

X	:	Diocese of Peterborough records, including wills proved in the Archdeaconry Court of Northampton and the Consistory Court of Peterborough; Episcopal Visitations; and Church Court Books.
Microfilm 48	:	Montagu Estate Abstracts, an eighteenth century calendar of family papers at Boughton. Montagu Correspondence is also on Microfilm.
Microfilm 196	:	Quarter Sessions of the Soke of Peterborough, 1623-30 (from Cecils, Earls of Exeter MSS. at Burghley)
Various Microfilms	:	Copies of Lay Subsidy Rolls and Hearth Taxes for Northamptonshire.
Photostat 847	:	List of Rebels of 1607 (from Montagu of Boughton MSS)
Various Photostats	:	Protestation Returns for the four parishes for which these documents survive.
Q.S.R. 1	:	Fragments of Quarter Sessions Records, c.1650-70.
C(A), 7,506	:	The Cartwright Musters Book, 1631-6.
Z.A. 2,251	:	Sir Thomas Cave's Musters Book, 1620-32
ML. 792	:	Wellingborough Feoffees Book, 1599-1672
uncatalogued	:	Wellingborough Overseers of the Poor Book, 1650-1713; and Churchwardens Accounts, 1617-1716.
Parish Records 92	:	Wellingborough Records
Maps 3 and 155	:	Wellingborough Maps, 1803
FH.357, 412, 543, 296; SB.209-10; X.4,580; G.I.326-31	:	Wellingborough Court Rolls and Rentals, etc.

Catalogues of sixteenth and seventeenth century documents among the Watson MSS., at Rockingham; and the Compton MSS., at Castle Ashby.

Card catalogue and some photostats of the Cecils, Earls of Exeter MSS., at Burghley.

Staffordshire County Record Office
(William Salt Library)

The Compton Census, 1676	:	Salt MSS., 33

Warwickshire County Record Office

Mordaunt of Walton MSS.	:	CR.133

Warwick Castle

Brooke MSS.	:	Records of Wellingborough
Boxes 411-414	:	General family accounts, which include Wellingborough
BB.401 (3 boxes); BB.402, Boxes 580-8, 592-3	:	Court Rolls and Surveys
Boxes 44-6 (Rolls 687-713)	:	Court Rolls
BB.470	:	Court Book, 1623-42
Box TD.76/29 (a Warwickshire Record Office catalogue number)	:	Miscellaneous

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Brotherton Library, Leeds

Ms. Lt. q.17	:	Manuscript poem ca.1605 satirising the foibles of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for Northamptonshire

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Wellingborough, All Saints Church

Parish Registers 1586 —— .

Easton Neston, nr. Towcester, Northamptonshire

Lady Hesketh Kindly sent me an old catalogue of the sixteenth and seventeenth century documents relating to the Fermor family among the Fermor-Hesketh MSS., while I was at Northampton. As a result, I was able to see one or two relevant documents at the Record Office, but most of the family papers relate to the post-1700 period, or to the medieval period, and the latter have been catalogued by the National Register of Archives.

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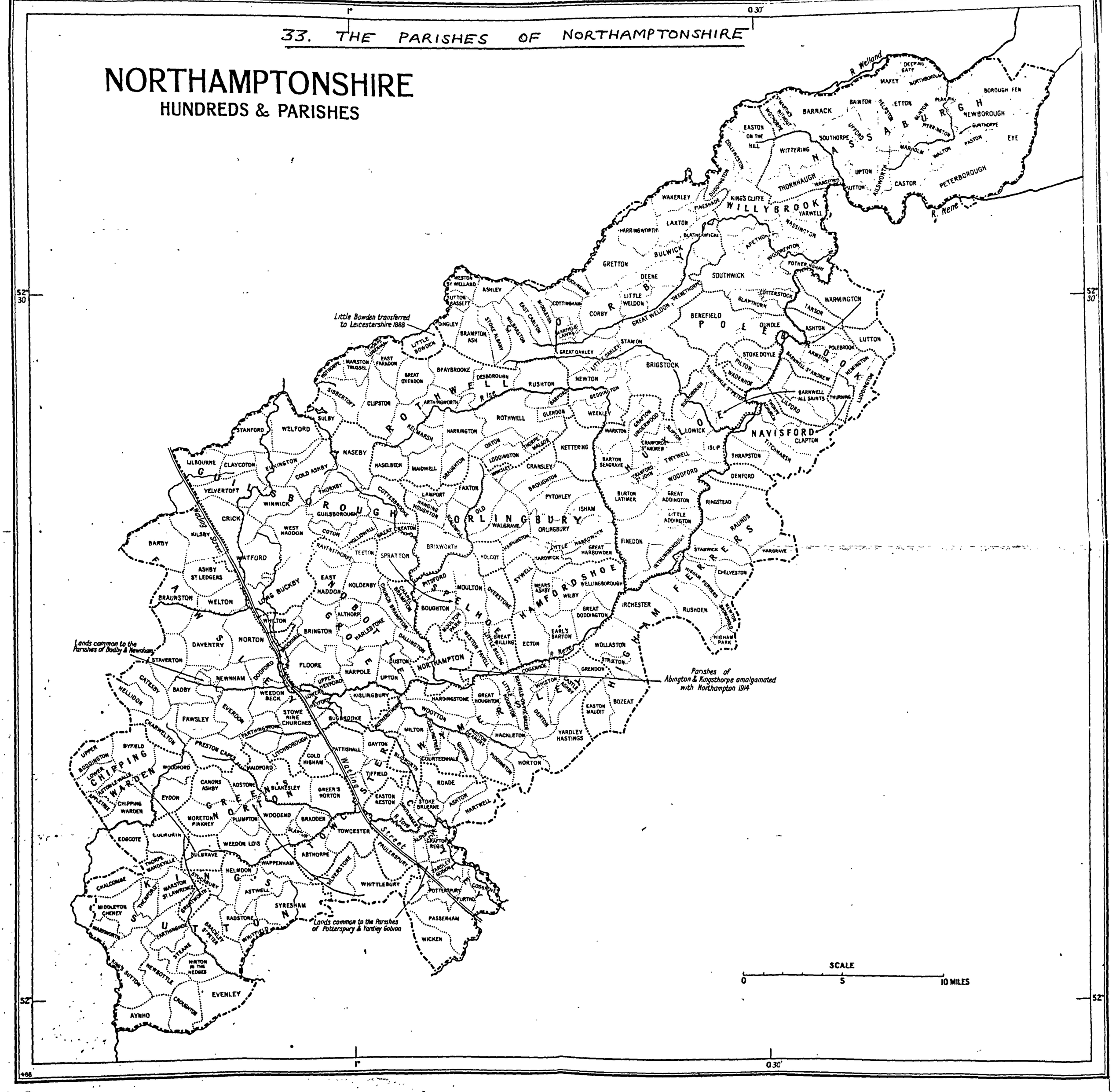
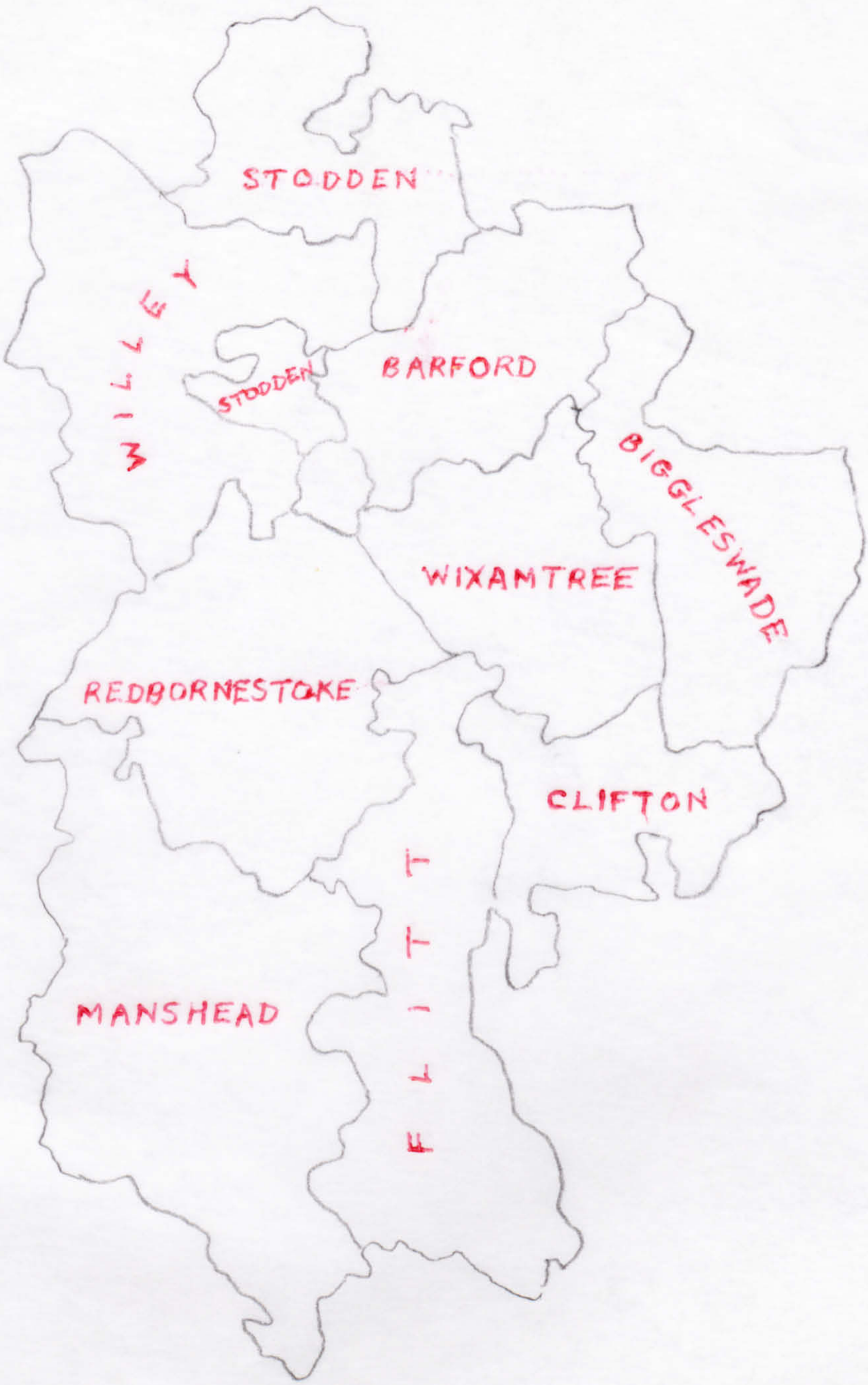
32. THE PARISHES OF BEDFORDSHIRE

