NORTHAMPTONSHIRE
EXTENSIVE URBAN SURVEY

ROTHWELL

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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 director 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 section of particular interest. Each section of the Rothwell report is presented in three parts: the first covering the medieval and post medieval town of Rothwell prepared by Glenn Foard; the second covering Rothwell during the industrial period, from 1750 to the 1930s by Jennifer Ballinger. The report draws upon research previously conducted by Glenn Foard on the medieval and post medieval towns of the county; on the work of Pauline Moore conducted on Rothwell, essentially on secondary sources, in the late 1970s for Northamptonshire Archaeology Unit; 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 and Phil Markham.

The first objective of the report is to determine layout, character and chronology of development of Rothwell 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 Rothwell'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 party 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 list 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

Rothwell was a major royal estate centre in the late Saxon period and a probable old minster serving a wide parochia, although in the early Saxon period the princely burial site and possibly also a defended residence was at the adjacent settlement of Desborough.

There is no record of a market at Rothwell in 1086 but it had certainly acquired a Sunday market by 1154. The market flourished and the settlement grew substantially in population and size. It achieved a complex plan form, which to a significant degree must have resulted from urban rather than purely agriculturally generated expansion. Rothwell acquired various urban attributes in the 12th and 13th centuries, with a chapel, small monastic house and most importantly gaining borough status, burgage tenements being first recorded in 1173-6. It can genuinely be regarded as a small town by the later 12th or 13th century. However, the town seems to have suffered progressively from competition from Kettering, which was a later foundation, in 1227. This competitive failure was possibly in part because unlike Kettering it did not apparently lie on a major communication route, the main road until turnpiking in the 19th century bypassing Rothwell to the north. The town survived the recession which followed the plagues from the mid 14th century onwards, but continued to decline relative to Kettering. It was not considered of sufficient import to be included in Speed's early 17th century list of market towns and by the 18th century the market was in severe decline, only the annual fair, noted in particular as being important for the sale of horse, drawing in large numbers of people. The market ceased to operate during the mid 19th century, but the town retained its urban character and status as a commercial centre for the surrounding area. In the late 18th century it had a significant industrial component in its economy, with a thriving textile trade, and in the late 19th and early 20th century it benefited from industrial growth in the boot and shoe industry, like other Ise Valley towns. The industrial basis to the settlement brought about a rise in population and an expansion of the physical boundary of the town in the late 19th century. This was in marked contrast to some other small market towns in the county (such as Towcester, Brackley and Thrapston) which stagnated or declined in the 19th century due to the lack of a substantial industry. However Rothwell was rapidly caught by the adjacent village of Desborough, which was also industrialising at this time, and was throughout completely overshadowed by its old rival Kettering, as is still the case today.

The industrialisation, urban expansion and especially the substantial redevelopment of the medieval core in the late 19th and 20th centuries has severely limited the archaeological and historic building potential of the settlement. However, there are important archaeological questions, particularly with regard to the origins and development of the late Saxon manor and minster church, and the early foundation of the market which are important research questions which should and probably can be addressed. The extensive areas of relatively well preserved standing buildings of the industrial period in the town would also appear to offer important potential for the study of the process of industrial and urban expansion in the 19th and 20th centuries.

I DESCRIPTION

TOPOGRAPHY & GEOLOGY

The parish of Rothwell comprises 1050 hectares, lying mainly on a Boulder Clay capped ridge between two tributaries of the River Ise. The town itself is situated on the south facing slope of the ridge, near the spring line formed by the junction of the Northampton Sand and Ironstone, and the impervious Upper Lias Clay. The geological pattern would appear to contribute significantly to the understanding of the evolution of both settlement and land use in Rothwell.

A PRE MEDIEVAL

1.0 Early History

1.1 Prehistoric and Roman
The significant area of permeable geology in the upper Ise valley attracted activity during the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods, as represented in particular by stray finds and by Bronze Age cemeteries identified during 19th century and early 20th century ironstone quarrying. As elsewhere in the county settlement expanded in the Iron Age onto the clay land but the more intense settlement undoubtedly remained on the permeable geologies. It is clear from finds made in the late 19th century, notably the Desborough mirror, that a focus of high status activity lay close to the site of the later Desborough village. It is possible that, as elsewhere in the county such as Guilsborough and Irthlingborough that the 'burh' place-name indicates the presence of an Iron Age hillfort. However, the high level of urban development and extensive area of historic landscape destroyed by ironstone extraction means that it is very unlikely that any future archaeological evidence will be recovered to resolve the question as to the exact character or local of this high status Iron Age activity.

The central place in the upper Ise valley apparently transferred from Desborough to Kettering in the Roman period, where what appears to have been an unwalled small town was identified and largely destroyed in the late 19th and early 20th century. However, it should be borne in mind that evidence from most such sites would seem to indicate that they had largely a commercial and industrial function. It is therefore possible that a focus of religious or social significance remained in or around Desborough area throughout the Roman period. Such continuity may be suggested by the presence once again of the high status evidence from Desborough from the early-middle Saxon period. The identification of any such Roman focus, whether in the form of a major villa or religious site, would be important in bridging the gap between the Iron Age and Saxon central places.

1.2 Saxon origins
Most of the archaeological sites of the early Saxon period known in the Desborough / Rothwell area were also discovered during extensive ironstone quarrying in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In particular there is evidence for two, possibly three pagan cemeteries. Settlement evidence is lacking from the area, but this is not surprising given the lack of modern fieldwork and the extent of areas destroyed by previous ironstone extraction. Very little Saxon settlement evidence was known from the county before the mid 1970s, due largely to the relatively ephemeral nature of the remains. It would however be expected, on the basis of evidence from elsewhere in the county, that the extensive areas of permeable geology in the upper Ise valley were intensively settled during the early - middle Saxon period, continuing the pattern of Roman settlement, though all settlement will have retracted from the clay land areas by the 5th century.

On present evidence it is to Desborough that we should look for the focus of early Saxon activity. The most important site was in Desborough, and presumably the one from which it derives its name, Deor=s burh.[1] In the late 19th century it survived as a slight earthwork enclosure which lay 200 metres east of the church within an anomalous area of old inclosures extending well to the east of the medieval village.[2] Most if not all of the site was destroyed by ironstone quarrying in the late 19th century. Sir Henry Dryden conducted limited recording during the mineral extraction, planning that part of the earthwork which still survived in 1876.[3] He records a rectangular enclosure, with a single bank surviving to no more than 1 metre in height with a trace of an outer ditch. Tentative reconstruction gives an internal dimension of 150 metres by 120 metres. Some 60 or more graves were recorded from the interior of the enclosure during mineral extraction and a wide range of grave goods were recovered, many of high quality including a gold necklace with garnet set pendants, various bowls, buckets and glass vessels.[4] It is unclear whether the burials were confined to the enclosure or even whether burial was the primary function of the site as features representing Saxon occupation would probably have been too ephemeral to have been recognised during the quarrying. However, had this been an intensively occupied Iron Age hillfort, later re-occupied or reused in the Saxon period, it is perhaps unlikely that Dryden would not have recovered some evidence, given the quality of his recording of Hunsbury hillfort near Northampton. However we have no indication as to the intensity of his investigation of the site from his very limited record. The scale of the earthwork appears far too great for this to be simply an old inclosure boundary. In both size and plan form the enclosure is comparable to that at Guilsborough which has been shown to have been, at least in origin, an Iron Age hillfort.[5] To the south of the enclosure there is evidence of late Saxon gravestones and cross fragments from the vicarage garden, which lies between the enclosure and the church, indicating that the churchyard was previously more extensive.

There would appear to have been a direct and very important association between Desborough and Rothwell in the Saxon period. In 1086 the manor of Rothwell was held by the crown as the centre of a major estate with numerous dependencies, including half a virgate in Desborough. Rothwell was also an hundredal manor while its church is interpreted as an 'old minster' whose parochia may originally have extended over the whole royal estate. Such estate grouping and association with a 'burh' place-name appears to be a significant one repeated in a number of locations across the county.[6]

In the polyfocal model of early-middle Saxon estate centres the association of Desborough with Rothwell, as the late Saxon estate centre, raises important questions regarding the origins of Rothwell as a settlement. Within the medieval settlement area at Rothwell chance finds of Roman pottery have been made from Charles Street and a coin from a garden along the Desborough Road. Though these might derive from Roman settlements, the small fragment of so called 'Roman' pavement from Rothwell Church, now in Northampton Museum, has been shown to be of medieval or later origin. The absence of substantial Roman evidence or Saxon material is not surprising given the restricted extent of the archaeological work so far undertaken in the settlement. The one extensive modern investigation, to the north western edge of the medieval area did recover evidence of Iron Age occupation and it is likely that further work in Rothwell will identify Roman and Saxon foci.

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[1] Gover et al, 1973, 111-2.

[2] NRO Map 4642; Foard, 1985.

[3] NRL, Dryden Collection, Desborough parish.

[4] British Museum accession 1876.5-4.

[5] Cadman, G 1990, 36-38

[6] Foard, 1985.

At a time when dispersed settlement was the norm, in the early- middle Saxon period, Rothwell, if it had such early origins, may have been the >home farm' of the estate while Desborough was, as its 'burh' place-name and burials may indicate, the princely residence. Alternatively the estate centre may have transferred to Rothwell at a later date, together with the ecclesiastical function. Despite the severe limitations on the archaeological potential of Desborough and remaining uncertainty over the location of the later Saxon royal manor in Rothwell, the archaeological investigation of the manorial and ecclesiastical origins of the two settlements must have a high priority in view of the rarity of such sites. It is important that the archaeological investigation of Rothwell extends across the whole of the medieval settlement given the major changes of location that have been recognised in other settlements. In the potentially comparable estate centre at Higham Ferrers for example early/middle Saxon high status activity has been recovered beneath and just beyond the northern edge of the settlement, well away from the later manorial focus.

The pattern of medieval settlement and townships around Rothwell is also potentially important to the understanding of the evolution of settlement in the region as it appears to share characteristics with the hinterlands of other late Saxon royal estates. In particular there appears to be a higher density of hamlets in small townships, with the township of Rothwell itself being unusually large and presumably comprising more than one early unit. The evidence of township morphology would suggest that great open field called Kipton Field in Rothwell could represent a lost Saxon settlement territory comparable to surviving hamlets like Thorpe Underwood and Glendon.[7] A lost early/middle Saxon settlement of Kipton, comparable to other places identified by Hall elsewhere in the county, should be sought unless an alternative derivation for the name can be recovered.[8] The reconstruction of the medieval and post medieval furlong pattern is needed to focus this investigation by identifying the Kipton name in the furlong pattern, but Kipton Close may give a broad indication of location.

The study of such hamlets and their townships and their contrast to the generally larger townships and nucleated villages of much of the rest of the county may shed light on village origins and township formation. While the rarity of such hamlet evidence warrants investigation even where there is relatively poor survival, the extensive ironstone extraction within the area of the Rothwell Saxon estate severely limits the potentials for archaeological investigation of this issue. However investigation in particular of the largely deserted medieval hamlets of Glendon and Thorpe Underwood may contribute to this research question.

The pattern of ecclesiastical dependency may also contribute to the understanding both of ecclesiastical provision and the process of manorialisation by revealing the chronology of development of subsidiary churches within the Rothwell parochia and its correlation with the fragmentation of the secular estate. However, the limitations in the survival of the manorial sites associated with these churches needs to be assessed as does the likely survival of the archaeology of the churches themselves.

1.3   Rothwell Saxon & medieval village
The place-name Rothwell means red spring. A field name in the valley to the south of the town, Redwell Close, may identify the location of the spring which gives the township and settlement its name, though similar springs may also have existed on the north side of the valley beneath the medieval settlement where there is a similar geological formation.[9] By the late Saxon period it is to be

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[7] NRO, JHR 114, 1677ad.

[8] Hall, 1995, 130.

[9] Gover et al., 1975, 118. NRO, Field Names Map, 1932.

expected that there was just a single settlement within Rothwell township. Apart from the mills it is very unlikely that there were any isolated farms or other buildings within the township in the medieval and post medieval period. Only two groups of buildings existed outside the town on the 1819 map. The farm buildings in the old inclosures to the north of the town, in the area previously occupied by the Great Wood, are probably agricultural buildings constructed following clearance of the woodland, which occurred in the 17th or early 18th century. The other building lies within a small encroachment on a green just to the east of the town. The dispersed farms and buildings seen in the late 19th century were therefore, as is typically the case elsewhere in the county, almost solely a result of Inclosure.

The extent of the agricultural village of the 10th and 11th centuries, which proceeded the town, cannot be defined with any certainty. However it is clear that Rothwell was sited on the eastern extremity of a narrow band of Northamptonshire Sand and Ironstone. In the southern part of the area various springs rise where this permeable strata overlies impermeable Lias clay. The east-west roads in the settlement correspond well to the geological boundaries. On the north, apart from the priory, and on the east the extent of occupation seems to have been determined by the extent of the permeable geology. To the south occupation expanded down slope across the clays alongside and on several small lanes branching off the main north-south road, but this will almost certainly prove to be a later medieval expansion of the town.

B   MEDIEVAL & POST MEDIEVAL

1.0   HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The manor was held by the crown until the 12th century when it passed to the Earls of Clare (later Earls of Gloucester). It is possible that the king or the earl created a castle at Rothwell but no clear evidence exists for this. There is no record of a market at Rothwell in 1086 but it had certainly acquired a Sunday market by 1154. It is unclear whether this was developed under royal patronage or if it was part of a conscious development of the settlement as a town by the Earls of Clare in the 12th century. The market flourished and the settlement grew substantially in population and size during the medieval period. Rothwell acquired various urban attributes in the 12th and 13th centuries including a chapel and a small monastic house. Most importantly it gained borough status, with burgage tenements being first recorded in 1173-6. There is however no extant charter and its tenants probably did not benefit from the same level of self governing freedoms seen in other towns such as Higham Ferrers and Brackley.

Rothwell can genuinely be regarded as a small town by the later 12th or 13th century. There is however little known about the commercial or industrial basis of the town's wealth. Not until the 18th century is this revealed, when in 1777 it can be seen to be dominated by the weaving industry. Although this is likely to have develop dint he second half of the 17th century, as at Kettering, it may reflect and earlier if less important weaving industry, for the county was noted for broadcloth production in the medieval period.

The available documentary evidence does not give a clear picture of the relative wealth of the town but the number of mills in the medieval and post medieval and also the size and architectural development of the church would indicate a fairly wealthy settlement. It must however be remembered that the latter, in part at least, derives from the continuing functioning of the church as the centre of a deanery. Rothwell seems to have suffered progressively from competition from

Kettering, which was a later foundation, in 1227. This competitive failure was possibly in part because unlike Kettering it did not apparently lie on a major communication route, the main road until turnpiking in the 19th century appears to have bypassed Rothwell to the north. The town survived the recession which followed the plagues from the mid 14th century onwards and acquired a free school in the 15th and a hospital and new market hall in the later 16th centuries. However it continued to decline relative to Kettering. It was not considered of sufficient import to be included in Speed's early 17th century list of market towns and by the 18th century the market was in severe decline. Only the annual fair, which was of medieval origin, continued to flourish. The fair was of national significance for the sale of horse in the 18th and especially the 17th centuries, drawing in large numbers of people.

2.0   TOPOGRAPHICAL DEVELOPMENT

The analysis of plan form of Rothwell is severely limited by the lack of good documentary sources enabling topographical reconstruction. The pattern of pattern of tenements first recorded in 1819 gives only a very partial picture of the likely medieval arrangement of tenements as it appears likely that there had by that time been a substantial degree of subdivision and infilling. The extent of the old enclosures recorded in 1819 does provides a maximum likely extent for the medieval town, for rarely if ever was land returned to the open fields after the medieval period. It is clear from the distribution of ridge and furrow that no settlement extended into the extensive old inclosures to the south of the stream, while it is unlikely that tenements ever existed in the demesne closes between the mill and the manor, which lay away from any known roads and lie on poorly draining clay geology. Similarly to the north, no tenements are recorded as belonging to the nunnery in the medieval period and so it is unlikely, though not impossible, that there was occupation in the old inclosures to the north of the nunnery site. It is also unlikely but possible that tenements extended onto the clay land in the old inclosures at the eastern edge of the town, adjacent to Little Wood.

The settlement has a fairly complex and somewhat irregular plan form. This may reflect pre-existing structure of the landscape over which the settlement expanded. For example it is unclear whether the presence of the greens on the periphery of the settlement indicates the influence of more extensive pre-existing greens on the development of the plan form of the village and subsequently of the town. The proximity of woodland on the north and the presence of an extensive area of boulder clay which is likely to have had more extensive woodland in the Saxon period may have influenced the plan form of the settlement. Rothwell is certainly atypical of the small towns of the county in having an area of woodland immediately adjacent to the town during the height of urban development in the medieval period.

However the core of the settlement is tied very closely to the small band of permeable Northampton Sand and Ironstone geology which outcrops along the valley side, supporting an interpretation of the east-west trend of the plan form as primary with expansion of relatively small areas of streets during the medieval period onto the clays to the north and south. The importance of both church and manor in the late Saxon period would suggest that they represent a major focus of the settlement, but the street plan in this area is particularly difficult to interpret. It seems likely that an east-west road has been lost in this area as a result of the development and re-siting of the manor and laying out of its gardens in the post medieval period. The other major change to the plan form may have occurred much earlier with the laying out of the market place. There is no clear evidence as to whether it was created from an existing area of green near the heart of the settlement or whether it was established by the laying out of a new plan component on the edge of or over the top of existing occupation areas.

