

MERCURIUS
RUSTICUS



**The Governance
of Rutland
1614–1664**

Ian E Ryder



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Publication
No 13

The Rutland Local History & Record Society

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*Front: The central panel from the frontispiece to Bruno Ryves, Mercurius Rusticus (Oxford 1646)
(Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC)*

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Fig. 1. The frontispiece to Bruno Ryves, *Mercurius Rusticus: or, The countries complaint of the barbarous out-rages committed by the sectaries of this late flourishing kingdome* (Oxford 1646) (Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC).

Introduction

I first became aware, when researching Rutland's common fields and their enclosure, of the large repository of documents relating to its early seventeenth century history held by the British Library in its Egerton collection (BL Eg 2978–84) under the title Heath Verney Papers. Returning to that collection some years later I was drawn to both the breadth of administrative issues that the papers encompassed and the relative dearth of documents for this important period in local archives. For example the earliest Quarter Session records for the county are from 1747 (ROLLR RQS 2/16). I therefore decided to examine the papers in detail. This drew me into a study of other documents held in various locations but mainly the National Archives, the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland, and the Huntington Library in California, in particular the contemporary papers of the rising Rutland man Sir Abel Barker and those of Henry Hastings, 5th Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord Lieutenant of both Leicestershire and Rutland. Study of the latter was greatly helped by Cogswell's work on the Earl's Lieutenancy papers (Cogswell 1998). Aid was further provided by relevant *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB) entries, together with biographies produced for several prominent seventeenth century Rutland families by Howlett (2010), while the Rutland *Victoria County History* (VCH) and Hopper's study (2014) of the regicide Thomas Waite supplied insights into the political machinations of the dominant parliamentary party during the Civil War. Invaluable help in understanding the many forms of taxation was provided by Jurkowski, Smith & Crook's study (1998) of English Lay Taxes to 1688, Dietz's work (1964) on the country's finances in the period 1558–1641, and Braddick's works (1994, 1996 & 2000) on state formation and taxation in the seventeenth century. Similarly, appreciation of how the militia changed and developed during the reigns of Elizabeth and the early Stuarts leant heavily on the work of Boynton (1971) and Beckett (2011). Collectively these and many other works have enabled me to examine the extensive administrative, military and taxation demands upon the Rutland population during the period from the appointment of the Earl of Huntingdon to the Lieutenancy in 1614 to the date of the last subsidy tax in 1664. They have also allowed me to describe both the county community and its governance at that time and additionally to provide some personal stories of inhabitants caught up by the poor and criminal laws.

To date there has been a large gap in the study of the county's taxation between the 1524–25 Lay Subsidy of Henry VIII and the Hearth Tax of 1665. This I have attempted to rectify by a detailed analysis of its subsidy taxes for the early Stuart period, in the process revealing hidden changes in the wealth of seventeenth century Rutland society. Similarly, study of the 1641/2 local assessments which were part of a national tax to raise £400,000 has demonstrated that these presaged the Land Tax which was later adopted by governments at the end of the seventeenth century. Overall, the study has also provided glimpses of the local response to a wide range of measures, from tithes, royal taxation and provisioning to the demands of the militia and the impact of the Civil War. Whilst I have concentrated principally on the county as a whole, the Heath part of the Heath Verney Papers also contains a large amount of information relating to the manor of Cottesmore and Barrow. This ranges from lists of poor receiving relief to the Lord of the Manor's 1639 Christmas invitation list. In its turn, the Verney part of the papers has surveys of Belton. Both these sets of documents should provide major sources for historians of those villages.

The Heath Papers

The Rutland part of the Heath Verney Papers was originally the private papers of Sir Edward Heath (1612–69) of Cottesmore. The papers relate to his positions as a Justice of the Peace, County Treasurer and Commissioner for various taxes, as well as those associated with managing his Cottesmore and Barrow estate. Sir Edward Heath was the eldest son of Sir Robert (1575–1649) and Margaret Heath. Sir Robert was

an Attorney General to King Charles I and during the Civil War became his Lord Chief Justice (Kopperman 2004). A lawyer himself, in 1630 Sir Edward had married Lucy, the daughter of another lawyer, Paul Ambrose Crooke (c1551–1631). In 1620 Crooke had purchased the manor of Cottesmore and Barrow from the Haringtons and entailed it upon Lucy and her heirs. After the death of his wife, Sir Edward had use of the manor during his lifetime. However, he had a difficult relationship with his only surviving child, Margaret. He threatened to break off her marriage negotiations (SBPT DR98/1652/95–99) and later became embroiled in a legal dispute with her and her husband, Sir Thomas Fanshawe (Illinois, Box 7, Folder 2). This resulted in him naming his brother, Sir John Heath (1614–91), also a lawyer, in his Will as both his heir and executor (TNA Prob/11/333/548).

Sir Edward, his father and his brother, as lawyers, were excellent record keepers. In addition to the manuscripts held by the British Library, the University of Illinois holds another collection of Heath family papers, mainly correspondence, under the title Sir Robert Heath papers 1614–1699. These at one time were owned by Reginald L Hine who used them to write a brief history of the Heath family during the Civil War (Hine 1920, 52). It is clear from the name of the British Library papers and the presence of some extraneous nineteenth century Verney family documents in the Illinois collection that both sets were originally part of the Verney family papers, the residue of which is now lodged with the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust at Stratford-upon-Avon, a few miles from the former family seat at Compton Verney. There are also some Heath family documents remaining in that collection, primarily family accounts, bills and correspondence for the period 1635–1686 (SBPT DR98/1651 & 1652).

The Verneys are an old Warwickshire family, one of whom, Sir Edmund, was standard bearer for Charles I, a position that cost him his life at the battle of Edgehill in 1642. Sir Edmund was also a friend of Sir Edward Heath (Hine 1920, 97). His son, Richard Verney (1622–1711), lived at Belton in Rutland, and was described by Wright in his history of Rutland ‘as a true lover of antiquities’ (Wright 1684, 22). Richard’s younger son, the Rev George Verney, who later inherited the family title to become the 12th Lord Willoughby de Broke, married Margaret, the niece of Sir Edward and daughter of Sir John Heath. While Sir Edward’s daughter, Margaret Fanshawe, inherited the manor of Cottesmore and Barrow, on his death, under the terms of his Will, his brother Sir John received all his ‘...goods, plate ... and household stuff whatsoever...’. This meant that Margaret Fanshawe and her husband had to equip their newly inherited Cottesmore house by purchasing its furnishings from her uncle (BL Eg 2983, ff177–9). Another consequence was that all Sir Edward’s documents passed to his brother and through his daughter to the Verneys. The manor of Cottesmore and Barrow eventually descended to the Earls of Gainsborough, via Sir Edward’s grand-daughter Susanna Fanshawe, who married into the Noel family, her son Baptist Noel becoming the third Earl.

The aim of this study has been to extract and draw together the information contained in the British Library’s Heath papers, supplemented by a range of other sources as noted above, to produce an overview of Rutland’s governance and administration in the early Stuart period – a half-century that saw the country move from peace to involvement in European wars, an attempt by the Crown to rule without Parliament, civil wars, the King’s execution, the establishment of an English Republic and the Restoration of the Monarchy.

Editorial note

The printed indexes to this publication (pp124ff) relate only to the main text and Appendixes 1 & 3. They do not include the many personal names to be found in Appendixes 2, 4, 5 and 6. However, there is an extensive complementary online index to the individuals named in those and various other sources, such as the Stuart Subsidies, the 1638 Militia list, 1614 and 1640 Trained Band, Impressment and Protestation lists, and the 1642 tax to raise £400,000, plus a miscellany of others. The online index provides source details for each reference and where appropriate extra information, such as the amount of tax paid. This index can be freely accessed at www.rutlandhistory.org/governanceofrutland. The author’s digital copies of relevant British Library Egerton and Huntington Library Hastings papers have been deposited for personal consultation at the Rutland County Museum, Oakham.

Chapter 1

Governance and the County Community

There was only a limited level of governance and bureaucracy in the seventeenth century. Nationally the country was governed by the sovereign aided by the Privy Council. The county administration focused on the Lord Lieutenant and his Deputy Lieutenants, the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace (JPs). Chartered towns operated a different system, with government settled on the mayor and town council. Neither of Rutland's two towns, Oakham and Uppingham, was chartered. Where additional monitoring was required, the Privy Council had recourse to the Justices of Assize, who had regular circuits throughout the country. In addition, there were various local royal officials, mainly concerned with enforcement of the sovereign's prerogative and feudal rights, such as the Escheator, Feodary and Receiver. Below the county level, authority devolved through subdivisions called hundreds or wapentakes, each with two high constables, to parish officials: the constables, overseers of the poor, churchwardens and surveyors of highways. A schedule of institutions and officials is given in Appendix 1.

Status and Rank

Status was of immense importance. A contemporary schedule of the county's freeholders, for whom historians have coined the term 'county community' (Eales & Hopper 2012), starts with the nobility in order of precedence, followed by those with knighthoods and the gentry (Table 1). Knighthoods were of two kinds: heritable baronetcies, instituted in 1611, and traditional knighthoods that carried no right of inheritance. The status of knighthood had been somewhat debased by James I's sale of knighthoods and Charles I's enforcement of ancient statutes that fined gentry with incomes of over £40 per year who had not volunteered to be knighted at his coronation. Below knights were two further ranks: esquires and gentlemen. These ranks today are honorific, but then carried both prestige and meaning. The title 'Esquire', or '*Armiger*' in Latin, was supposedly reserved for the eldest son of a family whose ancestors were knights, or the younger sons of noblemen. However, as it was also applied to *ex officio* appointees, including sheriffs and JPs, it had also become a function of position. The title 'Gentleman' was meant to be limited to the younger sons and brothers of Esquires, but in practice it was assumed by any who felt themselves to be members of the gentry or wanted to pass as such (Aylmer 1961, 260–1). An attempt to keep control of such entitlements and correct abuses was the purpose of periodic visitations by the College of Arms. Two such visitations of Rutland took place in the seventeenth century, in 1618–19 (Armystage 1870) and 1681–82 (Rylands 1922).

Religion

The Church of England in the reign of Charles I was divided between two major competing doctrines, Calvinism and Arminianism. At Charles's accession, Calvinism had a large following in England, including most bishops. Calvinism emphasised that it was God's providence and not humans that determined an outcome, which led to the doctrine of predestination and the concept of the 'elect'. Predestination divided the population into those that were damned and the elect who would be saved. It also left open the question as to what was the predetermined fate of an individual. Arminianism stressed that God's saving grace was available to all and that humans had free will to play a role in their salvation. The two doctrines' manner of describing the clergy also differed: Calvinists preferred the term 'minister', Arminians 'priest'.

The Duke and / or Duchess of Buckingham – Burley, Egleton, Greetham & Woolfox, Great & Little Hambleton, Leighfield & forest lands, Oakham & Barleythorpe	R	Mr [John] Osborne – Thorpe	P
The several countess dowagers and the Earl of Exeter – Barrowden, [Bisbrooke], Great Casterton & Woodhead, Pickworth, Ryhall & Belmesthorpe, Tinwell & Ingthorpe	P	Mr [John] Hatcher – Empingham & Hardwick	P
The Earl of Stamford – Preston, Uppingham	P	Mr [Thomas] Wayte – Market Overton	P
The Earl of Salisbury – Essendine	P	Mr [Evers] Ardyn – Ketton	P
The Earl of Denbigh – Martinsthorpe	R	Mr [Richard] Bullingham – Ketton	R
The Lord Campden – Beaumont [Chase] & forest lands, Braunston, Brooke, Exton & Horn, Langham, Leighfield & forest lands, Ridlington, Whitwell	R	Mr [Benjamin] Norton – Tinwell & Ingthorpe	P
The Lord Montagu – Seaton	R	Mr Alexander Noel – Whitwell	–
The Lord Brudenell – Ayston, Thistleton, Wardley	R	Mr Palmer – Stoke [Dry]	–
The Lord Sherard – Teigh, Whissendine	R	Mr [Thomas] Hazelwood – Belton	R
The widow of Mr Noel	–	Mr [James] Digby – North Luffenham	R
Sir Guy Palmes and Sir Brian – Ashwell	R	Mr [Valentine] Sanders – Lyndon	R
Sir Francis Bodenham and Sir Wingfield Bodenham – Ryhall & Belmesthorpe	R	Mr [Abel] Barker – Great & Little Hambleton	P
Sir Richard Wingfield – Tickencote, Market Overton	R	Mr [Thomas] Lovett and Lady Lu[cy] – Tixover	R
Sir Henry Myne – Whissendine	–	Mr [Samuel] Barker – South Luffenham	P
The Lady Mackworth and her son Sir Thomas – Normanton, Empingham & Hardwick	R	Mr [Nicholas] Crispe – [Seaton]	R
Sir Kenelm Digby – Stoke Dry	R	Mr [George] Sheffield – [Lyddington]	R
Sir George Benion – Ketton	R	Mr [Edward] Overton – [Morcott]	R
Sir Edward Harington and Sir James – Ridlington, Gunthorpe	P	Mr [William] Colly – Glaston	R
Mr [Edward] Heath – Cottesmore & Wenton, Barrow	R	Mr [Lyon] Falconer and his uncle [Edward] – Uppingham, Glaston	–
Mr Richard Halford – Edith Weston	P	Mr Walcot – Oakham	–
Mr [Robert] Horsman and his son – Stretton	P	Mr [George] Busby – [Oakham]	–
Mr Christopher Browne – Little Casterton & Toilethorpe	P	Mr Andrew Burton – [Oakham]	–
The widow of Mr John Browne – Stretton	–	Mr [John] Booth – [Oakham]	–

The original manuscript provides two lists, one by social rank and the other by town. This table is based on the social rank list, to which land ownership detail is added from the town list; additional information from other sources is shown in [brackets].

The town list (for an extract *see* fig. 2) often records the presence of unnamed 'diverse', 'other' or 'some' freeholders, and for Caldecott, Lyddington, Manton, Morcott, Pilton and Wing they are the only listed owners of land.

Persons not named on the social rank list but included in the town list are: Mr George Butcher (Leighfield and forest lands),

Lady Campden (Brooke), Mrs Hall (North Luffenham), Mr Harington (Ketton), Mrs Hide (Oakham), Dr [Samuel] Johnson (Clipsham), Mr Palmer (Greetham & Woolfox – as distinct from Stoke Dry), Mr Ros (Ashwell), Lady Sherard (during minority of her son, Teigh & Whissendine), and Mr Weaver (Little Casterton & Toilethorpe).

Information on many of the individuals named can be found in the manorial descents contained in *VCH Rutland II*.

R = Royalist; P = Parliamentary (information from *Cal Comp I*, 88–9 (cf *VCH Rutland I*, 196) & Scaysbrook 1996, 161).

Table 1. Named persons by social rank in the 1642 list of the Rutland County Community (BL Eg 2986, ff247–48).

Charles, under the influence first of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and then of William Laud (Buckingham's chaplain who later became Bishop of London, then Archbishop of Canterbury), used the royal supremacy to appoint Arminian bishops and clergy, place greater emphasis on the sacraments and impose conformity of ritual. Inevitably this led to conflict with some Calvinists who saw these innovations as an attempt to subvert the Reformation. In this context Charles's marriage to a French Catholic princess, Henrietta Maria, added an extra layer of suspicion. Calvinists viewed the Catholic Church as the Antichrist and as a negation of Christianity, though adherence to the Catholic Church did not debar a family from membership of the county community. Many Calvinists, such as the 5th Earl of Huntingdon, were happy to conform to the wishes of the King, while not agreeing with his theology

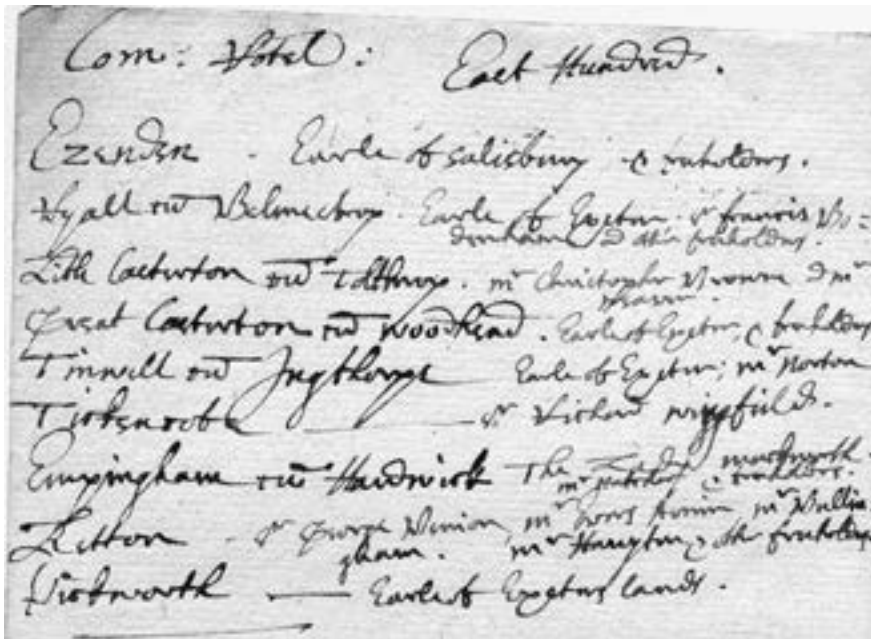


Fig. 2. The East Hundred entries in the 1642 list of the Rutland County Community (BL Eg 2986, ff247–48).

(Cogswell 1998, 26). Within Calvinism, and outside of those who accepted bishops, there was further division between Presbyterians and Independents. Presbyterians thought that church government should be through representative assemblies, as happened in Scotland. The Independents accepted the authority of neither bishops nor Presbyterian assemblies. Although Presbyterians and Independents were relatively few in Rutland, Robert Browne (1550–1633), a member of the Browne family of Toilethorpe, founded the early separatist Brownist movement, some of whose members sailed on the *Mayflower*. The King and Laud in turn redefined the label 'Puritan', which had previously only applied to radical Independents, to include all their Protestant opponents (Carlin 2005, 50–67; Cust 2007, 82–103; Moody 2004; Tyacke 1973, 139). As many lords of the manor also held the advowson, the right to appoint an incumbent to a parish, they could ensure that their rector or vicar was of similar persuasion to themselves. A local example of this was Robert Horsman's 1627 appointment to the living at Stretton of the Puritan minister Jeremiah Whitaker, who was Master of Oakham School 1623–29 (Howlett 2010, 54; Needham 2012, 70–71). A rare physical example of the theological conflicts of these times survives in Lyddington church, historically a prebend of the diocese of Lincoln. Here in 1635 the Calvinist vicar Richard Rudd, inspired by a diocesan order from John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, fenced off the altar table, not as Laud required on three sides with the fourth side to the east wall, but on all four sides, thus keeping it separate from the wall and surrounded by the congregation (*VCH Rutland* II, 194) (fig. 3). At Cottesmore the disagreements centred on the sacraments and ritual: its rector and curate were regularly admonished for not wearing a surplice, allowing unlicensed preachers, and not holding services (*VCH Rutland* II, 126; Irons 2016, *sv* Cottesmore).

During the eleven years of personal rule, from 1629 to 1640, when Charles reigned without calling a parliament, he and Laud were able to enforce conformity through the religious Court of High Commission. This court operated outside of the common law and had the power to require the accused to give evidence against themselves. Besides religious censures such as deprivation and degrading of the clergy, the court could also fine and imprison (Harris 2014, 328 & 336). As a consequence of these divisions, religion and the Church Courts became major issues when Parliament was eventually summoned in 1640, forming what we know as the Long Parliament. The Commons passed the Grand Remonstrance that traced the nation's misfortune since Charles's accession to 'a malignant and pernicious design' to subvert the laws and the protestant religion. Their solution to these problems was the removal of the bishops and Catholic peers from the Lords, reform of the Church and the appointment of Parliament-approved councils for the King. Petitions to Parliament, including one in March 1642 from 'the High Sheriff, Knights, Gentlemen, Ministers and others of good rank' within



Fig. 3. The contentious positioning of altars. The Arminianist Archbishop Laud required altars to be railed off and sited by the church's east wall, whilst Calvinists preferred them in the body of the church. Lyddington's surviving 1635 compromise has the altar table sited near the east wall but away from it and railed all round so that it could be surrounded by the congregation (photo: author).



Fig. 4. The interior of Brooke Church underwent a major rebuilding in 1579 which reflects the simple Calvinistic design of the Elizabethan period. Seating had been introduced into churches, around 1570, when congregations were expected to remain still and listen to the sermon (photo: author).

Rutland, echoed these sentiments (*VCH Rutland* I, 187; Mendle 1973, 240). However, with a growing number of supporters, the King was able to counter such assertions by claiming that the Church was threatened equally by schismatics and separatists (Cust 2007, 315). Such sentiments prompted the beginnings of a royalist faction in the county which is seen in a counter-petition to Parliament from 'the Nobility, Knights, Gentlemen and Freeholders' opposing those 'persons disaffected to the present government' and in support of the bishops. However, following that petition's censure by Parliament, some who had appended their signatures withdrew their support (BL Eg 2986, ff253–57).

The ultimate consequence of the King and Parliament forming separate parties was the outbreak of civil war in late 1642. At this stage there was little thought among the King's political and military opponents of removing him, as is illustrated by their adoption of the term 'For King and Parliament'. For Rutland clergy who supported the royalist cause in what became a parliamentary area the outlook was sequestration and, in some cases, expulsion from their livings. The latter included John Allington, Rector of Wardley with Belton; William Hall, Rector of Glaston and Morcott; Robert Ward, Rector of Barrowden; Abraham Wright, Vicar of Oakham; Edward Slater, Rector of Great Casterton; John Webster, Vicar of Ryhall; Thomas Mason, Rector of Ashwell; and Jeremy Taylor, Rector of Uppingham. The latter had been a chaplain to Archbishop Laud and during the war became chaplain to the royalist army and the King. The reverse process followed the Restoration, when those surviving royalist clergy who had been expelled were reinstated and the intruding ministers ejected. Further ejections followed the 1662 Act of Uniformity which required conformity, in England, to the Book of Common Prayer. Two thousand ministers were ejected nationally after 1662, including six from Rutland, five of whom were intruders, namely Thomas Perkins, Vicar of Burley; Nathaniel Bann, minister at Caldecott; William Draper, minister at Langham; Benjamin King, Vicar of Oakham; Gabriel Major, Rector of Preston; the sixth was Samuel Winter DD, who had no Rutland living but was interred at North Luffenham (Stanley 1912, 147; Longden 1938–52; Scaysbrook 1996, 162).

County Administration

County administration was in the main conducted by unpaid officers, assisted by paid clerks. County officers were selected by status for a descending rank of posts, from the nobility for the Lieutenancy, through the gentry for Deputy Lieutenants, the Sheriff, JPs and High Constables, to respected yeomen and husbandmen for the parish officials. The pool of families of the right social status to occupy the higher ranked posts was limited in a county as small as Rutland. It is therefore not surprising that many of the names on the 1642 County Community List (Table 1) also appear repeatedly in lists of local officials and commissioners. Like the rest of the country, the Civil War divided the county community, with twenty-two of the forty-six named County Community individuals, including the major land holders, supporting the royalist cause. A more Calvinistic outlook can be seen in many of the fourteen named persons who chose the parliamentary cause, including Christopher Browne, Edward Harington, Robert Horsman and Thomas Wayte (Hopper 2014, 40; Howlett 2010, 54).

Lord and Deputy Lieutenants

The Crown's appointed head of each county was and still is the Lord Lieutenant. In Elizabeth's reign, this was a relatively recent office, arising in the interval between the death of Henry VIII in 1547 and her accession in 1558 and then given statutory recognition (Beckett 2011, 20; Boynton 1971, 71). The Lieutenancy drew on the Crown's prerogative and, as for instance in the commission of Henry Hastings, 5th Earl of Huntingdon, who jointly held the Lieutenancies of Leicestershire and Rutland from 1614 to 1642, gave him power over 'our justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, he[a]dboroughs [an alternative name for constable] and all other officers, ministers and subjects'. In addition, he was to 'levy, gather and call together' the militiamen to ensure their readiness to 'resist, repress and subdue, stay, kill and put to execution of death' all 'enemies, traitors and rebels'. In practice the Lord Lieutenants' exercise of power depended largely upon whether they were resident in or absent from their counties.

Huntingdon was a resident and active Lieutenant who took great pains over the quality of his militia, as shown below in Chapter 2 (Cogswell 1998, 21, 62).

In Elizabethan times, the Hastings family had jointly held the Lieutenancies of Leicestershire and Rutland, but Rutland had a separate Lieutenancy from 1607 to 1613 under John, Baron Harington of Exton. Following the deaths in rapid succession of the Harington heirs the Rutland Lieutenancy reverted in 1614 to one held jointly with Leicestershire by the Earl of Huntingdon, a cousin of the Haringtons.

In 1638 Lord Hastings' son Ferdinando joined his father in the Lieutenancies of both Leicestershire and Rutland. In March 1642 Parliament required holders of Lieutenancies to hand in their commissions; both father and son complied and were replaced in Leicestershire and Rutland by the Earls of Stamford and Exeter respectively (*HLJ* 4, 625). Exeter's death in 1643 effectively put the Lieutenancy into abeyance until it was revived with the Restoration, with the appointment of Baptist Lord Campden to the separate post for Rutland.

Date	Known Deputy Lieutenants	Reference
1616	Edward Noel, William Bulstrode, Basil Fielding	Hast Misc box 7, f10612
1624–27	Edward Noel, William Bulstrode, Guy Palmes	Hast Misc box 1, f10614
1629	Guy Palmes, Francis Bodenham	Hast Misc box 13, f10619
1634–38	Edward Noel (Lord Campden), Guy Palmes, Francis Bodenham, Henry Mackworth, Edward Harington	Hast Misc box 15, f10621
1640	Guy Palmes, Francis Bodenham, Baptist Noel, Henry Noel	Hast Misc box 16, f10623
1660–63	Edward Noel, Phillip Sherard, Sir Thomas Hartopp, Sir Richard Wingfield, Sir Edward Heath, Abel Barker	ROLLR DG11/939–40

Table 2. Rutland's Deputy Lieutenants 1616–1663.

To assist him in carrying out his duties a Lord Lieutenant was permitted to appoint deputies, providing they were approved by the Privy Council. Rutland had its own deputies, separate from those of Leicestershire (*see* Table 2). To the deputies fell a considerable amount of work, organising the recruitment, training and funding of the militia. While Lords Lieutenant were mainly appointed from the aristocracy with connections to their county, their deputies were generally either sons of local magnates, or significant landholders amongst the gentry. In Rutland, the deputies also regularly represented the county as MPs. However, Huntingdon's lack of land in Rutland made him potentially politically weak in the county and to counter this he kept the same deputies as his predecessor (Healy, Rutland County, 2010).

Sheriffs

A sheriff was appointed for the year by a process of pricking, whereby the sovereign pierced a hole with a bodkin, supposedly at random, next to a name on the vellum Sheriff's Roll of suitable candidates. The puncture of a hole was to prevent subsequent interference, such as erasure of an ink mark, as an appointment was not always welcomed by the recipient. One of the requirements of the office was for the holder to be resident in the county during his year's term. The Crown sometimes made use of this restriction to appoint 'difficult' persons and so remove them temporarily from court or Parliament. The office was of ancient origin, but by the seventeenth century had seen many of its original responsibilities transferred to other officials, particularly Justices of the Peace and the Lieutenancy. Also, while unpaid the office was an expensive one, requiring entertainment of the Judges and JPs at the assizes, but barred the holder from serving as a JP during his term (Mather 1981, 245). In addition, amongst other functions, sheriffs were still responsible for the collection of some taxes, including any shortfall, as well as fines and forfeitures. Their most difficult task during the reign of Charles I was the collection of Ship Money. A more detailed discussion of this tax is given in Chapter 5.

1625	Sir Guy Palmes	1633	Richard Hickson	1641	Thomas Wayte
1626	William Gibson	1634	Sir Francis Bodenham	1642	Thomas Wayte
1627	Henry Mackworth	1635	Sir Henry Mynne	1643	Thomas Wayte *
1628	Everard Falkner	1636	Sir Edward Harington	1644	Thomas Wayte
1629	John Huggerford	1637	Edward Andrews	1645	John Osbourne
1630	Sir John Wingfield	1638	John Barker	1646	Abel Barker
1631	Richard Halford	1639	Thomas Lovett	1647	Christopher Browne
1632	Sir Anthony Colly	1640	Robert Horsman	1648	Benjamin Norton

* The King appointed Sir Wingfield Bodenham to serve as Sheriff in 1643, but as a royalist he had little or no authority (Broughton 1981, 87). Parliament reappointed Thomas Wayte (Hopper 2014, 41).

A complete list of Rutland Sheriffs from 1100 can be found at www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/High_Sheriff_of_Rutland.

Table 3. Appointment of Rutland sheriffs during the reign of Charles I (Wright 1684, 13).

