

NOTES

'MISSING' CARTULARY OF NOTLEY ABBEY

The purpose of this note is to highlight the study undertaken by Christopher Hohler (1917–1997) regarding the 'missing' cartulary of Notley Abbey, Long Crendon. Christopher Hohler, editor of the Bucks Record Society in 1973 and 1975, retired to Oslo in 1979, having completed 32 years as a lecturer at the Courtauld Institute. Between 1917 and 1977 his family lived at Long Crendon Manor. His interest in Notley Abbey went back to 1932–33 when he undertook an excavation of the Chapter House.

Christopher Hohler was a meticulous transcriber, mainly of medieval documents, but he rarely if ever published any of his findings. It is therefore not untypical to find that he should leave unpublished the material he had collected relating to the reconstruction of the 'missing' Notley Cartulary. He had clearly read the Huntingdon Library Quarterly article entitled *The Lost Cartulary of Nutley Abbey*, edited by J.G.Jenkins (Vol XVII 1953–54), and felt the need to pursue the issues raised by the article. The Huntingdon Library had bought the manuscript collection of Stowe, seat of the Grenville family. In 1760, the remaining Dormer portion of the Manor of Crendon had been sold to George Grenville, then resident at Wotton Underwood. Amongst the Huntingdon Library manuscripts was a summary by George Grenville of those parts of the cartulary of particular interest to his family.

Reproduced below is an incomplete introductory paper by Christopher Hohler attached to a file containing his transcriptions of relevant Notley charters (1). It is handwritten with later amendments and although undated it most probably belongs to the 1960s or early 1970s. The insertions in square brackets [] are mine.

(1) Uncatalogued Hohler Archive, Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society

Eric Sewell

THE VANISHED CARTULARY OF NOTLEY

The last time that anyone is known to have seen the Cartulary of Notley was in 1733. On Saturday 3rd March of that year Thomas Hearne entered in his diary "Mr [Browne] Willis yesterday told me that the Earl of Abbingdon hath got the Register of Nutley Abbey but that some leaves at the end are cut out. He will not lend it but if Mr Willis will go over to Ricote he shall have the use of it for a week or longer, as he pleases, and be very welcome". On the 4th, Hearne again refers to the matter, saying "Mr Willis went over to Rycot to Lord Abbingtons yesterday in the afternoon to consult the register of Nutley Abbey". But on Friday 9th he enters "Mr Willis returned from Rycot to Oxford on Tuesday but he did not see there the Register or Chartulary of Nutley Abbey, Mr Lydall being not then there who hath got the key". This however was evidently untrue or if true the difficulty was later overcome. A general description of the manuscript, giving the numbers of the folios at which the charters relating to the different estates began, and summarising a few charters in English, appears among the B Willis' papers [at the Bodleian] and fuller notes of charters relating to Crendon, Chilton, Easington, Dorton, Ashendon, Winchendon and Risborough are to be found among them elsewhere. It is clear from all this that the interest of the Cartulary was realised at Rycote, and it is most unlikely that it was destroyed during the next few years [said to have been burned when the Earl left Rycote]. In 17[64] however, the Earl of Abingdon sold all his rights in Crendon and the manorial rights of Notley Abbey, deceptively described as the Manor of Crendon, to the Duke of Marlborough; and the bulk of the documents relating to it, presumably including the Cartulary, must then have passed to Blenheim. The Crendon property was owned during the 19th century by the cadet branch of the Duke's family beginning with Almeric Lord Churchill in [1817] and in 187[3], on the death of Lord Churchill's son[1886] was sold by auction and bought by

Herbert Dodwell. Somewhere along this line the Cartulary if it still exists must have got stuck: but efforts to locate it have so far proved unavailing.

