Chapter 11

History of Sutton

Introduction

In compiling a history of the village from historical records one is in danger of ending up with an impression that villagers of former times would not recognize. For a thousand years Sutton was an agricultural community with lives dominated by the unrecorded continuity of seed time and harvest, storm and flood and the thrice-yearly fairs at Milton or Castor. These were not fairs of swings and roundabouts, but where a man would sell his labour for the coming year and where cooking pots and cloth, tools and trinkets would be purchased; the things that could not be produced by an otherwise virtually self-sufficient village economy. Of course, recorded events – hearth tax, poll tax, the Dissolution of the Abbey - were important but nonetheless transitory events in the continuing life of the community. And community spirit would be strong, fostered by the interdependence of villagers, where the four oxen needed to form a plough team could be owned by four different villagers, whose cooperation was essential to get their strips in the open fields ploughed and harvested. This strong sense of community lasted well into the 1800s, when only the poor and needy born in the parish would be eligible for parish relief. Incomers were sent back to their parish of origin. Records of such proceedings by the Overseers of the Poor still exist for the benefice:

John Stavely 5 Feb 1800

John Stavely of Alesworth, labourer. Born at Alesworth, aged 68. When he was about 19 he let himself for 1 year to William Hopkinson of Sutton, farmer from Michaelmas to Michaelmas and he stayed the whole year. When he was aged about 29, after returning from being a soldier, he let himself to Stephen Pauling of Castor, farmer, for 11 months from 1 month after Michaelmas to the following Michaelmas. He did not leave Stephen Pauling's service until 4 or 5 weeks after Michaelmas because he could not get his wages. He is married, his wife's name is Jane. He has gained no legal settlement elsewhere.

Signed by JPs, Chris Hodgson (rector), John Weddred, clerk. John Stavely made his mark.

Sutton as an almost exclusively agricultural community carried on for a thousand years, and it was not until the industrial revolution, or more specifically the coming of the railways, were there opportunities for alternative employment. The Lord of the Manor, in his evidence to a parliamentary select committee on enclosures 1 May 1901 said, "There was a family of the name of Bew, who were old cottagers; the father and mother died leaving three sons. One, I found out has a good trade as a carpenter, another is a shopkeeper and another is a foreman in the Great Northern Works at Peterborough" [1]. After 1871 the trades of stationmaster, porter, platelayer and railway labourer start appearing on the Sutton Census Returns [2] and there were twenty two baptisms of children of railway employees between 1868 and 1904 [3]. Even in 1964, the Peterborough Standard reported [4] 'Sutton really is an agricultural village where apart from about six people who work outside the village nearly everyone is employed on farms or in gardens... In 1811 there were 20 houses and a population of 103, and today with about the same number of houses the population has almost halved'.

Roads

The Anglo-Saxons laid out their village to the usual plan of four roads enclosing a rectangular stockade where cattle would be safer from predators, both human and animal. The main house – the Grange – and the chapel were on one corner, in this case on the main road leading to the ford, access to which it would control. The presence of a fordable place across the river is probably why Sutton was sited here in the first place. This Anglo-Saxon road pattern still exists in Nene Way (formerly Main or Top Street), Graeme Road East (Back Lane or Bottom Street), Manor Road (Gaw Lane) and Lovers Lane (Church or Chapel Lane). All the buildings would originally have been on Main Street with crofts running down to Back Lane, on which houses were built later, possibly in the 17th century redevelopment of the village. Graeme Road South (New Road) alongside the railway cutting was added in 1867 after the Southern end of the village was effectively cut off by the railway. The old names lasted until the 1970s when the roads were renamed. I can understand the residents in expensive houses not wanting an address in Bottom Street or even Gaw Lane, but it does seem a pity to have renamed the attractive rural Church Lane as Lovers Lane – reflecting the activity with which this quiet lane had now become associated. Jefferies' map of 1791 (Fig 11a.) shows the road to the ford branching left at the ford and linking up with the extension of Bottom Street in what is now part of Footpath No 2. The Drift used to continue to Southorpe across what is now the A47, crossing the Upton road near Sutton Wood (Fig11a.). This is marked as common land on the 1843 Tithe Map and has only recently been ploughed up. Another occupation road used