Limited excavation in the Wales Street area has suggested that a series of large planning blocks were probably laid out between the 9th and 11th centuries.[10] Rectilinear quarry pits for ironstone in late Saxon or early medieval were replaced by boundary gullies broadly following the same alignment. Both broadly match the oblique alignment of the buildings on the Nunnery Lane frontage rather than any other alignments in the area. The gullies probably went out of use in the 11th century. A potentially contemporary east-west alignment of boundaries which went out of use after 1100 are close to and follow the alignment of boundaries on the 1813 map. It is possible that an initial alignment was replaced by this in the late Saxon or early medieval period. The late Saxon or early medieval east-west ditches and gullies, together with undated gullies to the south, appear to confirm that this area of the town was laid out in the late Saxon or early medieval period as a series of three major east-west plots. It is unclear if the lanes were established at this time but they were apparently never built up with a frontage at any time in the medieval period. The number of features of late Saxon or early medieval date in the area are however difficult to explain simply in terms of the rear of a tenement fronting onto Nunnery Lane. The oblique alignment of the early features and the curving alignments on this whole area may indicate that the settlement area was established by the enclosure of an open field furlong.

Expansion of the town had probably occurred in two ways in the medieval period. Firstly by expansion over the open field. The clearest example of this is the nunnery. In the 13th century the nunnery was apparently created by the enclosure of a group of strips from a furlong immediately north of the town. The occupation along the other back streets, especially those on the clay land to south and north may all prove to represent expansion of the town in the high medieval.

There are no distinct 'ends' in the town judging from the plan form as recorded in the map of 1813. However reference does exist to a tenement in the 'west end of Role' in 1369,[11] while in 1819 the road leading to Glendon is said to run out from Mumper's End. Encroachment onto the waste is a phenomenon regularly seen in other towns, but only one reference has been found, in 1607, to one cottage lying on the waste.[12] The plan form around the market place suggests a number of encroachments onto the market place, not only the probable islands of shops but also the irregular projection of tenements at the south east corner of the market place.

The following streets are recorded within the town but not all have been located:
Pewterer's Lane: 1813, where the footway before the manor house of Mr. Hall and the Grove led into the field. This becomes Meeting Lane by 1819.
Bridge Street: In 1448 Tresham was granted a house in Bryggestrete.[13] In 1607 five cottages, one tenement and one messuage are all recorded in Bridge Street.[14]
Back Lane: 1819.
Market Street: A cottage in Market Street in 1607,[15] and 1813.
Pekishill: A cottage in 1535 on Pekishill(?)[16]
Well Lane: A messuage belonging to the Holt manor lay in Well Lane in 1364 and 1392.[17] It is

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[10] Soden, 1996.

[11] Grant of a messuage, NRO Maunsell (Thorpe Malsor) 23.95.

[12] Survey of Rothwell, PRO LR2/vol.221, f.205-244.

[13] NRO Maunsell (Thorpe Malsor) 23.107.

[14] Survey of Rothwell, 1607, PRO LR2/vol.221, f.205-244.

[15] Survey of Rothwell, PRO LR2/vol.221, f.205-244.

[16] PRO SC6/Henry VIII/1240.

[17] Grant of 12d out of a messuage in Wellelane. NRO Maunsell(Thorpe Malsor) 23.96, also 101.

recorded again in 1607,[18] while Ladywell lane appears in 1819.

Obshill: 1813.

Nunnery Lane End: In 1738 a carriage or driftway from 4 closes of pasture of 43 acres up the Desborough way from Nunnery Lane End.[19]

Wales Street: 1607.[20]

Millers Lane: 1819.

Foxes' Lane: Foxes Lane in 1739.[21] In 1819 a new road was constructed running out of Foxes Lane nearly in the existing track to Orton Ford. Foxes Lane was presumably the >le Ourtonlane' where a tenement is recorded in 1406-7.[22]

St. Mary's Lane: In 1406 a messuage in Seyntmarylane(?).[23] This might be the lane leading out of the north east corner of the market place next to the site of the chapel.

Chatockes Street: A cottage is recorded in Chatockes Street in 1607.[24]

Maydewelles Lane: In 1410 a messuage is recorded in Maydewelleslane.[25]

Horsefair Lane.

[18] Survey of Rothwell, PRO LR2/vol.221, f.205-244.

[19] NRO C3065.

[20] PRO, LR2/vol.221, ff.205-244.

[21] NRO, YZ 8189.

[22] NRO, FH 405, Account Roll of Wm Lank collector for John Holt, 1406-7.

[23] NRO Maunsell (Thorpe Malsor) 23.103.

[24] Survey of Rothwell, PRO LR2/vol.221, f.205-244.

[25] NRO Maunsell (Thorpe Malsor) 23.105.

3.0 THEMATIC ANALYSIS

3.1 MANORIAL

3.1.1 Manors

3.1.1.1 The Main Manor

In 1086 the manor of Rothwell was held by the king and valued at £50 per annum.[26] The crown had retained some interest in Rothwell as late as 1132. By the time of the 12th century Northamptonshire Survey Rothwell had passed from the crown, for Eudo de Haschull was under tenant to the Earls of Clare, who later became Earls of Gloucester.[27] In 1290 it was recorded that Rothwell manor had lately been surrendered by the Earl of Gloucester to the king but in 1295 the manor was still held by the Earl.[28] The manor passed to Hugh de Audeley=s wife in 1315 and in 1345 to the Earls of Stafford. They retained Rothwell until 1521, when the last of the line, the Duke of Buckingham was executed, his estates passing into the hands of the crown.[29]

The manor was granted, presumably as a lease, in 1546 to Lord Par of Horton after whose death it is said to have passed to John Tresham, although the manor house itself was occupied by the Ragsdale family in 1592. In 1607 Edward Tresham held most of the property in manor under lease from the crown,[30] but the manor was granted to Edward Eyton and Christopher Becham in 1609-10. They sold it to the Hill family before 1625, who then began acquiring other property in Rothwell. In 1647 Susanna Hill inherited the estate of John Lamb[31] and in 1655 Sir John Norwich sold land and premises in Rothwell to Susanna Hill. In 1665 there is reference to the mansion house in Rothwell held by the Hill family together with 7 yardlands and several other tenements.[32] In 1675-6 they acquired the Rectory manor.[33] The family still held the property in 1720 but thereafter it descended to the Maunsell family who held it in the 19th century.

The earliest description of the manor is given in an extent of 1262 when the total revenue to the Earl from Rothwell was £31/05/3.5d.[34] Unfortunately the survey of 1271 is almost wholly illegible, but the manor is described again in extents of 1295, 1306 and 1314.[35] The next detailed survey of the

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[26] Domesday Book, 219d.

[27] In the absence of VCH coverage for Rothwell, the fairly complex manorial descent has been based on Bridges' discussion supplemented by other specified sources.

[28] Calendar of Charter Rolls, 2, 350. Extent, PRO C133/77.

[29] NRO, FH486, Account Roll of Robert Knottinge, collector for feoffees of Richard Holt: 1424: payments to bailiff of Earl of Stafford.

[30] 1607, royal survey of the manor, PRO LR2/vol.221, f.205-44.

[31] For note on life of Sir John Lambe of Rothwell and Northampton see Wake, 1953, 111n.

[32] NRO C3169; marriage settlement of Edward Hill, 1665 : a messuage in Rothwell with a 3 acre close and 4 yardlands, a messuage with 2.5 yardlands, a garden and 3 yardlands, and the rights in a mansion house of Edward Hill=s parents in Rothwell and in a great farm in Rothwell with 7 yardlands..

[33] NRO C3179. In 1701 Edward Hill held the Hundred and manor of Rothwell and the Saunders manor in Rothwell, with various property specified, including the Swann Inn, George Inn, Maulting Close, Nomansland, Edward Hill=s mansion house, some cottages, 7 messuages, 12 closes and 25+5/6 yardlands.

[34] IPM Richard de Clare, 1262, PRO C132/27(5) m.15.
For the farm of the market and certain plots in the market an annual rent of ,14/10/0. A certain plot in the market with stalls worth ,7/19/11.5d. The fair which lasted two(?) days was worth ,4. For one bakehouse ,2. For the dovecote, fishponds(?) and messuage with the curtilage ,2. For the farm of garden with the herbage 2/-.

[35] IPM, Gilbert de Clare, 1295, PRO C133/77(3) m.15; IPM, Joan de Clare, 1306, PRO C133/128(29). 8 Edward II, 1314, IPM of Gilbert of Clare. Survey of Rothwell in 1271, PRO SC12/13/40. An undated account roll of between 1216-1272 gives just total values and adds no

manor is not until 1607, when the majority of the property was held on lease by Edward Tresham.[36]

3.1.1.2 Subsidiary fees
The manor of Rothwell had seen subinfeudation by the early 13th century to create three lesser fees held of the primary manor.

In the 13th century William de Cantilupe held half a fee. This descended to William la Zouch as a whole fee by 1314, possibly to Ralph Cromwell by 1346-7 but was held by another William la Zouch in 1402-3. A second fee was held by Henry de Braybrooke, descending in the 13th century to Gilbert de Preston as half a fee and thence by 1314 to Thomas de Latymer, in 1346-7 Warine de Latimer and 1402-3 another Thomas de Latymer.

A quarter fee was held in the 13th century by Wydo de Wake. In 1314 it was held by Hugh de Wake, in 1346-7 by Adrina de Gayton as half a fee and in 1402-3 by Joan Gayton as a quarter fee.

In addition, or perhaps incorporating part of these, there was the Holt fee in the late 14th and early 15th century, as well as the Rectory manor held by the Abbots of Cirencester.

It has not been possible to trace the later history of most of these lesser fees, though this may well prove possible by more extensive documentary analysis. It is likely that they relate to several of the subsidiary manors recorded in Rothwell in the post medieval period. In 1739 and 1744 there is reference to a manor in Rothwell formerly the estate of Ralph Munn, with a capital messuage and two yardlands at the upper or west end of Fox's Lane.[37] This is the only one of the lesser manors so far located, for it is probably the small area of property in the street held by the Hill family in 1819. A possible manor site lies to the east of St. Mary's chapel, where in 1810 there was a homestead with stables to Hall farm or old mansion. At that time the property was held by Thomas Freeman.[38] It is improbable but not impossible that this was at some point the location of the main manor, with the putative castle location immediately adjacent.

3.1.1.3 The Holt Manor
A manor was held in the late 13th and early 14th century by Sir John Holt.[39] It may have descended from Robert Bray who received grants of property in 1364 and 1372. The manor was held by Richard Holt in 1424[40] but then passed to the Tresham family. It would appear that the Holt property was held of the three other manors,[41] for in 1387 Holt owed suit of court to the Earl of Stafford, the Abbot of Cirencester and William Tresham. One of these may have been the quarter fee which Joan Gayton held from the primary manor in 1402-3, for in 1387 John Gayton held diverse tenements and lands from Holt. In 1452 Richard Holt=s property in Oundle had passed to Simon of Norwych and it seems likely that the same happened in Rothwell, for in 1607 Simon Norwych held a messuage and 18.5 virgates in Rothwell. (Is this dating correct?)[42] This is probably the Holt fee. The Holt property elsewhere, at Lyveden, passed to the Treshams after Simon de Norwych.

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significant detail. Account Roll, 1216-1272, PRO SC6/1117/13.

[36] PRO LR/2/vol.221, ff.205-244, also f.327 for Shotwell Mill.

[37] NRO, YZ8190-1, moiety of manor : 1739; NRO, YZ8194-5, 1744.

[38] NRO, Misc. Photostat 1719, 1810.

[39] NRO Maunsell (Thorpe Malsor) 23.

[40] NRO, FH486.

[41] NRO, FH486.

[42] Close Rolls, Henry VI.

The manor comprised various property in the town, including four free burgages, each held for 1/-, and various tenants at will and cottages, all listed in 1407.[43] The Holt manor is described in detail in 1387, but it is not possible to quantify the number or type of properties as several entries simply refer to diverse lands and tenements. In 1387, in addition to the virgate and cottage tenements, the manor included five shops, previously rendering 3/- but then vacant, three held for 13/- and one for 18d.[44]

3.1.1.4 The Rectory Manor of the Abbot of Cirencester

The largest of the subsidiary manors was the rectory. Rothwell and Brigstock rectories had been granted to the Abbots of Cirencester in 1132-3 by the king. The grant was confirmed by the Earls of Clare in 1166-8, specifying the church, chapel (presumably at Orton) and the tithing of the demesne.[45] It is unclear whether the manor was established on the site of an earlier rectory or if a new location was chosen.

The manor is described in detail in the dissolution accounts of 1535.[46] At that time it comprised 15 messuages, 6 cottages, 1 dovecote, 1 toft, 1 tenement and 1 curtilage, with 14 virgates. In addition there were 'diverse' properties held by the Tresham family. There was also an inn and a bakehouse. Unfortunately the site of the Rectory with its various buildings is not described as it was then held at farm for £16 per annum.[47]

1579-80 the Earl of Lincoln and Christopher Gouse were granted the tithes and possessions and advowson formerly held by the Abbey. However the Rectory manor was held at this time by the Saunders family, who had held several messuages and virgate land and a cottage from the abbey in 1535. In 1596 John Rand purchased the manor from Edward Saunders of Harrington.[48] It then passed in 1599 to Henry Best and Robert Holland.[49] At this time the manor was apparently fragmented with a messuage and 3 yardlands and a further 10 yardlands being sold off. The manor including the capital messuage were then acquired in 1608 from John Rand and Laurence Eyton by Lord Stanhope.[50] At this time the manor included the property held by Sir Simon Norwich, who also held property from the main manor.[51] By 1608-9 the site of the manor had possibly been subdivided. At that time John Rand occupied the capital messuage with barns, stables, orchards, gardens and a close, while John Gibb occupied and adjoining tenement which had attached to it a small close which had been part of the manor close. It is possible that Gibbs' barns, stables, kiln, orchard, dovehouse had also been part of the rectory.[52] In 1627 the parsonage & rectory was still held by John, Lord Stanhope and incorporated the mill called Shotwell mill and various tenements. Stanhope in turn conveyed the manor to William Marryott in 1642 and thereafter it passed to Ralph Nunn. In 1635-6 Francis Dillingham held the capital messuage and sit eof the late priory in Rothwell and land of the

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[43] NRO, FH 405, Account Roll of Wm Lank collector for John Holt, 1405-6 & 1406-7.
Rents of ,26/5/10d from free burgage, tenants at will and cottagers according to a rental of 1407.

[44] NRO, FH 426, m.2, detailing John Holt=s property in Rothwell.

[45] Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey, 679b/864, from notes transcribed by Rev. F.W.Potto Hicks, NRO Rothwell Parish Records, R.122; Ross,1964, no.28 & 669.

[46] PRO SC/6/Henry VIII/1240, m.71d: Cirencester Abbey manor in Rothwell.

[47] PRO SC/6/Henry VIII/1240.

[48] Anon, undated.

[49] NRO, S(G)492, 1599.

[50] NRO YZ9778, 1611, and YZ9777, 1608: Manor of Role which was purchased of Saunders.

[51] According to Bridges, in 1629-30 Sir Simon Norwich held a messuage called Palfreyman=s place, other messuages and 7 virgates held of the crown as parcel of the former possessions of Cirencester monastery.

[52] NRO, YZ9777.

Cirencester fee.[53] In 1675-6 the manor, capital messuage and premises were sold to Edward Hill, son of Susanna Hill and was thus united with the main manor.

The identification of the site of the Rectory manor is problematical. However, as argued above, the main manor of Rothwell possibly lay to the south of the churchyard. The Rectory manor having been re-united with the main manor in the 18th century, the site of the rectory manor should be expected to lie within the Hill's estate in 1819. It may be that the Hill family, who already held the main manor, built a new house on the rectory site to replace their existing manor house. This is the building currently known as the Manor House, to the north west of the church, described by Pevsner as an 'uncommonly fine' mid-18th century building was the residence of the Hill family.[54] The grounds of the house extend south across the road to the church with gate piers and walls unifying the two sides into a single design.

3.1.2   Manorial Appurtenances

3.1.2.1 Manor House
The capital messuage is first mentioned in 1262, when there was also a curtilage (in 1306 two curtilages) and a garden, from which there was income from herbage, and a dovecote. It is unclear whether the fishponds were within the manorial enclosure or elsewhere. In 1607 the capital messuage is described in detail, the number of bays of building of each structure being given, and was accompanied by a curtilage and garden.[55] However in 1701 reference is made to the buildings and dovehouse belonging to the mansion house, >decayed part of the manor' with garden, orchard, fishponds and a close called Nozells (presumably Nose Hill of 1866).[56] By this time the main manor and the Rectory manor had been combined in the ownership of the Hill family and it would not therefore be surprising if one of the capital messuages had by then been demolished.