For our knowledge of its contents we are not however solely dependant on Willis. In the first place eight estates owned by Notley before its suppression namely those at Hillesden, Caversham, Maiden Bradley, Lyford, Swell, Dorton, Policote and Claydon were regranted to Christ Church, Oxford in 15... and the Canons secured an exemption of all charters relating to these, under the Great Seal, which has survived. Furthermore a number of documents considered important by the Abbey were enrolled in Chancery during the middle ages. For the rest, several early antiquaries besides Willis saw the cartulary, and their notes, in this case all in Latin, have survived. Two of these antiquaries were primarily concerned with the family of Grenville of Chilton and Wotton, which had risen to prominence in their own time. Sir William Dugdale's notes on charters are indeed based on an inspection of the entire book but there is a heavy predominance of charters relating to Crendon and Chilton, and unfortunately he does not indicate the folios on which the entries he is calendaring occurred. The same disadvantage applies to the summaries made by Richard Grenville of Wotton early in the 17th century when the Cartulary was in the possession of Sir John Dormer of but is amply offset by the fact that Sir John Dormer also possessed a copy on paper of the contents of the opening few gatherings of the parchment book, the first of which was already missing in his time. Richard Grenville's notes moreover relate almost exclusively to Crendon and Chilton, and if they cover only 35 folios or so out of a total of over 100 they cover them fairly fully*. The unknown excerptor, whose work survives in B. M. Cotton Titus F.6, was fortunately particularly interested in Norfolk and London he has thus tended to preserve items ignored by the others and he does give folio numbers. He also copied much of the prefatory matter, but he was highly selective in what he copied and the sum of it is slight. The excerptor whose notes are preserved in B. M. Lansdowne 860, though he also gives folio numbers, has noticed few charters and is still more concise. Besides these there is a single sheet in someone else's hand giving excerpts of the Founders' grant of Hillesden church and of a few grants of property in Crendon among Anthony

Woods' papers. A copy of this sent by Hearne to Willis and a further transcript of Hearne's copy by Willis himself appear among Willis' papers and Willis has also reproduced a few jejune notes taken by "Mr West". The transcripts of two charters in M.S. Lansdowne 447 appear to derive from Chancery copies and the excerpts in are definitely stated to come from the roll at Christ Church.

The local historians, beginning with White Kennet in 16..., who have used Notley charters at all, can be shown to have depended on such of these documents as were available in Oxford, that is to say essentially the roll, Dugdale's excerpts and Willis' notes. Grenvills' excerpts were available to the author of the article on the family in Collins' Peerage, which was in turn used by Lipscomb but were otherwise lost to view until they were detected and published in translation by Mr J.G. Jenkins in 1954. The V.C.H. on the other hand made use only of such charters as had been enrolled in Chancery.

Owing to the preoccupation with genealogy or in the case of Willis with the compilation of ecclesiastical fasti, which beset all the excerptors, available details of charters not enrolled at Christ Church or in Chancery are usually of very limited use for the study of diplomatic law or topography and sometimes even for understanding the constitution of the different estates. In compensation the charters preserved on the roll at Christ Church are of quite exceptional interest from every point of view and the debris of the others will often be found illuminating.

* For these two estates there are probably not more than a dozen charters of whose contents we have no indication at all. The title to the estates which were of no interest of Christ Church or the Grenvilles has fared very much less well.

[Hohler evidently had in mind the publication of his findings as the following indicates.]

THE PRESENT EDITION

The plan adopted has been to take the known framework of the Cartulary and to fit into it at the appropriate points all the relevant material. The Christ Church Roll is under some suspicion of being copied from the Cartulary rather than the

originals, since it includes numerous “memoranda” which may be endorsements but look more like explanatory remarks composed in the first place for insertion into a book; and since the order of the entries under each head in the Roll though not of the heads themselves seems always to be that of the cartulary so far as this can be checked.

Special problems arise over a number of Papal Bulls noticed by Willis whose most probable place was in the first gathering already lost in his time. If so he must have had access to the paper copy of this seen by Grenville but there is no other evidence to suggest it. Then there are a few documents preserved on Chancery rolls or in other copies whose absence from the cartulary would be almost as inexplicable as is the failure of any excerptors to notice them if they were there. And some excerpts are so brief that it is impossible to know to which estate the charter excerpted actually referred. Nevertheless these difficulties are neither numerous nor acute and the reconstruction of the cartulary thus effected must be substantially reliable, though the charters of which there is no record must have vastly outnumbered those for which records exist.

It is difficult to estimate the age of the book thus reconstructed with any assurance since it is impossible to be certain that the latest charters were not entered on blank leaves left at suitable points in a much earlier *ms*[†]. But no document relating to the acquisition in 14... of Chetwood Priory and its dependencies seems to have been included so that[‡] unless they do originate as endorsements [they] suggest a date of compilation nearer the year 1300. If so, the book was evidently kept up to date until the beginning of the 15th century. Whether it was a copy made about then or the original book with additions which was in Lord Abingdon’s possession in 1733, is beyond conjecture.

[†] Willis notices a document as late as 1402 and another of 1420.

[‡] The book should only have been kept up to date until about that time, whether or not that was also the date of a new fair copy. On the other hand the various...