33. THE PARISHES OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

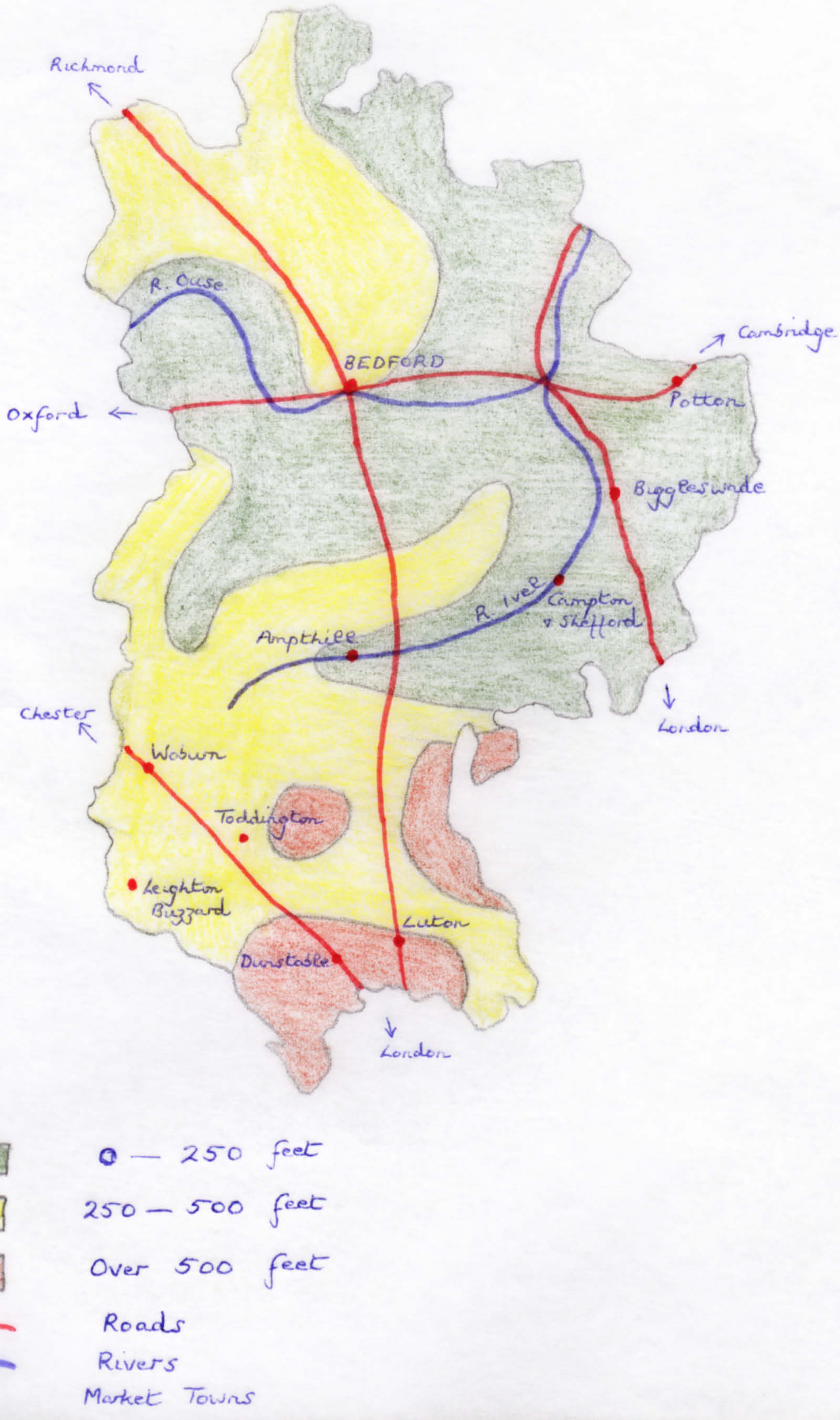


MAP A : THE HUNDREDS OF BEDFORDSHIRE



MAP B : THE HUNDREDS OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

MAP 1 · TOPOGRAPHY & COMMUNICATIONS IN BEDFORDSHIRE



MAP 2 : BEDFORDSHIRE SOILS

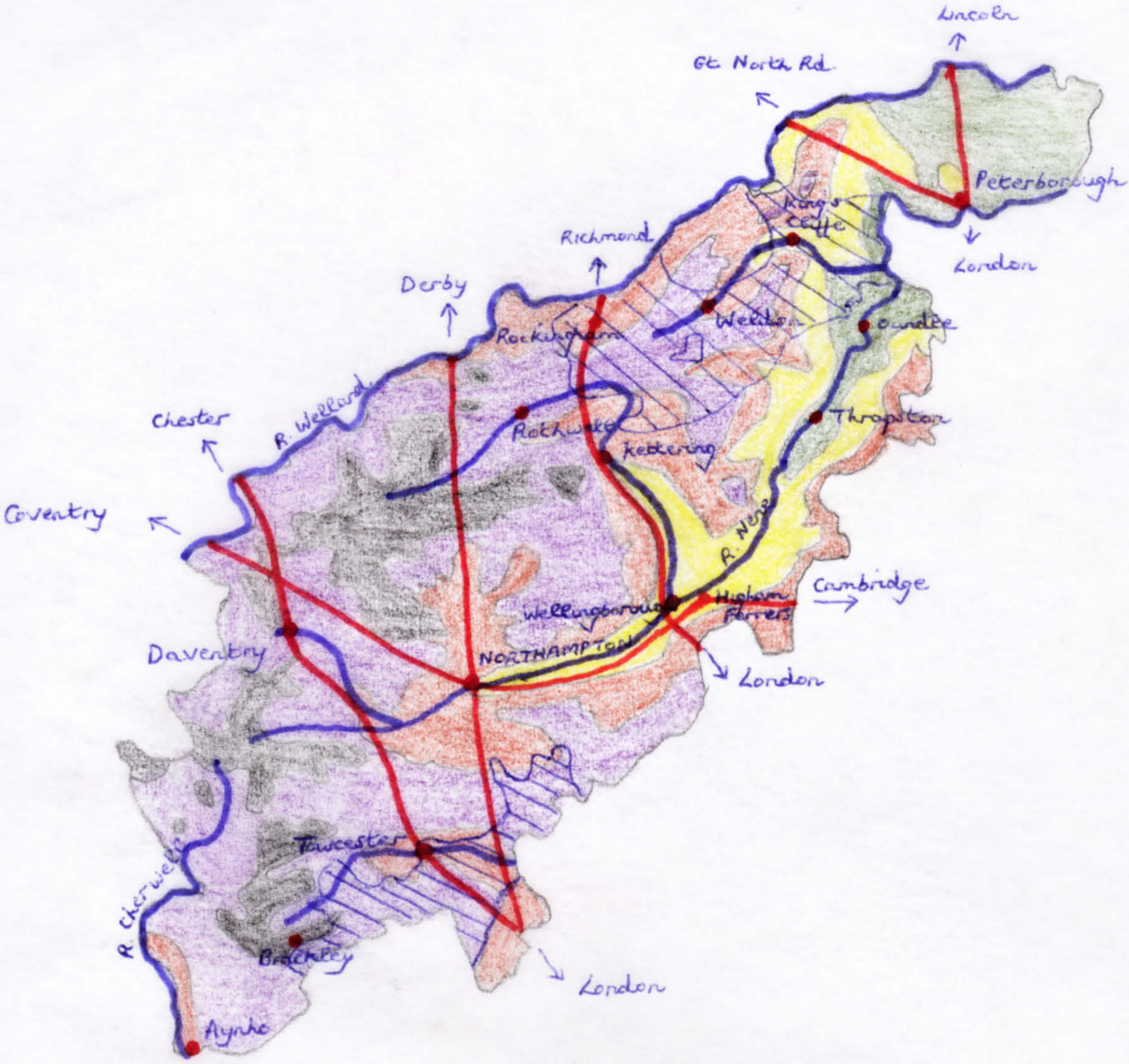
Clay

Sand

Gravel

Chalk + Clay

MAP 3 : TOPOGRAPHY + COMMUNICATIONS IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE



Below 100 feet

100 — 200 feet

200 — 300 feet

300 — 500 feet

Over 500 feet

Rivers

Roads

Market Towns

Royal Forests

MAP 4 : BEDFORDSHIRE FARMING REGIONS

General Mixed Farming

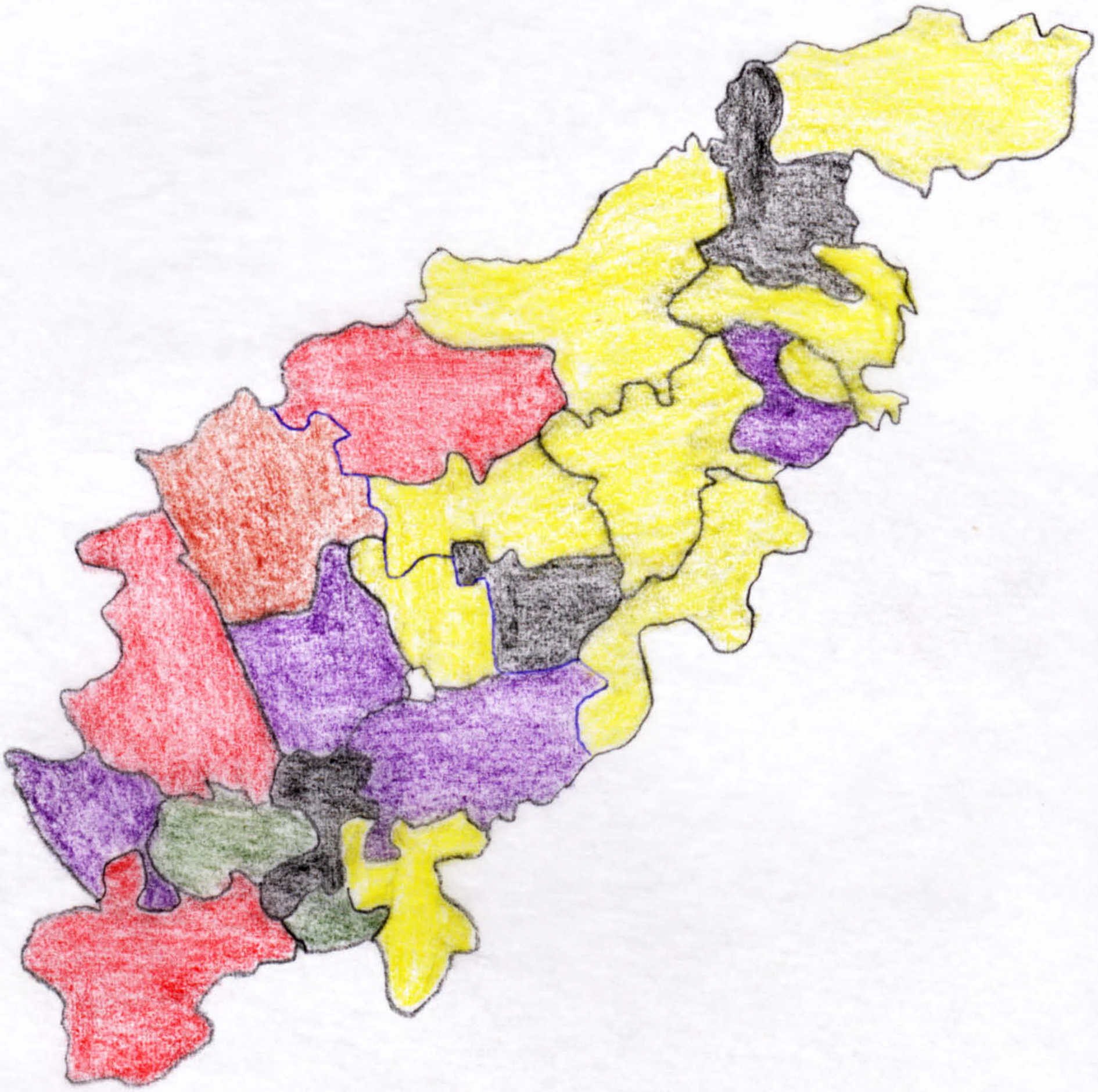
Dairying predominant

Market-Gardening predominant ; some dairying

Barley predominant ; some dairying & sheep

Boundary between the Midland Plain farming region & the Chiltern farming region

MAP 5 : DISTRIBUTION OF SHEEP IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, 1547



No large flocks

0 — 50 sheep per sq. mile

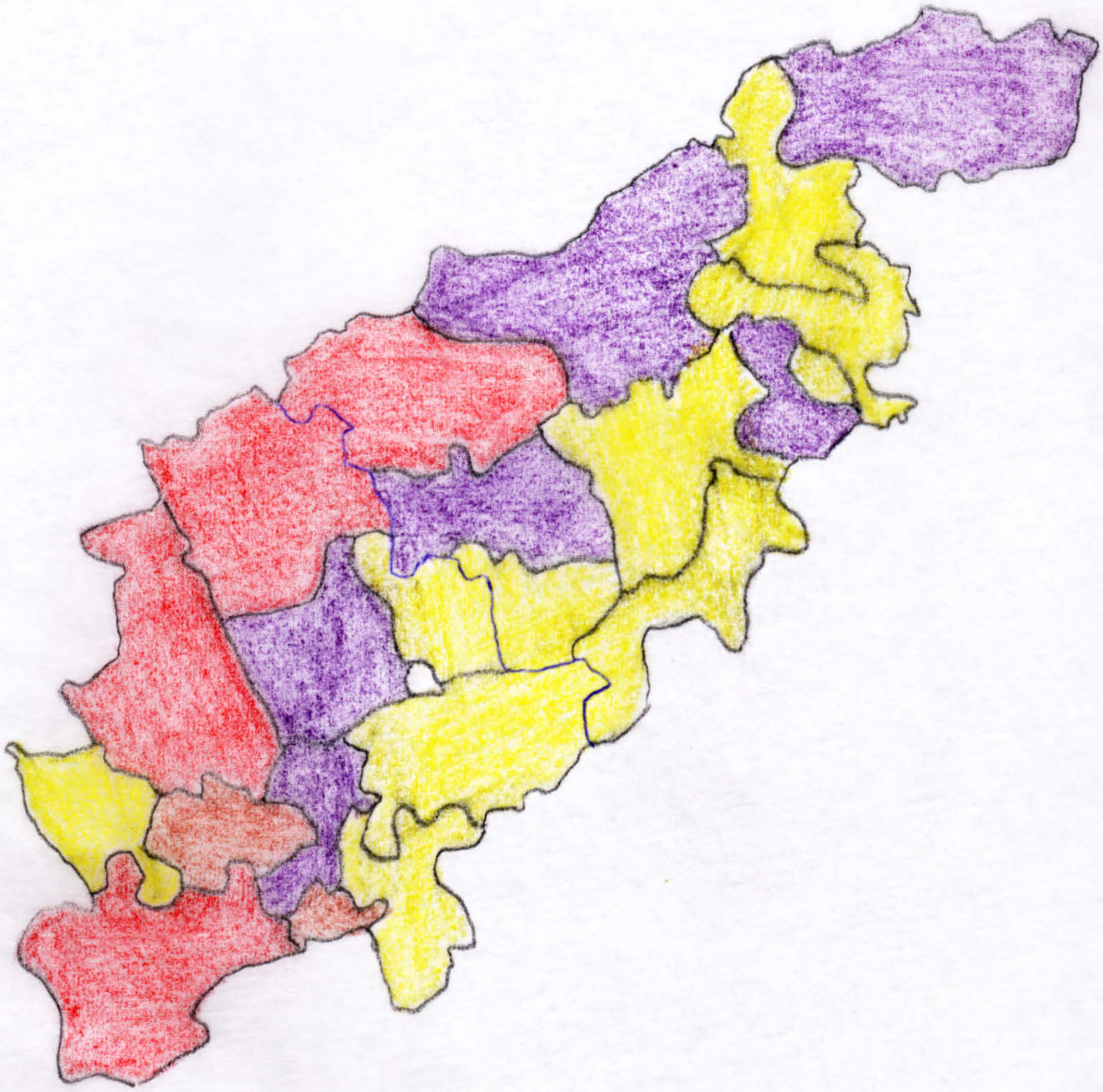
50.1 — 100

100.1 — 150

150.1 — 200

200.1 +

MAP 6 : DISTRIBUTION OF SHEEP IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, 1595