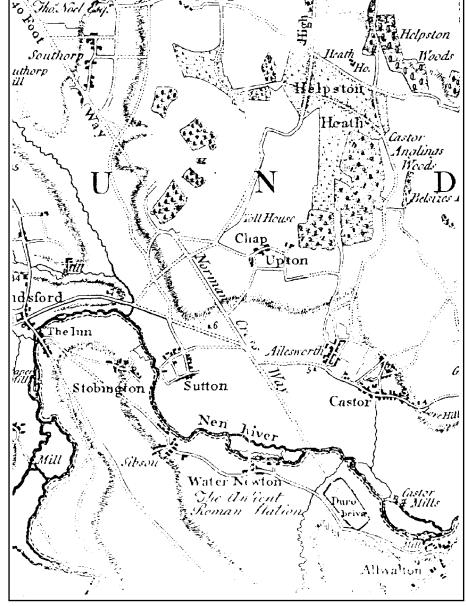


Fig 11a. Old roads in Sutton: detail from Eyre/Jefferies' map of Northants 1791. Note turnpike milestone 6 North East of Sutton.

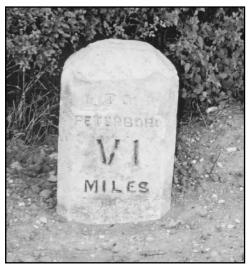


Fig 11b.Turnpike Milestone.

to run from opposite the church to the stone pits, up a ramp into the field behind and then alongside a stone wall to the A47. The stone wall was removed and the land ploughed up some 15 or 20 years ago, but one of the old gateposts to the A47 and one at the quarry exit are still in situ.

Until the passing of the act for the Peterborough to Leicester Turnpike in1753, having two major roads, Ermine Street (North/South) and the present A47 (East/West), in the parish must have been a great burden for the parishioners who were responsible for maintenance of all roads in the parish. When the turnpike was established milestones were erected (Fig 11b) and a toll house was erected at the Sutton/Wansford parish boundary. The

adjacent field is still known as Toll Bar. The Toll House was demolished c 1866 when the road bridge over the new railway was built, and rebuilt at the top of the rise by the Southorpe Road junction. It was demolished in the 1950s when the A47 was widened, but its site is still marked by the presence of fruit trees and daffodils.

Prior to the enclosures Sutton's cottagers used to have summer grazing in Borough Fen (now Newborough) and a distress warrant was levied on the village in 1700 for non-maintenance of the road to the Fen – 'the Chayce'. Lord Fitzwilliam said in a letter his steward [5] 'I must defend those two townes (Castor & Sutton) where my estate lies from being oppresst...they ought not to pay to the repaire of a road they never make use off'. One other former major road that now exists only as a bridleway is Sutton Crossways, which would have been the main road to Castor, the mother church and the thrice yearly fairs. Sutton's Anglo-Saxon Cross lies at the junction of Crossways with Ermine Street.

Boundaries

The village of Sutton lies at the South end of the parish. The parish boundaries would have been set in Anglo-Saxon times probably in the time of Abbot Adulf (AD 972-992) and included riverside water meadows, arable land on the higher ground and wooded uplands for forestry and hunting. The River Nene forms the Southern and South Western boundary, the Southorpe Brook or Wash Dyke and the old mill leat (of which more later) forming the Western boundary. The Northern boundary with Southorpe runs from the Southorpe Brook to Sutton Wood in a dogleg fashion. There are five ancient boundary stones around the irregular boundary of Sutton Wood all having the letter 'S' incised over a cloverleaf (see colour plate section). Ben Robinson of Peterborough Museum thinks these may be assart stones

