

Hardingstone Parish Survey 1972

by D N HALL

This article continues the series of reports on the landscape history of the Greater Northampton parishes.

Hardingstone lies on the south side of the river Nene and includes the former hamlets of Cotton End and Far Cotton and the site of Delapré Abbey. It consisted of 2963 acres before various parts were taken in by Northampton. The Nene valley slopes rise fairly sharply at the west end, but at the east there is a low basin between the river and the rising ground. The higher land consists mainly of Northampton Sand and Ironstone strata, but lower down there are exposures of Lower Lias clay. River gravel occupies the Nene flood plain.

The early forms of the name Hardingstone show that it means 'Hearding's thorn bush' (Gover *et al* 1933, 146). Cotton End and Far Cotton, in the forms West Cotton and Cotes etc are recorded during the medieval period; the earliest form, of 12th century date, is 'Cotun' and means 'cottages' (St Andrews fl5b).

The manorial history is outlined by the county historians (Bridges 1791, i, 358; *VCH* 1937, iv, 292) and by Serjeantson (1909) and Farrer (343, 1924). It is complex and further confused by inaccuracies in the published accounts. A brief summary is given here and the identification of some of the estates will be discussed later.

In 1086 the crown held five hides in demesne. Another two hides belonged to Countess Judith, widow of Earl Waltheof, and these seem to have descended to Simon de Senlis I, Earl of Northampton, who founded St Andrew's Priory, a house of Cluniac monks, late in the 11th century. By 1124 King David of Scotland (who had married Maud, Countess Judith's daughter) was in possession of all the seven hides of Hardingstone, and the overlordship of the estate descended from David as the Hastings portion of the Honor of Huntingdon.

St Andrew's was originally endowed with the demesne of Hardingstone, further acquiring property in Cotton End and three virgates of land in 1186 (St Andrew's fl and 164d); thus the manor called Cotton Grange developed (so called in 1527 (PRO C66 989)). In 1145 St Andrew's exchanged for a rent with Earl Simon de Senlis II land on which he founded Delapré Abbey, a house of Cluniac nuns. The abbey acquired much land in Hardingstone and by the 15th century it seems to have held a considerable part of the parish.

There was a secular manor, also at Cotton End, later called Ravenscroft's or Harvey's manor, and again part of the Honor of Huntingdon. It had its origins in the possessions of the Gayton family in the 13th century. It passed to the Longueville family in the 14th century and then, by marriage, to the Swetenhams. In 1428 Richard Swetenham conveyed the manor to Henry Ravenscroft. His descendant George Ravenscroft sold it to Stephen Harvey, auditor to the Duchy of Lancaster, by 1584. The manor remained for a few generations with the Harveys when it was purchased by William Tate in 1666 (NRO B(D) 366-8).

The leper hospital of St Leonard's, probably founded in the late 11th century at Cotton End (*VCH* 1930, iii, 60), was endowed with messuages and one virgate of land in Cotton (NRO Northampton Borough Records). It had assumed quasi-parish church status before 1282, a situation continuing until after 1415. The property descended to Northampton Corporation.

After the dissolution of the monasteries (1535-8) the Crown annexed the estates of St Andrew's and Delapré to the manor of East Greenwich, administering the Delapré holding as the manor of Hardingstone, and the St Andrews holding as the manor of Cotton-and-Hardingstone. The estates were leased out piecemeal numerous times from 1539-1630, the Delapré demesne and