The Election of MPs (Knights of the Shire)

Sheriffs were also responsible for organising the election of the county's MPs, or Knights of the Shire as they were otherwise known. The earliest known poll book for Rutland details the results of an election in 1646. This election was called that June by the victorious Parliament, following the surrender of the King and his capital at Oxford, to replace MPs classified as 'disabled'. This status applied to both the MPs for Rutland, elected in 1641. Baptist Noel was disabled by becoming a peer on the death of his father, Edward Lord Campden. Sir Guy Palmes had remained at the Westminster parliament and was involved in peace negotiations after the first battle of the Civil War, at Edgehill, on 23rd October 1642. At the end of the year he was back in Rutland and then returned to Westminster until May 1643 when he left to join the royalists. In September 1643 he was disabled 'For neglecting the service of the Commonwealth and not attending the House'. He further compounded his delinquency in the eyes of Parliament by sitting as an MP in 1644 in Charles's Oxford parliament (Cobbett 1807, 615; Healy, Palmes, 2010; BL Eg 2986, f251). Abel Barker's notes on the legal requirements for the election survive and provide an insight into the processes involved, as set out in Table 4.

Statute	Notes
7 Hen: 7.14	At the next county [court] after delivery of the writ in the full county they shall agree to the election of their knights freely and indifferently not withstanding any prayer or commandment to the contrary. [To summon a new parliament writs were sent to sheriffs to call a County Court for an election.]
1 Hen: 5.1	That the Knights of the Shires be not chosen unless they be resident within the shire where they shall be chosen the day of the date of the writ of the summons of parliament and that the choosers be also resident in manner aforesaid. This Act confirmed 32 Hen: 6.15.
10 Hen: 6.2	Knights shall be chosen by people dwelling and resident in the same county whereof every one shall have 40s freehold within the same county.
8 Hen: 6.7	And such as have the greatest number of them shall be returned by indenture and every sheriff may examine upon oath how much he may expend [whether he has the required 40s per year freehold].
32 Hen: 6.15	Every sheriff that maketh not election in his full county between the hours of 8 and 12 and that maketh not true returns of such elections shall forfeit £100 to him that will sue against him. The Knights shall be able knights of this same county or notable esquire, a gentleman of the same county and no man be chosen of the degree of a yeoman or under.

Table 4. Abel Barker's notes for the election of knights for Parliament (ROLLR DE730 Vol 3 f52).

The election took place at Oakham Castle on 2nd July 1646 with a total of 576 votes cast between five candidates: Sir James Harington, 241; Thomas Wayte, 174; Christopher Browne, 82; Evers Armyn, 67; and Richard Halford, 12. A schedule of the voter lists, reproduced here as fig. 5, is transcribed in Appendix 2. The total number of votes in the election was half the number of those cast in the election of 1710. This is

[illegible]

Fig. 5. List of votes cast during the election of MPs held at Oakham Castle on 2nd July 1646 (ROLLR DE730/3/56) (see Appendix 2).

not surprising as both elections were affected by manipulation, in 1646 through exclusion of royalists and in 1710 through the artificial creation of forty-shilling freeholders (Mitchell 1995, 207; Clough 2005, 20). As two MPs were to be elected the electors were entitled to vote for two candidates. This and the propensity of families to pass the same names down the generations made keeping track of who voted for whom clerically difficult. For example, the name Thomas Worth is recorded five times, two votes each for Thomas Wayte and Christopher Browne and one for Sir James Harington. Four of the votes are almost certainly from two individuals voting twice – the votes for Browne were adjacent to one another – but it is not clear if the fifth was a result of one of these individuals voting three times, or due to a separate individual of the same name. If it is assumed that some individuals did vote three times, the breakdown of voters becomes: individuals who voted for two candidates, 275, of whom eight voted for three candidates; and eighteen voting only for a single candidate. In other words, the number of electors was between 293 and 301 individuals, depending on whether some people voted three times.

Some guide to the status of the electorate can be obtained by examining the nine people with the surname Allen or Allin. While only two are listed in the May 1642 subsidy roll (BL Eg 2986, f100), eight with the same forename appear on the 1638 militia list (Hast Misc box 7, f1). This indicates that they were small land holders, whose general wealth was insufficient for them to be included as subsidy men.

All the candidates were named on the list of the county community prior to the outbreak of the war (Table 1). With many of the county's major land holders excluded as royalists, four of the candidates were either members of the Parliamentary Committee for Rutland, which had administered the county over the period of the Civil War, or army commanders (*VCH Rutland* I, 189, 193). The least successful candidate, Richard Halford, does not appear to have served in either capacity, though he had been sheriff in 1631 and would serve later as Treasurer and a JP during the Commonwealth (ROLLR DE2461/135). The most successful candidate, Sir James Harington, was a parliamentary general from a family deeply associated with the county. Thomas Wayte had been its sheriff, both prior to and during the Civil War, and had the support of Rutland freeholders when they petitioned the House of Lords during his dispute with the County Committee (Hopper 2014, 40–1). These observations point to the continued importance of family and local connections. The appearance of Lord Grey of Groby, son of the Earl of Stamford, as a voter in this Rutland election was the result either of his family's ownership of the manor of Preston and Uppingham (Table 1) or of his being voted £2,000 out of Lord Campden's estate (*HLJ* 5, 682). In 1645, Grey had lost his army commands through the Self Denying Ordinance, but was still a prominent individual, one later to be more concerned with exclusion than election, being the person who identified to Colonel Pride, during his eponymous purge, the MPs to be excluded from Parliament. Thomas Wayte was a protégé of Lord Grey and it is not surprising therefore that Grey headed the list of his voters. Grey cast his second vote for Robert Halford, the least popular of the candidates, thereby avoiding voting for members of the Rutland Committee or Harington, with whom both he and Wayte had had disputes (Howlett 2010, 29). Robert Horsman headed the voters for Sir James Harington and Evers Armyn. As the garrison commander at Rockingham Castle, where the County Committee was based for much of the war, Horsman had been the subject of complaints to Parliament by Wayte, which it rejected (Hopper 2014, 40). Such had been the parliamentary infighting that even the Chairman of the sub-committee for Rutland Mr Barker (presumably Samuel) had twice been sent prisoner to London by rivals, only to be discharged by the parliamentary authorities both times (Morrill 1980, 184). The acrimony continued after the election, with Wayte and Abel Barker, as sheriff, summoned to London to answer charges of miscarriage brought by the County Committee. Two returns had been made, one giving Sir James Harington and Wayte as elected, the other Sir James Harington and Christopher Browne. Wayte's election was accepted as valid. This dispute was no doubt the reason why Barker's manuscripts retain a copy of the voter lists (*VCH Rutland* I, 194).

Justices of the Peace (JPs)

The most important civil body of local officials was the Commission of the Peace. This comprised the county's Justices of the Peace, its JPs, who were nominally appointed by the sovereign under the Great Seal but in practice were appointed by the Lord Chancellor and his officials. Nomination of a candidate JP was

informal and often followed the suggestion of members of the royal court, Lords Lieutenant, existing JPs, Justices of Assize, personal friends, and men of influence. Lists of the County Commissions were prepared from time to time for use by government officials and survive in the *libri pacis*, held by the National Archive. Included in the list for each county, usually at the head, were dignitaries, holders of important crown offices and senior justices. In 1626–30 those for Rutland were Sir Thomas Coventry Kt., Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; James Earl of Marlborough, Lord High Treasurer; Henry Earl of Manchester; Edward Lord Zouch; Edward Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy Seal; and Justices Sir Henry Hobart and Sir Edward Bromley (TNA C193/12/2). The inclusion of these individuals provided the Privy Council and High Court Justices with the legal authority to act locally, if necessary. Below these high officials were the local JPs, who undertook most of the county's legal and administrative functions (Gleason 1969, 5, 47). Lists of the local Rutland JPs for the period 1621–1663 are given in Table 5. The reduction of numbers between 1621–2 and 1634–5 may have been a response to complaints in the House of Commons about the excessive size of county benches (Gleason 1969, 51). Not surprisingly there are major changes in personnel associated both with the Commonwealth and Restoration periods. Although in both cases there is some continuity of members, possibly most surprising are the three members of the Commonwealth bench, Abel Barker, Christopher Browne and Richard Halford, who also sat on the Restoration bench.

1621–22 (TNA C193/13/1, f80)	1626–30 (TNA C193/12/2)	1634–5 (TNA C193/13/2)
Edward Lord Noel	George Duke of Buckingham	Edward Viscount Campden
Edward Harington Bart	Henry Earl of Huntingdon	Edward Harington Bart
Thomas Mackworth Bart	Edward Lord Noel	Henry Mackworth Bart
William Bulstrode Kt	Edward Harington Kt	Guy Palmes Kt
Guy Palmes Kt	Henry Mackworth Bart	William Bulstrode Kt
Henry Mynne Kt	William Bulstrode Kt	Francis Bodenham Kt
Francis Bodenham Kt	Henry Mynne Kt	Robert Tredway
Richard Cony Kt	Francis Bodenham Kt	Thomas Levett
Basil Fielding	Richard Cony Kt	Evers Armyn
John Wingfield	Basel Fielding Esq	John Osbourne
Roger Dale	John Wingfield Esq	
Tobias Houghton	Robert Tredway Esq	
Richard Halford	Richard Halford Esq	
Abraham Johnson		
1650 (TNA C193/13/3)	1656–7 (TNA C193/13/6)	1663 (TNA C193/12/3)
Edward Harington Bart	James Harington Bart	John Earl of Exeter
James Harington Kt	Thomas Hartop Kt	Baptiste Viscount Campden
Thomas Hartop Kt	Evers Armyn	Bennett Lord Sherard
Thomas Wayte	Francis Harker	Phillip Sherard Ar[miger]
Evers Armyn	Robert Horseman	Thomas Mackworth Bart
Robert Horsman	Richard Halford	Edward Heath Kt Bath *
John Hatcher	Ambrose Broughton	William Palmes
John Osborne	Benjamin Norton	Christopher Browne
Richard Halford	Christopher Browne	Richard Halford
Everard Falkenor	John Weaver	Alexander Noel
Samuel Barker	Edward Horseman	Samuel Brown
John Holhead	William Shield	Abel Barker
Benjamin Norton	Abel Barker	Cornelius Burton
Abel Barker	Peter Woodcock the younger	Robert Mackworth
Christopher Browne Ar[miger]		Richard Fancourt
		Edward Faulkner

* Edward Heath was one of the many Knights of the Bath created at the coronation of Charles II on 23rd April 1661.

Table 5. *Libri Pacis* – Rutland JPs at various dates from 1621–22 to 1663 (excluding national dignitaries).

For rising men amongst the gentry, membership of the County Commission was a sought-after status symbol, but one that was sometimes avoided by those whose social position was well established. However, efficient local administration needed competent administrators, particularly when unpaid, and there was generally only a limited number of well-qualified men available for appointment. By the 1630s the majority of JPs had been students at either the universities or the Inns of Court. As a group, JPs were wealthy, well-educated, ambitious, in reasonable accord with national policy, both religious and political, and an indispensable element in the social organisation of their counties. Although individual JPs could sometimes be in dispute with the Crown, either over religion or taxes, and were sometimes threatened with dismissal, their social position meant that this was rarely carried out. Nevertheless, Gleason has estimated that there could not have been many weeks in which a diligent JP devoted more than one day to those duties. Compared to his estimates for other counties, for its size Rutland had a relatively high density of local JPs, one per 10.5 square miles in 1621/2 and one per 14.7 square miles in 1634/5 (Gleason 1969, 52, 82, 84, 96, 115). The breadth of issues that could engage a JP in the seventeenth century covered many of the issues that are today handled by a mix of national and local government, the police, judiciary, prison and social services. However, there is a paucity of examples existing from the county for that period. Even Quarter Session minute records only survive for Rutland from 1747. It is fortunate therefore that the Heath papers and the National Archives provide examples of both the work undertaken by JPs and the personal stories of the people involved (*see* Appendix 3).



Remnants of the old Poor and Criminal Law:

Fig. 6 (above). A warning to vagrants at Barrow.

Fig. 7 (left). The Market Overton stocks and whipping post. Vagrants were often whipped before being sent on their way (photos: author).

Those members of the county community who were JPs had the major role in ensuring that the law was applied equitably, particularly the poor law. This involved monitoring the activities of the parish officials and adjudicating on disputes between parishes – although, in some cases, parishes were not prepared to accept their judgements and referred matters to the Assize. JPs were required by the Book of Orders to enforce the statutes, dealing with vagrancy (figs. 6 & 7), the poor and dearth (poor harvests). In the case of the latter, they were expected to restrict and regulate malting, brewing and corn selling, to force owners of grain to supply the markets with corn at low prices and to suppress unnecessary taverns (Thirsk 1967, 4, 581; Cust 2007, 185; Sharpe 1995, 457). They were involved in overseeing local markets through the certification of weights and measures, as required for example in 1634 (*see* fig. 19), and responsible for monitoring the population for sedition and conformity to the Church of England. It was also their duty to manage local emergencies such as outbreaks of plague like that which affected Oakham in 1642 (*see* chapter 3). Without any local bureaucracy of its own, the Crown was almost totally dependent on the goodwill of the county community for the maintenance of law and order and the raising of revenues. It was the breakdown of the partnership and trust between sections of these communities and the Crown that was a major reason for the Civil War.

In summary, status and wealth brought an expectation, from both the individual and the community, of participation in local government, and Rutland's small size ensured that most of the county's prominent families were indeed involved. At the onset of the Civil War the community divided, as did the country, into various factions. The majority of the individuals named in the 1642 list of the County Community (Table 1), including most of the large landholders, became royalists. A minority became parliamentarians who, with the help of forces from Leicester, were able to eject the royalists and control the county throughout the war. A third small group tried to remain neutral, a difficult stance when both sides tended to adopt the approach 'if you are not for us you are against us'. At the Restoration the royalists recovered their former positions within society, but the costs of compounding and other fines imposed on them during the Commonwealth had often necessitated the sale of parts of their estates. As composition fines were not rescinded with the Restoration, financial pressure continued; this resulted in previously significant families, such as the Palmes of Ashwell, selling their Rutland property (*VCH Rutland* II, 108). Others such as the Noels, whose principal house in Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire, had been destroyed during the Civil War, consolidated themselves on their Rutland homes and estates (Bennett 2004), even if they did maintain their interest in those other properties.

Chapter 2

Military Demands on the Community and their Impact



From Bows to Guns

The accession of the Tudors saw a rapid decline in the baronial armies that had been a feature of the medieval period. The security needs of the country were met by a county-based militia, whose origins stem back to the Anglo-Saxon *fyrð* (Boynton 1971, 7). A survey of 1522 provides detail of Rutland's militia, and that it was still essentially a medieval force is revealed by the listing of individuals as either billmen or archers, with no mention of gunpowder weapons (Cornwall 1980, 1). The loss of Calais in 1558, during Mary's reign, prompted a review of military matters and the passing of two Militia Statutes in that year. Prior to these Statutes, military obligations had been based on the 1285 Statute of Winchester which decreed the weapons that each man should keep, according to his wealth. The two 1558 Statutes repealed the Winchester Statute and simultaneously established new provisions. They divided the wealthier population of England and Wales into ten groups for keeping arms. At one extreme were men with incomes of £5–£10 a year, who had to keep a coat of plated armour, a bill or halberd, a longbow and a steel helmet. At the other were those worth £1,000 or more a year, who had to provide 16 horses, 80 suits of light armour, 40 pikes, 30 long bows, 20 bills or halberds, 20 harquebuses (an early form of musket, also spelled 'arquebuses') and 50 steel helmets. The new statutes also regulated musters, making failure to attend punishable by fine or imprisonment. As the sixteenth century progressed, the relationship between the Crown and its subjects changed. The Crown demanded greater military assistance to allow war to be waged on a larger scale, comparable with European contemporaries, with the aristocracy continuing to serve as the principal military commanders (Grummitt 2008, 90). However, despite the appearance of firearms, the provisions of these Marian statutes show that the military organisation inherited by Elizabeth was largely still medieval in character (Boynton 1971, 7–9).

Nevertheless, the appearance in the Marian equipment lists of the harquebus and pike demonstrates that a major alteration in the nature of weapons was under way. The bill was being replaced by the pike, a long pole tipped with a spearhead, and the bow by the harquebus.



Fig. 8 (above). Seventeenth century pikeman's armour, with helmet, corselet (back and breast) and tassets for the upper legs (photo: Royal Armouries).

Fig. 9 (below). Seventeenth century cavalry (harquebusier) equipment, with lobster pot helmet, leather buff coat, back and breast armour and a carbine on a sling (photo: Royal Armouries).



Fig. 10. An early seventeenth century drawing of a musketeer firing a matchlock, whose weight requires a rest. Gunpowder was stored in wooden containers on the leather sling (de Gheyn 1608, musket drill pl. 12).

The latter was itself superseded by less cumbersome weapons, first the caliver and then the musket. The pike had evolved as a defence against cavalry. When pikemen were formed in a block, the length of the pike, about 18 feet, presented a forest of spikes that deterred horses. To protect against gunfire and in the *mêlée*, when two pike blocks clashed, pikemen were equipped with a helmet and corselet and armed with a sword. The corselet was a back and breast armour that could also have tassets, plates that covered the upper thighs (fig. 8).

Progressive development in the power, handling and accuracy of hand-held guns throughout the sixteenth century saw the gradual demise of the archer, although the militia of many counties still included bowmen in 1600 (Boynton 1971, 112). In 1594, it was claimed that a musket would kill a man in proved armour at 200 yards, ordinary armour at 400 and without armour at 600, providing good powder and bullets were used. However, accuracy depended upon the weapon's quality of manufacture as well as the training of the person firing. This led Sir Edward Cecil in 1621 to observe, 'for 200 paces is as much as a man's aim will serve to hit any reasonable mark in the world and that our muskets will reach and what should we then do with longer, except it be for some particular occasions or forts?' (Boynton 1971, 113–14).

Most muskets, and their precursors, were matchlocks which used the ignited end of a length of match-cord to set off the weapon. Unlike the pikeman, the musketeer (fig. 10) did not wear armour, enabling greater mobility. However, the need for a rest to support the weapon's weight, together with the slow process of loading and firing, made musketeers vulnerable, especially to cavalry. Consequently, in battle musketeers and pikemen usually operated as a unit, with a ratio of between 1 to 1 and 2 to 1 musketeers to pikemen.

Cavalry are not mentioned in the 1522 military survey as these services were provided by landed personages under the requirements of the Statute of Winchester. Many were mounted on heavy horses, wielding cutting and piercing weapons. Although in the Civil War there were still some heavy armoured units, called cuirassiers, by the 1620s most cavalry, including those of the militia, were mounted on light horses. Those equipped with lances were fully or partly armoured, while those with petronel firearms were not armoured (Langelüddecke 2003, 1264). The petronel, which looked like a very long-barrelled pistol, had been developed to overcome the unwieldy nature of the harquebus for cavalry use. By the time of the Civil War the petronel had itself evolved into the pistol and carbine, the former held in saddle holsters and the latter suspended from a shoulder belt. Confusingly, cavalry of the mid-seventeenth century were still often referred to as harquebusiers despite no longer using that weapon. Cavalry guns were fired either by a wheel lock – a spring-loaded steel wheel, or by a flint-lock mechanism; both were sometimes called firelocks. The equipment of the Civil War cavalry could also include a thick leather buff coat, with light back and breast armour, and steel gauntlets, a helmet and a sword (fig. 9). Mounted units also included dragoons, a cross between the infantry and cavalry, but using inferior mounts. Without armour, dragoons were equipped with carbines or muskets and swords and rode to the point of action but fought on foot, one in ten remaining behind the firing-line to hold the horses (Firth 1912, 117–27; Young 1967, 27–34).

The Militia and Trained Bands

The principal of the militia was that it embraced all able men from the age of 16 to 60 under the rank of baron. The aristocracy with their households, along with certain other groups, were exempt. The 1522 Rutland muster roll is a list of such men. A later list, from 1639, provides the names of 1,671 eligible men in

the county (Appendix 4). In 1600, Thomas Wilson commented, 'every household is charged to have in his house, in readiness, such arms as is appointed by the [militia] commissioner, and there is no household so poor that is not charged with something (at least), a bill, sword, or dagger whoever he is, unless he be a beggar' (Boynton 1971, 16, 71); a Langham lease of 1606 records a requirement to attend Sir Andrew Noel in the king's service with a good sword and dagger when required – this was harking back as the privy council were moving rapidly away from dependence on armed retainers to a national force (Frisby 2009, 34; Braddick 2000, 182). Nevertheless, the introduction of firearms and pikes required selection for their use and training. This was reflected in European warfare in the adoption of smaller more highly trained units. The Crown responded in 1573 by ordering 'a convenient and sufficient number of the most able to be chosen and collected' at musters, and then 'tried, armed and weaponed, and so consequently taught and trained'. With the introduction of selection, the men enrolled in the militia were divided into two groups, a small trained one and a much larger untrained one. Thereafter only the trained men were regularly summoned, to become the county's 'trained band' (Boynton 1971, 16, 90–1).

By limiting the number of trained men, the government hoped to pressure counties into upgrading both weapons and training, but this inevitably led to bargaining as to how many men were to be expensively trained. From 1577, training of the foot was increasingly performed by professional soldiers appointed as muster masters. Sir William Bulstrode, later a Rutland Deputy Lieutenant, acted as muster master in Leicestershire towards the end of Elizabeth's reign (Healy, Bulstrode, 2010, 358). The training was theoretically to take place on ten days spread throughout the year. However, with the foot paid eight pence per day together with the expense of powder and shot, Buckinghamshire calculated that the cost of each man's ten days training was thirteen shillings. Such considerations quickly led many counties to limit training to a few days. The muster master was to remain a constant source of irritation to the counties. Not only was this because as a professional he required payment, which the counties contended had no legal basis, but also he was able to judge whether the Lieutenants and Deputies were complying with Privy Council instructions (Beckett 2011, 23, 34). In the last years of Elizabeth's reign, the war with Spain and the threat of invasion forced the Privy Council to maintain pressure on the counties to continue upgrading the trained bands' equipment and the holding of regular musters. With the accession of James I, and the arrival of peace, military threats virtually disappeared and the trained band saw a prolonged period of decline in efficiency, without regular musters. Immediately following his appointment to the Lieutenancies in 1614 Lord Huntingdon ordered a muster of Rutland's infantry trained band (Appendix 5). In 1616 he also prompted a review of its horse by his Deputy Lieutenants. The Deputies found them 'but for the most part so defective both in horse arms and men as we have disavowed what we hath we have found unfitting and given particular warning to them all to supply those defects which we found against a new summons' (Hast Misc box 7, f10612). Nationally the torpor lasted until the onset of the Thirty Years War on the continent in 1618, which resulted in the deposing of James I's son-in-law, Frederick V (Elector Palatine of the Rhine 1610–23 and King of Bohemia 1619–20), again focused the Privy Council's attention on the generally neglected state of the trained bands. Orders were sent to the Lord Lieutenants to increase powder stocks and replace outdated weapons.

Huntingdon (fig. 11) threw himself into this upgrade, improving training and equipment and restocking the magazines at Oakham and Leicester with powder, shot and match. In 1623 the government ordered the replacement of older weapons and issued a new training manual based on current practice in the Low Countries (cf de Gheyn 1608). The object of these measures was to make the trained band an 'exact or perfect militia' (Boynton 1971, 240, 244). By this time Huntingdon's upgrade was already well advanced and he was able to report that the foot companies were 'complete and fit for present service'. However, the process of upgrade inevitably created local tensions, with individuals required to fund replacement arms and equipment for items they considered serviceable. Nevertheless, by 1625 Huntingdon's efforts with the foot were officially praised – 'no county of England can compare with them' – and he was held to be '... an example for other counties to follow'. The musketeers shouldered weapons 'all of one bore according to the Tower gauge' and the pikemen wielded pikes 'all of one length with Spanish heads'. The men had also been trained in the complicated weapon evolutions using the government-issued 'Instructions for Musters and

Arms'. When problems arose with the Rutland trained band, the Earl was able to point out to his Rutland Deputies that 'you shall have this country [Leicestershire] for your precedent' (Cogswell 1998, 44, 50, 54).

While Huntingdon was praised for the infantry he had difficulty raising standards amongst the cavalry. These were described in 1623 as 'very meanly furnished', with high absenteeism. One reason for this was the high cost of equipment. A light horseman's accoutrement came to nearly £6 and that of a cuirassier almost double, excluding the cost of the horse. Also, while most low social status foot soldiers dared not challenge the Earl, the gentry cavalrymen could and did. Some cavalrymen, especially absentee landlords, objected to any contribution. Eventually Huntingdon resolved matters by bringing defaulters before the Privy Council. These included Sir William Noel, a brother of Edward Noel, one of his Rutland Deputy Lieutenants (Cogswell 1998, 45–8). The trained bands were officered from the gentry: a 1629 Rutland muster list (fig. 12) records Captain William Sheffield in charge of the horse and Captain John Coney the foot. Coney had served in that post since at least 1614. Other records name a Lieutenant Timothy Green. Sheffield was probably a member of the Lyddington/Seaton family of that name and Coney inherited one of the manors at Whissendine in 1630 (TNA SP16/145, f123; Hast Misc box 12, ff10617–8; Mil box 1, f11; ROLLR DG41/466).



Fig. 11. Henry Hastings, 5th Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire and Rutland 1614–1642, etching after Wenceslaus Hollar (National Portrait Gallery D33245).

	Rutland 1625	Rutland 1629	Leicestershire 1625	Leicestershire 1628
Light Horse	20	20	52	40
Petronels	7	–	–	–
Lancers	–	4	28	60
Total Horse	27	24	80	100
Corselets with Pikes	40	40	210	210
Muskets	60	60	290	290
Total	100	100	500	500
Private Arms				
Corselets with Pikes	15	19	201	201
Muskets	58	64	299	299
Total	73	83	500	500
Clergy				
Corselets with Pikes	–	5	–	–
Muskets	–	16	–	–
Total	–	21	–	–
Powder (weight in lb)	100	3600*	1200	3000
Bullets (weight in lb)	59	2000	2000	4000
Match (weight in lb)	50	800	2400	3000

* Recorded as 1½ lasts. A last was equivalent to 24 barrels, a barrel of gunpowder being 100lb in weight (Cressy 2013, xi).

Table 6. Abstracts of Militia Rolls (TNA SP16/13, f98; SP16/145, f123; Nichols 1795–1815, 3.1, xx).

June 1629 Capt. Rutland The Constable of his Ma^{ties} shires in the said County.

Hundred	men	Armes	Captaine	Captaine of the Horse
Alsewe	22	Doyleys w th Pike & Musketts - 14	John Coney	William Sheffield Esq ^r
Okham	16	Doyleys w th Pike & Musketts - 8		Launces - 4
Marinsley	22	Doyleys w th Pike & Musketts - 14		Light horse - 20
Sprensby	26	Doyleys w th Pike & Musketts - 16		Summe of the above - 24
Eastham	14	Doyleys w th Pike & Musketts - 8		The Dragoon & Corder
Private Armes				Doyleys w th Pike - 40
Alsewe	13	Doyleys w th Pike & Musketts - 10		Musketts - 60
Okham	13	Doyleys w th Pike & Musketts - 10		Summe - 100
Marinsley	13	Doyleys w th Pike & Musketts - 10		Private Armes w th Pike & Musketts
Sprensby	13	Doyleys w th Pike & Musketts - 10		Doyleys w th Pike - 10
Eastham	10	Doyleys w th Pike & Musketts - 8		Musketts - 64
The Armes of the Clergie				Summe - 84
Doyleys w th Pike & Musketts - 16				Summe of the above - 183
				Corder and Corder
				Match - 200 weight
				Summe 2000 weight

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Fig. 12. The Earl of Huntingdon's 1629 report to the Privy Council of the number of trained men and private arms in Rutland (TNA SP16/145 f123).

Given the readiness of Huntingdon's militia, it was not surprising that when in 1624 orders came to raise 150 men from Leicestershire and Rutland for a regiment to fight for the Dutch State, its officers arrived to find volunteers assembled for inspection. The Rutland Deputy Lieutenants wrote: 'We have mustered and surveyed the soldiers within this country of Rutland, and have delivered over the same unto Captain Onsley' (Hast Misc box 10, f10613). Abstracts of some of Huntingdon's militia muster rolls for this period survive (Table 6). The muster rolls separate the infantry arms into those provided to the trained bands by the county and those held by persons whose assessed wealth required them to purchase and hold the designated arms. Although private arms were considered part of the county militia's equipment, they were not intended for its trained band but for the untrained men in times of emergency (Boynton 1971, 249). Rutland's trained band arms had been stored, since the beginning of the century, in a house near Oakham market place (the exact location is unknown), with an armourer paid to keep them in good order, while the powder, shot and match were 'kept in another private place ... but a good distance from the armoury for safety' (TNA SP16/182, f77). Rutland seems to have centralised the cost of equipment maintenance and supply of powder and shot, with parishes rated by the High Constables of each hundred. In some other counties the holding of munitions and maintenance of weapons, including bringing them to musters, was the responsibility of the parish constable (Langelüddecke 2003, 1273–81).