which marked a 'thus far and no farther' point when woods were being cleared for arable land. Records show that Sutton Wood was a valuable resource for the Abbey. From Sutton Wood the boundary runs along Ermine Street which provides a curious anomaly whereby 220 yards of Ermine Street are in Upton whereas the land on both sides is in Sutton. From this point it doglegs West, South and East before rejoining Ermine Street at Hells Corner and running to Sutton Cross where again it doglegs in a generally Southerly direction to the Nene River. The 'doglegs' almost certainly relate to Anglo-Saxon or Romano-British field boundaries existing at the time. The Eastern boundary lies along the estate boundary of an Anglo-Saxon thegn of Ailsworth. The area in the North of the parish would have been inhabited in Romano-British and Medieval times. Sutton Wood was managed for timber and probably had a sawmill (the stream running from Sutton Wood to the Southorpe Brook is called Woodmills Dyke) and there is extensive ridge and furrow (Fig 11c) and an old boundary ditch (Fig 11d) on the North side of Sutton Heath adjoining Woodmills Dyke. Also there are remains of a Romano-British building (farmhouse?) (Fig 11h) near Sutton Wood where 3rd and 4th century Castor ware pottery has been found. Only last year a rare piece of 1st century Samian ware depicting a fallen gladiator submitting, with a potter's mark xxiii showing it was fired in Gaul, was picked up whilst field-walking.



Fig 11c. Ridge and furrow - Sutton Heath.



Fig 11d. Old field boundaries – Sutton Heath.

The Mill

An important part of any self-sufficient village's agricultural economy would be its mill. Sutton had a mill from its earliest days. It was sited where the Southorpe Brook (or Washdyke) flows under the present A47 near the old station and was known as Briggmilne or Bridgemill. Indeed an adjacent field was shown as 'Bridge Mills' on the Sacrewell estate map of 1729 and is still so known. That it already existed when the parish boundaries were drawn is evidenced by the fact that the head leat of the mill on the Wansford side of Southorpe Brook forms the parish boundary. The mill could well have been founded in Romano-British times, for a quantity of 3rd and 4th century Castor ware pottery shards have been picked up in the field known as Bridgemill Close. The Victoria County History notes [6] 'Royal Grants of Richard 1 and Henry III confirm the chapel of Sutton adjacent to the church at Castor together with the village of Sutton and the mill which Thorold Fitz Antekill gave to the monastery.' A charter of King John dated 25 Dec 1199 [7] refers to 'a mill called Briggmilne, Thorold of Sutton's gift' and Hugh Candidus [8] reports that Abbot William de Waterville (1145-1175) 'acquired wholly a certain mill at Sutton which pays fifty shillings a year and he granted and assigned this to the fee of the Infirmarium'. It was subsequently passed to the Almoner and in 1379 the infirmarium notes a receipt [9] 'Et de lxvjs de Elemensario pro firma del Parkyrke et 1 molendini aqua apud Sutton' (and 66 shillings from the almoner for a farm at Peakirk and a water mill at Sutton). An extract from Henry of Pytchley's Book of Fees [10] reads 'be it also remembered...John de St Mark or Medard granted to us a certain place adjoining our millpond of Brygmylne for 18 pence a year...'. John Medard died in 1334.

In 1445 during the time as Almoner of William Morton the mill was completely rebuilt. He recorded the details in his medieval filofax which fortunately has survived and is in the British Museum [11]. He records the carriage by road of ten wagonloads of freestone, from the quarry (almost certainly Barnack) to the mill site and names each of the waggoners who were performing a 'luff boone' to their feudal lord. He also records a site meeting with the mason and the bailiff.

'Meeting about the building of walls at Brygmylle. Noted on the 24th day of April Willelmus Morton almoner in charge, in the presence of Johannus Eyr bailiff and collector for Sutton, Robertus Conquest tenant of the same, Johannus Coldewell servant of the said almoner and others. Brother Willelmus Morton almoner called the meeting with Willelmus Schepey mason by which said mason is to build stone walls, width (to the Western boundary under the walls) nearly 12 feet, height from the footings 10 feet, in length 39 feet, thickness of two gables in the same place 2 feet as standard. Likewise the thickness of the other walls there 2 ½ feet standard with 3 buttresses at the Water Gate on the South side and 1 buttress in the other part 3 feet thick at the front as standard. 23s.4d.'