[Christopher Hohler]

IMPOLITENESS AT STOWE

The discovery by the National Trust in 2006, of an inscribed hand-made roof tile at the New Inn at Stowe Gardens, serves as an interesting reminder that the use of words we consider offensive has a tradition that passes back through the centuries. The tile in question, discovered when the north range of the courtyard housing the former kitchen and brewhouse was being stripped of its tile covering, carries the word ‘Cunt’ inscribed deeply across its rear face (Fig.1, upper). The author (!) has a confident smooth flowing hand and has written the word boldly in letters measuring between 20 and 80 mm in height.

Inscription on hand-made tiles appears to have been quite a common practice as is attested by the display of such items in the County Museum, although the inscriptions are usually of a more sober, commemorative nature, carrying for exam-

ple the name of the maker and a date. One can therefore only speculate as to the motive or intention of the author of the Stowe tile inscription, who was presumably its maker. Strictly speaking the inscription should also carry an exclamation mark if it has been applied as an expletive and it might be more realistic to identify the application of the word as a piece of coarse vernacular humour.

The tile probably dates from the early 18th century as the buildings at New Inn have been dated by dendrochronology to c.1717. Its source is uncertain but there was an estate brickworks on the neighbouring Boycott estate just beyond the Stowe-Dadford Road. It is one of three inscribed hand-made tiles that have been recovered from New Inn. A second carries a series of numbers added together, perhaps a tally of the number of tiles made by that particular maker (Fig. 2). The



FIGURE 1 Tile from New Inn, Stowe

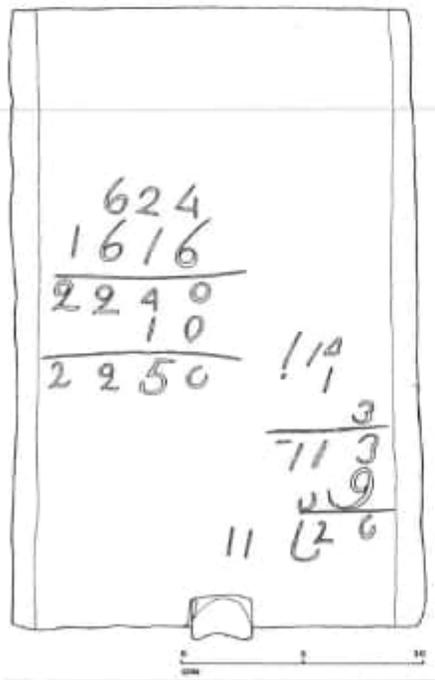


FIGURE 2 Tile from New Inn, Stowe

third tile, undoubtedly the most impressive, carries a short rhyme (Fig 3):

*For slat or: tyle they will ware best: and you all
night may sleep at rest*

Beneath the lettering is an illegible scribble which may be decorative or might also be the name of the author – the end seems to terminate in the letter ‘e’.

The tiles are likely to be displayed at New Inn when the buildings are opened to the public in 2011. However, in order to preserve good taste it has been suggested that the offensive tile should be concealed behind a curtain which would carry a warning to the potential viewer.