This however raises the major problem as to the location of the two capital messuages. Reference is made in 1410 to a messuage opposite Lord Stafford's house in Rothwell, presumably the capital messuage of the manor, but this tenement cannot be located.[57] In 1525-6 there is record of a messuage in the Leather Fair. It abutted at its head on the cemetery of the church. Only those properties to the south of the church appear to abut this way, those to the north of cemetery abutting north onto Bridge Street. To the east of the tenement was the tenement formerly of the Duke of Buckingham and to the west the manor formerly of the said Duke.[58] This was the Earl Stafford who had been executed in 1521. The Earls of Stafford had held the principal manor of Rothwell since at least 1345. In 1819 the hospital itself lay on the south side of the churchyard with a manorial property on the east and the outbuildings and gardens of the manor on its west. This must be the property recorded in the 1525-6 charter and hence the Leather Fair would be the very south west corner of the market place. This would then indicate that the property immediately south of the churchyard to be the site of the principal manor of Rothwell. This provides a clear context for the reference above to the decayed part of the manor. By 1819 of course the manor house was to the north west of the church. This may have been the Rectorial manor, formerly held by the Abbots of Cirencester (see below).

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[53] Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, 11 Charles I.

[54] Pevsner, 1973, 394.

[55] PRO LR/2/vol.221, ff.205-244, also f.327 for Shotwell Mill.

[56] NRO, Sale Catalogue, 1866.

[57] NRO Maunsell (Thorpe Malsor) 23.105.

[58] NRO, JHR 100, 1525-6, quitclaim of Richard Wall et al to Edward Nyxson of a messuage and lands with a close adjacent, formerly the gift of William Hazilrigge.

While the northern part of the presumed manor site has probably been largely or wholly destroyed by intensive late 19th and 20th century burial resulting from the southward extension to the churchyard, the southern part of the site lies beneath the bowling green and the adjacent parkland. Although the bowling green has been terraced into the slight slope at the north west part of the site, the rest of the site is likely to survive in undisturbed. Any development or other earthmoving in this area should be subject to evaluation to determine if there is evidence of Saxon occupation or of Saxon or medieval manorial activity in this area.

3.1.2.2 Castle
A major uncertainty regarding the origins and development of the manor at Rothwell is the presence in the town of a street called Castle Lane, now Castle Hill, first recorded in 1720 by Bridges.[59] However he also suggests that the town once had a wall with several gates, the east and west bars, something which is clearly wrong. There is not reference to a castle in the town in the medieval period, while the potential site lies at some distance to the north east of the church and presumed early focus of the settlement. The possibility that a castle was constructed in Rothwell either by the king or by the Earls of Clare cannot however be totally dismissed at present, especially as the other major royal manor which was granted to the Earls of Clare, Towcester, certainly did acquire a major motte and bailey castle. If so then it is possible that castle and market place were planned additions to the Rothwell manor in the late 11th or 12th century to the north east of the original core of the village.

3.1.2.3 Manor garden and fishponds
By 1813 buildings on the south of the road had been cleared to provide an open view from the manor house across the extensive gardens. These grounds are now converted into a municipal park. This layout was already largely in existence in 1813 and is almost certainly a result of 18th century design by the Hill family incorporating the grounds of the Rectory and main manors of Rothwell in a single design. The Mounts is an area at the southern end of the garden which in 1813 contained four rectangular ponds. The earthworks might suggest that several of these were sub-divided to form a series of smaller tanks. The ponds were formed by upcast from the tanks being thrown downslope to create a large dam. The earthworks have been altered considerably, particularly by infilling in 1969-70, so that now the northern ponds are but shallow depressions. A fishpond was recorded on the manor in 1262,[60] and as early as the 1230s stock was taken from the ponds at Rothwell.[61] The fishpond is not however mentioned in later medieval documents or in the detailed survey of 1607 and it cannot be assumed that the medieval ponds were in this area of the later ponds. Fishponds are again listed in 1701, in sequence after the garden and orchard and before the close called Nozells, which lies immediately to the south of the Mounts.[62] It is therefore perhaps likely that the Mounts were constructed on a new site in the 18th century as an integral part of an overall 18th century garden design, an interpretation which accords well with the overall layout of the ponds. The case is reinforced by the name 'The Mount' recorded on the 1813 map. The mount itself, presumably a prospect mound, is likely to be the circular feature depicted on that map lying at the southern end of the enclosure and identifiable as a near circular mound on the RCHME earthwork plan.[63] This mound is positioned between the two pairs of ponds and almost axial to the view from the house.

3.1.2.4 Watermills
In 1086 there were two water mills in the royal manor. However it seems likely that at least one of

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[59] Bridges, 1791, 2, 57.

[60] PRO, C132/27(5).

[61] Steane, 1970, 308.

[62] NRO, YZ8189.

[63] RCHME, 1979, 131, fig.117.

these lay in Orton. In 1262 there were still two water mills, but also one windmill and one horse mill.[64] By 1295 there were four mills, all held at farm. In 1306 a water mill, together with the windmill, was held at farm by Thomas le Deistere(?). In 1314 there is reference to two watermills and a horse mill. There is no evidence for a mill on the rectory manor in the cartulary, in the dissolution accounts of 1535 or in 1608. Unfortunately none of the medieval mills in Rothwell would appear to be well documented, although a series of deeds do survive for the 18th and 19th centuries for the Shotwell mill.

3.1.2.5 Hall Mill

The primary mill in Rothwell was the Hall Mill described in 1607 as a building of two bays.[65] The mill building, apparently of stone and with a thatched roof, is depicted in an area of hedged closes in the foreground of Tillemans' prospect of Rothwell in 1719 or 1721.[66] In this area a group of earthworks which have never been subject to detailed earthwork survey. There is a large earthen dam across the valley which will have created a mill pond backing up to the west, probably as far as the former Long Lane Bridge, though the dam is now breached by the present stream. Two earlier abandoned channels may represent the mill leat and overflow channel. The mill was apparently still in use in 1701 when manor included >the Slayts, and water mill with Holme...=.[67] The mill pond will have encompassed the Bridge Meadow and northern part of Long Meadow, recorded in 1932. Although the >mill dam' is mentioned at Inclosure, no mill building is shown on the Inclosure map. Hence the mill went out of use and was probably demolished between 1721 and 1819. Given its proximity to the town and manor it is likely that this is the site of the medieval watermill and possibly is that recorded in 1086.

3.1.2.6 Shotwell Mill

Shotwell mill lay at the northern edge of the township. In 1607 it is listed in the survey of the main manor, when it was described as decayed but held at a rent of 13/4d under lease by Tresham together with the greater part of the rest of the manor.[68] The mill was still working in the 19th century when shown on the Inclosure map and then as a corn mill on the 1st edition 1:10560 OS mapping. In the late 1970s the large mill pond still survived among the trees but it has been dry since its water supply was diverted at the end of the 19th century. The site lies on a steep slope above the Ise and was created by throwing upcast downslope to form a large dam, below which the mill was built, fed by a narrow stone-lined leat. The stone foundations of the mill could still be traced in the 1970s.[69] Shotwell mill is probably one of the two mills recorded in the manor in the late 13th century. It survives as an earthwork site but was probably substantial reconstructed in the 18th and 19th centuries and hence may not have well preserved earlier deposits.

3.1.2.7 Windmill

A windmill existed in the main manor from at least 1262 and the manor still included a windmill in 1701. This is depicted in 1791 on Eayre's map on the hill to the south of the Hall Mill, in the area later occupied by the Windmill Cottages, where an earthwork still existed in the 1880s.[70] There is no evidence to locate the medieval windmill but it probably lay on this site, and it was certainly here in

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[64] PRO, C132/27(5).

[65] PRO, LR2/vol.221,f.238..

[66] Bailey, p.183.

[67] NRO, YZ8189, manor of Rothwell.

[68] PRO LR2/vol.221, f.327.

[69] Site visit by G.Foard. Bulletin of Industrial Archaeology, CBA Group 9, no.12, 1970.

[70] Eayre=s map, 1791; OS 1st edition 6" map...

the early 17th century for Rothwell Bridge is described in 1608 as leading to the windmill. By 1827 a second mill had been constructed to the south of that on Windmill Hill, but this had disappeared totally by the 1880s. Another windmill is recorded by Eayre to the east of the town but it is clear from Bryant's map of 1827 that this lay just lie within Rushton township. The primary windmill earthworks and probably all the buried remains were destroyed by the construction of Windmill Cottages in the 19th century and so the site does not have significant archaeological potential.

3.1.2.8 Horse-mill
There was also a horse mill belonging to the manor in 1262 and 1314 and this may have been the same horse malt mill recorded in 1607 and 1701.[71] It is likely that this mill lay within the curtilage of the manor.

3.1.2.9 Bakehouse
There was one bakehouse recorded within the main manor in 1262, worth 40/-, and it is recorded again in 1306 but in 1295 two are mentioned, both held at farm.[72] Cirencester Abbey's Rectory Manor was also of sufficient size to warrant a bakehouse in it own right, which still existed in 1538, when it is stated it formerly was worth 6/8d per annum. The location of these bakehouses within the town has not been established. By 1607, as is usual by this time, the common bakehouse in the main manor had gone out of use, having in this case been converted into a house.[73]

3.1.2.10 Deer Park
There is no evidence for a deer park in Rothwell, unless the possible earthwork bank surrounding the 'hay' in the valley below Rothwell represents the use of this area at some point in the medieval period as a deer park. However the Earls did clearly use the woodland which lay within their lordship for hunting.[74]

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[71] PRO IPM Gilbert of Clare; PRO, LR2/vol.221; NRO, YZ8189.

[72] PRO C133/128(29).

[73] Survey of Rothwell, PRO LR2/vol.221, f.205-244.

[74] Steane, 1974, 104.

3.2   CHURCH

3.2.1   Holy Trinity Church

Holy Trinity is one of the largest and most complex of Northamptonshire churches, which was already a very substantial structure by the 12th century. The church has been surveyed by the RCHME and a plan exists but the study has not yet been completed or published.[75] It is likely that the complexity reflects the existence of a substantial late Saxon church. The size and architectural wealth of the church may in part be a reflection of the wealth of the town of Rothwell but, given the size the church had already attained by the 12th century, it is far more likely that it is a reflection of late Saxon minster functions, the patronage of the Abbots of Cirencester as rector, and the function of the church as the head of a medieval deanery.

In 1878 the churchyard was full and so an extension was added to the south, on land purchased from the Maunsell family, lords of the manor.[76] The earlier extent of the churchyard is however clear from the 1813 map.

3.2.2   'Bone Crypt' or Charnel House

Of particular popular note is the 'Bone Crypt' which was discovered by a grave digger in about 1700 when preparing a grave within the south aisle. It has been suggested that as many as 6,000 individuals are represented by the remains, but more reasonable estimates are of the order of 1500.[77] The favoured explanation as to the source of the human remains is that they derive from the churchyard at times when building work was taking place. Two periods have been suggested as most likely for the origin of the material, in the 13th century when the chancel was lengthened and the north and south aisles extended. The second suggestion, that they date from the 16th century is based on apparently mistaken belief that the Jesus Hospital was built over part of the graveyard.[78] The charnel house is suggested as having been constructed in the early 13th century. Various detailed osteological studies have been carried out on the bones.[79]

3.2.3   Chantry

A chantry is recorded in the church in 1535.[80]

3.2.4   St. Mary=s Chapel

The chapel probably did not exist in 1156 when only one dependent chapel is recorded for Rothwell church, which must be that at Orton rather than St. Mary's chapel in Rothwell.[81] The small chapel of St Mary is first mentioned in the early 13th century, when a virgate of land was granted for the maintenance of a lamp at the altar there.[82] In 1220 it was specifically mentioned as a dependency of Rothwell church, together with that at Orton. In the 1490s the abbot of Cirencester, rector of Rothwell, agreed to pay £1 per annum for a chaplain to perform services in the chapel. In 1535 the warden of the chapel was tenant of a messuage and land, held at a 16d

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[75] RCHME church survey notes in Northamptonshire SMR.

[76] Chamberlain, 1891, 9.

[77] Parsons, 1910.

[78] Sharp, 1870.

[79] Roberts, 1984; Garland, 1985.

[80] Bridges, 2, 56.

[81] Ross, 1964, no.28.

[82] Ross, 1964, no.680.

rent, in the Rectory manor.[83]

The chapel, together with its property, is described in detail in 1549 at the dissolution of the chantries when it was granted out to Thomas Gargrave.[84] At this time the chapel was roofed in lead and had three small bells, and glass >painted full of images'. The site was in all 1.5 roods in area and is said to have belonged to the Guild of Rothwell.[85] Soon after this the chapel was endowed as a Free School (see below). According to Bull, writing in the late 19th century, >There are no remains of the Chapel to be now seen; but, from evidences of it, which have from time to time come to light, there is no doubt that the present National School occupies its site'.

3.2.5 Vicarage
The vicarage at Rothwell was ordained in 1221, when William de Rothwell became the first vicar of the parish. The vicar was given the burgage tenement at the gate of the churchyard which Roger Merchant formerly owned.[86]

Though Pevsner claims that the vicarage in the late 18th century was the brick built building now the Rothwell House Hotel on Bridge Street, in 1813 the vicar still held the property which is today the vicarage. The property immediately to the east, on the north side of the churchyard, was then described in 1813 as the >Tithe Yard'(?), but the glebe terriers record only the vicarage house and a little yard and garden.[87]

3.2.6 Congregational church
The Congregational church in Rothwell is on the site of the earliest recorded non-conformist chapel in Northamptonshire, although the present building is of somewhat later date.[88] Founded in 1656, it was at first housed in a six bay barn belonging to John Fox, while his adjoining house was the manse.[89] The barn was replaced in 1735 with the present building, though it has been substantially modified in the intervening period.[90]

3.3 MONASTIC & OTHER ESTABLISHMENTS

3.3.1 Priory of St. John the Baptist
The nunnery or priory of St. John the Baptist was founded by Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester before 1262. However Richard died before he could adequately endow the priory and his heirs neglected the House. The endowment was no more than 4 marks income from the open fields of Rothwell.[91] The priory church was rebuilt on the 14th century, being licences for services in 1362 and consecrated in 1379.[92] In view of the poverty of the House, with an income of just 12/- per annum, in

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[83] PRO, SC6/Henry VIII/1240.

[84] Bull,???? quoting Patent Roll 3 Ed Vi, pt.1, m.,34; Particular of Grants Id.vi, no.1625.

[85] The site, as reconstructed on the basis of the 1813 map and the 1810 deed (NRO misc. Photostat 1719), comprises 1.5 roods.

[86] Bull; Serjeantson & Bull, 1911, quoting Rolls of Hugh Wells, Bishop of Lincoln.

[87] But note the purchase deed of new vicarage in 1858: NRO ZB 279/7.

[88] Parsons, 1984; Isham, 1964, 219.

[89] Rothwell Official Guide, 1971-2.

[90] Glass, 1871. The building is described with a plan in RCHME, 1986, 146-7.

[91] Bull, 1904, quoting Cal. Papal Registers.

[92] VCH, 2, 137.

1386 Richard II granted the nuns the rectory of Desborough, worth 15 marks per annum.[93] Although founded originally for 14 nuns, as a result of continued lack of resources, there were just 8 nuns by 1395. In 1536, at the dissolution, its income was £10 per annum from the rectory of Desborough and 10/4d from 1 virgate in the open field of Rothwell, while the site of the priory itself was worth 13/4d. Later the site of the priory is described as including the granary and the croft adjacent.[94] In 1545 the priory site was leased by John Lane at 4/- per annum together with a virgate at 10/4d per annum. It was then granted to Henry Lee. At this time there were about the site of the priory and in the demesnes some 200 oaks and ashes of 40 to 60 years growth.[95]

In 1635-6 the capital messuage and site of the late priory of Rothwell, said to lie within the Cirencester fee, was held by Francis Dillingham. Nathaniel Hill, draper of Rothwell who died in 1681, lived in The Nunnery, as the property was then called. Writing of the nunnery in 1720 Bridges states that >Upon the site of it which was high, and in that part of the town nearest to Desborough, is built an house the residence and freehold of Mr. Stevens, who owns also Nunnery Close adjacent...=[96] The 4 yardlands called Nunnery land were also said to adjoin in many places upon the land of the Cirencester.[97] In 1755 the Nunnery was occupied by the Manning family and included a dovecote within the courtyard while adjacent was a close, bounded on the north and east by the Rothwell to Desborough highway, and 5 yardlands.[98] In 1819 the Nunnery is identified in the Inclosure Award.

The present building is said to date from the mid-17th century. It was examined in circa 1821-2 by Cypher. He concluded that >The residence termed the Nunnery at the present time, occupies with its outbuildings, the site of the conventual edifice and was erected in the year 1631. It has been most carefully examined but with the exception of a little ancient carving on one of the doors, no relic of the preceding building is visible.=[99] In 1849 Cypher reported that a considerable portion of Mr. J. M. Cole's residence, known as The Nunnery, was demolished and in the excavation of the foundations for the reconstruction were found numerous skeletons no more than 3 ft deep, in some instances two bodies to a grave.[100] It has been suggested that the courtyard arrangement of the farm on the 1813 map could preserve the basic layout of the claustral buildings.[101]

It was recorded that the priory stood in one of the open fields of Rothwell.[102] This, together with the evidence of topography recorded in 1819, would seem to confirm that the priory was founded by the enclosure, in the mid 13th century, of a group of strips from a furlong in Wood Field, lying adjacent to the Desborough road.