The newly built mill was allegedly used for other purposes, for in a visitation by the Bishop of Lincoln some of the monks accused Richard Ashton, Abbott till 1471, of gross maladministration and incontinence with three named women whose husbands received favours of the Abbott. Liaisons with one of the women allegedly took place at Bridgemill. The allegations were not necessarily true as monks were required to report rumour and hearsay, and at the time there were two violently opposed factions in the Abbey, one led by the Abbott and one by the Treasurer. This was presumably the Treasurer's faction getting their retaliation in first!

On the dissolution of the Abbey in 1535, the King's Value [21] records 'one water mill in Sutton belonging to the Almoner's Office - £2.0s.0d'. It was evidently transferred to the Dean and Chapter for in 1547/8 arrears of rent were due to the Dean and Chapter: 'de firmario molendini vocate Bryggemilne xxs.' (from the mill farm known as Bridgemill – 20 shillings). On the 5th April 1591 the Dean and Chapter instituted proceedings against one Thomas Griffin, for not having his corn ground at his lord's mill as was customary [25] WT Mellows notes in a footnote that this was the last occasion on which 'Mill suit' was brought, as by then the Dean and Chapter's mills were in such a state of dilapidation that Mill suit could not be enforced.

In the 1649 Parliamentary Survey of the Manor of Sutton the Commissioners for the sale of the Bishop's lands notes [12] 'one house formerly made a mill but now decayde called by the name of Bridge Mill consisting of two bayes with a little close adjoining called Millholme containing by estimation 1 acre 3 roods 0 perches. Annual value £2.0s.0d'.

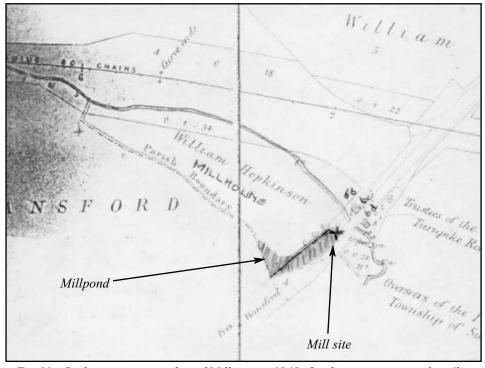


Fig 11e. Railway surveyors plan of Mill area c 1865. On the accompanying key 6b is sheepwash, 6c is house and 6d is toll house and garden, both belonging to the trustees of the Wansford district of Leicester-Peterborough turnpike.

And that is the last reference I can find to Bridgemill. But what happened to William Morton's ten cartloads of freestone? I believe William Hopkinson used the stone from the 'decayde mill' to build his sheepwash nearby (Figs 13w.1&2) in 1844, for it is built of superior stone far removed from the rough stone expected of such a utilitarian structure. Certainly all evidence of the mill had gone by 1865 when a surveyor for the new railway drew his map showing of the mill's tail leat and overflow channel. (Fig 11e) There are still a few bits of building stone lying around and the silted up mill pond still fills up in times of flood. However auguring has not located any foundations of the mill house which may well be under the earthwork rampart of the new (in 1867) road bridge.

The Quarry or Stone Pits

Sutton used to have a quarry of 'excellent stone' (Kelly's Directory 1854). It is fairly easy to establish when working ceased from a memorandum dated 7th December 1897 of the Peterborough Chapter Estates which reads: 'The Commissioners are also owners of 4a 2r 33p the site of a stone pit worked out many years since, which has yielded no rent for about 40 years'.

It is less easy to establish when it started. The most likely time is in the late 17th century, when the Dean and Chapter would be looking for a local stone source to replace the worked out quarries at Barnack. Certainly the quarry was not





Fig 11f. Old working face Sutton quarry.

