

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE
EXTENSIVE URBAN SURVEY

KETTERING

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Funded by English Heritage

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BACKGROUND TO THE REPORT

This is one of a series of reports compiled by Northamptonshire Heritage as part of the English Heritage funded Extensive Urban Survey (EUS) of Northamptonshire, which is intended to provide an effective information base and research framework to guide the management of the county's urban archaeological resource. The survey encompasses all urban settlements and others which may have had some urban attributes, from the Roman period to the 1930s. The only exception is Northampton, which is the subject of an Intensive Urban Survey in its own right.

Each report comprises three distinct sections: a detailed description of the town in each major period; an assessment of potential and definition of a research agenda; and a strategy for future management. A consistent approach has been taken in the presentation of the description in each report with detail being presented under each standard category even where this has no direct or obvious relevance to the urban aspects. This section has however been presented in the form of a gazetteer with standard headings so enabling the reader to identify those sections of particular interest. The Kettering report is presented in two parts: the first on the medieval and post medieval town prepared by Glenn Foard; the second covering the town during the industrial period, from 1750 to the 1930s, by Jennifer Ballinger. A separate report on the Roman settlement, which lies on a separate site 1.5 km to the north east of the medieval and later town has been prepared by Jeremy Taylor. The report draws upon research previously conducted by Glenn Foard on the medieval and post medieval towns of the county; from the survey of historic buildings and land use in selected towns conducted by the Archaeology Unit in the late 1970s, and has benefited from the specialist advice of Dr Barrie Trinder on industrial period. Other contributions to the EUS on digital mapping, database input and related work have been made by various individuals including Christine Addison, Chris Jones, Paul Thompson, Rob Atkins, Phil Markham and especially Tracey Britnell and Abi Kennedy.

The first objective of this report is to determine layout, character and chronology of development of Kettering from its rural Saxon origins up to the 1930s. An attempt has been made to identify the various components of the town which are likely to have left identifiable archaeological remains and, as far as practicable, to define the exact location and extent of these buried or upstanding 'monuments'. They have also all been assessed for likely current survival and their potential to contribute to research objectives. The relationship of the town to its hinterland has also been considered and the potential for study of that interaction has been assessed. In this way the report aims to provide a well founded research framework, establishing the current state of knowledge of Kettering's history and defining a research agenda which can guide future archaeological investigation within the town. Conservation objectives have also been defined. This report should be viewed as a starting point rather than a definitive study, which it certainly is not. If this report serves its purpose then it will need to be regularly reviewed and substantially revised in future years as archaeological investigations, and hopefully also further documentary research, is undertaken.

Given the limitations of time which inevitably must guide the conduct of a countywide project it has been necessary to limit the depth of investigation. No original archaeological earthwork or other such field survey has been conducted, but all available existing archaeological data has been consulted. Mapping from aerial photographic sources in the

Northamptonshire SMR, CUCAP and the NMR has been completed. Although each town has been visited to examine the topography of the town and an assessment attempted as to the general state of archaeological survival, no attempt has been made to conduct cellar survey comparable to that undertaken for Northampton as part of the Intensive Urban Survey of that town. This is due to the absence of detailed mapped evidence comparable to that which exists for Northampton and the very poor results achieved in 1979 when a cellar survey was attempted in Thrapston and Towcester. Nor has it been possible to examine all documentary sources, even for the medieval period. However, an attempt has been made to assess the overall potential of this crucial part of the record of the urban past and to examine in detail the most documentary important sources. An index has been compiled from various lists and indexes in the Public Record Office, Northamptonshire Record Office, National Register of Archives and British Library. Given the vast quantity of documentation, particularly for the last 200 years the limitations in the documentary assessment, especially regarding the industrial period must be acknowledged. Attention has focussed on those sources which might contribute significantly to the reconstruction of the historical topography of the town and to the broader characterisation of the various ‘monuments’ within the town.

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SUMMARY

There was a large Roman settlement, possibly a small town, to the north of Kettering. It is likely that there was some significant association between the defended later Iron Age site at Weekly Hall Wood, its immediately adjacent Roman villa and the nearby Roman small town. There is also relatively rare archaeological and place-name evidence to suggest important continuity of some form through the 5th century that is worthy of further study. There is however no suggestion of continuity of administrative or other functions from the Roman to the medieval town.

In the late Saxon and early medieval period Kettering was just an ordinary, albeit large and wealthy village. It was overshadowed by the nearby late Saxon and early medieval royal estate centre of Rothwell, which was developed as a market town early in the medieval period. It was probably not until 1227, when the Abbot of Peterborough obtained a grant of a Friday market at Kettering, that the settlement saw the first stage of urbanisation. This appears to have been part of a major investment by the Abbey in the development of the manor at Kettering, which saw substantial building work on the capital messuage and demesne farm at this time. The town's prosperity from the later 13th century onwards was undoubtedly influenced by being at the junction of several important roads. However its medieval expansion, like that of Wellingborough, may have been dependent upon the transfer here of woollen cloth production during the second half of the 13th century, when that industry was in severe decline in boroughs such as Northampton and Stamford. Apart from the market, the town did not acquire the usual trappings of urbanism, the hospitals or other monastic houses, or even burgage tenure, largely because it was so intensively controlled by the Abbot, the wealth generated by the urban as well as the agricultural activity being largely siphoned off to support the Abbey in Peterborough. It is clear however from the size of the settlement and particularly the number of cottage tenants, a large proportion of whom must surely have been artisans, and the number of shops and stalls in the market place, that this was a significant urban settlement not just a market village.

Unlike most of the other late markets established in the county, Kettering had grown sufficiently to survive the recession of the 14th century with its market intact. By the 16th century, if not before, it came to overshadow and cause the decline of the more ancient town of Rothwell, Camden describing Kettering as a town of 'considerable resort'.¹ In the second half of the 17th century it saw a further substantial development in response to the re-establishment of woollen cloth production in the town. However the woollen industry collapsed in the late 18th century and Kettering appears to have experienced a period of relative stagnation in the later 18th and earlier 19th century, although the boot and shoe industry did to a limited extent take the place of the woollen industry. However it was not until the arrival of the railway in the mid 19th century that Kettering saw large scale development with the growth of the boot and shoe and the iron industries. In the last two decades of the 19th century Kettering became the second largest town in Northamptonshire. There were also other industries operating in the town including a bell foundry in the 18th century and clothing industry, engineering, brewing, brush making, printing and ironstone quarrying and smelting in the 19th

¹ VCH, III, 218.

century. The town also had a strong commercial centre; it was located on the major coaching route between Leeds and London and had a thriving market. The urban status of Kettering was recognised in the 1832 Reform Act - the town received the right to elect a Member of Parliament.

Kettering is of particular interest for its late and especially its post medieval and Industrial period growth, being one of only two towns, the other being Wellingborough, which grew from modest medieval beginnings to overshadow all the other small towns in the county. The evidence of its late 19th and early 20th century industrialisation is well preserved, of high importance and deserves detailed study. Careful evaluation is required, particularly of the standing structures, to determine whether there is significant surviving evidence for the 17th and 18th century precursors to this industrialisation, for that was clearly a formative but poorly understood period in the development of what was to become the second largest town in the county. Unfortunately that very industrialisation, with its intensive redevelopment of the historic core of the town during the 18th century and especially the late 19th century onwards, appears to have almost completely destroyed the evidence of standing buildings and buried archaeology which might have complemented the exceptional potential provided by the documentary record to study the historical topography of the medieval town and particularly its growth from agricultural village to small town in the 13th century. The survival of the urban topography of the process of late 19th century urbanisation is exceptionally good and there are areas to the north east of the town that are of national significance, requiring direct conservation action to ensure the survival of their distinctive character, representative of a key phase and industry in the urbanisation of Northamptonshire in the modern period.

I DESCRIPTION

TOPOGRAPHY & GEOLOGY

Kettering lies near the north eastern extremity of the Ise Valley, and the area includes a considerable expanse of permeable geology, surrounded on the north, east and south west by the extensive boulder clay uplands of the former Rockingham Forest. The Ise valley provides a natural line for communications crossing the clay uplands between the Nene and Welland valleys. It may thus be expected that this area would be a focus for intensive settlement from at least the Neolithic period onwards. Kettering lies near the junction of the river Ise and a substantial tributary, further north the main river sweeping around westward. The area thus defined is subdivided by two streams, Beck Gutter and The Slade, forming three ironstone ridges running north-south with higher land capped by boulder clay to the north. The nucleated Romano-British settlement lies near the centre of this topographical unit, astride the pre 19th century Weekley-Kettering parish boundary at the head of Beck Gutter. The medieval town lay 1.5 km to the south, half way along the central ridge and overlooking the valley of The Slade. Both settlements lay on Northampton Sand and Ironstone near its junction with underlying clays, and hence at the spring-line.

A PRE MEDIEVAL

1.0 Early History

1.1 Prehistoric and Roman

The Roman and earlier origins are dealt with in a separate Roman report and are thus not repeated here.

1.2.1 Saxon origins

Activity on the Roman small town site continued well into the 4th century, but so far no Saxon material has been recognised there. This may merely reflect the inability of early investigators to recognise the far more unobtrusive finds to be expected from early Saxon domestic sites in contrast to the more obvious evidence from early Saxon cemeteries or from Roman settlements. The unwallled Roman small town is perhaps recognised in the place-name Weekley (*wic*), a small village just under a mile to the east, though whether the name implies some aspect of continuity between Roman and Saxon is unclear. There are a number of 'Walcot' furlong names to the east of the Roman settlement, but the earliest spelling so far identified suggests a derivation from 'wall' not from 'welsh', and so at present this cannot be taken as evidence for a settlement of 'Britons' into the 5th or 6th centuries occupying part of the territory of the original Roman site.² It should however be noted that the Roman villa which lay to the north east of the Roman town, close to the site of a later Iron Age defended site, has produced a number of Saxon coins (see below). However the most persuasive evidence for some link between Roman and Saxon activity at Kettering is the Saxon cemetery discovered in the 19th century immediately north of the Stamford Road, less than 1 km to the south of the Roman small town, and immediately adjacent to the putative Roman road where it would cross the medieval Stamford road. It is the only Saxon cemetery in the county so far

² Margaret Gelling, pers. com.

demonstrated as including material of the early 5th century and it continued well into the 6th century.³ The late 19th century excavations suggest that the cemetery may not extend in a north and westerly direction, while evaluation to the south in 1997 has demonstrated that the cemetery does not extend to the south of the Stamford road. Clearly the detailed topographical relationship to the two roads will be a significant research issue, although the state of preservation of the rest of the cemetery may be poor due to 20th century development.⁴

A fully nucleated settlement pattern is to be expected at Kettering by the late Saxon period, but due to the extensive urban development and mineral extraction which has taken place at Kettering since 1850, largely without archaeological investigation, the earlier settlement pattern is irrecoverable. However the names Walcot⁵ and Sharlecotes recorded in the fields of Kettering may identify two of the isolated farms or hamlets from the early to middle Saxon pattern of dispersed settlement, the names presumably being survivals similar to those seen in a number of other townships in the county.⁶ These two possible settlements lie at either end of the eastern most of the three ironstone ridges which comprise Kettering township while Kettering itself lies mid-way along the central ridge. Perhaps significantly the western ridge was almost all enclosed demesne end by the 16th century, but there is no evidence to suggest the presence there of another early settlement and the intensity of modern development precludes further investigation in this area.

Any continuity between the Roman town and Saxon administrative organisation is most likely to have been through the royal estate centred on Rothwell in the late Saxon period, for although there were various royal holdings in the Kettering area these do not, on present evidence, seem to form a coherent estate pattern. If there was a major estate in the Kettering area then it must have been fragmented at an early date. The grant in 946 by King Eadred to Wulfric of 7 hides of land at Warkton and the grant of Kettering itself may both have been part of such a fragmentation. Alternatively these properties may have been granted out from the Rothwell and Brigstock estates.⁷

1.2.2 Late Saxon Township

Kettering is mentioned in several Saxon charters. Those by Wulfhere of 664⁸ and another of 972 in which King Edgar grants Kettering to the Abbot of Peterborough, are both spurious.⁹ However there is a genuine charter of 963(?) in which bishop Aethelwold made a foundation grant to Medeshamstede, later known as Peterborough Abbey, of various property including Kettering. Kettering had however previously been in royal hands, like the adjacent manor of Warkton, for the bounds are defined in a charter of 956 in which King Eadwig had granted '10 Cassatos' at 'Cytringan' to Aelfsige his minister.

³ RCHME, II, 103, 10.

⁴ Northamptonshire Archaeology Unit, 1997, *Evaluation at Stamford Road Kettering*

⁵ The earliest reference is to Over Walkote and Nethere Walkote in 1309, Account Roll, NRO FM 2389.

⁶ Sherlycots in 1727, NRO, Glebe Terrier. Other cot names countywide are listed in Hall, 1995, *The Open Fields of Northamptonshire*, NRS vol.38, 130.

⁷ Sawyer, P.H., 1968, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no.520; translation in Whitelock, D., 1968, *English Historical Documents*, no.105.

⁸ Sawyer, 1968, no.68.

⁹ Sawyer, 1968, no.787.

*'Cransley bridge along the brook (burnan). it then comes to Hunan bridge (bricge). from Hunan bricge to the gallows tree (galhteow) to Debdale (deopandene). from deopandene to Kinston Head (Cynestanes heafod). from Kinston Head to the long dike (dic); from the dike to Weekley ford and along the Ise until it comes to Pytchley ford. from the ford along the brook until it comes back to Cransley bridge.'*¹⁰

The boundary defined in the charter has been broadly correlated with the pre 19th century parish boundary of Kettering.¹¹ Some of the boundary markers appear very easy to identify, but in fact are not securely located and certain alternative possibilities do exist and so they are mapped here. The bounds run from Cransley Bridge which could lie at 'A', the road which in fact runs towards Broughton, along the south side of Cransley parish, or at 'B' where a road crosses into Cransley parish. It then runs along the Brook to Hunan Bridge which could lie at 'B' or at 'C'. From the Hunan Bridge to the Gallowtree which has been suggested is lying at 'D', on Warren Hill (but see below). The reason for the inclusion of this marker is that the boundary must now turn onto >Deopan Dene= which has been identified as Debdale in Rothwell ('F' to 'G').¹² This valley is located some 500 metres to the NW of the 16th century boundary suggesting that some land has been transferred between Rothwell / Thorpe Malsor and Kettering lordships since 956. If 'C' is taken for Hunan Bridge then one can follow the Thorpe Malsor/Rothwell boundary to point 'E' as the Gallowtree where again it would mark a turn into the head of Debdale which is at first followed by the existing boundary between Thorpe Malsor and Rothwell, which it leaves at 'F'. From Debdale the boundary ran to cynestanes heafod, Kinston Head which presumably lies at 'G' or runs from 'G' to 'H'. From here to the long dike which is known from the furlong names to run from the north corner of the parish ('H') on the north east boundary almost to the Stamford Road 'I'. From here it runs to weekley forde which is probably on the site of the Warkton bridge where the road from Weekley to Warkton crosses the Ise 'J'. Then along the Ise to Pytchley ford, again almost certainly at 'K' and along the brooks to Cransley bridge. In the case of the Ise and the stream on the south west there can be little doubt of the boundary. Detailed study of the terriers for the open field system in Kettering and adjacent townships may help to resolve the problems by firmly locating the three doubtful markers. However archaeological investigation of the boundary is not possible as the vast majority of the area has been destroyed by quarrying or development.

The Roman small town, the villa and the Walcot furlongs are all split in half by the Kettering - Weekley boundary. This might suggest that the township boundaries represent a later Saxon development, breaking up earlier Saxon land units, a situation similar to that at certain other 'Wicham' sites.¹³ The '*Long Dyke*' is of particular interest as it is used for part of its length by the charter boundary and appears to be followed for a short distance by the boundary between Weekley and Geddington, as well as by a number of furlong boundaries. It would appear from its relationship to the 'town' and villa to be post-Roman. The dyke was described in 1720 when Bridges recorded that in Stonylands, between Weekly Woods and Kettering, there were the remains of a dyke, near which Roman urns, coins and bones had

¹⁰ Gover et al, 1975, 184n.1. Sawyer, 1968, no.592. Printed in Birch, W. de G. (ed.), 1885-1893, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 943.

¹¹ Gover et al 1932, 186n.1.

¹² Gover et al, 1975, 119.

¹³ Gelling, M., 1972,

been found, and which carried on as far as the Duke of Montagu's park at Weekley.¹⁴ A tentative course for the dyke, at least on the east side, has been suggested, while the presence of Upper and Nether Dyke furlongs at the western edge of Weekley township suggest an as yet unlocated return somewhere on the western side. The area enclosed by the dyke is extremely large, comprising the high plateau area in the western two thirds of Weekley parish. It is tempting to relate this to the name of this part of the parish: 'Weekley Hall', said to derive from 'hagga' which normally denotes an enclosure, but it is important to remember that such names are very common in the woodland areas of Rockingham Forest.¹⁵ Significant a number of Saxon coins have been recovered from the villa site which lies just within the dyke.¹⁶

1.2.3 Saxon and medieval village

In 1086 Kettering was just an agricultural village, the relatively high population and valuation merely reflecting the size of the township and the quality of the agricultural land. At that time the manor, held by the Abbott of Peterborough, comprised 10 hides, as it had in 956, with land for 16 ploughs. In demesne there was 1 plough and 1 female slave and 31 villeins with 10 ploughs. There were two mills worth £1, 107 acres of meadow and 3 acres of woodland. The value in 1066 had been £10 and in 1086 was £11.¹⁷ On the evidence of the 1125-8 extent (see below) it would appear likely that the settlement remained just an agricultural village until the second quarter of the 13th century when a market grant was obtained by the Abbot.

However between 1086 and 1227 the settlement appears to have grown substantially by the subdivision of virgate holdings, the addition of cottage tenements with small quantities of field land and the addition of new akermanland tenancies with ten acre land holdings. The settlement was therefore growing significantly even before its promotion to urban status.

B MEDIEVAL & POST MEDIEVAL

1.0 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

In the late Saxon and early medieval period Kettering was just an ordinary, albeit large and wealthy, village. However the granting of the manor in the 10th century to the newly founded abbey at Peterborough was to prove a decisive factor in the settlements later history. Kettering was overshadowed by the nearby late Saxon and early medieval royal estate centre of Rothwell, which was promoted as a market town in the late 11th or early 12th century. It was not until 1227, when the Abbot of Peterborough obtained the grant of a Friday market in his manor there, that Kettering seems to have begun on the path towards urbanisation. This appears to have been part of a major investment by the Abbey in the development of its manor there, which saw substantial building work on the capital messuage and demesne farm at this time. Surprisingly there was no attempt to establish a fair in the town, even though most other market villages and towns had at least one annual fair. But despite this, Kettering was the latest of the truly successful Northamptonshire town foundations, an early presence in the field normally being a major factor in urban success in the county. In this respect

¹⁴ Bridges, II, 241.

¹⁵ Gover et al 1933.

¹⁶ SMR.

¹⁷ Domesday Book, 221c.

Kettering's success probably owes much to the fact that the Abbots of Peterborough invested in their estates and presumably promoted and fiercely guarded their urban investments Kettering just as they clearly did in Oundle.

Kettering's position in the upper Ise valley, at the centre of an extensive area of high quality agricultural land with many large, wealthy villages, will also have contributed to the town's success, though in this it was in direct competition with Rothwell. Its success was also probably influenced by being at the junction of several important roads, one from Northampton to Stamford and the others from London to Oakham and possibly from Cambridge to Leicester. In addition to the normal local marketing functions, Kettering's medieval expansion, like that of Wellingborough, may have been dependent in part upon the transfer there of woollen cloth production during the second half of the 13th century, when that industry was in severe decline in boroughs such as Northampton and Stamford. By the later 13th century and early 14th century there was both a dyeworks and a fulling mill in the town, while fieldname evidence suggests woad production.

Apart from the market, the town did not acquire the usual trappings of urbanism such as a hospital or other monastic establishment nor is there any evidence of burgage tenure let alone borough status. This was probably partly because it was so intensively controlled by the Abbot, the wealth generated by the urban as well as the agricultural activity being largely siphoned off to support the Abbey in Peterborough. Both Kettering's late start on the route to urbanism and especially the absence of borough freedoms probably explain the apparent absence of a substantially wealthier merchant groups within the town similar to that seen in boroughs such as Higham Ferrers and Brackley. There were however tenants of more than average means, for in the early 14th century reference is made to 'capital tenants' who held the farm of the shops. In the absence of major patrons there was however no one to provide the endowments that the lord had no interest in making. Despite this lack of these other urban attributes, there can be little doubt from the size of the settlement and particularly the number of cottage tenants, a large proportion of whom must surely have been artisans, and the number of shops and stalls in the market place, that this was a significant urban settlement. As such the town, like Wellingborough, may have been very different in character from the towns with burgage tenure and especially the self-governing boroughs. This distinctive character may have been an important factor in the later development of both towns. Because they lacked the restrictive practices of the boroughs Kettering and Wellingborough may have been far better placed to exploit the economic opportunities provided by the economic upturn of the Tudor period.

Unlike most of the other markets established around the same time, Kettering had prospered sufficiently to survive the recession of the 14th century with its market intact. There had been substantial decline in population for in 1405 there were 53 vacant tenements and a number of stalls in the market place were no longer tenanted. But there was a strong recovery by the 16th century, if not before, as Kettering began to challenge and finally to overshadow and cause the decline of the more ancient town of Rothwell. By 1542 it was the 4th ranking town in the county and Camden, writing in the mid 16th century, describes Kettering as a town of 'considerable resort'.¹⁸ By the 16th century the town had begun on a trajectory of population increase that was one of the steepest in the county and which continued to rise more steeply

¹⁸ VCH, III, 218.

through in the 18th century. But whereas the fortunes of the town, and of many others, in the medieval period was to a large degree determined by its promotion by a powerful lord, in the post medieval the period of substantial growth took place at a time, and perhaps in part because it had no single, dominant lord. In the second half of the 17th century it saw a substantial development in response to the re-establishment of woollen cloth production in the town, as can be seen from the 1721 map which shows extensive infilling within medieval tenements. Some of the other urban attributes that it lacked in the medieval period began to be acquired in the post medieval, an almshouse existing by 1580 and a school by 1620. In the early 17th century, if not before, the Quarter Sessions were held in the town and in 1661 Kettering finally acquired an annual fair. However, whereas Wellingborough had specialised in the production of boots and shoes, which proved to have a long term future, Kettering's new industrial base proved unsustainable. The town's apparent prosperity was relatively short lived and by the later 18th century it suffered a period of relative stagnation as its woollen industry went into decline, presumably unable to compete with the expansion of production in the heartland of the industrial revolution.

2.0 TOPOGRAPHICAL DEVELOPMENT

There appear to have been two major components to the medieval Kettering, the first reflecting its village origin, the second established through urban expansion. The medieval village appears to have originated as essentially a double row fronting either side of the north-south street known as High Street.¹⁹ Medieval growth seems first to have taken place along several side streets running off from the High Street. Then in the 13th century the settlement appears to have expanded dramatically to the north east. This seems to have been drawn by the pull of the London to Oakham road, a nationally important road in 1675 and the Stamford Road, both of which were probably important throughout the medieval period.

The evidence of the detailed and apparently complete 1405 rental can tentatively be placed within a topographical framework by reference to the 1587 and 1721 maps. There are substantial problems with the accurate reconstruction of the tenement pattern onto a modern map base. It may prove possible to more accurately tie down and correct this initial reconstruction by detailed work on the various later rentals, court rolls and other documents, something that may require significant displacement of the tenements along the various streets, although the actual sequence of tenements will not change.²⁰ The evidence of both tenure and rental value can then be used to examine the likely character and development of the town.