The poverty of the priory at Rothwell compares to the rest of the town. It had early promise but the failure to develop through perhaps most importantly a lack of promotion by a major lord, especially in the face of competition from Kettering...

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[93] Patent Roll, 9 Richard II, pt.2, m.19, quoted by Bull, 1904.

[94] PRO, SC6/Henry VIII/2781 m.19.

[95] Bull, 1904.

[96] Bridges, 2, 56.

[97] Bridges notes, f3.

[98] NRO YZ8201, 1755.

[99] Cypher, 1869.

[100] Cypher, 1849. NN&Q new ser, vol.3, p.50 : description of the dovecote at Rothwell, with photo, in courtyard of the Nunnery. The main building has date stones of 1631 and 1849.

[101] Soden, 1996.

[102] Bull, 1904, quoting Cal. Papal Registers.

3.3.2 Almshouse

In 1468 there was a property in Rothwell called >le Almes Howse= held at a rent of 6d.[103] Its site has not been located.

3.3.3 Jesus Hospital

The Jesus Hospital almshouses were founded in 1571 by Owen Ragsdale. When described in 1720 by Bridges the hospital, for 12 old men with a master or warden, had a gallery and a chamber for the warden and a separate chamber for each of the old men. There were also four common halls with three men to each.[104] Though having seen considerable alteration and extension in the 18th and 19th centuries, the Hospital is in good condition and survives fairly intact. It also has an excellent documentary record from the late 16th century onwards. It is listed and is worthy of study in its own right.

3.3.4 Hospital for widows

Presumably to complement the existing Jesus Hospital, in 1714 Thomas Pouden founded a hospital with places for 8 poor widows in the town.[105] It has not been located.

3.3.5 Town House

A single >Towne House= is recorded in 1607.[106] This has not been located.

3.3.6 Free School

A school already existed in Rothwell by 1427.[107] After the dissolution, the chapel of St. Mary formed part of the endowment of a Charity or Free School, various persons giving property worth £4/2/9d to support the school.[108] According to Leach it was first founded in 1548 by Edward Saunders, who then held the rectory manor in Rothwell.[109] According to Bull the Free School was endowed with £3/4/11 out of the rectory of Rothwell. Various deeds relating to the property owned by the school are in the records of the Jesus Hospital in Rothwell. The school is confusingly said to have been dissolved in 1548, when Giles Pickering was master, but he continued to be paid until 1551 and payment resumed in 1559. The school was re-founded in 1582 by Owen Ragsdale, who at that time occupied the main manor in Rothwell and is commemorated on a brass in the church.[110] This endowment was confirmed in 1591, at the time of Ragsdale's death, when the property is described as a school house and school yard, together with three houses or cottages.[111] In 1607 reference is made to a parcel of land at >le Chappells side',[112] while in 1720 Bridges records that the chapel itself was then a dwelling house.[113] In 1822 the former chapel was still the dwelling house of the schoolmaster.[114] A plan of the area including the Charity School House exist for 1810, which fronted onto the market place to the east of

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[103] NRO, Bru.oxxii.1, 42d-43d : 1468 : Account Roll (?),

[104] Bridges 2, 66. Steane, 1968.

[105] Kelly, 1854.

[106] Survey of Rothwell, PRO LR2/vol.221, f.205-244.

[107] At the foundation of the College and arrangements for the continuation of the school at Higham it was stated that no other schools should be established in the vicinity other than those already existing at Oundle, Rothwell and Northampton. Groome, 1964.

[108] Bridges, 2, 65.

[109] Leach, 1896, 148-9.

[110] Isham, 1962, 3, 81-6.

[111] NRO, JHR 1, endowment by Owen Ragsdale; JHR 4, 1591, copy of will of Ragsdale.

[112] Survey of Rothwell, PRO LR2/vol.221, f.205-244.

[113] Bridges, 2, 56.

[114] Cypher, 1869.

the Chequer Inn.[115] The Charity School was quite separate from the British School and the National School which also existed in Rothwell by 1849.[116] The school was rebuilt in 1870 and this may explain why the site of St. Mary's chapel and hence the Free School is identified by Bull in the late 19th century as the site of what was then the National School (Church of England) and in 1914 a public elementary school.[117] The latter was demolished in the 1970s and the site has since been redeveloped. A report predating the redevelopment refers to the previous discovery of tanning pits on the site of the chapel, but the validity of the identification cannot be confirmed.[118]

3.3.7 Workhouse

In 1739 there was a workhouse in Well Lane, which had been made out of six little tenements. However, by 1813 this had been replaced by a building which lay on Foxes Street.

3.4 Tenements

3.4.1 Population and Wealth

There are various problems with the population and wealth statistics for Rothwell which make an effective analysis impossible. The royal manor encompassed the whole village in 1086 but unfortunately also included the hamlet of Orton and possibly also Thorpe Underwood. This is a continuing problem with the medieval and post medieval national taxation statistics, giving a distorted picture of the relative wealth and population level of the town, as is the case with Oundle. The available evidence would not seem to show a major population or wealth increase in the main phase of medieval expansion. The only significant increase is that seen in the later 16th and 17th century, reflecting the upturn in the economy in the Tudor and Stuart period. However thereafter the town clearly went into relative decline through to the early 20th century.

In 1086 there were 19 villeins and 45 bordars but these were not all in Rothwell. The 47 sokemen in the manor were probably all in the various small dependencies recorded in 1086, which reflect the extent of the original royal estate. The various 13th and 14th century extents list total rents for free, customary and cottage tenants but do not specify the number of each, and tenants in Orton are still included. By 1607 when a more detailed listing is available there were various subsidiary fees in existence and major changes in the number of tenements had undoubtedly occurred in the late medieval and post medieval periods. In 1607 the manor comprised 14 messuages or tenements with virgate land (with a total of 44 virgates), 3 messuages and 2 tenements and 1 granary all without land, 5 houses, 5 cottages or tenements, and 28 cottages as well as 2 shops.[119] In the early 18th century, following the reintegration of various of the lesser fees, the manor is said to have included about 81 cottages.[120] The records for the lesser fees, where they exist, are also incomplete. The Rectory manor is described in detail in the dissolution accounts of 1535, when it comprised 15 messuages, 6 cottages, 1 dovecote, 1 toft, 1 tenement and 1 curtilage, with 14 virgates.[121] Unfortunately there were in addition 'diverse' properties held by the Tresham family. Similarly in

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[115] NRO, Miscellaneous Photostat 1719, memo of fire at Rothwell, 1810.

[116] Whellan, 1849, 953-4.

[117] Kelly, 1914.

[118] Rothwell Official Guide, 1971-2.

[119] PRO LR/2/vol.221, ff.205-244, also f.327 for Shotwell Mill.

[120] NRO, YZ8189, 1701. Hundred and manor of Rothwell including the Saunders manor. It is later referred to : NRO, JHR 95 : 1819 - request from JHR to Cockayne Medlycott requesting removal of obstruction in ancient roadway to the Orchard and back premises of JHR through the homestead of Abraham Walter her tenant.

[121] PRO SC/6/Henry VIII/1240, m.71d: Cirencester Abbey manor in Rothwell.

1387 and 1407 the records of the Holt manor specify four free burgages, each held for 1/-, and various tenants at will and cottages, but several of the entries simply refer to diverse lands and tenements.[122] For these reasons it is not possible to calculate the total number of tenants of each type in any of the manors let alone in the town as a whole at any point. Neither is there, apart from an occasional reference to a decayed tenement, as for example that held by John de Brakenburgh in 1330-1, there is no evidence as to the scale of decline in the 14th century.[123]

3.4.2 Borough / Burgage

No borough charter survives for Rothwell but the freedom had been granted by 1173-6 when the countess Clare gave to Rothwell church a house of free burgage, belonging to Roger the merchant, which lay at the gate of the cemetery.[124] This is the only accurately located burgage tenement because it was later to become the vicarage of Rothwell (see above). Burgage tenements also existed on the Cirencester Abbey's rectory manor because in 1260 there was a settlement between the abbot and Nicholas son of Richard of Thornbury regarding a house in burgage and a toft and virgate of land in Rothwell.[125] Then, at some time between 1266 and 1307, the Abbot of Cirencester confirmed for his tenants in Rothwell burgage rights similar to those enjoyed by the Earl's men, but specifically excluding the men who held land in the fields from such rights.[126] The town was also fairly consistently named as a borough in enrolled accounts of taxes between 1294-1336 and, though described as a >vill= in 1306, in 1307 is listed as a 'borough' and taxed as such in the subsidy.[127]

The 1261-62 extent is specifically described as an extent of the borough. In it the burgesses of Rothwell were certified to hold the borough and market and certain plots in the market place there in fee farm at the yearly rent of £14/10/0. They continued to hold the borough and market thus in 1314-15 and as late as 1424 Richard Holt paid the bailiff of the market for four burgages at 1/- per burgage.[128]

Apart from the single burgage of 1173 which lay near the cemetery, no other burgage tenement can be located with confidence, nor even can their number established. What is clear is that there were numerous tenements within the town during the medieval period and that in each of the fees these ranged from burgage tenements through free tenements, whole and part virgate holdings, cottages and tenements held at will. In the 1607 survey, of the located properties there were 5 cottages, two tenements and one free messuage in Bridge Street. Other cottages lay in the Market Place and in Market Street and several other cottages in Horse-fair. However given the degree to which burgages could be converted back into cottages, as seen in Oundle, and the very small percentage of tenements which can be located, little can usefully be concluded from this evidence.

3.4.3 Decline and Recovery

The town seems to have undergone substantial shrinkage in the late medieval and or post medieval period, for Bridges reported in 1719 that >the town appears from several marks, to have been

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[122] NRO, FH 405, Account Roll of Wm Lank collector for John Holt, 1405-6 & 1406-7. Rents of ,26/5/10d from free burgage, tenants at will and cottagers according to a rental of 1407.

[123] Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem,11.

[124] Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey, 682ab/687, from notes transcribed by Rev. F.W.Potto Hicks, NRO Rothwell Parish Records, R.122. Ross, 1964, no.627 & 867.

[125] Ross, 1964, no.352.

[126] Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey, 691, from notes transcribed by Rev. F.W.Potto Hicks, NRO Rothwell Parish Records, R.122.

[127] Willard, 1933, p.417-435. Beresford & Finberg, 1973.

[128] FH486 Compotus of Robert Knottinge collector for feoffees of Richard Holt: 1424.

considerably larger= than it was, noting the evidence of abandoned tenements in both Castle Lane and Pewterer=s Lane.[129] Though this is highly likely, there is very little documentary evidence to support the case, while late 19th and 20th century redevelopment of the town has removed any surface evidence that Bridges saw. The documentary evidence for decay of tenements is restricted to just a handful of references, as for example in 1366-7 when John de Brakenburgh held from the Earl of Stafford one messuage broken down and decayed at a rent of 2d per annum.[130]

3.5   COMMERCE

Very little evidence regarding the nature of trade and industry within Rothwell in the medieval and post medieval period has been recovered in this study.

'Rothwell, once a town of some importance ... has been saved from oblivion by its boot and shoe trade, to say nothing of its clothing factory.... (The visitor will not have to go far) from the Market House before he will light upon one of those hostelries at which the traveller in every line of business... finds meat for horse and man. Today, however, no other gentlemen of the road are in evidence - no farmers, no market people of any kind, and I am disposed to doubt whether any market still survives'.[131]

3.5.1 Market

The origins of the market and fair at Rothwell cannot be securely documented. There is no record of a market at Rothwell in 1086 and in the light of the wider consideration of market development in the county it seems likely that no market did exist in the settlement at that time. It might be argued that the large number of bordars listed at Rothwell in 1086 do not reflect simply the large size of the township and its dependencies. If so then the high number might in part represent commercial activity in Rothwell at this date. However, if one looks at the confirmed market settlements of 1086, Higham Ferrers and Oundle, which were to go on to develop into small towns of greater importance in the medieval period than Rothwell, they lack a comparable large body of cottagers.

The earliest reference to the market is in 1154 when the Earl of Clare granted to the monks of Sulby an exemption from tolls on all articles they sold or purchased in his market at Rothwell.[132] In 1204 Richard, Earl of Clare received a grant to hold a market every Monday and an annual fair for five days from the eve of Holy Trinity.[133] It is clear that the market was of greater antiquity, for it is stated that previously the market had been held on a Sunday, as was the case with a number of the early Northamptonshire markets. In 1329-30 Margaret de Audeley claimed, as it had been held immemorially by her predecessors, the right to hold the market and fair and exemption for all their tenants from toll throughout the realm. As usual there is reference to the rights of pillory and tumbrel which accompanied any market.[134] In 1222-3 the tenants of Rothwell, because they had formerly been tenants of the crown, had claimed but failed to achieve exemption from tolls in the market in Northampton.[135] However, their rights to exemption from tolls throughout the kingdom were secured in 1408 when the king confirmed the rights of the burgesses of Rothwell: >Since the king wishes that

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[129] Bridges 2, 57.

[130] Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 11, 40 Ed.III.

[131] Evans, 1918, 267.

[132] Cypher, 3.

[133] NRO, Misc. Transcripts 112. Bridges 2, 56; Cart.Antiq. 5 John m.15. Pipe Rolls 1207, m.13d.

[134] Copy in BRU Bxiv.1 : Quo Warranto, Hugh Audele and Margaret his wife re Rothwell.

[135] In 1306-7 the market was let to >diverse men= in Rothwell, rendering ,14/10/0d per annum. IPM.

his liegemen and tenants have liberties, monies and customs from mearchants, mercers and others coming to the said market and fairs to buy and sell, as the town of Ledes is privileged and as the men there have of custom and take their franchises.=[136]

By 1261 the market, together with the borough, had been farmed to the burgesses of Rothwell at the yearly rent of £14/10/0d, and this continued throughout the medieval period.[137] The market continued to function through the 16th century.[138] The rights to hold the Monday market and fair for five days at Holy Trinity feast we confirmed to Lord Stanhope in 1608-9.[139] However it is clear that the market and indeed the whole town of Rothwell continued to suffer from the competition of nearby Kettering, as it had done in ever since the 13th century. It was not included by John Speed in 1610 in his list of ten 'market towns' in the county, nor was it distinguished by Saxton on his map of 1579. Morton, writing in 1712, confirms that the town >had in a manner lost its market, by its nearness to Kettering'. However, despite the decline, in 1743 Rothwell was still one of the 12 settlements listed in the county in regulations over the rate of carriage of goods from London.[140] The market did in fact struggle on into the early 19th century, when it was held primarily for the sale of grain.[141] The decline continued and soon it was all but extinguished, except for the sale of earthenware which was 'still exposed for sale' on a Monday. An attempt was made a few years before 1849 to restore the disused market but >perhaps for the want of unanimity, was a complete failure'.[142]

3.5.1.1 Market Cross
A market cross is recorded in the market place at Rothwell in the Tudor period, close to where the market house now stands. It has been stated, perhaps wrongly, that the market house was built on the site of the cross, perhaps through a misreading of the contract for the construction of the market house. The cross apparently continued in existence as late as 1654-6, although it should be noted that in the later 19th century the Market House was described as 'the cross'.[143] The market cross had certainly gone by 1813.[144]

3.5.1.2 Shops & Stalls
In 1709 it is recorded that various properties around the town, not just within the market place, had rights of stallage, that is the right to sell goods on the common street in front of or adjoining the messuages >at all fairs and markets .... as had been therefore usually done...=.[145]

As in all the main markets in the county the principal traders sold from shops or stalls which were normally located within the market place. The number and distribution of shops and stalls in Rothwell is not well understood, in contrast to some other small towns. However in 1262 the burgesses held plots in the market place at fee farm while other plots, comprising an unspecified number of market stalls in the market place, were still held directly from the manor for

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[136] Cal. Charter Rolls, 1408 Feb 6 9 Henry IV, m.9.

[137] PRO, C133/128(29), Joan, wife of Gilbert de Clare, IPM? 35 Ed I file 128-130.

[138] Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1547-1580, 519.

[139] Patent : 6 Jas I pt 23 - 1608-9.

[140] NN&Q, old series, vol.1, p.260.

[141] Kelly, 1847.

[142] Cypher, 8.

[143] Chamberlain, 1888.

[144] NRO Misc. Photostat 1761 : 1654-6 : banns being read out at Rothwell Market Cross.

[145] NRO, C.1423, marriage settlement, 1709.