Fig 11g. River access Sutton quarry.

working at the dissolution for it is not mentioned in the King's Value in 1535 [21], nor for that matter in the 1649 Parliamentary Survey [12]. The village appears to have been extensively rebuilt in the 17th century by Bishop Dove or his family. The initials 'JD 1700' are on the North Bay of Manor Farm and the RCHM [13] lists seven houses or cottages in Sutton built in the 17th century and one 19th century house with reused 17th century windows. Perhaps the quarry was opened for this purpose and its river side-site made it possible to move the stone easily further afield. The remains of a gravel and timber wharf may be seen when the river is low, and it is recorded [14] that Elton Rectory was partly built of Sutton Stone, and the Dean and Chapter's lessees of the quarry for many years were Thompsons, a firm of Peterborough Church builders and repairers (Figs 11f & 11g).

Population

Sutton's populations seems to have been remarkably steady over 700 years, based on taxation returns, rent rolls and censuses, though it did fall to about half its present size post-war in the 1950s and 1960s before recovering to today's figure.

Poll tax 1381 [15] A tax on heads or polls was first raised in 1377 and again in 1379 and 1381. Sutton's record is from 1381 and was for all those over 16. Twenty three people paid sums between 8d and 4s.4d. with a total of 49s.10d and an average of 2s.2d. Using a multiple of 4.3 gives a population of about 100 people.

William Morton – Rent Roll 1451 [16] He records rents for twenty three messuages or cottages again giving a population of about 100.

Hearth Tax - **1669** [17] Each hearth was taxed at 2s.0d per year payable in two instalments at Lady Day and Michaelmas. Those too poor to be rated were exempt. Thirty householders are recorded, of which thirteen hearths were certified as exempt. One person had seven hearths, and five had three hearths. A total of the thirty three were liable for tax. Population about 120.

Compton Census 1676 (a religious survey) 80 conformists. No papists or non conformists. 23 families.

Mr Landen of Milton's survey 27th June 1768. Six farms, eight cottages, one house, three tenements. Total 18 premises, population about 90.

1811 Census quoted in Peterborough Standard [4] 20 houses, population 103.

Census 1841. 24 houses, population 121.

Census 1901. 23 houses, population 98.

Census 1961 and Peterborough Standard 1964 [4] 20 houses, population 58.

Electoral Register 2003. 50 houses, 101 electors.

Some other events in Sutton's history Ice Age

Some of the oldest mammal bones in Peterborough Museum are of Wolstonian age and were found near Sutton Cross [18].

Prehistoric

RCHM [19] lists 7 Ring Ditches, 2 double ring ditches, 2 enclosures and a pit alignment in the parish – a prehistoric metropolis!

Roman

Edmund Artis undertook considerable excavations in the parish and discovered the remains of a Roman villa on Sutton Heath and several potteries and iron furnaces (Fig 11h).

Norman

Sutton is not mentioned in the Domesday Book but it should be remembered that it was essentially a tax return and Sutton was wholly owned by the Abbey, which was exempt from many taxes under Anglo-Saxon charters confirmed by William I in 1070.

1294 Full Hundred Court of Nassaburgh at Sutton [20]

'John de la Planche had withheld Suit of the Sacrist's court at Southorpe. An inquisition was made at the full Hundred Court of Nassaburgh at Sutton and found he was bound to perform the said Suit. The same paid for Sherrif's Aid 18d a year, for frank pledge 6d; for suit of court 8d.' (ie fined 24 pence with eight pence costs)

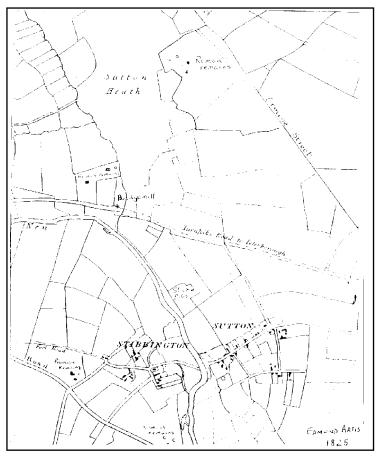


Fig 11h. Artis' map 1825.