In fact, concern that the armoury could be a target for discontented persons led to orders being made in early 1642 for the Rutland trained band to keep their weapons at home (BL Eg 2986, f159). However,

the county's stocks of powder, match and bullets were still retained in the Oakham magazine. Compared with the size of the Rutland militia, its stocks of powder, bullets and match were high and seem to have been maintained at that level up to the outbreak of the Civil War (*Cal Comp* 2, 940). The greater size of the Leicestershire stocks, as reflected in Table 6, was to make that magazine an early target for both sides at the onset of the Civil War.

Huntingdon's success in raising standards is reflected not only in the increased level of munitions, but in the increased numbers of cavalry in Leicestershire. However, he and his deputies continued to report problems with the Rutland horse, but by 1640 the number had risen to thirty (Appendix 6). The problems with the cavalry were somewhat compensated for by the increased numbers of private foot arms. A list of Rutland defaulters for 1628 survives and illustrates the division of responsibilities for providing the trained band and arms (Table 7).

William Lord Sherard	Living in county of Leicestershire charged with a horse according to his land, but showeth not
Thomas Jenkins of Ayston	Charged to have a musket, but showeth not
Alan Manesley of Ketton	Charged with musket, but showeth not
Stoke Dry*	Formerly furnished the band with two able soldiers now being depopulated by Sir Kenholm Digby scarcely affords a man to serve the King, but might be supplied from other towns
Mr Massey of Ayston Clerk	Charged with a corselet by the bishop hath had warnings to provide, but showeth not

* The reason for the depopulation of Stoke Dry was its enclosure in 1627 (Ryder 2006, 67).

Table 7. Defaulters at the muster held on 30th October 1628, provided by the Deputy Lieutenants William Bulstrode, Guy Palmes and Francis Bodenham (TNA SP16/119, f92).

The cavalry was supplied from the highest ranks of society, such as Lord Sherard, but parishes, such as Stoke Dry, were expected to supply the trained band with a quota of able-bodied men. Wealthier personages, such as Mr Manesley and the Reverend Mr Massey, were charged with providing a weapon and accoutrements. In contrast, Thomas Jenkins was charged to have a musket. In other words, he had been issued with one, but had not appeared at the muster. The decision as to who should be a trained man was left to the discretion of the deputy lieutenants. The Privy Council urged counties to choose freeholders, farmers, householders or their sons, and discouraged the choosing of poor men 'where others may be had'. In most counties the trained band seems to have been selected from households that also provided the parish constables and churchwardens (Langelüddecke 2003, 1272). However, selected better-off inhabitants who wished to avoid tiresome trained band duties were permitted to employ a substitute (Boynton 1971, 221).

Militia Assessments

Heavy military assessments imposed during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign led to general dislike of the system and the repeal in 1604 of the 1548 militia statutes. Numerous attempts were made to replace the statutes, in 1604, 1621, 1624, 1626 and 1628, but all failed. This left military assessments a matter at the discretion of the lord and deputy lieutenants, using the royal prerogative, and created conflicts between the deputy lieutenants and those they assessed (Beckett 2011, 33; Boynton 1971, 255). Some questioned the lieutenancy's legal power to make assessments, others the rate of payments, especially to officers, and most the employment of a muster master. The limited local bureaucracy of the time meant that assessments were often based on the subsidy tax rolls. These had serious flaws: being nominal in nature, under-rating most estates, and being prone to the disappearance of names when men died, as neighbours were as likely to be substituted as were successors. Similarly, the clergy were separately assessed to provide arms for the trained bands, but which livings were to be charged was determined by the bishop and not the lieutenancy.

Soon after his appointment to the lieutenancy, Huntingdon revised the method of raising his county's military assessments. After establishing a budget, he divided the total by the number of trained men, this fraction being collected by the parish constables based on their allocated number of trained men. Even this did not still all objections to these payments (Cogswell 1998, 111). Who was responsible for providing

the private arms was also contentious. Theoretically it was the land owner, but many tried to pass the burden on to their tenants (Boynton 1971, 71, 235, 250, 272–5). In the end the effectiveness of the lieutenancy, without strong legal sanction, revolved around the degree of local co-operation it was able to foster. The general national disquiet over military assessments led them to be included as an imposition in the Grand Remonstrance, a list of grievances presented by the Long Parliament to Charles I in December 1641 (Beckett 2011, 32).

Although Leicestershire and Rutland were autonomous, Huntingdon followed the same policy in each so that they 'may seem to be all of one piece' (Cogswell 1998, 137). However, the Privy Council's failure to understand Rutland's small size led its Deputy Lieutenants, Sir Edward Noel and Sir William Bulstrode, to protest to Huntingdon that 'The charge imposed on this country of Rutland [is so] great a burden to this small country being proportioned to the half of Leicestershire this being in quantity and quality about the fifth part of the same'. The grievance was compounded when in 1626, to great protest, the Council imposed experienced English Low Country sergeants on the counties to drill their militia (Braddick 2000, 187). Rutland's Deputy Lieutenants were appalled that two were allocated to the county's small militia and appealed to Huntingdon, saying that 'the complaints of the inhabitants unto us make us bold to entreat your Lordships favour to help us of one great unnecessary expense which this county doth groan under; and that is the maintaining of two low country soldiers for training our band', and adding a veiled threat, that while 'we desire first to appeal to your lordship for help; Or if it be your pleasure we shall take any other course in appealing higher' (Hast Misc box 12, ff10615–7). The Earl was under pressure from the Privy Council, which had reacted to the dissolution of Parliament in 1626 by shifting much of the war burden to the counties and imposing the Forced Loan. Huntingdon had been ordered to raise a second regiment, increase powder and food stocks, and recruit a pioneer company fully furnished with equipment and a fleet of carts. Despite ignoring the order for a second regiment, on the basis that he already had one 'private' man for each trained one, these demands had necessitated him to order a military assessment from his shires at double the rate of the highest previously raised. This in turn prompted an outcry that led to accounts being ordered by the Council (Cogswell 1998, 123; Boynton 1971, 250). The dissolution of the subsequent Parliament in 1629 and the King's assumption of personal rule were accompanied by a royal need to reduce expenditure. This resulted in an ending of the country's indirect involvement in the Thirty Years War. Huntingdon responded to this new environment by avoiding musters in all but one of the following four years. During this period Rutland took the opportunity to shake off its professional sergeants (Cogswell 1998, 137; *CSPD* 1628–29, 481, 512). However, in 1635 the county still complained that there was 'no memorial remaining with us of any money required or levied and collected for the muster master and other officers nor any command to certify an annual payment'. The Rutland Deputies repeatedly pointed out the suitability of their own captain and officers for the task of training (Hast Misc box 15, ff10616–7, 10621). The peace and the reduction in musters inevitably adversely affected the quality of the militia. The Rutland Deputy Lieutenants confessed to Huntingdon in 1634 frustrations concerning those who 'have been found many times defective yet will not amend though often warned' and asking for their punishment so that 'others may be warned and made more fearful to offend' (Hast Misc box 14, f10620).

Impressment

While in 1624 Huntingdon was able to raise the men for Dutch service through volunteers, when men for further regiments to fight in Europe were ordered, his Rutland deputies found 'no volunteers that have a willingness to be employed therein' (Hast Misc box 10, f10613). To levy the required men necessitated impressment. The Privy Council offered little guidance as to who should be impressed, just men 'of able bodies and age'. Huntingdon set his own requirement, ordering parishes to present 'two, four or six men (according to the requisition laid on each parish)' from whom he would select the ablest. Members of the trained band were exempted and, if possible, constables were to pass over married men, agricultural labourers and vagrants. His exclusion of vagrants contrasted with the policy adopted by other counties. Hampshire, for instance, saw wars as an opportunity to rid itself of the unemployed: its JPs' book of

precedents cross-referenced wars with 'idle persons to be taken up'. Any petty constable failing to bring the required men was threatened with impressment himself (*HMC Barker*, 401, no 2; Cogswell 1998, 39). Impressment further increased local resentment and protests. Influential men lobbied for the release of retainers, constables reported the phenomenon of villages without unmarried men, and recruits showed up with their landlords to prove they had commitments that would be broken if impressed. Conductors who were to take the men to ports of departure could also take the opportunity, for a fee, to exchange selected men for those who were unfit, confident that the unfit men would eventually be released (Cogswell 1998, 39–41). In addition, the county was expected to supply the impressed men with clothing and pay their transfer expenses to the ports, known as coat and conduct money. These charges were relatively large, constituting almost half the value of the county's periodic subsidy tax. In 1625, the Rutland Deputies reported the costs for fifty levied men. Coat money totalled £45, at eighteen shillings per coat, and 'conduct money for eleven days' and their keep for 'fourteen days after they came to Plymouth' £41 8s 4d, at eight pence per man per day (Hast Misc box 11, f10614). In theory the government was supposed to refund these costs, but refunds were often much delayed and were discounted when received (Braddick 2000, 244). An exception to the usual state of affairs was the raising of the regiment in 1624 to fight for the Dutch state, which was speedily undertaken, Parliament having approved the coat and conduct money to be taken out of its taxes (Cogswell 1998, 109). The exaction of coat and conduct money was later included by the King's opponents in reasons justifying their actions on the outbreak of civil war (Vicars 1642, 11).

The names of a further fifty men levied from Rutland in 1627 survive (Table 8). Inevitably on their long march to the embarkation ports, the numbers dwindled, either through desertion, illness, or bribery of the officers, and only forty-four were received at Plymouth. It may also be significant that five of the six absent men were the single representatives of their villages.

Name	Parish	Occupation	Name	Parish	Occupation
James Burton *	Lyddington	Tailor	William Harper	Oakham	Miller
Henry Collins	Glaston	Shepherd	Robert Clarke	Belton	Carpenter
Henry Shelton *	Tixover	Labourer	Thomas Sharplis *	Clipsham	Weaver
Erasmus Barwell	Seaton	Tailor	Henry Dee	Brooke	Labourer
Richard King	Stoke Dry	Husbandman	George Clarke	Braunston	Labourer
Gregory Newbon	Caldecott	Yeoman	John Chatton	Braunston	Carpenter
Thomas Luffe	Caldecott	Carpenter	Richard Freeman	Ketton	Labourer
Jasper Parr	Barrow	Miller	Simon Edgoose	Ketton	Musician
Augustin Tayler *	North Luffenham	Husbandman	William Phillips	Tickencote	Labourer
Robert Falkiner	North Luffenham	Labourer	Peter Barnes	Ingthorpe	Husbandman
Simon Abbot	South Luffenham	Labourer	John Barber	Essendine	Tailor
John Mellins	South Luffenham	Tailor	Thomas Hubbard	Essendine	Husbandman
Humphrey Swan	Morcott	Husbandman	Nicholas Yates	Empingham	Slater
Richard Roworth	Greetham	Husbandman	Samuel Smith	Empingham	Husbandman
Jervise Mowbray	Burley	Chandler	Richard Catlin	Uppingham	Labourer
John Giggers	Barrow	Shepherd	Repent Osbourne	Uppingham	Labourer
John Wignall	Market Overton	Miller	Richard Foster	Uppingham	Carrier
Richard Herridge *	Ashwell	Husbandman	Thomas Woodward *	Edith Weston	Wheelwright
Robert Taberner	Exton	Labourer	William Walker	Preston	Husbandman
Anthony Welby	Whissendine	Tailor	John Birch	Manton	Mason
Hugh Day	Teigh	Husbandman	Christopher Hewitt	Hambleton	Labourer
Edward Rubben	Teigh	Shepherd	Gregory Johnson	Wing	Labourer
Jeffery Cole	Teigh	Husbandman	Robert Wright	Langham	Not given
Peter Terrett	Oakham	Glover	Henry Killingley	Langham	Husbandman
William Graye	Oakham	Labourer	John Bottomley	Egleton	Yeoman

Table 8. Rutland men conducted to Plymouth by Lieutenant Timothy Green, August to September 1627 (* = absent on arrival) (TNA SP16/75, f121; SP16/81, f26).

The Bishops' Wars 1639-40

Intermittent musters continued until 1637, when Charles attempted to impose bishops on the presbyterian Scots. The Scots banded together, signed a National Covenant and expelled the bishops. Undeterred, Charles decided to overcome Scottish resistance by use of force. This resulted in a frantic call from Whitehall in November 1638 for all English and Welsh counties to muster their militia and keep them in readiness. It also brought an immediate return to the scale of military assessment seen in the previous decade (Cogswell 1998, 231). Rutland was amongst the counties ordered to raise a combined army of 20,000 foot and 1,200 horse for 'this present service in Scotland'. Its portion was 60 musketeers, 40 pike and 30 horse. In addition, the county was required to raise a further 20 horses and seven carters for the train of artillery (Rushworth 1659, 2, 827). The Rutland militia, together with those from the other counties, was placed under the command of Sir Jacob Astley, a Thirty Years War veteran, and as part of that command the county was protected from further levies of either men or horse (*CSPD* 1638–39, 176, 307, 514). The King had assumed that a large proportion of his army would be based on the trained bands and the personal contingents of the nobility and gentry. This is illustrated by the number of Rutland horse, muskets and pike closely matching the 1625 county muster list (Table 6). However, the trained bands were reluctant to accept duties outside their shires. Consequently the army that marched toward Scotland in June 1639 consisted of a much larger proportion of impressed untrained men than had originally been expected (Fissel 1994, 205, 225, 241; Boynton 1971, 245).

The Scots army contained many men who had fought on the continent in the Thirty Years War. Overawed by them, the King's army retreated after only a few skirmishes, and a new Parliament was called to raise money for another assault. This 'Short Parliament' only lasted from April to May 1640, but not before an attempt by Sir Guy Palmes, one of the county's MPs and a Deputy Lieutenant, to introduce legislation to limit the Crown's ability to take soldiers out of the shires (Fissel 1994, 236). In March, prior to the recall of Parliament, the King had ordered the Lord Lieutenants to levy from Rutland a further 'sixty able and serviceable men for the war' together with 'twenty able and strong horses and seven carters'. At the same time as passing this order to the High Constables of the Hundreds, the Deputy Lieutenants, Henry Noel and Francis Bodenham, ordered 'all the trained bands both horse and foot and all private men within your parish' to attend a muster at Oakham on 4th May 'and bring at the same time and place two of the ablest and strongest young men ... to supply the defect of the Trained Bands'. Also, 'because these preparations of men and horses cannot be made without great charge and expense of monies', an assessment on the county was made. Only the assessment for Alstoe Hundred survives, amounting to £84 18s, with a further assessment in June of £25 5s. The inhabitants were provided with the less than comforting reassurance that the charges would be repaid 'out of his Majesty's Exchequer'. However, this did not prevent the townsmen of Cottesmore and Barrow complaining about the inequality of the assessment made on different towns. A reluctance of men to attend musters is indicated by calls for further musters in June and early September. The Deputy Lieutenants explained that the reason for some absences was 'out of some fear and doubt they should be stayed to march towards the army' (BL Eg 2986, ff81–87; Hast Misc box 16, ff10623–4).

Nevertheless, the required force was again raised through impressment. A letter from Huntingdon and his son to the Privy Council in May stated that the Rutland 'soldiers are all impressed, their coats ready and conduct money levied' (*CSPD* 1640, 205). Comparison of the impressed men (Table 9 & fig. 13) with that of the 1640 Rutland muster roll of the trained band and private men (Table 10) confirms that none of the trained band or private men were impressed. In July 1640, Huntingdon also reported that the twenty horses and seven carters had been raised and sent to Newcastle (*CSPD* 1640, 455). A comparison of the employment of the Rutland men impressed in 1627 and 1640 shows a marked difference. Whereas in 1627 only thirteen out of forty-nine men whose occupations were identified were labourers, with a further thirteen either husbandmen or yeomen, in 1640 forty-nine out of sixty were labourers and none were husbandmen or yeomen. Also, while in 1627 it was common to have several men drawn from the same parish, in 1640 it was mainly single individuals. It is clear from these differences that time had eroded the population's enthusiasm for war and the authorities had moved from Huntingdon's high-minded enlistment



Fig. 13. A 1640 indenture for 60 impressed men from Rutland who were part of the king's unsuccessful army against the Scots, transcribed in Table 9 (TNA SP16/462).

requirements to the approach used in other counties, that of impressing the poor (Cogswell 1998, 39).

Amongst the actions required by the Privy Council in response to the Scottish crisis was the preparation of a 'catalogue of all the inhabitants', in other words a muster roll of the able-bodied men, aged between sixteen and sixty. The Rutland list, compiled in January 1639, survives virtually intact except for a few damaged entries, and includes the names, by hundred and parish, of 1,671 individuals (Appendix 2). It could be expected that the names of the sixty impressed men would be found on this roll, but there is only a 15 per cent match of names in the same parish. If an allowance is made for movement of individuals between parishes (for example a Nicholas Tomlin of Greetham appears on the militia roll but the same name appears against Exton on the impressment list) the match of names rises to around 25 per cent. Similarly, a comparison of the militia roll with the 1640 trained band muster list shows that only 46 per cent of names on the parish foot list were also on the militia roll. The inclusion of only one of the trained band cavalry, James Digby of North Luffenham, on the militia roll points to a tendency to exclude the more wealthy and 'better sort' of society. This observation is supported by only 20 per cent of the foot trained band who were also subsidy men appearing on the militia roll. A similar trend is observed in a list for eastern Northamptonshire which also provides the occupations for its 918 able men: 227 were

Between Henry Noel of North Luffenham and Sir Francis Bodenham of Ryhall Deputy Lieutenants and John Mowbray of Burley for Mowbray to conduct the men listed below to Loughborough as commanded by the Lord Lieutenants the Earl of Huntingdon and Ferdinando Lord Hastings.

Name	Parish	Occupation	Name	Parish	Occupation
Luke Miller	Langham	Labourer	William Dalby	Teigh	Labourer
Leonard Cooper	Hambleton	Labourer	Richard Brigeforth	Clipsham	Labourer
Alexander Hollmes	Casterton	Labourer	Anthony Bland	Bisbrooke	Labourer
Irnorn [?] Redding	Greetham	Labourer	Francis Qugh	Brooke	Labourer
John Walton	Tixover	Labourer	Edward Shepheard	Normanton	Lab[ourer]
Andrew Crampe	Hambleton	Carpenter	John Brown	Whissendine	Miller
John Molliner	Ryhall	Butcher	William Challeng	Belton	Labourer
Thomas Treyfoot	Ketton	Labourer	Thomas Rudkin	South Luffenham	La[bourer]
John Briggs	Essendine	Labourer	Miles Dalby	Wing	Labourer
Fabian Bellsterup	Uppingham	Labourer	Richard Stacy	[Edith] Weston	Labourer
Thomas Greensword	Preston	Shepherd	John Smithes	Ketton	Labourer
Robert Falkes	Stoke [Dry]	Labourer	Daniel Tompson	Langham	Labourer
Anthony Qugh	Glaston	Labourer	Richard Bywater	Belmesthorpe	Labourer
William Sicklin	Manton	Labourer	Henry Tomas	Morcott	Labourer
John Dafte	Braunston	Labourer	Richard Ditch	Manton	Labourer
Edward Banes	Ashwell	Gla[zier]	William Ellis	Barrow	Labourer
Thomas Freeman	Lyddington	Labourer	Richard Tompson	Morcott	L[abourer]
Thomas Chatton	Empingham	Labourer	Robert Bolcher	Whissendine	Labourer
Edward Berrigge	Seaton	Taylor	Nicholas Tombling	Exton	Labourer
John Barnes	Lyndon	Labourer	Roger Ball	Ridlington	Labourer
Thomas Kerke	Egletton	Weaver	Richard Collins	Stretton	Labourer
John Watts	Uppingham	Labourer	John Morcott	Caldecott	Labourer
Michael Borsche	[Market] Overton	Labourer	John Berridg[e]	Cottesmore	Labourer
Anthony Clarke	Whissendine	She[pherd]	Henry Winterton	Burley	Labourer
George Rippen	Oakham	Spurrier	William Andrew	Wardley	Labourer
Thomas Greene	Oakham	Labourer	Peter Layton	[Edith] Weston	Labourer
Robert Howett	Tinwell	Labourer	Edward Calladine	Pickworth	Labourer
Henry Whittakers	Thistleton	Labourer	Edward Harrison	[none shown]	Drummer
Richard Brettfeild	North [L]uffenham	Labourer	Richard Wright	Uppingham	Hatter
Richard Donnmore	Barrowden	Labourer	Robert Clarke	Casterton	Labo[urer]

Table 9. Indenture for sixty Rutland men, 10th June 1640, also reproduced in fig. 13 (TNA SP16/462/46).

husbandmen, 156 labourers, 109 servants, 46 tailors, 43 masons, 42 carpenters and 26 weavers, with no gentlemen and few yeomen enrolled (Fissel 1994, 226). At the other end of society, the few low-status impressed men included on the militia roll could point to a bias against inclusion of the poor. However, in contrast, five of Cottesmore's poor in receipt of 'dole of corn and meat' were included on the muster roll (BL Eg 2986, f79). Nevertheless, this does not exclude a distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor. Wars were always an opportunity for those accused of idleness, vagrancy or antisocial behaviour 'to be taken up' (Cogswell 1998, 39). What appears to be happening is a limiting of the overall numbers on the militia roll, despite the order for 'all inhabitants' to be included. This is supported by examination of the few surviving Rutland Protestation lists, taken in May 1641, which provide the names of adult male inhabitants. Those for Cottesmore totalled seventy-one individuals with totals for Barrow and Thistleton of twenty-nine each. These are well above the militia roll totals of thirty-five, ten and eighteen respectively, even allowing for some individuals taking the Protestation being disabled or outside the militia age range (BL Eg 2986, ff134-7). This raises the question as to why the Deputy Lieutenants did not include all eligible men on the militia roll. The answer probably lies in established practice. County administrators, of whom the Deputies were an integral part, were well versed in manipulating subsidy tax assessments to ensure consistency in both numbers of men and tax yields (*see* Chapter 4). Such manipulation would have provided some protection for the county from the state demanding increased taxes from increased resources. In the case of the militia roll, under-recording the size of the eligible male population to a traditional accepted level would minimise the chance that the county would be required to increase the size of its trained band, with a consequent increase in its military tax assessment.

The 1614 and 1640 Rutland summary muster rolls and the 1625 abstract (Tables 6 and 10) show the number of foot trained men to have remained the same, at one hundred, any differences between the lists being generated by the later inclusion of private and clergy arms. The 1625 abstract separately lists both the number of trained men and private arms but excludes those required from the clergy. A list of the Rutland clergy's arms at that period would have been supplied by the Bishop of Peterborough to the Council; by 1640 bishops had lost the right to list the clergy's arms separately and so they are included in that muster roll (Boynton 1971, 224). A key group of men missing from all three documents is the officers. As high-status individuals, these were appointed rather than required to serve, and were free to resign at any time. The horse also are not included in the 1614 list, possibly due to their reluctance to appear at muster. Two years later the Rutland Deputy Lieutenants complained about both their lack of appearance at muster and the defective state of those that had (Hast Misc box 7, f10612). The need some years later for individual assessments to be combined for the provision of a single horse was a matter of concern for Huntingdon, who thought that this should be the responsibility of an individual. The Rutland Deputies replied 'the lords of the council advise that such charged shall have at least £200 yearly: where we join two together neither of them hath £120 yearly: and of the former estates there are not enough to make up the number of 30 horses' (Hast Misc box 15, f10622). While the clergy were a source of private arms, some of these individuals appear, from the later insertion of non-clergy names, to have passed responsibility on to others, probably tenants. These include a widow Chad of South Luffenham, listed in 1640 for a musket. In its parish list of 'the foot', this muster roll does not differentiate between the names of individuals assessed to provide private arms and members of the trained band. This is illustrated by an entry for Braunston that lists Dorothy Kilbye against a corselet. Generally, while the wealthiest inhabitants supplied the horse, those with middling resources were assessed for private arms and the less well off but respectable members of the parish could be called upon to man the trained band. The latter is exemplified by Simon Wilcox of Cottesmore: known to have been a trained man from a subsequent dispute, he had a relatively modest 2s assessment for the 1642 £400,000 tax (*see* Chapter 4). At Barrow, William Ilson and Walter Richards were both listed against a musket, but their £400,000 assessments were 1s and 6s 8d respectively, with Richards also a subsidy man. It is therefore likely that Ilson was a trained man, while Richards was assessed to have private arms (BL Eg 2986, ff173-5, 100-29, 252). The May 1641 subsidy tax lists can therefore be used to separate the undifferentiated trained men and private arms in the 1640

muster roll. To this total can be added any jointly assessed individuals, such assessment only applying to private arms. As can be seen from Table 10 such a separation gives a reasonable approximation to the known number of trained men.

Hundred	1614 muster roll	1640 muster roll	Estimated 1640 Private Arms*	Estimated 1640 Trained Band
Alstoe	27	41	15	26
East	14	23	9	14
Martinsley	19	39	14	25
Oakham	19	31	16	15
Wrangdike	21	41	14	27
Total Parish Arms	100	175	68	107
Clergy Arms	n/a	23	23	n/a

*Assessed either on both the 1640 muster roll & May 1641 subsidy roll, or jointly assessed with another.

Table 10. Rutland Foot Trained Band and Private Arms 1614 and 1640.

Most parishes and hamlets were expected to provide a nominated number of men for the trained band. In 1614, forty-two out of the fifty-one listed supplied either one or two men. Some parishes were not listed, such as Gunthorpe, Martinthorpe and Pickworth, owing to their depopulation. The 1620s depopulation of Stoke Dry led the deputy lieutenants to complain that other parishes were having to provide the trained men it had supplied (TNA SP16/119, f92). Of other towns, six supplied three men, two four men, and one, Whissendine, six. Given the small size of the trained band (one hundred) compared to the numbers of militia eligible men in the county (1,671), these larger allocations are unlikely to be associated with manpower availability. In fact, Whissendine had only the seventh largest number of men eligible for the militia. More likely the nominated number was based on assessments of financial resource. This is supported by the 1642 assessments of parish land values, excluding tithe, where Whissendine was second only to Langham, the latter having doubled its value through enclosure earlier in the century (BL Eg 2986, f239; Ryder 2006, 31, 65).

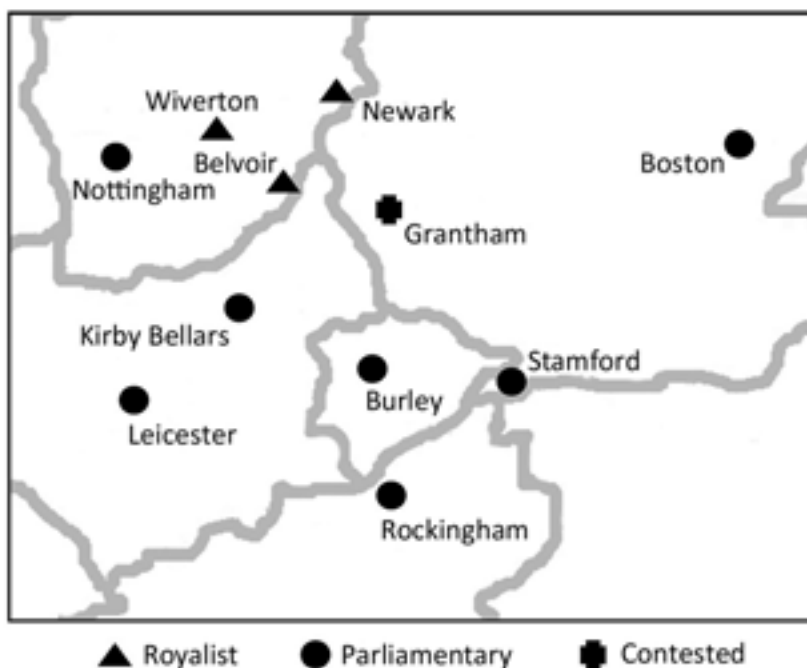
The Decline into Civil War

Ultimately, the second attempt to coerce the Scots was in vain, for they defeated the King's new army at Newburn in late August 1640 and occupied the north of England. This forced the King to call another Parliament, in November 1640, the Long Parliament, which was finally dissolved in 1660. Relations between the King and Parliament gradually deteriorated, culminating in January 1642 with the King's failed attempt to arrest five of its members. The consequence of this was his abandonment of London: he was not to return until his trial seven years later (Wedgwood 1964, 118). In the aftermath of the King's attempted coup both parties quickly saw the need to secure or safeguard the militia's stocks of arms and munitions. On 13th January, Parliament sent orders to the Sheriffs to disperse their county's arms. For this purpose, the local officers ordered on 26th January that the militia was to muster at Oakham, 'there to be reviewed and to receive their arms to be kept by every township safely and in readiness' (BL Eg 2986, f159). A watch, which lasted until at least July, was also placed on the county magazine at Oakham, at a charge of between eight and ten pence per night (BL Eg 2986, ff161, 217). With the arsenal contained in the Tower of London emptied, to supply an English army sent to suppress the rebellion in Ireland, Parliament won the race to secure the weapons and munitions of the English army sent in 1640 against the Scots that had been laid up at Hull (Ryder 1989, 139).