The virgate holders appear to represent the primary element of the population, increasing only to a limited degree in the early medieval period and not at all later, except by the subdivision of existing tenements. In 1405 the virgate or former virgate tenements were restricted to only part of the town, none lying in the eastern or southern ends. There was a marked concentration of these tenements to the east of Wadcroft, facing a small green-like area at the junction of the main roads. A total of 30 virgate tenements lie in the area north of Mill Lane, exactly the number recorded in 1086, but too much emphasis should not be placed on this as one could draw the equal distinction between the east and west sides of the town.

¹⁹ This is le Hyghstret in 1530; High Street in 1804 .

²⁰ A summary of the 1405 rental is presented in tabulated form in appendix 1.

Within this same area the name '*Northall*', recorded in 1721, has never been satisfactorily explained. The idea that it might have indicated an earlier manorial focus was dismissed by Gover et al (1932) who quote the 1577 reference to '*Northolde*', but earlier forms now show the latter to be unrepresentative. By 1721 the name had been transferred partly to Northall Lane, a street which did not exist before the 17th century. In the 15th century it appears to have related solely to the area between Wadcroft Lane and Northbridge Lane. The 1405 rental however describes tenement 84 as lying in Northalss, perhaps implying that the road or group of tenements here are the '*Northalss*'. In 1530 tenements are said to lie in Northawe or Northole. In 1405 tenement 81 is said formerly to have been held by John Smyth '*de Southalss*'. It is conceivable that this refers to another settlement, though none is known of that name locally, hence the identical spelling to Northalss should be pursued. Whereas tenement 84 lies in the row of virgate tenements to the north of Wadcroft gate, tenement 81 lies in a similar row of virgate tenements to the south of Wadcroft gate. It is possible that these two rows represent the primary focus of the late Saxon settlement along the main north-south road at the junction with the road to Weekley. On topographical grounds this also appears the most likely focus for settlement, because of the road junction and the curving boundaries which contrast with the rectilinear form of much of the rest of the settlement. It may be that adjacent to these two rows, at some time before 1086, further virgate tenements were laid out.

In the 40 years up to 1125-8 there appears to have been an increase from 30 to 40 virgate tenements and the appearance of 8 cottage tenements, each with 5 acres. The distribution of tenements suggests this second phase of development may have taken place southward along the High Street and into Mill Lane and Dykers Lane. This would include all the virgate tenements, and all the 5 acre cottages, all of which were in existence by 1125-8. However this involves a considerable number of cottages which do not appear to be represented in the 1125-8 extent. This might imply that the landless cottages interspersed with the virgate tenements represent later 12th and 13th century subdivisions of virgate tenements.

The last phase of expansion of the agricultural village, during the 12th and early 13th century seems to have been the creation of acremen tenements, the distribution of which is almost solely restricted to the ends of rows which belong to the previous phases, at the south end of the town, at the west end of Mill Lane and in Dykers Lane. Two of the three exceptions in the distribution may in part be explained as the granting of acremanland to existing cottages. The expansion to the west end of Mill Lane is likely to have been completed by the late 13th century, for reference is made in 1291 to a certain '*Henry at the dam*', which presumably refers to the tenement recorded next to the mill dam in 1405. The group of tenements in Dykers (Nags Head) Lane, which includes four virgate tenements, again in existence by 1125-7, consists mainly of cottages with very low rents, which could indicate the early phases of settlement expansion. The significance of Nags Head or Dykers Lane, apparently an open area in 1587, is unclear. Unlike Mill Lane where tenements are lining a road leaving the town, this was not apparently a through route. In 1405 it was apparently two parallel lanes with tenements fronting on the north and south sides and there is no indication that the adjacent market ever extended into this area.

This southern half of the town, in contrast to the Northalls/Southalls area, is far more regular in plan, and conforms well with the surrounding furlong pattern, suggesting that the tenements may have been laid out over pre-existing rectilinear field system. Over much of the

township the furlongs take the form of regular, short but very wide furlongs aligned north/south in response to topographical features and also the projected Roman road. The south of the town would fit neatly with a northward extension of Snowberrys and Flaxwell furlongs, with the strip alignments imparting the regular planned appearance to the town. This seems particularly clear on the eastern side with the church, grange and adjacent close. An area of land remaining to the east of the town, the Hog Leys and the parsonage garden etc on later maps, would then relate to a later phase associated with the laying out of the adjacent north/south road, as this land would at that time have been part of the furlongs to the east.

The manor, church and rectory all lie in close proximity at the south east corner of the settlement, at the southern end of the High Street. Both manor and church were certainly in existence by 1125-6 and so they were probably an integral part of the early medieval village, rather than being the result of re-planning on a new site during the major investment in the manor in the 1220s. Part of the tenements fronting north onto the market place were, according to the 1405 rental, part of the grange, and so it may be that manor and church originated as a coherent rectangular block. The existence of the manor with its gardens in this area may have been an important factor restricting expansion of the town in this direction.

The grange and church were presumably already in existence in the southern area of the settlement before the market was granted in 1227. It is therefore possible that the creation of the market involved the re-planning of this end of the settlement.

Only the later phases of expansion of the town are clearly documented, as a result of the survival of a valuable group of five account rolls from 1281 to 1311. Some of the new tenements mentioned at that time cannot be accurately located within the town. For example that of Thomas Smith of Barton (Seagrave) who paid 12d new rent *>for the end of one plot (40ft long and 16ft wide) upon which he has set out to build=*, and the *>12d from Nicholas son of Hugh Mareschal for one plot upon which he has built=*,²¹ or in 1291 the 2/- received from *>William Sely for a certain plot on which he has built...=*. Most significantly, showing that the expansion was indeed currently under way, there was also 6d from Henry son of Peter Martynot *>for one plot of ground of his mother Margaret upon which he may build=*.²² However, the rent values are ones which can be quite clearly equated with the 1405 rental valuations in the eastern part of the town, to which the name Newlands can be generally ascribed, where such high rent values are the norm. One important observation to be made from these new rent entries is that they are single properties separately recorded, are at varying rent values, and let to different individuals, suggesting that they represent piecemeal development on individual initiative.

There is however very clear evidence in 1292 that the Abbot was exploiting rising values, which reflect the pressure of population upon the land, by laying out properties in the Newlands. In that year the Abbot's steward received *>39/- for 9 acres and 1 rod of land newly surrendered and built (upon) on le Newelond'*.²³ In 1300, in addition to rent from

²¹ NRO, FM2389.

²² Wise, 1899.

²³ Wise, 1899, 29.

>tofts in le Newelond' he received >6d for 2 rod upon le Newlond with a building built upon', which may be the same as the half rod which it is recorded in 1292 the daughters of Alice built on.²⁴ Our interpretation of the 1405 rental has suggested that the Newlands comprise primarily two blocks of tenements, one fronting the Weekly road and called the East Newlands, and the second, northern block fronting the Rockingham road. The 1292 expansion can probably be directly related to this northern block. The standard cottage rent for the area in 1405 was 2/2d; plot 138 is described as of 1 acre, distinguishing it as unusual, and although then paying only 2/- it said customarily to have paid 4/4d, hence suggesting it was a double plot at a double rent and that all other tenements were of 2 rods. With 138 as a double cottage, followed by 6 cottages at 2/2d, 2 vacant tofts also at 2/2d, the 5 vacant tofts at a reduced rent, a total of 18 two acre plots is arrived at for the north Newlands. 9 acres would provide 18 two rod plots, and at 2/2d each this would give a total rent of 39/-, the figure recorded in 1292. Although the additional 1 rod of land in 1292 cannot be accounted for, the fit is far closer than can be achieved with the Eastnewlands.

The rectilinear form of this development can be seen to clearly reflect the pre-existing field system, representing expansion over Tylers, Knaphill and Hall Peece furlongs. Moreover, the standard dimension of the plots can be clearly seen from the strip map to have been determined by the pre-existing agricultural divisions. Indeed this was recognised as early as 1804 when it was stated that 'every man appears to have built his house upon his own land as the lands in the field nearly correspond with houses before enclosure, and many of the joints in the walls on the east side of the street still testify how wide the lands were'.²⁵ It was however probably a direct piece of planned expansion by the Abbot, for in 1405 eighteen acres of the remaining part of Tylers furlong was demesne land let out to farm. The area released for development was possibly part of the Abbot's consolidated demesne.

In the Eastnewlands a standard rent of 12d would appear to have predominated, while the standard plot size was again apparently of 2 rods, for plot 148 which comprised four tofts contained 2 acres. The 1/- new rent for a cottage in newlands held by Roger de Okley in 1292 is possibly one of the Eastnewland properties, while the 2/- new rent for a cottage in the Newlands held by Galfridus the fisherman in 1292 perhaps relates to a property in the south side of the East High Street block where 2/- would appear to be a standard rent. In contrast in 1305 two new built plots in the Newlands, each of 2 rod and paying a new rent of 6d almost certainly represent the cottages in the north side of the East High Street block.

The idea of phased expansion would seem to be supported in very general terms by the patterning of cottage rents. These vary enormously from 1d in Dikers Lane to 2/2d in Newlands. Although in part some of the variation may be related to tenement sizes, and possibly the subdivision of tenements, there is little evidence such subdivision, indeed the character of the 1405 rental would seem to be based on standard units, as the rents are generally found in blocks. It may therefore be possible to argue sequence of growth from the rent value of each tenement. Hence the north Newlands has a standard 2/2d rent per tenement. The basic rent in Eastnewlands is 12d per tenement. Similarly high values of 3/-, 2/- or 1/- hold in the south side of the High Street. In contrast the Mill Lane and the south end of High Street tends to be 8d cottages, whereas those closest to the virgate grouping, our

²⁴ NRO, FM2388.

²⁵ Anon, 1804.

conjectural focus of early settlement, tend to be 6d cottages. There are however substantial irregularities which do not conform to this pattern, for example to the east of Northalls and in the market place, while in Dikers Lane there are very low rents of 1d and as high as 2/-. It can be seen from the 1405 rental itself, and from comparison of 1405 with the late 13th - early 14th century account rolls that rents were being modified according to circumstances, especially where tenements were waste. It does however appear that despite any modifications an underlying pattern is still to be discerned in 1405 in the 1d, 2d, 4d, 8d and 12d range of rents, with an increase as one moves away from the Southalls/Northalls nucleus, first southward to the market and Mill Lane, secondly eastward into the Newlands.

This picture is supported by comparison of the 1125-8 extent with the 1322 Extent and the 1405 rental. In 1125-8 in addition to the virgaters, the 8 cottagers are recorded each holding 5 acres of land. There are only 8 cottages with appurtenant land, other than acremanland or virgate land, in 1405 and of these 4 are a full 5 acres and 4 with various small pieces of land. The former group are almost certainly those recorded in 1125-8 while the latter group may represent the other 4 from which several acres had been lost. The location of these is significant. The former group lie in close proximity to our primary group of virgate tenements, while the latter group lie adjacent to our secondary group of virgate tenements, fitting correctly with the proposed sequence.

The late 13th century planned additions in the Newlands may have been the last stage of urban expansion prior to the recessions which accompanied first the famines and then from the middle of the 14th century the sequence of plagues. The 1405 rental, following just over 50 years largely of economic decline, shows a picture of desertion of tenements throughout the town, but especially concentrated in the cottages and there especially in the general area of the Newlands.

By 1587, when the next detailed picture of the town is provided by the first map, the town had already recovered substantially from its late medieval decline. By then Mill Lane had been almost completely deserted, apart from a few houses right at the top of the lane, and the mill itself was gone. Elsewhere occupation had apparently recovered much of the area which had been abandoned in the later 14th century, particularly in the Newlands and on the road leading east to it, though some tenements still appear unoccupied. Most significant however is the area of apparent expansion of settlement, if our 1405 reconstruction is correct. The north side of the Stamford road is now built up to match that on the south side, though this may represent an error in our reconstruction of the 1405 rental. More important is the wholly new encroachment onto the open field immediately south of the Newlands and the construction of houses to form a completely new frontage onto the Hogg Leys.

By 1721 there had been further substantial growth, but all still encompassed by the medieval bounds of the old inclosures, with the exception of the encroachments on all sides of the Hog Leys. Expansion has begun once more down Mill Lane, but far more extensive was the expansion along Stanch Lane and almost from the north bridge as far as the Uppingham Road at Newlands. The majority of the expansion had however been achieved by the infilling of tenements with large numbers of buildings, an intensity of infilling at such an early date that has few parallels in the county outside Northampton. Further encroachment took place on the

Hog Leys after 1721 and this was completed after Inclosure, resulting in a series of islands of development with small lanes leading between them.²⁶

²⁶ Whellan, 1849, 847.

3.0 THEMATIC ANALYSIS

3.1 MANORIAL

3.1.1 Manors

3.1.1.1 Peterborough Abbey manor

The manor of Kettering had been held by the crown until 956 and was then given in 967 as part of the foundation grant of Peterborough Abbey. In 1086 there may not have been a large manor or grange at Kettering, for only one of the 16 ploughs was in demesne in contrast to some other of the Abbey estates, such as Oundle with three out of nine and Stanwick two out of three ploughs in demesne. In the 12th century the demesne was let out to farm but at some time before 1211 it was taken back into direct control by the abbey.²⁷ This seems to have been followed in the early 13th century by a major investment in Kettering manor, a process of investment which included the promotion of the settlement as a market town.

The manor remained in the hands of the abbey as a demesne manor until the dissolution, although apart from a period in the 13th and earlier 14th century, for much of this time it is likely to have been leased out, as it was in 1488 to Richard Alderman for £26/13/4d per annum. Following the dissolution, in 1541-2 the king granted the manor to William Lord Parr but it reverted to the crown almost immediately. It was variously fragmented, leased and mortgaged during the later 16th and earlier 17th century by the crown, the majority of the property being held during the 17th century by the Watsons of Rockingham and the Duke of Montagu. The manor house and Hall Field, an area of enclosed demesne, were separately granted out and in the 17th and 18th century was in the hands of the Sawyer family. The Sawyers still held the manor house and grounds in 1721 but by the time of inclosure in 1804 it too was held by Lord Montagu of nearby Boughton.²⁸

3.1.1.2 Rectory manor

The Rectory fee was probably in existence by the 13th century, being held by successive incumbents. It is first specifically mentioned in 1405, when it was said to be close to the market place. The tenements of the Rectory fee extended at that date between the lane later known as Parkstile along most of the eastern frontage of the market place as far as the churchyard. After the dissolution the Rectory was leased to the Watsons of Rockingham, until 1802 when it was held by the incumbent of the church. In 1530 reference is made to the Church Barn, which was presumably on part of the rectory property. In 1590 a customary house in the Rectory fee is described as '*lying against the market place between the shop of Edmund Sawyer and the house of John Drewry*',²⁹ and in 1573 reference is made to the shop, barn and yard of Henry Byer, held of the Rectory manor. In the early 18th century the Rectory manor court was held in the Rectory house. This house was said at that time to have '*marks of antiquitie in it*'.³⁰ However this building has since been demolished.

²⁷ The demesne was leased in 1125 and 1176. King, E.J., 1973, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310*.

²⁸ The descent is detailed in VCH, III, 219-221.

²⁹ NRO FWB 30.

³⁰ Bridges, II, 244.

Evaluation in 1998, comprising 6 trenches distributed across most of the Rectory plot produced evidence of poor survival. Remains of post medieval buildings were found immediately west of the present Rectory building, comprising ironstone walls and one brick wall, cut through medieval soil. Most trenches had rubble directly on natural with only 14 medieval sherds, the rest being post medieval. There was extensive 18th century construction across the site and earlier deposits were heavily disturbed.³¹

3.1.2 Manorial Appurtenances

3.1.2.1 Manor House or Grange

The manor lay immediately to the south west of the church. There is evidence for the types of buildings within the grange around 1300, while in 1587 these buildings are seen to have been laid out around a courtyard. The manor was enclosed by a thatched cob wall which was repaired and heightened in 1292. In 1541-3 there is again reference to the repair of the '*mudwalle*' of the manor and mention of '*thackyng plyntyng and clayng the same....*'.³² In 1587 the buildings and yards together with the orchards and the gardens were still enclosed by a wall. In 1292 a padlock was purchased for the field gate of the manor, which may have been in the same location as in 1587, leading west into the High Street from the garden. This is probably to be distinguished from the gate of the curtilage for which a lock was also bought in 1292. The latter may have been the entrance lying on the west side of the courtyard, immediately north of the barn seen on the 1587 map and referred to in the 1405 survey where the first tenement, on the west side of the High Street, is said to lay opposite the manor gate.

On the east side of the courtyard in 1587 lay what appears to have been the main residence, a long range aligned north-south, with in addition what appears to have been two gables facing onto the courtyard. The main entrance lay towards the north end of the range beneath one of the gables. This building is possibly the '*noble hall roofed with stone*' built by Abbot Walter de St. Edmunds in 1233-45 as a residence for when he was present at Kettering.³³ Brief references in the medieval accounts add a little detail on this structure. In 1291 payments were made for work on the door of the wardrobe and the window of the new chamber.³⁴ In 1300-1 iron hinges were made for the window of the hall and iron bars for the window of the great chamber.³⁵ Bridges, writing in circa 1720, states that the manor house then still contained traces of the '*abbot's hall*'. However there must have been extensive rebuilding at a later date for examination of the building in the late 1970s revealed nothing of medieval date.³⁶

³¹ Soden, I, 1998, An Archaeological Evaluation at the Rectory, Kettering, Northamptonshire, unpublished report in SMR.

³² PRO, SC6 Henry VIII 2787

³³ VCH, III, 218. Sparke, 1723.

³⁴ Wise, 1891.

³⁵ NRO, F(M)2388.

³⁶ Brian Giggins, pers. comm.

In 1291 there was payment for the lock on the chapel door.³⁷ The chapel was presumably that said to have been completed between 1214 and 1222.³⁸ It is likely to have been a room within the main range of the manor.

There was a granary which was being rethatched and its door repaired in 1300-1.³⁹

A barn is recorded in 1292 as the place where the corn was stacked.⁴⁰ This may have been the buttressed barn of four or five bays seen in 1587 on the west side of the courtyard, against the road. It had been demolished by 1721.

The oxhouse was also built in 1233⁴¹ It was still in use in 1292 when a lock for its door was purchased.

The only other building which can be approximately located is the circular dovecote, which in 1587 lay centrally towards the south side of the courtyard. This may be the dovecote for which a profit of 2/- was recorded in 1321-2,⁴² and for which 3 days work was spent in 1292 on clearing the droppings.

In 1300-1 there were mangers and racks made for the stable and in 1292 a lock was purchased for its door.

The malt kiln was repaired in 1300-1, stone being purchased for this and a mason as well as a carpenter employed to work on it, in addition to purchases of laths and nails for the repair of the roof.⁴³

The sheepcote, also built in 1233 by Abbot Walter, was refitted in 1309-10 and its roof and stalls repaired, using old timber from the mill.

A calf house(?) is mentioned in 1309-10 when its roof was repaired.⁴⁴

Garments were purchased for the dairy and production of butter and cheese is recorded in the late 13th and early 14th century accounts.

In 1292 the chain for the well bucket was repaired.

There were two gardens in 1321-2.⁴⁵ The upper garden is mentioned in 1292 when a gate was made for it,⁴⁶ and 1309 and 1311 when there was an income of 6d from the sale of the fruit of

³⁷ Wise, 1891.

³⁸ Clinton, 1977.

³⁹ NRO, F(M)2388.

⁴⁰ NRO, F(M)2388. Wise, 1891.

⁴¹ Sparke, 1723. BL, Cotton Nero VII.

⁴² Sparke, 1723.

⁴³ NRO, F(M)2388.

⁴⁴ NRO, F(M)2389.

⁴⁵ Sparke, 1723, p.194.

⁴⁶ Wise, 1891.

the upper garden.⁴⁷ In 1405 and 1488 the upper garden, called the old orchard, was rented out for 2/-.⁴⁸ This may be the garden depicted behind the main range in 1587, or perhaps the close to the south.

By implication, in 1292 a lower garden also existed. This is likely to be the land recorded in 1311 when there was an income of £1 from the sale of the herbage and fruit of the garden and the herbage around the great fishpond. This must be the same as the 1292 reference to an income of 16/- from the fruit and herbage of the garden round the Newedam. The location of the lower garden is difficult to establish. The grouping of its income with that from around the fishpond and the description in 1405 and 1488 that the lower garden, which was let out for 5/-, lay opposite the grange of the manor towards the stream,⁴⁹ might indicate that it lay in the valley bottom in the area of the fishponds in 1587, perhaps in the area of the Parks (see below).

In 1587 the grounds of the manor were already laid out in what appear to have been formal gardens, immediately to the east of the hall, while the land to the south was a large close with formal gates entering in the walled enclosure. By 1721 there had been more extensive design of gardens with extensive rectilinear walks, although the south western part was by then an orchard. The buildings around the courtyard in 1587, which appear to have been the remnants of the monastic grange, had largely gone by 1721 and been replaced by a formal entrance and planting overlooked by the hall itself.

3.1.2.2 Fishponds

In 1292 an income of 16/- is recorded from the fruit and herbage of the garden together with the herbage around *>le Newedam*. By 1309-10 the income, increased to £1, is described as from the garden and the herbage around the great fishpond. This may be one of the ponds in the valley west of the town. In 1321-2 there was a fishpond, valued together with the gardens. This pond appears to have driven a watermill (see below). In 1291 at least two men, Geoffrey and Henry the fishermen, were involved with the management of the ponds and perhaps also the fishery in the river Ise.

By 1587 there was a pond called Hartwell's Pond on the stream to the south of Mill Lane next to the Goose Pasture. Another group of small ponds lay in a small irregular area of enclosure on the west side of the stream adjacent to the Goose Pasture. A further pond existed in 1721 called Bazeley's pond immediately to the east of the Goose Pasture.

3.1.2.3 Watermills

The manor is exceptional in having two watermills in 1086,⁵⁰ but only a single mill with a miller, worth 20/-, is mentioned in 1125-8. It is referred to again in 1281 while in 1301 the rent with the windmill was 30/-. In 1305 and 1311 the watermill, fulling mill and windmill were all three together worth £7. In 1321 two water mills, one presumably the fulling mill, were worth 73/4d, providing a profit of 13/4d, although elsewhere in the same document there is a contradictory reference to only one water and one wind mill, the former being fed

⁴⁷ NRO, F(M)2389.

⁴⁸ BL, Cotton Nero VII; NRO, M(T)35.

⁴⁹ BL, Cotton Nero VII; NRO, M(T)35.

⁵⁰ Domesday Book, 221c.

by the fishpond. The latter must surely be the Little Mill. The water mill is variously recorded in 1405 and 1488 and is only separately valued in 1518-19, at £8/13/4d. As late as 1543-4 two mills are recorded, but it is clear from a reference of 1528-9 that by this time both were under one roof.⁵¹ This may explain the presence of the double leet in 1728 at the mill on the river Ise. The mill holme which lay adjacent, is presumably the 'Milneholme' of 1291, suggesting that this mill was already in existence by then.

In 1321-2 one mill was driven by the fishpond but was valued together with the windmill at 73/4d, a profit of 13/4d. It was in existence by 1300-1 when nails were purchased for the gable of the Little Mill.⁵² This was not apparently the fulling mill of 1281 and 1301 for in 1300-1 two millstones were bought for the windmill and the Little Mill.⁵³ In 1405 the water mill on the stream to the west of the town was called 'littlemilne'. The reference to a toft adjacent to the pond of the mill and the description of the lane as leading to the mill would indicate that it was still in existence in 1405. It was presumably the mill fed by the fishpond in 1321 (see above). It must have gone out of use between 1405 and 1488, when only one watermill is recorded. By 1721 all trace of the mill had gone although the close at the end of the lane was still known as Dam Meadow while at the end of the lane lay the Mill Plank, giving access across the stream.