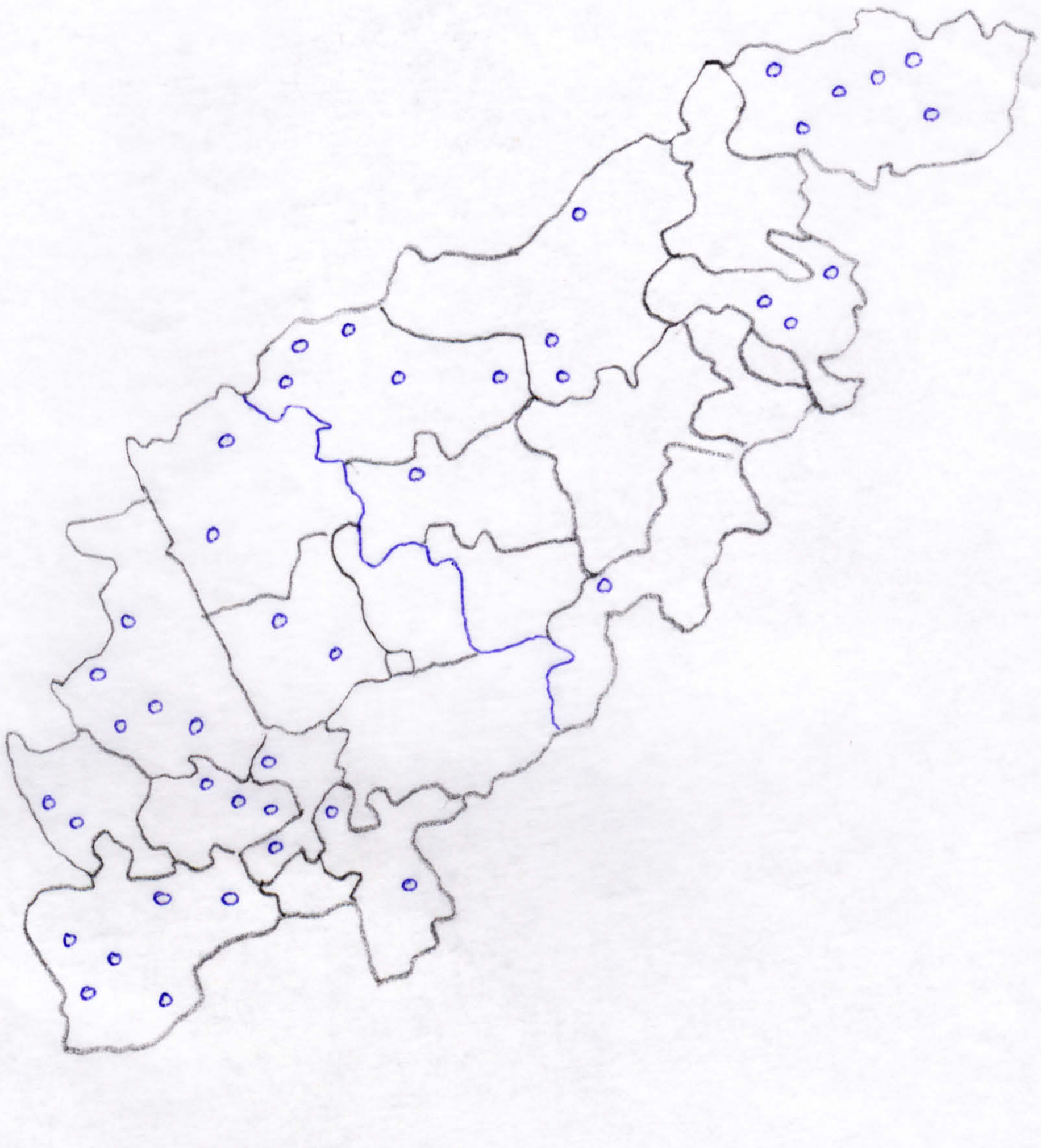
0 — 50 sheep per sq. mile

50.1 — 100

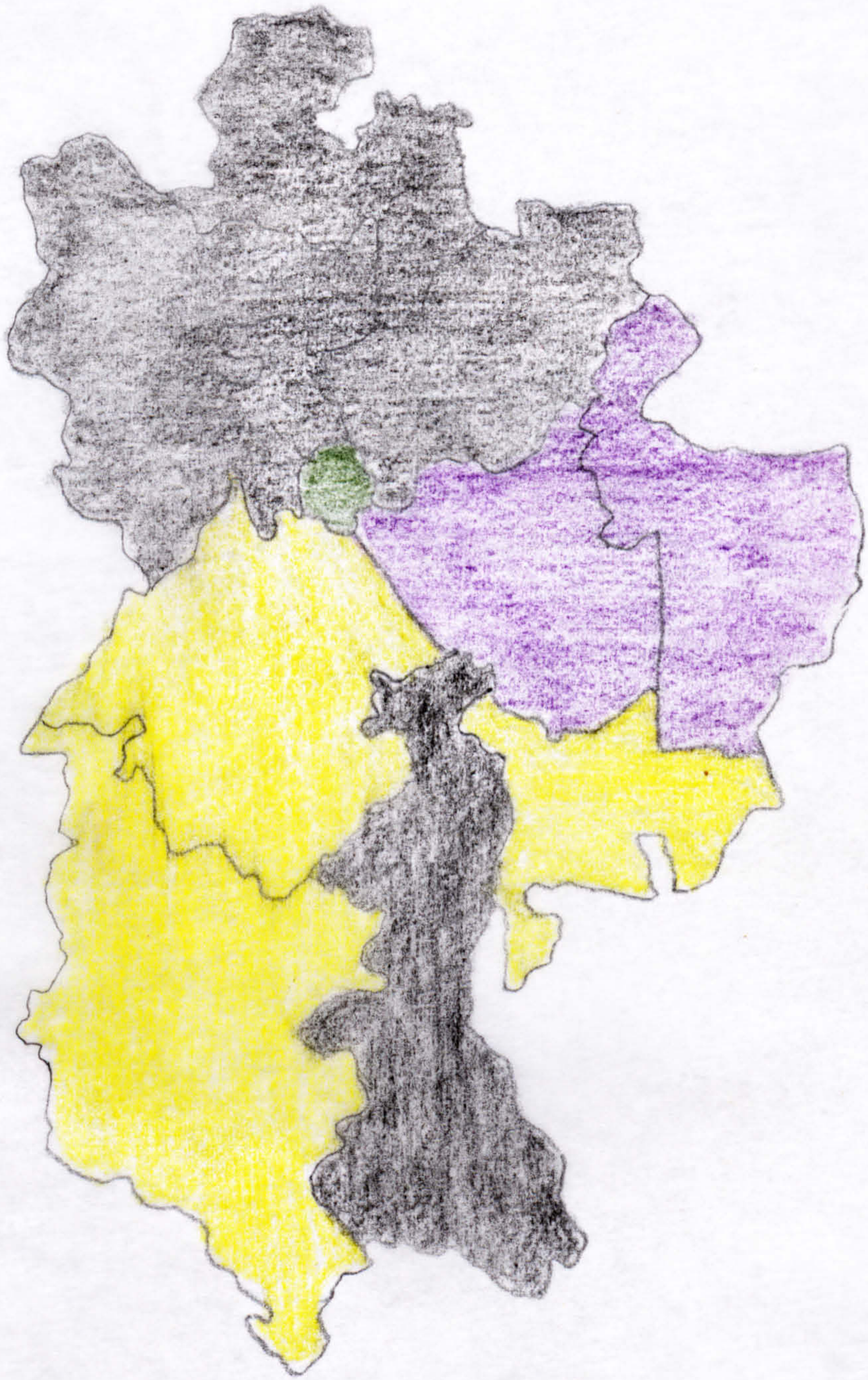
100.1 — 150

150.1 — 200

MAP 7 : DESERTED VILLAGES IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE



MAP 8 : DENSITY OF POPULATION IN BEDFORDSHIRE, 1544/6.



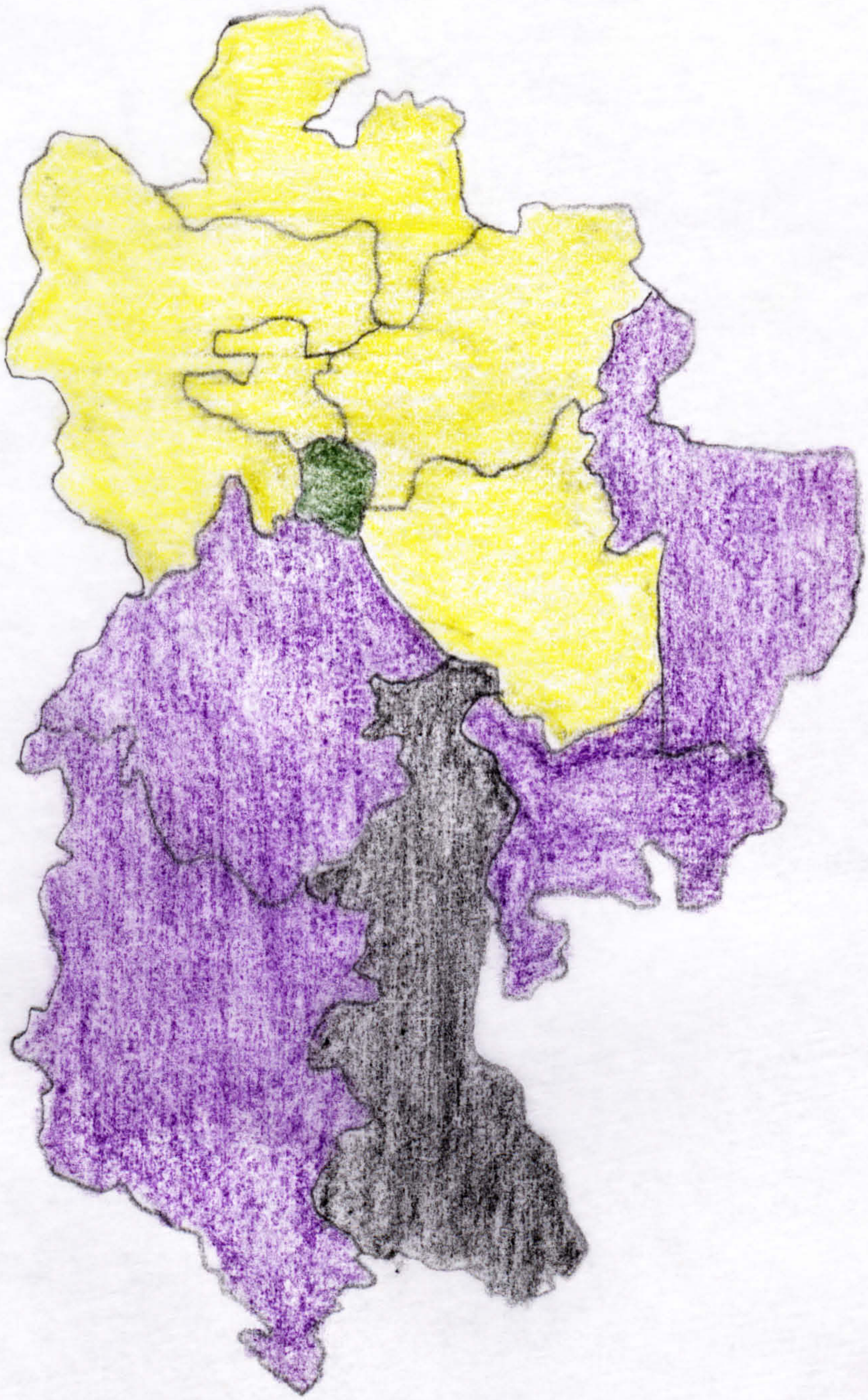
50 – 60 persons per sq. mile

60.1 – 70

70.1 – 80

+ 80

MAP 9 : DENSITY OF POPULATION IN BEDFORDSHIRE, 1563



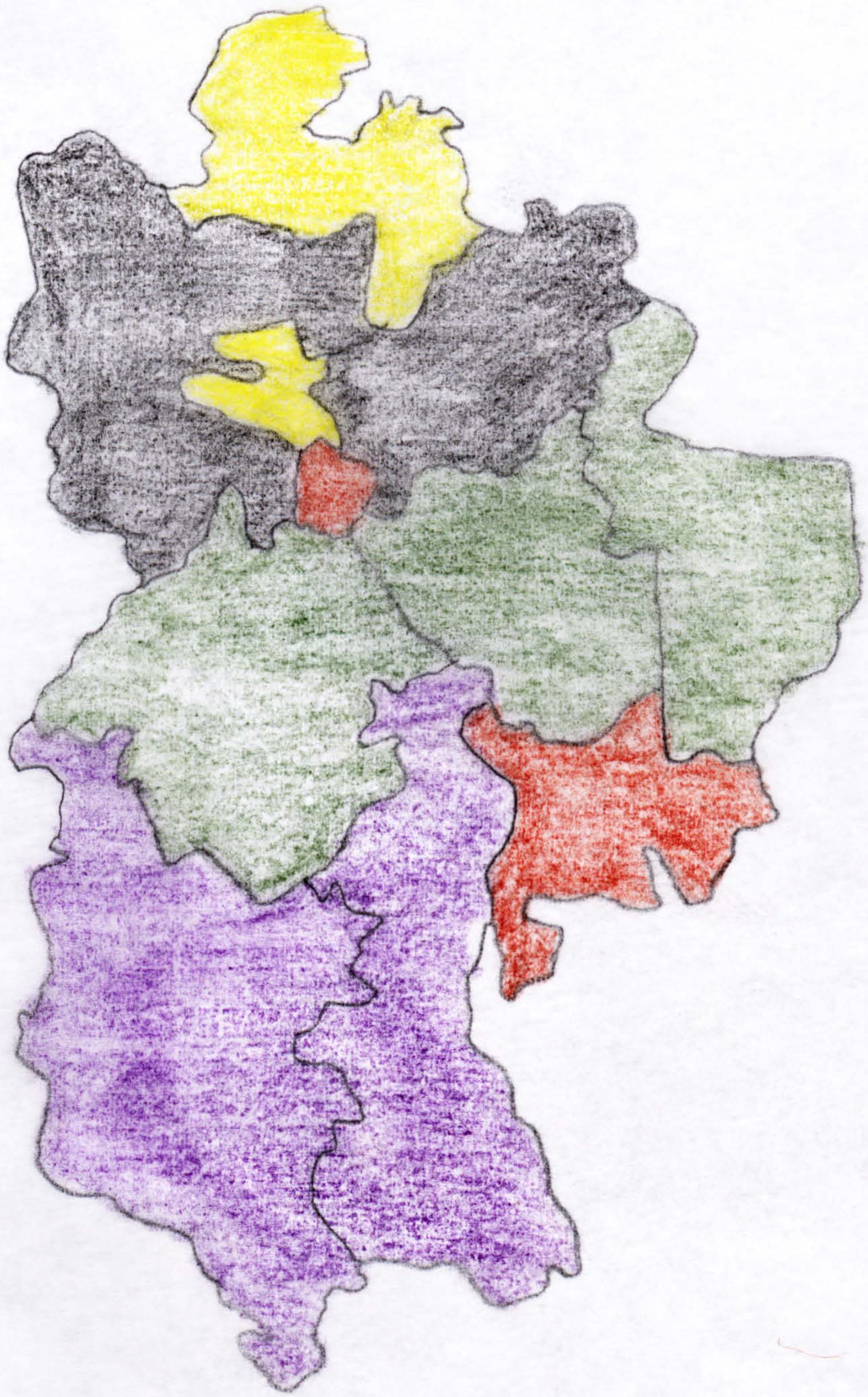
30 – 40 persons per sq. mile

40.1 – 50

50.1 – 60

+ 60

MAP 10 : DENSITY OF POPULATION IN BEDFORDSHIRE, 1603



50 – 60 persons per sq. mile

60.1 – 70

70.1 – 80

80.1 – 90

+ 90

MAP 11 : DENSITY OF POPULATION IN BEDFORDSHIRE, 1671

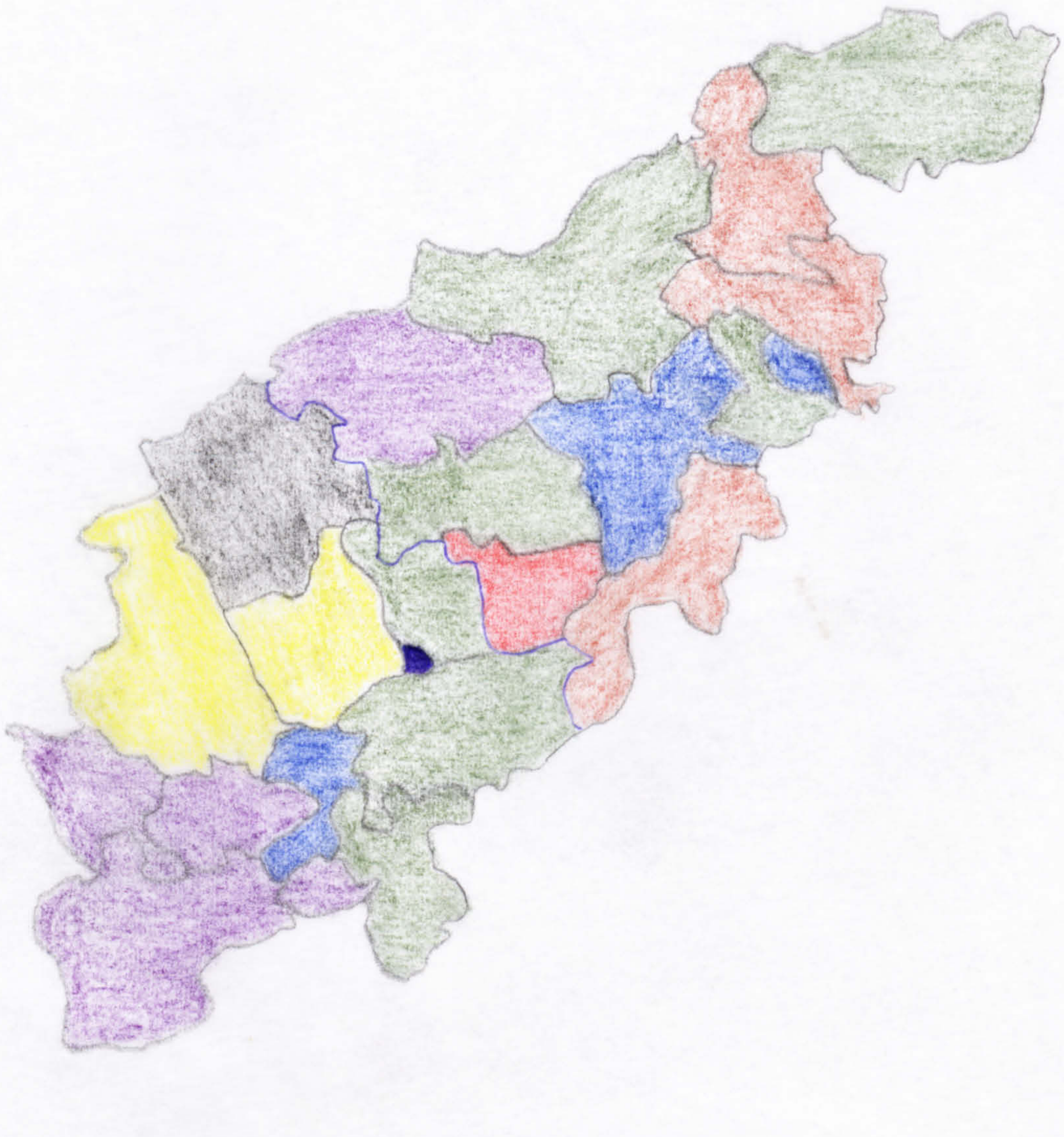
60 – 75 persons per sq. mile

75.1 – 90

90.1 – 105

+ 105

MAP 12 : DENSITY OF POPULATION IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, 1524