In these circumstances, control of the militia and its arms was vital to both parties. As the Lords Lieutenant controlled the militia, Parliament moved to require previous holders to hand in their commissions and appoint new 'reliable' persons. The two Hastings complied with the order and were replaced in Leicestershire and Rutland by the Earls of Stamford and Exeter respectively (CSPD 1638–39, 188; *HLJ* 4, 625). The Earl of Stamford's son Thomas Grey, Lord Grey of Groby, who was only nineteen in

1642 and related to the Earls of Exeter through his mother, was to be the major determinant of Rutland's position as a parliamentary area in the forthcoming conflict. On 15th March the Militia Ordinance was passed by Parliament, asserting its control of the militia and stating that 'the People are bound by the Ordinance for the Militia, though it has not received the Royal assent' (*HLJ* 4, 645). The passage of this ordinance proved to be an action too far for many and there was a steady drift of personages to the King at York, including the Earl of Huntingdon and Viscount Campden (*Cust* 2007, 352). On 17th June the Earl of Exeter was ordered by Parliament to 'put the Militia [Ordinance] into execution in the county of Rutland' and on 1st July '... Instructions concerning the raising of money, plate and horses' were given (*VCH Rutland* I, 188). However, Parliament soon after received a complaint from Exeter that there was a 'want of members of this House to be Deputy Lieutenants'. Parliament had sought to increase compliance with the Militia Ordinance by appointing Deputy Lieutenants from its own members. Sir Guy Palmes, who had earlier been recommended as a parliamentary Deputy Lieutenant, was asked to go and support Exeter, but appears to have declined. On 5th July Parliament appointed three Deputy Lieutenants, none of them Rutland men, Thomas Lord Grey, Sir Arthur Haselrig (both Leicestershire MPs), and Sir William Armyrn, MP for Grantham (*HCJ* 2, 508, 645, 651, 652).

By this time the King was sufficiently bolstered with support for his cause to counter the Militia Ordinance by reviving a medieval mechanism for raising military forces, the Commission of Array. The Rutland Commission was directed to Edward Viscount Campden, Baptist Noel, Henry Noel, Christopher Hatton, Guy Palmes, Francis Bodenham, Brian Palmes, Richard Wingfield, Edward Heath, Robert Treding, Thomas Levett and Richard Bullingham (*BL Eg* 2986, ff210, 212, 214). In the end Parliament seems to have acted directly, Sir Edward Harington writing on 14th July to the Speaker commented that he and colleagues had acted on the House's instructions 'concerning the Militia etc and have taken measures for securing the magazine' at Oakham. In all likelihood he was referring to the actions already taken of dispersing the weapons and placing a watch on the magazine. However, he also acknowledged the strength and influence of local royalists, stating that as the King had issued commissions of array to 'men of great power in the country', they feared that 'the business might receive great prejudice' (*HMC Portland* I, 43). Elsewhere the King's supporters had raided and disarmed the trained bands and magazines of Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire (Beckett 2011, 43). Rutland's forces were left intact, possibly because of their small size, but also due to the arrival of the plague in Oakham in June 1642. The King, aware of the outbreak, wrote from York in August that 'we will and command you in your several meetings not to summon any of the inhabitants of such towns or places which are infected' (*BL Eg* 2986, f222). The county's magazine remained at Oakham, effectively quarantined until late October.



In July the Commons voted to raise an army of 10,000 under the command of the Earl of Essex and in August Charles raised his standard at Nottingham. With the raising of armies, the descent into civil war was rapid. The focus of the national dispute moved with the King to the West. The War's first major battle, Edgehill, was fought on 27th October with Baptist Noel, the son of Edward Viscount Campden, and Lord Grey of Groby both commanding troops of horse,

Fig. 14. Civil War garrisons in the Rutland area 1643–1645.

but on opposite sides. However, the stalemate at Edgehill left the King's forces strategically in the stronger position, with his army between the parliamentary forces and London. Rather than moving rapidly on London, the King first took Oxford and other towns in the Thames Valley. Oxford was to become his capital for the remainder of the war. This delay allowed the parliamentary forces time to fall back on London and block the King's approach to the city, at Turnham Green, on 13th November 1642.

Whilst these events unfolded, Rutland's local administration continued to function undisturbed. The assessment papers for the second instalment of the £400,000 national tax were prepared at North Luffenham, presumably at Henry Noel's house, on 7th November (BL Eg 2986, f239), though both sides had their eyes on this source of funds, and Parliament had to protect the collectors in Leicestershire from royalist intervention (Nichols 1795–1815, **III.2**, App 4, 31). Even in early December Edward Heath was worrying more about the wording of a petition about episcopal abuses to be sent from the inhabitants of Rutland to Parliament than any local insurrection. However, a few days later he wrote:

Yesterday being 9th December 1642 understanding that diverse horses had been lately set forth out of this town [Cottesmore] and others for the assistance of the Parliament, and that some carried arms and muskets and guns: I willed the constables of this town to enquire where the towns arms were and see if they were safe. Who accordingly went to one Simon Wilcox who was a trained man and had a musket in his custody who came down to me at night but brought none nor showed any. I told him the reason of my sending, and withal told him I had supposed they had been in the constable's hands according to the direction of the Sheriff and Justices when they were sent home to every town in January last which I thought was the fittest place where they could lie. He said they were safe and forthcoming and would very unwillingly part with them. I answered I say not that they shall be taken out of your hands, or that you shall bear them no more though I doubt whether you are a fit man to be trusted with them therefore because you make so much sample I doubt you have conveyed them away and except I may see them myself I shall not be satisfied. His reply was I am then resolved that you shall not see them. I answered you are a saucy fellow and I will lay you by the heels [place you in the stocks] for this presumptory answer he replies again that he did not know what authority I had to lay him by the heels. My answer was if I cannot insist it being done you may take your course against me and so we parted, but to the constables and my servants both he and his brother Robert said they knew not any authority I had to demand to see the arms, was I a deputy lieutenant and therefore the arms should be kept till a warrant from some deputy lieutenant by virtue of the Ordinance for the Militia did require them. And that they would require surety from the constables to make them good again if they should be delivered into their hands. Though this fellow is but servant to this town and takes their wages for braving them' (SBPT DR98/1652/14–15; BL Eg 2986, f252).

As a royalist, Heath's diminution in status is reflected not only in Wilcox's challenge, but also in a warrant issued by the parliamentarian (at that time) Sir Guy Palmes on 30th December to the constables of Cottesmore to arrest Wilcox for using the words 'he will obey no man's command' to a JP. In normal times Heath would have expected to have been able to 'lay him by the heels' on his own authority (BL Eg 2986, f251). Similarly, in mid-November, Thomas Rogers of Exton made 'unfitting actions and uncivil expressions' in the presence of Baptist Noel and his arrest was ordered to 'find sufficient surety and main pain for his good bearing towards our said Sovereign Lord' (BL Eg 2986, f245).

While Rutland was dividing into warring factions, the King's close approach to London had shocked Parliament out of any complacency and into a major reorganisation of its war effort. In early December 1642 Parliament ordered counties to be Associated 'for mutual defence and safety of each other'. Rutland was banded with Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire was included later. Lord Grey of Groby was appointed the Association's Major General, while his father commanded parliamentary forces in the West Country. To assist Grey in raising men, horses, arms and ammunition a committee was named for each county. That for Rutland comprised Sir Edward Harington, Evers Armyn, Thomas Salisbury, Robert Horsman senior and junior, John Osborne, Christopher Brown and Samuel Barker (*HLJ* 5, 493; Richards 1988, 32). To avoid any confusion in command between the new Association Generals and Lords Lieutenant Parliament ordered the latter to surrender the powers it had granted them under the Militia Ordinance (*HLJ* 5, 496; *HCJ* 2, 886). The forces to be raised by the new Association are listed in Table 11.

County	Horse	Foot
Huntingdonshire	60	150
Northamptonshire	150	500
Leicestershire	150	300
Rutland	50	100
Nottinghamshire	150	400
Derbyshire	150	400

Table 11. Forces to be raised for Thomas Lord Grey's Midland Association Army (HCJ 2, 893).

Reports on 17th December that 'the Malignants' were busy raising 'horse and foot' in Rutland and nearby counties gave local impetus for these changes. On the same day Parliament ordered the arrest of Baptist Noel (*HMC Portland I*, 80; Sadler 2004). Stephen Tory, later captured by royalists, was charged by them with betraying to Parliament the magazine at Oakham and opposing the Noels in raising 300 horse (*Cal Comp 2*, 940). A Parliamentary ordinance of 14th January 1643 gave the Association power to levy taxes (Jurkowski et al 1998, 201), but on the 28th of that month the local parliamentarians were shaken by Gervase Lucas's capture of Belvoir Castle for the royalists from the parliamentary-leaning Earl of Rutland (Nichols 1795–1815, *II.1*, 50–52). Assisted by the royalist garrison at Newark, which included Baptist Noel, raiding soon took place into the nearby counties.

As a counter to these moves, in early February a detachment of Grey's troops marched into Rutland from Leicester. They seized Burley House and secured the Oakham magazine, carrying away its stores of powder and ammunition (*Cal Comp 2*, 939). Parliamentary troops from Grantham, under Captain Wray, son of the Lincolnshire MP, Sir John Wray, had also unsuccessfully attacked Baptist Noel's house at Exton. On hearing of these raids, and with Viscount Campden at Oxford and Baptist Noel at Newark, Henry Noel, Viscount Campden's second son, who had been one of Huntingdon's deputy lieutenants and was included on the Commission of Array, removed the arms held at Exton and his father's house at Brooke to his house at North Luffenham (fig. 15). Grey was alarmed at the level of local royalist activity, writing 'I found the coals kindle so fast', and joined with Wray at the end of February. Their combined force of 1,300 men assaulted Henry Noel at North Luffenham (*HLJ 5*, 631). Grey wrote on 3rd March to the Speaker of the House of Commons,

I drew some troops and dragoons into Rutland and came to Lord Campden's house [at Brooke], where I stayed. There was great store of arms and ammunition, but it was removed a little before my coming. His Lordship was also gone from hence and his eldest son was then at Newark, where he still remains. Afterwards I marched to Mr Henry Noels house in North Luffenham, where he and Mr Henry Skipworth with about 200 men, 120 armed with guns and the rest with pikes and clubs stood upon their guard. At my first coming thither I sent a trumpeter to Mr Noel to demand his person arms and horses who returned me answer, that he would stand on his defence while he had breath. Before I used any violence I sent to him the second time that the shedding of blood might be prevented. He sent me answer again, he would die before he would yield, and thereupon we had a skirmish about an hour and Mr Catesby Lieutenant to one of my captains was shot from the house and died thereof. The next day a common soldier was shot dead, and some others hurt, but afterwards the house being shot through, they called for quarter and yielded, and then I entered and seized Mr Noel and his arms and Mr Skipworth. ... With much difficulty preserved their lives, but the soldiers were so enraged I could not save their goods (HMC Portland I, 99).

The actions by Grey's forces echo the raid upon his own family home at Bradgate House, Leicestershire, by Lord Hastings and Prince Rupert the previous August:

*Many cavaliers, went to my Lord Grey the Earl of Stamford's house, from whence they took all his arms, and took away and spoiled all his goods, and also the clothes of his chaplain, who was fain to fly for his life. And some chief ones asked, 'where are the brats, the young children' swearing 'god dam them! they would kill them, that there might be no more of the breed of them' But god stirred up some friends to succour them. They also disarmed many inhabitants thereabouts, and taken away many of their goods (Nichols 1795–1815, *III.2*, App 4, 31).*

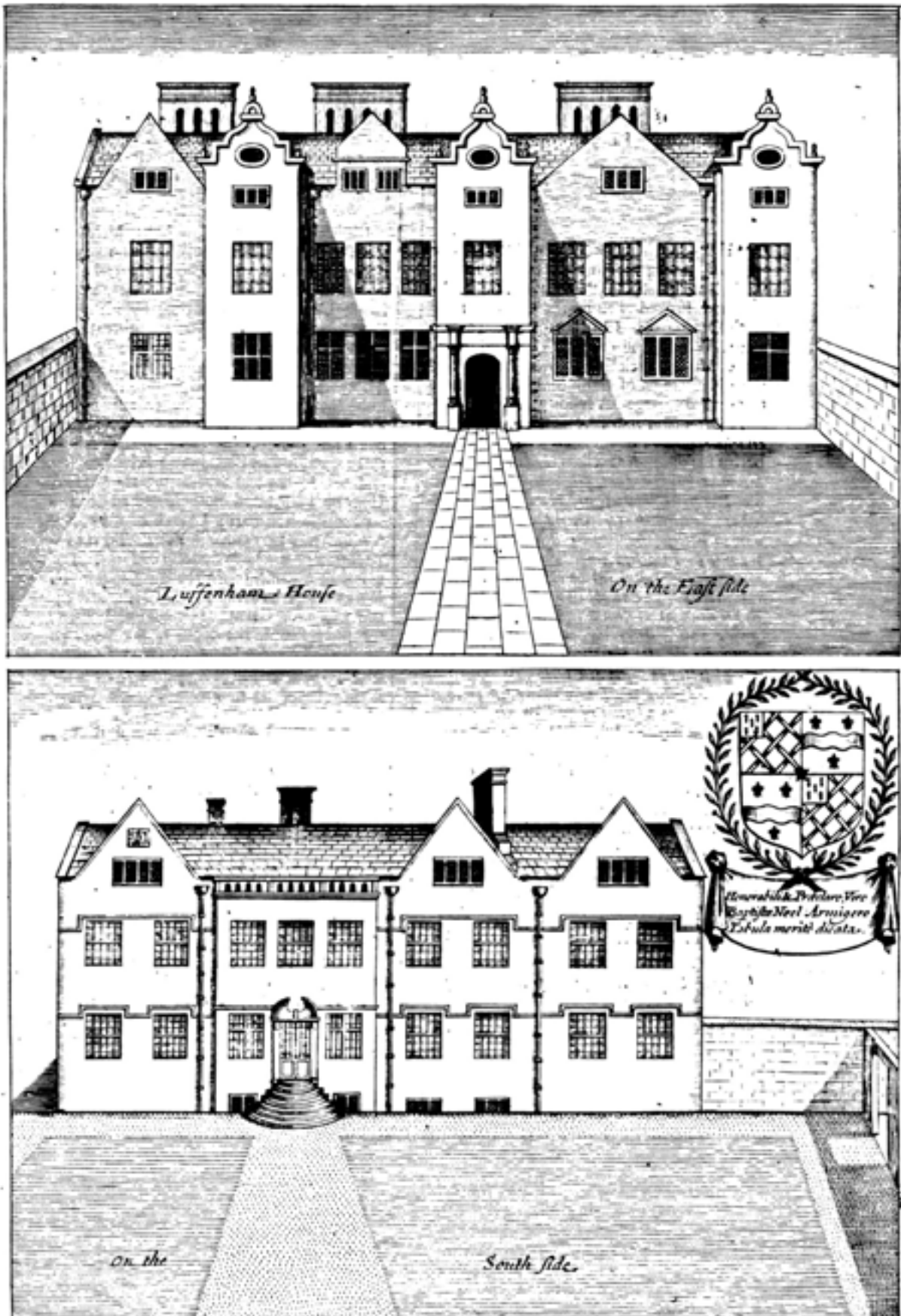


Fig. 15. North Luffenham House, held by Henry Noel during a short siege by parliamentary forces in February 1643. The formal design of seventeenth century houses with walled approaches led to their becoming easily defended strongholds (Wright 1684, add. 7).



Fig. 16. Statue of Baptist Noel 3rd Viscount Campden by Grinling Gibbons on his memorial in Exton Church (photo: author).

Henry Noel's version of the events is contained in a petition he made to the House of Lords, following his transfer as a prisoner to London, which was the subject of an article by Irons (1905–06). While seeking to play down the number of arms he held, Noel also stated that, in addition to the depredations at his own house, the villagers were also plundered, similar to what had happened at Bradgate.

As a reprisal the servants of Baptist Noel (fig. 16), now Lord Campden since the death of his father on 8th March, raided Oakham and captured Stephen Tory, who later claimed to have lost £1,000 in the process (*Cal Comp* 2, 940). Around this time Abel Barker complained that 'the distractions are so great in general and more particular in these parts wherein we live, yet what money I had within me is all disbursed by reason I dare not keep any by me, expecting daily when my house should be plundered, myself carried away (as most of our gentry already are), and my goods be exposed to the fury of the merciless troopers' (*HMC Barker*, 388, no 16). To further secure the area for Parliament, on 19th March Lord Grey seized Rockingham Castle from its owner, Sir Lewis Watson, and garrisoned it. The garrison included Thomas Wayte, a former sheriff of Rutland and future Regicide.

On 31st March 1643 Parliament voted Lord Grey £2,000 out of Lord Campden's estate (*HLJ* 5, 682). The pattern for Rutland was now set for the remainder of the war, which became a series of raids, reprisals and counter-reprisals between royalists and parliamentarians. A major royalist raid on Stamford involving 1,000 men from Newark and Belvoir in July 1643 was intercepted by Colonel Cromwell, on his first independent command. The clash resulted in the royalist loss of 300 to 400 foot and 150 to 200 of Lord Campden's horse regiment, together with their colours. Part of this action was an assault by Cromwell's troops, 'about two miles beyond Stamford towards Grantham', on 400 supposed club-men 'coming to the aid of the Cavaliers', where they 'had quickly slain about fifty of them and forced the rest to fly into a great wood, hard by them' (Vicars 1645, 7, 132). If these were club-men, bands of locals coming together to protect themselves against military depredations, this is a very early report and in an area not normally associated with club-men activity (Bennett 2000, 116). More probably, they may have been local supporters of Lord Campden (Baptist Noel), raised from his Rutland estates and the term club-men misapplied in the report of events made two years later. At around the same time as the action near Stamford, Cromwell's forces were also reported engaging and killing royalist soldiers at Uppingham (Butler 1819, I, 81, note on verse 752). To limit the scope of royalist incursions, Burley House was garrisoned in November 1643, with Thomas Wayte appointed its governor. Wayte was soon raiding royalist quarters at Waltham-on-the Wolds and in a cavalry engagement at Sproxton Heath, near Christmas time, took forty-six prisoners (*VCH Rutland* I, 190; Hopper 2014, 38–40). Various muster rolls of the Burley garrison survive, and comparison of these with Wayte's own troop of horse and company of foot and with the 1639 Rutland militia roll enables estimates to be made of both the garrison's turnover of soldiers and its proportion of Rutland men (Table 12).

What is clear from these tabulations is the high level of turnover in the garrison. Only half the horse troopers mustered in December 1643 were still serving in the same troop the following April. By July this had reduced to 30 per cent and by November the following year only four of the original seventy-two remained. A similar high rate of attrition is seen in troopers first mustered in April and July 1643. With the foot, only three men mustered in July 1643 were still in the company in November 1645. As Wayte was a local man, his own troop of horse and company of foot might be expected to have had a high Rutland component. Certainly his officer corps had local men, including Stephen Tory, who was his ensign of horse, then captain of his foot company. However, the low percentage of names occurring in

Horse	6 Dec 1643	15 Jan 1644	22 Apr 1644	9 July 1644	3 Nov 1645	6 Dec 1645
No of Officers (incl. Wayte)	4	4	4	4	4	4
No of Corporals	3	3	3	3	3	3
No of Trumpeters	2	2	2	2	2	2
No of Troopers	72	100	85	83	67	71
First listed 6 Dec 1643	72	68	41	26	4	4
First listed 15 Jan 1644		32	24	17	5	3
First listed 22 Apr 1644			20	6	0	0
First listed 9 July 1644				34	10	9
First listed 3 Nov 1645					48	41
First listed 6 Dec 1645						14
% First listed names in common with 1639 Rutland Militia Roll	19	25	15	6	6	28

Foot	9 July 1644	3 Nov 1645	6 Dec 1645
No of Officers (incl. Wayte)	4	4	4
No of Sergeants	1	2	2
No of Corporals	2	4	4
No of Drummers	0	2	2
No of Men	40	113	115
First listed 9 July 1644	40	3	2
First listed 3 Nov 1645		110	108
First listed 6 Dec 1645			5
% First listed names in common with 1639 Rutland Militia Roll	10	18	0

Table 12. Muster roll of Col Thomas Wayte's troop of horse and company of foot, garrisoned at Burley House, together with a name comparison to the 1639 Rutland Militia Roll (TNA SP28/121A/3, ff372–87; *Hast Misc* box 7, f1).

both his horse troop and foot company compared with the 1639 militia roll could indicate that the garrison was primarily made up of men from outside the county. In fact, the name match percentages given in Table 12 are likely to be over-statements, as many matches come from common surnames. However, given the low level of name matches seen in comparisons between the militia roll and the sixty impressed Rutland men of 1640, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about the participation of Rutland men in the Burley garrison. Nevertheless, the absence of virtually any of the Rutland names from the garrison would point to a low participation. Evers Armyn, a member of the Rutland Committee, commented that the cavalry force had been borrowed from Northampton: Wayte had been based at Rockingham before his appointment to command at Burley (*VCH Rutland* I, 192; Hopper 2014, 38). Similarly Captain Babington, who commanded another of Wayte's cavalry troops, originated from Leicestershire (Scaysbrook 1996, 116). A low level of local enrolment is also consistent with the Eastern Association army's unsuccessful attempts to recruit in Rutland in April and October 1644 (Hopper 2014, 40). The claims made by Armyn and Horsman that in mid-1644 the garrison was denuded and it was necessary to raise three troops locally under the Captains Layfield, Collins and Clarke are difficult to reconcile with the numbers of men in Wayte's muster lists. However, as shown by their falsely accusing Wayte of miscarriage during the 1646 election of MPs, his opponents on the County Committee were not beyond manipulating the facts (Hopper 2014, 41; *VCH Rutland* I, 192, 194).

Landed Families

The position of landed families caught on the wrong side of a divided country became difficult. Howlett (2010) has told the stories of several such families. Additionally, the Heath family correspondence charts a catalogue of their travails. Edward Heath's father had become Charles I's Chief Justice and his brothers John and Robert fought for the King. Edward was arrested by their neighbour Thomas Wayte at the time of Grey's February 1643 Rutland incursion and imprisoned at Boston before being released, possibly in a

prisoner exchange, and going to royalist Oxford. His house was plundered and his wife Lucy had to suffer her linen and baby clothes being taken at a time when she was 'great with child'. Wayte's statement of account lists: 'Received for Mrs Heaths childbed linen her husband being sequestered £10' (Hine 1920, 71, 83; SBPT DR98/1652/27; TNA SP/28/133/5, ff13–22). The royalists also undertook sequestration. In January 1645 Abel Barker complained to Sir Edward Harington, one of his landlords then in London, that he had been 'carried prisoner to Belvoir Castle for your rents' and 'been enforced to pay not only what was then unpaid but also what I had formerly paid unto you', an amount that totalled £160 (ROLLR DE730 Vol 4, ff16–17). Even those who had attempted neutrality such as Sir Lewis Watson were the subject of suspicion. He had sent his plate and other articles of value for safe keeping to his brother-in-law the Earl of Rutland, at Belvoir Castle, only to see that place seized by the royalists. His own home at Rockingham had then been seized by Parliament and later he was taken prisoner by the royalists and accused of not holding Rockingham for the King (Wise 1891, 62–65).

The discovery at Ryhall in 1987 of a significant coin hoard can also be ascribed to the tumultuous times faced by these families in early 1643. Such hoards in themselves are not unusual, but this one remains one of the largest Civil War coin hoards ever recorded (Clough & Cook 1988 & 1989; Besly & Briggs 2013, 180). The hoard, buried in an oak box, contained one gold crown and 3,262 silver half-crowns and shillings with a face value of £160 1s 0d, the equivalent of a subsidy to the Crown raised from the whole county. Numismatic study of the hoard, which exceptionally included a very high number of uncirculated coins, points to its having been deposited during the period of considerable military activity in Rutland in late 1642 or early 1643 (Clough & Cook 1988, 97; 1989, 309). Given the size and location of the hoard the most likely depositors are the Bodenhams. The father, Sir Francis, was a financier; in his will of May 1645, while complaining that the 'greatest part of his estate was plundered or taken away from him', he still recorded £380 held in cash by his servants (Healy, Bodenham, 2010). Both Sir Francis and his son Sir Wingfield Bodenham ended up in the royalist garrison of Belvoir Castle, Sir Francis dying there. His son was with the King's forces in the Thames valley at the end of 1642, but was captured by Oliver Cromwell at Burleigh House after participating in the July 1643 royalist raid on Stamford from Belvoir. Sir Wingfield remained a prisoner in the Tower until 1647, during which he undertook a study of the public records that formed the basis for Wright's *History of Rutland* (Broughton 1981, 87). Given the circumstances, if it was the Bodenhams who hid the money, it was probably the action of Sir Francis. If Sir Wingfield had been present, he could have retrieved the money when he was released from the Tower. A panic hiding by Sir Francis would be consistent with the sudden harshening of times for royalists following Lord Grey's February 1643 march into Rutland. His death before the end of the war would have prevented retrieval of the money.

Financing the War

The cost of maintaining the war was high. The weekly pay for Wayte's cavalry troop and foot company, each of one hundred men, including officers, was respectively £121 5s 6d and £35 18s 8d. In addition, the garrison had to source and pay for many of its own 'arms, saddles, ammunition and furniture for war'. Wayte himself seems to have borne the recruitment cost of his horse troop, listing in his accounts 'entertainment of 75 soldiers before the first muster in lieu of raising I having no advance and they being then in actual service' (TNA SP/28/133/5, ff13–22). To finance these exigencies, in January 1643 Parliament had passed an ordinance that permitted the newly associated counties of Northampton, Leicester, Derby, Rutland, Nottingham, Huntingdon, Bedford and Buckingham to levy taxes to meet their expenses for common defence. The tax was to be based on the proportions established by the 1641 tax to generate £400,000 that had been approved by both King and Parliament. The new levy was to be made against those who had failed to contribute to Parliament's request for ready money and plate, horses, horsemen and arms, the previous June. Soon after, in February, another ordinance was passed for a weekly assessment for three months, based again on the principles established for the raising of the £400,000. The weekly assessment was to be the standard form of assessment during the Civil War. On 21st June 1645 a specific ordinance was passed to appoint a committee to raise funds for the defence and preservation of

Rutland at a rate of up to £250 per week for six months. The tax was to be rated and assessed 'in like sort as was the £400,000' tax (Jurkowski et al 1998, 201, 205 & 230). Why this ordinance was needed is unclear as the parliamentarians had decisively beaten the royalists under Charles at Naseby the week before. It is probable that it was due to a fear that the King could still rally and strike at the East Midlands and East Anglia. His presence at Belvoir and Stamford with large forces in August 1645 caused such panic that the garrison of Burley set fire to the house (ROLLR DG 7/1/70). Burley's remaining fortifications were ordered to be slighted in April 1646 but by May the crisis had passed (*VCH Rutland* I, 193). These fortifications were most likely earthen banks used to reinforce existing structures such as walls, the earth absorbing the impact of canon and musket balls. The remains of such works can still be seen at Newark. A schedule of the tax raised in compliance with the Rutland 1645 Ordinance survives, which shows that £510 10s was rated on the county each month during the six months. This was about half that permitted, but still the equivalent of eighteen traditional subsidies. Once this period was over, the towns and tithes were revalued, in September 1646, and the tax reduced to £768 5s, for the whole of the following six months (ROLLR DE730 Vol 3, f58). The revaluation was also subsequently used to raise Rutland's contribution to the £60,000 that financed the disbandment of all but the core of the parliamentary army (ROLLR DE730 Vol 3, f59; Jurkowski et al 1998, 237).

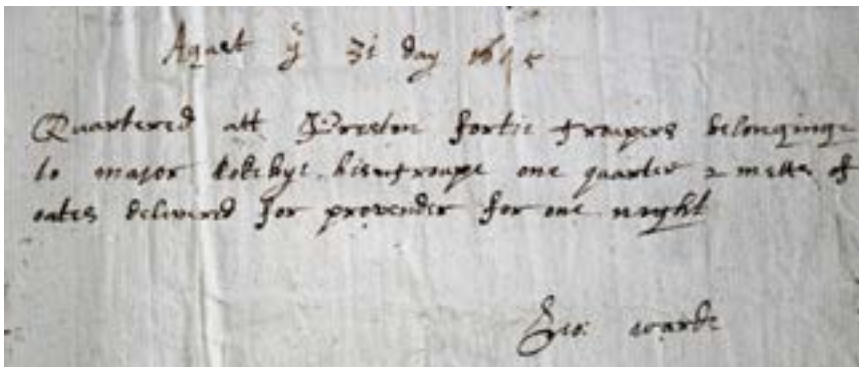


Fig. 17. Receipt dated 31 August 1645 for Preston providing Major Rokeby's troop of forty horse with fodder for one night (ROLLR DE2461/135).