£7/19/11.5d.[146] It seems likely that permanent shops will also have existed in the town by this time and their apparent absence from the documentary record may be because they are silently included in the farm paid by the burgesses for the market. Only occasional references are found to a handful of shops held by different subsidiary manors and tenants. For example, in 1369 four shops are recorded,[147] while in 1387 the Holt manor included one vacant shop with a bakehouse(?), formerly held for 3/- per annum, three other shops worth 13/-, and another worth 18d per annum. The existence of a vacant shop at this time of economic decline following the first visitations of the plague is not surprising, but it is clear that marketing on a substantial scale continued. In several cases the location of the shops is broadly indicated. In 1386 there was a grant of a shop and messuage next to St. Mary's Chapel, that is near the north east corner of the market place.[148] In 1446 Thomas Tresham held one shop in the market at a rent of 10d per annum,[149] again in the former Holt manor, and in 1468 we hear of 3 shops in the market place.[150] In the post medieval period shops are again found in the market places, a small shop being recorded there in 1607 although at that time another is also referred to in the lower part of Wales Street, the opposite end of the town from the market place.[151] It is unclear whether this was an isolated example and purely a post medieval phenomenon or if a few medieval shops were also more widely distributed than in some other towns. It is however likely that, as in better documented small towns, the vast majority of the shops will have been organised in one or more rows on an island of building within the market place itself. Just such an island of buildings still existed in Rothwell immediately to the south of the market hall in 1813. This would place them close to the site of the market cross, a typical location for the rows of shops and stalls. These buildings were wholly removed from the market place in the earlier 20th century. It therefore seems likely that good archaeological evidence of the post medieval and medieval shops may be found within this area of the market place.

3.5.1.3 Market House

There is no evidence as to the existence or location of a medieval market house or court house on the market place, though one almost certainly will have existed. There is however reference in 1607 to a tenement or cottage which was formerly called the Court House, though its location has not been established.[152] In the 1580s a new market house was commissioned by Sir Thomas Tresham, who at this time leased a large part of the town from the crown and from other manors. The market house, which still survives, is one of the celebrated collection of eccentric buildings Sir Thomas constructed on his Northamptonshire estates in the later 16th century, which included the Triangular Lodge at Rushton and Lyveden New Beild. An agreement was drawn up for >certain buildings at Rothwell Cross' to be executed to the >plot' drawn by the mason William Grumbold of Weldon.[153] The leasing of extensive properties in Rothwell by the Tresham family, who had their mansion at the nearby Rushton, is a good example of a wealthy landowner taking control of and promoting his local town, as had been the origin of many of the county's market towns and villages in the medieval period and would be repeated by the Hatton family at Weldon in the 17th century.

The building was started shortly after 1587 but, as with Tresham's Lyveden New Beild, the market

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[146] PRO, C132/27(5), extent of the borough of Rothwell.

[147] NRO Maunsell (Thorpe Malsor) 23.97.

[148] NRO Maunsell (Thorpe Malsor) 23.100.

[149] NRO, FH 571, summary account Thos Tresham, 1446, Holt manor.

[150] NRO, Bru.oxxii.1, 42d-43d : 1468 : Account Roll (?),

[151] Survey of Rothwell, PRO LR2/vol.221, f.205-244.

[152] Survey of Rothwell, PRO LR2/vol.221, f.205-244.

[153] BL add.39828. Contract for building market house, NRO, ZA4211.

house was never completed and it still lay as a ruined state in 1719 when drawn by Tillemans.[154] In the late 19th century it is recorded that the main use of the ruined building had for a long time been primarily as a lock up, while the stocks and whipping post had stood immediately adjacent.[155] A subscription amongst the gentlemen of the county raised money to repair the dilapidated building in 1827, the remaining money being used to present an engraving of the building for inclusion in Baker's 'History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire'. It was not however until 1895 that the market house was finally roofed over, by J. A. Gotch.[156]

3.5.2 The Fair

The fair, held on the eve of the feast of the Holy Trinity and the four days thereafter, is first recorded in 1204 but was probably in existence by the mid 12th century, when the market is first recorded, if not much earlier. Whereas the market was held at farm by the burgesses, the fair was controlled directly by the manor and in 1262 was worth £4 per annum and by 1306-7 £5 per annum. Although the licence for the fair specified five days, in 1262 it was actually held for only two days.[157]

Though we have no information as to the goods sold in the medieval fairs, a range of different goods are recorded in the post medieval period. In 1526 reference is made to a messuage and land in the Leather fair, an area at the southern end of the market place, and Rothwell's leather fair continued to be of significance into the 18th century.[158] In 1607 cottages are recorded in >le horsefaire' and>le hoesfayer street'[159] while in 1695 Rothwell was described as >a noted horse faie'.[160] The horse fair was of national significance in the mid 17th century, one of a group of fairs in the region, including Market Harborough, Melton Mowbray and Northampton, which were the best in the country for 'cart horses'.[161] The Rothwell fair was important not only for horses but also for the sale of leather in the later 17th and 18th centuries.[162] During the 19th century the fair was important mainly for stock and pedlary,[163] being recorded as one of the longest cattle fairs in the country in the 1830s.[164] Although by the mid 19th century the fair may not have been as important as in previous centuries, the census for 1841 shows that 522 persons were present there for the annual fair. By then the market had already decayed and although the fair continued through the century, by 1900 it too was in terminal decline. It finally petered out in the 1930s and is today purely a pleasure fair.[165] In the 19th century, following Inclosure, the fair may have been held in the area to the west of Greening Road, where a field with the name Horse Fair was recorded in 1932,[166] but it seems unlikely that this was the area of the earlier fair, when this land was part of the open fields, and given the various references to the sale of horses in the street and a street called the Horsefair.

Whereas the medieval records for the market and fair are poor, the 18th century provides an important

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[154] Bailey, 1996,184. The building is discussed in detail in Isham, 1966.

[155] Chamberlain, 1888, 10.

[156] Whellan, 1849, 951. Pevsner, 1973, 393. NN&Q old ser, vol.2, p.191. White, 1985.

[157] PRO, C132/27(5). PRO, C133/128(29), IPM..

[158] NRO deed, 100, 8 July 18 Henry VIII (1526).

[159] Survey of Rothwell, PRO LR2/vol.221, f.205-244.

[160] Gibson, 1695.

[161] Edwards, 2000.

[162] Dennington, 1982, 319-324.

[163] Whellan 1849.

[164] Pigot, 1830.

[165] Exhibition Guide, Rothwell Fair, 1972, Rothwell Parish records, 417.

[166] NRO Field Name Map, 1932.

collection of records for Rothwell fairs for both the sale of horses and of leather. It is clear from these records that whereas the weekly market trade and the shops were largely if not wholly restricted to the market place, the fairs, at least in the post medieval period, were much larger events which saw sales being made throughout the town. The later 17th to mid 18th century records however provide far more detail about the hinterland of the town and the scale of the trade in the annual fairs. The book recording leather searched, sealed and registered at the fairs of 1700 and 1701 provides information on the name and place of origin of the purchaser, and occasionally the seller, and information on the number of skins, hides etc bought and the price paid.[167] The other important records are the toll books of the horse fair for the years 1684-1720 and 1739-1744.[168]

The poor quality horses were from a relatively short distance but the good quality horses came from a considerable distance.[169] Tolls collected at the steward's booth or by the watchmen elsewhere in the market. At first there were two watchmen but later, i.e. after 1720, there were six. Tolls of 2d were taken from both the seller and the buyer and the income from the day's tolls varied between 11 and 45 shillings.

3.5.3 Inns & Alehouses
The presence of inns and alehouses can be an important indicator as to the numbers of persons visiting a town, whether as passing travellers on a major road or persons attending the market. The relatively poor documentation for the medieval and early post medieval town means that the earliest reference to an inn at Rothwell is not until 1535 when le Cocke is recorded as was part of the Cirencester Abbey, rectory manor. The first complete record is for 1630 when there were 14 alehouses and inns within the town. This had reduced to 11 in 1673 and 9 in 1674. As such Rothwell falls at the lower end of the range of recognised towns, with only Brigstock, then a market village, lying below it.[170] However, the typical number for non-market villages at this time is no more than two or three, with the exception of a few places on major roads which capitalised on passing traffic, as for example in the case of Grafton Regis which had five in 1630. The presence of the majority of Rothwell's inns and alehouses must represent the trade deriving from its urban status, as it did not apparently lay on a major post medieval road, but clearly it did not by the 17th century have anywhere near the importance as a centre for commerce as various other settlements in the county, a picture which reinforces the evidence as to the relative wealth and population of Rothwell compared to other towns as seen in the various the taxation and other countywide data sets.

3.5.4 Horse racing
In the late 17th century horse races were held in Rothwell, in 1672, 1673, 1682, 1683, 1697, 1698 and 1699. It was one of six places in the county (Harlestone, Daventry, Peterborough, Kettering and Northampton) at which horse racing took place in 1727. All were urban centres, apart from Harlestone, which lies a short distance to the north of Northampton.[171]

3.5.5 Hinterland
The definition of hinterlands for this study has necessarily been conducted in a relatively simplistic fashion. Firstly using Bracton's theoretical measurement of $6^2/_3$ miles as the distance within which a new market could be considered to provide direct competition to an existing market.[172] An alternative

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[167] NRO, M(TM)597.

[168] NRO ZB 88. Dennington, 1982. NRO, ZB 88/14, The records of Rothwell Fair 1684-1744 by R.F.Dennington, 1979 (typescript).

[169] Dennington 1982.

[170] Alehouse Recognisances, NRO, FH2962, QSR1/69, X2333 and Alehouse Recognisances for 1828.

[171] NN&Q old ser vol.2, p.137. Hore, 1886. London Gazette: no.1729, 1849, 3312, 3414, 3514.

[172] The issue is discussed briefly in the Northamptonshire context by Goodfellow, 1987, 305.

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.

The Kettering manor was apparently trading in the markets at Finedon and Rothwell for in 1292 there were expenses re oxen straying in the market.[173]

The nationally important post medieval Horse Fair in Rothwell had a very different, much wider hinterland than any other for the town. The evidence for the fair in the 18th century is a good example of the way in which a specific function of a town could have a very different and special context compared to any other aspect of the functioning of that settlement. The records of the place of origin of persons buying or selling at the fair show various persons not only from through Northamptonshire but also from all neighbouring counties and from as far afield as Birmingham, Burton on Trent and Surrey. In 1700 the leather sales also drew people from as far away as and London although almost all were from a 40 mile radius and the majority within 25 miles, in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire.

3.6   INDUSTRY

The only significant reference from the medieval period is in 1295 when there were two smithies (fabricares?) held at farm on the manor of the Earl of Clare.[174]

Evidence for a range of different trades and industries begins to appear in the 17th century, though it is undoubtedly far from representative of the whole range present. In addition to the inns and alehouses there were various other service industries, represented least four traders in mid 17th century Rothwell who struck traders tokens: Thomas Bebee, baker; John Collier, grocer; in 1666 William Dodson, mercer and in 1655 John Ponder, chandler.[175] Industrial production is also represented: at some date there had been at least one pewterer working in the town for a Pewterer's Lane is recorded in 1813; in 1607 a sawpit is mentioned[176] and there was also a roper working in the town,[177] while in 1679 there was a cottage called the Tanne House[178] and in 1701 a maltings.[179]

As for most of the small towns of the county, the 1777 Militia List provides the most consistent post medieval record of the trades present in the town, providing a suitable end date for the assessment of the character of the post medieval town, before the impact of the industrial revolution. At this time Rothwell was an important local centre for the weaving industry, plush and silk being the main products. In 1777 there were 65 weavers, 4 woolcombers and 4 sergemakers. The remainder of the

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[173] Peterborough Abbey Account Roll, Kettering, NRO Mellows photostat 252.

[174] PRO C133/77(3), m.15.

[175] NN&Q, old ser vol.2, p.93-4; new series, vol.IV: p.254 et seq.

[176] A parcel of land called >le newe sonne well towards le sawepitt=, Survey of Rothwell, PRO LR2/vol.221, f.205-244.

[177] NRO, JHR 101.

[178] NRO, C3172.

[179] NRO, YZ8189.

list a further 24 tradesmen and craftsmen includes the usual trades to be expected in such a small town, including blacksmiths, butchers, bakers, millers, 1 maltster, 2 masons and 1 glazier. The second most important employment was agriculture, with 14 farmers, 5 shepherds, and 11 labourers. Of a total of 158 working men 74 were involved in the woollen industry, 30 in agriculture and 55 in all other trades. The dominance of the woollen industry is not, however, to be seen 'on the ground' in terms of factories and suchlike, for it would have been carried out mainly as a cottage industry, people usually working in their own homes. Considering the later history of industrial production in Rothwell it is interesting to note that in 1777, only 2 shoemakers ('cordwainers') are recorded in the town.

3.7 COMMUNICATIONS

The main road network has been substantially changed as a result of turnpiking in the 18th century. Until that date the main road From Higham Ferrers to Leicester did not apparently run through Rothwell but rather to the north, although the road from Rockingham to Northampton may have run through the town from Pipewell Abbey, crossing the Ise on the Abbey Bridge, the bridge and its causeway having been newly built in 1595-6.[180] The primary road however, judging from the town plan, is likely to have been the east-west ridge route through Glendon. Kettering had become more important from the 13th century onwards but the road to Kettering, before turnpiking, had apparently entered the town through Ladywell End, crossing the stream over a stone bridge in the early 19th century.[181] Since turnpiking the entrance to the town from the south ran over Long Lane Bridge.[182] This is apparently Rothwell bridge in 1642, adjacent to Bridge or Holme Close, and which led to the windmill.[183]

3.8 LAND USE

3.8.1 Woodland

In 1262 the demesne of Rothwell manor included two woods, of 84 and 312 acres respectively.[184] In 1295 & 1306 the demesne included a wood called 'mikelewode' of 80 acres with income from rights of pannage,[185] while in 1314 there were 120 acres of wood.[186] According to Bridges, writing in 1720, the woods had been only relatively recently cleared.[187] The area of old inclosures, with its sinuous boundaries, to the north west of the town in 1819 can be identified as Great Wood, the Mickelewode of 1306. At inclosure this comprised two areas separated by the main road, on the west 55 acres and on the east 59 acres (if the obvious extension to the south beyond the sinuous boundary is removed, which would have given a total of 65 acres). Little Wood was the smaller area of old inclosures to the north east of the town.[188] This comprised 45 acres in 1819, compared to the 31.5 acres of 1262. In both cases exact correspondence would not necessarily be expected between customary and modern acres. The open field to the north of Rothwell, encompassing the two woodland areas was itself

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[180] NRO, ZA9547. Abbey Bridge is located on Inclosure Map and Inclosure Award of 1819.

[181] Stone Bridge meadow, an ancient enclosure, NRO, Inclosure Award, 1819. Eayre's map, 1791.

[182] Inclosure Award.

[183] NRO, YZ8188 & YZ9777.

[184] IPM Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, 1262, PRO C132/27(5) m.16.

[185] IPM, Gilbert de Clare, 1295, PRO C133/77(3) m.15; IPM, Joan de Clare, 1306, PRO C133/128(29)

[186] PRO, IPM of Gilbert of Clare, 1314.

[187] Bridges notes, f3.

[188] Elizabeth Cooke held an area of closes known as Great Wood; Littlewoods belonging to Thomas Mottershaw; NRO, Rothwell Inclosure Award, 1819.

known as Wood Field in 1819. The medieval woods survived on part of the boulder clay capped ridge to the north of the town. It seems likely from the extent of the boulder clay deposits that the woodland will have been far more extensive in the late Saxon period, with substantial clearance in the late Saxon and early medieval periods. The absence of any reference to woodland in 1086 may mean that the amount of woodland was already extremely limited by this date and may have been little more extensive than that recorded in later centuries. The woodland will also presumably have extended west and east also on the clay capped ridge into Thorpe Underwood, where Rothwell Wood existed in the 19th century, and eastward into Glendon. This woodland represents a western extension of Rockingham Forest which, at least as an area of jurisdiction extended westward, as late as the 13th century, as far as Brixworth.

The extensive ironstone extraction in the Rothwell area, the loss of Little Wood to urban development and the early clearance of the woodland in the post medieval period means that it is unlikely that the former woodland areas offer any significant potential to study woodland development and its relationship to Saxon or earlier settlement.

3.8.2 Open Fields & Inclosure

In the medieval period the land of Rothwell was divided into four great open fields.[189] Apart from the areas of old enclosure representing the two woods and the enclosed demesne to the south of the town, the vast majority of the area of the township remained under open field agriculture until 1819. 86 yardlands of open field land are specified in the Inclosure Act representing with commons and other open land 2828 acres while there were only 320 acres of old Inclosures. However, piecemeal inclosure had occurred in the later 18th century with five 'temporary' closes of about 60 years old which had been taken out of the open fields for part of each year to provide additional grazing land for the sheep flock.[190]

3.8.3 Demesne land

In demesne in 1086 there were 4 ploughs. In 1262 the demesne included arable, meadow, pasture and woodland. In the late 13th century the demesne comprised two carucates,[191] and in 1314 it was described as being 379 acres of arable (380.5 in 1295), 68 acres 1.5 roods of meadow, 117.5 acres 1 rood of pasture and 120 acres of wood. In 1607 there were 7.5 virgates of demesne land comprising various field land and pasture.

While the arable may have been spread throughout the open fields, the pasture was probably in a consolidated enclosed area. There was within the manor an extensive area of old inclosures to the south east of the Hall Mill, an area enclosed by a bank. In 1932 these enclosures included Hay Close and Hay Piece.[192] These old inclosures, depicted in 1819, must represent the four closes belonging to the manor in 1701 called The Hayes and would appear to represent a single block of anciently enclosed demesne encompassing a substantial area of ridge and furrow. This may be the 117.5 acres 1 rood of demesne pasture which existed in 1314. Within this area is a small earthwork pond. It is possible but unlikely that this represents a warren, a Coney Close being mentioned somewhere in Rothwell in 1819. It is more likely simply to be an early enclosure for pasture.