1535 The King's Value [21]

At the dissolution of the Abbey, Sutton was valued as follows:

Sutton village	£14	12	0	1/2
Sutton Wood	£1	15	2	1/2
21 acres 20 perches price the acre 1s 8d				
Bridgemill	£2	0	0	
	£18	7	3	
Deductions:-				
Richard Robinson bailiff of the said Almoner's land at Sutton		13	4	
	£17	13	11	per annum

1536 Nassaburgh Musters

Sutton to provide 2 archers, 3 bylmen, horse and harness for a man

1548/9 Book of Robert Pearson general receiver for the Dean and Chapter [22]

1650 Commonwealth [6] 'Manor of Sutton with all that messuage now or late in tenure of William Gardener in the town of Sutton and commonly called the manor house was sold by the Commissioner for sale of Bishop's lands to Thomas Matthews and Thomas Allen, citizens and grocers of London.' The sale was rescinded at the Restoration in 1660 (VCH).

1684 Great Fire of Sutton [23]

To relieve distress following the fire collections were taken in churches. Amongst these were:

1 Mar 1684 Elton – 'for a fire at Sutton in Caster parish Northampton, 11s. 5 ½ d'

10 Feb 1684 Lamport – 'collected for John Ryleys brief of Sutton in ye parish of Castor, 10s.

6d'
22 Feb 1684 Ormsby – 'for ye burning at Sutton in Caster Northampt, 2s. 0d'

14 Sep 1684 Dallington – 'for a fire at Sutton in ye parish of Castor in ye countie of Northampton, 3s. 6d'.

1762 Militia List

This lists all males aged between 18 and 45 and shows two farmers, a shepherd, a cordwainer (leather worker), a cooper (barrel maker), a butcher, three labourers, and three servants. The shepherd and a labourer had three children and would have been exempt as the maintenance of their children would otherwise fall on the parish, and the cooper was lame.

1797 Token

This was found during the building of Church Lees. The Curator of Archaeology at Peterborough Museum writes: 'This item would have been used as a farm token about 200 years ago. The worker would be paid with these tokens which could only be used for produce on that particular farm. The token would have been stamped by the farm. It was originally a bronze heavy penny from the reign of George III, 1797". The token had been used on seven occasions. At the time, Grange Farm was leased by William Hopkinson (1755-1821) from the Dean and Chapter.

1901 Enclosure of the Open Fields and Heath

The enclosure of 477 acres of the open fields aroused no opposition as by then there was only one cottager with any common rights remaining and he was farm bailiff to Rev W Hopkinson, Lord of the Manor and proposer of the scheme; in any case the open fields had for all practical purposes been enclosed - see Artis' map (Fig 11h) – by agreement of the occupants of the Grange and Manor Farm. However the proposal to enclose 133 acres of heath, which many regarded as a common, did arouse considerable controversy and was opposed by the City of Peterborough. The bill was carried in Parliament by the very narrow majority of seven votes – 151 for and 144 against [24].



Fig 11i. Sutton and Upton Home Guard c1943. Back Row (l-r): Phillip Fox, Wilf Hornsby, Charlie Favell, John Fox, Harry Fox, Walter Fox; Middle Row: Harold Gathercole, Arthur Mason, Harry Ward, Steve Britten, Arthur Harris, Charlie Harris, George Ransome; Front Row: Allen Herbert (2ic), Jack Button (CO), Ernest Britten (Sgt).

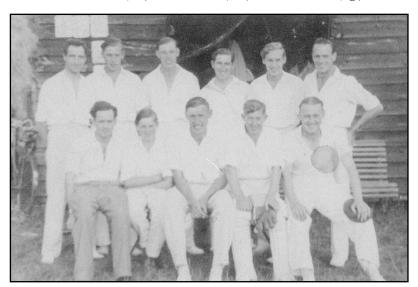


Fig 11j. Sutton and Upton Cricket team c1950. Back Row (l-r) unknown, Geoffrey Fox, Phil Fox, unknown, Walter Fox, Tom Hornsby; Front Row: John Gathercole, Michael Skells, John Fox, Arthur Mason, Dick



Fig 111. Sutton and Upton Coronation celebrations 1953: children and helpers on a horse drawn wagon, handled by Geoffrey and John Fox Front row (l-r) Graham Fox, Audrey Fox, Beverley Favell, Ruth Fox, Peter Mason. Rosalie Britten. Mrs Chambers. Nellie Britten.