Only in one Rutland parish, Preston, do the constable's accounts stretch back to this period. These are divided between two repositories, the British Library (Add MS 28734) and the county archive (ROLLR DE2461/135). They provide an insight into other local impositions created by the Civil War. The Preston papers report a steady stream of orders for provisions for the Burley garrison, either for the horses: peas, beans and oats (fig. 17); or for the men: barley, malt, cheese and bacon. Even prominent parliamentarians such as Abel Barker were regularly requisitioned for horses and provisions to supply both Rockingham Castle and later the Burley garrison (eg *HMC Barker*, 403, no 29 &c), added to which was the requirement to provide billeting and free quartering of troops. Katherine Walcott of Uppingham wrote to Abel Barker in May 1649, asking him to use his influence with a captain quartered with him to relieve her of a billeted soldier 'whose main board I am weekly to pay half a crown, which far passeth my ability, being a widow woman and having a great household to maintain, and but little living' (*HMC Barker*, 397, no 30). Quartering, or billeting of troops on private houses – often at 'free quarter', was deeply resented. A letter of October 1647 from the Council of the Army to the Speaker of the House of Commons observed that they were 'compelled to grind the Face of the Poor, to take a livelihood from them, who are fitter to receive alms ...' (Firth 1912, 218). With the Restoration, such experiences resulted in the main burden for billeting being transferred to innkeepers and alehouse keepers, an arrangement that continued until the Napoleonic period (Clark 1983, 181). The arrangements for quartering the troops garrisoning Rutland seem, like many Civil War impositions, to have been based on the £400,000 tax assessment (see Chapter 4). A document entitled 'Alstoe hundred the rule for laying taxes or quartering' gives each town a valuation very similar although not identical to that produced for the county's second payment, in November 1642, of its assessment for the £400,000 tax, together with the number of men each town had to support. Using the November 1642 valuations, estimates have been calculated for quartering in the other hundreds, giving a county total of 346 soldiers (Table 13).

Town	Rule Assessment	Men
Stretton	£400	5
Ashwell	£1200	15
Thistleton	£200	2
Market Overton	£400	5
Cottesmore	£400	4
Whissendine	£1300	18
Greetham	£350	4
Exton	£600	8
Teigh	£300	4
Barrow	£250	2
Whitwell	£280	3
Burley	£1500	18
Alstoe Hundred Total	£7180	88
November 1642 Tax	Value	* = Estimate
Alstoe Hundred	£7040	88
East Hundred	£3820	48*
Martinsley Hundred	£5270	66*
Oakham Hundred	£5920	74*
Wrangdike Hundred	£5610	70*
County Total	£27660	346*

Table 13. Alstoe Hundred 'rule for laying taxes or quartering' (BL Eg 2986, ff145, 402), with estimates for the other four hundreds of the county.

Besides being required to financially support and provision the Burley garrison, there is some evidence that local communities were also under pressure from the royalists to aid their cause. The local Parliamentary Commissioners complained in May 1645 that 'we find the country very forward to levy

collect and carry great sums of money to the enemy at Belvoir and Wynorton [Wiverton]' (BL Add 28734, f5; *HMC Barker*, 403, no 40). Bennett (1984–85, 49) has pointed out that in the villages around Belvoir both sides were collecting similar amounts, usually on consecutive days, the regularity of which, he thought, implied some sort of agreement not to impede each other's routine collections.

As the war progressed, its costs required further measures. Excise Duty was introduced for the first time in 1643 with the passing of the Excise Ordinance (*HLJ* 6, 145). Duty was initially levied on beer, cider, spirits and soap, but later extended to other commodities, including meat, fish, clothes and leather. Parliamentary officers were ordered to accept half pay, the balance to be held on the 'public faith' (TNA SP/28/133/5, ff13–22). Royalist estates were sequestered and their tenants' rents were diverted to

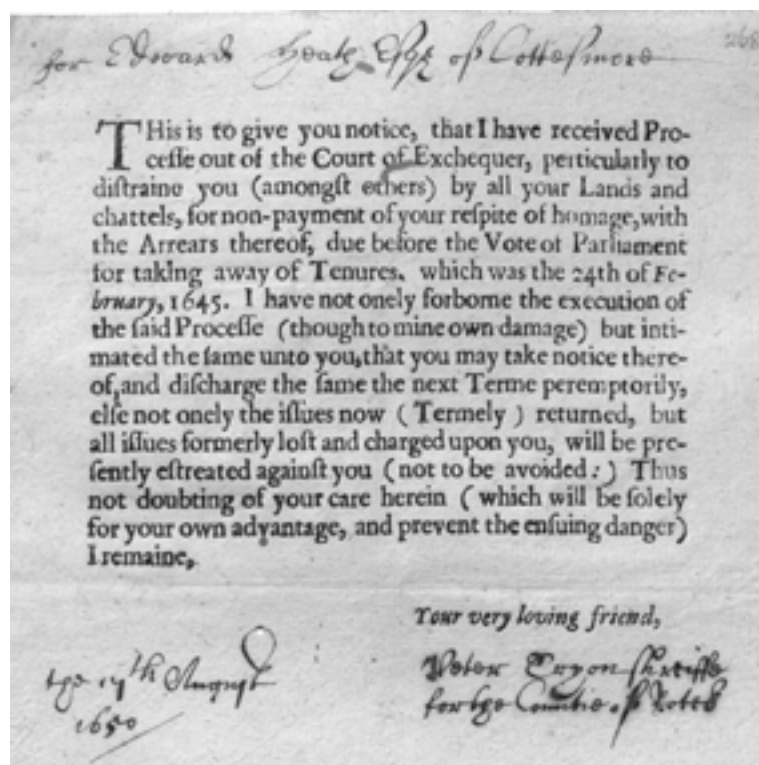


Fig. 18. Demand for payment of the composition fine on Edward Heath (BL Eg 2986, f268).

parliamentary coffers. In November 1643 Edward Heath's rents were seized by forces from Rockingham (SBT DR98/1652/25). Following their defeat, most royalists had to endure fines based on the value of their estates before the estates were returned to them, a process known as compounding. Lord Campden received a fine in July 1646 of £19,558, one of the highest awarded, reflecting both his wealth and his perceived level of delinquency. Although subsequently reduced he was still left in severe debt (Sadler 2004). In 1648 Edward Heath resorted to selling large numbers of trees from his Cottesmore and Barrow estate to aid his financial situation (BL Eg 2986, ff266–7), but he still owed money in 1650 (fig. 18). In contrast Thomas Wayte was able to submit a claim for costs, including reduction of pay, which amounted to £3,580 10s. Parliament agreed £2,166 to be paid out of the compositions of 'such delinquents of Co. Rutland as he shall nominate'. He chose Sir Guy Palmes, Edward Heath, Sir Brian Palmes, Sir Wingfield Bodenham, Nicholas Crisp and James Digby (TNA SP/28/133/5, ff13–22; *Cal Comp III*, 1643), but was later allowed to substitute Valentine Saunders for Crisp (*Cal Comp I*, 57). Those delinquents that were judged to be irreconcilable, such as the Duke of Buckingham, had their estates confiscated. Burley was given to Lord Fairfax, and Wayte used his composition money to purchase confiscated Hambleton. Another local Parliamentary Commissioner, Evers Armyn, purchased part of Sir George Benyon's estate at Greetham and Whitwell. A list of Rutland's royalist 'delinquents' together with their place of residence was compiled for the Parliamentary Commissioners for Compounding in 1648, and is given in Victoria County History (*VCH Rutland I*, 196–8; *Cal Comp I*, 88–9). Even as late as 1655 royalists were still being used as a convenient source of funds. The decimation tax of that year charged nine of Rutland's royalists, those that were no longer active (the others were either sequestered or in exile), 10% of their rent from land or £10 on every £1,500 of personal wealth (*VCH Rutland I*, 199; Jurkowski 1998, 249). While after the Restoration confiscated estates were returned to their previous owners, sequestration costs and compounding fines, which had often necessitated loans and the sale of lands, were ignored in the interest of national unity.

Rutland men and the Trial of the King

A number of Rutland men were involved in the trial of Charles I. As both MPs and military men Thomas Wayte and Sir James Harington were named as members of the Court and attended, but only Wayte signed the death warrant (Muddiman 1928, 186, 210, 228). As a consequence, at the Restoration, while Wayte escaped execution by claiming he had been forced by Cromwell to sign the warrant, he spent the rest of his days imprisoned on Jersey. Harington had his titles annulled and died in exile (Howlett 2010, 31–2). Andrew Broughton of Seaton, who had acted as Clerk to the Court, fled the returning royalists, dying exiled in Switzerland (Waites 1988, 263; Muddiman 1928, 67, 230). Humphrey Brown of Whissendine, a husbandman aged about 22, gave evidence against the King, saying that following the royalist storming of Leicester in May 1645, the Newarke Fort had surrendered on terms that neither clothes nor money would be taken from its soldiers, but the royalist soldiers had ignored the terms and 'stripped, cut and wounded many of them' and whilst the King's officers did rebuke them, he heard the King, who was on horseback and clad in bright armour, say 'I do not care if they cut them three times more, for they are mine enemies' or words to that effect (Nichols 1795–1815, 3.2, App 4, 42; Muddiman 1928, 218).

The Commonwealth

The realities of war had quickly seen the militia replaced by troops raised by individuals and the garrisoning of strong points used for local control. However, once the fighting was over and peace enforced by the New Model Army, the need for garrisons was over. The strong points became potential liabilities, as a hostile takeover would require a siege for retrieval. Consequently, there followed an active policy of slighting such places, including Belvoir and Rockingham castles. Although Burley House had been burnt in August 1645, owing to the proximity of the King with 2,500 men at Belvoir and Stamford, its garrison was not disbanded until April 1646. The following month Parliament ordered it to be slighted without further damage to the house and stables (TNA SP/2/133/5, ff13–22; Hopper 2014, 42).

With the peace came the need for a part-time local force that could be used for police actions. In July 1650, county militias were re-established, with county committees appointed to support them and given

power to raise taxes. A county rate was also approved to furnish drums, colours, trophies, ammunition and other 'emergencies'. Soon after this the inhabitants of Preston were charged £3 4s 6d for such items (Jurkowski et al 1998, 247; ROLLR DE2461/135). The new militia was very different from its pre-war predecessor. Gone was the attempt by the government to avoid the cost of a standing army by having one mimicked by the militia, equipped with infantry and cavalry. In its place was a local rapid reaction force, consisting of horse and dragoons. As shown in Table 14, Alstoe hundred was required to

forthwith provide and have in readiness the horse, arms and dragoons set upon the said several persons and inhabitants ... a horse with sufficient furniture and a man with complete arms offensive and defensive and the dragoons with a horse man and a good sword and firelock for the defence and security of this country and commonwealth: And no person that hath not £10 a year in land, leasehold or copyhold or a personal estate worth £200 is to contribute towards the providing of the said horse arms or dragoons.

Stretton	Mr Horsman one horse, Mr Brown and the rest of the inhabitants one horse
Greetham	The inhabitants one horse and 2 dragoons
Market Overton	Col Wayte 2 horses. The rest of the inhabitants with the minister one horse and one dragoon
Thistleton	The inhabitants one horse
Burley	For the Dukes estate 4 horses, the inhabitants two dragoons
Cottesmore	Mr Heath four horses, the minister and the rest of the inhabitants one horse and one dragoon, whereof the minister to bear two parts of the said horse
Barrow	The inhabitants one dragoon
Exton & Horn	Baptist Viscount Campden seven horses, the rest of the inhabitants 2 dragoons
Ashwell	Sir Guy Palmes five horses the inhabitants with the minister one horse and one dragoon
Teigh	The Lord Sherard one horse, the inhabitants two dragoons
Whissendine	The Lord and Lady Sherard two horses, Sir Henry Mynn one horse, the rest of the inhabitants two horses and two dragoons
Whitwell	The inhabitants one horse and one dragoon

Table 14. Militia charges upon Alstoe Hundred, 27th August 1650 (BL Eg 2986, f269).

The number of troops required from this single hundred, 36 horse and 15 dragoons, was larger than the total cavalry available to the whole pre-war county. The requirement was further compounded by the high cost of cavalry equipment, besides that of the horse itself. However, the charge to the general population seems to have been ameliorated by the major cost being placed on prominent defeated royalists (BL Eg 2986, f270). Unlike the trained bands, the new militia was expected, if necessary, to serve outside the county. In 1651 Charles II moved into England with a Scottish army, and the Rutland militia was ordered to rendezvous at Daventry with those of Northampton and Leicestershire (VCH Rutland I, 195). The success of this new type of militia was reflected in the advice on a future defence of the counties given by the Earl of Newcastle to Charles II, while both were in exile, that 'the main business' for the government of a county was a troop of horse and some dragoons paid by the Crown and as a result dependent on its paymaster. The horse could be used as a speedily effective force to crush any disturbances, leaving the dragoons to lead the foot in the defence of the towns and magazines of the county (Seddon 1995, 23).

Restoration

The Restoration Government was faced with a dilemma: it needed to defend itself, but at the same time, the Commonwealth experience had made a standing army abhorrent. Their initial solution was a return to the past. Lords Lieutenant were appointed, including Baptist Noel, Lord Campden, for Rutland. In October 1660 he received orders regarding the drilling of the trained band (HMC Barker, 403, no 52). However, the resurrection of trained bands was short-lived. The new militia statutes of 1662 and 1663, which provided the local authorities with the legal backing they had lacked under James I and Charles I, abolished the trained bands. They also required the nobility to be militarily assessed according to the land they held in each shire (Beckett 2011, 51). Very little is known about the Rutland militia during the next hundred years, but early on it probably followed a similar practice to Lancashire of reverting to the

former system of set numbers of men being supplied by each parish, or hundred, together with regular musters and military assessments of the population (Carter 1983, 155). The main concern of the Lieutenancies in the early years of the Restoration was fear of plots and rebellions. In Rutland, Campden ensured loyalty to the new order by appointing former royalists as his Deputies, the sole exception being Abel Barker, who had served on parliamentary County Committees during and after the Civil War. He was also an MP for Rutland during the Protectorate but in 1655 had married into the Noel family. At the Restoration, Barker received a royal pardon and five years later was elevated to a baronetcy (*VCH Rutland* I, 193, 198; *HMC Barker*, 397, no 43; *ROLLR DG11/542*, 941).

The use of the post-Restoration militia for repression is exemplified by the Nottinghamshire force's suppression of political and religious non-conformity, including the meetings and preaching of Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers and others suspected of sedition (Seddon 1995, 23). Similar concerns affected Rutland, where Sir Richard Wingfield advised that magistrates' warrants should be sent to the constables of Empingham to keep strict night watch and to 'suppress Anabaptisticall meetings' (*HMC Barker*, 404, no 60). Carter (1983, 170, 177) has pointed out that by 1670 this priority had been reinforced by the Crown's establishment of regular military forces. The militia had consequently evolved into a civil guard, with less emphasis on military functions and a greater use as a 'bulwark against social revolution'. This remained unchanged over the next eighty years until the government, spurred into action by the Seven Years War, created new militia forces including in 1759 two Rutland companies (Markham 1924, 165; Traylen 1978, 75).

Conclusion

The Elizabethan and early Stuart government's use of trained bands, raised by the counties as an alternative to a standing army, provided the nation with the illusion of strong armed forces. The illusion was maintained until they were finally called upon to face an enemy, in the Bishops' War against the Scots. Then the reluctance of the trained bands to fight outside their county led to widespread substitution of impressed levies for the trained men and defeat for the royal army. With the onset of the Civil War, many trained bands were disarmed and their weapons passed to volunteers. There were some exceptions, notably the London trained bands which helped prevent the King from taking the capital in November 1642 and saw service relieving the siege of Gloucester and at the battle of Newbury in 1643.

Following his appointment to the Lieutenancies of Leicestershire and Rutland in 1614, Huntingdon adopted a positive approach, ordering musters to identify and rectify defects in personnel, arms and equipment. Soon after, he was supported by the government aroused from passivity by the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. By the 1620s Huntingdon was being praised for the standard of his forces. However, the cost of maintaining and upgrading weapons and equipment and of training the county's trained men had to be paid by the local community. Taxation was always a source of friction which increased further when the government required professional instructors for the trained band and the impressment of men for service in Europe. A gradual loss of enthusiasm in Rutland can be seen in the decline from volunteers raised for the first regiment, through initial impressments that included a high proportion of husbandmen to the impressment for the Bishops' Wars that consisted almost wholly of labourers. Despite this, Rutland continued to meet its commitments, and its forces and magazine, unlike those of Leicestershire, were initially left intact at the outbreak of the Civil War. This was probably due to the magazine being quarantined by the outbreak of plague in Oakham and the trained band's weapons having been dispersed amongst the parishes. This changed following the royalist capture of Belvoir Castle, early in 1643, which prompted parliamentary forces to march into Rutland, remove the magazine's contents, disarm local royalists, and garrison both Burley House and Rockingham Castle. Study of the muster lists of Burley House indicate a high turnover of troops serving in the garrison and possibly a low level of local recruitment. The return of peace saw the re-establishment of local militia units under the Commonwealth, but these were now designed for policing actions. This policy seems to have been continued with the Restoration under reinstated Lord Lieutenants. The Bishops' Wars and the Civil Wars had exposed the weaknesses of the trained bands. Their time had passed.

Chapter 3

Local Taxation and Management of Plague

Taxation in the early seventeenth century fell into three broad areas: those approved by parliament, those based on the prerogative powers of the Crown, and those sanctioned through the common law. This chapter examines the statutorily approved parish and county rates and tithes levied according to common law. This task is aided by the unusual nature of Rutland. Neither of its towns was chartered and their wealth, like the remainder of the county, came mainly from agriculture. This is illustrated by Uppingham's 'Shops of Trade' and by those individuals in Oakham with personal estates representing only 7.1% and 8.6% respectively of their town's 1712 Land Tax assessments (Clough 2005, 46, 54). Although these percentages are for a time fifty to sixty years later, the economic base of agriculture in the county had altered little over that period.

Parish and County Rates

The statutory rights granted by Parliament to raise local taxes were under the supervision of the county's JPs, who were in turn monitored by the Justices of Assize. Parish rates were set by the parish officials: churchwardens levied a rate for maintenance of the church, the overseers of the poor the poor rate, and the surveyor of highways a rate to maintain the roads and bridges. In many villages, these posts were combined; often churchwardens also served as overseers of the poor, as at Normanton. At Lyndon, the posts of overseers of the poor and surveyors of highways were combined (ROLLR DE 1579/5; DE1938/18). The basis for individual parish rates was left to the discretion of the parish officials. At Lyddington, the churchwardens can be seen casting about for different measures to assess the inhabitants. In 1628 an assessment was based on 'eighteen pence a yardland, six pence a cottage and inmates at the discretion of the Church Wardens'. In 1633, residents were rated at two pence per cow or ten sheep, and in 1662, at two pence for every pound of annual rent (ROLLR DE1881/40). Poor rates were the largest of the parish rates, but only the Preston records survive for Rutland from the seventeenth century. However, combined with those available from the early eighteenth century, a picture can still be painted.

How poor rates were levied differed from parish to parish. At Preston over time the parish had acquired 'town land' whose rent seems to have covered its outgoings on the poor (ROLLR DE2461/55). In some parishes bequests and charities also provided money for the relief of the poor. The Lady Ann Harington charity provided fixed sums for the poor at Burley, Cottesmore, Exton, Hambleton, Market Overton and Oakham (*Char Rut*, 391). In 1642, Cottesmore had its valuation for a new national tax reduced by £500 in compensation for its donation to the poor (BL Eg 2986, ff239–42). Fines imposed by the Quarter Sessions for drunkenness, disorderliness or failure to attend divine service were often donated for use of the poor in the parishes where the offence had taken place. In 1649 Preston, whose 1665 Hearth Tax households numbered fifty, was raising around £8 annually for the poor. In 1733 Lyndon, with twenty households, spent £8 2s 5d on poor relief and £1 3s 3d on the highways (ROLLR DE1938/18). At Uppingham, which recorded 211 households in the Hearth Tax, the overseers of the poor levied around £9 every two months from the inhabitants in 1707. This large amount may possibly be due to an increased number of poor in towns compared with villages (ROLLR DE1784/25; Bourne & Goode 1991, 8). The proportion of inhabitants in a parish receiving relief could be high. At Cottesmore and Barrow, of the 101 men taking the Protestation in 1641, twenty-three were in receipt of dole of 'corn and meat', as also were six widows (BL Eg 2986, ff79, 134, 136). However, the poor rates were relatively low compared with the

rental value of a parish. Preston's 1649 poor rates represented just 2 per cent of the 1642 rental valuation. The levies for the poor, church and highways were a constant in the seventeenth century to which periodic national taxes were added, although this changed with the Civil War with the introduction of the weekly tax system. Parliamentary demands peaked in 1645 when £7 10s per month was demanded from Preston, representing 25 per cent of the parish's 1642 annual rental valuation. To this were added the costs of billeting soldiers and supplying provisions to the Burley and Rockingham garrisons for both men and horses (ROLLR DE730 Vol 3, f52; BL Eg 2986, f162).

The level of enclosure could affect the poor rate. Enclosure had increased during the early seventeenth century, with the Crown's tacit approval. The fines it imposed for enclosure were seen by the Crown as useful extra sources of income. In Rutland, enclosures of that period mainly concerned arable land being converted to pasture, which required fewer people and resulted in depopulation. By the eighteenth century the process was being taken further, with some deliberate poor law policies reducing the numbers of dwellings (TNA SP16/119, f92; Ryder 2006, 40; Holderness 1972, 128, 145).

A county rate was also levied by the JPs and covered their expenses, such as those associated with the certification of weights and measures (fig. 19), stipends for officials and public buildings. There seem to have been regular expenses associated with maintenance of the gaol and house of correction. While the gaol held prisoners pending trial or punishment, the house of correction was a product of the Elizabethan Poor Law whereby anyone the JPs thought was 'idle' could be sent to learn the virtues of hard work. Besides building materials, these expenses included costs for 'bread and beer for the workmen' and for knocking 'off and on and mending' shackles (BL Eg 2986, ff90, 151). In Rutland, the county rate had been fixed at £44 4s since 1609, but in 1640 it was raised to £50. Considering that inflation over this period had been above 20%, the increase of 13.1% was modest. Once the county rate was set, the share to be taken by each hundred was agreed with its high constables (BL Eg 2986, f165). Within each hundred the tax was further subdivided into parishes and collected by the parish petty constables, who had both a policing and a tax-collecting role. The latter included collecting payments for charitable purposes, purveyance, military charges, repair of county bridges and special county rates, such as the one levied following the outbreak of plague at Oakham described below (Kent 1986, 154). Parish officials who were careless of their duties could be and were punished. Reports to a 1635 Assize from JPs for the hundreds of Martinsley and Wrangdike record that 'five constables were bound over to the quarter session for being negligent in their offices' and 'nine persons ... who being appointed to watch did neglect the same' (TNA SP16/300, f32). There may have been some disagreement over the new county rate allocation agreed by the High Constables in 1640 as in August 1641 a complete rental valuation of the whole county was undertaken. This gave a valuation of £25,170, which at £2 per £1000 provided the required £50. The process was repeated in May 1642, when the county valuation was increased to £26,150 BL Eg 2986, ff145, 162-4) (Table 15). In addition to supporting their own poor, the hundreds were periodically required by statute to provide money for relief of 'the poor parishioners of the Kings Bench Marshalsea', in other words distressed mariners and maimed soldiers under the care of that Court. While the charge for the county was not large, each parish was levied. Not surprisingly, there was some reluctance to support poor other than their own. Warrants were needed to force payments from slow-paying towns and hundreds, with the threat of further fines (BL Eg 2986, ff85, 227, 396).

Hundred	1609	1640	1642
Alstoe	24.3%	24.0%	26.0%
East	15.2%	14.0%	20.7%
Martinsley	19.8%	19.0%	13.6%
Oakham	16.3%	22.0%	18.1%
Wrangdike	24.3%	21.0%	21.4%
Total	£44 4s	£50	£50

Table 15. Rutland County Rate and its division by Hundred (BL Eg 2986, ff145, 162-4).

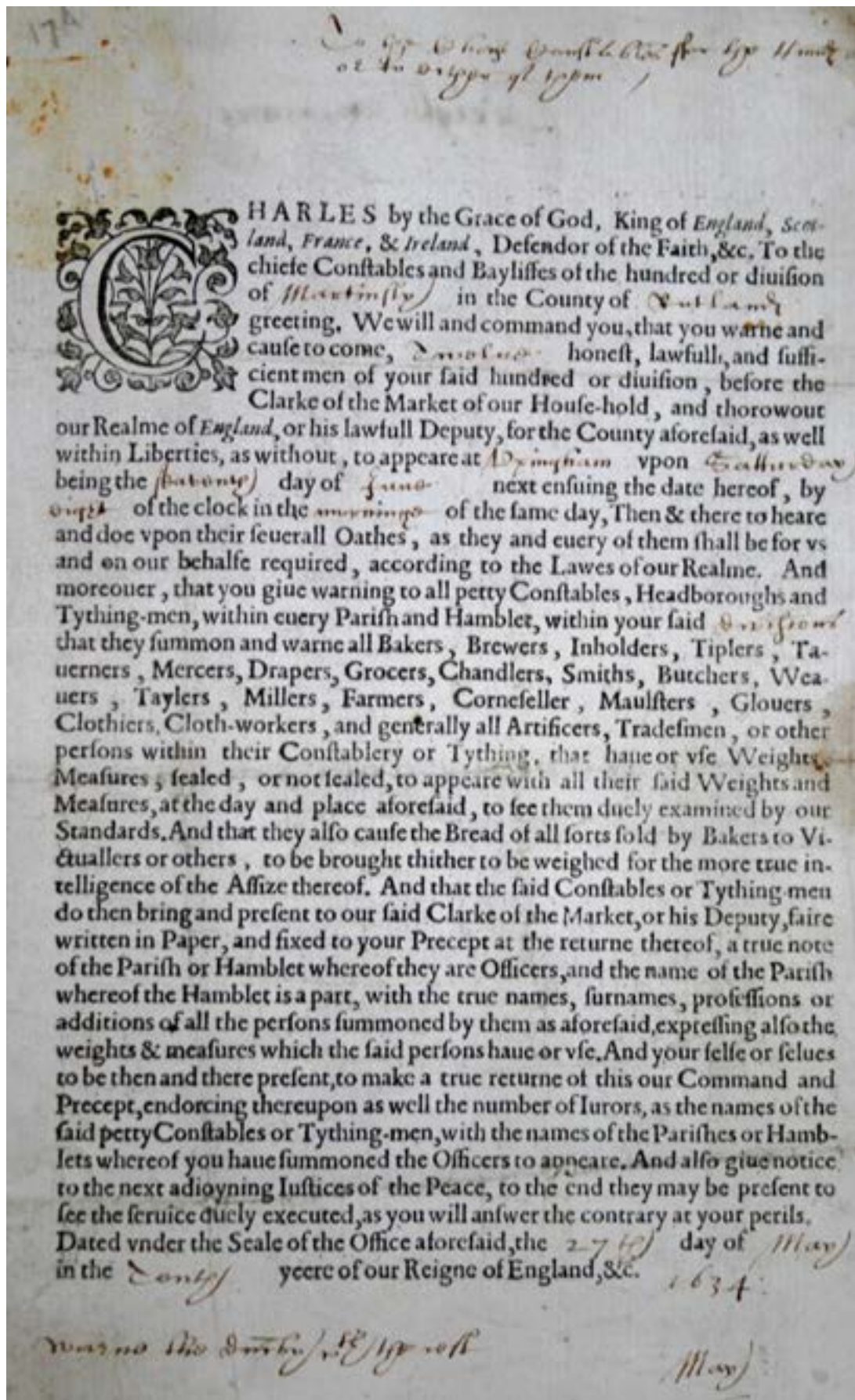


Fig. 19. A standardised summons to all Martinsley Hundred tradesmen to have their scales and measures certified by the local officials at Uppingham in 1634 (ROLLR DE730/3/f25).

Local Emergencies – The Plague at Oakham

The plague had been endemic in England since its arrival as the Black Death in 1348. By the seventeenth century most places experienced periodic visitations. However, the 1630s were an especially difficult period, with the highest incidence in any decade of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During the Civil War the crowding of garrisons further exacerbated matters (Porter 2000, 28). In June 1642, deaths in Oakham began to rise above normal levels and by July a plague outbreak was in full spate, initially also involving Braunston (ROLLR, DE2694) (fig. 20). By the end of December 1642 Oakham had buried 160 inhabitants, compared with an average of 40 seen in the years either side. More specifically there had been 134 burials in the plague months of June to October compared with an average of 15 in the years either side, an increase of 119. Using a population estimate of some 1000 to 1150 for Oakham, including Barleythorpe and Westminster Fee (Deanshold), based on 242 households listed in the 1665 Hearth Tax, this represents around 10% of the inhabitants dying from the disease (Bourne & Goode 1991, 8). With the arrival of plague, local magistrates were required under the 1604 Plague Act to enforce a quarantine, and watchmen were empowered to use force to ensure it was not broken. The quarantine could include the shutting up of areas and confining infected individuals in their houses, to the risk and distress of other healthy inhabitants. Alternatively, the infected could be transferred and confined in ‘pest houses’. In many places outbreaks prompted civic cleansing through removal of rubbish, clearing of drains and closing premises that caused offensive smells, the latter in the mistaken belief that the disease was caused by a miasma in the air. Stray dog and cats were killed in the belief they could help spread the disease and occasionally, and possibly more effectively, rats and mice (Porter 2000, 16–22).