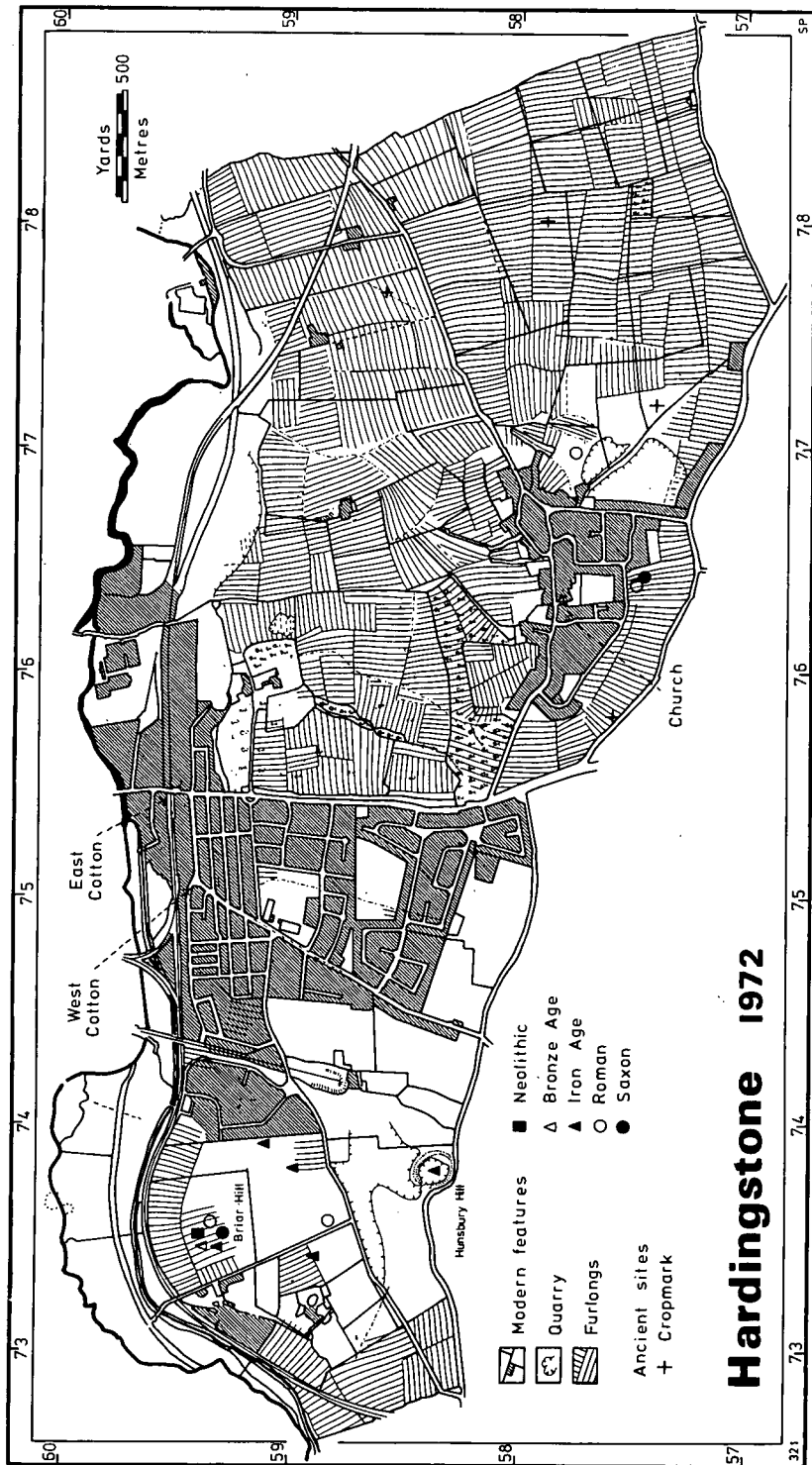


Fig. 1 Hardingstone: pre-medieval sites and ridge and furrow in 1972

Cotton Grange (St Andrew's demesne) becoming the property of the Tate family by 1565, and 1590 respectively.

The non-demesne portions of the manors of Hardingstone and Cotton-and-Hardingstone were leased out piecemeal for the combined rents of £27.0s.9½d and £26.13s.1d respectively (NRO B(D) 472). From details of the rents (see below) it is clear that these two manors account for most of the land in the parish.

In 1630 these non-demesne lands were sold to various local tenants (see below). Most of them were bought out by Bartholomew Clarke in the early 18th century; he was also in possession of the mortgaged Tate land. The whole estate was sold in 1764 for £22,000 to Edward Bouverie (NRO B(D) 358), and remained with his family until about 1940.

PRE-MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT

The pre-medieval sites and find spots are fully catalogued in the Sites and Monuments Record of Northampton Development Corporation's Archaeological Unit. They will be discussed fully in a forthcoming joint volume by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments and the Northampton Development Corporation. It is therefore only necessary to indicate the main occupation sites by symbols on FIG 1. Not marked are the many discoveries of worked flints found on the ironstone soil.

It can be seen that the parish has attracted intensive settlement from the earliest times. Two of the sites, the Neolithic causewayed camp at Briar Hill, and the Iron Age hillfort of Hunsbury, are monuments of national importance.

THE MEDIEVAL VILLAGE AND FIELDS

The immediate environs of both Hardingstone and Cotton are built up so that any earthworks of manors, crofts, fishponds etc are no longer visible. South of Hardingstone was the warren, a piece of ancient enclosure first mentioned in 1705 but probably much older, and presumably the same 'conyngrey' mentioned in 1538 (Serjeantson 1909, 30). There are no monastic earthworks surviving at Delapré, only a few 18th century emparkment remains.

The medieval fields, surviving in 1972 partly as pasture ridge and furrow, or as low linear, headland earthworks in arable fields, were surveyed by the usual archaeological techniques (Hall 1972 and 1977). The results are shown on FIG 1, which indicates the correct strip orientation, but does not attempt to mark individual strips. The real number would have been about four times that shown. Most strips could be seen on the ground and additional evidence was taken from aerial photographs (RAF 1947; NDC 1970; NCC 1972).

The pattern of the fields in their final form is typical of a central Nene valley parish in that the whole landscape was ploughed except the flooding meadows which were permanent pasture. Many of the furlongs lie in parallel blocks aligned along the valley slopes. Some of the furlongs suggest they have been formed by subdivisions of larger ones (eg nos 18-20, 27-9) and this is confirmed by the historical evidence (presented below).

The post-medieval documentation of Hardingstone open fields is fairly comprehensive in that many detailed terriers survive, although there are no records of manorial courts to throw light on how the fields were cultivated and regulated. The most important terrier is a complete field book for the eastern half of the parish, undated, but about 1660 (NRO B(D) 85). Before an analysis of the holdings and estates could be made it was necessary to identify the furlongs, which was done as follows.

Firstly all the modern field names were collected. The sources were two maps that showed the ancient enclosure of Hardingstone in 1752 (NRO B(D) 322) and Cotton in 1800 (NRO Map 1286); the newly-inclosed field names of 1766 (NRO Map 2665) and another estate plan dated 1879 completed the rest of the parish. The 1879 plan is now lost but a copy of it was made in the 1932 collection of county field names.

A list of furlong names was compiled from the terriers taking account of the number of lands and their orientation, and also noting abutments that related them to neighbouring furlongs or topographical features. The terriers consulted were all in the Bouverie Collection at the Northamptonshire Record Office (B (D) 65, 85, 323, 350, 464, 495, 688, 689, 690, 724, 729, 746). The glebe terriers were also very useful (NRO Hardingstone Glebe Terriers), as was the enclosure quality book (B(D) 1060).

By starting from a known point, such as a parish boundary, and taking the average width of a land to be eight yards, it is possible to plot each furlong on FIG 2 knowing the total number of strips.

The terriers show that Hardingstone had two separate field systems, the East End fields and the West End fields. In the East End there were Upper (alias Preston Hedge), Middle, Moor and Firedale fields, and in the West End there were Mere, Moor, Ransdale (alias Grange), Long Haukway and Long Bromhill fields.

The information for the East End fields is very detailed and the furlong identifications are generally very precise; for the West End fields the field book mentioned in 1740 (NRO B(D) 95) does not survive, so the sizes of many of the furlongs are not precisely known. Much of the area was built up before 1972 and the results for this part of the parish are, therefore, more speculative. The reconstructed furlongs and fields are shown in FIG 2 and the names listed in Table 1.

The East End fields in 1660 show a typical 17th century landscape. They were still mostly open fields, but there had been encroachment around the village by taking in former ploughlands to create enclosures. Much grass was allowed to grow in the fields, partly by leaving sections of certain furlongs as grass (leys) and partly by leaving a whole block of furlongs as permanent cow pasture. The areas grassed down were the heavier clay soils of the Moor Field.

In the West End fields there was a similar layout in 1740; ie closes around the villages of Hardingstone and Cotton, and large areas of leys and bushes. Here the grass lands lay on the dry acid soils of the exposed ironstone.