Gary Marshall

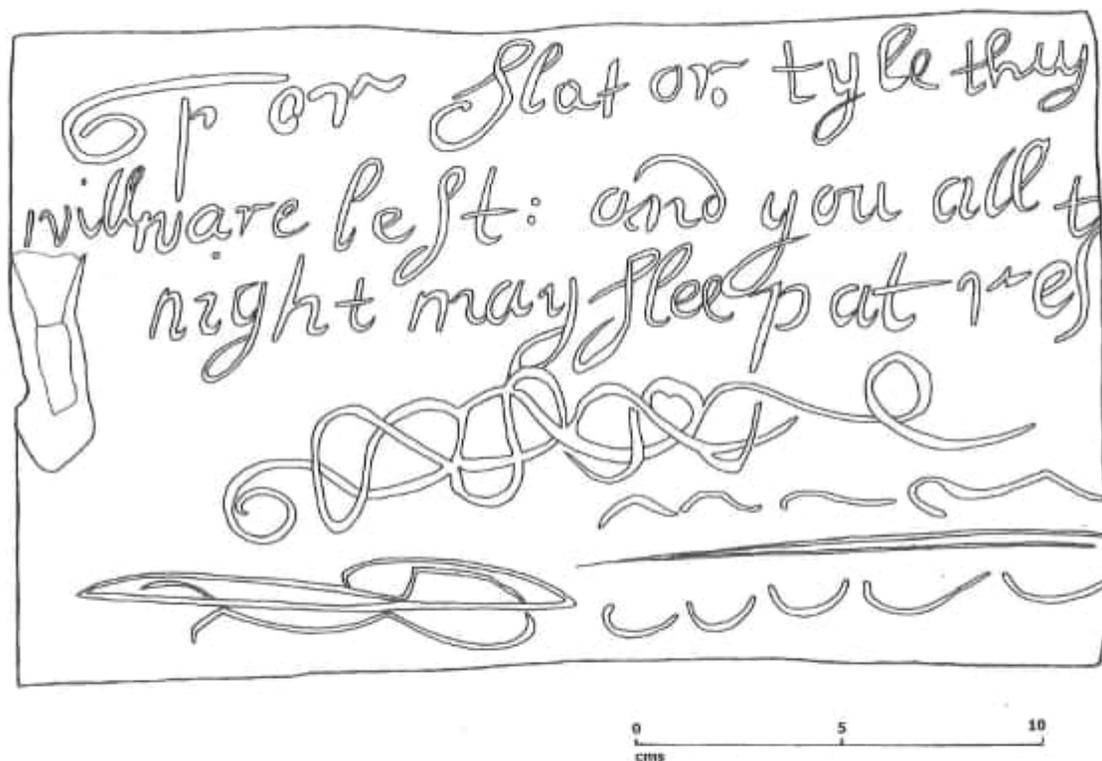


FIGURE 3 Tile from New Inn, Stowe

PUZZLING MILESTONES AT STONE

The village of Stone sits astride the Aylesbury – Thame road (A418), about 2½ miles west of Aylesbury at the point where the A418 is crossed by an ancient minor road (called Bishopstone Road and Eythrope Road in this area). North of the village this minor road (as Eythrope Road), descends steeply into the valley of the River Thame, initially as a 'C' class public road, later as a private road and public bridleway. It crosses the river about 300 yards west of the abandoned site of Eythrope House, one-time seat of the Earls of Chesterfield. Near the foot of the hill, partly hidden by trees on the north-eastern verge of the road,

a milestone stands at grid ref. SP 774129. This had long been a well-known local curiosity when the present writer read its inscriptions in 1985 and recorded them as :

<i>Front face</i>	XLII	<i>Back face</i>	XLIV
	Miles T		
	I		
	London		L don

(As will become apparent below, it is probable that the back face originally read XLIV but, by 1985, the top corner of the stone had been broken off

leaving only an oblique cut which is assumed to have been half of the 'V'.)

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries most milestones were placed along main roads by turnpike trusts. However, it was not unknown for them to be installed by private individuals so eyebrows would not have been raised by the fact that this stone stands beside a minor road that was never turnpiked. The generally-held assumption has been that when Sir William Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, was embellishing Eythrope House and its grounds, (including rebuilding the bridge which carried Eythrope Road over the River Thame) in the mid-eighteenth century, he set up the milestone as an eyecatcher for his visitors. This assumption did not explain why two of the stone's faces apparently displayed different mileages to London.

The subject lay dormant until November 2006, when Peter and Mary Lunnon were planting a tree in the garden of their home just south-east of the parish church in Bishopstone Road, Stone (SP 784122). The preparatory hole was temporarily blocked by a buried slab which, on lifting, turned out to be a milestone whose dimensions roughly matched those of the one in Eythrope Road, but lettered (on one face only) :-

XLI
M

On hearing of the discovery, the present writer noted that the Lunnons' 41 mile stone had been buried only 300 yards short of one mile from the Eythrope Road '42' stone. This raised the possibility that the latter was not a solitary eyecatcher as long believed, but one of a sequence of four milestones beside the road from Eythrope House to Aylesbury; from there the turnpike roads to London had their own milestones. Contemporary maps were examined for support of this theory, but while they revealed an unexpectedly complex history of turnpike milestone provision in the area and shed more light on the Eythrope Road stone, they did little to answer the questions raised by the Lunnons' stone. This note is therefore an account of what has been gleaned, and an appeal for help in explaining the inconsistencies in the story of "the Earl of Chesterfield's milestones".