It is likely to be the Little Mill that is meant when in 1292 the mill pond is recorded as having been repaired. There are entries in the accounts relating to the construction of and ramming earth and clay about the bed of the stream and cleaning of weeds in the pond. In all 435 days work in carrying timber, reinforcing the dam with earth and clay etc. This represents 7% of the total available dayworks from customary tenants, almost as much as devoted to all the reaping. In addition payment of £1/18/2d was made to a carpenter, mason and assistants.

3.1.2.4 Fulling mill

A water powered fulling mill is recorded in first surviving account roll, that of 1281. The rent of the fulling mill was 20/- in 1301, two thirds of the rent of the wind and water mills together. It is likely that it was the larger mill set on the river Ise to the east of the town. Only one mill is recorded in 1321-2 and so it is possible that the fulling mill was already disused by this date. However this particular source is notable for the omissions which it makes, related particularly to where items were held at farm.

3.1.2.5 Windmill

The windmill is first recorded in 1291, when timber was cut in the wood and transported for the repair of the mill sails. Other repairs included the replacement of the windlass in 1300-1.⁵⁴ The windmill was valued together with a watermill in 1300-1 and 1321-2. The mill is first separately recorded in 1488 when it was farmed at a rent of 26/8d and is said to have been newly erected.⁵⁵ It was similarly described in 1514-15 and in 1518-19 yielded the same rent. In 1587 mill hill, a round mound lacking any superstructure, lay immediately south of

⁵¹ NRS, Whitwam Ms.

⁵² NRO, F(M)2388.

⁵³ NRO, F(M)2388.

⁵⁴ NRO, F(M)2388.

⁵⁵ NRO, M(T)M35; Bridges, II, 242.

the town. It seems likely that this was the site of the earlier windmill, which was removed from this original site soon before 1488 to the position it still occupied in 1728.

3.1.2.6 Horse mill

A horse mill had existed in a tenement in the High Street in the 14th century but when first specifically mentioned, in 1405, it had gone out of use. By 1488 a horse mill was again in use as it is included in the 26/8d rent with the water mill. It is again referred to in 1514 and 1543. This presumably was, as in other towns where described more fully, a malt mill.

3.1.2.7 Bakehouse

The common bakehouse is first recorded in 1291 when the steward received >20/- *from all the villeins that they may hold the bakehouse* and payment for stone for the mouth and clay for the floor of the oven.⁵⁶ In 1301-11 it was worth 66/8d but by 1405 only 26/8d, declining by 1488 to 20/-, when it is described as two ovens, possibly both under one roof. In 1518-19 it was still valued at 20/-. It seems likely from the 1405 rental to have lain on the same site as it occupied in the 17th century. In 1527 there appears to have been at least one cottage appended to the end of the bakehouse. In 1620 the bakehouse was worth 16/8d per annum. It is clear that in 1653 it lay in the middle of the street near the main road junction adjacent to Wadcroft, for the tenement of Stephen Simms then had three streets on the north, south and west sides, and the common bakehouse on the east side.⁵⁷ This must be the property which in 1721 lay in the middle of the street at the north end of the High Street on Bakehouse Hill. Its apparent absence from the 1587 map may simply be the result of the schematic nature of this highly inaccurate map.

3.1.2.8 Park

In the reign of Stephen (1135-54) the Abbot was granted licence of free warren in his manor.⁵⁸

The Park seems to have still functioned in 1405 when pasture in the park was leased out for 26/8d. In 1488 the rector paid 53/4d per annum for the herbage of the park. This presumably is The Parks mapped in 1587 (see above).

3.1.2.9 Warren

The Warren with its lodge lay to the north of Hall Field, in the north western part of the township, in 1587. At that time it comprised 96 acres of waste called The Lynches. The warren was considered old in 1405, a statement repeated in 1488 when pasture there was rented out for 12d. It continued to be rented out at least until 1519, when it brought an income of 13/4d per annum.⁵⁹ In c.1720 Bridges described the Links as being covered with furze and brakes, the land being largely on the Northampton Sand and Ironstone geology.

3.1.2.10 The Pound

The pound was located in 1721 at the north end of Newlands though it is not referred to in the 1405 survey.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Wise, 1891.

⁵⁷ PRO, E317 Northants 37.

⁵⁸ Bridges, II, 242.

⁵⁹ BL, Harl. Roll H9.

⁶⁰ Bridges' notes.

3.1.2.11 Bowling Green

In 1587 the rectory included a plot of land between the parsonage, church and manor on the west and the Wellingborough to Uppingham road on the east. By 1721 the southern part of this had been converted to a bowling green, part had been incorporated into the churchyard and the rest remained a garden.

3.2 CHURCH

3.2.1 Church of St Peter & St Paul

The absence of a reference to a priest at Kettering in 1086 is not conclusive evidence that a church did not exist at that time, while the presence of several reused fragments of Norman and pre-conquest carving within the present building would indicate the presence of a late Saxon church. It was certainly in existence by 1125-7.

It is a substantial church with large north and south aisles as well as a clearstoreyed nave, and large chapels on either side of the chancel. Although the present building is largely the result of a substantial rebuilding in the mid to late 15th century there is significant early 14th century work which might indicate a church of similar size already existed at that time. The 15th century also saw the addition of an elaborate north porch facing the and an especially impressive, tall west tower and spire. In the 16th century there were three chapels, one probably in the east end of the south aisle, which may correspond to the three guilds.⁶¹ According to Bridges, writing in circa 1720, there was a chantry in the church and a priest supported in part by revenues from certain property in the town.⁶² Between 1587 and 1721 the churchyard was extended eastward as far as the main road, expanding over the parsonage property.

The evolution of the church may be an important mirror of the wealth of the town. It is not on quite the same scale as the Deanery church at Higham Ferrers and even in the 16th and 17th centuries the endowments are relatively modest compared to that which was seen, particularly at an earlier date, at Higham Ferrers. It was not until the 18th century and especially the 19th century that there was a dramatic increase in the scale and significance of the endowments in the town.

3.2.2 Chapels

There were no subsidiary chapels in the town, apart from the chapel within the manor house in the 13th century (see above).

3.2.3 Vicarage

A vicarage was never instituted in Kettering.

3.2.4 Crosses

In addition to the market cross (see below), there were a series of crosses in the town in 1587, positioned at the main road junctions and associated with small ponds. The Newlands Cross, associated with a well or pond in 1587, was by 1720 reduced to a stump fixed in one of the

⁶¹ The church is described in detail in VCH, 3, 222; further information is in the supplement to Bull's History of Kettering; Pevsner, 1973.

⁶² Bridges, II, 244.

walls of the Newlands pond;⁶³ Northall Cross and pond in 1721 and 1587; a cross in 1587 at the junction of High Street and Mill Lane must be the Myllane Crosse of 1527, but by 1721 the cross had gone and there was just Glovers pond.

3.3 MONASTIC & OTHER ESTABLISHMENTS

3.3.1 Monastic houses

There were no monastic establishments in Kettering, undoubtedly the result of the manor being held wholly by the Abbot of Peterborough.

3.3.2 Gaol (see also under market)

Bridewell Lane was a small lane running west from the Hog Leys. There appears to have been a >Bridewell= or gaol here before 1804.

3.3.3 Almshouse

In 1530 John Lane and William Pack paid entry fines for a shop in the market place with four almshouses. A new, fairly modest almshouse, sometimes described as the ‘hospital’ was erected in 1688 by Edmund Sawyer for six poor people. Though much altered this building survives today.⁶⁴

3.3.4 School

In 1620 there is reference to the >towne or freeskolle lande’ worth £1/2/4d, indicating the presence of a school by that date. In 1626 trustees were granted property in the town by the king, out of the manor, for the maintenance of the school. These properties are detailed in the parliamentary survey of 1653, at which time the schoolmaster held a school house with a residence adjacent. In 1721 the Free School lay at the north end of the High Street immediately north of the bakehouse.

3.3.5 Workhouse

A workhouse was established by the parish in 1717.⁶⁵ In 1721 it stood on the west side of the Hog Leys with a plot of ground, apparently its garden, extending in front of it onto the leys, an encroachment that possibly took place when the workhouse was established.

3.4 TENEMENTS

3.4.1 Population and Wealth

The 1086 number of tenants recorded in Kettering is not particularly high, considering the area of the township, when compared with Domesday figures for other Northamptonshire villages. The various national taxations suggest that Kettering, even by the early 14th century, although larger and wealthier than surrounding villages, did not apparently approach the size or wealth of the major settlements such as Brackley or Oundle. Although in the 1291

⁶³ Bridges, II, 241.

⁶⁴ VCH, III, 219.

⁶⁵ VCH, III, 219.

ecclesiastical taxation Kettering is valued at £26/11/9, far exceeding most of the village manors held by the Abbey, in the national taxation of 1301 Kettering had only 46 taxpayers whereas some purely agricultural villages, such as Irthlingborough, had well over 100. Kettering's valuation in 1334 of 123 shillings does however represent a relatively high wealth per person, towards the higher end of the range for the county and presumably reflecting the degree of urban development. The evidence of the 1321 extent and the 1405 rental would suggest that the total number of tenements in the town at the height of the medieval expansion was at least as great as number in Oundle and probably substantially more, suggesting that the 14th century taxation evidence may significantly under represent the actual population of Kettering.

The 1405 rental appears to give a very reliable picture of the total number of tenants in the early 15th century and a good indication of the likely numbers at the height of the medieval expansion in the early 14th century. Although it comes after a major phase of population decline, the number of vacant or waste tenements is specified, even at least in some cases where they had been put back to agricultural use. There may of course previously have been some degree of subdivision at an earlier date which is not reflected in the 1405 figures and hence they must be taken as a minimum figure. The total of occupied and abandoned tenements was 186, suggesting a minimum population of approximately 900. However the Rectory manor is excluded from the 1405 rental, but in the 16th century it comprised some 15 tenements and so giving perhaps a total of 200 tenements in the early 15th century.⁶⁶

The 186 tenements comprised 30.5 virgate messuages, 79 cottages, 53 tofts of which 8.5 had been or were associated with virgates, and in all some 30 vacant or waste tofts. Of these tenements 9 cottages and 17 tofts had been subject to amalgamation into single holdings whereas only 8 tenements had been subdivided.

Tenements types in Kettering in 1405

	no land	< 8 acres land	1 virgate	total	
messuage	0	11	36		
ruined messuage	0	0	1		
cottage	74	7	0		
vacant cottage	1	0	0		
toft	14	2 (akermanland)	11 (was 13)		45
vacant/waste toft	34	0	3	19 vacant 5 waste 1 cultivated 7 built up	

⁶⁶ Wise, 1901.

Tenement desertion in Kettering by 1405

	< 8 acres land	> 8 acres land
vacant tenement	35	4
occupied tenement	108	41
TOTAL	143	45

The late 13th and early 14th century expansion seen at Kettering contrasts markedly with Oundle where there is no obvious evidence of land being taken in for new tenement at this time, despite the survival of the same account roll series for both towns. This may be because Oundle's main expansion had occurred earlier and that further growth was accommodated largely by the subdivision of properties, whereas Kettering grew primarily by the addition of new tenement rows. There was however some subdivision of tenements in Kettering, for in 1292 Matilda de Barton owed 6d rent for half a cottage and in 1292 Henry Champney paid an entry fine of 6/8d for 1/4 virgate with a toft, implying major subdivision of virgate tenements and land. A degree of subdivision is confirmed in 1321-2 when it is recorded that 40 customary tenants between them 34 virgates. In 1405 tenement 35 was said to be built upon part of messuage 36. But no major evidence of subdivision is seen in 1405, unlike Oundle, for only one cottage, twelve messuages and five tofts were still at that time divided into two.

In Kettering there is similarly far more evidence for the active encroachment than is apparent in Oundle at this time. In 1301 and 1311 the steward received '*4d for a certain plot which Henry Champneys holds in front of his plot newly taken in*'.⁶⁷ In 1301 he had also paid 2/- for the right to take in this land. In 1291 the steward similarly received '*2/- from Agnes and ... that they may lengthen their plot next the Kings highway and build upon it*', and '*12d from Henry Randolf that he may lengthen his plot ... by the space of feet outward nearer the King's highway*'.⁶⁸ It is significant that these encroachments do not appear in the 1405 rental, implying that these became accepted as normal parts of the tenement, in contrast to the situation seen in Brackley in the 18th century. In 1405 only 11 encroachments are recorded, varying from 1/2d to 2d rent, all relatively minor in character. One such encroachment is described in detail in 1609, related to a cottage in Dykers Lane. The encroachment contained '*one Baye*' and a small parcel of ground next to the gable end also on the north side of the cottage containing half a 'Drawwell', the plot being 72 ft from the cottage wall to the well and 15 ft towards the door of the house. The rent was 2d. Expansion on to the waste was continuing with in 1653 the house of 2 rooms with a garden and orchard being situated on the waste land near the lime kiln, but this represented expansion beyond the bounds of the settlement rather than encroachment adjacent to existing tenements. Illicit encroachment also occurred, but in some cases if not all this was strictly controlled. For example in 1607 Robert Rogers was ordered to '*remove his leanetoo adjoyninge to his house standinge in the streete before midsomer next coming upon paine to forfeit 3/4d*'.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ NRO, FM 2388 & 2389.

⁶⁸ Wise, 1899.

⁶⁹ Wise, 1901, 169-180.

Unfortunately, the countywide statistics on population are limited by the absence of surviving returns for the 1377 poll tax so the trajectory of the town cannot be compared closely to most other towns in the county in that crucial period. It is however clear from both the wealth and the population statistics that Kettering was by the 16th century moving rapidly up the settlement hierarchy compared to its earlier 14th century ranking. This was a pattern that would continue right through to the 18th century moved ever closer to becoming the second ranking town in the county.

3.4.2 Borough / Burgage

Kettering was never granted borough status nor were any of the tenements held by burgage tenure. Any non agricultural tenants in the town must therefore have been encompassed within the large number of cottagers listed in the 14th century. It may however be significant that in 1305 and 1309 there is reference to shops being farmed out to the '*capital tenants*', implying a substantial variation in the wealth and influence of the tenants, even though none held by burgage tenure.

3.4.3 Virgate

The 10 hides of 956 and 1086 correspond to the 40 virgates of 1405. These 40 virgates were held in 1086 by just 30 villeins, if Domesday gives an accurate record of the number of virgate tenants, implying that 10 of the tenants held two virgate of land. However by 1125-6 their number had increased to 40, implying single virgate holdings. In 1292 there were 39 virgates held for 39/- while one further virgate had been leased to Thomas de Alwalton. By 1311 a second virgate was held at farm, by Roger Palmer. The 1321-2 extent records 40 customary tenants holding 34 virgates. The decline in the number of recorded virgates indicates a limitation of our sources, for all 40 still existed in 1405. Presumably by 1321 the number of virgates held at farm had increased to six, a pattern seen even more clearly at Oundle. Further increase in the number of agricultural tenancies occurred through the subdivision of virgate tenements. Certain virgate holdings had been divided into units as small as 1/4 virgate. For example in 1292 we find Henry Chaumpeneys paying an entry fine for one toft with 1/4 virgate. However most virgates may have remained intact, for in the same year Walter son of Geoffrey Aboveytoun paid an entry fine for 1 messuage and 1 virgate while in 1301 five entries record messuages with full virgates appendant but no subdivided virgates and in 1309-10 Emma widow of Walter Palmer had entry into 1 messuage and 1 virgate.

Of the 186 tenements in 1405 there were 30.5 which were virgate messuages plus 8.5 tofts which had been or were associated with virgates. Presumably as a result of the population decline of the latter half of the 14th century, by 1405 the situation had eased, with 40 virgates being held by only 39 individuals, although 13 of these were held as half virgates, and by 1488 further subdivision had occurred creating 19 half virgates, 10 quarter virgates and 3 thirds of a virgate. These later changes represent a dissolution of the medieval system, for by 1405 five messuages had lost their virgate land altogether while seven had lost half of their virgate land. In the 13th and early 14th century the subdivisions appears to have involved the tenement and the land being subdivided as the quarter virgates were of land pertaining to a messuage rather than being granted out independent of a messuage. The letting out to farm of virgate land in the late 13th and early 14th century may represent removal of land from tenement, as for example with the 1292 letting to farm of a virgate to Thomas de Alwalton for 42/8d, as no mention is made of an appendant messuage.

3.4.3.1 Akermanlands

In addition to the increase in the number of agricultural tenants through the subdivision of virgates, there was also an increase through the creation of completely new agricultural tenancies. Though not recorded in 1086 or 1125-8, by 1292 there were Akermen tenements each with 10 acres of land held for money rent alone, at 6/8d per annum.⁷⁰ By 1321 there were 16 acremen. In 1405 some of these lands were attached to cottages dispersed around the town, although a group of five lay on the southern edge of the town opposite the manor. What is so far unclear is where this 'new' agricultural land came from, if the existing virgate holdings or demesne were not reduced in acreage, unless some degree of arable expansion was still occurring at the expense of woodland, for the Akermanlands comprised 160 acres of arable.

3.4.4 Cottage

No bordars were recorded in 1086 but by 1125-8 there were 8 '*cotsetes*' with five acres each. In addition there were a bercarius and a porcarius with 8 acres.⁷¹ In 1321-2 the number of cottagers had increased to 24, though this is undoubtedly a major understatement of numbers, for by 1405 there were 79 cottages, representing the vast majority of the tenements. In addition there were at that time a large number of tofts held without land which, although not described as such, it is reasonable to assume were in most cases originally cottages. This would suggest a total number of cottages in the high medieval period of over 120, while some evidence of earlier subdivision may have been lost so making this a minimum figure. This identification is confirmed by the rental values, for example in the north Newlands, where tofts following a series of cottages at a standard rent of 2/2d were also valued at that rent. Indeed in one case one property is described as the '*tofts of two vacant cottages*'.

It is the increase in the number of cottages in the town which explains that vast majority of the expansion of the number of tenancies in Kettering in the 13th century. Moreover the 1301 account rolls include a total assize rent of £15/2/4d from bordars, cottars and '*toftis in le newlelond arentatis*'. This clearly includes the 9 acres 1 rod which had been newly surrendered in Newlond in 1292 for the 39/-. This is the main factor increasing the total rent from the £12/8/4.5d in 1292.

Although the first cottages had as much as 10 acres of land attached, it is clear from the 1405 rental that the vast majority of cottages had no agricultural land.⁷² Those cottages with land were generally interspersed with the acremanland tenements and virgate tenements. Significantly they were absent from the Newlands and associated area of late expansion where all tenements are without land. It is these cottages which must represent the latest stages of urban development in Kettering in the 13th century.

3.4.5 Decline and Recovery

In 1405 a total of 53 tenements were described as tofts, apparently relating to the fact that they lacked a building at the time of the survey and indeed 3.5 are described as waste. Of the

⁷⁰ William Rote paid 6/8d in 1292 for 1 cottage with 10 acres of land; the 1405 survey records these as acremen tenements; Wise, 1891.

⁷¹ Society of Antiquaries, Ms.60.

⁷² In 1309-10 Isabella widow of William Walkelin had entry into one cottage and 10 acres. In 1301 there is reference to a cottage with 1 acre, another with half an acre and four others without land; NRO, F(M)2388 & 2389.

53 there were 8.5 which had been virgate messuages while the rest were probably all cottages. The large number of unoccupied tenements reflects over 50 years of decline under the impact of the various plagues and associated economic recession. The degree of decline had probably been even greater than this however for there were 9 cottages and 17 tofts which had been amalgamated whereas only 8 properties were subdivided. There had even been one group of tenements had been returned to agriculture, being described as two parcels of waste tofts now cultivated by the tenant and for which no original number of tenements is quoted. The process of decline is also of course reflected in the reduction of rents, a process which was still continuing in 1405 and parallels the decline seen in the market.

The deserted tenements were not however evenly scattered through the town. They concentrated in specific areas, particularly in the Newlands and in Mill Lane. Indeed decline in these two areas continued in the 16th century. In the 1527 great survey by the manorial court into the decay of houses a total of 24 properties were cited. Of the 12 which can be located 5 lay within Mill Lane, 3 in Newlands, 2 in Wadcroft and 1 in John Brown=s Lane. Although some of the houses were only in bad repair, others were completely destroyed: *>John Oswester : a tenement devastated and totally decayed and carried away and thus for 5 or 6 years.=... John Warun: a house of the church in myl lane decayed....=*. The process of decline in Mill Lane was however far from complete, for at least 6 tenements at this time were still occupied, several adjacent to Wadcroft and hence some distance down Mill Lane. The 1587 map shows only a very few tenements surviving, all at the eastern end of the lane and in 1608 another waste cottage is recorded *>in Myll Lane with five acres arable land called Acremanland=*. The decline may be related in part to the abandonment of the little mill at the west end of the lane and the fact that this was not a significant through route, at least by the later 16th century, eventually being stopped up completely as a road by 1721.

It was in the post medieval period that Kettering moved towards the top of the range of Northamptonshire towns. In 1524, with a valuation of 544 shillings and a taxed population of 133, it had overtaken Brackley, Daventry and Towcester, lying fourth only to Oundle, Wellingborough and Northampton. Approximately 135 houses are depicted on the 1587 map which may provide a rough guide to the number of households, which conforms reasonably well with the 1524 taxation figures. However by 1674 there were 303 households that paid the hearth tax and in the early 18th century Bridges records 566 households, representing a population of about 2645.⁷³

This expansion from the 16th century onwards took place in the eastern and northern part of the town and particularly at the expense of Mill Lane. Already by 1587 a large number of properties can be seen fronting onto the Hog Leys, yet the earlier sources do not appear to record any tenements in this area. Other cottages may have been newly constructed in Wadcroft Lane, for in 1610 John Dyson held a cottage in Wadcroft Lane or Wadcroft Style, although tenements may have existed here in 1405. However the area still saw decline because in 1527 J. Oswester held tenement against Wadcroft gate, totally broken down and in decay for 4 or 5 years, and the cottage of Rauss Clare in Wadcroft Lane was decayed. A further shift of focus to the north took place in the 17th century, for comparison of the 1587 and 1721 maps shows numerous new properties in Northhall running almost to the north bridge. It can be seen from comparison of the 1587, 1721 and 1804 maps that the 17th century

⁷³ Bridges, II, 241.

was probably the most important period of growth before the later 19th century. It is reflected in the subdivision of tenements, with new houses being inserted both along the main frontages, in the gardens behind with access being gained by small alleyways and along various lanes running back from the main streets. The size of some of these new buildings was minute, for example in 1653 Widdow Dison held *>one little house containing one room=*. Further encroachment onto the waste was taking place for in 1653 Thomas Manning held *'a house containing 2 rooms situated upon the waste lands near the lyme kilne'*. Even the *>Towne Barne=* had been converted to *>a dwelling house of 3 rooms below stayre and 2 above=*.⁷⁴

3.5 COMMERCE

A limited indication as to the economic basis of the town in the late 13th century is provided by the evidence of occupations recorded in the 1292 account roll. Of the 97 men and 34 women named, 24 occupations are recorded, being 18% of the total. It cannot be assumed that the majority of the remainder were involved in agriculture, for other names relate to location, such as Henry at the pear tree, to sons of, or relate to places from which the person or his family came. Of the 24 occupations 18 are non agricultural: 1 dyer,⁷⁵ 1 tiler, 2 carpenters, 1 smith, 2 farriers, 2 coopers, 5 carters, 3 chapmen, and 1 butcher. The other occupations comprise 2 fishermen, 1 shepherd, 1 reeve and 2 clerks. In addition payments from the manor are recorded to a mason, carpenter, smith, cowherd, dairymaid and heyward, but not all need have been resident in the town, while others may be already included amongst the previously recorded individuals.