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[189] VCH, 2, 137-8, quoting Cal. Papal Letters, iv, 436.

[190] NRO, GK 134-7.

[191] PRO, SC/13/40, survey of the manor, temp Edward I.

[192] NRO Field name map.

C   INDUSTRIAL

1.0   HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Rothwell retained its urban function throughout the period following 1750, although the nature of the town changed over time. The essential function of the town in the preceeding period had been as a commercial centre for the locality - with its weekly market and annual fair. The commercial nature of the town remained, but in an altered form and the town developed a substantial industrial basis.

The market in Rothwell had fallen out of use by the mid 19th century as. Whellan=s Trade Directory of 1849 stated *AThe town or village of Rothwell was formerly a market town of considerable size and importance;......... A laudable attempt to restore the disused market was made a few years since, which, perhaps for want of unanimity was a complete failure≅.* The annual fair, however, continued in use throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries with an emphasis on the sale of stock and pedlery. The horse fair was of particular importance and there are surviving records for this aspect of the fair for the late post-medieval period.[193] The fair clearly attracted a large influx of people to the town, the census statistics for Rothwell in 1841 are falsely inflated due to the survey being undertaken during the period of the fair.[194] A 19th century newspaper article records *"the majority of people came from Kettering and Desborough,, but there were also many from smaller villages in the local vicinity≅.*

The importance of commerce and trade in the town clearly grew throughout the late 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries. The Militia List of 1777 indicates that there were 4 butchers, 2 bakers, 2 grocers, 1 innkeeper and 5 tailors employed in retail in the town and a further nine were employed in trade[195]. The figure may, however, be unrepresentative as the Militia List only details males between the ages of 18 and 45. By 1831 a total of 153 individuals were employed in retail and trade - 30% of the population of the town. In 1849 the town had 9 bakers, 6 grocers, 5 butchers, 8 publicans or innkeepers, a tea dealer, a beer seller, 5 tailors, 6 drapers, 2 general shop keepers, 1 perfumer and an ironmonger[196]. By 1894 the number of retailing premises had expanded to 57 and included specialist dealers including stationers, dress maker, tobacconist, coal dealer, green grocer, tripe dresser, wine and spirit dealer and fish monger. The town retained its function as a service centre for the local area; the neighbouring settlement of Desborough had an expanding population, but did not develop the same number or range of services. The number of inns in operation also attests to a thriving commercial centre with nine being recorded in 1830, eight in 1849 and ten in 1894[197]. The commercial centre of Rothwell appeared to be extensive in terms of geographical area - commercial premises of some form are recorded in 16 different streets in the town in the 1891 census, however many of these would appear to be small shops servicing the immediate locality. The central business district of Rothwell was centred around High Street, Kettering Road, Bridge Street, Glendon Road and Church Lane.[198]

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[193] The Records of Rothwell Horse Fair 1684-1744, R.F. Dennington, Northamptonshire Past and Present Vol 6 (Number 6).

[194] The census statistics for 1841 are 2802 compared to 1875 for 1831 and 2278 for 1851.

[195] 2 blacksmiths, 3 carpenters, 1 glaxier, 1 plasterer, 1 cooper, 1 wheelwright.

[196] Whellan=s Trade Directory, 1849.

[197] Pigot=s Directory 1830; Whellan=s Directory 1849; Kelly=s Trade Directory 1894.

[198] It is important to note that the census records the domestic residence and not the commercial residence of an individual, although in many cases this is likely to be the same property.

The major industry in Rothwell prior to the mid 19th century was the textile industry. The early focus for this was the manufacture of woollens. The Militia List of 1777 indicated that of the158 men between the ages of 18 and 45 there were 64 weavers, 4 woolcombers and 4 sergemakers working in the town at the time (46.8% of the total). The town was the biggest employer of weavers in Northamptonshire outside of Kettering, however the woollen industry did not continue in the town beyond the 1790's[199]. Other branches of the textile industry developed and by 1841 there were 155 individuals employed in the textile industry in Rothwell including 110 people employed in the silk industry and 33 lacemakers. Both industries developed during the middle decades of the 19th century, but had largely declined by 1871. It is interesting to note that textiles remained an important element of the economy of the town with the manufacture of clothing - including stays and breeches- into the early 20th century. Census statistics for 1871 indicate that there were a total of 47 women employed in clothing manufacture and Kelly=s Trade Directory for 1894 indicates that there were two outlets for clothing manufacturing and one for the manufacture of stays; by 1924 there was one factory for each.

In 1841 the lace manufacturing industry employed 33 individuals and by 1851 this had risen to 122 (half of these were pillow lace makers and half were frame lace runners). The 1850's saw the peak of the lace-making industry in the town; by 1861 the total number of people employed in the manufacture of lace was 96 and by 1871 this had declined further to 26. The majority of the individuals employed in lace manufacture would have been women, by 1871 all the workers in the lace industry were female.

In 1841 110 people were employed in the silk industry and related trades and this had risen to 134 by 1851. The industry was divided between domestic and factory based production - of the 134 individuals employed in the trade 66 were listed as Ahandloom weavers, silk≅, but there were also 2 silk manufacturers and other trades included Awarehouseman at silk factory≅ and Aerrand boy at silk factory≅. The fortunes of the silk manufacturing industry in Rothwell mirrored that of the lace industry - by 1861 there were 94 people employed in the industry and by 1871 there were just 5 remaining silk weavers in the town.

The manufacture of Boots and Shoes became an important part of the economy of the town in the 19th century. The Militia List of 1777 lists just two shoemakers for the town - these were presumably service providers for the local population as opposed to manufacturers of goods for a national market. In 1841 there are 72 individuals connected to boot and shoe manufacture in the town, but this has risen to 221 by 1871. In 1894 there 8 boot and shoe manufacturers were listed in the trade directory and this has risen to 10 by 1924 in addition there was a boot and shoe dealer and a boot repairer listed by the latter date. The trade was clearly continuing to develop in the 20th century with the provision of a number of new boot and shoe factories in the town.[200]

There was also a substantial ironstone quarrying industry in Rothwell; an area to the north of the town was quarried by Stanton Ironworks Co Limited, who also had a number of works in Desborough, between 1898 and 1926. Kettering Iron Ore Co quarried an area around Bunker's Hill Farm in the 1930's.[201] Prior to this period ironstone quarrying was providing employment for a number of individuals in the town; in 1871 there were a total of 40 men employed in ironstone

[199] Pauline Moore, ARothwell: Town or Village 1750-1850. A case study of the changing patterns of urban status in a small town≅

[200] All statistics taken from analysis of census data by Barry Trinder (except for shoemaking data for 1841 which was taken from Pauline Moore=s MA thesis). It should be noted that there are discrepancies between the two sources for 1841 and 1851 - the only two years to be covered by both.

[201] Tonks Eric, The Ironstone Quarries of the Midlands: History, Operatoin and Railways PV The Kettering Area and Part VI The Corby Area, Runpast Publishing, 1991 & 1992

quarrying in the parish of Rothwell including an Airon ore miner≅ and an ironstone foreman.

Despite the urban status of the town agriculture remained an important element in the economy of Rothwell through the late 18th and 19th centuries. A number of farms were located in the built up area of the town. The Militia Lists indicate that there were 13 farmers and 5 shepherds in the town in 1777 (accounting for 32% of the male workforce between the ages of 18 and 45). By 1831 there were 34 farmers and 144 agricultural labourers comprising 35% of the population. There was a decline in agriculture in Rothwell in the late 19th century - in 1894 there were just 9 entries connected to agriculture in Kelly's Trade Directory (5 farmers, a dairyman, seedsman, cattle salesman, farm bailiff and yeoman).

2.0   TOPOGRAPHICAL DEVELOPMENT

The earliest surviving map for Rothwell is that of 1813 and this indicates in considerable detail the urban area at that time. It would appear likely that the town had developed little since the late medieval period[202] as the population had only increased by 300 between the early 18th and the early 19th centuries.[203] Until the late 19th century development was clearly concentrated in the core area of the town. Considerable re-development took place in the 19th century. Large brick-built town houses are located in the main thoroughfare of the town (High Street and Bridge Street) and a number of terraced houses are inserted into Fox Street, Wales Street, Castle Street, Well Lane, Back Lane (now School Lane) and Glendon Road. A large area was demolished to make way for ABall=s Prize Plough Works≅ - the major iron foundry in the town. A substantial number of earlier, stone built structure do, however, survive both in the main commercial area of the town and the surrounding streets including Meeting Lane, Wales Street and Castle Street.

The town began to expand beyond its existing boundaries in the late 19th century. By the mid 1880s Gladstone Street and New Street had been laid out for workers and a small area of higher status housing had developed along Kettering Road. Rothwell underwent a massive expansion from the 1890's onwards. By 1900 two large developments are shown on the Ordnance Survey map - one to the east of town centred around Crispin Street and Ragsdale Street and the other to the south of town comprising Gordon Street and Jubilee Street. The 19th century urban environment was mixed with industrial, religious and educational buildings intermingled with terraced houses.

There was further development in the early 20th century with Oxford Street, Cambridge Street, Cecil Street, Underwood Road, Charles Street, Harrington Road and The Avenue all being laid out between 1900 and 1926. The majority of these streets, with the exception of the boot and shoe factory on The Avenue, were purely for housing. Development pressure had lessened by this period, the population of the town levelled off in the early 20th century, and the infilling of streets became much more gradual allowing for a greater variety of house style and type. The streets laid out at this time contain a mixture of early 20th century terraced housing, larger detached and semi-detached houses - of both private and council house origin - and later infilling of housing in the post-war period.

The central business district of the town (based around High Street, Bridge Street and Market Square) also developed during the 18th and 19th centuries, although a significant number of older buildings survive in the town centre. The map of 1813 shows infilling on the Market Square and the area had

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[202] Pauline Moore, An archaeological / historical report on the parish of Rothwell, Northamptonshire.

[203] Population recorded by Bridges in 1720's 1.091 and the census of 1801 recorded the population of Rothwell as 1,409.

become further encroached by 1884. There was substantial development of the town during the course of the 19th century. In the early part of the period a number of substantial, high status houses were erected in the centre of the town, many of these were later converted into shops. It was only in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that purpose built shops began to be erected - these included both small, corner plot developments and larger commercial enterprises by the Co-operative Society. There were also a number of social and religious buildings in the town centre and there was a substantial industrial complex on the Market Square (which ultimately became a large boot and shoe factory).

3.0   THEMATIC ANALYSIS

3.1   INDUSTRY

During the course of the 19th century Rothwell developed a substantial industrial basis; in the 18th and early 19th century this was primarily the textile industries. In the later 19th century there was a large boot and shoe industry and ironstone quarrying in the vicinity.

3.1.1   Textile Industry

The main industry in Rothwell in the 18th and early 19th centuries was the textile industry, this was primarily domestic and was probably conducted in individual homes. It is, therefore, difficult to assess the physical survival of the industry in the settlement. There are a number of earlier industrial buildings associated with the boot and shoe factory on Market Square and it is possible that these may have been utilised for the textile industry.

3.1.2   Boot and Shoe Industry

A substantial boot and shoe industry developed in Rothwell during the latter part of the 19th century. Eight former boot and shoe factories were identified as part of the survey. Four have been demolished, two are still in full industrial use, one is being partially utilised and one is in a ruinous condition. Stanley Works (the factory being partially used for small-scale industrial processing) would appear to have a high potential for surviving internal features and may well be vulnerable to re-development. The factory indicated as ACrispin Works≅ on 3rd edition maps currently survives as a derelict building in its own industrial landscape. The factory is located adjacent to a large factory owners house (both factory and house employ a similar architectural style), a number of smaller workers cottages and a complex of late 18th / early 19th century buildings of uncertain function. A large number of garden workshops survive in Rothwell of many different types - one or two storey, individual structures and rows or workshops, workshops at the rear and the centre of the garden, attached and detached from the houses.

3.1.3   Ironstone quarrying

There are a number of ironstone quarries in the vicinity of Rothwell. The quarries were all operated by companies who had been established elsewhere and gradually moved their operations into the parish of Rothwell. Stanton Ironworks, who originally operated at Desborough, opened a quarry in Rothwell in 1897 and additional quarries in the parish were exploited in the early 20th century by Loddington Ironstone Co Ltd and Kettering Iron Ore Co. Eric Tonks has chronicled the history, development and survival of sites associated with these quarries, in his series on the ironstone quarries of the county.[204]

3.1.4   Other industries

There are entries for other manufacturing works in the trade directories of the late 19th century. Clothing manufacture, stay manufacture and cardboard box manufacture were all mentioned in the directories. A large five bay industrial building which had been erected by 1887 survives on the corner of Fox Street, Meeting Lane and Kettering Road - it is not possible to determine what function this had. The structure is now in industrial use and owned by Midco Glover Barnes. Any opportunity to investigate the former use of this building should be taken.

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[204] Tonks E, The ironstone quarries of the Midlands: History, Operation and Railways, Part V The Kettering Area, 1991; The Ironstone Quarries of the Midlands History, Operation and Railways, Part VI The Corby Area, 1992

There were two brickwork sites in Rothwell, but both had been re-developed as housing by 1900. There are unlikely to be any surviving below ground remains. There was a large iron foundry in the town Ball=s Prize Plough Works (makers of agricultural implements), the foundry was demolished in the 1990s and a modern housing estate erected on top.

3.2 Agriculture

There was a strong emphasis on agriculture in Rothwell in the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1777 there were 14 farmers listed in the Militia Lists for Rothwell; this was a very large number for a market town. At the same date Daventry had 6 farmers, Higham Ferrers 5, Oundle 4, Thrapston 3 and Brackley and Towcester 2. Whellan's Trade Directory of 1849 listed 23 farmers and graziers, although 6 also had secondary trades. Census returns of the mid 19th century demonstrated that over a third of the population of the town were employed in agriculture (38.5% in 1841 and 30.4% in 1851). There was a decline in the number of people employed in agriculture by the end of the 19th century. In Kelly's Trade Directory of 1894 there were just 5 farmers, although there were others employed in agriculturally related trades – 2 agricultural implement makers, a dairyman, seedsman, cattle salesman, farm baliff and yeoman. The dominance of agriculture within the settlement had an impact on the physical development of the town. Of the 22 listed buildings in Rothwell five are former farm houses, 3 are barns and one is a stable with attached barn. The farmhouses were located in Wales Street, Hospital Hill, High Street and Desborough Road.

3.3 HOUSING

The vast majority of new housing development in the 19th century was for the working classes and consisted of large blocks of terraced housing which appear to have been erected by speculative builders. The houses are of differing styles and designs, but the differences appear to be purely stylistic, however in the area around Gordon Street / Jubilie Street it is interesting to note that the houses along Gordon Street - where Gordon Works Boot and Shoe factory is located - are larger and more stylistic (with small front gardens and bay windows) than those on Jubilee Street. Garden workshops of differing designs (one or two storey, attached or detached from the house, at the end or the middle of the garden) are located at the backs of these properties around the town. Housing developments for the middle classes were centred on the main artillery routes out of the town along Kettering Road and Shotwell Road. In the case of the latter, plots of land were laid out and houses built on an individual basis - providing a diverse range of housing of differing styles and dates. It would appear likely that all these houses were built for the professional classes or factory owners of the town of Rothwell.

Houses erected on streets which appear for the first time on the Ordnance Survey map of 1926 are larger and more substantial than those of an earlier period. This would appear to reflect changes in the standard of living of the working classes as opposed to a change in the status of the population of the town. Social diversity becomes noticeable terraced housing is no longer concentrated in large blocks, but is interspersed with other development. A good example of this is in The Avenue - a street laid out between 1900 and 1926- a shoe factory is erected (now Clark Lafford Leathers) and the street is characterised by a mixture of terraced houses and much larger Avilla≅ style houses of a similar date. The majority of terraced houses in the town remain in use and modern infill is limited to the less densely populated areas of early 20th century development.

COMMERCE

3.4.1 Shops

There a number of surviving shops in the central business district of Rothwell. There is a mixed range including small, low status corner plots, more elaborated shop frontages for specialist shops and the larger commercial constructions erected by the Co-operative Society (see below). The survivals are clearly outweighed by buildings which have had modern shop frontages inserted into them and the number surviving would not appear to warrant any form of systematic study.

3.4.1.1 Co-operative Society shops

Two Co-operative society shops have been positively identified in Rothwell (one possibly comprises two buildings on Bell Hill). The architectural structure of the building remains intact for both, but the building on Bridge Street has been substantially re-modelled with the insertion of an Indian Restaurant and the building on Bell Hill has limited re-modelling of the shop with a new shopfront for the 1929 phase of the building, although the 1904 phase would appear to be substantially intact.

3.4.2 Public Houses and Inns

Ten inns and public houses were identified in 19th and early 20th century trade directories; three buildings have been demolished, but the remaining seven buildings are still in existence. The Woolpack, Inn, the Blue Bell, Sun Inn, The Crown and Red Lion are still in use as public houses, although the building of the latter was replaced in the early 20th century. Chequers Inn and The Crown are still in existence, but are in alternative uses.