The Village Today

The character of the village changed dramatically in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Increasing mechanization on the



Fig 11k. Sutton and Upton Coronation celebrations 1953: childrens' race – Graham Fox first, Linda Ward (lived at Old Station), second.

farm required fewer labourers. Their cottages, with their large gardens allowing ample scope for extensions, were sold to professional people as they became vacant. Jack Button of Manor Farm, who had bought virtually all the Grange farmland from the Rev W Hopkinson's daughter Mrs Graeme, developed Manor Road by selling quarteracre plots for approx £1000 with covenants to build a house on the plot costing not less than £10,000 seemingly amazingly cheap now but at the time more than twice the price of a house on the executive

development then taking place at Netherton. These houses tended to be bought by middle-aged established executives commuting daily to local towns, and for many years the village had few children, resulting in disuse of both allotments and recreation ground, which were then let for grazing. In all this time the little Victorian corrugated iron Reading Room remained the village's social centre, as indeed it does today with monthly coffee mornings, PC and PCC meetings, elections and the odd social occasion. Some years ago there was a proposal to replace it with a modern building but the proposal foundered in some acrimony because of disagreement on the scale of the rebuilding, where it should be sited and the cost. The issue will have to be addressed again in the near future though, as the Reading Room will not last for ever. Happily the adult population, whose numbers dropped to the fifties after the war, is again in excess of a hundred. The increasing number of children has resulted in current action to resuscitate the recreation ground by providing play-ground equipment, goalposts and seating. The recent Jubilee celebrations, including restoration of Sutton Cross, were enjoyed by all, and with continuing support for village institutions, such as the harvest festival and carol service, augur well for this growing community in its ancient setting.

Keith Garrett

Keith Garrett was a Canberra Navigator at RAF Wittering in the mid-50s. He bought the former station master's house in 1965, which makes him the second oldest resident, and the oldest incomer.

Acknowledgements

David Powell for advice on the Mill and Brian Walsh of Bourne for help in translating Latin texts, Richard Hillier Peterborough Library, Ben Robinson Peterborough Museum, villagers past and present or their descendants for anecdotes and photographs.

Notes

- 1. Minutes of Evidence Parliamentary Select Committee into Enclosure of Sutton, 2 May 1901.
- 2. Censuses Sutton Township 1841-1901.
- $3. \quad \ Register \ of \ Baptisms \ Sutton \ Chapelry/Parish.$
- 4. Peterborough Standard, 24 Jan 1964.
- 5. Letters Lord Fitzwilliam to his steward, p86, NRS 1990.
- 6. VCH Northants, p481.
- 7. Stenton ed, NRS Vol IV, p46.
- 8. Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, p71.
- 9. Joan Greatex ed, Account Rolls of the Obedientaries of Peterborough, NRS, 1983, p45.
- 10. WT Mellows ed, Henry Pytchley's Book of Fees, NRS, 1927.
- 11. WT Mellows ed, Book of William Morton, NRS, pp70-105.
- 12. Parliamentary Survey of Manor of Sutton 1649, NCRO,
- 13. RCHM, Survey of Peterborough New Town Antiquities, HMSO, 1969, pp75-76.
- 14. Rev RF Whistler, History of Elton, 1900.
- 15. Poll Tax 1381, NCRO.
- 16. WT Mellows ed, Book of William Morton, NRS, p48.
- 17. Hearth Tax 1669, NCRO, E179.
- 18. Langford, Cool Peterborough, p20.
- 19. RCHM, Survey of Peterborough New Town Antiquities, HMSO, 1969,
- 20. WT Mellows ed, Henry Pytchley's Book of Fees, NRS, 1927, p62.
- 21. WT Mellows ed, Last days of Peterborough Monastery, NRS, 1947, pp6-8.
- 22. Ibid, p93.
- 23. Northants Notes & Queries 1884/5, p33.
- 24. Peterborough & Hunts Standard 24 May 1901.
- 25. WT Mellows ed, *Elizabethan Peterborough*, NRS, 1956, p51.