MAPPED RECORD OF THE MILESTONES IN 1766

Jefferys' map of Buckinghamshire (1), published in 1766, marks the Eythrope Road milestone, but records the mileage on it as 44 (which is now on the stone's rear face), not the 42 now on its front face. It does not mark any other milestone on the Aylesbury - Thame road (the future A418) between Stone and Aylesbury. This could indicate that Jefferys' surveyor was on the scene when the milestones were being installed, but at a time when only the stone nearest to Eythrope House had been put in place. The Aylesbury - Thame road was not taken over by a turnpike trust until 1770 so if, in the 1760s, the Earl of Chesterfield wanted a set of milestones leading from Eythrope House to the nearest turnpike road (at Aylesbury), he would have had to put them up himself. Jefferys mapped a precedent by the Duke of Buckingham who had placed a pair of "private" milestones (nos. 58 and 59) beside the minor non-turnpike road from Buckingham to Stowe House via Chackmore; these continued the Wendover & Buckingham turnpike road's sequence of milestones, which ended at 57 miles from London where that road entered Buckingham.

In the 1760s two turnpike roads ran south-eastwards from Aylesbury towards London - the Sparrows Herne Trust's route (modern A41) via Watford and the Wendover & Buckingham Trust's route (modern A413) via Uxbridge. These roads met just outside the town beside *The Broad Leys* public house in Wendover Road, Walton until 1826, when the Sparrows Herne Trust opened its new entrance to Aylesbury along the present Tring Road / Aylesbury High Street, after which the junction beside *The Broad Leys* soon went out of use.

Jefferys' map (Fig. 2) shows the mileages from London to the pre-1826 junction of turnpike roads at *The Broad Leys* as 38 via the Sparrows Herne route and 40 via the Wendover & Buckingham. Since it was four miles by the roads then available from the *The Broad Leys* to the '44' milestone in Eythrope Road it appears that the Earl had based the mileage shown on his four stones on the Wendover & Buckingham's '40' milestone near *The Broad Leys*. If so, he would have placed the '41' stone near Aylesbury Mill in the Oxford Road, '42' near the south-east corner of Hartwell

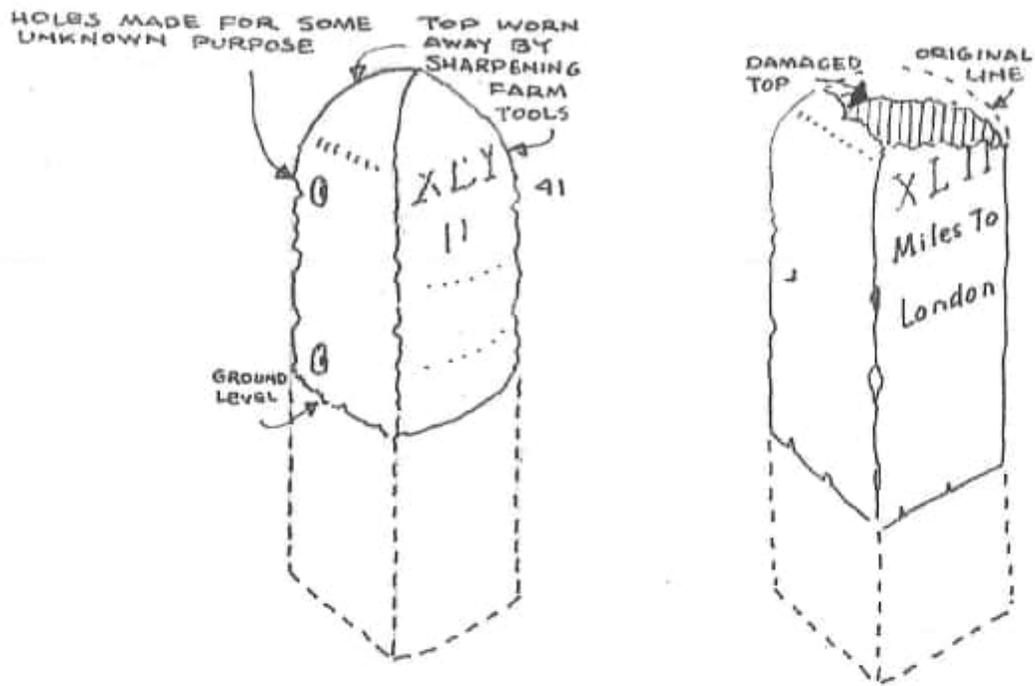


FIGURE 1 Sketches by Peter Lunnion of the two milestones showing (left) the 41 milestone in his garden and (right) the front of the 42 mile stone in Eythrope Road.