Trades from Court Roll of Kettering 1291

TRADE GROUPING	TRADE IN 1291 and (1291-1311)	NUMBER
CLOTH PRODUCTION	Dyer	1
	(Fuller)	(1)
GENERAL SERVICES	Smith	1
	Cooper	2
	Butcher	1
	Carter	5
	Chapman	3
	Farrier	2
BUILDING ETC	Carpenter	2
	Tiler	1

⁷⁴ PRO, E317 Northants 37.

⁷⁵ The evidence for the dyer is a caution on interpretation of these trade names as an accurate indication of occupation for his name is le Walker, which would imply an occupation as a fuller, yet he is specifically described as the tenant of a dyeworks. Though the two trades may once have been combined in a single individual the presence of a fulling mill from before 1281 is likely to mean that le Walker may by then simply have been an inherited name as the fulling must all have surely been done at the mill. Unless of course he also held the fulling mill.

AGRICULTURE ETC	Fisherman	2
	Clerk	2
	Shepherd	1
	Reeve	1
	(Cowherd)	(1)
	(Dairymaid)	(1)
	(Heyward)	(1)

The range of trades would suggest a town primarily serving a local hinterland with basic services and goods. They do indicate several industries in the town but the evidence minimal. The presence a Tylere Wong or Tylers Furlong in 1405 and 1587 respectively, may indicate the location of the industrial production undertaken by the tiler recorded in 1292. It is unclear whether this is ceramic or if it might more likely be stone tile. A Flaxwellesike is recorded in Kettering in 1309-10. In 1587 and 1721 Flaxwell was a small pond with a stream leading out of it in Hall Meadow, immediately to the south of the town. This might indicate the cultivation and or processing of flax, though there is no evidence related to medieval production in the town.

3.5.1 Market

The extent of the Peterborough Abbey estates in 1125-8 includes no reference to a market at Kettering whereas at Oundle the market income is recorded. It seems likely therefore that the Kettering market was indeed established with the grant of a Friday market in 1227.⁷⁶ This seems to have been the first step by the abbey in the promotion of the village into an urban centre, occurring at a time when other major investment is seen on the demesne farm and manor house. The market was confirmed in 1329-30⁷⁷ and continued to be held on a Friday as late as 1849.⁷⁸

In 1321 the market toll provided an income of 16/- per annum of which the net profit was 3/4d. By 1488 the profit of the market was worth 4/-, an increase not a decline from the high medieval, though there is no way of determining the degree to which the method of calculation in each case so the figures may not be directly comparable. The perquisites of court brought an income of 21/4d. In 1518-19 and in 1541-3 the profit of market toll was still worth 4/- and the perquisites of the court 3/-.

Different parts of the market place were apparently devoted to the sale of different goods. This can be seen in 1719 though it undoubtedly occurred long before. At that time the northern apex of the market place was called the Cornhill. The area immediately west of the

⁷⁶ VCH Notes, Cal. Charter Rolls, I, 21.

⁷⁷ VCH Notes, Plac. Quo Warranto.

⁷⁸ Whellan, 1849, 848.

Rotten Row was the Sheep Market and it was here, according to a court ordinance of 1609, that the sheep pens were set up, but only by hire of ground from the bailiff.⁷⁹ On the other side of the Rotten Row was the Butchers Row while in the corner towards the churchyard lay the set of round stone steps known as the market cross was where butter was sold.⁸⁰ In the 18th century the Hog Leys was converted into the Horsemarket.

3.5.1.1 Market Place

It is impossible to establish the exact form of the original market place but, as at Thrapston and Oundle, the church lays well back from the late medieval market square, implying some degree of encroachment both in the area to the west of the church and to the west of the rectory. At an earlier date Parkstile Lane, which runs parallel to the churchyard and grange boundaries, in contrast to all the boundaries further north, may have formed the north side of a true square. On both the west and east there are stepped frontages bowing into the market, again implying encroachment, but the only possible indicator an earlier eastern boundary may be the kink in Parkstile Lane, which could indicate the corner of a larger market place. Encroachment was certainly taking place on the east side of the market, for in 1405 John Asbewell, chaplain, paid 1d rent for a piece of the lords waste in the market place below the Rectory fee for having an oven on, though these may have been very minor encroachments similar to those seen in other towns such as Brackley. The apparent absence of tenements along the north side of Parkstile Lane, apart perhaps from the cottage recorded there in 1570,⁸¹ may argue that this was not perhaps a frontage onto the early market and in 1405 tenements on the south side of the market were not recorded as encroachments. However, unlike Higham Ferrers, where the suggested funnel shaped market discussed by Beresford can be seen as the result of a cartographic error, at Kettering the market place had indeed assumed such a form by the post medieval period and it is possible that this was its original shape.

3.5.1.2 Shops & Stalls

In 1305 and 1309 there is reference to 15 shops newly farmed out to the *>capital tenants*= for 5/4d, implying the same standard rent of 4d per shop as is seen in later sources. It has been suggested that this represents an investment by the Abbot with a view to increased income.⁸² However, although it is possible, it is not certain that these were newly constructed shops or that they represented a new conversion from stalls to shops. In 1405 there were 14 shops and 24 stalls in the market place, though even more stalls had existed at an earlier date. The distribution through the town of the capital tenants who held shops can be seen in 1405, but the shops did not pertain to particular tenements. Five of the owners of 7 shops and 6 owners of 22 stalls have been located, most living in tenements fronting onto or very close to the market place. Only 3 shop owners could not be identified as holding tenements in the town but they may have come from other settlements, for two shop owners and one stall owner certainly came from Rothwell. This distribution presumably shows the location of the messuages of the *>capital tenants* in the town. Together with the distribution of virgate tenements this reinforces the distinction between the agricultural and commercial areas of the

⁷⁹ Wise, 1901.

⁸⁰ Bridges, II.

⁸¹ Wise, 1901, 41-44.

⁸² King, 1973.

town, with artisans, represented by the remaining cottagers without land, distributed throughout the town but especially in the Newlands.

Judging from the evidence of tenements in the town Kettering saw significant decline in the 14th century but there does not appear to have been an equal decline in the number of shops although far more stalls do seem to have been lost. By 1405 there were 14 shops still in use, just two others being broken down and waste, hence the decline in total rent from 5/4d in 1309 to 4/8d in 1405. There were also 24 stalls in 1405, each at a rent of 4d giving a total rent of 7/10d, although two were vacant. At an earlier date even more stall had existed, for an unspecified number are said in 1405 to no longer exist. By 1488 the number of shops had increased once more to 16 but they now only yielded 4/6d, the rents having been halved on several properties. However the most dramatic change is the reduction in the number of stalls, only 6 surviving and yielding just 2/8d rent. The total income from the stalls and shops had therefore declined from 13/2d in 1405 to 7/2d in 1488. The mid 15th century therefore probably represent the greatest point of decline in the fortunes of commerce in Kettering, especially as by 1488 already 2 shops had been rebuilt. By 1518-19 the situation had only stabilised not further improved, with the farm of shops and stalls remaining at 7/2d. However in 1541-3 a further two new shops had been erected, at the standard 4d rent. This seems to have been a standard rent, seen in 1309 and 1405, only a handful of shops and stalls being held for 2d.

There is clearly not a simple relationship between the fortunes of the town as a whole and the number of shops and stalls. Firstly there seems to have been a general decline in the number of stalls in the late medieval which continued in the post medieval. In contrast the number of shops remained fairly stable and then actually increased. This parallels a trend seen in other towns for the conversion of stalls to shops and may represent a progressive transition from weekly to daily trading beginning in the 13th century and accelerating significantly in the 15th century. It would appear that all the shops and stalls were on the market place itself in 1405. By the late 16th century another significant change had occurred, the appearance of other shops in tenements fronting onto the market place in addition to those in the row on the market place itself. By the time of the first detailed evidence, in 1785, there were 39 shops, of which 30 were within the tenements fronting the market whereas only 11 properties were in the Rotten Row of which at least 9 were shops.

Although no medieval evidence exists for the exact location of the shops and stalls it is likely that they represent the row of properties shown in the centre of the market place in 1587. The same row is depicted in 1721 although the detailed plan of 1785 shows it actually comprised two blocks divided by a narrow footway. Although only 11 separate properties are depicted in Rotten Row in 1785, just before its demolition, it may be that the discrepancy with the medieval number is simply a result of combining of several shops being combined into one. In 1719 Bridges describes Rotten Row as dividing the *sheep market* from the *Butchers Row*. As no other row of shops is shown in 1721 or 1587 the Butchers Row may have been a row of stalls.⁸³ The Rotten Row was finally pulled down between 1785-89.⁸⁴ The only building fronting the market in 1405 which was not a messuage was the single tavern, with a chamber built above, which stood on the east side between tenements of the Rectory fee. It is however

⁸³ Bridges, II, 241.

⁸⁴ VCH, III, 219.

possible, as the Rectory fee is not described in 1405, that shops could have existed on the eastern frontage of the market place. Certainly by 1590 a customary house in the Rectory fee is described as *>lying against the market place between the shop of Edmund Sawyer and the house of John Drewry=*⁸⁵ and in 1573 reference is made to the shop, barn and yard of Henry Byer held of the Rectory manor for 20/- per annum, and in 1606 in the Royal manor William Bullock held *>a little shop=* adjacent to his messuage in the market place.⁸⁶ However as the court rolls and deeds only survive from the late 16th century onwards the date between 1405 and 1570 when shops were first established on the market frontages cannot be determined. But as we have seen, by 1789 the situation had been completely transformed, with almost every property around the market being a shop, and most of the rest inns.⁸⁷ Only five of the properties fronting the market place were purely domestic properties in addition to two in the Rotten Row. The rest were shops (39) and inns or alehouses (4) including Nags Head just down Nags Head Lane.

What does not appear to happen at Kettering is a substantial conversion of shops into tenements, comparable to the process seen in some other towns, such as Oundle and Higham. There were however several houses created out of the shops in the market place. Their character can be seen in 1653 when several are described in detail: William Moate held a *>house in Rotten Roe containing one roome belowe stayres and one above=* and another adjacent held by John Ashbyn had similar, while adjacent William Roberts held one shop with a chamber over.

3.5.1.3 Market Cross

The market cross is not shown on the 1587 map, which does show other crosses within the town, and so it is possible that the cross shaft had already been removed by that date. Although called a market cross it is described by Bridges in 1719 as simply a set of round stone steps. At that time it had a lockup beneath it, presumably similar to that which still survives beneath the cross at Geddington. It stood near the church gate but was removed circa 1790,⁸⁸ being replaced by a smaller cross which in turn was destroyed in 1808.⁸⁹

3.5.1.4 Court House

A Sessions House had existed in the town in the 16th century but its location is uncertain, for it is not depicted on the 1587 map. A new Sessions House, later described as the Market House, was constructed in 1629 by the Earl of Westmorland, then Custos Rotulorum, to house the county Quarter Sessions, which were, at least from 1625, to be held in Kettering as well as Northampton, though the existence of a previous Sessions House implies they were also held here at an earlier date.⁹⁰ The new Sessions House stood in 1721 at the east end of the Rotten Row and was *'a good stone building supported by pillars'*. It was demolished in 1805.⁹¹

⁸⁵ NRO, FWB 30

⁸⁶ Wise, 1901.

⁸⁷ NRO, ROP 1354.

⁸⁸ VCH, III, 219.

⁸⁹ VCH, III, 219.

⁹⁰ VCH, III, 218.

⁹¹ Bridges, II, 241. VCH, III, 218.

3.5.1.5 Stocks House

In 1530 John Lane and William Pack paid entry fines for 2 shops next to '*le Stokhowse*' containing the stocks which are said to have been in need of repair.⁹² The Stocks House is again described in 1653, when it is said to lie to the north of two shops which were in the Rotten Row. The stocks, whipping post and pillory were next to the cross and the stocks still stood there on the 1721 map only later being moved to Hog Leys, presumably when it was turned into the Horsemarket.⁹³

A pump existed in the northern part of the market place in 1787 in the area where what appears to be a well is depicted in the 1587 map.

3.5.2 Fair

Kettering is unusual amongst Northamptonshire medieval market towns and villages in not having been granted a fair with its market. No attempt was apparently made to establish a fair in the town in the medieval period, confirmed by the absence of any income from a fair amongst the manor accounts. The first grant of a fair was in 1661 when an annual horse fair was granted to Lord Rockingham, who then held the manor.⁹⁴ By 1849 fairs were being held on the Thursday before Easter, the Friday before Whitsun, the Thursday before October 11th and the Thursday before 21st December, for horses, cattle, sheep, hogs and pedlary.⁹⁵

3.5.3 Inns & Alehouses

In 1292 there were 58 tenants fined for breaking the assize of ale. This is similar in order of scale to the numbers recorded in Oundle, representing in effect a licence for brewing. Other than this however there is very limited evidence of inns and alehouses in Kettering before the 17th century. In 1405 there was one tavern, with a chamber above, fronting onto the market place on the east side and a tavern is again mentioned in 1620. This is potentially significant because taverns were establishments which sold wine as well as beer and from the mid 16th century these were limited to one in any settlement, with specific exceptions of which none lay in Northamptonshire.

By the 16th century a number of inns or alehouses are recorded in the town. In 1530 there was a tenement called *le Anngell* and another in Newland called *le Georg*. In 1578 a cottage was called *The Gray Hounde* while in 1608 there is mention of *The Swan*. Kettering was fairly consistently amongst the top 7 towns in the county in terms of the number of inns and alehouses in the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries, reflecting its relative importance both as a marketing centre and on a junction of major communication routes. In 1630 there were 27 inns and alehouses in the town, ranking 4th in the county, though Brackley and Higham are excluded. In 1673-4 there were 19 and 21 respectively, ranking 4th or 5th though Northampton, Higham and Brackley are again omitted. In 1755 there were 32, and in 1828 there were 17, again 4th though Northampton, Higham and Daventry are excluded.⁹⁶

⁹² Wise, 1901.

⁹³ VCH, III, 219.

⁹⁴ NRO, Place-name index to records not in custody : Bodleian Library.

⁹⁵ Whellan, 1849, 848.

⁹⁶ NRO, Alehouse Recognisances.

Just as with the tavern in 1405, most if not all of the inns and a number of the alehouses were located around the market place. In 1653 the Lyon Inn was opposite the Rotten Row while there is also mention of the Cocke Inn. In 1721 The George stood opposite the manor at the corner of the small lane; The White Hart was on the north side corner of Dykers Lane and the Swan stood on the north corner of Parkstile Lane against the Cornhill. By 1785 there was also the Nags Head in Dykers Lane and the Angel and the Woolpack both fronting the market place, though these three may have been simply alehouses rather than inns.

3.5.4 Hinterland

The definition of hinterlands for this study has necessarily been conducted in a relatively simplistic fashion. Firstly using Bracton's theoretical measurement of $6\frac{2}{3}$ miles as the distance within which a new market could be considered to provide direct competition to an existing market.⁹⁷ An alternative has been calculated using Thiessen polygons. The latter have just taken into account the markets towns which were clearly successful and which survived into the post medieval period. The Thiessen polygons are likely to give a closer definition of the area in which the town had the dominant impact but the former should provide a guide as to the widest hinterland from which the town will have derived the most of its trade. These theoretical constructs will of course have been substantially influenced by the road pattern. They will also have been affected by physical topography and land use, though in Northamptonshire, unlike upland counties, these are likely to have been relatively limited in their impact.

From the first development of its market Kettering will have been in direct competition with the more ancient administrative and commercial centre at Rothwell, which lay just 4 miles to the north west. Kettering lay at the centre of the extensive area of permeable geology in the upper half of the Ise valley, with its wealthy agricultural townships. Rothwell in contrast lay towards the north western periphery. In the competition for the commerce of this, together with the periphery of boulder clay lands both within and outside Rockingham Forest, Kettering was almost bound to succeed, especially given its position at the crossroad of two or possibly three national or regionally significant roads. By the post medieval, if not before, Kettering regained the commercial dominance of the area that its ancient precursor had perhaps held during the Roman period. The only other competitor close to Kettering was Geddington, three mile to the north east, where the market was founded in the mid 13th century. Although this was a royal manor and did function as a market village, it lay at the north eastern periphery of the area of permeable geology, is unlikely to have seriously challenged Kettering and was lost as a result of the recession of the later 14th century.

3.6 INDUSTRY

3.6.1 Woollen Cloth industry

Judging from the importance of wool and woollen cloth production in the economy of various towns in the region it seems likely that this was a significant component of the urban economy of Kettering in the high medieval period. The presence of both a dyeworks and a fulling mill in the town implies the presence of a woollen cloth industry in Kettering in the later 13th and early 14th century. Between 1291 and 1311 there are several references to a plot on which a dyeworks was sited held by William le Walker for 4d per annum. It lay *on*

⁹⁷ The issue is discussed briefly in the Northamptonshire context by Goodfellow, 1987, 305.

Goters’, but unfortunately this has not yet been located. Wadcroft, which was open field land on the lower ground immediately to the west of the town, must have been the hedged croft, presumably still commonable after harvest, where woad was grown for the dying process. The fulling mill (see above) existed in the town by 1281 until after 1301 and shows that woollen cloth was being finished in the town. The absence of any reference to weavers amongst the trades may indicate that the cloth was not being produced in Kettering. However the opposite may in fact be true, because shearmen were needed to complete the cloth once fulled, yet no evidence exists for that occupation amongst the names. It must be considered whether the absence of any reference to weavers was simply because there were too many in the town for it to be a useful distinction in a personal name. Only archaeological investigation seems likely to be able, if at all, to determine how significant the woollen cloth industry was to medieval Kettering and whether perhaps it was the basis of the development of the town in the 13th century, particularly the major increase in the number of cottagers.

This is a major issue for it is possible that the development of a cloth industry in Kettering and in Wellingborough, in many ways similar to Kettering, in part explains the decline of that important industry in the more long standing towns such as Northampton and Stamford by the early 14th century. It is perhaps no coincidence that Wellingborough and Kettering were the two late foundations which, though never gaining any special rights in the medieval period, went on to become dominant urban centres in the post medieval and industrial periods, at the expense of their more ancient immediate neighbours, Higham Ferrers and Rothwell, which did have burgage tenure or borough status.

The raw materials for cloth production will have come from local manors. In 1292 the output of the Abbot=s manor in Kettering itself included 126 sheepskins and 187 fleeces, with sheep being by far the dominant stock on the demesne (see below). It seems likely that similar production will be seen in the open fields of many of the other Ise valley townships.

It would appear that the woollen cloth industry in Kettering survived the late medieval recession because there is reference to a Thomas Flecton of Kettering, dyer, at some time between the late 14th and mid 16th century.⁹⁸ Whether there was any connection between this and the appearance in around 1650 of what was to become a major industry in the town is uncertain, although in 1700 it was said that Kettering ‘*owes its prosperity wholly to the woollen manufacture, introduced and settled there about 50 years ago....*’⁹⁹ Kettering was, according to Morton, ‘*Another of our first rate towns.... A place of great trade and very full of people; both of which are chiefly owing to the Woollen manufacture*’¹⁰⁰ The woollen trade was he says settled there by Mr. Jordon whose heirs still managed much of the industry in 1712.¹⁰¹ It is nevertheless surely significant, in the light of the medieval origins of the town, that the post medieval industries of Kettering included silk, plush, ribbon weaving, linen making and wool combing. By 1777 Kettering was second only to Northampton in the number of weavers (143) in the settlement, together with 31 woolcombers.

⁹⁸ Court of Chancery, PRO, C1/634/33, Ric II to Philip & Mary.

⁹⁹ 1700, *Magna Britannica*.

¹⁰⁰ Morton, 1712.

¹⁰¹ Morton, 1712.

It seems very likely that the apparent major expansion of the town between 1587 and 1721, represented by the intensive infilling of the back of tenements and of side streets, was directly related to the economic and population expansion which occurred with the re-introduction or major rejuvenation of the woollen industry into the town. However by 1849 the woolcombing and weaving industry was wholly decayed.¹⁰² Whereas Wellingborough, Oundle, Thrapston and Northampton had benefited from the canalisation of the Nene in the mid 18th century, Kettering=s economy may have suffered from the poor communications for heavy goods, despite the turnpiking of the main roads through the town in the 1750s. Hence, although the restricting influence of the open field system on the physical growth of the town was removed in 1804, it was not until the major growth in the boot and shoe industry in the later 19th century, following the arrival of the railway, that Kettering saw another major period of growth.

3.6.2 Other industries

Other minor industries are found within the post medieval town. In 1530 a lime kiln is recorded in the town, near to the road. This must have been somewhere close to Lime Kiln piece which lay east of the manor site in 1587. In 1587 Sandpit Furlong lay to the north east of the town. In 1719 there was a stone quarry working in Stone Pit Leys or Pages Leys, north west of Newlands, in the area where the road runs westward to Northall.¹⁰³ However the growth of the town in the later 17th and early 18th century may have stimulated the establishment of a brick works for in 1719 brick kilns stood in the close on the south side of Staunch Lane near to the north bridge. Other industries included, between 1710 and 1762, bells casting in the Eayre=s bellfoundry in Wadcroft Lane.¹⁰⁴ Dam Meadow in 1719 was a hop ground, confirmed by the map of 1721, and indicating brewing in the town.¹⁰⁵

A wide range of commercial activity is revealed in the town by the 1777 Militia lists. This is complemented by the evidence from 1785 of the type of shops or occupation of property holders around and on the market place: Baker, Barber 3, Basket maker, Bookshop, Brazier, Breeches Maker, Butcher 3, Cheese shop, Cutler, Draper 3 (one just a house), Druggist 2, Flour Shop, Glover, Grocer 3, Joiner 2, Milliner 3, Pastry Cook, Saddler, Shoemaker 2, Surgeon=s house, Tailor 3, Tallow Chandler, Watchmaker, Woolhouse.

3.7 COMMUNICATIONS

3.7.1 Major Routes

Kettering would appear to have lain at a junction of a number of important routes, as far as it has been possible to reconstruct the road pattern in the pre-turnpike period. For the post medieval period there is accurate mapping for national routes in 1675 from Ogilby, most of which can be shown from earlier written itineraries to have at least late 16th century origins. Regional routes can be added with less accuracy from Morden=s maps of 1695 for which more accurate routes can be suggested in some cases from Eayre=s map of 1789. These national and regional routes will probably in most cases be medieval in origin, but only very

¹⁰² Whellan, 1849, 848.

¹⁰³ Bridges, II, 241. Bridges notes, f.2 p.111.

¹⁰⁴ VCH III 218.

¹⁰⁵ Perambulation of Kettering 1719, Bridges Notes.

limited work has yet been conducted on medieval tolls, bridges and earlier ford names to confirm some of the major routes. This should be a major research theme in connection with urbanisation, as study that will be greatly enhanced when Hall's countywide mapping of open field systems is available.

Kettering lay on what was in the 17th century a nationally important road from London through Bedford to Oakham. This road passed immediately to the east of the town and its route has a character similar to other major medieval or late Saxon roads through the county between county towns, which appear to bypass most villages. Kettering seems to have expanded eastward in the later 13th century out onto this road, with the construction of houses in the Newlands, possibly attracted by the commercial opportunities it provided, rather than simply because this was the land most easily available for expansion.