Although there is no specific information on the crop rotation of the nine named open fields it seems likely that each End had a three course tillage. In the East End, Firedale field consists of only two arable furlongs, and in 1660 the ley ground for this field is stated to belong to Moor field. An analysis of the 1660 terrier shows that for the larger holdings, the sum of the areas of Firedale and Moor fields is the same as that in each of the other two fields, ie making three equal quantities. In the discussion of which tenant had which lot of meadow the 1660 surveyor refers to the fallow seasons and mentions only Preston Hedge field, Middle field and Moor field, thus confirming the numerical analysis. The lower

part of Middle field was sometimes known as Nether field. The five West End fields were also probably run as three fields, since two of them, Long Haukway and Long Bromhill, were almost entirely grass.

The terriers clearly describe the 17th century landscape. Some roads are now extinct; there was the Bedford Way running east from Cotton End, a road from Nun Mills to Hardingstone, a direct road from Hardingstone to Wootton and another, the Woodway, which went to Hackleton. Roads still in existence are also described, such as the London Way, Oxford Way, and the Thrupp Way which split into an upper and lower course.

The terriers, and the deeds of conveyances etc associated with them, show the organisation of the small estates (ie individual yardlands (a yardland = a virgate = 20-25 acres)). Throughout the 17th century a given yardland was either in the East End fields or the West End fields, never both. The division of the two sets of fields is marked on FIG 2. It can be seen that the two parts of the parish are not of equal size and that, therefore, it is unlikely that they represent an early medieval two-field system that had developed into two multi-field systems. At the eve of enclosure in 1765 the East End fields totalled 33 yardlands and the West End fields 46½ yardlands (NRO B(D) 551). Additionally it is not just the fields that are divided into East and West, but also the village itself. This is very clearly stated in a glebe terrier of 1705 where there is a survey of titheable dwellings.

It is apparent, therefore, that Hardingstone consisted of a two-estate settlement, each with its independent field system. This arrangement is at least as old as 1538 where unequal amounts of arable are mentioned in a survey of the Delapré demesne: in the East End field 53 acres and in the West End field 76¼ acres (Serjeantson 1909, 31). The use of the singular 'field' is not proof that there was only one field in each End.

The glebe evidence suggests that the estate division was very ancient. The church of Hardingstone was given to the monastery of St Andrew's, Northampton, by Simon de Senlis I in the early 12th century. He gave to the vicarage one yardland of demesne and this is referred to in the ordination of the vicarage in c 1220 by Bishop Hugh de Wells of Lincoln (Gibbons 1888, 33).

The glebe remained at one yardland throughout the medieval period until enclosure in 1765, and the glebe terriers (NRO) show that the land lay in the West End fields only (FIG 2). It consisted of a total of 37 lands lying in small groups in five furlongs only (98, 121, 126, 136, 165), and totalled a stated 19¼ acres, ie close to one virgate. Similarly it is shown below, that St Leonard's one virgate, identifiable from 1220 onwards, is in the West End fields. It is difficult to understand how the East and West End fields could be a two-field system if a whole virgate lay in one of them only.

Returning to the 17th century, FIG 2 differs from FIG 1 in that furlongs 12 and 30 have a changed strip orientation. The evidence from the ground and air photographs is quite clearly that represented on FIG 1. The documents are equally clear giving the contrary view; it seems that the furlongs must have been changed, but now that they have been subjected to many years of modern ploughing only the early arrangement is visible.

The two estates were divided by the road from Nun Mills through the village and along the Wootton road (FIG 2). Each End has its own centre; that of the East is more complex with a loop plan, but the West End had the church. The two mills mentioned in 1086 can perhaps be associated with the two estates. It is not, however, readily discernible as to which manors or local tenant the two estates are to be associated with in the medieval period.

EARLY TENURIAL ARRANGEMENTS

The 1660 field book lists the meadows as well as the lands. It states that recently the method of allocating them had been changed:

here be your lots as they were lately changed for the laying of it together, next you shall see your lots how your ancestors held it before . . .

The surveyor then continues to list the former divisions which used to be let by lottery. Detailed analysis of them shows that there were five meadows; from east to west, they were: East meadow, Thatch meadow, Church meadow¹, Drinking meadow, and Side Hollows. Each meadow was divided into eight parts called hides which had the following names: Swinsets, Doylies, Barrole, Follits, Bouden, Sickarsbies, Poles and Caudwell hides. Each hide was further divided

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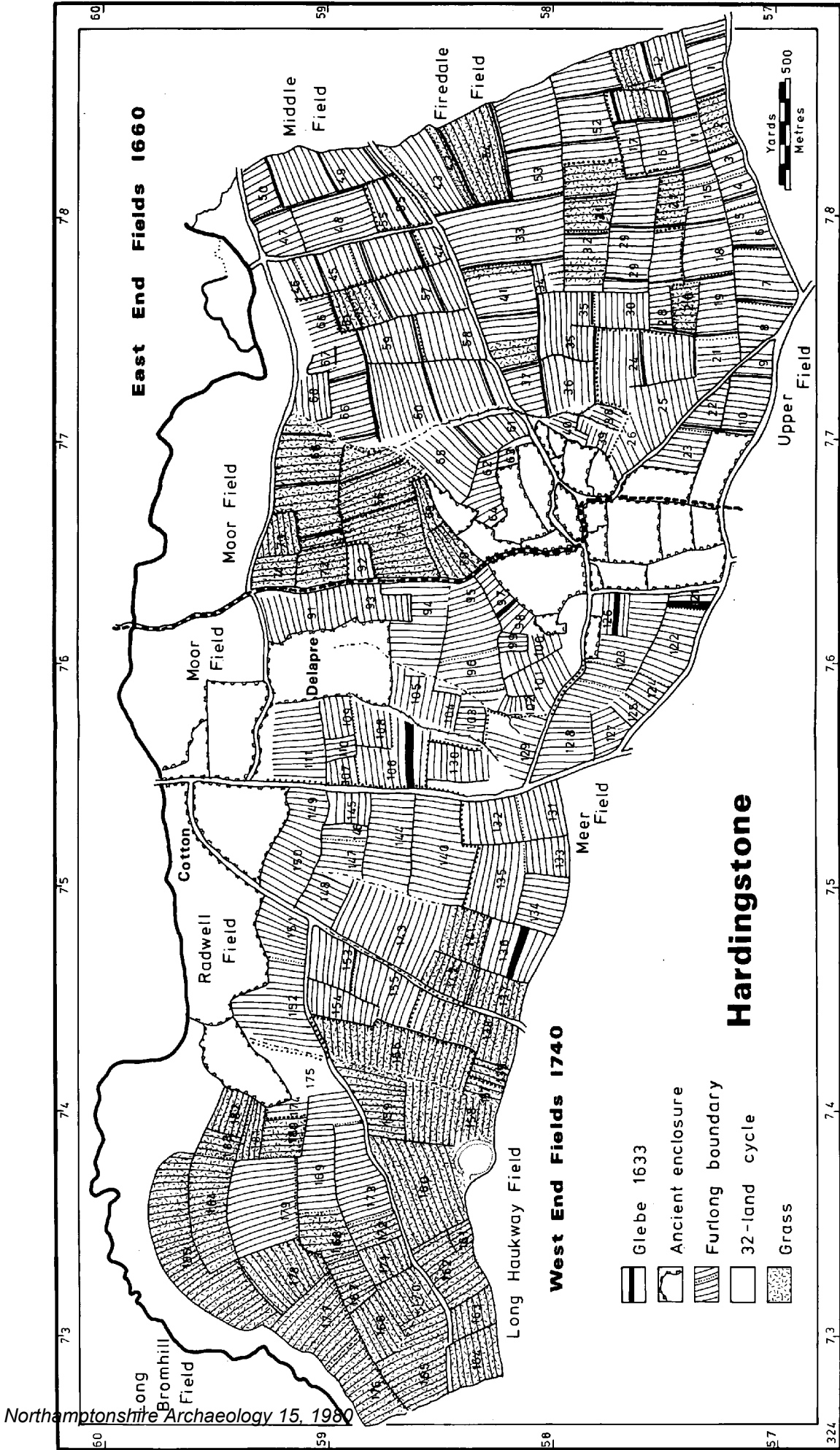
into eight parts called roods (except Church meadow which was split into four). There were thus 288 divisions of meadow.