30 — 40 persons per sq. mile

40.1 — 50

50.1 — 60

60.1 — 70

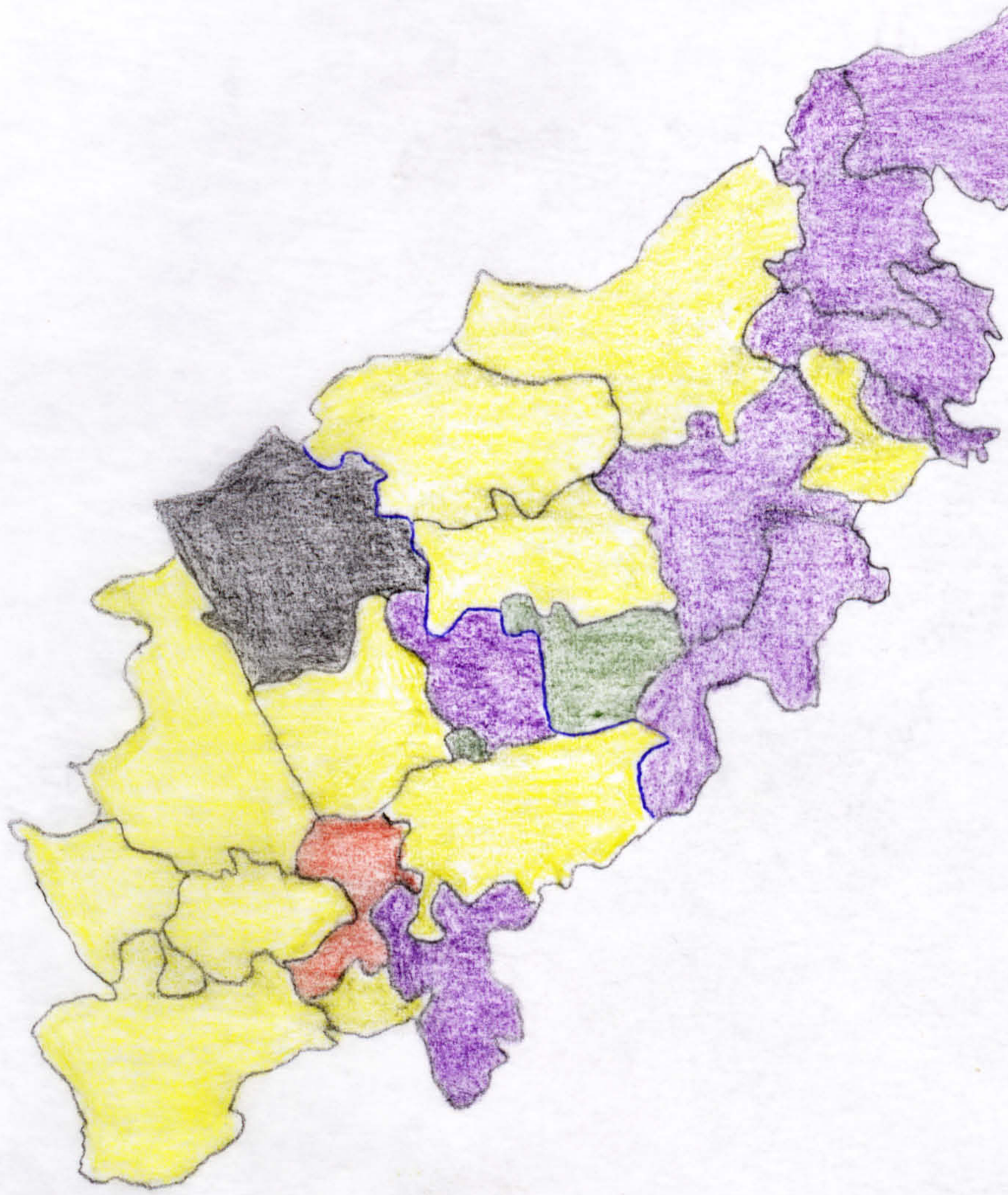
70.1 — 80

80.1 — 90

90.1 — 100

Over 100

MAP 13 : DENSITY OF POPULATION IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, 1674



60 — 75 persons per sq. mile

75.1 — 90

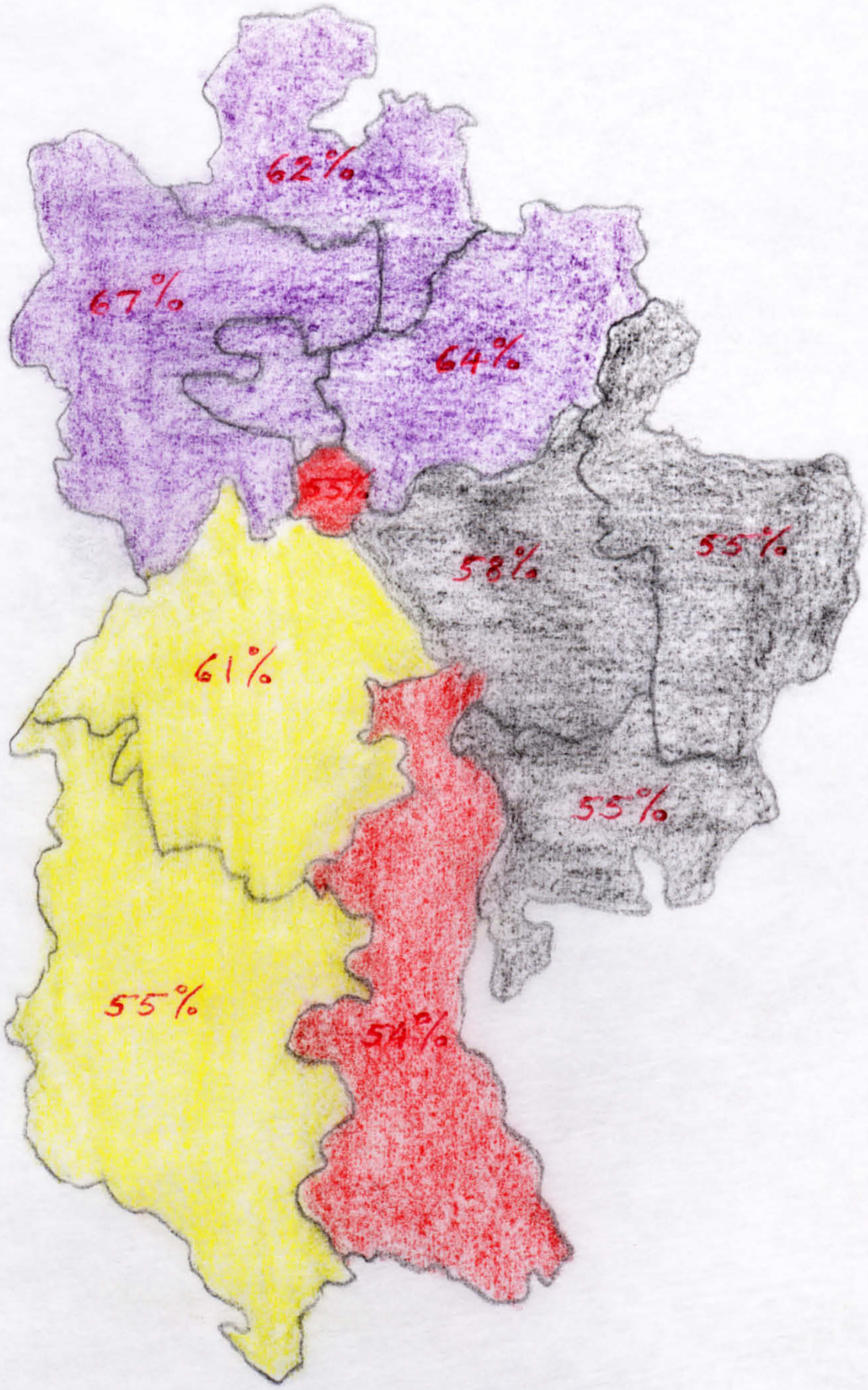
90.1 — 105

[None 105.1 — 120]

120.1 — 135

+ 135

MAP 14 : SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF BEDFORDSHIRE, 1671



15 – 20 per cent houses exempted from Hearth Tax

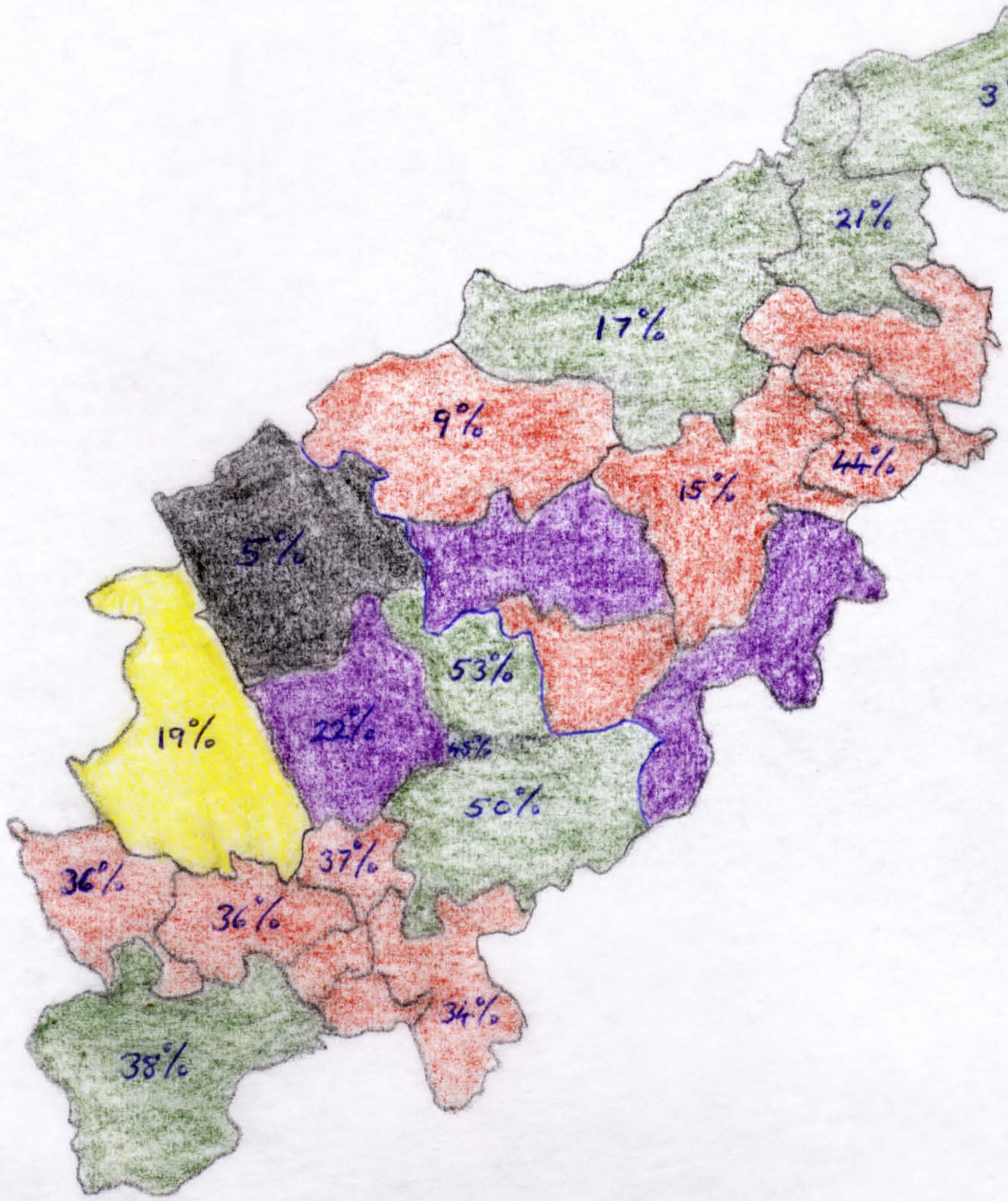
20 – 25 per cent

25 – 30 per cent

30 – 35 per cent

55% Overall percentage of 1 hearth houses (including exemptions)