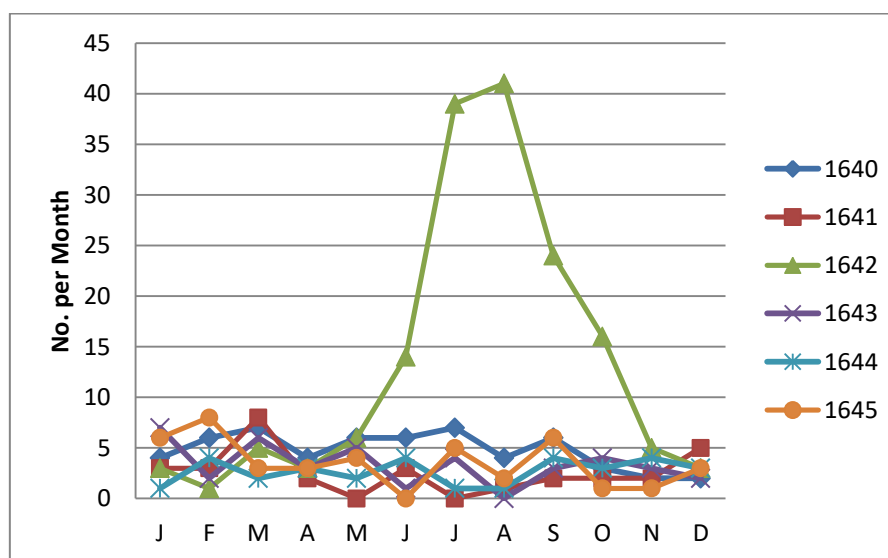


Fig. 20. Oakham Monthly Burials 1640-45 (ROLLR DE2694).

The Plague Act also provided for the raising of local taxes for the relief of those confined. The taxes were first to be raised from an area five miles around the stricken place, then the surrounding hundred and later the county (Byrne 2012, 192). The quarantine adopted at Oakham seems to have been a blocking up of the town to prevent persons from leaving. Plague was indiscriminate, killing old and young. However, the vulnerability of the young that made them account for 50 per cent of burials in non-plague years persisted, with the same ratio continuing with the plague. Certain families were hit hard. Abigail Jordain, while surviving herself, saw her husband and six children buried, while the death of a Mowbray child was soon followed by that of its parents, William and Alice, and three siblings (ROLLR, DE2694). There are two contemporary lists of Oakham inhabitants that can be compared with burial records, one for the poor who received plague relief, in June 1642, and the other for inhabitants at the other end of the wealth spectrum who were assessed for the £400,000 tax, in May 1642 (see Chapter 4) (BL Eg 2986, ff187, 209). Only two of the fifty-two poor were possible plague victims, widows

Wiggington and Write, whilst three of the twenty-eight taxpayers may also have succumbed: William Beaver, John Beaver and James Stackhouse, the Master of Oakham School (ROLLR, DE2694; Needham 2012, 71). The proportions of burials in these sections of society do not point to any major difference from the overall proportion. No evidence has been found to indicate the extent to which Oakham school's pupils may have been affected.

The quarantine seems to have contained the outbreak, and Braunston soon appears to have returned to normal, but the lack of trade prevented Oakham's inhabitants from being able to support themselves and their poor. Initially, the local Justices, Lord Campden, Baptist Noel, Francis Bodenham, Edward Heath and Richard Bullingham, attempted to provide extra relief for the poor of Oakham from the county rate balances (BL Eg 2986, f209). Later as conditions worsened they ordered £100 to be levied across the county for the relief of the infected towns, the money to be paid to William Blith, Nicholas Towel and Jarvis Goodwin, of adjacent Egleton, treasurers for that purpose (BL Eg 2986, f218). The £100 was to cover four weeks, with £15 per week to the Lordshold and £10 to the Deanshold parts of Oakham. Of the £15 allocated to Lordshold, '£5 was to be set apart for the infested families and the watch; £5 for the poor of the market stead and £5 for the other part of the Lords Hold without the Bargate'. This money was 'besides the assessment amongst themselves being in the Lords Hold about £10 monthly; and in the Deans Hold monthly about £6' (BL Eg 2986, f219). The reference to 'the poor of the market stead' may perhaps be taken to mean those numerous small traders and stall holders in the market who must have been drastically affected: a 1623 survey of Oakham in the Sherard MSS (ROLLR DG40/456) lists seven shops and many stalls, of which at least 23 were butchers. In early August the magistrates also appealed for help from their colleagues in Leicestershire, as '... the infection is still very dangerous amongst them and fearing that such allowance as hath been formerly will not be sufficient to keep them in order, but that they may break out and become prejudicial both at home and abroad' (BL Eg 2986, f229). It is not known if any outside financial help was provided, but the Rutland Justices had to make further orders for levies of £100 on 23rd August and £118 13s on 19th October (BL Eg 2986, f223). Despite their appeal for outside help, the magistrates met local resistance to the levies. The East Hundred, except for Empingham, asserted that as they were more than five miles away from the outbreak they were not required by law to pay. This was probably the main reason for the reduced collection of the first levy of £80 15s. The East Hundred's exclusion increased the demand of the second levy on the remaining parts of the county. This in turn seems to have precipitated a similar claim from the more distant parts of Wrangdike Hundred, which lowered that collection to £84 5s (BL Eg 2986, ff224–6). The reduced levels of relief created 'great complaint ... [from] ... the inhabitants and Overseers of the Poor within the town and parish of Oakham, that their poor and infected persons are very disorderly and unruly for want of maintenance and relief' (BL Eg 2986, f224). The legal disputes were finally resolved at the Quarter Session held at Uppingham on 6th October: 'For as much as the infection of the plague of pestilence doth still continue within the town and parish of Oakham ... it was thought fit and ordered to extend over the whole county all such taxes as should thereafter be made for the relief of the said town' (BL Eg 2986, f223). Ordering and collection of the tax were two different things, especially with the onset of fighting in the Civil War. However, after the war, as local bureaucracy got back into its stride, the inhabitants of Preston were retrospectively charged in 1648 with neglecting to pay their 1642 plague assessment (ROLLR DE2461/135). With the coming of autumn the plague infection waned and 'the going out of Oakham men was upon the 25th October 1642' (BL Eg 2986, f224).

Tithes

By the reign of Edward III it had been established in common law that every parson had the rights to the tithes in his parish (Easterby 1888, 1–18). Tithes were a tax on the produce of the land, whose name derived from a 'tenth'. Through time, some tithes were granted away from a parish to a monastery or another ecclesiastical institution, which then placed a vicar in the parish to look after its souls. To accommodate this situation the tithe was split into two parts: the great tithes, which consisted of corn, hay and wood, were retained by the ecclesiastical body, while the small tithes remained with the vicar and

Alstoe Hundred	£		£
Ashwell	1100	Market Overton	400
The parsonage	200	The parsonage	150
Barrow	300	Stretton	500
The parsonage	60	The parsonage	70
Burley	1390	Teigh	400
The parsonage (impropriation)	100	The parsonage	100
Vicarage	70	Thistleton	180
Cottesmore and Wenton deducting the £500 donation for the poor	400	The parsonage	50
The parsonage	140	Whissendine	1440
Exton and Horn	800	The parsonage (impropriation)	240
The parsonage (impropriation)	100	Vicarage	40
Vicarage	20	Whitwell	280
Greetham and Woolfox	350	The parsonage	70
The parsonage (impropriation)	80		
Vicarage	20	Total sum of the towns	7540
		The sum of the tithes	1510
		The total sum of Alstoe Hundred	9050
East Hundred	£		£
Casterton Magna and Woodhead	320	Pickworth	550
The parsonage	80	Ryhall and Belmesthorpe	400
Casterton Parva and Toletorpe	300	The parsonage with Essendine (impropriation)	100
The parsonage	30	Vicarage with Essendine	50
Empingham and Hardwick	750	Tickencote	180
The parsonage (impropriation)	180	The parsonage	20
Vicarage	20	Tinwell and Ingthorpe	350
Essendine	180	The parsonage	100
Ketton	800		
The parsonage (impropriation)	190	Total sum of the towns	3820
Vicarage	10	The sum of the tithes	780
		The total sum of East Hundred	4610
Martinsley Hundred	£		£
Ayston	350	Normanton	180
The parsonage	50	The parsonage	30
Edith Weston and Witchley	500	Preston	400
The parsonage	80	The parsonage	60
Hambleton Great and Little	900	Ridlington	600
The parsonage (impropriation)	100	The parsonage	80
Vicarage	50	Uppingham	500
Lyndon	580	The parsonage	120
The parsonage	60	Wing	380
Manton	400	The parsonage	80
The parsonage	70		
Martinsthorpe (impropriation)	480	Total sum of the towns	5270
		The sum of the tithes	780
		The total sum of Martinsley Hundred	6050

Table 16, part 1. Rutland valuation of the second moiety towards £400,000, November 1642:
Alstoe, East and Martinsley hundreds (BL Eg 2986, ff239–242).

Oakham Soke	£		£
Barleythorpe & Westminster Fee	250	Gunthorpe	320
The parsonage (impropriation)	60	Langham	1650
Belton	400	The parsonage (impropriation)	150
The parsonage (impropriation)	80	Vicarage	30
Vicarage (<i>see</i> Wardley)	–	Oakham and Flitteris	500
Braunston	450	The parsonage (impropriation)	100
The parsonage (impropriation)	70	Vicarage	80
Vicarage	10	Wardley	250
Brooke (impropriation)	400	The parsonage & vicarage of Belton	100
Clipsham	450	The manor of Leigh and forest lands	1000
The parsonage	80		
Egleton	250	Total sum of the towns	5920
The parsonage	30	The sum of the tithes	790
		The total sum of Oakham Hundred	6710
Wrangdike Hundred	£		£
Barrowden	500	Pilton	110
The parsonage	110	The parsonage	20
Bisbrooke	320	Seaton	500
The parsonage (impropriation)	80	The parsonage	140
Caldecott	340	South Luffenham	400
The parsonage (with Lyddington)	100	The parsonage	80
Glaston	600	Stoke Dry	700
The parsonage	100	The parsonage	70
Lyddington	700	Thorpe	260
The parsonage (impropriation)	160	The parsonage	60
Vicarage	40	Tixover	180
Morcott	400	The parsonage	40
The parsonage	70		
North Luffenham	600	Total sum of the towns	5610
The parsonage	120	The sum of the tithes	1190
		The total sum of Wrangdike Hundred	6800
Total sum of the towns in the county			28150
The sum of the tithes in the county			5050
The total of the whole county			33200

Table 16, part 2. Rutland valuation of the second moiety towards £400,000, November 1642:
Oakham Soke and Wrangdike hundreds (BL Eg 2986, ff239–242).

consisted of those items not included in the great tithes, particularly wool and the annual increase in farm stock. After the Reformation the property of most monastic houses, including great tithes, fell into the hands of the laity, often ending up with the lord of the manor. Livings which provided the incumbent with all the tithes were entitled rectories, or parsonages as they were also referred to in contemporary documents, while the owner of separated great tithes, ecclesiastical or otherwise, was known as the impropriator. In addition to tithes the incumbent, whether rector or vicar, had the benefit of any glebe land that historically had been granted to a church. The glebe, if rented out, was usually itself also subject to tithe. Details of tithes and impropriations for a number of Rutland parishes as they existed in 1705 are to be found in surviving incumbents' returns to the *Notitia Parochialis* (Tomalin 2003).

The valuation for the second instalment of the 1642 tax of £400,000 for Rutland unusually provides separate figures for each township, together with its tithes (*see* Chapter 4 for discussion of this tax). It also separates the values between rectors (parsons / impropriators) and vicars (Table 16). Any examination of

the variation of tithes between parishes needs to take account of rights that sometimes extended into other parishes. For example, Hambleton had vicarage rights to the tithes from its chapelry in Braunston (Tomalin 2003, 123). Even making such allowance the overall county average for tithes was 15 per cent of the combined town and tithe valuation. This is very much larger than the 'tenth' that tithes supposedly represented. The average of 15 per cent itself masks a large variation between parishes or combined parishes of between 9 and 27 per cent, the lower percentage of this variation being close to the nominal tenth for tithe, the small difference possibly representing land in the parish historically exempt from tithe. However, charges of 20 per cent and over were not exceptional, occurring as they did in fourteen parishes or combined parishes. Confirmation of such high tithe levels is provided by the rather later 1803 Enclosure Act for Market Overton, which required compensation for loss of tithes 'equal in value to one fifth part of the arable or tillage lands both open and enclosed' (ROLLR DE3214/558/6). In fact, the 1642 tithe valuation of Market Overton was even higher at 27 per cent, this difference possibly being explained by the inclusion of glebe in the 1642 tithe valuations. The Market Overton glebe represented about 6 per cent of the parish total, with the rector also having extensive common rights (ROLLR MF495).

The relative proportion of the vicar's share of the total tithe of a parish varied from 5 to 40%, with an average of around 20%. One explanation for vicarages receiving an unusually high tithe proportion could be enclosure. At enclosure a landowner who was also an impropiator may have exchanged some tithes for land, thereby reducing the overall size of his tithes and increasing the vicar's proportion (Ryder 2006, 20). Tithes were a tax and a drain on the farming resources of a parish, the tithe man contributing nothing towards the land use and farmers' time and effort. Even when opponents of the tithes gained political power during the Commonwealth and sought their demise, their proposals foundered on questions such as how the clergy were otherwise to be supported and on concerns for impropiators' rights, often held by parliamentary grandees themselves (Thirsk 1990, 219).

Conclusion

Until the Civil War the most regular taxation demands on villagers were those associated with tithes, parish and county rates. National taxation was periodic and generally focused on the wealthier members of society. Even within the parish most local taxation was paid by those farming owned or leased land. The single largest local tax charge came from tithes which have been shown in Rutland to be on average 15 per cent of the total parish valuation, much higher than the nominal tenth they were supposed to represent. The poor rate was the next largest, the amount varying from parish to parish and dependent upon the numbers receiving relief, the state of the harvest and the assets or charities that previous generations had bequeathed for the care of the poor. In addition, parishes had to provide for the maintenance of their church, roads and bridges, and fund county rates for upkeep of the gaol, house of correction and administration of justice. Occasionally local emergencies, such as the outbreak of plague at Oakham, also required additional taxation to be levied by the county bench. With the exclusion of tithes, which were collected by the incumbent, all other taxes were collected by the various parish officials. Probably the most demanding task was that of the parish constable who was not only responsible and accountable for collecting county and national taxes but also for enforcing warrants issued by JPs. In such circumstances it is not surprising that the appointment of this official, generally a person of some standing in the community, was subject to approval by the local bench.

Chapter 4

Parliamentary Taxation

Subsidies

Subsidies together with the separate fifteenth and tenths tax were the two main forms of direct taxation periodically voted by Parliament from the fourteenth to mid seventeenth century. Fifteenths and tenths were generally granted with every subsidy up to 1624. The fifteenth related to landed and the tenth to town wealth, but over time the amount raised by this tax became fixed. The Commons refused further grants of fifteenths and tenths after 1624, judging that they had become too burdensome on the poor, owing to manipulation by the local elites who had progressively passed the liability down the social scale (Braddick 1994, 62; Jurkowski et al 1998, xxxi). The 1624 rating of North Luffenham for a fifteenth illustrates the issue. James Digby, the lord of the manor, was assessed at just 4s 2d, while his tenants' and the remaining owners' totals were £1 1s 6½ and £1 11s 5½d respectively (ROLLR DE730 Vol. 1, f21). Parliamentary legislation for subsidies was passed early in the reign of Henry VIII and was continued until that of Charles II. The principal was an attempt at direct taxation on two forms of wealth: moveable goods and annual rental from land. However, Elizabeth I's governments failed to maintain tax yields in a period of high inflation. This resulted later in her reign and that of the early Stuart's to grants of multiple subsidies such as the five granted in 1628 (Fletcher 1975, 202; Braddick 1994, 98, 114). To alleviate pressure on the taxpayers, subsidies were usually split into parts to be paid at different times. The 1610 single subsidy grant was divided into two half assessments, whilst the December 1640 grant of four was divided into two double assessments. Subsidies were the usual method by which the monarch could obtain money for the exigencies of war, and in the peace that followed James I's accession few were granted. The onset of the Thirty Years War on the continent prompted an upsurge of subsidy grants in the 1620s which were ended by Charles I's prorogation of Parliament and imposition of what has been called his period of 'personal rule' (1629–1640). During this period the Crown sought to raise revenues by extra-parliamentary means. Charles's unsuccessful wars with the Scots, in 1639 and 1640, forced the recall of Parliament and with it a return to raising revenue via subsidies. These were to be the last until the Restoration when they were briefly resurrected before being replaced by the Hearth Tax.

The availability of a series of Rutland subsidy assessments in various archives for the Stuart period (1610–1663), and their consistent approach to taxation, together with the county's small size and its rural nature with an absence of major towns, enables detailed comparisons to be made and trends revealed. This is not possible with other published taxation and assessment records for the county such as the Oakham Survey of 1305 (Chinnery 1988), the Tudor lay subsidy of 1524/5 (Cornwall 1980), the 1665 Hearth Tax (Bourne & Goode 1991) or the 1712 Land Tax assessments (Clough 2005). While all these sources provide valuable detail regarding the taxpaying population, the large intervals between them and their different assessment bases make comparisons meaningless. To avoid confusion individual subsidies are referred to by their date of submission to the Exchequer, highlighted in bold in Table 17.

Subsidies were a tax on the wealthy elements of the common populace from which the major land holdings of the aristocracy and church were exempt. The aristocracy were assessed separately by the Lord Treasurer or one of his subordinates. The clergy generally paid a separate subsidy voted in convocation and approved by Parliament whenever a lay subsidy was granted. Clerical subsidies were assessed and collected by the bishops (Dietz 1964, 384, 394). However, many of the lands owned by the nobility would

Date Subsidy Granted and (Submitted)	Scope	Reference
May 1606 Grant of 3	Missing	–
July 1610 (March 1611) Second half of 1 granted	Martinsley hundred missing, also 5 parishes in Wrangdike	TNA E 179/165/185
Jan 1621 (March 1622) Second of 2 granted	Complete county, but parts too faded to read	TNA E 179/165/186
May 1624 (July 1624) First of 3 granted	Complete county, BL Eg copy misses Langham	ROLLR DG11/ 2 BL Eg 2986, f40
May 1624 (March 1625) Third of 3 granted	Complete county	TNA E 179/165/188
June 1625 (August 1625) 'Latest of 5 granted' (although 5 proposed only 2 were granted)	Complete county Only Wrangdike hundred	BL Eg 2986, f44 TNA E 179/165/189
June 1628 (August 1628) First 2 of 5 granted	Complete county	ROLLR DG11/ 3
June 1628 (December 1628) Fourth of 5 granted	Complete county	ROLLR DG11/ 4
Dec. 1640 (May 1641) First 2 of 4 granted	Complete county	BL Eg 2986, f100 TNA E 179/165, f192
Dec. 1640 (September 1641) Last 2 of 4 granted	Martinsley hundred missing East hundred only	ROLLR DG11/ 5 TNA E 179/165/191
May 1641 (November 1641) 2 of 2 granted	East hundred missing	TNA E 179/165/190
July 1663 (October 1663) First 2 of 4 granted	Complete county	BL Eg 2986, f348
July 1663 (April 1664) Last 2 of 4 granted	Complete county, but heavily damaged	TNA E 179/165/195

Table 17. Schedule of Rutland subsidies granted to Stuart monarchs (see fig. 21 for the September 1641 assessment).

have been indirectly included in the lay assessment via the goods of their larger tenants. Each grant of subsidies was passed by a specific Act of Parliament that specified dates by which the assessment was to be completed, when the assessment was to have been certified by the Exchequer, and when payment was due. The parliamentary process gave the counties forewarning of a subsidy and the Acts included the names of the Commissioners appointed for each county with each expected to have a minimum annual rental income of twenty pounds. The Rutland Commissioners for the July 1624 subsidy were Edward Lord Noel (Viscount Campden), Sir Edward Harington, Sir Thomas Mackworth, Sir William Bulstrode, Sir Guy Palmes, Sir Henry Mynne, Richard Halford esquire and Abraham Johnson esquire. The Commissioners would start to prepare for the assessment while the Bill was passing through Parliament; this accounts for the August 1625 Rutland subsidy being described as the latest of five subsidies granted, when in fact only two were ever approved – Parliament was dissolved before the remaining three could be granted. The assessments for the tax were made by parish officers, often the constables, and in Rutland they were subject to the approval of the Commissioners. The Commissioners submitted their county assessments to the Exchequer. These detailed by hundred and township the names of assessed individuals, whether the assessments were for land or goods, their level of assessment and the tax levied upon them. Once the tax levies had been gathered by the parish constables they were passed to the High Collector. This official was appointed by the Commissioners and usually came from the ranks of ambitious minor gentry. While the Commissioners had to enter recognizances for the sum of the collection, it was the High Collector who entered bonds with the Exchequer for the sums to be submitted (Fletcher 1975, 203; Braddick 1994, 65–71).

Hundred de Alstoe:			
Whissendine	Ma Abigail Sherward in terris	ss	xxl
	Robertus Mynde in bonis	ss	xlvi
	Edmundus Lunn in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Willelmus Lunn in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Willelmus Lunn in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Tho. Lunn in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Tho. Mortley in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Katharina Oulton in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Petrus Mortley in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Thomas Mortley in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Johannes Mortley in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Edmundus Mortley in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Willelmus Mortley in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Johannes Mortley in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Emanuel Barnard in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Johannes Barnard in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Summa	xxxiij	xxxiij
Greetham	Robertus Gales in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Edmundus Gales in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Thomas Gales in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Summa	xxxiij	xxxiij
Barrowe	Willelmus Dunmord in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Edmundus Dunmord in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Petrus Dunmord in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Johannes Dunmord in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Summa	xxxiij	xxxiij
Stretton	Robertus Brown in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Johannes Brown in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Edmundus Brown in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Summa	xxxiij	xxxiij
Teigh	Ma Abigail Sherward in terris	ss	xxxiij
	Johannes Sherward in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Willelmus Sherward in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Johannes Sherward in bonis	ss	xxxiij
	Summa	xxxiij	xxxiij

Fig. 21. September 1641 subsidy assessments for five Alstoe Hundred townships. These list individuals, their assessments in pounds, and tax payable in pounds, shillings and pence, using roman numerals. The word 'certificate' by Abigail Sherard's entries under Whissendine and Teigh indicates that she claimed exemption from these tax charges. The assessments also record whether the tax was for land or goods, using the Latin terms terris and bonis respectively (ROLLR DG11/5/01).

Subsidy Assessments and Comparisons

Subsidy taxpayers were only charged for one category of wealth, either land or goods, but as taxpayers had not been required to declare their assets under oath since 1553, this left parish assessors limited by the wealth immediately visible rather than overall wealth (Archer 2001,606; Braddick 1994, 105). Such limitation would have enabled Margaret Dale, a widow, assessed in July 1624 both in Bisbrooke for land valued £6 and in Tixover for goods valued £5, to claim exemption on one of these. Taxpayers were also only liable for levies in their county of residence. This explains why in 1628 Henry Harwood of

Uppingham received a certificate showing he was liable for taxation in Rutland and not, as previously, the Isle of Ely (TNA E115/205/148). Similarly, in 1641 Edward Heath received a certificate to confirm he had been resident in Cottesmore for two years past (BL Eg 2986, f130). Such certificates enabled owners to claim exemption when levies were demanded on assessments in non-resident counties.

Comparisons between different subsidy assessments are possible as both the threshold for taxation and the tax rates were held constant from 1624 and the same tax rates can be retrospectively applied to the 1611 assessment. The threshold for paying tax on land was a rentable value of twenty shillings per annum and that for moveable goods, three pounds. For most persons in a rural economy such as Rutland, goods were primarily arable crops and livestock. Once the assessment had been made, a tax rate of 4s per pound for land and 2s 8d per pound for goods was applied to determine an individual's tax liability. While 'aliens' – none recorded in Rutland – had traditionally been charged double tax rates, from 1625 recusant Catholics, defined as those over twenty-one years who had not taken communion in the Church of England for a year, were subject to the same double charge. If the recusant's taxable possessions were below the subsidy threshold values, they were liable to a poll charge of 8d (Jurkowski et al 1998, xli- xlv).

The process of assessment is illustrated by correspondence for the first two of four subsidies granted in 1641. The constables of Cottesmore (Henry Richardson and John Nix) were to ensure, upon pain of being fined 40s for default, that every constable and churchwarden was to appear before the county commissioners at Uppingham three days hence and bring with them '... bills of assessment fair written truly informing us of the best value of every person dwelling within your parish ... and also the names of all popish recusants...' (BL Eg 2986, f98).

The unchanging nature of the subsidy thresholds and rates allowed the Commissioners to expect a certain level of assessment value and number of subsidy men from each parish and thereby challenge those suspected of managing their assessment. A schedule of the May 1641 subsidy has the statement '20s paid for this copy on 23rd July 1663'. This demonstrates that after the Restoration the new subsidy Commissioners needed to obtain a copy of the previous assessment from the Exchequer as the basis for their new assessment (BL Eg 2986, f129).

Once the assessment had been approved by the Commissioners, the parish assessors and collectors were issued with tax demands for the assessed individuals. The Commissioners ordered the assessors to 'demand levy and gather of every person this sum and sums ... and for non-payment to distraint [seize property]', usually livestock. Once they had collected the tax they then had to pay the collected sum to the High Collector on a day and place of his choosing (BL Eg 2986, f133).

Subsidy Tax Yields and Assessments

The declared tax yields for the county from subsidies for the period from 1624–1663 declined from £175 to £162. Trying to maintain stability was a major objective of the Commissioners, as significant under-provision would have brought enquiries from the Exchequer during certification. On the other hand, over-provision could establish a precedent for the future. Although the Commissioners declared a yield, the actual yield delivered to the exchequer was usually lower. Abel Barker senior and junior, as High Collectors for subsidies in December 1628 and September 1641, obtained quittance from the Exchequer for delivering sums that represented 86.8% and 79.5% of the declared yields (ROLLR DG11, 9 & 10). There were various reasons for collections being lower than declared yields, such as collectors' fees, the inclusion of persons whose residence was elsewhere and who were discharged by certificates presented when collection was requested, and also persons who, following an assessment, had departed the county leaving the tax unpaid and no goods or chattels to be distrained (Dietz 1968, 390, 392; Braddick 1994, 83; TNA 179/165/182).

As with yields, the total individual assessments for both land and goods from 1624 to 1663 showed a decline, but within the two tax classes there were significant differences. While the total land assessment increased from £418 to £570, the total goods assessment declined from £684 to £371 (Table 18). Some understanding of these differences can be obtained by examination of the numbers of persons assessed, together with the average assessment per person. Although the total number of persons assessed for both

land and goods remained stable, at about 325, those assessed for land alone doubled while those for goods almost halved. Although not based on the whole county, comparable figures for 1611 and 1624 also show a decline in persons assessed for goods over that period. The growth in land taxpayers came from an increase in those assessed at £1 or £2, which lowered the average land assessment per person from £3.83 in 1624 to £2.61 in 1663. In contrast the average assessment per person for goods remained steady, at just over the £3 threshold value, due to the small number of individuals with higher goods assessments. The consequence was a decline in both the total assessment value and the yield of the county, balanced in part by yields from double-taxed recusants. The stable average goods assessment and truncation of higher values point to a limit on goods wealth before it metamorphosed into landownership and prompted a change in assessment class. Abel Barker senior was a large goods taxpayer all his life, but his politically ambitious and status-conscious son was a large land taxpayer (Howlett 2001, 10). The subsidies also point to a degree of protection provided by the Commissioners to the county's recusant population. From August 1625 subsidies required a double charge on recusant subsidy men and placed a poll tax on others. However, this and the next two subsidies only record eight or nine recusants in the county (Table 18). In May 1641 their numbers increased to forty, probably because in 1636 magistrates had declared higher numbers to the Privy Council (Appendix 3, p106). Despite the 1663 subsidy requiring a continuation of penalising measures Rutland's Commissioners chose not to identify any.

Inflation increased both agricultural product prices and land values tremendously in Tudor times and to a lesser extent in the early Stuart period. This combined with the manipulation of assessments by Commissioners resulted in the subsidy assessments becoming nominal (Thirsk 1967, 820; Fletcher 1975, 202; Braddick 1994, 98). Acknowledging the situation, in the late Tudor period Sir Walter Raleigh stated, 'our estates that be £30 or £40 in the Queen's books are not the hundredth part of our wealth' (Dietz 1964, 387). The failure of Elizabeth's ministers to maintain the value of the assessments resulted in a decline in tax yields. However, the extent of the decline varied between counties: Norfolk's yields declined by 60 per cent over Elizabeth's reign and by a further 34 per cent under the Stuarts, up to Charles I. In contrast, Cheshire only declined by 25 per cent and 6 per cent (Braddick 1994, 301). The decline in Rutland's yields during the Stuart period mirrored those of Norfolk. The nominal nature of the subsidy assessments was the reason the 1663 Commissioners obtained a copy of the previous assessment from the Exchequer after the Interregnum, as the alternative of conducting a new assessment based on real values and prices would have produced punitive tax liabilities. It is also clear from Table 18 that Rutland Commissioners sought to maintain the stability of both total assessment value and number subsidy men. The appearance of part pound assessments in August 1625 signals a struggle to maintain the county's assessment level.