Park, '43' near the future Stone Recreation Ground, and '44' down the Eythrope Road. The Wendover & Buckingham road's sequence was probably chosen as the base for the Earl's mileages because it had been adopted by a turnpike trust in 1721 and was thus well-established by the time that he started to plan Eythrope's embellishments in the 1750s. The Sparrows Herne Trust was not inaugurated until 1762 and, even though Jefferys showed its milestones in place by 1766, they may not have existed when the Earl was making his plans.

THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD'S MILESTONES ALTERED

Someone presumably had second thoughts about the logic of basing the mileages given by the Earl's milestones on the higher of the two turnpike mileages from London to Aylesbury. As a consequence, at an unknown date after 1762, the mileage

shown on them was reduced by two miles to reflect the shorter distance to London via the newly established Sparrows Herne turnpike. However, as can be seen on Figure 2, the '38' and '40' milestones on the converging turnpike roads at 'The Broad Leys' were about 200 yards apart, with the result that switching the Earl's datum point from the '40' stone to the '38' would also have meant moving each of his stones 200 yards towards London. Comparing Jefferys' map with the Ordnance Survey's first draft map (1813) (2) the Eythrope Road stone can be seen to have moved this 200 yards towards London between 1766 and 1813. However, while one would have expected it to be recorded by 1813 with a revised mileage of '42', the Ordnance Survey recorded it (probably by surveyor error) as still reading '44'. If the Lunnons' stone was renumbered and moved a similar distance it would have been relocated from near the future recreation ground to near the future Stone School site.

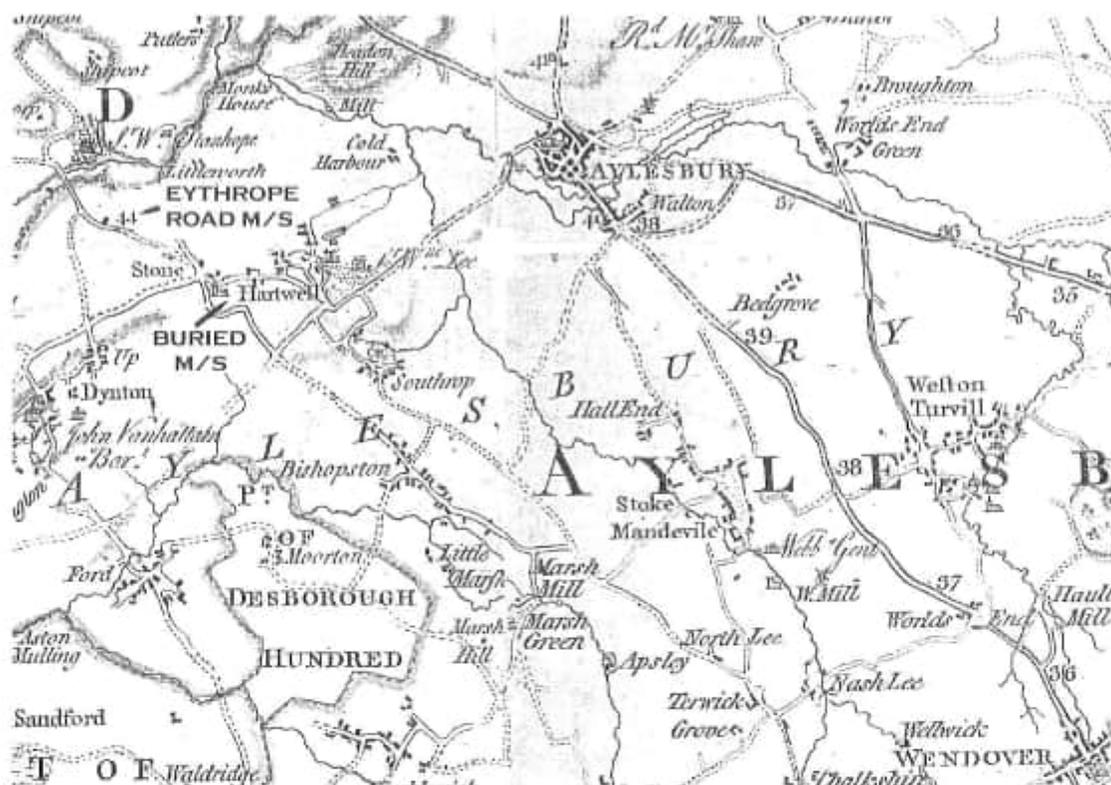


FIGURE 2 Extract from Jefferys' 1766 map of Buckinghamshire showing the lone 44 milestone beside Eythrope Road, north-west of Stone, and milestones beside the two turnpike roads south east of Aylesbury, which converged at Walton. (Reproduced by permission of Bucks. Archaeological Society).