The field book also reveals a subtle degree of organisation of the lands. Most lands are held individually, only rarely does an owner have two or three together. A casual glance at the sequence of tenants' names in the furlongs reveals no obvious regularity; the furlongs are of irregular size and any of 30 or so names can head the list. However it was noticed that with furlongs having 30-40 strips the sequence John Green, J Green for Edwards, and Thomas Gee, often headed the list, and that Tate, usually holding more than one land, was near the bottom. Closer inspection showed that there was a sequential repetition of 32 names of which numbers 1 to 5, 8, 11, 14, 19, 25-27 and 31-32 rarely changed, but the names in between showed considerable variation. It was then possible to work through the 2149 lands described in the field book identifying them in terms of the 32-cycle.

It was at once apparent that the cycles bear only a cursory relation to the furlongs of 1660 because the latter begin and end anywhere in the sequence. It is unlikely that the surveyor was aware of the underlying unity, especially as here and there odd lands were missing in the sequence. The missing lands may have been errors in the survey, but equally likely lands could have been 'lost' by conversion of two into one, or by changing them into balks (which are not specified in the field book).

A plot of the cycles is given on FIG 2. It reveals some very remarkable aspects. Most striking is the way in which the cycles cross furlong boundaries, eg crossing furlongs 18-20 and 28-29. It seems, therefore, that these cycles pre-date some of the boundaries. This interpretation is ambiguous where a series of parallel furlongs all start at the same place for sequential numbering, eg furlongs 59, 60, but it is not so for an area such as furlongs 19, 20, 28, 29. Here it is quite clear that the 1660 furlongs were created (probably much earlier) by dividing up a furlong with very long strips, thus making several furlongs with short strips. In this case four furlongs were created out of a single one. It can be no accident that the boundaries between nos 16, 17 and 19, 20, 28 etc begin and end with the 32-land cycles.

This evidence is the first produced from documentary sources, for the Midland region, to



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Fig. 2 Hardingstone open-fields in 1660 and 1740

show that originally the landscape was laid out simply in massive blocks of strips in the first instance, and then subsequently divided up. The archaeological evidence for this division of the landscape has been apparent for some time (Hall 1979, 222-4 and 1980).

The 1660 terrier was analysed so that the total holdings of each tenant in each field, furlong, and position in the 32-cycle was readily available. It was at once apparent that normally each position of the cycle had between 60-70 lands in it when totted up for the whole of the East End (Table 2). At an average of 1/3 acre per land (the usual for Northamptonshire) this equals 20-23 acres per position, ie a yardland.

Thus the 32-cycle should represent 32 yardlands; the 1765 assessment of the East End at 33 yardlands includes the Pennylands (furlong 25), which is not part of the regular sequence. So if the area of Pennylands is subtracted we then have the correct value. The furlong contains 56 lands which is almost 20 acres or one yardland. The concordance, therefore, between the 32 cycles in the furlongs and the yardlands is precise.

Positions 29-32 have a lower number of entries at 51-54 lands. This is because sometimes the owner had two or more strips together which are specified as 'a piece', so artificially reducing the number.

Only rarely does a landowner have a yardland by possessing all the strips in a cycle, eg John Green had 73 lands in position no 1 and Edwards had 72 in position 2. More usually several positions are occupied by several seemingly irregular numbers of lands (Table 2). However, by considering the method by which the meadow division was made a subtle underlying unity can be discovered.

The 32-land cycle is intimately relatable to the meadow division of eight hides and 64 roods (see above). A deed of 1651 transferring two yardlands to Thomas Lovell states that one yardland lay in *swynsetts hide* and the other was in *doyleys hide* (NRO B(D) 659). The 1660 field book shows that Thomas Lovell had 109 lands dispersed throughout the furlongs in the following positions of the 32-land cycle:

position	21	22	23	24	29	30	31	32
number	12	2	21	21	4	13	19	17

Thus there are totals of 56 and 53 lands lying in two separate groups of four in the cycle. It is

likely that these represent the two yardlands and that positions 21-24 are *doyleys hide* and 29-32 are *swynsetts*. Thus it becomes clear that the 32-cycle represents the eight hides each divided into four parts. This hypothesis can be further tested from the information in a deed of 1697 which refers to the sale of one yardland which was part of two yardlands called *cauldwells* belonging to Richard Naylor (NRO B(D) 787). Richard Naylor in 1660 held 289 lands in 15 different positions of the 32-cycle (Table 2). Two yardlands should equal about 130 lands; only one group of four in the cycle has anywhere near this, the next highest being 63:

position	25	26	27	28	
number	3	59	57	16,	total 135

Thus clearly positions 5-28 are *cauldwells hide* and the hypothesis is further strengthened.