Another important road with medieval origins passing through the town is that from Northampton to Stamford. A little stone bridge, called Hall Bridge in 1719, lay on the Northampton Road immediately south of the Goose Pasture. From here the route ran through the town and out eastward via Newlands. The Huntingdon to Leicester road may also have passed through the town, entering on the course of the London - Oakham road and leaving towards Market Harborough via the little stone bridge known as north bridge which existed in 1721 at the west end of Staunch Lane.¹⁰⁶ It is uncertain exactly when each road rose to national or regional importance or when the exact routes as mapped were fixed but it seems likely that the first two and perhaps all three were in existence in the medieval period. In its communications therefore Kettering had a major advantage in the post medieval period, and probably also in the medieval period, over its more ancient urban neighbour Rothwell.

3.7.2 Streets and lanes

At the southern end of the High Street, opposite the manor a lane led west from the High Street in 1719 but this was apparently not in existence in 1587. Opposite the market place two conjoined lanes led west from the High Street, known in 1719 as Dykers Lane, later Nags Head Lane and in 1804 Mr. Lambs Lane. Immediately north and leading out of the same junction was the other Nags Head lane, known in 1804 as Hazelwoods Lane. At the north eastern corner of the market place Parkstile Lane led eastward to the Hog Leys which extended east to the London to Oakham road. The Hog Leys of 1719 had been renamed the Horsemarket by 1804. Leading west from the Horsemarket in 1804 was Workhouse Lane and Bridewell Lane. To the north of the main market place Mill Lane led west from Mill Lane cross down the hill to the mill and thence through the Park to the Hall Field. This was still Mill Lane in 1527 and 1719 but by 1804 was Goosepasture Lane, because it led to the meadow called the Goose Pasture. Further north the Wadcroft Lane, recorded in 1527, in 1587 led to the north bridge. By 1719 it was just a semi-circle leading back to the High Street. At the northern end of the High Street lay Bakehouse Hill. From Bakehouse Hill the High Street was extended north by Northall, le Northalss in 1405.¹⁰⁷ A small lane led east from Northall to Richards Leys in 1719 but this seems not to have existed in 1587. At the northern end of Northold lay an island of development called Hitchcock Hill in 1719, immediately beyond the site of Northall Cross. From there a road known as Northbryglane in 1530 and in 1719 as Staunch Lane, ran west and down the hill to the north bridge. The lane

¹⁰⁶ Bridges' notes; Eayre's map of Kettering 1721.

¹⁰⁷ Northall Street in 1719 but by 1804 Lower Street.

leading from Hitchcock Hill to Newlands, known in 1804 as Northall Lane. appears not to have existed in 1587. From Bakehouse Hill in 1719 the Newlands led east to Newlands Cross. Bridges describes Newland as breaking *>into four streets shooting towards the four cardinal points of the compass with the centre in Newland pond where four streets meet.*¹⁰⁸ Since that date the name Newland has become fixed to the northern road running from this junction, known in 1292 as le Newlands. The north end of Newlands was known as Pinfold End in 1719 after the pound which lay on the east side of the road at its north end. By 1719 the road running east from the cross was known as Littleworth Street but in 1405 this appears to have been le Eastnewlands. There was a number of other minor lanes and roads, mostly probably of 17th and 18th century origin, but a few existing in the 16th century and probably much earlier which cannot be identified. In part this is because at an early date some were unnamed, as in deed several remained in 1719. In 1527 there is John Brawn lane 1527, Browneslane in 1530, and also in 1530 a Walkerslane. In 1719 there is Jetty Lane 1719. In 1804 there were George=s Lane formerly Cock Lane, Pudding Bag Lane, Bell Founders Lane, Swan Street anciently Dulmore Street, Gold Street formerly Paul=s Street, Wrights Lane or Tanner=s Lane and Silver Street.

3.8 LAND USE

3.8.1 Woodland

No woodland is recorded in Kettering in 1086. However a wood was apparently in existence in 1291 when timber was cut in the wood for the repair of the windmill (see above).

3.8.2 Open Fields & Inclosure

The field names recorded in 1587 suggest Kettering=s open fields may have comprised three great fields. However, a large demesne holding of 300 acres of arable and 162 acres of pasture existed in 1320-1, and it is possible that in part this represented the large consolidated demesne called Hall Field which had already been enclosed and converted to pasture. The remainder of the open fields were enclosed by act of parliament in 1804.

3.8.3 Demesne

In 1086 there was just 1 plough in demesne. By 1125-8 this had increased to 4 ploughs in demesne, with 32 oxen, 12 cows, 10 calves, 2 rested stock, 3 weathers, 300 sheep, 50 pigs. The account totals for stock and grain and the uses to which dayworks were put in 1292 gives an indication of both the scale and general emphasis of the demesne economy. Of the 6500 dayworks available in 1292 from virgate and cottage tenants, approximately 1500 (23%) were used in sowing, reaping, mowing etc; 2283 were sold, and the rest were used in such work as the reconstruction of the mill pond. Of the crops wheat with a yield of 182 quarters and oats of 136 quarters were dominant, the other crops comprising together only 60 quarters. As in 1125-8, in 1292 sheep represented the main group within the stock, totalling over 200, with 50 oxen, cows and calves, 32 pigs, 8 horses and various fowl. The related product included 126 sheepskins and 187 fleeces, together with considerable quantities of cheese, butter and eggs.

¹⁰⁸ Bridges, II, 241.

Workers at the grange in 1292 comprised 3 shepherds and 1 boy helping the shepherd and 1 boy for lambs from Hokeday to St. Peter & Paul; there were also 1 heyward, 2 carters, 1 cowherd, 1 dairymaid, 1 maid making malt from All saints to St. Peter & Paul, 1 swineherd.

The demesne in 1587 comprised 590 acres. This included a large consolidated block of pastures of nearly 350 acres called Hall Fields, which must represent the enclosure of a large area of open fields to the west of The Slade of which only a small area, Cransley Brooks, still survived unenclosed. This may well represent a consolidated medieval demesne, rather than the result of later reorganisation for inclosure. In 1541-3 it is described as a pasture called '*le halle felde*'.¹⁰⁹ The demesne also included the warren and the park. Even in the open fields the demesne was held in consolidated blocks close to the town, with the more distant, but again generally consolidated blocks being rented out. No attempt has been made to trace the distribution of demesne at an earlier date, though the available sources may well enable this to be achieved, but in 1321-1 some 300 acres of arable land were in demesne together with more than 16 acres of pasture. At this time it appears from the accounts that the majority of the demesne was cultivated directly by the manor. However by 1488 and 1587 the manor site and demesne had been rented out for £26/13/4d.

¹⁰⁹ PRO, SC6/Hen VIII/ 2787.

C INDUSTRIAL

1.0 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Kettering was clearly a settlement of considerable size and importance throughout the period following 1750. The urban status and prosperity of the town had been inherited from the medieval and post medieval periods, when Kettering had been a successful market town with a substantial stake in the woollen industry. John Bridges recorded that in 1720 there were 566 houses containing 2,645 inhabitants. In 1801 the town had a population of 3011 and was the third largest settlement in the county following Northampton and Wellingborough. There was a steady growth of the town throughout the early 19th century until the last two decades of the century when there was a massive expansion of the settlement and the population figures eclipsed Wellingborough as the second largest town in the county. There were a number of factors that indicated urban status in the period following 1750. Perhaps the most significant development was in 1832 when the town received the right to elect a Member of Parliament as a result of the Reform Act of that year. In 1834 the town became centre of the Kettering Poor Law Union which comprised 77 square miles and included 25 parishes; the workhouse for this union was erected to the south of the town on London Road. In 1840 the County Police Force was created with Kettering as the central town for the region - a Police Station was erected in 1851. In 1873 Kettering adopted the Local Government Act of 1858 and in 1894 it became an Urban District Council. On the 29th September 1938 the town became a Municipal Borough and received a Royal Charter of Incorporation¹¹⁰ A number of newspapers were established in the town at various periods, the most significant of which was the Evening Telegraph which is still running today.¹¹¹

From the late 17th century onwards the main economic base of Kettering again became the woollen industry, several writers of the time indicate that it 'owed its prosperity wholly to woollen manufacture'. The establishment of the industry at this time has been attributed to Mr Jordan and was successful in the town due to the good communication links (particularly with London), the large population and relatively cheap labour source and the ready availability of wool. The development and workings of the woollen industry in the period has been fully documented by Adrian Randall¹¹². It is clear that the industry was largely domestically based. The nature and focus of the industry altered over the 18th and early 19th centuries. Originally Kettering produced a range of cloths such as serges, tammies, shallons, calamancoes and everlastings as well as some subsidiary textile industries (the Militia Lists of 1777 list 143 'weavers', 32 woolcombers, 5 sergemakers, a spinner and a silk weaver). By 1824 this had changed considerably - Pigot's Trade Directory of that date indicated '*There was formerly a very considerable trade carried on here in the woollen manufacture of serges, tammies etc. This has become very nearly extinct and the weavers are now employed in the crape, Persian sarcenet, bombazeen, ribbon, silk shag and linen manufactures. Woolstapling and combing is still carried on here, on a large scale...*' The woollen industry in Kettering was in decline from the late 18th century onwards due to the rapid growth and re-focusing of the industry in Yorkshire and Lancashire. This created serious economic problems in the

¹¹⁰ Souvenir of the Kettering Charter of Incorporation 1938

¹¹¹ Account of the early establishments given in FW Bull, A sketch of the history of the town of Kettering together with some account of its worthies, 1891

¹¹² Northamptonshire Past and Present Vol 4 No 5 and 6 - The Kettering Worsted Industry of the 18th century. Part 1 Origins, Products and Organisation of the industry and The Kettering Worsted industry in the 18th century. Part 2 The Growth and Decline of the Industry.

town and in the early part of the 19th century a third of the population was in receipt of poor relief¹¹³.

To a large extent the boot and shoe industry in the town took over from the woollen industry, although this transition was very gradual. The militia list of 1777 indicate that there were just 14 shoemakers operating in the town at this date¹¹⁴ - due to the substantial size of Kettering at the time, this would have been little more than was needed to service the needs of the immediate population. Therefore there was no early basis for the boot and shoe industry in the town. The industry was established in 1778 by Thomas Gotch who began sub-contracting for the boot and shoe manufacturers in Northampton. The Gotch family was to dominate the boot and shoe industry in the town until the mid-19th century and by the 1850's employed over 500 people. 1857 was a significant year for the development of the boot and shoe industry in Kettering - the sewing machine was introduced to the town creating possibilities for the development of the industry and the Gotch Bank¹¹⁵ collapsed. With the Gotch family temporarily taken out of the industry a large number of small, individual boot and shoe manufacturers became established. The industry was given a further boost by the Franco-Prussian War in the 1870's, when a considerable amount of business was brought to the town for the production of a large number of army boots, however the trade remained largely a craft industry during this time. The major expansion of the industry came in the last two decades of the 19th century with the mechanisation, centralisation and diversification of the boot and shoe industry.¹¹⁶ The census data for Kettering has been analysed in detail¹¹⁷ and this indicates that the numbers of people employed in footwear trades and industry rose from 516 in 1851 to 1946 in 1881 - almost a four-fold increase.¹¹⁸ Leather trade directories indicate that in 1894 there were 82 companies directly involved in boot and shoe manufacture (as manufacturers, wholesalers, makers, warehouses, dealers etc), 7 in specialised branches (including cork sock manufactures, ink, lace and nail manufacturers), 19 in producing machinery for the boot and shoe trade and 60 in the general leather trades. By 1920 the trade had become more extensive and more specialised with 126 companies operating directly in the trade (as factors wholesale manufacturers, machinists, makers, warehouses, dealers and repairers) 26 in specialised branches for heels, laces, soles, uppers etc. By this date the supporting industries included blacking (4), knife (6), lift (10), machinery (12), polish (5), dubbin (1), sewing machine (1) and last (3) manufacturers in addition to gold block makers, cardboard box makers and wax makers etc and there were 117 companies involved in the preparation of leather.

Although the weaving and boot and shoe industries were the dominant industries in the town in the period following 1750 there were other significant industries operating in the settlement. In the 18th century Eayre's Bell Foundry was a significant employer and manufactured many of the bells found in the churches in the county. Later significant developments included the clothing industry, engineering, brewing, brush making, printing

¹¹³ Partridge L, A portrait of Kettering in the Age of Reform 1800-1850.

¹¹⁴ This compares to 111 shoemakers listed for Wellingborough where there was clearly an early shoe industry.

¹¹⁵ The Gotch family - Thomas and his son John had a number of interests in the town in addition to their boot and shoe/ leather industry they established a bank in the town and were active in civic roles in the town including the Vestry, the Board of Guardians and Kettering Gas and Coke Co Ltd.

¹¹⁶ Greenhall R L, The Rise of Industrial Kettering, Northamptonshire Past and Present Vol 5, No 3.

¹¹⁷ Information courtesy of Geoffrey Starmer.

¹¹⁸ 222 - 1841, 516 - 1851, 785 - 1861, 1596 - 1871, 1946 - 1881.

and ironstone quarrying and smelting. In addition there were of course the usual wide range of trades and manufacturers to be found in any large settlement; ranging from reedmakers (2), blacksmiths (2), brazier (2), tinmaker (4), watchmaker (2) and pipemaker (1) in 1777 to waterproof clothing manufacturer (1), manufacturing confectioner (4), wire stitcher manufacturer (1), bag and trunk manufacturer (1), egg powder manufacturer (1), mineral water manufacturer (4) and coach and motor body builders (1) in 1924; these of course represent a small number of the factories operating in the town in the period.¹¹⁹

The town also had a considerable commercial basis, which to a large extent ensured its continued prosperity between the decline of the woollen industry and the large-scale expansion of the boot and shoe industry. The weekly Friday market which had been established in 1227 continued in use and there were four annual fairs which were held on the Thursday before Easter, Friday before Whitsuntide, Thursday before October 11th and the Thursday before December 21st for horses, cattle, sheep and hogs. The market rights were purchased by a company from the Lord of the Manor in the 1880's and by 1924 were vested in Kettering Urban District Council. The specialised cattle market was opened in 1880. The town was on the coaching route between Leeds and London and a large number of coaches stayed at the George Inn.¹²⁰ There were also a large number of additional inns and public houses 32 were recorded in 1755 and 17 in 1828¹²¹. This does not, however, necessarily denote a decline in the provision of accommodation. Militia sources for 1756 and 1800 respectively indicate that there was accommodation for 40 people and stabling for 70 horses at the earlier date and by 1800 this had risen to accommodation for 70 and stabling for 280.¹²² Trade directories indicate a wide range of retail outlets and services to be expected in a town of such a size including the specialised services of a jeweller, musical instrument dealer, oil and colour merchant, photographic material dealer, fancy repository, second hand clothes dealer, opticians, estate agents, pawn broker, scissors grinder, cab proprietor and hat renovators. A full record of all trades, retail outlets and services is provided in the transcription of the census returns for the 1841-1881 period.

The town had a substantial basis of professionals. The Gotch bank was established in the 18th century and was still issuing bank notes until 1826.¹²³ There were a number of other banks including Messrs Yorke and Eland bank, Savings Bank, Leicestershire Banking Co, Northamptonshire Union Bank Limited, The Stamford, Spalding and Boston Bank Ltd, Capital and Counties Bank Limited and National Provincial Bank which were mentioned in trade directories of the period. There are at least three early surviving bank buildings in the town. There were also a substantial number of other professionals including accountants, architects, auctioneers, policemen, lawyers, solicitors, surveyors, agents, teachers and clergy.

Agriculture was of limited importance in Kettering, as may be expected for a settlement with a clear urban status. In 1777 there were just 6 farmers and three shepherds out of a total of 387 men between ages of 18 and 45 just over 2% of the population (although it is likely that there may have been additional agricultural labourers). By 1831 approximately 13% of

¹¹⁹The transcription of the census for 1841-1881 gives a full breakdown of trades represented in the town for the period.

¹²⁰ Partridge L, A portrait of Kettering in the Age of Reform 1800-1850.

¹²¹ Taken from list at Northamptonshire Record Office.

¹²² Public Record Office source.

¹²³ The bank collapsed in 1857 due to two individual borrowing large amounts of money and not being able to pay it back. This had a large effect on the local economy with 900 creditors effected including individuals, friendly societies and clubs.

families in Kettering were employed in agriculture (28 as farmers and 107 as agricultural labourers).¹²⁴ This seems very high compared to the analysis of occupations as listed in the census for 1841-1881; for this period the number of individuals employed in agriculture or on the land (including labourers, gardeners, wood burners, shepherds, bark breakers, cattle dealers, game keepers etc) was between 2.1% and 4.9%.¹²⁵ The parish of Kettering was enclosed in 1804 and there were a number of farms located just beyond the periphery of the town by 1926.

There was a strong Co-operative movement in the town - with the first Co-operative Society being established in 1829, although there are no surviving records of the society. The Kettering Industrial Co-operative Society was founded in 1865 and quickly became involved in a wide variety of activities. These included retail (general stores plus bakehouse, furniture, footwear, millinery, men's outfitting, confectionary and butchery departments), social and educational activities (scholarships for educational purposes and various guilds), housing (for both sale and rent), transport (the society had a motor transport garage with 8 vehicles) and industry. A number of local industrial societies were established at different times, including Kettering Co-operative Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Society, Union Co-operative Boot and Shoe Society, Kettering Clothing Manufacturing Co-operative Society and Kettering Co-operative Building and Contracting Society. The Kettering Co-operative Society was involved in a political experiment in 1918 when a co-operative member was elected to stand for parliament they won the seat and remained in parliament until 1922, however a number of other Co-operative Societies also tried, but were unsuccessful and the experiment was not repeated. The society remained in existence until 1978 when the Kettering Industrial Co-operative Society merged with the Leicestershire Co-operative Society.¹²⁶

The communication links to Kettering were clearly a factor in the development and expansion of the town. The settlement was well situated in relation to the turnpike road system with five major turnpikes to Market Harborough (1751), Nottingham (1753), Newport Pagnell(1753), Stamford (1794) and Northampton (1819) being established during the 18th and early 19th centuries. There was also a substantial carrier network within the county with carriers to Corby, Cottingham, Desborough, Rockingham, Stanion, Walgrave, Titchmarsh, Woodford, Loddington, Pytchley, Finedon, Rothwell, Brigstock, Great Weldon, Old, Caldecott and Leicester operating by 1849¹²⁷; by 1894 carriers were delivering to 41 villages within Northamptonshire. It was presumably the good road transport networks to Kettering which ensured that the town was not totally eclipsed by other settlements in the county in the latter part of the 18th century when the River Nene was made navigable from Northampton to Peterborough in close proximity to the market towns of Wellingborough, Higham Ferrers, Oundle and Thrapston. The development of railway communications in the mid 19th century also led to a further expansion of the town. In 1857 a major line of the Midland Railway was established through the town providing links with Leicester, Bedford and Hitchin and ultimately to London. This presumably enhanced both industrial (with particular emphasis on the ironstone quarrying and smelting industry) and commercial links for the town.

¹²⁴ Hatley VA, Northamptonshire Census Reports 1801-1841.

¹²⁵ 1841 -163 (3.3%); 1851 - 256 (4.9%); 1861 - 243(4.1%); 1871 - 212 (2.9%); 1881 - 241 (2.1%).

¹²⁶ Ireson T, Old Kettering - A view from the 1930's, Nene Litho, Irthlingborough.

¹²⁷ Whellan's Trade Directory 1849

The greatest barrier to large-scale development of the town in the early part of the 19th century was the nature of land ownership. Land in the town was concentrated in the hands of the Lords of the Manor and much of this land was subject to copyhold tenure, which meant that tenants had to pay a fine to the Lord of the Manor for any changes or improvements to property. This created considerable problems with the sale and lease of lands and formed a barrier to development. Following the Copyhold Act of 1852 a solicitor in the town - William Garrard - fought to convert much of the town into freehold land, thus enabling the development of the town.¹²⁸

Physical expansion of the town was facilitated by local businessmen investing in land and encouraging the development of new areas of the town. This was particularly the case for the working class districts to the north of the town where grids of streets were laid out and later infilled with groups and terraced houses and other monuments.

The process of large-scale urbanisation in Kettering would appear to have been relatively smooth. The settlement was a town of considerable size at the beginning of the 19th century and in the early decades went through a gradual and controlled expansion. The process by which '*Kettering a small market town in north Northamptonshire transformed into a bustling industrial centre - a Leicester or Northampton in miniature*'¹²⁹ came during the latter decades of the century. By this period there appears to have been a form of social organisation - streets and houses were laid out by the Northampton Town and County Freehold Land Society, individual investors, the Kettering Industrial Co-operative Society and the latterly the Urban District Council. Large blocks of land were laid out with good quality terraced houses, larger dwellings and factories and were infilled with schools, churches and social clubs, as they were required. The town was also well provided for in terms of public utilities including gas works (1834), Poor Law Union Workhouse (1837), fire station, County Police Station (1840), cemetery (1867), waterworks (1872), sewage works (1875), a District General Hospital (1896) plus Infectious Diseases and Small Pox hospitals, electricity works (1904) and refuse destructor (1904). The Official Guide to Kettering that was written in the 1930's was clearly vociferous in its praise for the town '*Kettering is as unlike the average 'factory town' as could well be imagined. For one thing, there is an almost entire absence of smoke and the place has a clean, open, prosperous appearance, which cannot fail to please.....It will not be surprising to find Kettering included among the industrial centres which have also become 'garden cities' thus establishing the fact that it is possible for industry, health and beauty to go hand in hand*'. Although the document, clearly written to promote the town of Kettering, may have been overstating the case, it is clear that the town did not suffer major problems of overcrowding and squalid conditions that often accompanied rapid urbanisation.

2.0 TOPOGRAPHICAL DEVELOPMENT

The study of the urban topography of Kettering is greatly facilitated by a substantial number of early maps. As discussed above the map of 1587 is very inaccurate, but Thomas Eyre's map of 1721 shows the town in considerable detail, as does the enclosure map of 1804. A particularly valuable source is Robert Smith's plan and description of the town in 1826. In addition there are maps, which have not been studied, which show the estates of several large

¹²⁸ Greenhall RL, The Rise of Industrial Kettering, Northamptonshire Past and Present Vol 5, No 3

¹²⁹ Greenhall RL, The Rise of Industrial Kettering, Northamptonshire Past and Present Vol 5, No 3

landowners in the town - this may provide some insight into the later development of the town. One of the key features of the town is that the street names appear to have changed on a regular basis, for the purpose of the report the names on the Ordnance Survey map of 1926 will be used except where specified.

The map of 1721 indicates that the town is centred on High Street, Sheep Street, Gold Street, Lower Street, Northall Street, Newland Street, Horsemarket and the western section of Montagu Street. The presence of several lanes including those which later become Wadcroft, Walkers Lane, West Street, Hazlewood Lane, George Street, Market Street, Bridewell Lane, Dryland Street and Tanner's Lane can also be seen on the map. This central area of the town appears to be considerably built up by this period and the town largely retains this basic topography. Despite the urban appearance of the town a number of ponds were located in the centres of streets (on Lower Street, Gold Street and High Street / Gas Street). Hog Leys (later Horse Market) to the east side of the town - is left largely open with no clearly defined street boundary and very few buildings. Later evidence indicates that it was called 'Hog Leys' because the pigs were fed there, which would explain the lack of development around the area. The maps of 1804 and 1826 indicate that the basic layout of the town had changed very little since 1720. In a large number of cases individual plots / buildings remained the same, however there must have been a substantial change to the centre due to a number of fires in the town during the 18th and early 19th centuries.¹³⁰ The fires of 1744 and 1766 were deemed to have been particularly large¹³¹. The other major change was the development of the market place in the late 18th and early 19th century. The line of shops entitled 'Rotten Row' in the centre of Market Place were pulled down between 1785 and 1789, the cross (with lock-up below) was removed in 1790 and the smaller cross, stocks, whipping post and pillory were removed in the early 19th century. The Sessions House (erected in 1629) was demolished in 1805 - leaving the market square as a large open space. The area of Hog Leys (by this date Horse Market) has also begun to be infilled, a road had been laid out and a number of plots / buildings laid out in the centre. The description which is associated with 'The Plan of the Town of 1826' indicates the precise extent of each street and lane and discusses the detail of the naming (including any changes) of the streets.¹³²

In the period between 1826 and 1885 there was a considerable amount of development in the town; there was some infilling of the central area although this had already been fairly densely populated in the early period of the century. The outward expansion of the town had already begun with streets laid out to the north west (around Upper Field Street, Buccleuch Street, Upper Duke Street etc), north east (Wood Street - Princes Street), east (Alfred Street, Albert Street, Thorngate Street) and south (Broadway, Hawthorn Road, Queensberry Road, Station Road). The former three areas comprised mixed terraces (many of which had garden workshops) with factories, chapels and schools located throughout the area; the latter was an area of larger housing and at this period contained a considerable amount of landscaping. A number of substantial developments including Kettering Union Workhouse, station, gas works and cemetery had already been laid out by this period.