MAP 15 : SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE 1524/44



20 — 30 per cent assessed at upto £2

30.1 — 40 per cent

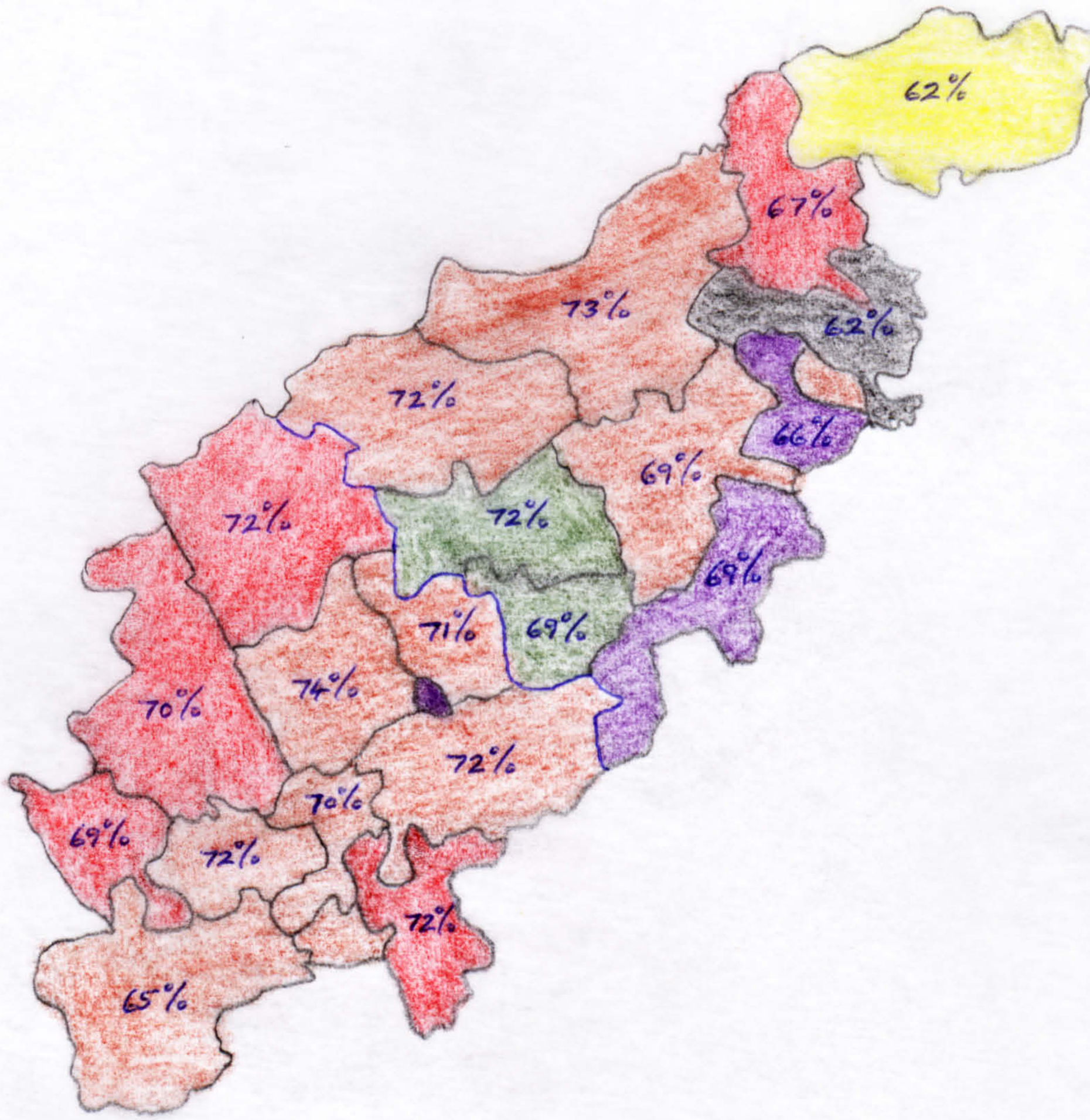
40.1 — 50 per cent

50.1 — 60 per cent

60.1 — 70 per cent

53% Percentage assessed on wages (where available)

MAP 16 : SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, 1674



15 – 20 per cent houses exempted

[None 21 – 25 per cent]

26 – 30 per cent

31 – 35 per cent

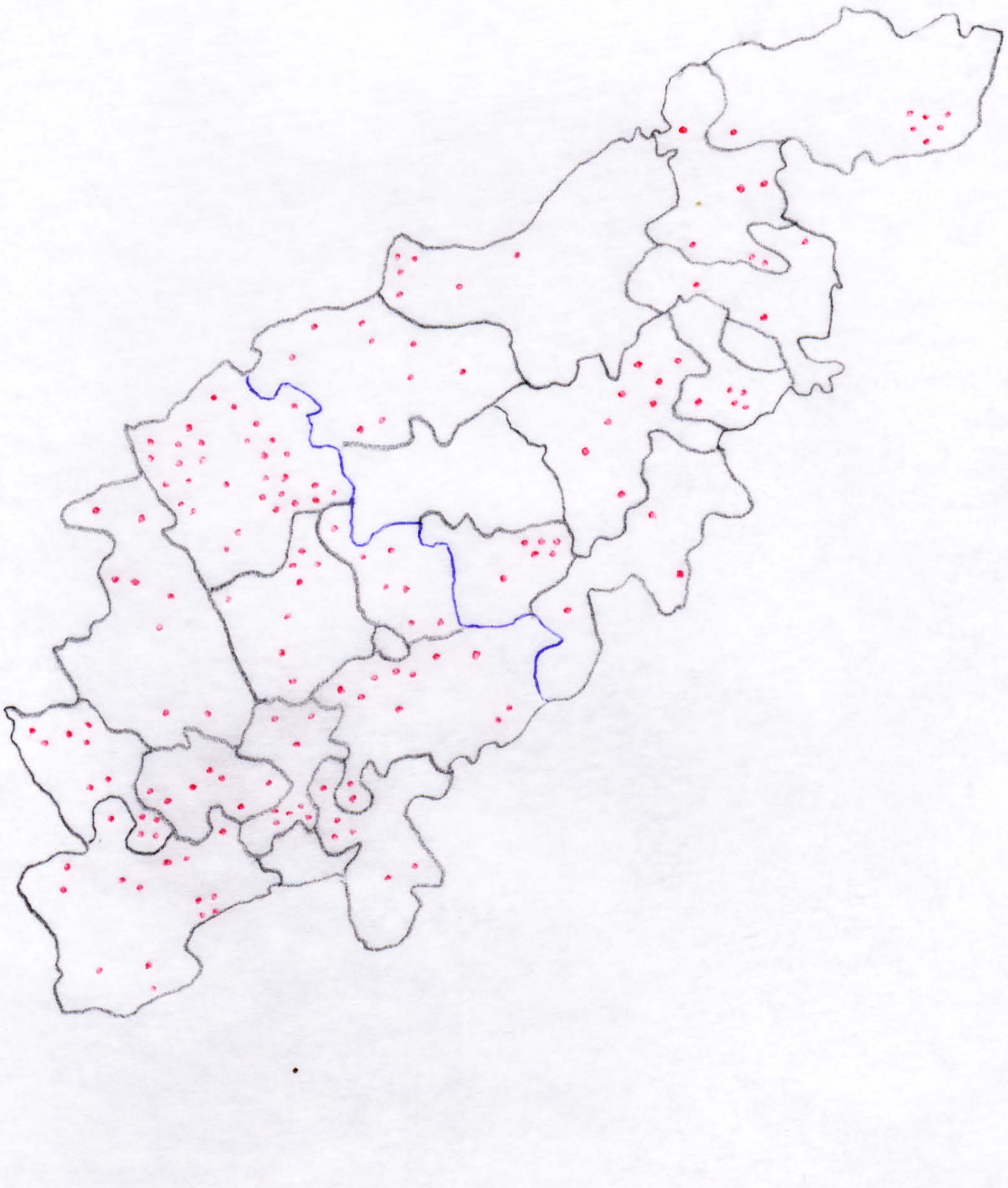
36 – 40 per cent

41 – 45 per cent

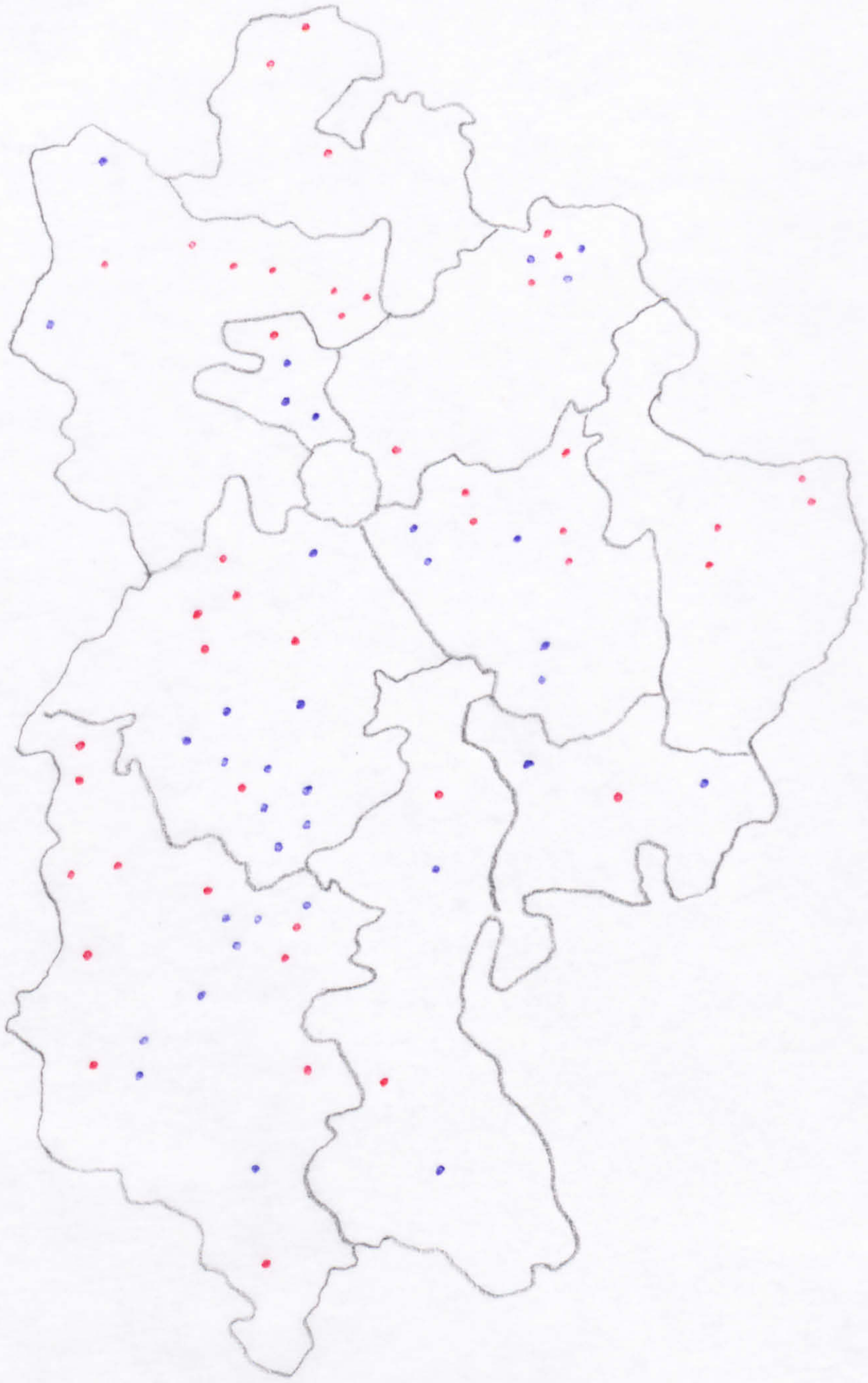
46 – 50 per cent

72% Overall percentage of 1 hearth houses (including exemptions)