An inspection of Table 2 readily shows that nearly all the estates of multiples of half a yardland (about 32 lands) lie in groups of four positions 1-4, 5-8, and so on, ie in one of the ancient hides.

The positions of hides in the meadows are stated in the field book to have been originally occupied by lottery. Perhaps, very much earlier, the occupiers of lands were also determined by lottery within the hides, which would account for the seemingly irregular numbers occupied by each landowner in a single given position.

In the above analysis the cycles have been numbered from east to west, following the 1660 terrier. From the way the cycles run out when they strike a natural feature or parish boundary it is clear that they were originally thought of the other way round, ie from west to east. This makes the hide numbered 29-32, the first and not the last. In the meadows Swinsetts hide is usually mentioned first, so confirming the west-east way of thinking. Additionally these positions are usually occupied by William Tate, who held the former monastic demesne. The Abbey might well be expected to have the first claim. The west-east sequence represents counting out from the village which seems a very plausible way of making an allotment.

The dating of the cycles is not yet clear. It must be long before 1660, and well back into the medieval period. The names of the hides seem to be Middle English rather than of Saxon or recent origin. Unfortunately no early taxation list or extent giving personal names survives for

Hardingstone so it is not possible to use this evidence. Since the cycles pre-date the final furlong pattern it is likely that they are early, because nowhere has evidence been found to suggest that furlongs changed very much in general layout after the 14th century.

There are parallels for such a landscape development. Physically many Northamptonshire parishes can be shown to have their field systems formed by divisions of an initial layout of very long strips. The cases of Wollaston and Raunds have already been referred to (Hall 1980). Long strips are still extant in the Wisbech region of Cambridgeshire (Hall 1978a, 21-46), on the Yorkshire Wolds (Hall 1978b, 20) and at Holderness (Harvey 1980, 3-16). In the latter case there has been historical research which has shown the following features. Many townships have a very simple layout with strips over 1000 metres long and lying parallel to each other, so that there are only a few furlongs in the whole parish. These were organised in groups of strips called bydales that had names, and were repeated in cycles throughout the field system. Each tenant had the same strip in each cycle exactly as at Hardingstone. The names of the holdings within each cycle or bydale suggested that the Holderness regular system had been formed not later than the 13th century.

Both the Hardingstone and Holderness field systems have similarities to the medieval Swedish *solskifte* where regular cycles/holdings were numbered 'towards the sun', ie from east to west and south to north. At Hardingstone the 1660 terrier is ordered in this manner. It is clear from the way the earlier 32-land cycles run out at boundaries that they were ordered from west to east and north to south, ie in the reverse manner.

The significant conclusion that arises is that these early field systems were laid out in a planned way and on a large scale, and only later became subdivided to form the field systems that were later so familiar in the Midlands.

Hardingstone is unique, so far, amongst Northamptonshire parishes for revealing a medieval regular-holding method. This is perhaps because it was almost entirely controlled by monastic estates from the 13th century until 1538; the 1660 field book records the system just before changes in land ownership had completely masked the underlying unity. Another fieldbook of 1738, by which time the gentry had been

accumulating and exchanging the yeoman small-holdings, shows a completely changed system (NRO B(D) 688). The 1660 furlongs remained but only one of the tenants' names is the same as before, and a regular pattern is not discernible.

It is possible to reconstruct the East End landscape as it was in the early medieval period when there were still some long strip furlongs. This is shown in FIG 3. All those later furlong boundaries which are crossed by the 32-cycle have been removed. The remaining furlongs are either small ones or are well defined by long continuous boundaries. The long narrow furlong at the south east is curious (FIG 2, 1-8) – it might have been expected that this would have been part of an original layout, yet clearly it was not. Perhaps it represents a belt of woodland remaining on the high ground at the parish boundary. There is a high incidence of wood names in the furlongs into which it was later divided.

It is evident that the removal of the boundaries unites together furlongs with closely relatable names. Thus Great and Little Blackmiles (16, 17), Upper and Lower Firedale (51, 52), Over and Nether Low (48, 49), Great and Little Bracknell (36, 35), and many others become reunited.

The furlong names reflect the topography and soil as usual. Thus the two sets of Bracknill (bracken-hill) furlongs are on high sandy ironstone soil. Similarly there are stony and chalk furlongs. Radwell is 'red spring' and Cadwell means 'cold spring'. Battle dyke furlong (96) is in the area where the battle of Northampton took place in 1460, between the Eleanor Cross (already headless) and Delapré.

The presence of several *dale* elements shows there was some Scandinavian influence in the area.

The landscape reconstructed on FIG 3 probably represents a half-way stage between a simple initial layout, and the final complex furlong pattern. Thus it could be envisaged that the whole of the area including furlongs 1-43 (but excluding 9, 10, 22, 23) was laid out with strips lying north-south, and the whole of the area north of the Hardingstone to Great Houghton road (furlongs 44-60, less 52-3) was laid out in the east-west strips.

Some evidence of this is borne out by the details such as furlongs 42, 43 and 54, which consist of two 32-cycles going east-west instead