¹³⁰ Thompson B, Kettering and its worthies, Spencer Percival Curiosity Shop, Kettering - indicates that the British Museum has a list of fires in the town between 1722 and 1811.

¹³¹ Victoria County History of the Counties of England, Northamptonshire

¹³² A brief account of the streets and lanes in the parish of Kettering: with the names of the owners and principal occupiers of every estate, 1826

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries there was a continuation of the early 19th century expansion with the development of a number of mixed streets to the north and east of the town. The area between St Peter's Avenue and Montagu Street was laid out in the latter part of the 19th century and comprised large blocks of identical terraced houses with garden workshops, with occasional factories and other buildings located around the area. The majority of houses in this area were small and faced straight on to the street, but those on St Peter's Avenue were of larger size, status and construction. The area to the north of Stamford Road and the east of Bath Road was also laid out around this time and consisted of very similar development - the block of land included Lancaster Road Avondale Road and Cornwall Road and was clearly another pre-planned area of the town. To the north of the town another block was laid out which centred on Rockingham Road Park - the long rows of identical terraces with workshops to the rear were a particular feature, but factories, schools and chapels etc were much more sporadic. This area continued to both sides of the Rockingham Road.

The large scale development of the town continued into the first two decades of the 20th century, but had by this date slowed down considerably. The Ordnance Survey map of 1926 indicates that a number of streets had been laid out to the north of the town (including Blandford Avenue, Neale Avenue, Kingsley Avenue and Shakespeare Road); however, by this date they had only been sparsely filled with houses and other buildings. This area was almost entirely residential with a mixture of styles of 1920's and later semi-detached and detached houses. A block of land to the east of the town was more densely filled with 1920's council houses.

The development of the town of Kettering in the latter part of the 19th century was phenomenal - however it appears to have been very well organised, as discussed above. Large blocks of streets were laid out at various times and then filled in gradually. The central area retained its commercial status with its market, cattle market, inns and a large number of shops, department stores. In the immediately surrounding area industrial buildings, houses and other structures were mixed until the 20th century when housing became separated from other urban functions. Large high status houses tended at all periods to be located on the routes out of town. The various hospitals and workhouse were located away from the centre of the town - presumably for health reasons and major industrial structures such as the furnaces at Cransley and to the west of the town were also situated at some distance from residential areas.

3.0 THEMATIC ANALYSIS

3.1 INDUSTRY

There was a wide range of industrial activities in Kettering in the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries. In the 18th century the main industry was the woollen and worsted industry and in the 19th century the boot and shoe trade predominated. Other industries were wide and varied and included bell founding, clothing industry, leather industry, engineering, ironstone quarrying and smelting and many others.

3.1.1 Early industry

In the late 17th and 18th centuries the main industries in the town were weaving and the woollen industry. The majority of this industry would have been domestic and conducted in the houses of individuals with perhaps a few larger scale manufacturers. No buildings associated with these industries have been identified as part of the methodology of this project. In the early 19th century the focus of the textile industry changed towards the manufacture of silk. Documentary sources indicate that there were silk factories in School Lane and Northall Street (Walters and Co) and in Newland Street (Riley and Co) - none of these have been identified as part of the field visit. Analysis of the census data for 1851 indicates that the silk industry was focused around Uppingham Terrace and Spital Square, groups of small terraced houses off Rockingham Road. In this area were a silk manufacturer, a velvet manufacturer, silk plush weavers (31), silk pickers (6) and silk winders (2). It was possible to identify Spital Square from early Ordnance Survey maps and it is located in the block of land between Northall Street and Rockingham Road which has been substantially re-developed, it is likely that Uppingham Terrace was located in close proximity. The other significant industry in the 18th century was Eayre's Bell Foundry and Clock Manufactory, which was located in Wadcroft on Bell Foundry Lane. Bells from this manufactory were to be found in many of the churches in the county including Brixworth, Long Buckby, Daventry, Old and Rothwell. The foundry was demolished in 1900 and the area has been substantially re-developed with modern offices and car parks etc.

3.1.2 Boot and Shoe industry

The boot and shoe industry was the major industry in Kettering in the 19th century; the settlement became the second largest shoe-making town in the county in the latter part of the century. The boot and shoe industry was largely responsible for the rapid expansion and urbanisation of the town in the final two decades of the 19th century. The industry in Kettering was characterised by a large number of small firms who specialised in mens boots with particular emphasis on boots for firemen, policemen, shooting, golf, fishing and football. The building for the original shoe manufactory in Kettering (owned by the Gotch family in Kettering) is still in existence with a plaque detailing the history of the house and is currently in use by Northamptonshire County Council. A total of 35 boot and shoe factories have been identified as part of the mapping and fieldwork exercise. An additional technique used was to compare Kelly's Trade Directory of 1894 with factories which had not been identified to a particular industry - this accounted for a number of the factories which have now been positively identified and a possible further four. Of the positively identified factories 16 have now been demolished, 10 are still in industrial use (of which 5 are still utilised by the boot and shoe trade), 7 are still standing but out of use (including one which is a complete ruin having been subject to a fire at some point) and 2 have been converted for use as flats. A

large number of the unidentified factories in the town are likely to be linked to the boot and shoe industry. A small number of buildings for related trades have been identified including cardboard box manufacturers, machinery makers and Chelsea Works (Blacking), these will be discussed below.

One of the key features of the boot and shoe industry in the town was the large number of garden workshops located to the rear of individual houses. Barry Trinder conducted a count of garden workshops on the Ordnance Survey map of 1900 and recorded a total of 2398.¹³³ Though it was not possible to verify the function and survival of every one during the field visit it was clear that the vast majority of buildings were indeed garden workshops and that most streets had at least some survivals. The workshops were remarkably uniform in design being of single storey construction with one large window, a door and a small chimney. They were usually located to the bottom of the garden or yard; there were some alternative designs including workshops attached to the back of houses and two storey workshops, but these were in the minority. The workshops were in the main located behind terraced houses - in some streets the provision of the workshops was so uniform that they would appear to have been erected as a standard part of the house building programme, whereas elsewhere the provision was more patchy. Workshops were also located behind 20th century houses (as on Kingsley Avenue) and to the rear of large, prestigious villa style houses on Stamford Road, London Road and Headlands Road - indicating how pervasive the outworking tradition was in the town.

3.1.3 Leather industry

In addition to the boot and shoe trade there was a large supporting leather trade in the town. Kelly's Leather Trade Directory of 1893 recorded 60 companies occupied in the preparation of leather and in 1920 this had risen to 117. Of these only 11 have been positively identified, but it is likely that many of the factories that have been unidentified to a trade were linked to the leather trade. Of the 11 identified examples 9 were leather warehouses, workshops and leather dressers and merchants and 2 were tanneries. 4 buildings linked to the leather trade have now gone (including one of the tanneries), 6 have been converted to other uses and just 1 remains in use as a leather works. The possible remaining buildings linked to the tannery on Union Street have been incorporated into a complex used by a haulage company and are likely to have been considerably altered.

3.1.4 Clothing industry

There was a substantial clothing manufacturing industry in Kettering in the 19th century. There were two major concerns - Kettering Clothing Manufacturing Co-operative Society (Kaycee) and Wallis and Linnell - who both operated a number of factories. Kaycee had a number of factories throughout the town - two of these have been positively identified during the field visit, the factory on Havelock Street which is dated 1890 has the mottos 'Hand in Hand' and 'Justice to all' inscribed on the frontage. Wallis and Linnell began in a factory in School Lane, which has since been demolished, and by 1906 had 6 outlying factories in neighbouring settlements including Rothwell, Brigstock and Cottingham. The location of 5 factories has been positively identified as part of the field visit / mapping - of these just 1 has been demolished, the remainder are all of substantial construction and at least 2 are still in use as clothing factories or warehouses.

¹³³ Trinder B, Industrial Archaeology in Northamptonshire: A report for Northamptonshire Heritage, 1998, Unpublished.

3.1.5 Engineering

A number of engineering works were established in Kettering in the 19th century - many of these initially specialised in agricultural implements. A total of 7 engineering works have been identified as part of the mapping and fieldwork exercise. Of these 1 has been completely demolished, 2 have small elements surviving although the vast majority of the structures have gone and the remainder are still standing. 2 have been converted for use as shops / warehouses, Glendon Engine Works on Sackville Street has been divided into several sections - part has been demolished, part is in use as an industrial building (for Steel Fabricators) and the remainder has been converted to flats. Wicksteed Leisure - established by Charles Wicksteed in 1876 as a machine tools / steam ploughing machines business is still in operation off Stamford Road. The business is still run from the original buildings although there have been extensions and additions.

There were a number of car manufacturers based in Kettering and this particular industry has been studied by Tony Ireson¹³⁴. Only one building associated with this industry has been positively located in the town - the garage of AE Smith and Son erected in 1920. Alfred Edward Smith had begun business in 1898 as a wheelwright and coachbuilder and undertook repairs to a variety of vehicles. By the 1920's the company was making bodies for cars, vans, buses and fire engines and later went on to design trailers for Grand Prix racing teams. The building is still in use by the same company, but is now a show garage with new glass windows and a show room inserted. It has not been possible to identify the other buildings associated with the car manufacturing trade - it is likely that they would have been small concerns operating from workshops and small industrial buildings in the town.

3.1.6 Building Trade

There were three brickwork sites identified on the Ordnance Survey map of 1885¹³⁵ - by 1900 the two sites to the north (off Montagu Street and on land that was to become Water Street) had been built over by housing developments. Kettering Brick and Tile Company to the south of the town on London Road had however expanded considerably; the structures on the site have been demolished, but there are a number of depressions on the land from the quarrying for clay. The site is now owned by 'Woodcroft Scout Centre'. A number of builders, carpenters and plumbers were listed in trade directories of the 19th and early 20th centuries, however the only business of note was the Kettering Co-operative Building and Contracting Society which operated from premises in Wellington Street. They were established in 1894 and had contracts to building the Kettering Clothing Manufacturing Factory in Dryden Street, work in Newland Street and on Kettering Public Library. The group disbanded in the early 20th century - it has not been possible to identify their Wellington Street premises.

3.1.6 Ironstone quarrying / smelting

Ironstone quarrying began in Kettering in the 1870's and the iron ore was extracted by a number of different companies. There were also two ironsmelting works in the vicinity operated by Cransley Iron Company and by Kettering Iron and Coal Company - the former was in operation between 1875 and 1956 and the latter between 1877 and 1958. Both sites

¹³⁴ Northamptonshire Past and Present Vol 7, No 5 The Beginnings of motoring in Kettering - Tony Ireson

¹³⁵ An additional 6 sites have been identified by other sources pers comms Gordon Barnes, Kettering and District Natural History Society.

have now been demolished; the Cransley site is now a scrap metal yard and the Kettering site is being built over by a modern housing estate. Full details of the quarrying and any surviving remains are detailed in Eric Tonks 'The Ironstone Quarries of the Midlands: History, Operation and Railways. Part 5. The Kettering Area'.

3.1.7 Brewing industry

Brewing was a commercial concern in Kettering, but the industry was of a limited nature compared to the size of the settlement. Mike Brown lists 9 entries for brewers in Kettering, but the majority of these would appear to have been small-scale concerns¹³⁶. There was one large brewery - the Crown Brewery -, which was operated by the Elsworthy family from 1824 until 1931 when Marston, Thompson and Evershed acquired the premises. The brewery, which was located off Gold Street, remained in operation until 1940 when it became a bottling store for the company; in 1964 the main buildings were demolished. The 1904 maltings (an impressive four-storey structure) and some of the old brewery yard remain. The building is now in use as furniture warehouse.

3.1.8 Other industry

Individual industrial buildings noted during the mapping and field work exercise include a cardboard box manufacturers, printing works, mineral water manufacturers, Confectionary works and the Evening Telegraph premises in Dryden Street.

There are a total of 78 industrial buildings in Kettering which have been unidentified to a particular business or industry; 11 of these have been identified from maps and have since been destroyed, but the rest remain upstanding and are utilised for a variety of functions. The buildings range from large factories to small industrial workshops. A more detailed survey comparing census data and trade directory information with mapped sources and buildings which remain on the ground would be required in order to determine the precise function of many of the structures. It is likely that the majority of these buildings were related to the boot and shoe industry in some way.

3.2 AGRICULTURE

Agriculture was of minimal importance to Kettering in the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries, as discussed above. A number of farms were located around the periphery of the settlement, but these have not been considered as part of the project. There were three mills in the town in the 18th and early 19th centuries - the watermill was located to the east of the town on the River Ise as was one of the windmills, the other windmill within the northern development of the town and the two windmills. By 1900 the two windmills had been demolished and replaced with housing developments - Buccleuch Street / Dryden Street to the north and Mill Road / Windmill Road / Edmund Street to the east. The watermill to the east of the town is shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1926 as 'disused'; the building is no longer in existence.

¹³⁶ Brown M, Brewed in Northants: a directory of Northamptonshire Brewers 1450-1998, 1998

3.3 HOUSING

The housing stock in Kettering in the 19th and 20th centuries was substantial reflecting the large size of the settlement, however the typology of housing was relatively homogeneous. There are four main types of housing in the settlement - rows of small terraced houses (with and without garden workshops), larger, higher status villa style houses and terraces, large, individual houses and early 20th century detached and semi-detached houses. There was very little evidence of earlier houses and cottages other than three stone cottages on Tanners Lane, Sawyer's Almshouses on Sheep Street and a small number of pre-18th century houses of high status spread throughout the town. Pre-19th century houses may have been focused around Northall Street and the lanes leading from the central area of town. Here, large numbers of buildings have been demolished since 1926, however it is likely that any early houses were demolished in the large scale re-development of the town in the mid to late 19th century.

Small, terraced houses erected in long identical rows, are by far the most common house type in the town. The majority are small and face straight on to the street with no garden to the frontage, although there are examples of slightly more embellished terraced houses of similar style and design. A number of streets do have a variety of designs of housing (particularly in the older areas of the town), but the majority are comprised of identical rows of houses. These houses were erected on roads laid out by either the Kettering branch of the Northampton Town and County Freehold Land Society (between Wood Street and Havelock Street to the north of the town) or by individual investors such as William Meadows and John Bryan who invested money in land to the east of Rockingham Road around King Street and Princes Street.

The larger villa style terraces were located in various streets in the town - Bowling Green Road and Avenue, Broadway, The Grove and Roundhill Road to the south; St Peter's Avenue, Tennyson Road and York Road to the east and around Rockingham Recreation Ground to the north. These were clearly built for the middle class population of the town and were primarily of 1880's and 1890's date - these houses were of either two or three storey construction, were often architecturally embellished and had a substantial sized gardens; a number had garden workshops to the rear.

Very large individual 'villa' style houses were erected to the south of the town on Bowling Green Road and the block of houses below, on the main routes out of town (London Road, Stamford Road, Rockingham Road, Headlands, Gypsy Lane and Northampton Road) and to the west of the town leading to the station (Station Road and Queensway Road). A number of these buildings were designed by the Kettering based architect John Gotch. The houses were generally of eclectic styles and designs and had substantial gardens attached to them.

By 1926 there were a substantial number of early 20th century houses - which tended to be of detached or semi-detached construction. Those to the very north of the town on Blandford Avenue, Neale Avenue and Kingsley Avenue were laid out by the Co-operative society - the latter was the first to be filled with houses varying in detail, but built to essentially the same specification. The other avenues were slower to develop and include some modern housing. To the east of the town adjoining Windmill Road was a development of 1920's council housing, which would appear to have been erected by Kettering Urban District Council.

3.4 COMMERCE

Kettering was clearly a town with a strong commercial basis. The town had a thriving market and a number of associated commercial buildings and a range of shops, banks and inn. The market place was altered considerably in the late 18th and early 19th centuries with the demolition of the Sessions House in 1805, as discussed above. The major change to the market place since that date has been the demolition of the block of buildings to the south of the area. The market is still in operation today, although it has undergone a substantial decline in recent years. The Town Hall and Corn Exchange was erected to the east of the market place in 1853 by the Northampton architect Mr Francis Edmund Law. The building consisted of a market room and an area used for concerts and public meetings. The structure later became a theatre and cinema and has painted signs on the external pillars indicating 'Drama' 'Comedy' and 'Opera'. The building is now used by a number of small shops and cafes. The cattle market was laid out along London Road (in the former area of 'Hog Leys') in 1880 and the Corn Market Hall was erected to the north of the market in 1913 by the Urban District Council. The Cattle Market is no longer in existence and the area is being utilised by a swimming pool and car park. The stone built Market Hall is still in some form of community use and there is another stone building which was presumably associated with the cattle market on the corner of Bowling Green Road and Horse Market.

There are several commercial structures which are listed buildings including two pre 1826 buildings on the west side of High Street, NatWest Bank, Royal Hotel, Sun Hotel and Parkstile Chambers.

3.4.1 Banks and Post Offices

There were a substantial number of banks recorded in trade directories in the 19th and early 20th centuries - many of which may have been the same establishments, but with different names. A total of four banks have been identified as part of mapping and fieldwork of which three are still surviving as banks for Natwest, Midland and Lloyds / TSB. All three are large, monumental buildings displaying architectural embellishment - the former two are of classical design; the building housing the Natwest is a listed building by the architects Blackwell and Thomson. The fourth building indicated on early Ordnance Survey maps as a bank would appear to be of late 19th or early 20th century red brick construction, but is very much plainer than the other buildings. It has not been possible to positively identify the Gotch bank, which was of considerable importance in the early development of the town.

A large, central post office for the town has not been identified as part of the mapping and field visit exercise, although there was a 'GPO building' to the north of Gold Street (which was knocked down and replaced with the Newland Shopping Centre) which may have fulfilled this function. A number of small, sub post offices have been identified around the town in Market street, Rockingham Road, Stamford Road, Nelson Street, Edmund Street, Bath Street, Hawthorn Road / Garfield Road - many of these are simply ordinary terraced houses which have been converted for use as a post office, although one or two show slightly more architectural embellishment.

3.4.2 Shops

There are a substantial number of large commercial buildings and shops surviving in the central area of Kettering, on High Street, Sheep Street, London Road and Dalkeith Place; the majority of buildings on Gold Street have been demolished. These buildings cover a substantial period of time from the mid-19th century to the 1930's. Many of these appear to have been substantial department stores. Of the surviving buildings, a substantial proportion has been considerably altered with the insertion of small, modern shops into the frontage of the buildings. Two buildings which appear to have retained their early ground floor shop frontages are the building on the corner of Bowling Green Road / London Road with the word 'Speight' on the frontage and the 'Picadilly buildings' on Sheep Street.

There were a number of Co-operative Shops located throughout the town - in both the central business district and in the surrounding residential areas. Very few of these have been positively identified during the field visit although further analysis of the existing data may indicate that many of the identified shops and commercial buildings were owned by the Co-operative Society. The Grocer Warehouse and Model Bakery in Crown Street (which produced many of the goods) are still in existence and there is a building to the east of Newland Street which was built in 1899 by Kettering Industrial Co-operative Society and is in use today by Argos.

In addition there were a large number of small corner shops located in the areas of terraced housing to the north and east of the town. These tended to be of a standard type - built as part of the terrace and with a triangular corner plot with the shop located on the ground floor. Many of these are still in use as small shops.

3.4.3 Public House, Inns and Hotels

A total of 30 public houses, inns and hotels have been identified as part of the mapping and fieldwork exercise; with an additional 2 pubs which were identified during the field visit, but were not shown on early maps. Of these, 16 are still in use for their original purpose, 3 have been converted to other uses and 11 have been demolished (many during re-development in 1950's). Of the 3 Hotels in the town - The Royal on the Market Place is a listed building and still in use as a hotel; The Sun, Market Street is a listed building, but has been converted for use by a number of small shops and the Buccleuch Hotel on Stamford road is in use as a public house.

The majority of the structures that have been demolished were located in the central area of the town, as were 12 of the surviving buildings. Public houses were also located in the terraced streets, but were far less numerous; indicating that many of the public houses and inns related to Kettering's role as a commercial centre as opposed to merely servicing the local population

3.5 TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

The town of Kettering was located at the centre of a large number of turnpike roads, as discussed above. The alignment of the majority of these roads has been retained intact, the only exception being the Market Harborough to Kettering turnpike which appears to have been diverted in the 19th century with the laying out of streets to the north of the town

(around Oxford Street and Union Street). An early garage was located on the corner of Dalkeith Place / Freestone Row / Huxloe Place; the building was an elaborate structure with a decorative central section which is still in use as a garage, but has been altered with a show room inserted into the frontage. 'Garage 1920' is inscribed on the frontage. The building is currently in use by 'E Smith and Son Ltd Vehicle Body Repair Specialist' the company was established in 1898 by a wheelwright and coachbuilder and work included repairs to broughams, wagonettes, traps and gigs. The firm later became involved in motor car production.¹³⁷

The railway provided the second phase of the development of the transport network in Kettering. The development of the London, Midland and Scottish Railway line from Leicester through Kettering to Bedford and Hitchin was constructed in 1845 and a link was provided to London in 1869. Both the line and the listed station building are still in existence and operation. The station comprises a single storey, red brick building of 1895 with a slate roof; the platforms are listed separately with cast iron canopies and contemporary wooden buildings dated 1857 by CH Driver. There is also a listed signal box associated with the railway line¹³⁸. A branch line from Kettering to Huntingdon located to the very south of the parish was constructed in 1866, but now appears to have been demolished. Similarly the Loddington and Cransley branch line leading to the Cransley Ironworks has been dismantled.

3.6 UTILITIES

Of the major public utilities the gas works and electricity works have been demolished and replaced with other buildings and the location of one of the sewage works to the east of the town has been identified by mapping, but it has not been established whether any structures remained. Waterworks were established in 1872 with several reservoirs located around the town - of these two have been identified by mapping / fieldwork. The reservoir on the corner of Rothwell Road and Gypsy Lane has gone and a small electricity building is located on the site; the reservoir on Reservoir Road is still in existence, but is now out of use and derelict, the associated pump house has been demolished. Kelly's Trade Directory of 1924 indicated that a Refuse Destructor was established on Rockingham Road in 1904, however this would appear to have been demolished along with the electricity works in the 1950's. Kettering cemetery was situated to the east of London Road and was consecrated in 1867 - it was enlarged in 1871, 1894 and in the early 20th century. A lodge was located to the south of the cemetery and in the centre were two chapels - for the Church of England and Non-conformists which were linked by a central porch way with elaborate spire; the chapels are listed buildings.