MAP 17 : NORTHAMPTONSHIRE 'GENTLEMEN' DISCLAIMED AT THE 1681 VISITATION

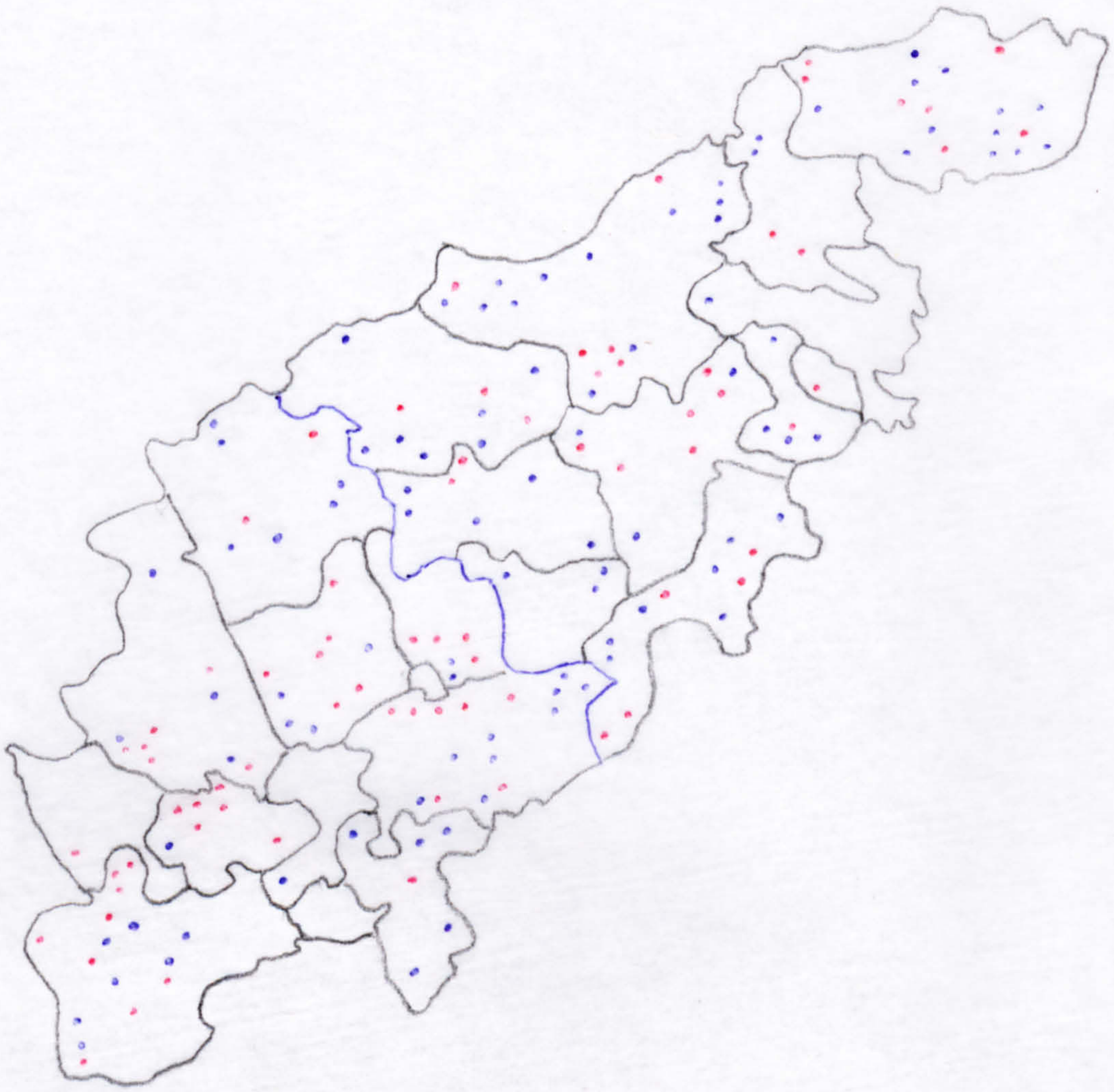


MAP 18 : ROYALIST + PARLIAMENTARIAN GENTRY IN BEDFORDSHIRE



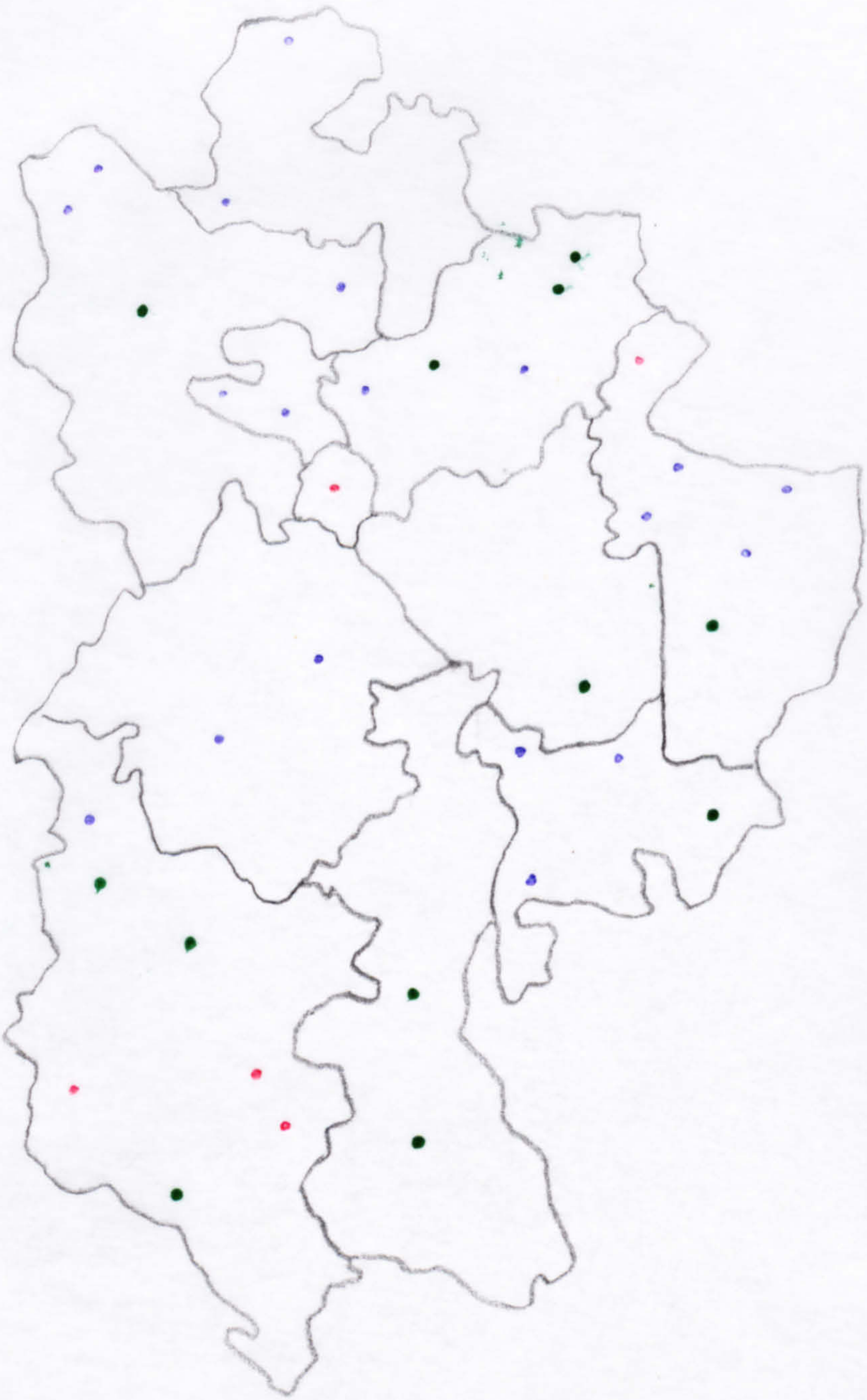
- ROYALIST GENTRY
- PARLIAMENTARIAN GENTRY

MAP 19 : ROYALIST + PARLIAMENTARIAN GENTRY IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE



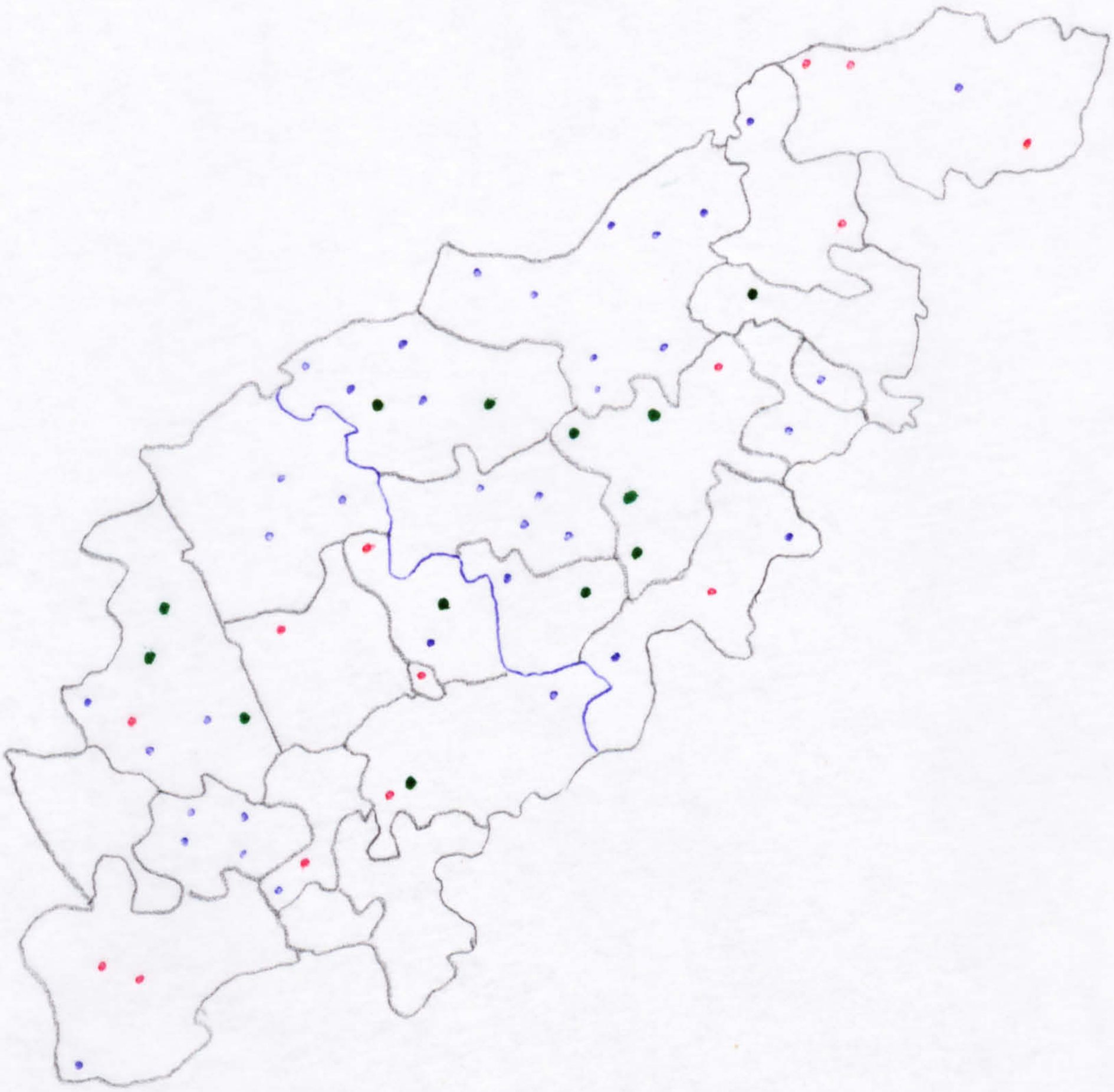
- ROYALIST GENTRY
- PARLIAMENTARIAN GENTRY

MAP 20 : BEDFORDSHIRE SCHOOLS



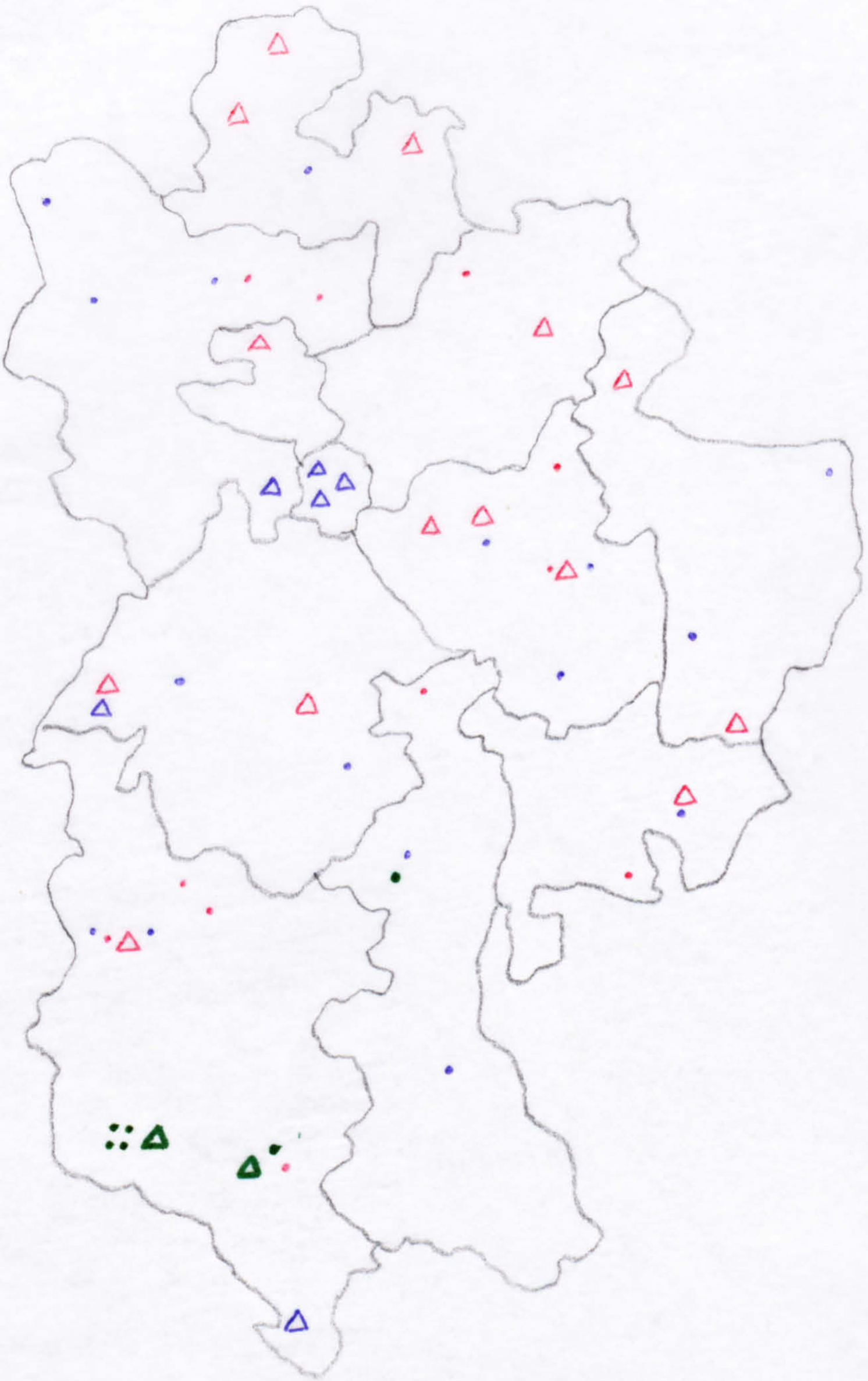
- Founded before 1536
- Founded 1537 – 1600
- Founded 1601 – c.1670

MAP 21 : NORTHAMPTONSHIRE SCHOOLS



- Founded before 1536
- Founded 1537 – 1600
- Founded 1601 – c. 1670

MAP 22 : LOLLARDY, PURITANISM & NONCONFORMIST CLERGY IN BEDFORDSHIRE, c. 1400 — 1662



▲ Parishes which produced Lollard rebels in the 1414 rising

• Instances of Lollardy

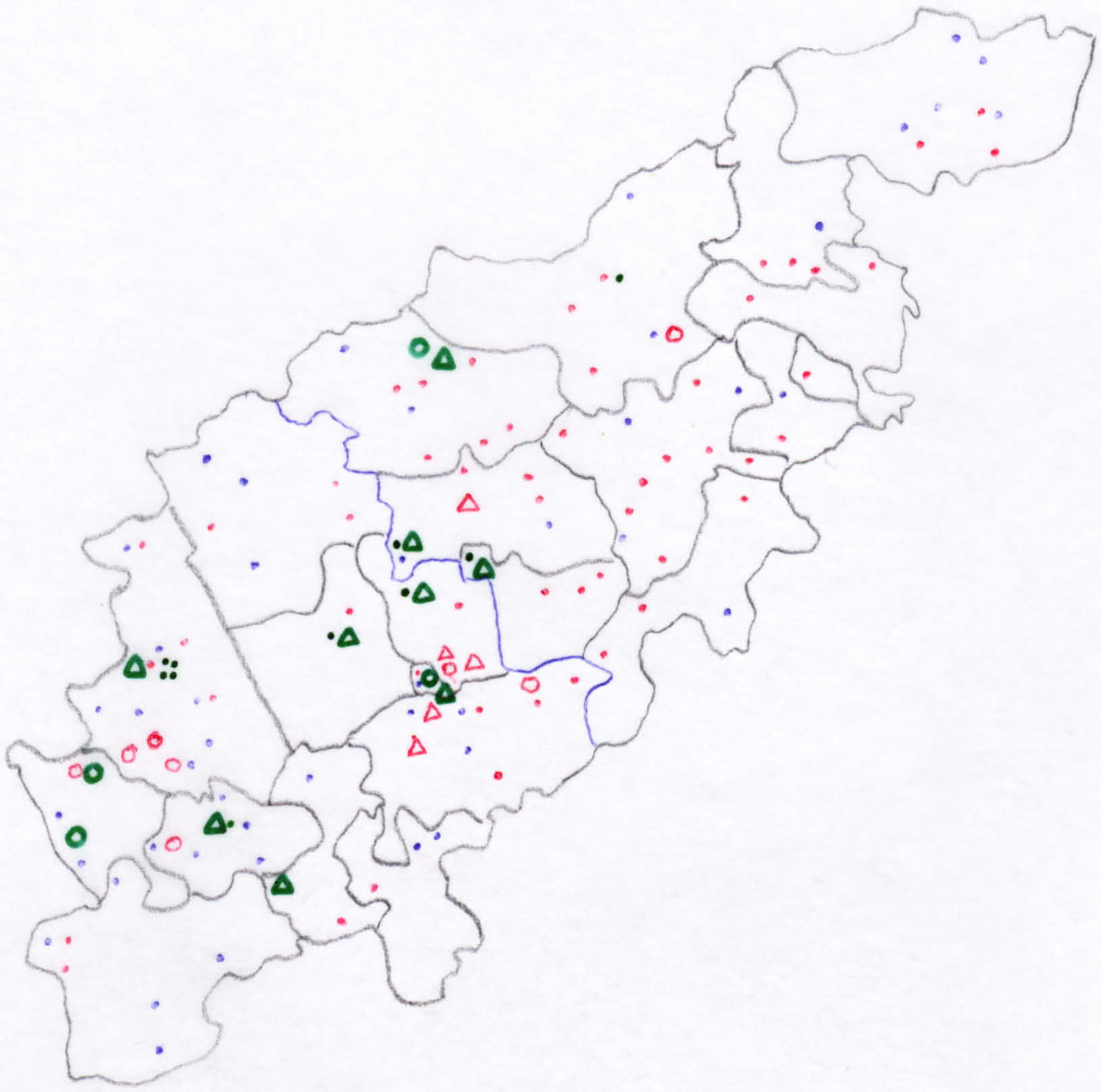
• Nonconformist clergy presented in 1603