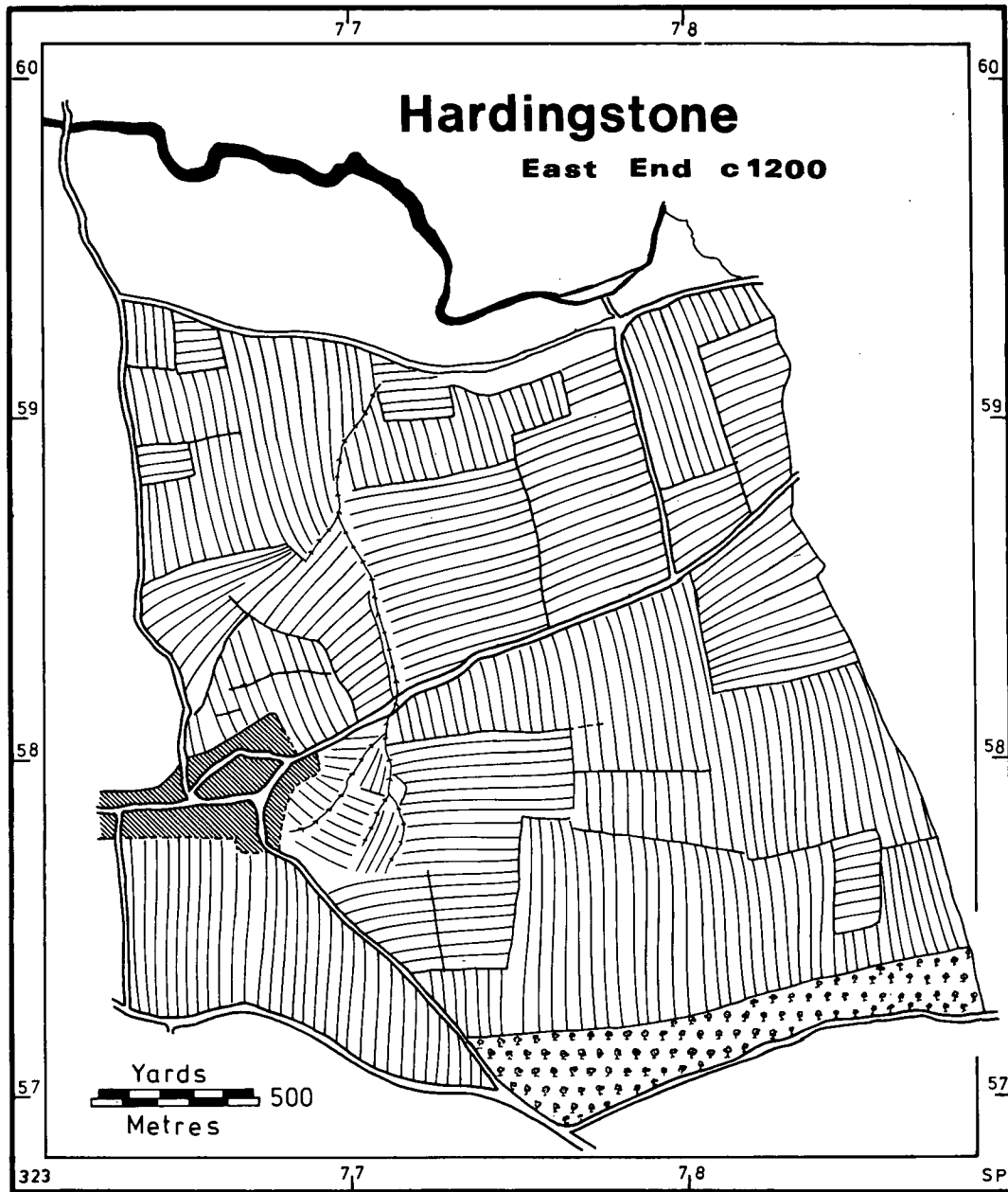


Fig. 3 Hardington: reconstructed open fields in the East End in the early 13th century

of north-south. These probably had strips running north-south initially but were changed around because of the topography (so that the ploughed land was better drained). Provided such an operation was done in multiples of 32 lands every tenant would have the same amount of land and these changes could be made in a piecemeal

fashion, as required, without necessitating a complete reordering of the whole system. In a similar manner furlongs 47 and 48 appear to have been changed, because the cycles in the east-west furlongs on either side of them are in alignment.

Furlongs 25, 26, 38, 39 and 64 are not part of the 32-land cycle. Most of 25 belonged to William

Tate in 1660 and to Delapré in 1539 and perhaps these lands, which are all near the village, represent some early placement of the demesne.

ESTATES AND CONTINUITY OF OWNERSHIP

The history of settlement in Hardingstone is complex. Not enough early Saxon material has been found to make much archaeological comment. However since the two estate division cannot easily be equated with any tenurial arrangement after Domesday it may well be that it originated in the Saxon period. The details of the Domesday figures are unclear, but the parish does seem to consist of a seven-hide unit. In the 18th century reckoning the East and West Ends consisted of 33 and 46½ yardlands respectively, which is close to a ratio of 3:4 and so may suggest original three and four-hide estates. The total, however, is 79½ yardlands which is close to 80 and might be taken to imply an eight-hide unit divided into ten small virgates (or yardlands) per hide. This last point is very speculative but may just have some bearing on the 32-land cycle being divided into eight hides.

Cotton represents a fragmenting influence commonly found on the outskirts of medieval towns, ie 'overspill' settlement outside the town limits. This was done to escape the higher taxation in the town. In the case of Cotton, there would also have been some control of the south bridge and the traffic going over it. This last suggestion would seem to be further supported by the existence of West and East Cotton, the first forming a nucleus at the south bridge of the Saxon town, and the second a nucleus around the new south bridge of the Norman town. That Cotton was a preferred residential area, rather than Hardingstone is clear because the two monastic manors of Delapré and Cotton Grange, and the secular manor later called Ravenscrofts were all sited here. There is no record of any manorial building occurring at Hardingstone although it is likely that the Domesday manors were there.

Many of the holdings can be identified precisely in the 1660 terrier and can be plotted on FIG 2.

The small 13th century estate of St Leonard's Hospital remained intact until enclosure (1765) because it was given to Northampton Corporation at the Dissolution. Only one acre lay in the East End fields (Bridges 1791, 363, charter of William de la Voy; the original does not survive) and this is duly recorded in the 1660 field book as being in furlong 64. A yardland, identifiable from 1220

onwards (NRO, Northampton Borough Records) was stated to be 'at Cotton'. Its absence from the East End fields' terrier proves that it was in the West End.

The one yardland of glebe, being originally 12th century demesne, has already been discussed. It lay in the West End.

The 'Ravenscroft manor' is not quantified until 1666 when it consisted of 5 yardlands. A terrier of 1749 shows that it lay in the West End, and that the arable was dispersed throughout the furlongs (NRO, B(D) 689, 690).

It is more difficult to quantify the amount of land held by the monasteries. The St Andrew's cartulary only accounts for three virgates and the unspecified demesne. A mid-14th century survey of the Delapré holdings in Hardingstone shows that the demesne consisted of eight virgates, and that 18 bondmen each held a messuage and a virgate. At a stated 20 acres to the virgate this is equivalent to 520 acres. In addition there were crofts and pasture, rent-paying free tenants, and other sources of income such as the common bakehouse, a horse mill and a windmill. The latter was probably the one that gave its name to furlong 93, near the abbey. The survey gives details of the bondmen's work-service and holidays. The full text is published by Serjeantson (1909, 13).