3.7 HEALTH AND WELFARE

The county court for the hundreds of Corby, Huxloe and Rothwell was held at Kettering, but no building associated with this function has been located. It is possible that the court was held in one of the inns or hotels in the town. In 1837 the Kettering Poor Law Union built a workhouse in the town as discussed below. In 1840 the County Police Station for the district was also based in Kettering - this building was located on London Road, the original building

¹³⁷ Ireson T, The beginnings of motoring in Kettering, Northamptonshire Past and Present Vol 7, No 5.

¹³⁸ Department of the Environment, List of buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest.

has now been demolished and replaced with a modern Police Station. In 1894 Kettering Urban District Council was established - only one small office building has been located for the council - this structure was erected to the rear of a plot off Market Street and was dated 1926. There must have presumably been an earlier and possibly much grander building located elsewhere in the town. In the early 20th century an Employment Exchange was erected in Dryland Street, but this has since been demolished.

The health and welfare of the population was also well catered for in the town of Kettering. A workhouse was established in the town in 1718 by Kettering Vestry - this was located in Workhouse Lane (now Dryland Street) - a number of structures were shown in this area on the Ordnance Survey map of 1926, but have since been demolished. The original workhouse would have ceased being used for its original purpose after the building of the Kettering Union Poor Law Institution in 1837. The building was designed by GG Scott and was the central building for the entire Poor Law Union, which encompassed 77 square miles and included 25 parishes. The original building was added to with the erection of an infirmary and laundry in 1894, additional wards in 1900 and an extended infirmary in 1903. The vast majority of the structure is still in use today as St Mary's Hospital, although part of the central wing and the sanatorium have been demolished. The front of the workhouse was constructed of stone and is now a listed building and the remainder was of red brick. Kettering Hospital for Infectious Diseases and the Small Pox Hospital were established in 1886 and 1902 respectively. The former was located to the north end of Rockingham Road - the buildings are all still in existence, but have now been converted to a series of domestic residences. The Small Pox Hospital was located in fields to the west of the town and has now been demolished. In the 1890's it was decided that Kettering was in need of its own District General Hospital due to the size of the population, the nearest large hospital at the time was located in Northampton. The building was erected in 1896-7 and enlarged in 1902-3, it is still in the same use today. In addition to these large establishments the 'Church of England Home for Waifs and Strays' was opened in Broadway in 1906, this catered for 24 girls aged 3-16 years. The building was shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1926 as St Gabriel's Home and is now in use as Gabriel Court a nursing home for elderly people.

3.8 RELIGIOUS

There were a large number of religious buildings of many different denominations to cater for the large population of Kettering. Nine churches and chapels are listed structures and the rectory for the Parish Church of St Peter and St Paul and a tombstone in the Fuller Baptist Church graveyard are also listed.

The original Parish Church of St Peter and St Paul is located to the south of the market place and was in continual use throughout the period. Three additional ecclesiastical parishes of St Andrew's, St Mary's and All Saints were established in 1916 in the town. The churches for these new parishes had all been constructed previously, in Rockingham Road, Taller Street and William Street respectively. The former two were architect designed buildings (St Andrew's Church by GE Street in 1870 and the Church of St Mary by Gotch and Saunders in 1893-5) they are both grade 2* listed buildings. All Saints Church was originally an iron building which was constructed in 1899, the building standing on the site now is a red brick structure of early 20th century date and may have been constructed when the parish was established in 1916. There were also two 'Mission Churches' for the Church of England -

Brook Street Mission Church to the north of the town is a red brick building erected in 1894, it is now in use as a community centre. St Michael's Mission Church on Garfield Street to the south of the town is a corrugated iron chapel building of simple design and construction and is still in use as a church. There was also a Catholic Church, which was established in 1893 on London Road - it was a plain red brick building and associated Presbytery; the original buildings are still in existence, but a new church building has also been established.

The Baptist movement in the town is of national significance. The first chapel to be erected in the town was the Fuller Baptist Chapel, which was established in Gold Street in 1769 and was later enlarged in 1805. The holdings associated with this chapel were the chapel building itself, school rooms, burial ground, a house and garden for the minister and four cottages. The building that is currently standing on the site was erected in 1861 and was designed by the architect Edward Sharman of Wellingborough, it is a grade 2 listed building and is still in use as a chapel. The other important remaining building linked to the Baptist Church was the Carey Mission House on Lower Street - this is a large 18th century building which was used as a meeting room for the Baptist Mission from 1792 onwards. A plaque on the frontage indicates *'In this house on October 2nd 1792 a meeting was held to form a society for propagating the gospel among the heathen.... This meeting marks the founding of the Baptist Missionary Society and the inauguration of modern foreign missions'*. The building is listed grade 2* and is currently in use as a domestic residence. There were a number of other Baptist Chapels in the town, but many have either been demolished in re-developments (these include buildings on Silver Street, King Street, Oakley Street and Wadcroft) or have not been identified. A red brick Baptist chapel with dressed stone detailing on Nelson Street / Regent Street is still in existence and in use as a chapel and the two Sunday School buildings in association with this structure still remain. The Sunday School in Oakley Street / Sackville Street, which was built in association with the demolished Mission Hall in the area is also still standing.

There were two Independent Churches established in Kettering. The first was established in Gold Street / Meeting House Lane in 1723. There is a building in that location at the present time, but it was covered with scaffolding and could not be seen during the field visit; the building is not listed and is therefore likely to be a later structure. The associated Sunday School further down Meeting Lane is a very large red brick building with Mansfield stone dressings and was erected in 1884. The chapel is still in use, but the Sunday School is only partially utilised by Age Concern. The second building was erected on the corner of London Road / St Peter's Avenue in 1898 by the architects Cooper and Williams - the building is still in use as a chapel and is a listed structure. Associated with this church are a large Sunday School building and institute erected in 1909 - these are both still in existence, but are currently out of use.

There were a number of Methodist or Wesleyan chapels in the town; four have been positively identified during mapping and the field visit. One of these has been demolished and replaced with modern shops. The Primitive Methodist Chapel erected on Bath Road in 1906 (a very large, impressive red brick structure with architectural detailing to the front) is in use by 'Timsons' shoe manufactory. The Wesleyan Chapel on Rockingham Road is a listed building and is in use by the Salvation Army. The only building to remain in use by the Methodist Church is the church in School Lane, which was erected in 1933.

A number of other denominations were established in the town including the Holiness Mission, Salvation Army Barracks, Victoria Hall Town Mission, Seventh Day Adventist Memorial Church and the Spiritualist Church of these only the Quaker Meeting House on Northall Street was identified as being still in use.

3.9 EDUCATION

Two charitable educational institutions were established in the town prior to the 19th century; the Boys Grammar School on Gold Street, which was demolished in 1964, and a Charity school for girls that later became the national school.

The National School Movement had a girls school in Market Place and a boys (later mixed) school and infant school in Horsemarket. The girls school is now a parish hall, the boys school has been demolished and the infants building is in use as a community building. Kettering has one of the few identifiable, remaining British Schools in the county. This is located in School Lane, part of the building has been demolished, but a single storey stone structure remains with 'British School 1874' inscribed above the doorway.

There were a large number of board schools erected around the town to cater for the large population. Many of these buildings were architect designed including the Stamford Road School and Rockingham Road School (listed grade two) by JA Gotch and Hawthorn Road School by George Valentine Henson. Other surviving buildings include Park Road Schools, 'The Orchard' school on Beatrice Road, and the large school on Bowling Green Road. The schools in Mill Road and St Andrew's Street have been demolished.

Kelly's Trade Directory of 1924 refers to the Open Air Recovery School which was erected in 1913 for '45 defective, 45 delicate and 20 pretubercular children' it has not been possible to locate this school as part of the project.

3.10 RECREATION

The town of Kettering was well provided for in terms of recreational facilities of all kinds. A total of 12 'club' buildings have been identified as part of the mapping and field visit exercise - of which seven are still in existence (all of which are in broadly similar usage - although one has been converted into a public house.). The vast majority of buildings are identified simply as 'club' although they include a Conservative Club, Liberal Club and Working Men's Club. The buildings themselves vary considerably ranging from large elaborate buildings with a considerable amount of decorative detail to very simple structures - the vast majority have been considerably altered including the erection of additional structures and the re-facing of the original building. In addition to these 'club' buildings there were a number of halls, parish rooms etc located throughout the town; those that survive include the London Road Hall which was erected in 1891 and used by the Nonconformists and the Masonic Hall which was erected on York Road in 1901 and still appears to be in the same usage.

There were also a large number of cinemas and theatres and a public hall erected in Kettering in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The first purpose built structure 'Victoria Hall' was erected by Kettering Public Hall Company Limited in 1889; the building had a stage, but could also be adapted for balls and banquets. The building has since been demolished and the

Newland Shopping Centre stands on the location. There were other cinemas and theatres that were established in pre-existing buildings. In 1909 the former Town Hall and Corn Exchange became a cinema and theatre and in the early 20th century a building on High Street dated 'JHW 1885' became another cinema. Both these buildings are still in existence; the former as a series of café's and shops and the latter as the Alliance and Leicester building society. The Empire Cinema was built in 1920 and is still standing with its elaborate frontage with classical detailing - it is now a garage. Two further cinema buildings were built in the 1930's. The Coliseum cinema and music hall had originally been erected in 1903, but was burnt down in 1938 and replaced with a new building. The new building was very large and plain being constructed of red and brown brick with no external decorative detail; the building continued in use as a cinema until 1997 and is currently standing empty. The Granada Cinema also opened in 1938 in High Street - it was erected in the Art Deco style and was the most popular cinema in the town; the building is now in use as a bingo hall.

The Public Library and Alfred East Art Gallery are two prestigious recreational buildings situated adjacent to each other on Sheep Street. The former was established in 1896, but the present building was erected in 1903 and consists of a reading room, reference library, lending library and museum. The building is listed grade two and is described in the listings as 'by Goddard, Paget and Catlow in the Arts and Crafts manner'. The Alfred East Art Gallery was erected in 1913 to display a range of works collected by Sir Alfred East - the building is a listed grade 2 structure by JA Gotch in a Neoclassical style.

There were also a wide range of sporting and outdoor recreational facilities in the town including a public baths (for indoor and outdoor swimming) and a bowling green - both of which have now gone; several recreational grounds and the football ground on Rockingham Road which are still in use. The most important and distinctive recreational facility in the town was Wicksteed Park, which was established to the south of the town by Charles Wicksteed in 1914. Charles Wicksteed was in the engineering trade; he established a machine tools and steam ploughing machine making business in 1876 and later expanded to make playground equipment. In the latter part of the 19th century he became involved in a campaign to establish a public park for the town; the scheme failed in 1897 and in 1914 he established his own private park. The park had a wide range of facilities including boating lake, recreation grounds, pavilions, miniature railway, miniature golf course and provision for a wide range of other games, but was also an ideal testing ground for his play equipment. The park is still in existence as a recreation ground and pleasure park - some original features of the layout of the park appear to be still in existence, although others have been modified and updated.

II ASSESSMENT

A MEDIEVAL & POST MEDIEVAL

1.0 TOWN

1.1 ASSESSMENT OF IMPORTANCE & SURVIVAL

Kettering has an exceptional documentary potential, in particular due to the 1405 rental and the various late 13th and early 14th century account rolls. Unfortunately the archaeological and historic building survival for the medieval and post medieval period is very poor. Further evaluation is required to confirm this across the whole town but, with the exception perhaps of attempts to locate specific deposits related to the medieval and post medieval woollen industry it seems unlikely to yield widespread evidence which might complement the documentary evidence for its character and evolution.

1.2 DOCUMENTARY

1.2.1 Summary of Previous Investigation

There has been quite extensive research into and transcription and publication of documentary material for Kettering, by Bull, Wise and by the VCH. Both Bull and the VCH have, in addition to Bridges, provided a fairly detailed account of the history of the town.

1.2.2 Research for this Report

The indexes and catalogues to the major relevant collections in the Public Record Office, Northamptonshire Record Office and British Library have been searched as have those in the National Register of Archives. A number of the key medieval documents, particularly the late 13th and early 14th century account rolls, the rentals of the 15th century and some of the court rolls have been examined in detail for this report. The historic maps have all been examined in detail and the 1721 and 1587 maps rescaled to a modern Ordnance Survey map base. The 1405 rental has been tentatively mapped to an Ordnance Survey map base working through the rescaled 1721 map and with reference to the 1587 map. There is however much more than could be obtained by more detailed study of the various written sources.

1.2.3 Survival

There are a series of detailed late 13th and early 14th century account rolls and most importantly an apparently almost complete rental of 1405 rental which follows the circuit of the town (see appendix 1). There are an excellent series of maps of both the town and of the fields from 1587, 1721, 1728, 1724, and 1804, together with a detailed plan of 1785 of the market place and of 1804 of the streets. However none of the maps provides the essential detailed tenement ownership details at a sufficiently early date to enable adequate reconstruction from the written documents. Neither is there a major survey in the post medieval period (the parliamentary survey of 1653 relates only to a small proportion of the properties in the town) to which the medieval data can be linked and so this makes accurate topographical reconstruction very difficult. Some tenement groups as reconstructed in our map may in some cases be a substantial distance from their correct position. However there are a wide range of later sources, particularly from the 16th century onwards, including a

series of court rolls from the 15th and especially the 16th century onwards, which might, with very intensive work, allow a more detailed reconstruction of the historical topography of the town than has been achieved here. It may then prove possible to link the tenements of 1488 and thus of 1405 to the post medieval maps with much higher accuracy. Such analysis may also enable identification of ‘*Goters*’ and hence the pinpointing of the location of the dyeworks, enabling archaeological investigation to be closely targeted.

1.2.4 Potential

Kettering was a single manor held by the Abbot of Peterborough. With the exception of the small Rectory fee the documentation for the Abbott’s manor covered the whole of the town. Kettering is in some respects exceptionally well documented in the medieval period. If the 15th century documents could be linked through to the mapping and other detailed documentary sources of the 18th century then a far more accurate and valuable reconstruction of the 1405 rental might be achieved. Were this to be achieved then Kettering would be one of a very small number of small towns nationally where a near complete picture of the medieval tenurial structure and rental value is securely reconstructed. Even without such enhancement the evidence already offers unusual insights into the character and development of this small town.

1.3 HISTORIC BUILDINGS

1.3.1 Summary of Previous Investigation

There has been no significant study of the historic buildings in Kettering, other than the list descriptions and the VCH and other studies of the church.

1.3.2 Research for this Report

No new survey work was conducted for this report.

1.3.3 Survival

In part as a result of the fires of 1744 and 1766 and then the intensive industrialisation of the town in the late 19th and 20th century very few historic buildings survive in the town from the pre industrial period. The survey of surviving early buildings and the evidence from the Listings showed such poor survival that no attempt has been made here to present mapped evidence of historic building survival of the pre industrial period.

1.3.4 Potential

The potential is so low in Kettering that no further work is recommended and this assessment should only be reconsidered if studies of the 19th and earlier 20th century buildings provides unexpected evidence of pre 19th century survival.

1.4 ARCHAEOLOGICAL

1.4.1 Summary of Previous Investigation

Assessment in 1980 was that survival of archaeological deposits in Kettering was unlikely to be poor and hence no investigations were attempted and as a result no archaeological work was conducted within the historic core of Kettering before the 1990s. However it was always

recognised, given the high documentary potential of the town, that the archaeological potential should ideally be confirmed by archaeological evaluation. During the 1990s evaluation trenching therefore been conducted within four locations within the town prior to development.

1.4.2 Research for this Report

No specific survey work was conducted in connection with this report.

1.4.3 Survival

The intensity of redevelopment recorded from superimposition of buildings recorded on the later 19th century 1:2500 scale and the modern Landline mapping would suggest that the archaeological survival in the historic core of Kettering is likely to be very poor. The frontages recorded on the post medieval maps and conjectured from the 1405 rental and on topographical grounds have almost all been intensively redeveloped. The main areas where there has not apparently been intensive redevelopment of the frontage is in Northall and in Lower Street and a small area in the rectory. There are also two wider areas encompassing extensive areas to the rear of tenements which also had apparently been less affected by redevelopment, to the south of Lower Street and in the Rectory. The latter frontages and wider areas have now been tested by evaluation trenching, as have two other locations. In all four cases where evaluation has been conducted the survival of pre Industrial period remains has been shown to be either very poor or non existent. In Haselwood Road and on the Rectory site, one of the areas expected to have some of the best survival due tot he lack of extensive 19th and 20th century development, only a handful of features were recovered, large parts of the trenched areas proving to have been disturbed by post medieval and modern redevelopment. In the extensive Lower Street site where there had not been extensive 19th and 20th century redevelopment the potential had been reduced by large scale terracing and other ground disturbance, while even at the frontage poor survival was revealed. Trenching in the Drylands area has show even more intensive destruction.

1.4.4 Potential

The results of evaluation combined when combined with the evidence of late 19th and 20th century redevelopment indicates a very low archaeological potential across the whole of the settlement. The evaluations so far conducted have however been very restricted in area and it is important that further evaluation is conducted more extensively across the historic core before it can be confirmed with certainty that no significant archaeological results are achievable. Given the unusual significant development of the settlement, particularly its medieval and post medieval involvement in cloth production and also the exceptional documentary potential of the settlement a far higher threshold has to be set before the archaeological importance of the settlement can be downgraded to local importance.

1.5 HISTORICAL TOPOGRAPHY

1.5.1 Survival

The intensive and continuing redevelopment of the settlement from the later 17th century onwards has meant that the medieval and post medieval plan form of the settlement, even significant components of the street plan, have been transformed. Little significant remains of the historical topography of the pre industrial settlement except in the area around the market

place, and even here it is extensively altered. The only other major surviving visual aspect of the medieval and post medieval town is the way in which, despite intensive 19th and 20th century development, the impressive tower and spire of the church, surrounded by a group of tall trees, still dominates the distant approach to the town from the west, just as it did in 1720 when the prospect was recorded by Tillemans.¹³⁹

2.0 URBAN HINTERLAND

For the purposes of assessment of the hinterlands of the medieval and post medieval towns in the county a rapid grading of the archaeological potential of the medieval settlements of the county has been conducted on the basis of professional judgement. A documentary assessment has also been completed, based on a systematic but far from complete indexing of the major documentary classes for each township in the county based on a search of various list and indexes in the Public Record Office, Northamptonshire Record Office, National Register of Archives and British Library. Separate scoring has been made for each document class based on the number of documents identified for each settlement in both the medieval and post medieval periods. The severe limitation of such a quantitative assessment and the incompleteness of the initial indexing task mean that this scoring has many shortcomings but countywide it may be expected to give a broad indication of potential. Details of the methodology are defined in the general synthesis report of the Extensive Urban Survey.

In considering the distribution of archaeological finds and the potential for future work around Kettering, we face greater problems than with perhaps any other small town in the county, because so large an area of the historic landscape has been totally destroyed by quarrying, or severely damaged by housing and industrial development, with little or no archaeological record. The amount of information lost over the last 100 years is clearly shown by the number of sites of prehistoric and later periods recorded in the small area more adequately observed in recent years during ironstone extraction. The majority of the evidence recorded previously was only of the most obvious types: funerary vessels, Roman coins, and of course the numerous finds from the major Roman site which was the only area consistently observed by local antiquaries and which existed in such quantities as to make them most obvious. As a result of the resulting extreme bias in the database it is unlikely that any valid conclusions could be drawn from any general discussion of site distribution.

The archaeological potential of the medieval settlements in the hinterland is also poor, with the exception of the deserted village at Boughton and the monastic site at Pipewell. Although the interaction of towns of Rothwell and Kettering would have represented a valuable study of the way in which early medieval towns were supplanted in some cases by later medieval towns which never attained any form of burgh status, the archaeological potential of Rothwell is seems likely to be almost as poor as that of Kettering. A cursory assessment of Geddington would also suggest a relatively low potential for archaeological investigation of its medieval marketing functions. The only hinterland which may prove to have high potential is that represented by the other estates of the Abbot of Peterborough, especially given the exceptional medieval documentation for those estates, but given the poor archaeological survival to be expected on the manor site at Kettering there seems little

¹³⁹ Bailey, B., 1996, *Northamptonshire in the Early 18th Century*, Northamptonshire Record Society, vol. 39.

opportunity to explore this relationship. It must be concluded therefore that there is no significant potential for Kettering to contribute to the understanding the interaction of town and hinterland.

B INDUSTRIAL

ASSESSMENT OF IMPORTANCE AND SURVIVAL

The town of Kettering is of considerable importance in the period following 1750; with particular emphasis on the latter part of the 19th century when a large-scale process of urbanisation and industrialisation took place. The growth and expansion of the town appears to have been relatively unproblematic and a great deal of evidence survives regarding this process. Kettering is of national importance as a town that went through a rapid process of urbanisation at a relatively late date. In a more local context the influence of the Gotch, Dryden and Wicksteed families on the development of the town is of some importance.

The urban topography of Kettering survives remarkably well with a good range of surviving building types. The area to the north east of the town complete with terraced houses, garden workshops and factories is of national importance as a complete surviving urban, industrial landscape. There are, however a minority of areas where there has been substantial re-development in the late 20th century. There is also an extensive range of surviving maps and documents.

1.0 DOCUMENTARY

1.1 Maps

There are a number of early maps for the town of Kettering including Treswell's map of 1587, Thomas Eayre's plan of 1721, the inclosure award map of 1804, Robert Smiths map of the town of 1826, all the early Ordnance Survey maps and several later (20th century maps) showing various administration boundaries etc. These have allowed for a detailed consideration of the development of the urban topography of the town and would be an invaluable source for considering particular areas of the town in detail. Maps which have not been consulted as part of the project include maps of the estates of various individuals in the town including Duke of Montagu, Earl of Rockingham, Kettering Rectory etc and these would be vital for detailed consideration of the development of the town. The number of quality of early maps for Kettering is very good and they provide an excellent source of data for an understanding of the town.

1.2 Photographs, Plans and Drawings

There are a very large number of photographs, pictorial representations and drawings of buildings and sites in Kettering located at Northamptonshire Record Office, Northamptonshire Local Studies Library and Northamptonshire Heritage. There are also a

number of published volumes of photographs of old Kettering¹⁴⁰. If there are any photographs of the area between Gold Street, Newland Street, Northall Street and Lower Street it would be important to be able to gain an assessment of the original character of this area in order to be able to provide a complete picture of the nature and development of the town in 18th and 19th centuries. The photographs will also be of importance in providing information about other buildings located throughout the town, which have been demolished or considerably altered.

In addition there are over 400 architectural plans and drawings for Kettering including houses, factories, warehouses, churches, schools, hospitals, theatres as well as whole streets. These are likely to provide an invaluable source for considering the development and change of particular areas and buildings.

1.3 Documents

There are a very large number of documents relating to all aspects of the town in the period following 1750. There is an extensive collection of deeds, copyholds and court rolls in Northamptonshire Record Office, which would provide detailed information about land holding in the town throughout the period. In addition there are entire sections regarding Churches (parish, Roman Catholic and Non-conformists) and including parish records for all four ecclesiastical parishes in Kettering; schools; the poor and charities; societies; inns, the manor; electricity, gas, water; transport and business and trade. There are also miscellaneous collections relating to family histories, turnpike roads, the enclosure award, the reform act and the co-operative society. The Gotch collection is likely to provide an invaluable insight into the influence that the family had upon the town.

The collection of documents regarding the town of Kettering is extensive and is likely to provide detailed insights into many aspects of enquiry about the town.