Subsidy Submitted Date	Assessment £			Persons Assessed			Ave. Assessment per Person £		Recusants
	Lands	Goods	Total	Land	Goods	Total	Land	Goods	
March 1611 (part of county)	409*	542	951*	80*	164	244	5.11*	3.30	0
July 1624 (reduced to 1611 part)	306	434	740	80	142	222	3.83	3.06	0
July 1624	418	684	1102	109	212	321	3.83	3.23	0
March 1625	418	666	1084	117	206	323	3.57	3.23	0
August 1625	424.67	649	1072.67	132	192	324	3.22	3.38	9
August 1628	423.67	650	1073.67	132	192	324	3.21	3.39	9
December 1628	432.67	618	1050.67	145	186	331	2.98	3.32	8
May 1641	449	506	995	152#	154#	319#	2.95	3.29	40
October 1663	570	371	941	218	117	335	2.61	3.17	0

* The land assessment is high due to the inclusion of a £45 assessment on Edward Noel of Brooke;
with its exclusion these figures become 364, 906, 79 and 4.61.

Adjusted for seven land and six goods double-counted taxpayers.

Table 18. Numbers of persons assessed and assessment values 1611 to 1663.

The death of Robert Lane of Ketton and transfer of ownership of his estate to the Earl of Denbigh posed the Commissioners with the task of replacing his thirty pound assessment. They achieved this by increasing Lord Sherard's assessment, for Teigh, from £30 to £66 13s 4d – Sherard's title was Irish and so he was liable for English lay taxes. However, as Sherard's residence was in Leicestershire he could claim exemption from any Rutland tax levy and to avoid too large a drop in the county yield a halved tax rate was applied to his assessment which is the reason for the large adjustments in August 1625 and August 1628. The later purchase of Lane's old estate by George Benyon enabled it to be included in the county's May 1641 assessment. This in turn permitted reduction of Sherard's assessment and the abandonment of both part pound assessments and non-standard tax rates. However, faced with a steady decline in goods taxpayers and a desire to keep total taxpayer numbers stable the May 1641 Commissioners increased numbers artificially by dividing larger taxpayer assessments between different townships. For example, Richard Wingfield's assessment which previously had been wholly in Tickencote was split between there and Market Overton.

Reasons for the Decline in Goods Subsidy Payers

One reason for the decline in the number of goods taxpayers could have been an anomaly in the tax thresholds. While the threshold for goods yielded a liability of eight shillings that for land was only four shillings. At Ryhall and Belmesthorpe, John Waterfall was assessed in July 1624 for goods valued at £3, was not assessed in March 1625, but had land valued at £1 in August 1625 and 1628. At Langham, the Sharpe family reverted back and forth: in July 1624 and March 1625 they were assessed at £3 for goods; in August 1625 and 1628, £1 for land; in December 1628, £3 for goods; in May 1641, £4 for goods; and in October 1663, £3 for land. These indicate a certain fluidity in the assessment class at the threshold levels. The ability to switch tax classes implies that a goods taxpayer also had an income from rent. Although this could have come from rented land it is unlikely as subsidy men tended to be from the better off section of the farming community and renting land would indicate that they had a surplus beyond what they could personally exploit. In fact, the opposite was true, there was a general shortage of land (Bowden 1990, 109). However, by the early seventeenth century such had been the inflationary erosion of threshold values that the thirty shilling annual rental from a Cottesmore cottage would have qualified its owner for the land subsidy (BL Eg 2986, f305). Nevertheless, given the importance of precedence in subsidy assessments the use of the threshold anomaly for tax evasion would have required the connivance of parish assessors, often themselves subsidy men, and benign oversight from the Commissioners and their clerks. With the Commissioners seeking stability, a taxpayer switch from goods to land would have required an additional two threshold land taxpayers to maintain the assessment value and one if yields were to be unaffected, both would have increased the total number of taxpayers. At the township level the artificial reduction of one subsidy man's assessment could have threatened inclusion or an increase to his neighbours and an appeal to the Commissioners. Such concerns may have been the driver for a sharing or a rota of tax responsibility amongst the potential subsidy families in a township, resulting in fluidity in the assessment class. Whilst not ruling out individual cases of tax evasion it would seem more probable that the progressive decline in goods class subsidy men reflects a steady drop in the wealth of this sector of society.

In an agricultural society access to more land was the way most farmers could expand their wealth. This could be achieved either through purchase or by lease. While the former required capital, the latter was more accessible, requiring just a capacity to pay the rent. Although most farmers would have raised both arable crops and livestock it was the livestock – in this part of England – that was the major component of the total wealth. Hoskins (1965, 236) showed for Wigston in Leicestershire that the livestock provided as much value as crops, despite about 80 per cent of a farmer's land being in arable production. The 1661 will of Luke Sharpe of Langham valued his assets at £548, sheep being the main contributors (Frisby 2009, 140). Such wealth would have been 'visible' and made their owners liable as goods taxpayers. At Thistleton in December 1628 all four subsidy men were goods taxpayers despite two, Francis Parks and Edmund Gilby, being freeholders (NRO 2991/13). The wealth available from leases was also attractive to others, particularly large graziers, who Bowden (1990, 109) noted 'operated on

commercial principles ... which provided the best opportunity for high rent'. Over time this group gathered up leases by offering landowners better returns. A measure of the spread of Abel Barker senior's grazing rights is indicated in his subsidy assessments at Hambleton, while he also paid rates at Lyddington, held leases from Sir Kenholm Digby, the Earl of Newport and Thomas Wayte in Leicestershire, and paid military assessments for lands in Couthorpe, just over the Lincolnshire border (ROLLR, DG11/534-8; DG21/266). Thirsk showed for Leicestershire that the early Stuart period was characterised by a high number of land transactions. If land purchases were high, then lease turnover was likely to be higher. At Langham, of the thirty-five leasehold occupiers of land adjacent to land owned by Westminster Abbey in 1618, only fifteen remained in 1628. Such changes impacted smaller farmers the most. The proportion of Langham's villagers describing themselves as husbandmen declined from over thirty to six percent between first and second halves of the century, while the numbers who classed themselves as either yeomen or gentlemen were stable (Thirsk 1954, 208; Frisby 2009, 34-5). It is most likely therefore that the progressive decline in goods class subsidy men reflects a decrease in the number of leases available to smaller farmers, as larger ones gathered them up.

An examination of the total land assessment by size of land holding reveals that while large landowners assessed at over £10 in July 1624 represented only 11 per cent of the assessed landowner population, they contributed 41 per cent of the total land assessment. However, by the last subsidies in 1663 the increase in £1 to £2 land taxpayers had been so large as to make this group, with their 39 per cent contribution, the largest contributors.

Despite the nominal nature of the assessments, they tended to be respected and continue from one subsidy to the next. However, practicalities meant that large variations from subsidy to subsidy inevitably arose and had to be balanced elsewhere. For example, Edward Noel's elevation to the peerage in 1611 removed £45 from later lay assessments. Burley parish's assessment increased from three persons for goods valued at £9 in July 1624 to four persons valued at £19 in August 1625, reducing to three persons valued at £11 in December 1628. These situations required the Commissioners to juggle the county assessments to achieve the desired yield to the Exchequer, while managing local equitability. Part of this process is revealed in a May 1641 Order from the Commissioners to the Thistleton assessors to bring the 'name and forename of one able and sufficient man dwelling in your said town of Thistleton and that you truly inform us of his substance and value for as he may be rated and taxed towards the lay subsidy besides those which you last brought in and presented' (BL Eg 2986, f99). This demand reveals an awareness of the need to increase Thistleton's assessment probably because, as discussed earlier, the Commissioners were struggling to maintain taxpayer numbers. What is also apparent is that the Commissioners were not calling for a list of all potential extra taxpayers from the assessors, just the name of one extra man, as only that was needed for their balancing purposes. This begs the question as to whose names were put forward for assessment. Clearly, large land holders, graziers and wealthy tradesmen would necessarily be included as their absence would be too noticeable. However, when it came to a man whose goods or land were near the thresholds, there could be room for manoeuvre and abuse. Again, Thistleton provides some evidence: Lord Brudenell wrote to the Justices in January 1642 complaining of the actions of the parish assessor, the aforesaid Francis Parks, in 'taxing them [his neighbours] as bearers to his subsidies and debt, as he goes shot-free or pays less than a cottager. And so like to threaten if they pay not what he sets down, he so make them subsidy men' (BL Eg 2986, f157). The Justices' response is unknown.

A consequence of the high inflation of the Tudor period was that, by the time of the Stuarts, subsidy assessments had become nominal. However, they do reflect a crude relative measure of wealth in their societies. The nominal and periodic nature of subsidies meant that the County Commissioners charged with raising subsidies strove to maintain the level of county assessment, taxpayer numbers and local equilibrium. Less concern was applied to the yield declared to the Exchequer, beyond ensuring that the steady decline could be justified. The stability of the tax thresholds and rates during this period allows meaningful comparisons to be made between the various surviving Stuart subsidies. These have revealed a progressive increase in the number of threshold land taxpayers which compensated for the decline in

goods taxpayers over the same period. While it is possible that some of this change arose from the preferential tax rates for a threshold land class taxpayer compared to goods class, it appears more likely that the decline in goods taxpayers reflects and provides a marker for a decline in the wealth of the yeoman farming class. The decline in wealth was being brought about by the gradual loss of leases that were gathered into the hands of larger graziers. These individuals were able to offer landowners better returns through higher rents, as leases came up for renewal. The rise in numbers of threshold land class taxpayers who replaced the goods class men acted as make-weights for the subsidy assessment. The replacement of goods by threshold land taxpayers was in effect a metamorphosis as farmers were forced to fall back on limited family holdings and rentals which transformed them into land class taxpayers. This metamorphosis changed the balance of contributions to the land assessment. Whereas at the beginning of the seventeenth century, major landowners provided the largest land subsidy contribution, by the time of the last subsidy assessment in 1663 it was the threshold landowners who provided the dominant contribution.

Poll Taxes

In addition to raising money via subsidies for maintaining both the Scots army and the defeated English army sent against it, in 1641 the Long Parliament voted a poll tax for 'the speedy provision of money and disbanding the armies' (Jurkowski et al 1998, 192). Following the Restoration, an Act was passed in August 1660 for another graduated poll tax, again for the speedy disbanding of an army, in this case that of the Commonwealth (ibid, 255).

The 1641 poll tax was graduated according to status: dukes £100, earls £60, viscounts £50, barons £40 and knights £30. That for the clergy ranged from £60 for bishops to £5 for incumbents with estates of clear value £100 per annum. Those without rank were graduated according to their total annual income, which ranged from 1s for £5 to £5 for £100. Widows paid one third of the value of their former husband's rate. Recusants were double-rated and all other persons over sixteen, except those receiving alms, paid six pence. To avoid complications the same county commissioners appointed for the May 1641 subsidy also managed the poll tax. The 1660 poll tax was also rated according to rank. However, this time knights were differentiated, with £30 for baronets and £20 for knights bachelor. Esquires or anyone who had called themselves 'esquire' in any deed or writing were to be charged £10. Again, the lower income limit for persons without rank was £5 per annum, but above this limit they were charged in proportion to the 40 shillings for those worth £100 per annum. While individuals were to be assessed for their whole estate, they were only to be taxed in one place.

Schedules for both these taxes for Rutland survive and show assessments of £669 and £911 in 1641 and 1660 respectively (BL Eg 2986, ff146-7, 293). The schedules themselves are of limited historical use as they generally subsume the villagers in the parish total, but occasionally they do provide an estimate of an individual's wealth, none more so than the £14 18s 9d for Abel Barker and his family at Hambleton in 1641. Their poll tax was greater than that for many whole villages and using the standards set for the tax would indicate Barker's income at near £300 per annum. While rating schedules were one thing, getting payment was sometimes more difficult. The 1641 levy seems to have been efficiently collected. Marginal notes on the schedule include generally only small amounts wanting. In the November the Sheriff was asked to call a meeting so that the commissioners could give notice to 'rectify who are behind in paying their poll money' (BL Eg 2986, ff143, 153). The situation in 1660, after many years of high military taxation, was much more difficult, and the Exchequer complained of low returns from Rutland (BL Eg 2986, f298), a situation mirrored nationally (Jurkowski et al 1998, 257). A comparison of the 1641 and 1660 poll taxes by parish shows that the increase in total assessment value was caused by large increases in some parishes: Stoke Dry increased from £3 to £22 and Tickencote from £8 to £22. The reason for these changes is most likely to be the presence and election of residence in 1660 of many high-status individuals such as the Digbys at Stoke Dry and Wingfields at Tickencote, who were absent in 1641. The depredation of royalist estates during the Civil War and Commonwealth period led many royalist families to return after the Restoration and seek to recover their country holdings.

The tax to raise £400,000 nationally

The subsidies of 1641 reminded parliamentarians of that taxation system's weakness, and when the call came for money to support the army sent to suppress a rebellion in Ireland a different system was applied. Rather than the variable amount produced by subsidies, a fixed national amount of £400,000 was set with specific allocations to each county. This was similar to that used for the Ship Money but was combined with the subsidy procedure of local Commissioners appointed for each county (Fletcher 1975, 209). Rutland's share was £1,050. Members of society, irrespective of status, were to be charged sums proportionate to their estate at the discretion of the Commissioners but, as with subsidies, only those with moveable goods worth at least £3 or income from land of £1 or more were subject to this charge. Assessment and payment were divided into two instalments. The first instalment was to be assessed by 20th May 1642, certified at the Exchequer by 2nd June and paid by 20th July. The second was to be assessed by 20th November, certified by 29th December and paid by 20th January 1643 (Jurkowski et al 1998, 194).

In Rutland the Commissioners seem to have taken the opportunity of the discretion given to them to base their parish allocations on a revaluation of the whole county similar to that undertaken the previous year for determination of the county rate (*see* Chapter 3). This possibly was due to the somewhat arbitrary nature of the unpopular Ship Money allocations (*see* Chapter 5). The two Rutland instalments involved two separate valuations. The first valuation, in May 1642, appears to have included nominal assessments of the tithe within the parish total to give a county value of £26,150 (fig. 22). The November 1642 valuation separated the town and tithe valuations to give a new total of £33,200. The need for a second and apparently more detailed revaluation was probably due to complaints of anomalies, such as under-valuation of the tithe, in the first (BL Eg 2986, ff162–4, 239–42). The second valuations were organised through the offices of the High Constables for each hundred and a meeting of parish representatives. For instance, Jeffery Lunn, a High Constable of Alstoe Hundred, ordered the constables of Cottesmore to give summons to Henry Richardson and John Nix of that parish 'to appear and meet together at North Luffenham upon Thursday next the 20th day of October by 9 of the clock in the morning, then and there to advise to inform yourselves of the true substance and yearly value of the towns within your hundred and then and there to return unto me at Whissendine a certificate of what you have done' (BL Eg 2986, f238). The collectors of the new tax, similar to those for subsidies, were empowered by the Act to seize goods:

[such] distress so taken to keep by the space of eight days at the cost and charge of the owners thereof and if the said owner do not pay such sum of money so taxed upon him or her within the said eight days that then you cause the said distress to be [ap]praised by two or more of the inhabitants where such distress shall be taken and to be sold by you for the payment of the said money and the said money to be by you paid unto A[bel] B[arker] of H[ambleton] the Collector appointed for the present whereof: and that the surplus that shall remain upon the sale of the said goods over and above the charge of keeping the said distress that upon demand you render to the owners thereof ... (BL Eg 2986, ff168, 173).

Once the parish valuations had been completed, rates were set based on every assessed £100 to determine what each town should pay. In May 1642, it was stated that a 'rate of £4 0s 4d ... will procure the sum [£1,050] ... with some small advantage' (BL Eg 2986, f162). The parish assessors, often the Constables, were then required to apportion the charge amongst both its residents and non-residents, such as land owners or lessees. In this the new tax departed from the process used for subsidies, where individuals paid tax at their place of residence. For example, in May 1641, Andrew Burton was assessed for subsidies just in Oakham, but was rated for the new tax in Oakham, Barleythorpe and Gunthorpe (BL Eg 2986, ff100, 186–7, 203). Similarly, the assessment at Burley gives details of non-residents leasing the parish fields, including men from Greetham, Cottesmore, Exton, Hambleton and Oakham (BL Eg 2986, f195). As with any tax there were challenges, and following complaints from Braunston, its parish assessors were required to provide the Commissioners with three copies of how they had made their assessment. These documents provide extra detail missing from other parishes, listing whether the charge was made for tithe, yardlands, goods or possession of a cottage (BL Eg 2986, f190). However, in making

The valuations upon the severall townes within the County of Rutland
as they were agreed upon in May 1642 at North Luffham at
a meeting for the rating of the first moiety of the goods

At the Hundred

Whistendine parsonage	1300-0-0
Ashwell	1000-0-0
Worby	1500-0-0
Epworth Home	700-0-0
Stretton	400-0-0
Market Overton	350-0-0
Figh	300-0-0
At the donation of Lichfield on rents	300-0-0
At the donation of Lichfield on rents	300-0-0
Whitwell	250-0-0
Thilthorpe	150-0-0
5800	6800-0-0

At the Hundred

Hambleton	800-0-0
Martinsbury	500-0-0
Widdington	600-0-0
Wymington	450-0-0
Hydon	300-0-0
Cruston	350-0-0
Manton	350-0-0
Wing	350-0-0
Hamdon	500-0-0
Weston on Tichy	400-0-0
Normanton	150-0-0
4750	4750-0-0

At the Hundred

Langham	1250-0-0
The manor of Figh with first lands	1000-0-0
Branson	450-0-0
Brook	400-0-0
Belton	400-0-0
Clippam	450-0-0
Cruston on Figh	400-0-0
Wardlebury on Figh	300-0-0
Egleton	250-0-0
Grandy	250-0-0
Frankby	270-0-0
5920	5920-0-0

At the Hundred

Latton	800-0-0
Embsayham	480-0-0
Hamdon	120-0-0
Wickworth	450-0-0
Thorp and Fyfflage	350-0-0
Titchmarsh	200-0-0
Latton magna	180-0-0
Woodhead	120-0-0
Latton parsonage Tichy	300-0-0
Wick on Meltonbury	400-0-0
Eggins	180-0-0
3580	3580-0-0

At the Hundred

Latton	320-0-0
Widdington	670-0-0
Heath	800-0-0
Cruston	500-0-0
Whitby	310-0-0
Thorp	250-0-0
Clacton	670-0-0
Morcott	350-0-0
Warrinden	500-0-0
Silton	110-0-0
North Luffham	600-0-0
South Luffham	400-0-0
Tymoor	180-0-0
5800	5800-0-0

At the Hundred

Alto	6800
Cruston	5420
East Hundred	3580
Martinsbury	4750
Warrinden	5600
The total of Rutland	26150

According to this valuation at 38-5 upon every 1000, the summe of 50 will be
rated in this proportion

Alto	13-00-00
Cruston	10-07-00
Martinsbury	09-01-00
Warrinden	10-17-00
East	06-16-10
50	00-00-00

Fig. 22. The May 1642 rental valuations of each Rutland township, in pounds sterling. These were used to calculate their portion of the county's share of the national tax to raise £400,000 (BL Eg 2986, f164).

Individual	May 1641 Subsidy Liability	May 1642 Assessment for raising £525		
		Exchequer Summary	Working Papers	
Earl Salisbury	—	—	£1 10s 2d	
Earl Exeter	—	—	1s 9d	
Countess Exeter	—	—	3s 7d	Parsonage
John Webster	—	3s 0d	3s 0d	Vicarage
William Haddon	8s	£1 0s 0d	10s 0d	
Thomas Fowler	8s	15s 6d	4s 2d	Constable
Hosea Johnson	8s	—	2s 6d	
Thomas Baggley	—	—	2s 8d	
William Burnley	—	—	3s 4d	Constable
Robert Perkins	—	—	1s 9d	
Henry Ganne	—	—	2s 10d	
John Wollot	—	—	2s 6d	
John Briges	—	—	1s 8d	
Thomas Bull	—	—	6d	
James Barber	—	—	8d	
John Garford	—	—	2d	
Thomas Holmes	—	—	8d	
Joseph Waterfall	—	—	4d	
The rest of the inhabitants	—	£1 13s 10d	—	
Total	£1 4s 0d	£3 12s 4d	£3 12s 3d	

The Essendine May 1642 valuation was £180 which at £4 0s 4d per £100 gives a total assessment of £7 4s 7d or £3 12s 3½d per instalment.

Table 19. Essendine assessments for 1641 and 1642 (TNA E179/165/193; BL Eg 2986, ff169–206; BL Eg 2986, f100).

their submission to the Exchequer, the Rutland Commissioners for the new tax followed the traditional subsidy format, a list by parish with just a few named individuals, together with their tax liability, the remainder being subsumed under ‘the rest of the inhabitants’ (TNA E179/165/193). Fortunately, working papers for the first £525 instalment of the new tax survive for three of Rutland’s hundreds: Alstoe, East and Oakham Soke. These provide, by parish, a list of the charges made on individuals, down to the level of a few pence (BL Eg 2986, ff169–206). A comparison of the working papers for Essendine, together with the parish summary submitted to the Exchequer and the May 1641 subsidy assessment, is shown in Table 19. This reveals the conservatism of the local Commissioners and their reluctance to provide too much information to the Exchequer. The Exchequer summary only gives the names of the individuals who were generally already within the sight of central government. In fact overall the Exchequer summary for the new tax provides fewer individual details than the subsidy schedules. The May 1641 subsidy for Martinsley hundred lists seventy-three individuals, whereas the Exchequer summary for the first instalment of the new tax has only forty-six. Documents for Ryhall, Belmesthorpe and Ketton indicate that the names and assessments of individuals to be supplied to the Exchequer were left to the discretion of parish officials (BL Eg 2986, ff181, 184). As the compilers of the Exchequer schedules, the Commissioners and their clerks knew that the detail was unlikely to be queried, provided the desired cash was forthcoming. Such manipulations illustrate the major recurring weakness of the Crown in raising taxes, namely that it was completely dependent on the county elite to assess and extract tax from themselves and their neighbours (Dietz 1964, 388).

Town	£ per Acre	Town	£ per Acre
Essendine	0.13	Braunston	0.35
Greetham and Woolfox	0.15	North Luffenham	0.35
Tickencote	0.16	Hambleton Great and Little	0.37
Thistleton	0.17	Pilton	0.37
Casterton Magna and Woodhead	0.17	Caldecott	0.38
Exton and Horn	0.18	Preston	0.38
Empingham and Hardwick	0.20	Teigh	0.39
Ryhall and Belmesthorpe	0.21	Manton	0.40
Pickworth	0.22	Wing	0.41
Tixover	0.26	Belton	0.42
Tinwell and Ingthorpe	0.26	Cottesmore and Wenton	0.42
Casterton Parva and Toleshorpe	0.27	Lyddington	0.42
Brooke	0.28	Leigh Forest	0.42
Stretton	0.29	Whissendine	0.43
Normanton	0.29	Ayston	0.44
Barrowden	0.29	Seaton	0.44
Ketton	0.30	Uppingham	0.45
Eggleton	0.30	Thorpe	0.47
Market Overton	0.30	Wardley	0.47
Barleythorpe & Oakham Westm. Fee	0.31	Burley	0.51
Edith Weston	0.31	Whitwell	0.56
Clipsham	0.32	Glaston	0.60
Ridlington	0.33	Langham	0.63
South Luffenham	0.33	Gunthorpe	0.67
Oakham	0.34	Lyndon	0.70
Morcott	0.34	Ashwell	0.71
Barrow	0.35	Stoke Dry	0.78
Bisbrooke	0.35	Martinsthorpe	0.89

Table 20. November 1642 parish valuations per acre.

Valuations for county rates already existed for each parish, and this raises the question as to why the Commissioners undertook major revaluations for the two instalments of the new tax. Also, given the nominal nature of a subsidy, we may ask how realistic the new assessments were. Calculation of the value per acre for each parish, using the second instalment valuation including the tithe, enables these questions to be answered (Table 20). The value per acre, which adjusts for the inter-parish variation associated with differing acreage, reveals that those parishes with the lowest value per acre were all to the north and east of the county. These were on the thin poor limestone soils, best suited to arable production, that tended to be enclosed in the nineteenth century, whereas those with the highest value per acre were to the west and south, on heavier land suited to pasture, many of which had already been fully or partially enclosed and which yielded higher rents (Ryder 2006, 54 & 62). This correlation with geography and the known pattern of enclosure indicates that the revaluations had taken account not only of the amount of land in a parish, but also its quality and probably whether it was using open or enclosed forms of farming. The new valuation provided an accurate and up to date assessment of the county's resources which explains why the Justices of the Peace, many of whom were also tax commissioners, used the new

valuations to adjust the parish county rate allocations (Table 15).

The 1642 valuations were in effect an early form of the Land Tax which was introduced in 1698 and for which the earliest Rutland surviving record is from 1712 (Clough 2005, 15). As Rutland remained essentially an agricultural county and as both the 1642 and 1712 taxes were based on the yearly value of lands and included tithes, the town assessments for the two taxes can be compared (fig. 23). This demonstrates a clear, but imperfect, correlation between them. However, while the Rutland 1642 values were based on parish assessments scrutinised by officials from other parishes and subject to review, the allocations made for the Land Tax are more opaque (Mills 2005, 5).

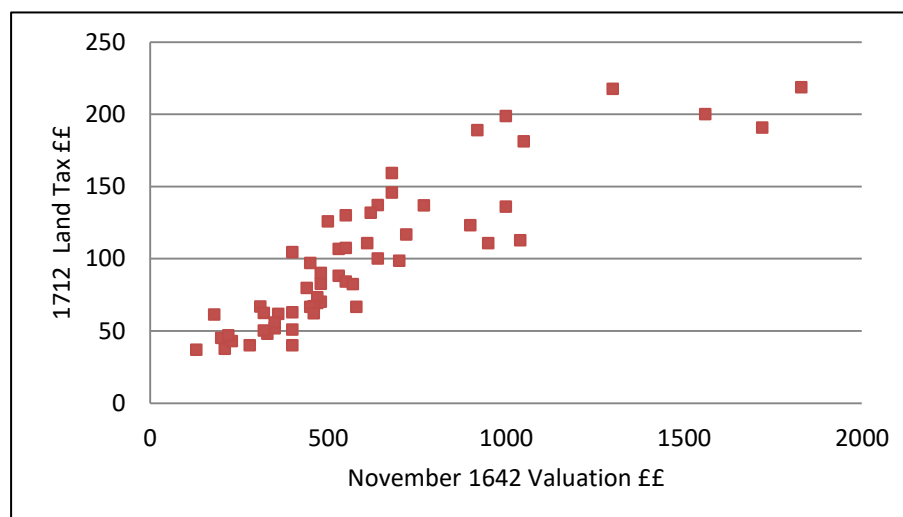


Fig. 23. Comparison by town of 1642 and 1712 land valuations.

The £400,000 tax was to be used by Parliament as the basis for their weekly tax assessment during the Civil War. When a specific ordinance was passed for the defence and preservation of Rutland at a rate of up to £250 per week for six months the tax was to be assessed 'in like sort as was the £400,000'. Even after the war was over and revaluations undertaken in September 1646 the principles of the tax were still employed to rate the parishes (Jurkowski et al 1998, 196, 230; ROLLR DE730 Vol 3, ff58, 59).

The known weaknesses of the subsidy tax system prompted the Long Parliament to look at alternatives. First a poll tax was tried, but the regressive nature of such a system works against its acceptance as a permanent solution to taxation needs. The adoption of the system for raising the £400,000 nationally was a better alternative that corrected many of the problems associated with subsidies. Each county was given an allocated proportion of the total, which was divided equitably between its hundreds and parishes. They in their turn were to raise the money from all those generating wealth from the land, including the two groups that traditionally had been exempt, the aristocracy and clergy. With the Restoration, all matters associated with the parliamentary party tended to be abandoned, with a return to subsidies and then the introduction of the Hearth Tax. However, fifty years later, after the Glorious Revolution, the equity of the old £400,000 Tax was rediscovered with the introduction of the Land Tax (Pierpoint 2019, 2).