The Delapré land is not, in the 14th century, identified as being in either of the Ends, but the demesne survey of 1539 (Serjeantson 1909) shows that the arable lay in both Ends. The arable was 53 acres in the East field, 76¾ in the West field, 5 in pykes (furlong 64) and 32½ acres extra in Pennyland (furlong 25). The total is 167¼ acres, which is sufficiently close to 160 to make it likely that it represents the 8 yardlands of the mid 14th century. The 1660 terrier suggests a yardland is 23 acres and thus the total is equivalent to 7.8 yardlands.

In 1660 William Tate held the former abbey demesne and his total holding is 167 lands or 56 acres, corresponding closely to the 1539 amount (53a) in the East End. The Pennyland also passed from the abbey to Tate.

There is an element of doubt about the original identity of some of the yardlands after the Dissolution. The Bouverie deeds do not account for the totals of both monastic demesne and non-demesne estates. Of the 10 yardlands recorded in 1630 as formerly belonging to Delapré, all are

described as of the manor of Hardingstone, and are in the East End (as identified in the 1660 field book). Likewise all the lands formerly St Andrew's are of the manor of Cotton-and-Hardingstone and are in the West End. Whilst there is no evidence that St Andrew's ever had any land in the East End, it is quite clear from the 1539 survey that Delapré had a lot of land in the West. Maybe there was a reallocation of these estates after 1539 to correspond exactly with the two Ends rather than with the original monastic holdings. It is of course still possible that Delapré West End yardlands are in the group of 15 yardlands not accounted for.

The 1628-30 rents for individual holdings suggest that the manor of Hardingstone (supposedly Delapré) was 24-31 yardlands, and the manor of Cotton-and-Hardingstone (supposedly St Andrew's) was 27-29 yardlands².

Using the totals given in the survey of the whole parish in 1764, being East End 33 yardlands and West End 46½ yardlands, the distribution of the post-medieval estates becomes clear.

In the East End the Delapré demesne of 53 acres, plus Pennylands and pykes, represents about four yardlands leaving 29 in the manor of

Hardingstone, which agrees with the 1628-36 rental (see footnote 2).

In the West End there were: Delapré demesne 4 yardlands, glebe 1, St Leonards 1, Cotton Grange demesne 8, Ravenscrofts manor 5, leaving 27½ for the manor of Cotton-and-Hardingstone. Again this agrees with the range suggested in the 1628-30 rentals. There is no terrier for Cotton Grange, but its land is not mentioned in the 1660 East End field book, whereas 'Grange piece' is frequently a neighbour in other West End terriers.

The enclosure history is fairly straightforward. There were a few small enclosures around Hardingstone, Cotton, and Delapré by the end of the medieval period (listed in rentals of 1539 onwards). William Tate wished to enclose the West End fields in 1676 and was exchanging his land in the East End to achieve this (NRO B(D) 396, 466), but no action was taken. The parish remained open field until enclosed by Parliamentary Act in 1765 by Edward Bouverie shortly after he purchased the estate.

William Kilpin one of the new enclosure allotment holders kept a diary from 1765-7 and describes the marking of the new lands with stakes and their subsequent agricultural treatment. Some of the new fields were ploughed immediately, presumably in the 'modern' flat method, destroying the old ridges (B (D) 1060).

Northampton began to encroach upon the parish in the 1870s and again in the 1920s. Today all the area west of the London road, except a small part of Hunsbury Hill Farm, is built up. The north eastern part is occupied by the Brackmills industrial estate.

In conclusion, it can be seen that a combination of fieldwork and historical studies leads to an improved interpretation of landscape development. Without the furlong map the subtleties of the fieldbook could not possibly have been appreciated, nor the early estates so readily understood.

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¹ It is not clear why the East End has a 'Church meadow' when the church and the vicarial virgate was in the West End. The meadow may possibly have belonged to the church before it was appropriated when presumably it would have had land in the whole of the parish.

² *Manor of Hardingstone*; total annual rent in 1630 £27.0s.9½d, 10 yardlands are fully identified: W Briten 1 yardland in positions 9, 10, 20 of the 32-land cycle, (B (D) 1-6): W Briten 1 yardland, rent 22/d, in position 25, occupied by Rt Parkwood in 1660, (B (D) 62-9): J Green 1½, in 1 and 12, (B (D) 780-1): W Savage 1 in position 4, (B (D) 782): Rd Walker 2 yardlands rent 33/8d, (B (D) 24-37): W Walker 2 in 16, 19, (B (D) 172): J Vinter 1½, rent 34/3d, in positions 17, 18, occupied by Th Vinter 1660, (B (D) 467). Also the following properties are in the East End, but not proven to be part of the manor: Rd Naylor 1660/1697, 2 yardlands in positions 25-28, (B (D) 787): Th Lovell 1651, 2 yardlands in 21-4, 29-32, (B (D) 659). See Table 2.

Manor of Cotton-and-Hardingstone; total annual rent 1630 £26-13-1, 15 yardlands identified: Agnes Clarke, 1½, rent 25/6d, (B (D) 1211): Bart Clarke 3, rent 56/-d, (B (D) 694): Js Fosbury 2½ (B (D) 97-110, 651): W Harrowden 1½, rent 28/-d, (B (D) 657): M Lovell 1, (B (D) 464): Th West 5½ (B (D) 379).

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TABLE I
 HARDINGSTONE FURLONG NAMES
 East End Fields c 1660

	Lands	Leys
<i>Upper Field</i>		
1. Preston Hedge	36	
2. Middlebury Hill		30
3. High Ashes	18	
4. Wayles	19	
5. Preston Hedge Corner	8	
6. Shrube	13	
7. Holloway	34	
8. Ransdale	31	
9. Nut Hill	11	
10. Wootton Meare	36	
11. Deane Hoale	34	33
12. Shooting into Deane Hoale	23	17
13. Callow Hill		6
14. Grinslid Hoale	19	14
15. Bransons Bush Hill	14	34
16. Blackmiles	30	
17. Little Blackmiles	27	
18. Hedge Furlong	34	
19. Little Hedge	29	
20. Hedge Furlong		31
21. Eldern Stump	22	
22. Woodway	21	
23. Into Woodway	26	
24. Banquet Hoale	42	20
25. Penny Lands	66	
26. Hawthorn Tree		8
27. Bransons Bush Hill		
<i>Middle Field</i>		
28. Prist Acres	73	
29. Middle Furlong	62	
30. Row Ditch	32	
31. Broadrush		34
32. Gauls	10	18
33. Langlands	34	
34. -		
35. Little Bracknell	9	39
36. Great Bracknell		34
37. Under Bracknell	13	
38. Ladywells		16
39. Common Hill		5
40. -		
41. Bretch	70	12
42. Hoton Hedge		5
<i>(Nether Field, part of Middle Field)</i>		
43. Mare	19	
44. Winrush	52	
45. Millfut Hedge	13	20
46. Campions Furs		17
47. Nether Lo	28	
48. Over Lo	29	
49. Hoton Meare	70	5
50. East Meadow Hedge	24	
51. Thatch Meadow Side		10
<i>Firedale Field (part of Moor Field)</i>		
52. Over Furlong	60	5
53. Nether Furlong	65	