THE FUTURE A418 IS TURNPIKED WEST OF AYLESBURY IN 1770

The body responsible for maintaining and improving the future A418 to the west of Aylesbury, (the Aylesbury & Shillingford Turnpike Trust), obtained its initial Act of Parliament in 1770 and renewed it in 1791. The wording of the 1791 Act implied that the Trust had not put up any milestones by that date, so between Aylesbury and Stone it may have benefited from the existence of the Earl's stones. However the 1791 Act ordered the Trust to install milestones and they had certainly complied by 1813 when the Ordnance Survey's map recorded eight milestones in place between Aylesbury and Thame. This map shows that the Trust had based its mileages on the shorter (38 mile) route from

London to Aylesbury via the Sparrows Herne Trust's road. Its first three milestones out of Aylesbury (nos. 39 to 41) would therefore have been positioned in the same places as the Earl's renumbered and repositioned stones. This makes it likely that the latter would have been discarded between 1791 and 1813 because the Trust's 1791 Act required it to erect milestones inscribed with mileages and destinations and, if the Lunnons' stone is one of the Earl's, it carried no destination information and therefore did not comply with the Act. The discarded stones were presumably seen as useful building materials; indeed the Lunnons' stone has two holes drilled into its side, suggesting that it had a second life as a gatepost or doorpost before being buried.

MILESTONES ON THE FUTURE A418 REPLACED BETWEEN 1824 AND 1836

The Aylesbury & Shillingford Trust's milestones on the future A418 were only about thirty years old when the trust decided to replace them between Aylesbury and Thame with a new set of cast iron mileposts made by Seymour of Aylesbury. (This was done after the date of Bryant's county map of 1824 (3) and before the production of a turnpike map dated 1836 (4)). Three of these iron mileposts still stand beside the road, and a fourth has been removed to the garden of the County Museum. The new mileposts no longer showed distances to London, but simply recorded mileages from Aylesbury and Thame. The result of having a new point of origin for their mileage (central Aylesbury instead of Walton) meant that they had to be sited roughly half-way between the milestones which they replaced. The old turnpike stones would thus have been removed at some time between 1824 and 1836 as the iron mileposts were installed – apparently the second time that the three mile markers between Aylesbury and Stone had been moved and replaced. A second batch of surplus milestones thus became available for use as building materials.

DISCUSSION

When the Lunnons' '41' milestone came to light, the mileage on it suggested that it had seen service nearby in Stone, but its actual history remained circumstantial. Putting the facts together there seemed a strong likelihood that:

- it was one of the Earl of Chesterfield's four "private" milestones because it has no destination inscribed on it, and thus did not comply with the spirit of the 1767 General Turnpike Act, nor the letter of the Aylesbury & Shillingford Trust's 1791 Act; furthermore it carries Roman numerals, and most turnpike trusts used Arabic numerals after the mid-eighteenth century (5);
- it started life in the 1760s beside the future A418 in the vicinity of the future Stone Recreation Ground (marking 43 miles from London via the A413 route) before being renumbered 41 and moved 200 yards east to near the future Stone School after 1766;
- it was acquired for building material by Willow Farm, Stone, (on part of whose former land the

Lunnons' bungalow now stands) once it became redundant between 1791 and 1813.

The probability that the '41' milestone is one of the Earl's is indicated by its physical similarity with the Eythrope Road stone; both are roughly one foot square in horizontal section and both have closely-spaced horizontal grooves cut into their sides. The Eythrope Road stone has a slightly-domed top, now heavily chipped, while the Bishopstone Road stone has a pyramidal top, which Peter Lunnon believes to be the result of its subsequent use, perhaps for the sharpening of tools, because the pyramidal slope cuts through the top of the Roman numerals.

It is puzzling that the two stones have had their mileages altered by such different methods, bearing in mind that both had to be lifted out of the ground to be moved 200 yards towards London. In the case of the Eythrope Road stone it appears that the change was made by turning it round so that its blank rear face fronted the road, and then inscribing that face with the "new" (42) mileage to London. On the other hand the Bishopstone Road stone has acquired a shallowly bowed front which Peter Lunnon believes to be the result of planing down the front face to remove the original inscription (43 miles to London) and replacing it with '41 M'. It is possible that one of the two surviving stones (probably the Lunnons') was the prototype for the work and that it proved to be too labour intensive so that the remainder were treated in a different way.