△ Clergy ejected in 1662

• known puritan gentry, 1570 — 1640

△ Other instances of nonconformity, 1570 — 1642

MAP 23 : LOLLARDY, PURITANISM & NONCONFORMIST CLERGY IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, c. 1400 — 1662



△ Produced Lollard rebels, 1414

○ Lollard centre

• Instance of Lollardy

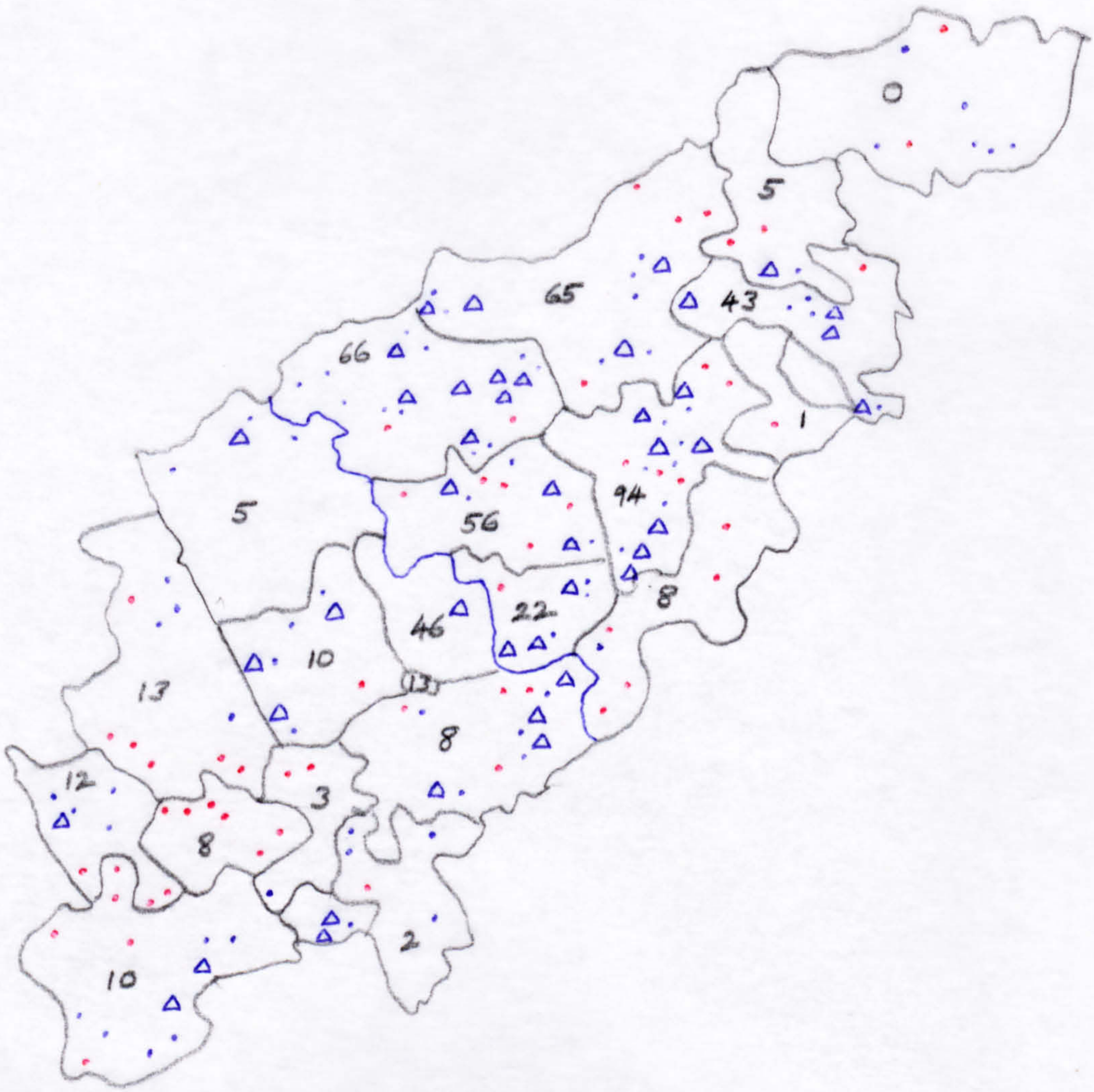
△ Clergy deprived 1574

○ Deprivations of clergy 1604–8

• Clergy ejected, 1660–2

• Instances of presentment for no surplice or catechism, 1590–1630's

MAP 24 : CATHOLIC + PURITAN GENTRY IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, c. 1570 — 1640



△ Catholic houses searched, 1612—3

• Catholic gentry family

• Puritan gentry family

66 Number of individual recusants per hundred recorded on the Recusant Rolls

MAP 25 : CATHOLICISM IN BEDFORDSHIRE

● Main recusant centres

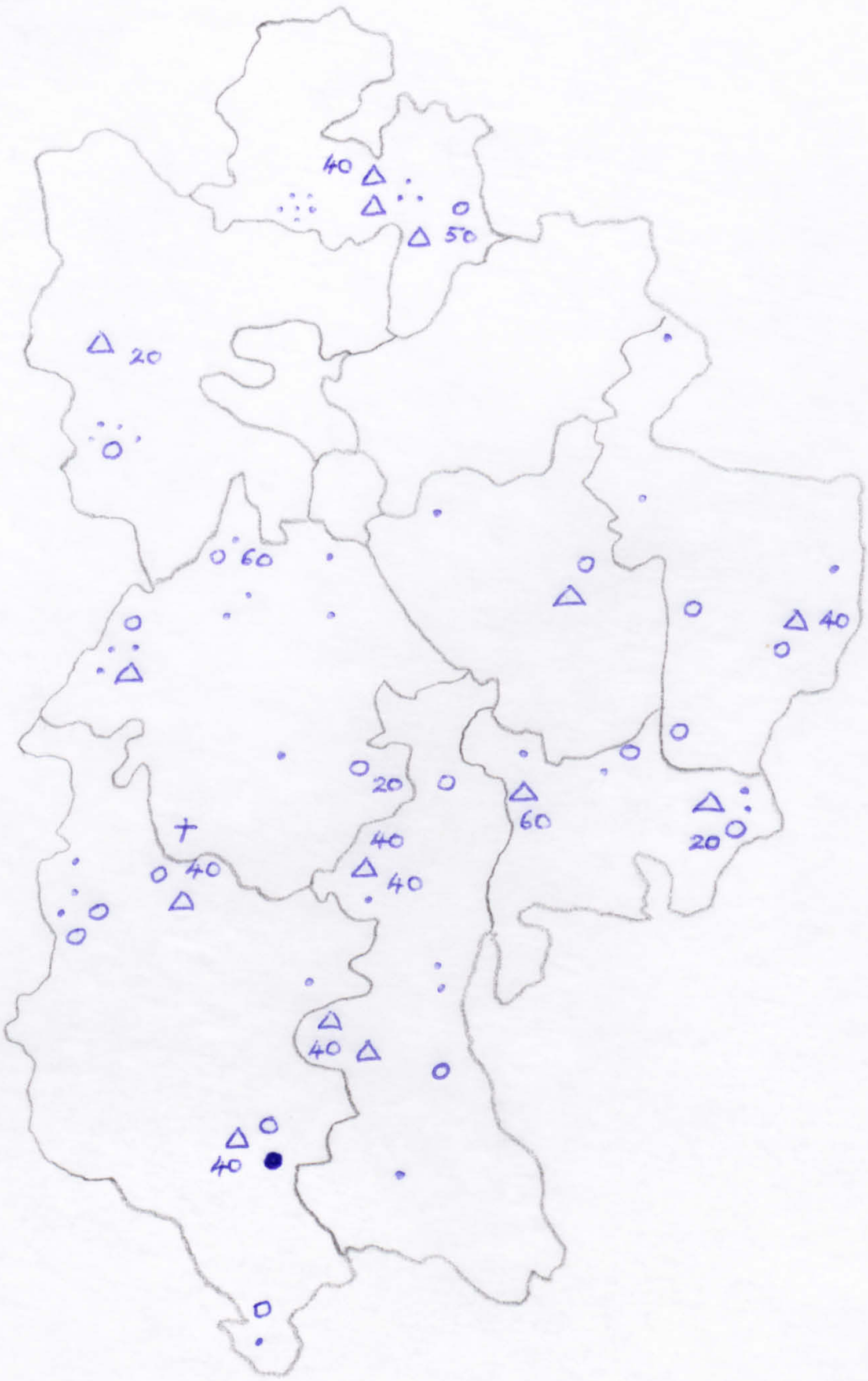
● Important centres of recusancy

• Instances of recusancy

△ known Catholic gentry

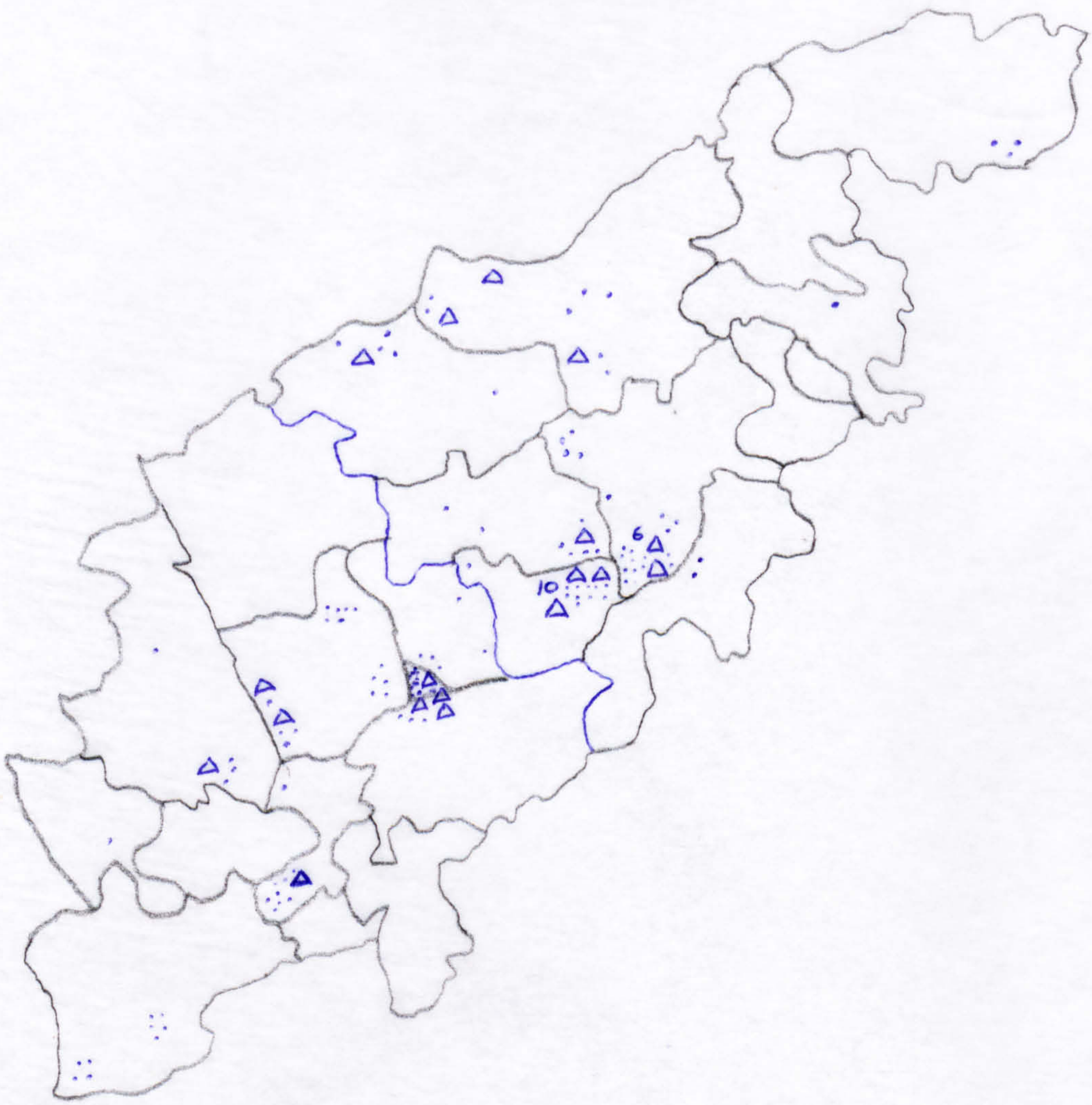
3 Number of recusants presented in 1668

MAP 26 : QUAKERISM IN BEDFORDSHIRE



△ Quaker Conventicles licensed in 1672
○ Quaker meetings
· Quaker arrests
● Quaker burial ground
60 Quaker numbers recorded in 1669 return
+ 1658 National Meeting at Ridgmont