3.4.3 Banks and Post Offices

Only one early bank was identified as part of the survey. The building is now in use as the offices for AJohn C Harris Chartered Accountants≅ and survives in good condition. The interior would appear to be largely original. The building shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1887 as a post office is still in existence as a large 3-storey, 2-bay construction. The frontage on the ground floor has been considerably re-modelled in recent times.

3.5 TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

The early transport industry appears to have little effect on the development of Rothwell as a town in the industrial period. The town is serviced by neither canal nor railway[205]. The Market Harborough to Kettering turnpike road was constructed through the town in 1751; 19th century trade directories indicate that this road was extensively used by carriers travelling to Kettering, Northampton and Market Harborough on a weekly basis.

3.6 UTILITIES

A number of utilities were provided for the town in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; the gasworks had been established in the town prior to the 1880's[206], the sewage works were established sometime between this date and 1900[207] and the waterworks were established in 1902. The gasworks have now been demolished and both the waterworks and sewage works have been considerably re-modelled in the late 20th century and thus do not survive in a form which would warrant either conserving or recording.

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[205] Phillip R Martin ARothwell: the Railway Station that never was≅, Northamptonshire Past and Present 6(3) discusses the issue in detail.

[206] Shown on Ordnance Survey map of 1887

[207] Shown on Ordnance Survey map of 1900.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

A workhouse was in existence in Rothwell from middle of the 18ᵗʰ century onwards. An indenture dated 1785 indicates that lease had been taken of a house (formerly the Boot and Crown) for Athe lodging, keeping, maintaining and employing of all such poor in the said such parish as should desire to receive relief or collection of the said parish≅[208]. The 1813 map of the village indicates AOld Workhouse Close≅ in a plot of land to the north of Market Street and a AWorkhouse≅ located to the south of Fox Lane. There are no remaining buildings relating to a former workhouse in either of these areas. The buildings presumably fell out of use following the Poor Law Union Act of 1834. The nearest Poor Law Union workhouse to Rothwell was in Kettering. The nearest hospital and police station were also in Kettering.

A fire station was established in the town and the building which housed the fire engine has now been converted for use as a shop. Rothwell Urban District Council established their offices in the newly re-furbished Market House in 1896. The words AUrban Council Offices≅ are engraved in stone in the lower part of the building.

3.8   RELIGION

The town was clearly important in the development of non-conformity in the county with the earliest dissenting (congregational) chapel in the county being established in town in 1656. The current building for this church dates to 1735 and has been subject to substantial changes in later periods. The chapel also has an associated Sunday School (erected in 1885) and burial ground. The earliest Methodist chapel in the town also remains in existence as a building, it was converted to use as a Sunday School in the late 19ᵗʰ century when the new chapel was erected, and is now in use as a possible domestic residence. The new chapel is still in use for worship by the Methodist denomination. The Salvation Army barracks in New Street are still in use by the Salvation Army. It was not possible to assess the interior of any of these structures.

3.9   EDUCATION

Of the five schools functioning in the 19ᵗʰ and early 20ᵗʰ century two are still in use as schools (The Gladstone Street Board School and the Infants School on School Lane). The former contributes significantly to the 19ᵗʰ century townscape of the area and the latter appears to remain intact, although the school has been substantially expanded around the original building. The Free School has been demolished in recent times and it was not possible to locate either the National School or the British School.

3.10   RECREATION

A wide range of recreational facilities were established in Rothwell in the 19ᵗʰ and early 20ᵗʰ centuries. A recreational ground, swimming pool, playing fields, football ground and tennis courts provided for physical recreation. A Free Library was established in the Market House in 1896. There were a total of five working men's clubs and institutes including the Oddfellows Society Hall, the Rifle and Band Club and the Working Men=s club. The Conservative Club on Bridge Street was deliberately designed to reflect the architectural style of the Market Hall, which stands almost opposite. The majority of these buildings survive, but many would appear to be vulnerable to re-development for an alternative use.

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[208] Document in the parish chest, Rothwell. Quoted in AThe Poor in Rothwell 1750-1840",J.M. Steane, Northamptonshire Past and Present Volume 4 number 3.

II   ASSESSMENT

Pre medieval

The major Iron Age and early/middle Saxon central places lay at nearby Desborough and the Roman small town at Kettering and hence Rothwell itself may not have had any particularl significance. The one exception is the possibility the Rothwell was in origin one of the central places of a polyfocal estate and administrative unit of which Desborough was the defended residence. The core of Rothwell may incorporate surviving evidence of such a central pace under and around the church and primary manor site. Unfortunately the associated central places in Kettering and Desborough are now wholly or largely destroyed and so the potential for integrated study of the estate and its precursors is very low. There is however a minimal potential that is worth pursuing as Desborough artefactual discoveries in the 19th century were exceptional and provide some information about the early Saxon central place while it is possible that a small fragment of the 'burh' did escape total destruction.

The wider dispersed settlement context of the Saxon central place both in Rothwell township and in the middle Ise valley as a whole has been badly damaged by extensive ironstone working and urban development and so again the potential is very low. The one exception is the potential to locate the putative Saxon settlement of Kipton.

The middle or late Saxon origins of the ecclesiastical pattern is possibly the major exception. There has been no assessment of the below ground survival of pre medieval archaeology in the church at Rothwell or in the chapel at Orton, most importantly of the church at Desborough or indeed of the archaeology of most of the churches in the Rothwell deanery. There may be the opportunity for the archaeological investigation of the relative development of the ecclesiastical sites in the linked settlements in particular that might shed important light on the origins of ecclesiastical provision within the polyfocal middle and late Saxon estate as an example of the wider pattern in Northamptonshire. More problematic might be the study of the relationship between ecclesiastical provision in the deanery as a wc hole. However as there is a major question as to the location of middle Saxon cemeteries it is possible that the study of Rothwell and Desborough churches and churchyards and of selected examples in the other churches of the deanery might shed important light on this issue. This might for example demonstrate whether the main cemeteries were concentrated into the estate centre churches. This is particularly relevant for Rothwell and Desborough as the high status grave goods found at Desborough in the 19th century showed Christian attributes and raise important questions about the transition from pagan to Christian.

A   MEDIEVAL & POST MEDIEVAL

1.0   Town

1.1   Assessment of Importance & Survival

The date of origin of the marketing and other urban attributes of Rothwell are a key research question. They may be closely tied in with the fact that Rothwell was a royal estate centre in the late Saxon period and might even have earlier origins associated with the early-middle Saxon central places. The lack of Domesday evidence for a market is an issue which needs to be tested if at all possible through archaeological investigation. Though there has been extensive redevelopment in the town in the later 19th and 20th centuries as a result of the development of the boot and shoe industry, the market place seems to have largely escaped

the impact of this redevelopment. As a result it may be possible to examine the origins of the market place through archaeology. However in this it will need to be remembered that the planning of market places has been suggested as being a post conquest phenomenon representing a regularisation of an earlier and more informal commercial activity. This issue needs to be examined as there are only a small number of such central places in the county.

The manorial and ecclesiastical issues are significant, but the primary issues there centre around the Saxon origins as much as the medieval development of the sites.

1.2 Documentary

1.2.1 Summary of Previous Investigation

The town has not been covered by the VCH and so the only general synthesis available is that by Bridges. The Cirencester Abbey cartulary, which contains a limited amount of material on Rothwell, has been published by Ross. There are a few short articles from the late 19th century, mainly by Bull drawing together documentary material for the church, chapel and priory. A brief parish history was also produced by Cypher. The excellent post medieval records of the Rothwell fair have been studied by Dennington and others have examined the early history of non-conformity in the town. Limited data collection was also carried out in the late 1970s by Pauline Moore for Northamptonshire Archaeology Unit, which contributed to her subsequent study of the town in the immediate pre-industrial period.

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. Where practicable the most important sources have been examined and relevant details transcribed.

The absence of a VCH volume for the Rothwell hundred combined with the complexity of the manorial situation in the medieval and post medieval period in Rothwell has meant that it has not been possible to adequately unravel the manorial descent. This has also meant that the location of the various manors in the town has proven impossible, with uncertainty even over the identification of the present manor house with any of the earlier manors although suggestions are made here.

1.2.3 Survival

There are a few medieval court rolls and account rolls for the main, rectory and Holt manors. There are however relatively few medieval charters or later deeds and so it is not possible to establish topographical keys to unlock any sequences of tenements which might exist in the rentals, surveys or account rolls.

A useful series of extents of the 13th & 14th centuries exist for the Gloucester fee giving a general overview of the main manor. Then for the 16th and 17th century there are detailed surveys for the rectory and main manors, and several 17th century rentals for the main manor. However in the absence of extensive later documentation which allow correlation with mapped tenurial evidence topographical reconstruction cannot be achieved and so the full potential of the documents cannot be realised. Such reconstruction has been further complicated by the fragmentation of Rothwell into a number of lesser manors during the medieval period, making it impossible even to establish the total numbers and types of tenements in the town.

The 1607 survey in particular provides a detailed record of the main manor but not of every manorial

holding in the town. In addition to the partial nature of the survey, there is insufficient later documentation to enable this survey to be accurately integrated into a detailed reconstruction of the town by linking it to the earliest mapped evidence of the town. It seems unlikely that such detailed topographical reconstruction will every be possible. Given this limitation the 1607 survey was not transcribed in full detail or analysed as completely as has been attempted in some other towns for similar documentary sources.

Extensive records survive from the 18th and 19th century do exist for the manor and hundred of Rothwell. However map evidence for Rothwell is limited to the immediately pre inclosure map of 1813, which unfortunately lacks a schedule, and the almost identical inclosure map of 1819. The only tenurial information is from the sale catalogue map of 1866 for the manor which identifies all the properties of the manor. There is no map evidence for the open field system.

There are two other significant documentary collections from the post medieval period. There is a particularly good collection of account books and other records for the Jesus Hospital from 1671 onwards, relating to the hospital itself and to its limited endowments in the town. There are also the detailed 17th and 18th century records of Rothwell horse and leather fairs which are probably the best collection of their type in the county.

1.2.4 Potential
Overall the documentary sources provide a reasonable spread of information from the 13th century onwards and offer a guide as to the general character of the settlement. They do not however enable quantitative comparison with other towns on matters such as the number of shops and stalls, the numbers of burgages, virgate and cottage tenements. Only on value are limited statistics recoverable for comparison with other towns. Most significantly for future archaeological research, the documentary sources do not enable detailed reconstruction of the historic topography of the town.

It is likely that an exhaustive search in any collections relating to Cirencester Abbey will yield further significant material relating to the rectory manor. Additional significant sources related to the Gloucester fee in Rothwell also probably await identification. However it seems unlikely that such material will enable the reconstruction of the medieval historical topography of the town.

It is likely that the problems over the location of the manors could be resolved with detailed documentary study. The range of deeds and other documents for the town might also allow some analysis of the distribution of various types of tenement from the various manors to be reconstructed for the post medieval period, but in the absence of a detailed map with schedule this is only ever likely to be very piecemeal and hence to contribute little to the overall understanding of the town.

1.3   Historic Buildings

1.3.1   Summary of Previous Investigation
Apart from the listing there has been no previous study of the historic buildings in the town. Only the church has been subject to survey by RCHME but there are only very limited notes of this survey in the RCHME survey notes in the SMR and the study has not been published.

1.3.2   Research for this Report
A rapid external inspection was made of all the buildings in the town to determine which might contain pre 19th century fabric. This was supported by correlation between the early 19th century maps

and later Ordnance Survey mapping to establish which buildings may have survived.

1.3.3 Survival
The earliest domestic building to have survived without major alteration is that in Desborough Road dated 1660. Unfortunately, most buildings of the pre-industrial period have been lost as a result of extensive 19th and 20th century redevelopment within the medieval and post medieval settlement area. There are more than 30-40 buildings which possibly or certainly contain fabric from before the 19th century. This is very low number given the size of the settlement in the post medieval period.

1.3.4 Potential
It would appear that there is almost no potential for the standing structures to contribute to the understanding of the medieval town. The one exception is the church, a major structure in its own right. A detailed study of its character and development may well cast valuable light on the development Rothwell from the late Saxon to the post medieval period. It is also unlikely that standing buildings will contribute much to the understanding of the post medieval town, though a small number of important individual structures or groups of structures do survive and may add to the understanding of the their monument class in an urban context in the county, most notably the Jesus Hospital and the Market House.

1.4 Archaeological

1.4.1 Summary of Previous Investigation
The RCHME have summarised the evidence for the fishpond and garden remains, mill and associated earthworks and the site of the priory. They only produced a measured survey of the fishponds and garden remains but limited additional detail is visible which has not been included in the plan. Aerial photography has recorded the fishpond and associated earthworks to the south of the town and a plan of limited value has been produced as part of English Heritage's National Mapping Programme project for Northamptonshire.

Evaluations have been conducted in a number of locations particularly in the western part of the town between Wales Street and High Street. Generally they have proved negative or have show considerable disturbance by 19th and 20th century development. In limited areas late Saxon and medieval deposits and features have been revealed.

1.4.2 Research for this Report
No significant new archaeological work has been conducted in the connection with this survey, although a rapid sketch survey has been conducted to identify the minor additional earthwork details of the fishponds and garden remains previously surveyed by RCHME.

1.4.3 Survival
The large scale redevelopment of much of the medieval area during the later 19th and 20th centuries can be expected to have resulted in a high level of destruction of earlier archaeological levels, as well as the presence of a number of contaminated sites from tanning and other waste. The vast majority of the early frontages in the town have been subject to 19th or 20th century re-development, with only a small part of the frontages being occupied by buildings which may survive from the pre-industrial period. Similarly there has been intensive infilling of the rear of tenements in the later post medieval and especially since the mid 19th century. The potential for the investigation of the medieval properties, both the houses at the frontage and any activity behind the frontage, is therefore very limited almost everywhere throughout the town. The destruction is particularly notable where

factories were constructed, as has been noted in the only significant evaluations and watching briefs so far conducted in the town, between Desborough Road and Wales Street, and that between the Manor Park and Kettering Road.[209] Only in the former case was surviving archaeology revealed, in the area well behind the area of previous redevelopment. Generally however the archaeological deposits in the town have not been tested. It is a priority to test survival generally throughout the medieval area and to determine the degree to which the mapping of previous development is a useful guide to the survival of archaeological deposits.

The main exceptions where reasonable survival may be expected are with regard to the church, churchyard and adjacent manorial, rectory and vicarage areas. In addition the site of the priory may prove to have reasonable survival.

Earthwork survival is very limited and restricted to the garden and pond earthworks of the manor, all probably post medieval, and the earthworks of the Hall mill.

1.4.4 Potential

Given the degree of destruction likely to have been caused by 19th and 20th century redevelopment the general archaeological potential of the town is relatively low. Moreover, because the historical topography of the medieval town is complex and could not be reconstructed in any detail, particularly the distribution of burgage, cottage and virgate tenements in the various manors, so there is a low potential for the integration of archaeological with historical evidence at all but the most general level. Very limited potential does however exist for the investigation of the chronology of the growth of the town.

The manorial, ecclesiastical and market core of the town is the area which would appear to have the highest archaeological potential, with the addition possibly of the priory. It might also be expected that the focus of Saxon settlement may be in this area, though evidence of polyfocal origins in other settlements in the county may mean that other foci of Saxon occupation may be found.

1.5 Historical Topography

1.5.1 Survival

The medieval and post medieval street plan of the town appears at first sight to survive reasonably intact, but there have been a series of new streets inserted since the mid 19th century that have significantly altered the overall pattern. Intensive re-development in the 19th and 20th centuries has dramatically altered the character of the tenement areas. There was large scale infilling within tenements by the 19th century. Subsequently substantial areas saw the construction of factories and terraced housing that removed the earlier tenement pattern. This pattern has been further destroyed by later 20th century redevelopment, particularly in the more peripheral areas of the pre-industrial town. With the exception of the small area around the church, rectory and market place therefore very little of the historical topography of the medieval and post medieval town has survived. In this small area however the survival of a pre-industrial period character is reasonably good and warrants conservation.

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[209] Northamptonshire SMR event nos. 8181021, 8181026, 8181050 and 8181024.

3.0   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.

Rothwell cannot be studied in isolation from the wider development of central places in the upper Ise valley from the Iron Age period to the present. There are at least five such sites in the area through the period which lie in relatively close proximity and which demand consideration as a group: Desborough Iron Age high status cemetery and possible hillfort(?); Kettering Roman unwalled small town; Desborough Saxon princely cemetery and possible residence; Rothwell late Saxon royal estate centre and old minster and medieval to modern town; Kettering medieval to modern. In particular the settlements of Rothwell and Desborough need to be considered together because of the close associations between them in the Saxon period. The origins and development of Rothwell's pre medieval settlement, and its manorial and ecclesiastical functions, can only be understood, if at all, through its relationship to early to late Saxon Desborough. Similarly the fortunes of Rothwell between the 13th and the 20th centuries have been determined, to a considerable degree, by its success or failure in its competition with the market town of Kettering. However, the research potential of this complex of central places has been severely degraded by the intensive urbanisation and industrialisation of all the major settlements and by the extensive mineral extraction of a greater part of the surrounding landscape in the late 19th and 20th centuries. For these reasons the grouping can at most be expected to yield very basic answers to the wide range of important research questions which surround their association and interaction.