54. Hoton Hedge	29	136. Shooting Micklock	22
55. Pit Furlong	23	137. Little Furlong shooting Oxford Way	31
56. Next Cow Pasture	51	138. Next Radwell Field	68
		139. In Dale Gutter	6

Moore Field

57. Winrush	40	22
58. Shooting Winrush	27	
59. Hither Rye	27	
60. Moore Furlong	65	
61. Below Wardens Hill	29	
62. Behind Wardens Hill	28	7
63. Top of Wardens Hill		6
64. Pikes Hedge		5
65. Moore Gutter	21	
66. Black Foore	40	68
67. Stonny Lands	32	
68. Hewill Brook	19	
69-74. Cow Pasture		
75-90. Ancient Enclosure		

West End Fields 1740

Moor Field

	Min. Number
91. Meadow Leys	41
92. Winmill Hill	20
93. Windmill, west of way	
94. Chalk Furlong	42
95. Great Bracknill	45
96. Shooting to Battle Dyke	12
97. Overcrafts	16
98. Overcrafts	24
99. -	12
100. James Croft	35
101. Stonepit	
102. Little Bracknill	20
103. Fullbrook Head	20
104. Flaxland	22
105. Moore Furlong	11
106. Long Colditch	37
107. Short Colditch	21
108. Little Colditch	27
109. Gravel Pit	12
110. Mansill	2
111. Spittlewall	25
112-120 Ancient enclosure at Delapré and Cotton	

Mear Field

121. Shooting Wootton Mear	11
122. Church Backside	
122-3. At West End	48
124. Rushes	20
125. Shooting Wootton Mear	19
126. Little Furlong at West End	13
127-8. Whistling Way	10
129. Shooting Fulbrook	38
130. Middle Furlong	
131. Rumstone	10
132. Windmill	
133. Whitwong	17
134. Shooting Wootton Mear	35
135. Micklock	36

Radwell Field (alias Grange Field)

140. Langland	60	
141. Radwell Head		34
142. Over Furlong shooting Oxford Way		
143. Between Radwell and Kadwell	61	
144. Admead	35	
145. Stitch for Stitch	20	
146. Hotshine Willows		
147. Goldern Hill	11	
148. Grange Furlong		
149. -		
150. Edsong	43	
151. Pitt Furlong	29	
152. Cotton Townsend	46	
153. Broad Hill	31	
154. Middle Hill short Furlong	42	
155. Middle Hill	26	

Long Haukway Field (Upper Ryehill 1660)

156. Theadale	60
157. Shooting Dale Gutter	82
158. Theadale Gutter	8
159. Leys north of Thropp Way	
160. Long Hankway	49
161. Little Mouse Hill	
162. Great Mouse Hill	38
163. Under Hillocks	28
164. Upper Hillocks	9
165. Smith Furlong	34
166. Little Debdale	14
167. Head of Little Debdale	5
168. Shooting Bromhill	27
169. Brian	69
170. Great Debdale	28
171. Furlong between headlands	
172. Short Haukway	14
173. Oscott	55
174. Furlong Shorting Thatch	9
175.	

Long Bromhill Field (Lower Ryehill 1660)

176. Souters Ford	38
177. Longleys	33
178. Foxholes	31
179. Long Bromhill	53
180. New Close	30
181. Weatherwell Head	18
182. Lyncroft	11
183. Short Thatch	8
184. Lummas Slade	61
185. Mead Leys	108

The following furlongs have had their strip orientation confirmed either on the ground or from aerial photographs; 1, 4, 7, 8, 12-20, 28-43, 46, 48-50, 52-55, 57-64, 66-68, 70-74, 91, 94-102, 104-111, 122, 128-130, 147, 151, 163-5, 173, 176, 179, and 184.

TABLE 2
LAND DISTRIBUTION 1660

Name	Position in 32-cycle	Number of lands	Total	Name	Position in 32-cycle	Number of lands	Total
Brighton	9	2	73		19	2	
	10	32			20	4	
	20	39			25	3	
Wid Brown	6	3	3		26	59	
Edwards	2	72	108		22	57	
	9	15			28	16	
	10	19		Rt Packwood	25	69	99
	21	2			27	2	
J Eyle	5	70	303½		28	28	
	6	29½		Savage	4	71	71
	7	8		Smith	7	2	75
	8	14			15	10	
	9	39			22	33	
	10	8			23	11	
	14	28			24	8	
	20	2		W. Tate	6	4	132
	21	51			29	28	
	22	2			30	41	
	28	14			31	35	
	29	8			32	34	
France	6	20	91	Edw Tomalin	22	16	28
	7	8			23	4	
	11	63			24	8	
Th Gee	2	3	153	J Vinter	17	71	99
	3	61			18	28	
	7	23		Th Vinter	22	3	26
	8	37			23	4	
	13	29			24	19	
J Green	1	73	107	W Walker	10	6	185
	2	4			16	57	
	11	2			17	2	
	12	28			18	11	
Lack	7	20	97½		19	65	
	13	21			20	26	
	14	2			21	6	
	15	44½			22	4	
	16	10			23	4	
Th Lovell	21	12	109		24	5	
	22	2		Total 2049 lands. Single lands have not been included in the above nor have the heterogeneous lands in furlongs 25, 26, 38, 39, 62 and 64.			
	23	21					
	24	21		<i>Number of lands in each position of the 32-land cycle</i>			
	29	4					
	30	13		1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16			
	31	19		73 79 69 72 71 68 67 58 59 68 69 63 71 65 68 68			
	32	17		17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32			
Rd Naylor	6	11	289	75 73 67 73 71 61 48 61 74 63 63 65 52 54 53 51			
	7	3		Total 2092			
	8	5					
	12	31					
	13	11					
	14	2					
	15	50					
	17	3					
	18	32					