MAP 27 : QUAKERISM IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

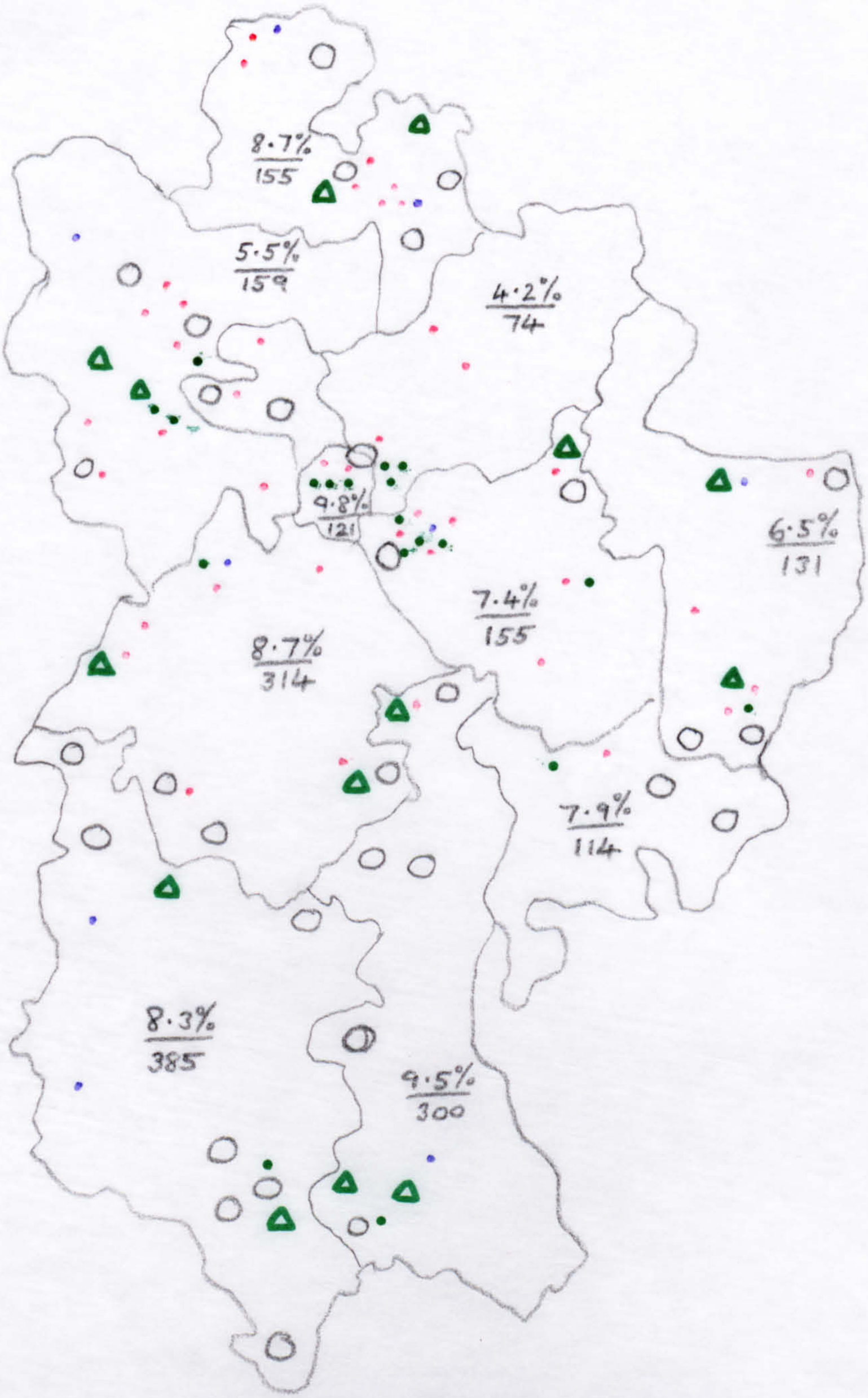


• A Quaker arrested, 1654 – 70

△ A Quaker meeting, 1654 – 70

10, 6. Numbers attending meetings

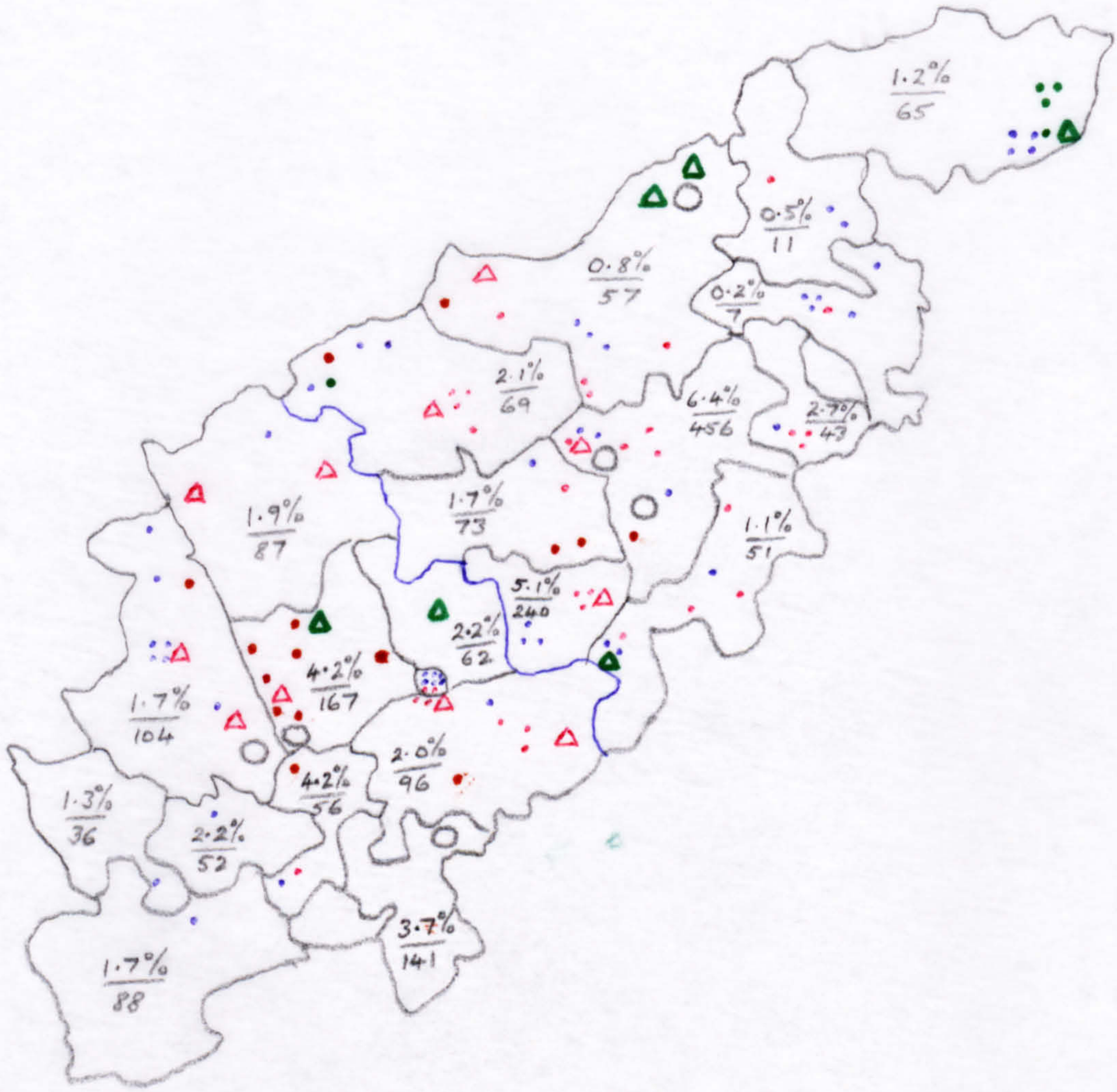
MAP 28 : NONCONFORMITY (excluding Quakerism) IN BEDFORDSHIRE, c. 1660 — 76



- Presbyterian Conventicles licensed in 1672
- Congregational Conventicles licensed in 1672
- Baptist Conventicles licensed in 1672
- Baptist Churches + Congregations, 1650's — 1670
- Parishes with more than 10% of communicants in 1676 being nonconformists

8·7% / 314 — Percentage of nonconformists out of total number of communicants, 1676

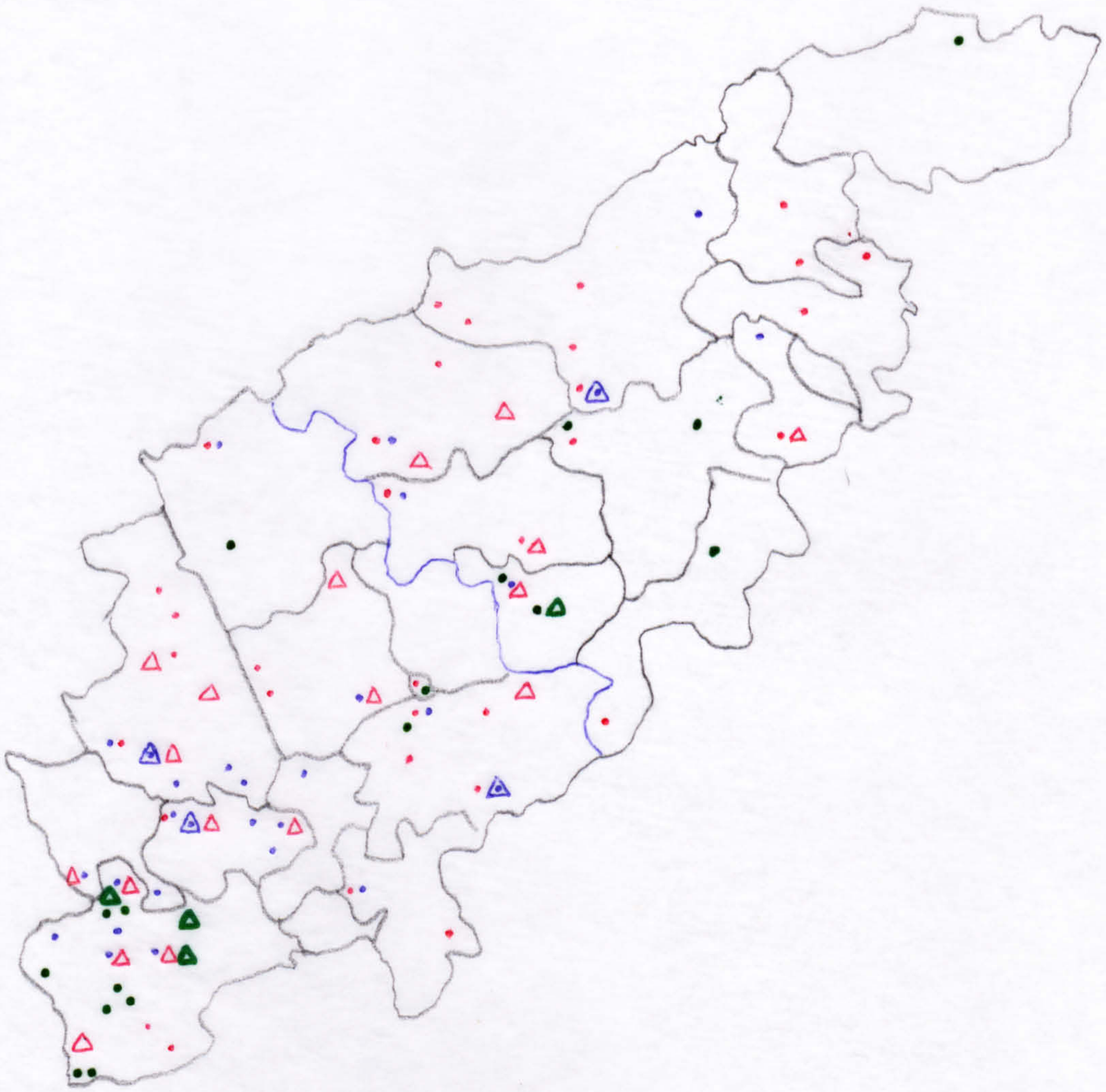
MAP 29 : NONCONFORMITY (excluding Quakerism) IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, c. 1660 — 76



- Presbyterian Conventicles licensed in 1672
- Congregational Conventicles licensed in 1672
- △ Established Congregational Churches, 1655 — 73
- Baptist Conventicles licensed in 1672
- △ Baptist churches + Congregations, 1650's
- Conventicles of 1665 + 1670 which were not licensed in 1672
- ○ Parishes with more than 10% of communicants in 1676 being nonconformists

2.2% / 56 Percentage of nonconformists out of total number of communicants, 1676

MAP 30 : POLITICAL DISAFFECTION IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, c. 1604 — 42



• Families which signed 1605 Petition against the deprivation of puritan ministers

△ Those temporarily imprisoned for presenting the Petition

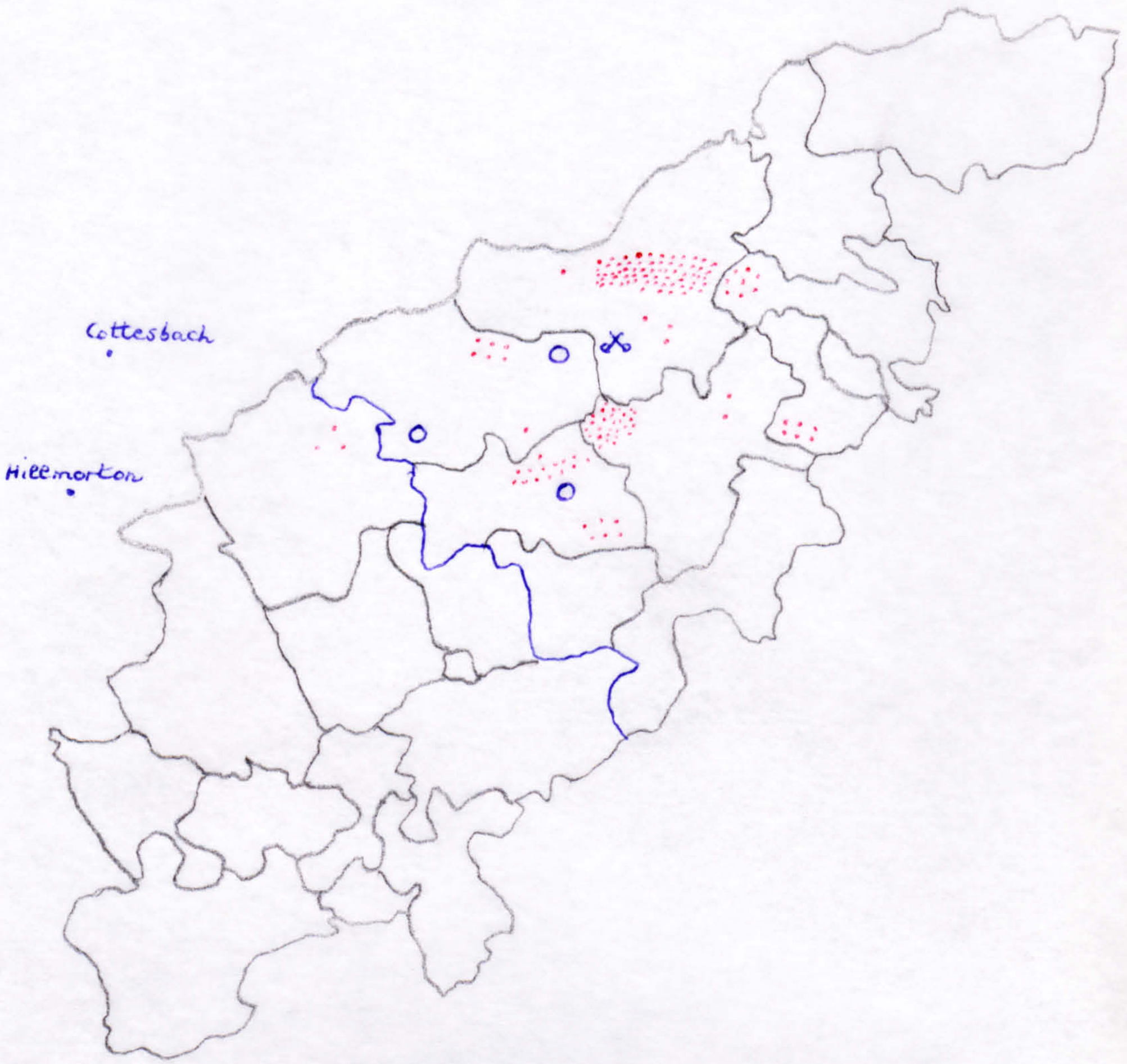
• Those who resisted the 1626 Forced Loan

△ Those arrested or confined for resisting the Loan

• Those who resisted Ship Money (1638–40) or Coat & Conduct (1640)

△ Those imprisoned for resisting Coat & Conduct

MAP 31 : THE PLACES OF ORIGIN OF THE REBELS OF THE MIDLAND REVOLT OF 1607



• Place of origin of the 143 known rebels

O Places of assembly of large numbers of rebels

X Battle of Newton, June 8th, 1607.