B   INDUSTRIAL

ASSESSMENT OF IMPORTANCE AND SURVIVAL

Rothwell retained its status as a commercial town throughout the period 1750 – 1939, but also developed a substantial industrial base focused on first the textile trade and later the boot and shoe industry. It is the only settlement studied as part of the survey to have combined both functions to such a considerable extent, however it is likely that there are a large number of similar settlements throughout the country. Rothwell is perhaps unusual in having undergone a period of decline in the 18th century when a large number of farms were established in the core of the town.

There are a large number of surviving documents for the town of Rothwell and the survival of the urban topography for the period is also very good. Therefore Rothwell would make a suitable case study for the development of an urban centre in the period following 1750.

1.0   DOCUMENTARY

1.1   Maps
The earliest surviving map for Rothwell is dated 1813, this provides a good source for assessing the development of the town in the 19th century, however this provides problems for considering the development of the town from the medieval / post-medieval periods to the industrial period. The enclosure map is dated 1819 and appears to have utilised the previous map base. The tithe map and map of Rothwell manor estate (1866) only show small areas of the parish.

1.2   Photographs
There are a number of photographs, both ground based and aerial views of the topography of the town which show Rothwell in the 19th and 20th centuries. These are based at Northamptonshire Local Studies Library, Northamptonshire Heritage and Northamptonshire Records Office.

1.3   Documents
In addition to Trade Directory entries and census data for Rothwell there is a wealth of primary sources relating to the town in the industrial period. Documentary sources include the Inclosure Act and associated lawyers reports, Records of the British School Rothwell 1836-1897, the religious census for 1852, Glebe estate papers 1897-1926, details relating to Rothwell brewery, Jesus Hospital Records 1526-1961 (?), Manor Court papers 1779-1884 and a number of 19th century newspaper clippings relating to Rothwell fair and restorations to the Market Hall and the Church of the Holy Trinity.

STANDING BUILDINGS
There are a total of 32 listed buildings in the town of Rothwell; 18 of which were originally constructed in the 18th, 19th or 20th centuries. The Church of the Holy Trinity and Rothwell Market House are grade I listed buildings and the Congregational Chapel, The Nunnery Farmhouse and the Jesus Hospital are grade II*. The remainder of buildings which include six farm houses, 3 barns, 7 tombs, 7 houses, a Sunday School and Vicarage are grade II.

There are a number of boot and shoe factories and workshops remaining in existence in the town; as well as a range of associated 19th century buildings including social clubs, chapels and schools.

3.0   ARCHAEOLOGICAL
There would appear to be little potential for below ground investigation for the industrial period in Rothwell. The urban topography of the town survives remarkably well and any structures that have been demolished (including the foundry) have been substantially re-developed in recent times.

4.0   TOPOGRAPHY
The town of Rothwell was substantially re-developed during the 19th century and the majority of the topography of this period, both in the core of the settlement and in the outlying zones, remains intact. There has been little large-scale development within the historic town, the former location of Ball's Prize Plough works on the corner of High Street and Kettering Road is the primary exception. The buildings shown as infilling on Market Hill have also been demolished and the area is now open. The historic core of the town lies within a conservation area designated in 1978.

III   RESEARCH AGENDA

1.0   PRE MEDIEVAL

For most small towns and market villages which developed in the medieval period their early history had little influence upon the promotion as market centres. Rothwell is one of a small number of early but undated market foundations in the county where the origins of the settlement, in a late Saxon hundredal manor and royal estate centre, is likely to be important in the understanding of the origins of the town. The Saxon estate centre and old minster church and their relationship to their dependencies is also a topic of considerable importance in its own right, irrespective of urban issues, and must be addressed in any research agenda for Rothwell.

Saxon estate origins
The Saxon origins of Rothwell are of high importance given its royal estate and hundredal manor functions in 1086 and its association with the apparent early-middle Saxon 'burh' at Desborough with its high status, princely burials. Confirmation is needed as to the location of the primary manor. Its Saxon origins should be explored to establish its character, morphology and, most importantly with regard to the development of manorial functions at Saxon estate centres, its date of origin. Although only a small fragment of the possible defended enclosure at Desborough is likely to survive, this may yield important information as to the presence of a defended early or middle Saxon enclosure at Desborough related to or being the precursor of the late Saxon royal estate centre at Rothwell. The late Saxon and medieval manor has not been identified with certainty in Desborough and if it can be located and has sufficient surviving archaeology then its character and date of origin should be established in order examine how it might relate to the origins of the royal manor at Rothwell.

Ecclesiastical origins and development
Such research should be paralleled by study of the minster church at Rothwell to determine its character, development and date of origin. As an old minster associated with a major royal manor and as a medieval deanery centre, the church has a high archaeological potential.

In parallel there should be study of the Desborough church and any remains of its nearby early Saxon cemetery to explore the relative chronologies of ecclesiastical development in Rothwell and Desborough.

Saxon settlement pattern
The origins and development of the settlement and township pattern in the Rothwell area would be of high importance if so much of the historic landscape had not been so severely damaged by quarrying and urban development. The one issue particularly worthy of investigation is that of Kipton field which should be mapped to recover the location of any Kipton furlong name. If such a name can be localised then fieldwork should be conducted to identify if any Saxon settlement exists associated with that name.

2.0   MEDIEVAL & POST MEDIEVAL

Rectory manor & vicarage
Examination of the presumed rectory site should seek to confirm the date of establishment of the Rectory manor. The vicarage was established at the date of institution of the vicarage and might contribute to the understanding of the ecclesiastical provision in the town. The present building is

sited back from the presumed frontage and so it is possible that remains may exist of the medieval vicarage.

Mills
The Hall watermill site survives as a well preserved earthwork, possibly including waterlogged deposits, although the upper part of the mill pond has been buried under the A14 interchange. As such the archaeological potential of the site is likely to be high, though it apparently has a low documentary potential. The Hall mill may offer good potential for the investigation of a medieval and post medieval mill. It is unclear whether this mill ever served as a fulling mill, but one did exist in the manor.

Any investigation of Shotwell mill probably should only be aimed to determine when it was first constructed unless it there is potential to determine whether it represents the fulling mill, in which case its investigation would have a higher priority.

Village and town
Without the topographical reconstruction it will be impossible to determine what types of tenements are being excavated. It would therefore seem reasonable for archaeological investigation to be restricted to broader scale questions such as the phasing of development and the presence of particular crafts.

It will be important to establish the extent of occupation in the late Saxon and early medieval period compared to the 12th to mid 14th centuries as this may enable significant conclusions to be drawn as to the way in which urbanisation impacted upon the development of the settlement plan. Given the high level of redevelopment which has occurred in the 19th and 20th centuries in the town, the main approach should probably be to recover stratified artefactual evidence as an indicator of overall phases of expansion and also of the location of frontages. The frontage to the north of the nunnery should be tested in several locations to determine if any medieval occupation occurred here and the same is needed where the old enclosures of Littlewood abut the town. A limited area of the potential frontage at the south western edge of the latter remains undeveloped and this should be examined archaeologically to determine if medieval occupation ever extended this far.

If unexpected well preserved deposits are identified, particularly at frontages, then more detailed excavation of representative samples of the character of particular areas of the town might be attempted. It may be that evidence is forthcoming as to the range of trades practised in different areas of the town. However, in the absence of adequate evidence to enable the reconstruction of the town plan in the post medieval or late medieval periods or to recover the distribution of tenements of the various manors, or the burgages versus the cottages and virgate tenements, the detailed study of the character of medieval activity in the town is likely to be of far more limited value than in some other Northamptonshire small towns.

Market place
Rothwell is one of the relatively small number of markets in Northamptonshire which apparently predates the granting of market charters but is not recorded in 1086. This is an important group of markets and the only way in which it may be possible to determine the period of origin of the marketing function is through archaeological investigation of the date at which and the way in which the market place was inserted into the town plan. This should be a major priority in the archaeological investigation of the town, aiming to establish when between 1086 and 1157 the market place was laid out. If it was established before 1086 then this would be particularly important. Any land in and around the market place, including its immediate environs which might include areas where medieval

encroachment has partially infilled the original area. In this situation the medieval frontages may prove to be within the back of plots rather than at the present or 19th century frontage. If good archaeological survival can be established in such situations then a high priority should be given to detailed excavation to establish layout of the tenements and the earliest date of building. However, given the high degree of redevelopment in the town in the 19th and 20th century it appears unlikely that many if any such areas will survive, although it would perhaps only require two or three small areas of good survival to provide answers to the question of origin of the market place when combined with reassessment of the town plan form.

Archaeological investigation of the shops rows on the market place may enable the minimum number of shops in the town and their size and layout to be established, which cannot be determined from documentary sources. This would assist in the comparison of the relative commercial success of Rothwell compared to the other small towns of the county. They may also contribute to the study of the chronology of transition from temporary stalls to permanent shops and indeed the character of construction of shops, which is a subject which is poorly understood in Northamptonshire's small towns. Evidence might also be forthcoming as to some of the trades present in the town, though this if far less likely and indeed it might be expected that the shop rows would give a very biased picture as in other towns certain trades are seen to be located in particular rows. The identification and investigation of shops elsewhere in the market place will be far more difficult as locations cannot be accurately predicted.

St Mary's Chapel
The majority of St Mary's chapel site was redeveloped since 1979, but no archaeological work was undertaken. The chapel site should be examined to establish when it was constructed and if it was laid out over the site of previous tenements. If it was a new creation then in the might prove significant in the examination of the origins of the market place.

Priory
The priory has been located and although it appears that all trace of any standing structure was removed in the 19th century rebuilding there is the potential for surviving archaeological evidence. Given the late date its foundation, its poverty and its peripheral position within the town it would appear to offer a limited contribution to the understanding of the development of Rothwell as a town. However confirmation of its location, size and layout is needed. The priory is very poorly documented but, dependent upon the condition of the archaeological site, it may have significant research potential in its own right as an example of a very poor urban monastic house.

Castle?
It will be important that any developments in the area of Castle Hill are evaluated to determine if, as at Thrapston, an as yet unidentified castle does indeed lie within the northern part of the town. If such a site should be identified then it may have significant impact on the interpretation of the origins and development of the manor.

Hinterland
It is clear that the sheer scale of urban development and mineral extraction in the upper Ise valley has rendered impossible a wide scale landscape study of the interaction of central place and hinterland. However, attempts should be made to collect confirmatory evidence from the know or suspected central places, particularly from Desborough but also from any other potential high status site which may be revealed in future in this core area, to better define their true character. Low quality data sufficient to confirm status at any date would be valuable in providing limited comparative evidence

for detailed hinterland studies which need to be conducted on better preserved foci.

3.0   INDUSTRIAL

Which factors encouraged the growth of industrial development within Rothwell?
Rothwell retained its status as a commercial centre in the period following 1750, but also developed a substantial industrial basis (related to both textile and boot and shoe industries). This was in marked contrast to other market towns including Oundle, Thrapston, Brackley and Towcester where industry was a relatively minor factor in the function of the town. Research required on what factors were present in Rothwell, which were not evident in the other settlements, is required.

What links were there between the textile and boot and shoe industries in Rothwell?
There was a thriving textile industry in Rothwell in the 18th and early 19th centuries and the boot and shoe industry began to develop in the town from the mid 19th century onwards. Research is needed to establish whether the decline of the former led to the growth of the latter – in terms of available manpower, machinery and premises. The derelict industrial complex on Market Hill / Well Lane may provide the opportunity of studying this on a single site as there are a number of early industrial buildings as well as a boot and shoe factory and workers and managers house.

What impact did the 18th century decline of the town have upon its subsequent development?
Rothwell underwent a period of decline during the 18th century and a number of agricultural buildings were erected in the centre of the settlement. Research is needed to ascertain what impact this had upon the later topographical development of the settlement.

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 within the urban area.

1.2 Listed Buildings
There are 22 listed buildings in the town with additionally a number of individually listed chest tombs in the churchyard. The church, the market hall and Jesus Hospital are the buildings of greatest significance.

1.3 Conservation Area
The Conservation Area encompasses the greater part of the medieval settlement.

2.0 MANAGEMENT PRIORITIES

2.1 MEDIEVAL & POST MEDIEVAL

2.1.1 Evaluation and Recording

Early Iron Age activity revealed in evaluation is unlikely to have any no relationship to the Saxon and medieval settlement but it is one of only a handful of early Iron Age sites known in north Northamptonshire.[210] Future redevelopment in the surrounding area should therefore be evaluated to determine if related deposits survive.

Any development within the immediate environs of the main manor, church and rectory should be examined for evidence related to the origins of both functions, particularly in the Saxon and early medieval periods. It should be subject to evaluation as it is potentially a critical area for the examination of the origins and development of the manorial and ecclesiastical core of the settlement and also likely to provide some information on the modifications of the street plan which confuse the current interpretation of the early morphology of the settlement.

The market place similarly has a high potential and any ground disturbance in this area should be evaluated or recorded.

Because nothing is known of the layout of the priory so ground disturbance of any scale within the probable bounds of the priory site should be evaluated or recorded archaeologically.

Church has a very high archaeological potential and all ground disturbance and alterations ot the fabric should be evaluated and or recorded.

2.1.2 Survey

The church warrants a major architectural study, involving detailed measured survey, to supplement the RCHME study. This is essential, due to the apparent complex architectural sequence, to provide the basis for future management and to guide the definition of a research framework and agenda.[211]

A survey of all the earthworks in the park and bowling green land is required as the RCHME plan is incomplete in the detail it depicts on some areas, although this is a low priority.

Survey the mill and related earthworks is a high priority as this is not currently protected and there is no existing earthwork plan of the area.

The unravelling of the manorial descent and in particular the accurate locating of the capital messuages o the manors is a priority for documentary study on Rothwell as it is crucial to the targeting or archaeological work, most particularly the investigation of the Saxon royal manor and its medieval successor.

2.1.3 Conservation Priorities

The Conservation Area encompasses the whole of the manor park and hence the major well preserved archaeological remains there, while the fishponds in the park are also scheduled.

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[210] Soden, I, 1997,5.

[211] A summary exists of the main phases of restoration and addition to the church in the period 1857-1910. *Souvenir of the Grand Bazaar at the Grammar School, Rothwell,* 1910, p.17-18, copy in NRL. Gentleman=s Magazine, 1849, part I, p.196 : restoration of the church in progress. Bull, ????, 179.

The Hall mill and millpond earthworks are unprotected and should as a priority be scheduled because there is the potential for good survival of archaeological remains of the mill of the post medieval period and this is likely to be associated with medieval remains.

The conservation area covers the core of the medieval and post medieval town. Although the eastern and south western parts are excluded they contain very few significant surviving buildings. There is no justification for extension of the Conservation Area on archaeological grounds. Apart from the area around market, rectory and church there is little that survives of the earlier historical topography that can usefully be conserved. However by far the best view of the town is from the A14 to the south, looking across the fields to the church and its surrounding buildings. This retains something of the character that is captured in Tillemans' prospect of 1719.[212] It should be retained by the restriction of all forms of development and redevelopment which would impinge on the view, including any redevelopment of areas in the immediate environs of the church and hospital as well as infilling in the open ground or redevelopment involving the construction of high or large buildings.

2.2   INDUSTRIAL

2.2.1   Zone 1 - Central business district
The entire zone lies within the conservation area for the town. There are no recording priorities relating to the commercial buildings in the area.

2.2.2   Zone 2 - Core area of town
The historic core of the town, which was considerably re-developed during the 19th century. The majority of the area lies within the conservation area for the town and many of the listed buildings of the town are in this area. One of the key recording priorities relates to the industrial complex on Well Lane / Market Hill. Other individual buildings may be worthy of detailed recording, if threatened by re-development; particularly if any buildings are found to be associated with the textile industries. There may be archaeological recording issues relating to the topographical development of the area in the 18th and 19th centuries.

2.2.3   Zone 3 - 19th century mixed zone
Large mixed zone laid out in the 19th century. One or two individual buildings may be worthy of recording in this area, but there are no conservation recommendations for the zone.

2.2.4   Zone 4 - 19th century mixed zone
Mixed zone laid out in the 19th century. There are no conservation or recording recommendations for this area.

2.2.5   Zone 5 -19th century mixed zone
Mixed zone primarily consisting of housing, but with factories interspersed. Zone laid out in 19th century. There may be some scope for extending the existing conservation area boundary to include this area.

2.2.6   Zone 6 - 19th century mixed zone
Zone forming part of the earliest outward expansion of the town in the mid 19th century. Consideration should be given to including this area within the conservation area for the town.

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[212] Bailey, 1996, 183.

2.2.7 Zone 7 - 19th century mixed zone

Zone forming part of the earliest outward expansion of the town in the mid 19th century. Consideration should be given to including this area within the conservation area for the town.

2.2.8 Zone 8 -Residential zone

Zone laid out in the early 20th century consists entirely of housing. There are no conservation or recording recommendations for this area.

2.2.9 Zone 9 - Residential zone

Zone laid out in the early 20th century consists entirely of housing. There are no conservation or recording recommendations for this area.

APPENDICES

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 20th century, now in NRO.

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