2.0 STANDING BUILDINGS

There are a very large number of buildings of all types surviving for the period following 1750 in the town of Kettering including terraced housing, larger villa style houses, shops, department store, churches, chapels, schools, factories, garden workshops, utilities buildings and civic structures. There are 36 listed buildings in the town - of which all but four originated in the 18th, 19th or 20th centuries. By far the greatest number of listed buildings (26) were erected in the 19th century - the greatest period of urban expansion in the town. The listed structures include 8 religious buildings (churches and chapels), 10 houses, 3 hotels / public houses, several buildings associated with the railway station, 2 schools, a bank, working man's club, the workhouse, the cemetery, public library and art gallery and three monuments.

Nine of the thirty-six listed buildings were designed by J.A. Gotch¹⁴¹, an important citizen in the town whose family was responsible for the establishment of the boot and shoe industry in Kettering. In addition to their nationally important architectural status these buildings are of considerable importance within a local context in understanding the influence of the Gotch family on the physical, as well as economic and social, development of the town.

¹⁴⁰ Addis I & Mercer R, Kettering Then and Now; Kettering Civic Society, Lost and Hidden Kettering; Smith T, Kettering Revisited: Pictures from the Past; Smith T, The Kettering Album. More pictures from the past.

¹⁴¹ Seven of these were by Gotch alone and two were by Gotch and Saunders.

There are a number of important individual unlisted buildings in Kettering including the British School, the corn exchange and market hall, the banks and many of the large commercial buildings and department stores. However perhaps the greatest potential the standing buildings of Kettering have is in providing an insight into the nature of the boot and shoe industry. There are a very large number of surviving garden workshops in the town which tend to be of a homogeneous nature, but there are also a wide range of factories and other industrial buildings ranging from very large, impressive showpiece factories to small sheds and workshops.

3.0 ARCHAEOLOGICAL

The potential for below ground archaeological investigation for Kettering in the period following 1750 is very limited. The majority of the urban topography of the area - particularly for the 19th and 20th centuries remains upstanding and there is good map survival from the 18th and early 19th centuries. Given the poor survival of earlier archaeological deposits in the town large scale archaeological investigation is unlikely and issues concerning continuity and change in the layout of the settlement are not relevant given the large scale re-development of the town following 1750.

4.0 TOPOGRAPHY

The urban topography of Kettering for the period following 1750 survives remarkably well. The core area of the town around the main streets of High Street, Bowling Green Road, Horsemarket and Gold Street has a large number of surviving buildings, although there have been a large number of demolitions in the back plots and lanes to the rear of the main streets. The working class zones to the north and east of the town have a remarkable rate of survival complete with terraced houses, garden workshops, factories, shops, chapels, schools and clubs. These areas are believed to be of national importance as good surviving examples of the complete process of urbanisation. High Status residential areas also have a good rate of survival. There are, however, some areas of major re-development of the town. These include entire streets in the working class zones and a substantial area just to the north of the core of the town (around Northall Street, Lower Street, Newland Street and Gold Street).

III RESEARCH AGENDA

1.0 PRE MEDIEVAL

The Iron Age defended site, Roman villa and Roman small town represents a potentially significant association. However, given the poor survival of evidence for the small town, except possibly the large collection of artefact in Kettering museum recovered from the site in the early 20th century, there is little obvious potential for the detailed comparison of the historical development and character of the three sites. However it is important to examine what does exist as guide for other rare but better preserved central places elsewhere, such associations having so far rarely been revealed elsewhere in the county. If so then urgent action may be needed as the villa and defended site are probably being subject to intensive erosion by agriculture. The need for such an investigation is reinforced by the presence of the Weekley place-name and of the 5th century cemetery each within less than 1 mile of each other. No comparable association has yet been revealed anywhere else in Northamptonshire.

Early – Middle Saxon settlements should be sought in the areas of the Sharlecotes and Walcot furlongs, although the latter offers the greatest potential, having not yet been built up and lying in relatively close proximity to the Weekley, Saxon cemetery and villa sites.

The Saxon cemetery, despite its probable very poor state of preservation, has a high research potential both in its own right due to the presence of 5th century material, and through its association with the other Roman and Saxon components.

2.0 MEDIEVAL

The hypothesis has been proposed, on the basis of the evidence from Kettering and Oundle, that where interspersed cottage and virgate tenements occurs there has been a process of subdivision of original larger virgate tenements to create virgate and cottage tenements. It may only be effectively tested if we are able to examine archaeologically groups of tenements where the status of the individual tenements are clearly understood from medieval documentary sources and where there has been a high degree of stability in tenements status. There are only a very small number of settlements where the documentary evidence is adequate and hence it is essential that each of these places is assessed for archaeological survival. Kettering may be one of these places, if further detailed documentary analysis enables the individual tenements of 1405 to be more accurately located. The sequence of development of the town from an early core in Northalls and Southalls through to the late 13th century expansion into the Newlands should be tested archaeologically through the collection of, at the very least, stratified collections of ceramics from developments anywhere within the are of the medieval and early post medieval town. However, unless further evaluation reveals far better preservation of archaeological deposits it is unlikely that archaeology will be able to contribute significantly to testing the developmental hypothesis that has been developed based on the medieval documentary evidence.

The position of the church is problematic because it is set back behind the manor. The date of origin of the church will be important to establish to enable the chronology of development of the southern part of the settlement, in particular in relation to the laying out of the market.

Similarly the dating of the rectory may assist in this question. In addition, the chronology of the development of the church might yield significant information as to the chronology of the early development and growing wealth of the settlement in the medieval period, particularly before the mid 14th century.

There are important questions as to how market places were inserted into pre-existing villages during the first stages of urbanisation. Although this is best explored in settlements where the markets failed and have been deserted, as at Rockingham and Fotheringhay, places such as Kettering may yield significant information if there are any underlying tenements which predate the market. Except possibly on the south side of the market place, where the former tenements have been cleared and are now incorporated into the open space, it is unlikely that the frontages will yield evidence as to process of laying out the market place. The market place may also yield important evidence as to the character and chronology of the development of the shops, stalls and other facilities within the medieval and post medieval market place. No well preserved remains of any market place buildings have yet been revealed anywhere in the county and there is as yet no evidence to indicate that there has been substantial destruction of the archaeological deposits of those structures at Kettering. The testing of the survival of these structures should be given a high priority.

Though there are major modern buildings over much of the manor site, the western frontage with the barn and the northern side of the courtyard are within open ground. The origins and basic layout of the manor may be answered by investigation of these potentially undisturbed areas.

Relatively small scale archaeological survival might be able to contribute significantly to the understanding of the scale and chronology of the development of cloth industry in the small towns of the county. Despite the poor survival of archaeology in the town it is possible that pit groups may be recovered from a few tenements which could shed light on this industry. Perhaps most important however would be the identification of the medieval fulling mill and of the medieval dyeworks, as no such site has yet been examined in the county. There may also be evidence recoverable from any waterlogged deposits in the area of the former mill pond on the western edge of the historic settlement core.

3.0 INDUSTRIAL

Process of urbanisation

Kettering underwent a massive process of urbanisation in the 19th century, despite the fact that the settlement was already a large market town. The process of urbanisation was relatively late and there is a very good survival of the urban topography erected at this time. Kettering would provide a very good case study for comparison with other settlements in a national context that urbanised at an earlier period. The key questions that need to be addressed are; did living conditions in the town improve or worsen as a result of urbanisation? Who was driving the process of urbanisation and did this have an effect on the physical development of the town? What was the driving force of urbanisation? Why did Kettering experience such a major expansion compared to the neighbouring town of Wellingborough?

Boot and shoe industry

Kettering had a large and wide ranging boot and shoe industry that included a large number of supporting trades and industries. There are a large number of surviving buildings including garden workshops, showpiece factories and small and medium sized industrial buildings. The town would provide a good case study for the detailed study of the boot and shoe trade. The questions that need to be addressed relate to the chronology of the development of the trade and what buildings were being constructed at what time, the inter-relationship between different sectors of the industry and issues of continuity and change within the industry.

Further research is required to identify the function and location of unidentified industrial buildings and factories within the town using census information, trade directories and other documentary sources. This will allow for a greater understanding of the full extent of the boot and shoe industry in the town and the relative importance of other industries.

Impact of individuals on development of town

There were a number of individuals and families who had a major influence in Kettering during the 18th and 19th centuries these included the Gotch family, the Dryden family and Charles Wicksteed. The issue of the effect they had in Kettering at a critical stage in its development needs to be considered. The key question that needs to be addressed is the extent to which individuals were able to influence the process of urbanisation and industrialisation in the town.

Survey required determining the extent of influence the Kettering architect J.A. Gotch had on the physical environment of the town. There are a number of listed buildings by the architect, but are there also unlisted structures and did he have an influence on town planning in the area.

Educational, Religious and Recreational buildings

There are a large number and wide range of 18th and 19th century educational, religious and recreational buildings in Kettering due to the expansion of the town at this time. Kettering would provide a good case study for the detailed consideration of these buildings to determine whether different social, religious and educational practices by varying groups had an impact on the structure and layout of the building.

IV STRATEGY

The assessment of the management and conservation priorities within the Extensive Urban Survey have been based around an assessment of levels of importance previously applied elsewhere in the county for management purposes. The grading falls into six categories:

Scheduled: nationally important remains that have statutory protection.

Unscheduled national importance: in some cases statutory protection is suggested while in others recording action may prove to be the appropriate response to threats.

County importance: Where significant archaeology is known or where it is likely but confirmation is required. Normally recording rather than preservation would be the appropriate mitigation strategy.

Historic buildings: Buildings known or which have the potential to contain significant pre 19th century structural remains.

Local importance: where archaeology may survive but where, on present evidence investigation does not appear appropriate.

Destroyed: where the archaeology has been wholly destroyed.

White Land: Archaeology not assessed for his report.

In addition in some cases recommendations have been made for the designation of new or the extension of existing Conservation Areas and for the listing of specific buildings.

This approach has not been possible for the industrial period, as further work on the period is needed at a county, regional and national level before a definitive assessment can be made. The town has been divided up into zones and priorities for additional research, recording and conservation measures have been assigned to each individual area.

1.0 EXISTING DESIGNATIONS

1.1 Scheduled Ancient Monuments

There are no Scheduled Ancient Monuments in close proximity to the town of Kettering.

1.2 Listed Buildings

There are 36 listed buildings in the town of Kettering.

1.3 Conservation Area

There is a conservation for the historic town centre of Kettering. This was designated in March 1982 and extended in 1988.

2.0 MANAGEMENT PRIORITIES

2.1 MEDIEVAL & POST MEDIEVAL

2.1.1 Evaluation and Recording Priorities

The two monuments which are securely located where there is the need for carefully targeted evaluation to determine archaeological survival are the church and the market place, for which as yet there is no archaeological information.

Evaluation should also be conducted on substantial redevelopment sites across the town, including both frontages and the rear of tenements to determine whether any part of the town can provide significant archaeological survival to complement the high documentary potential. There should be specific targeting on small scale proposals of a single house or more where frontages have apparently not be subject to re-development in the 19th or 20th century. This work should also seek any evidence which might enable the location of cloth production or any other craft industries within the town which can then be more intensively targeted. It is likely that the dyeworks will have been located close to water and so it may be expected on the western periphery of the settlement. The two approximately located mill sites should both be subject to evaluation. Also examination is required to determine if waterlogged deposits survive in the area of the mill pond immediately west of the historic core, which may preserve important industrial related deposits associated with the cloth industry.

2.1.2 Conservation Priorities

The archaeological remains, historic buildings and historical topography of Kettering have been so badly affected by post medieval and modern re-development that there are no specific conservation requirements. The only exception to this is the medieval church. In terms of historical topography only two significant aspects are worthy of preservation. Firstly the retention of the market place without further encroachment and secondly the distant prospect of the town from the west without encroachment by tall buildings which would obscure the impressive view of the church tower dominating the town.

2.2 INDUSTRIAL

2.2.1 Zone 1 - Core area of the town.

The core area of the town between High Street, Bowling Green Road, Horsemarket and Gold Street. The area comprises department stores, large shops, public houses, inns and hotels, banks, cinemas, the market place and former corn exchange. Large areas survive very well, although there have been demolitions around the back plots and lanes and the area to the north of Gold Street has been completely re-developed. The southern part of the central area forms part of the Conservation Area for Kettering and there are a number of listed buildings. The commercial buildings should be assessed for recording if they are subject to demolition or substantial alteration.

2.2.2 Zone 2 - Mixed zone.

Small mixed zone to the east of Kettering. The area comprises high quality housing and some factories and industrial buildings. Consideration should be given to extending the existing conservation area to include parts of this zone.

2.2.3 Zone 3 - Mixed zone.

Working class mixed zone comprising terraced housing, garden workshops, recreational, educational and religious buildings. This area combined with zones 4, 6, 7, 8 and 13 forms a very substantial area of surviving 19th century urbanisation, which is of national importance. The area as a whole should be subject to a detailed survey to consider designation as a Conservation Area. Boot and shoe factories and selected buildings associated with 19th century urbanisation should be recorded prior to demolition or substantial alteration.

2.2.4 Zone 4 - Mixed zone.

Working class mixed zone comprising terraced housing, garden workshops, recreational, educational and religious buildings. This area combined with zones 3, 6, 7, 8 and 13 forms a very substantial area of surviving 19th century urbanisation, which is of national importance. The area as a whole should be subject to a detailed survey to consider designation as a Conservation Area. Boot and shoe factories and selected buildings associated with 19th century urbanisation should be recorded prior to demolition or substantial alteration.

2.2.5 Zone 5 - Mixed / industrial zone.

The area to the north of the central zone was a mixed zone of a predominantly industrial character. The whole area has now been re-developed and is now dominated by supermarkets and car parks. There is only a minority of surviving buildings and the character of the area has been totally destroyed. There are no recommendations for this area.

2.2.6 Zone 6 - Mixed zone.

Working class mixed zone comprising terraced housing, garden workshops, recreational, educational and religious buildings. This area combined with zones 3, 4, 7, 8 and 13 forms a very substantial area of surviving 19th century urbanisation, which is of national importance. This zone in particular has, however been subject to considerable re-development in parts. The area as a whole should be subject to a detailed survey to consider designation as a Conservation Area. Boot and shoe factories and selected buildings associated with 19th century urbanisation should be recorded prior to demolition or substantial alteration.

2.2.7 Zone 7 - Mixed zone.

Working class mixed zone comprising terraced housing, garden workshops, recreational, educational and religious buildings. This area combined with zones 3, 4, 6, 8 and 13 forms a very substantial area of surviving 19th century urbanisation, which is of national importance. The area as a whole should be subject to a detailed survey to consider designation as a Conservation Area. Boot and shoe factories and selected buildings associated with 19th century urbanisation should be recorded prior to demolition or substantial alteration.

2.2.8 Zone 8 - Mixed zone.

Working class mixed zone comprising terraced housing, garden workshops, recreational, educational and religious buildings. This area combined with zones 3, 4, 6, 7 and 13 forms a very substantial area of surviving 19th century urbanisation, which is of national importance.

The area as a whole should be subject to a detailed survey to consider designation as a Conservation Area. Boot and shoe factories and selected buildings associated with 19th century urbanisation should be recorded prior to demolition or substantial alteration.

2.2.9 Zone 9 - Residential zone.

Residential zone laid out at the beginning of the 20th century. It is a council housing estate and is a good example of its kind with a substantial number of streets with avenues, crescents etc. There are no recommendations for this area.

2.2.10 Zone 10 - Residential zone.

This zone to the south of the town is residential area with high quality houses. The western side of the zone lies within the Conservation Area for Kettering. There are no further recommendations for this area.

2.2.11 Zone 11 - Mixed zone.

Mixed zone added to the south of the prestigious residential area. There are a combination of terraced houses and industrial, recreational, religious and social buildings. Individual buildings may be worthy of recording, but there are no recommendations for the area as a whole.

2.2.12 Zone 12 - Residential zone.

Residential area laid out in early 20th century, but infilled very gradually over a long period of time. Only Kingsley Avenue in the centre of the zone was laid out at one time and hence there is very little overall character to the zone. There are no recommendations for the area.

2.2.13 Zone 13 - Mixed zone.

Working class mixed zone comprising terraced housing, garden workshops, recreational, educational and religious buildings. This area combined with zones 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8 forms a very substantial area of surviving 19th century urbanisation, which is of national importance. The area as a whole should be subject to a detailed survey to consider designation as a Conservation Area. Boot and shoe factories and selected buildings associated with 19th century urbanisation should be recorded prior to demolition or substantial alteration.

2.2.14 Zone 14 - Mixed zone.

Mixed area to the western edge of the town. This area is not a distinctive, characteristic zone; it primarily consists of housing with one or two industrial buildings (including a boot and shoe factory and a tannery) and a gas works. Much of this area has been re-developed and there are no conservation or recording recommendations for the area as a whole.

APPENDIX 1:

Conjectural Reconstruction of the Urban Topography Based on the Rental of 1405

The 1405 rental specifies that it follows the circuit of the town beginning opposite the manor gate. The numbering used here relates to the sequence of entries in the rental. The former tenants, by comparison with to the Oundle rental, may prove to be occupiers in the 13th century or at least at the date when a previous major rental was compiled. The rental follows the circuit of the town' beginning opposite the gate of the grange and typically listing in sequence each tenement as adjacent to the previous one. The document gives the positions of some of the lanes, roads and in some cases points where the frontage turns a corner. However with one or two specific exceptions where acreage is quoted, there is no information on the dimensions of each tenement, hence without complementary evidence from other documents the plan produced from this rental is extremely schematic. This is true not only of the shape and length of tenements and the position of the frontages, but also of the positions of the tenements along the frontage. In part this is due to the vagueness or non existence of certain reference points, which mean in some cases a group of tenements may be on the wrong side of a corner, as at the north east corner of mill lane. In other cases there have apparently been major changes in the layout between 1405 and 1721, when the first accurate map is available. However there are certain major differences between the highly inaccurate 1587 map and that of 1721 which seem to accord with the pattern seen in the 1405 rental, but the inaccuracies of the Tudor map are so great that it cannot be taken as a definitive guide. Hence only a limited number of 1721 boundaries can give fixed points from which to plot the 1405 rental. Between these points tenements have been drawn of arbitrary width on our plan. In some cases it may prove that a whole tenement row has been significantly displaced along a road. The broad layout and variation in rent values and changes in tenement type from one part of the town to another should however still be valid, enabling generalised analysis. The account roll of 1488 contains a rental of all the virgates and on the evidence of the rents paid it is clear that the sequence is identical to that of the virgates in the 1405 survey, which must have provided the basis for the 1488 document. However no links to later documents which accurately record tenement locations have been achieved and hence only with further far more detailed documentary work might it prove possible to resolve the many problems of interpretation.

The rental begins opposite the gate of the Grange (A), which can only be approximately located – here the corner of Hall Lane has been chosen. It runs continuously to (B) with no evidence of an intermediate lane, which conforms with the 1587 map, suggesting that the intermediate lane was created in the 17th century. (B) refers to a plot of waste to the west and this is assumed here to lie in Nags Head Lane. 17 refers to another tenement 'adjacent to the west'. No explanation can be given for this unless this and not (B) belongs at the corner of Nags Head Lane, in which case (B) must be located further south. The sequence presumably continues westward to (C) where another tenement lies 'adjacent in another lane' (D), possibly the second Nags Head Lane of 1721. The exact position of tenements 22 & 23 is not clear, but they may lie adjacent to the west end of the lanes, as appears in 1587. A corner at (E) is not referred to but as (F) is securely located there would be far too many tenements if some did not lie within the lane. (F) refers to a cottage in Mill Lane, followed by 6 tofts towards the mill (G). The Norcroft in Mill Lane, referred to previously, presumably lies between these tofts and the mill. The Northcroft is first mentioned in 1305 as a meadow worth 18/-, while Wadcroft is another meadow worth 10/-. The next tenements lie on the

other side of the lane adjacent to the mill pond (H). (H) cannot be accurately located and so has been placed in the approximate position of the 1587 boundary between the Dam Meadow and the crofts in Mill Lane, while the extent of the mill pond has been estimated from the extent of the alluvium in this area. The corner at (I) is not referred to, but there are so many tenements between (H) and (J) that the majority must lie in Mill Lane, despite their absence in 1587. The presence of a considerable number of tenements in Mill Lane is supported in 1530 when three adjacent cottages and toft and an appendant croft are recorded there, while another cottage is said to abut Wadcrofts, which it could only do if it lay some distance down Mill Lane.¹⁴² The position of tenements on either side of the road (J) seems to accord reasonably well with the 1587 map, but there appear to be too few tenements to the north to (K), although this area of the reconstruction is supported by the fact that tenement 84 is elsewhere in the rental said to lie in Northalss, and this area is indeed described as Northhall in 1721. Tenement 81 in the row to the south was also described as being formerly held by John Smyth de Southalss. The tenements on the other side of the road (L) are not said to be opposite or adjacent but this group of 3 accords well with the 1587 map. The identification of the 1587 layout here is quite secure as a result of the presence of the Northhall Cross and pond in 1587, of which the latter can be seen to survive in 1721. The exact position of the tenements to the east of the road cannot be accurately positioned, but 97 cannot lie any further south as it lies on the other side of the road to the end of 96, facing west. The layout of the next area, adjacent to Bakehouse Hill in 1721, is very confused on the 1587 map. There may have been extensive infilling here, but in the present interpretation the 1721 layout is broadly followed. Wrights Lane is absent in 1587 but this may be another inaccuracy of the map and so tenement 104 is assumed to be on the corner of this lane with 105 on the opposite side of the lane (M). The positioning of the bakehouse is taken to be the same as in 1721, although it is not identified on the 1587 map. The reference after tenement 114: 'and thereby to the bondage tenement of John Cons' has been equated with (N), the start of a new tenement row in 1721. 125 is accurately positioned at the north end of the town on the other side of the road (Q), being Newlands. As no reference is made to a corner it is assumed that 124 lies at the east end of the previous frontage and that no tenements lie along the west side of Newlands Street. No corner is referred to between (Q) and (R) hence no tenements are assumed to lie along the north side of the Weekley road. The reference to tofts 'in le Estnewland' has been equated with the rows of tenements on the south side of the Weekley road beginning at the east end (T). It is possible that these lay to the north of the road, but as the next tenement in the following sequence must lie opposite this would mean (U) would have to lie at the east end of the town on the south side of the Weekley road. No reference is made to a corner between (T) and (U), hence in the present interpretation all the tenements are assumed to front the Weekley road. The 4 vacant tofts 'consequent posita ex opposite ex alio parte vie' may front either street, but in the absence of any other lane between Newlands and (V) then it is assumed this road is the main north-south road at Newlands. Between (U) and (V) no other lanes are mentioned, as is the case in 1587, hence the exact positioning of tenements is extremely inaccurate given such a long, continuous frontage. It is however worrying that so many tenements have to be fitted into this frontage and this may imply some error in the reconstruction in this area. The Rectory fee, which lies between (V) and (W) is not described in detail and so tenements 188 and 189 cannot be accurately positioned. (W) is securely located and so tenements 192-5 must front onto the market place, although exact positioning remains impossible. This is particularly significant here, as the north boundary of

¹⁴² NRO PDCCR E57.

the grange needs to be accurately identified if the early layout is to be understood. 193 is placed within the former curtilage of the grange.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASR	Association of Architectural Society Reports
BL	British Library
BNFAS	Bulletin of the Northamptonshire Federation of Archaeological Societies
Bridges Notes	John Bridges original notes for his History, from circa 1720, in Bodleian Library.
NN&Q	Northamptonshire Notes & Queries
NP&P	Northamptonshire Past & Present
NRL	Northampton Reference Library, Local Studies Collection.
NRO	Northamptonshire Record Office
NRS	Northamptonshire Record Society
PRO	Public Record Office
RCHME	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England
SMR	Sites & Monuments Record
VCH	Victoria County History
VCH Notes	Notes compiled by the VCH in the early 20 th century, now in NRO.

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