But if all four of the Earl's stones were amended at the same time between the late 1760s and the 1780s, it is odd that the 1813 Ordnance Survey map shows the Eythrope Road stone still reading 44 instead of the 42 which it now carries on its front face, even though it can be seen to have undergone the 200 yard resiting which accompanied the renumbering. It is unlikely that anyone would have paid attention to this stone after 1813 because this was three years after Eythrope House had been abandoned (6), and thus three years after anyone would have had any interest in altering it to show the '42' now displayed on its face. The 5th Earl of Chesterfield decided to demolish Eythrope House in 1810 and, although his decision was rather sudden, he would hardly have been concerned with the minutiae of what visitors to Eythrope would read on milestones once he had decided that the house would have no more visitors. (The actual site of Eythrope House was never

reoccupied, but Alice de Rothschild built her Pavilion 100 yards north of it after purchasing the estate in 1875, so there was no incentive for anyone to alter the stone between 1810 and 1875). We are thus left with the unsatisfactory explanation that the O.S. surveyor in 1813 correctly recorded that the stone had moved but copied the mileage off Jefferys 1766 map without checking the inscription on the stone, and thus without noting that it had been changed. Frustratingly the Ordnance Survey's 25" scale maps issued in 1881 and 1925 did not record the Eythrope Road milestone at all and it was not until their 1980 25" map that it reappeared.

We are thus left with two unusual milestones which clearly did not belong to a turnpike trust, and which are, uneasily, identified as half of the Earl of Chesterfield's quartet of milestones between Eythrope House and Aylesbury. Until more documentation is found, or another milestone unearthed, we can only use the circumstantial evidence set out here.

Peter Gulland

REFERENCES

1. 'Buckinghamshire in the 1760s and 1820s: the county maps of Jefferys & Bryant', published by Bucks. Archaeological Society, 2000.
2. Draft Ordnance Survey map at scale of 2" : 1 mile, surveyed in this area in 1813.
3. As reference 1.
4. Map of turnpike road from Aylesbury to Thame dated 1836, in Bucks. Record Office, (ref. D/HO/516A).
5. Carol Haines, 'Marking the Miles, a history of English milestones' published by the author in 2000.
6. H.M. Colvin, 'Eythrope House and its demolition in 1810-11' *Records of Bucks.* 17 (4), 1964.

A SWING RIOT PETITION

As George Lamb reported to the 2006 AGM, the savings in postage made when members collect their own copies of *Records of Bucks*, and any local to them, are put to good use. In 2006, the Society gave £700 towards the fund launched to acquire *The Jury* for the County Museum. The 2007 'savings' were used to buy an important manuscript, which has now been placed on permanent loan with the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies (formerly the County Record Office).

The manuscript is a petition of 1831 and relates to the Swing Riots of the previous year. It seeks royal clemency for William Scotchings for his part in the Riots at Stone and asks for a remission of the sentence of transportation imposed at the Special Buckinghamshire Assizes in January 1831. Documents connected with the Swing Riots in Buckinghamshire and their aftermath are to be found in the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies [Q/unclassified/X] and in The National Archives

[HO17/56] The newly acquired manuscript certainly looks impressive, but seems to be a draft of the final version, held, as might be expected, at Kew. When the two are compared, they differ in minor ways and the draft is undated and also ceases somewhat abruptly in mid-sentence. The manuscript now in Aylesbury is thought to have been prepared by Dr John Lee of Hartwell, one of the leading promoters of the petition. It was probably kept as part of the Lee family archives at Hartwell House until the house and its contents were sold in the late 1930s.

According to the petition, Scotchings, a 35-year-old ploughman from Stone was an industrious and sober man, highly regarded in Stone and surrounding area. Although Scotchings had carried a gun during the destruction of a threshing machine valued at five pounds and belonging to John Farmborough of Bishopstone, the weapon had not been loaded and Scotchings had not carried any

A Swing Riot Petition

ammunition. The petition was unsuccessful and Scotchings served his sentence in Tasmania until 1836, when, along with most of those sent to Australia for their part in the Swing Riots, he was granted a free pardon. However, Scotchings chose to remain in Australia and became a tenant farmer

leasing 500 acres by 1858. He is believed to have died in 1879. Further information is to be found in Jill Chambers's *Buckinghamshire Machine Breakers* (2nd edition, 1998).

Roger Bettridge and Alan Dell