Chapter 5

Prerogative Taxation

Purveyance

The Crown had long established prerogative and feudal powers that could be used to supplement its income, particularly at times of emergency. At the start of the Hundred Years War, which lasted from 1337 to 1453, these were used for instance to requisition a large number of pigs from Rutland for the royal army (Harrop 1999, 400). Another practice was purveyance, the right of the Crown to take up provisions and require transport for the royal household, at below the market rates. By the 1630s it is estimated that purveyance made about £40,000 for the Crown, a large sum similar in size to a subsidy (Jurkowski *et al* 1998, 183; Aylmer 1957, 81). In the sixteenth century purveyance had been collected by licensed purveyors who visited the counties to collect defined amounts of commodities. However, by the reign of James I contracts had been agreed with the counties to supply commodities of an agreed quality at the king's price (Braddick 1996, 80). By the 1630s the annual purveyance from Rutland was collected from the parishes in money by the constables and forwarded to the collector via the hundred chief constables, although the county was still required to provide the royal household 'in kind'. In January 1629/30, 'in accordance with a composition long since made by the county', it was charged with providing 'two hundred fat wethers [castrated rams] for the King's household'. Once the composition money had been collected contracts were placed to supply the required animals. In February 1635/6 a London butcher was contracted to provide the 200 sheep, at a total cost to the county of £185, whilst the King, under the terms of the composition, was only required to pay £65 (*HMC Barker*, 401–02, no 6). Having purchased the sheep at a much reduced cost, the King was at liberty to sell any surplus animals at market rates for a healthy profit. The composition payments required from parishes varied with market prices. This was the main reason for the composition amount required in 1629/30 from Martinsley hundred of £54 4s reducing in 1639 to £38 11s 4d (ROLLR DE730/3/f14; BL Eg MSS 2986, ff77, 78; Thirsk 1967, 828). However inflation, together with a fixed King's price, progressively worked against the counties. For this reason most composition agreements included a break clause that could be invoked if the divergence between the market and King's prices became too great (Aylmer 1957, 81). Such a situation may have been the reason for a 1622 discussion between John Wingfield and Sir William Bulstrode on the one part and John Coke on the other. The latter had been ordered to strike purveyance composition agreements on behalf of the Crown with the chief gentry of each shire. These particular negotiations broke down through want of authority from the Rutland freeholders (Watson & Thrush 2010; Healy, Bulstrode, 2010).

Another form of purveyance was the requirement to provide the King with transport and guidance. In July 1633 the Sheriff ordered the High Constable of Martinsley hundred to provide 'twenty of the best sufficient able horses with good sufficient saddles and bridles and able men for guides ... at post Witham [on the Great North Road near the border of South Witham and Thistleton] to be ready to attend his Majesty' on his return from Scotland (*HMC Barker*, 402, no 15).

Such prerogative taxes were seen as impositions, many arguing in the early Stuart House of Commons that it was a principle enshrined in law that the king could only tax with the consent of Parliament. James I did not accept this view. He stated that he had an absolute discretionary power, in the form of the royal prerogative, to take whatever measures he deemed necessary to promote the public good. In exercising this he was accountable to God alone. If his people disliked what he was doing, their only recourse was to 'prayer and tears'. His son Charles held similar views which led to the impositions of the Forced Loan

and the extension of Ship Money to the whole country. Charles viewed any withholding of payment from such demands as a challenge to royal authority (Cust 2007, 65). The use of the prerogative to force through impositions was a major source of discontent that was reflected in the Grand Remonstrance. This document, presented to the King in December 1641, outlined the cumulative grievance of the country just prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. Ultimately, purveyance and other feudal charges were abolished by the Restoration Government in the 1660 Tenures Abolition Act.

A list of compositions for purveyance to be paid by each Rutland town in 1639 is shown in Table 21. This document is of interest for several reasons: first, the overall size of the county's charge, equivalent to

Alstoe Hundred							
	£	s	d		£	s	d
Ashwell town with Sir Guy Palmes his inclosure	3	6	0	Market Overton with the inclosure	3	10	0
Mr Ross's land	1	12		Stretton		17	6
Mr Wilcox his land		16		The pastures and the wood	2	10	
Barrow with the inclosure	1	6	8	Teigh	1		
Burley	1	10		The inclosure	3	6	8
The inclosure	0	8	4	Thistleton	0	16	4
The pastures	7	16	8	The inclosure	0	6	8
Cottesmore town with the inclosure	2			Whissendine	5	2	4
Wenton	1			The moors	2	6	8
Exton	2	3	4	Whitwell	0	16	8
Barnsdale Sheepwalk	1			The pastures	1	3	4
Greetham	1	10					
Horn field	2			Total for Alstoe Hundred	48	5	2
East Hundred							
Casterton Magna and Woodhead	1	12		Ryhall and Belmesthorpe	2		
Casterton Parva and Tolethorpe	1			Sir Francis Bodenham Vinall Haddon and Bamptons Close		3	4
Empingham	2	10		Hamsworths Close		2	
Hardwick	1	3	4	Waterfalls Close		1	
Woolfox	2	10		Tickencote		10	
Essendine		13	4	The inclosure		10	
The park	1			Tinwell and Ingthorpe	1	17	
Ketton	3						
The inclosure		13		Total for East Hundred **	19	5	6
Martinsley Hundred							
Ayston	1			Normanton		7	6
Debdales		6	8	The inclosure		13	4
The new inclosure	1			Preston	1	13	4
[Edith] Weston	1	2	6	The Hall Close		5	
Wichley and the closes under the town	1	13	4	Ridlington with the last inclosure	1		
Hambleton	3	10		The old inclosure	1	2	
Little Hambleton	2			The first new inclosure		11	10
Sundry meadows and the haunts		3	4	Lenton's close		6	
Lyndon town		10		Palmer's close		6	
The ground next Luffenham cow pasture		16	8	Mr Gibson's lease close		4	6
A close called Notwell and a close on the north side Notwell		13	4	The 3 closes under Sir Edward Harington's house		9	
Mill close and a close called Akerlands	1			The Lound being cow pasture		5	2
The close next Wing bridge		10		Hollowgate Close		1	6
The close by Wing brook		10		Uppingham	1	13	4
The Home Close		6	8	Preston underwood		12	
The Breaches		6		Beaumont Closes		4	
Manton	2			Park Dales		6	8

Martinsthorpe	5	5		Wing	1	15	
The sheep walk in the forest	2	5		The inclosure		3	4
Lodge close and Land close		3	4				
The Raile	1			Total for Martinsley Hundred	38	11	4
Oakham Soke Hundred							
Belton	1	10		Gunthorpe	2	13	4
The inclosure		13	4	Mr Burton's Close		4	
Stoore wood		1	6	Langham town	3	10	
Braunston	1	10		The old inclosure about the town	2	13	4
Giles Burton's close		3	4	Mr Hides Close and pensum *	1	10	
Brooke		10		Salterford		5	
The pastures	4			Oakham	1	16	8
The sheep walk in the forest		13	4	The parks		5	4
Clipsham		15		Flitteris	1	6	8
The inclosures	3	5		Barleythorpe and Westminster Fee	1	7	
Clipsham Stocking	1	3	4	Pickworth West	2		
The close late Mr Gibson's		3	4	East	1		
Eggleton	1	3	4	Wardley inclosure new and old	2	10	
				Total for Oakham Soke Hundred	36	12	10
Wrangdike Hundred							
Barrowden	2			Morcott	1	15	
The Hey		5		North Luffenham	2	8	
Bisbrooke	1	2		Sculthorpe Closes		6	8
The Lound		4		Pilton		13	4
South pieces and fallow closes		5		Seaton	2	5	
Caldecott	1	10		South Luffenham	1	10	
The town of Glaston	4			The town of Stoke [Dry] with the inclosures	5	10	
The Hall close		3	4	Thorpe [by Water]	1		
Lyddington	2			Tixover	0	15	
Both the Parks	1	10		Total for Wrangdike Hundred	29	2	4
The Forest §							
Freewoods		10	6	Widow Atton's and Blabyes Close		2	6
Loscotts		5	3	Nether Swintly Hill		5	
Amy Hills		7	8	Upper Swintly Hill		7	8
Taught Seek		7	8	Toadholes		5	3
Kings Oakhill		10	6	Woolfletts and Crooked Hazels		18	4
Waterleys and Berkley Faire Ash		15	10	Hunt Woods		7	8
Nether Faire Ash and Broomeable Hill		10		Old Sale		1	4
Stockwood		7	8				
				Total for the Forest	6	2	10
				Sum Total **	178	0	0

* 'pensum' may derive from the Latin *pendere* = to hang, and if so may perhaps be taken to mean 'appurtenances'.

§ Some at least of these wood names are recorded by Squires (2014) in his study of Leighfield Forest.

** Actual total £177 19s 6d, the difference being due to an error of 6d in the total for East Hundred, which should be £19 5s 0d.

Inhabited townships are highlighted in bold, as is the deserted Gunthorpe since extra field information is included.

Table 21. *Purveyance in 1639: 'A view taken of the County of Rutland and rated towards the provision for his Majesty's most honourable household' (spelling normalised and entries re-arranged into alphabetical order) (BL Eg 2986, ff77, 78).*

a subsidy; and secondly, that it was produced at a time when the numbers of enclosures were increasing, so that it divided many towns' compositions between open fields, enclosures, or closes and forest lands. The open fields were not directly mentioned, but as the traditional form of agriculture they were subsumed under the town name. For example, Ayston was recorded as having three charges: the town, £1; Debdales [later Deepdale(s)], 6s 8d; and new enclosures, £1. A map produced around the time of the Ayston enclosure in 1635 and very close in time to the purveyance list shows the bulk of land still as open fields, together with some enclosure, and Debdales as part of the Leighfield forest. The latter was soon to

be cut down following the purchase of the Crown interests from James I in 1622 by the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Robert Pye and others (Ryder 2006, 25, 29; Squires 2014, 155). However, as the sale also removed the forest laws it saved the other historic owners from another of Charles I's money raising schemes, that of fines for encroaching on royal forests.

The Forced Loan

The most important tax as far as the early seventeenth century Crown was concerned was customs duty. Imposed on imported and exported goods, it made up a large proportion of normal revenue. This duty had traditionally been voted to the sovereign on accession for life, but in Charles I's case, it was voted only for one year (Sharpe 1995, 126). While this innovation chafed with the king it initially had little impact on an inland county such as Rutland. However, it did eventually provoke a royal response through prerogative powers that did have local impacts.

The competing needs of the Crown for money and Parliament for redress of grievances, combined with Parliament's distrust of Charles I's chief minister, Buckingham, saw the first two parliaments of his reign quickly dissolved, the second in June 1626. This left the king still in acute need of money, as the country was prosecuting a war with Spain. In July Charles opted to raise money via a benevolence, or gift from his subjects. There had also been occasional calls for benevolences for other less significant causes such as one sent in the summer of 1633 to all Rutland's petty constables 'to cause all the landed men and all other sufficient men in their town' to come before the Commissioners so that they could 'bestow their benevolences towards the reparation of the decayed Church of St. Paul's in London' (*HMC Barker*, 402, no 13). In calling for a benevolence Charles was following the example of his father who had raised benevolences in 1614 and 1620, both for support of his brother-in-law whose lands in Germany were threatened by Spanish forces from the Netherlands. Meetings in support of the 1620 benevolence were held in Leicester, Ashby de la Zouch and Rutland, and had raised slightly more than two subsidies (Cogswell 1998, 35). Letters from Charles's Council instructed JPs to meet local subsidy men and persuade them of the need to contribute. However, as the threat of Spanish invasion had been invoked during the three prior years and the JPs had no powers to punish resisters, the benevolence proved unsuccessful. Once the likely small level of contributions was realised, this was forestalled by a royal proclamation cancelling the levy.

The next proposal was a Privy Seal Loan, a device which had also been used by James I, in 1604 and 1611. Collectors for the new Privy Seal Loan were appointed in August 1626 and writs issued, based on returns provided by the Lords Lieutenant. Under this scheme relatively small numbers of individuals, deemed fit to pay, were given very high assessments. The twenty-seven Rutland subsidy men issued with writs are shown in Table 22. Not surprisingly, given the size of the sums demanded, collection was very slow, and before major opposition developed this loan was also suspended by proclamation in September (Jurkowski et al 1998, 170–83; Cust 1987, 37 & 94; Dietz 1964, 158). That same month news arrived of the defeat of Protestant forces under the King of Denmark (Charles's uncle) at the battle of Lutter, in Saxony. Within a week of this news the decision was taken to divert the English Low Country veterans to Denmark and to provide further assistance to the Danes through a different form of loan. The new loan came to be called the Forced Loan because of the coercive nature of its collection. The King, who felt honour bound to help his uncle, became the driving force behind the loan and treated the payments in personal terms. He wrote individually to each member of the peerage, letting it be known that they could not expect to find favour unless they cooperated (Cust 2007, 64, 67; Braddick 2000, 245). Similarly, Charles's determination to do without a Parliament released the Privy Council from any constraints. It vetted lists of commissioners and drew up a set of instructions which avoided the mistakes made with the Benevolence and Privy Seal Loan. Commissioners were ordered to deal with lenders individually, equipped with arguments against the principle of parliamentary taxation and given specific assurances that anyone who resisted would be punished (Cust 1987, 99). The County Commissioners were instructed to use assessments based on the last subsidy. People were to be encouraged to attend meetings held by the Commissioners, and each person was to be taken aside confidentially and 'persuaded' to pay. The

names of all defaulters were to be certified to the Privy Council, and they were to be examined on oath to determine whether they had attempted to dissuade others from lending, either publicly or privately. One notable defaulter was the Earl of Huntingdon. As Lord Lieutenant he was expected by the Privy Council to act as an example and he only just avoided being removed from the Lieutenancy, but his status was much diminished (Cogswell 1998, 157). Ultimately, threats of imprisonment or of impressment into the army were to be employed. The Forced Loan was collected between October 1626 and the end of 1627. In financial terms the levy was a considerable success, producing £243,000 nationally, a value not far short of five subsidies (Jurkowski et al 1998, 183).

In September 1626, the Rutland Deputy Lieutenants were bullish about success for the Forced Loan, stating the 'county very willing to tender their best assistance, some offering two subsidies, some one and a half'. The following January, the county's Commissioners (Edward Noel, Edward Harington and William Bulstrode) reported that all who attended a meeting 'either presently laid down their moneys or subscribed their consents'. However, the following September some resistance was admitted as they wrote to the Council that they had 'summoned all those which were slack and behind in these loans' and had forwarded their 'particular excuses' (CSPD 1625–26, 419; 1627–28, 40, 364). In total fifty Rutland subsidy men subscribed to the Forced Loan, providing a total of £640 (Table 22), a sum considerably lower than the £1,880 originally demanded by the Privy Seal Loan Writs. All the subscribers to the Forced Loan appeared on either the March or November 1625 subsidy rolls. With the average Rutland subsidy yielding about £170, the Forced Loan yield equated to 3.75 subsidies, below the average for the country. However, while a Rutland subsidy was raised from over three hundred individuals the Forced Loan was raised from just fifty, most of whom, thirty-one, paid land subsidies, with the four lowest assessed at only double the subsidy threshold level of £1. Nineteen paid goods subsidies, including nine at the £3 threshold level. As a threshold goods subsidy man and a double threshold land subsidy man were both liable for 8s per subsidy, the minimum Forced Loan subscription of £10 was the equivalent to them of twenty-five subsidies. In contrast Sir Guy Palmes, with the highest subscription of £50, paid the equivalent of between eleven and twelve subsidies on his lands.

Name	Town	Writ £	Forced Loan Subscription £
Edward Andrews	Bisbrooke		10
Abel Barker	Hambleton	50	10
Samuel Barker	South Luffenham		10
Thomas Blackesby	Braunston		10
Sir Francis Bodenham	[Ryhall]		20
John Booth	Oakham	60	10
William Bradley	Hambleton		[10]
George Britton	Uppingham	50	
John Brown Esq	Casterton Parva		20
Peregrine Buck	Manton	50	10
Nicholas Bullingham	Ketton		10
Sir William Bulstrode	[Uppingham]	50	
[Jasper] Burnbye	[Manton]	50	
Andrew Burton Esq	[Oakham]	50	10
[Francis] Busby wid[ow]	Barleythorpe		10
John Butler	Oakham	50	
Thomas Carrier	Oakham	50	10
[William] Chiselden	Manton	50	
Sir Anthony Colly	[Glaston]		20
John Cony Esq.	[Whissendine]		10

Table 22, part 1. Rutland 1626 Privy Seal loan writs and Forced Loan subscriptions (BL Add MS 11291, ff23 & 143).

Nicholas Crisp	Seaton	60	10
Paul Ambrose Crooke Esq.	[Cottesmore]		10
Gervase Day Jun.	Burley		10
Edward Dent	Belton		10
James Digby	[North Luffenham]		10
Laurence Farmer	Uppingham	50	10
Everard Faulkner	Uppingham	100	10
Lyon Faulkner	Uppingham	50	10
Roger Fowler	[Hambleton]	50	
William Fynne	Hambleton		10
William Gibson	Barleythorpe	100	20
Gabriel Gibson	Oakham		10
Richard Halford Esq	[Edith Weston]	60	10
Sir Edward Harington	[Ridlington]		40
Robert Harrison	Lyddington		10
John Hickford Esq.	[Market Overton]		10
Robert Horseman Esq.	[Stretton]		10
Roger Hubbard	Oakham		10
Francis Hunt	Barrowden		10
Ann Hunt, widow	Lyndon		10
Isaac Johnson	[Clipsham]	60	10
Abraham Johnson Esq.	[South Luffenham]	50	
Margaret Lady Lee *	[Tixover]		10
Sir Henry Mackworth §	[Normanton]	100	20
George Marston	Belton		10
Sir Henry Mynn	[Whissendine]		20
John Osbourne Esq.	[Thorpe]	50	10
Sir Guy Palmes	[Ashwell]	200	50
[Francis] Rosse	Ashwell	50	10
Thomas Sharpe	Langham		10
Robert Tredway	[Ketton]	50	10
Richard Wilcocks	Braunston		10
Robert Wilcocks	Whissendine		10
Edward Wilcocks	Whissendine		10
John Wingfield	[Tickencote]	100	10
Edmund Wright	Uppingham	100	10
Edward Wymarke	[North Luffenham]	200	20
Collector: Sir William Bulstrode		[1880]	640

* March 1625 subsidy: Sir Francis Lee. Lady Margaret was his widow.

§ Writ: Sir Henry Mackworth; subscription: Sir Thomas Mackworth;
subsidies: March 1625, Sir Thomas Mackworth; August 1625, Sir Henry Mackworth.
Supplementary detail shown in [brackets] derives from other contemporary sources.

Table 22, part 2. Rutland 1626 Privy Seal loan writs and Forced Loan subscriptions (BL Add MS 11291, ff23 & 143).

The financial success of the Forced Loan must be contrasted with its political damage, which raised issues about the scope of the royal prerogative and the future role of Parliament. The Council was aware of these issues and while browbeating non-subscribers, it avoided any public test of the loan's legality by not allowing any gentry refusers to come to trial, although over a hundred leading gentry were imprisoned for refusing to pay. In October 1627 the king overturned this strategy and ordered the judges to hear the petition from five imprisoned knights. Charles took the precaution of interviewing the judges and letting them know that he expected a favourable decision. While the judges did rule against the five



Fig. 24. A tangible benefit of the ship tax, the royal flagship *Sovereign of the Seas*. She was a physical embodiment of Charles I's national ambition, but the navy supported Parliament during the Civil War (National Maritime Museum).

knights, it was only on technical grounds of their imprisonment: they were silent on the legality of the loan. The public outcry over the trial was compounded when on the King's orders the Attorney General (Sir Robert Heath, the father of Edward Heath of Cottesmore) unsuccessfully attempted to tamper with the official record. Unfortunately for the King, however, the financial success of the Forced Loan was frittered away by Buckingham's military failures (Cust 2007, 65, 67; Jurkowski et al 1998, 183).

Ship Money

Traditionally this tax had been levied on maritime counties. A proposal to extend it to the whole country had been originally been raised in 1603. In February 1628 the Council sent letters to all county sheriffs, but four days later a proclamation was issued abandoning the scheme, as a new Parliament had been called (Jurkowski et al 1998, 185). This new Parliament sat from March 1628 to March 1629, when it was dissolved against a background of disagreement about royal flouting of the Petition of Right, taxation and religion together with the imprisonment of those the King viewed as the ringleaders of the recalcitrant MPs. There would be no further Parliaments until 1640, with Charles governing in his period of personal rule. The adoption of this policy brought with it the need for a reduction of expenditure, principally the need for peace. However, after a few years Charles's sense of personal honour brought a desire to bolster England's reputation abroad through a strong navy (Braddick 2000, 209-11). The first Ship Money writs to finance this expansion were issued in 1634 to the maritime counties, but were followed in successive years until 1640 by further writs to the whole country. In each case the writ was issued to the Sheriff, who was made personally responsible for its collection. Nationally this tax was worth almost four subsidies, the revenue from which only collapsed to 20 per cent of that demanded under the pressure of the Bishops' Wars.

Although Ship Money had been declared valid by judges, its imposition was highly contentious. The royalist Earl of Clarendon (1888, I, 87) commented on the judgement: 'upon such grounds and reasons as every stander-by was able to swear was not law'. The first Rutland Ship Money writ, of September 1635, was for £1,000 and directed to the Sheriff, Sir Francis Bodenham. He in turn divided it amongst the towns

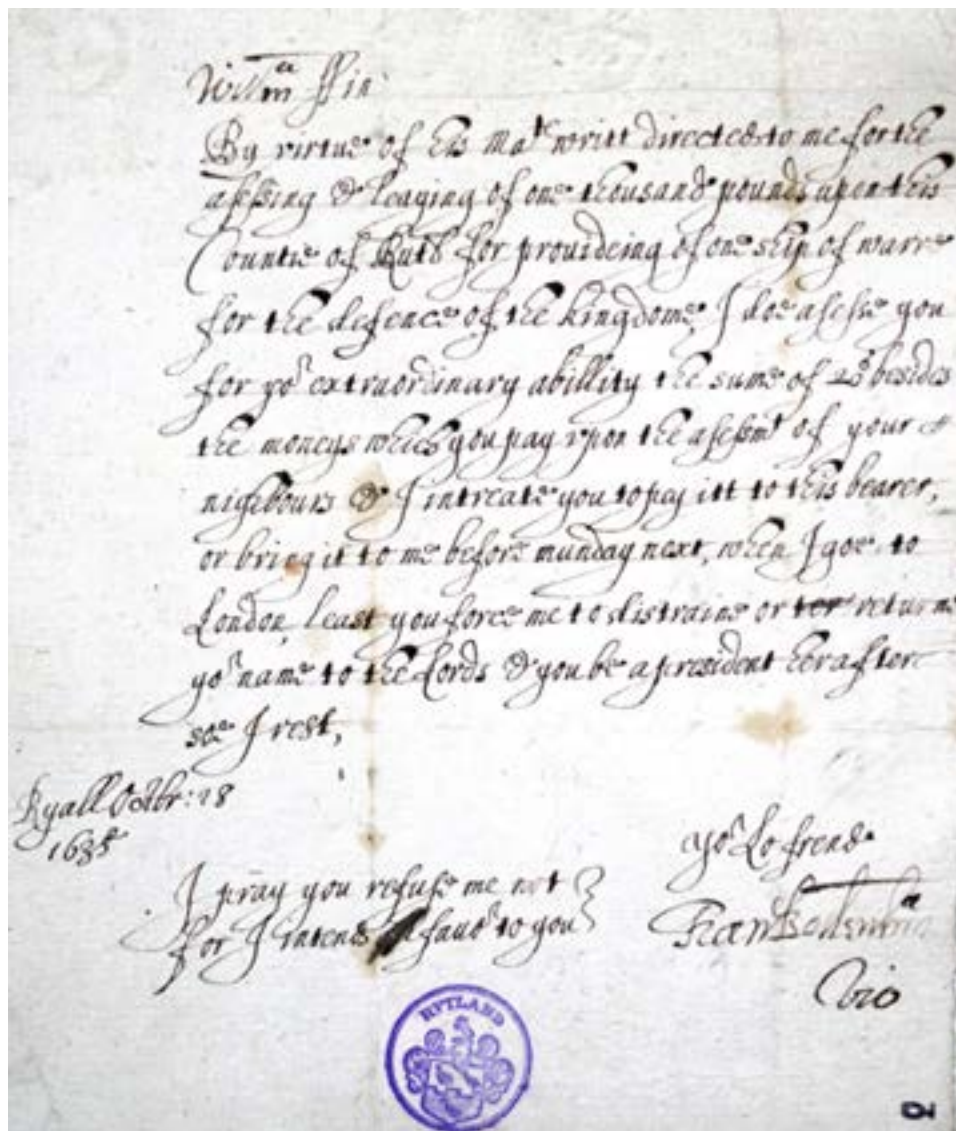


Fig. 25. William Finn's 1635 Ship Tax demand from Sheriff Francis Bodenham requiring an extra 20 shillings due to his 'extraordinary ability' (wealth), over what he had paid as part of his parishes contribution (ROLLR DE730/3/31).

and delegated collection to the High Constables of each hundred, 'requiring all petty constables and churchwardens to assist you herein'. Rectories and vicarages were also to be included. They were assessed at 'the tenth part of the tax assessed upon the town, but if they retain not a full tenth then you are to abate them accordingly'. Also assessed were 'those with great banks of money or personal estates I require you to assess them to their worth' (ROLLR DE730 Vol 3, f30). One such individual was William Fynne of Hambleton. Bodenham wrote to him, 'I do assess you for your extraordinary ability, the sum of 20s, besides the money which you pay upon the assessment of your neighbours, and I entreat you to pay it to this bearer, or bring it to me before Monday next, when I go to London, least you force me to distrain or return your name to the Lords [Privy Council] and you be a precedent hereafter ... I pray you refuse me not for I intend [all] favour to you' (HMC Barker, 402, no 21) (fig. 25). With such threats, £997 was raised by the end of the following month (TNA SP16/300, f175). The first Ship Money was almost six times the value of a Rutland subsidy, but the subsequent writs, of 1636 and 1637, reduced the county total to £800, closer to the four-subsidy national average. In 1638 the demand was reduced further to £350, but raised the following year back to £800 (Gordon 1910, 160). These successive payments met increased resistance. Sir Edward Harington, in charge of the 1636 collection, reported that there were 'some few towns wherein some particular persons obstinately refused to pay (as they pretended out of a matter of conscience), and so not only hinder the towns wherein they live but encourage other to do the like'. He responded to such

challenge by distraint of the defaulter's goods and 'punishing the chief of them that have good personal estates by raising their assessments' (CSPD 1636–37, 499). One such person was Samuel Waterfall of Belmesthorpe who was distrained of 'sufficient goods or corn ... to cover the 20s of ship money he has neglected to pay' (HMC Barker, 402, no 25). However, Harington wearied of the task: 'The trouble he has been put to has been such that were it not His Majesty's command, no profit or reward could draw him to

	1635			1636			1638		
	TNA SP16/300, f175			TNA SP16/356, f81			ROLLR DE730 Vol 3, f39		
Alstoe Hundred									
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Ashwell	17	0	0	14	7	5	8	0	0
Barrow	13	0	0	8	4	0	3	10	0
Burley	27	0	0	21	14	6	10	10	0
Cottesmore and Wenton	22	0	0	17	0	0	8	0	0
Exton and Horn	20	0	0	16	0	0	8	0	0
Greetham	19	0	0	13	0	0	6	0	0
Market Overton	18	0	0	14	10	0	7	0	0
Stretton	17	0	0	13	10	0	6	0	0
Teigh	16	0	0	12	4	0	6	0	0
Thistleton	10	0	0	8	0	0	3	5	0
Whissendine	52	0	0	39	16	6	18	10	0
Whitwell	9	0	0	6	15	0	3	10	0
	240	0	0	[185	1	5]	88	5	0
East Hundred									
Casterton Magna and Woodhead	14	0	0	10	4	6	4	16	0
Casterton Parva and Toilethorpe	12	0	0	9	0	0	4	10	0
Empingham	16	10	0	14	0	0	7	0	0
Essendine	8	0	0	6	0	0	3	5	0
Hardwick	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	10	0
Ketton	30	0	0	23	0	0	10	10	0
Pickworth	16	0	0	12	3	6	6	10	0
Ryhall and Belmesthorpe	16	0	0	12	0	0	6	0	0
Tickencote	10	0	0	6	10	0	3	10	0
Tinwell and Ingthorpe	17	0	0	12	0	0	5	14	0
Woolfox	4	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0
	143	10	0	[107	18	0]	56	5	0
Martinsley Hundred									
Ayston	11	0	0	8	4	6	3	15	0
Edith Weston	23	10	0	19	5	0	8	15	0
Hambleton & Little Hambleton	30	10	0	23	5	6	10	10	0
Lyndon	19	0	0	16	9	0	7	10	0
Manton	24	0	0	19	0	0	8	15	0
Martinsthorpe	12	10	0	10	0	0	5	0	0
Normanton	7	0	0	4	5	0	2	8	0
Preston	22	10	0	18	1	0	8	15	0
Preston Leys & Preston under wood	–	–	–	0	18	0	0	8	0
Ridlington	17	0	0	9	9	9	5	12	0
Uppingham	25	0	0	19	3	6	9	0	0
Wing	25	0	0	19	5	0	8	15	0
	217	0	0	[167	6	3]	79	3	0

Table 23, part 1. Rutland assessments for the Ship Money in 1635, 1636 and 1638.

Oakham Soke									
Barleythorpe and Westminster Fee	13	10	0	9	13	6	4	10	0
Belton	21	10	0	13	0	0	6	5	0
Braunston	23	0	0	17	5	0	8	0	0
Brooke	13	0	0	11	10	0	5	5	0
Clipsham	14	0	0	12	1	2	5	10	0
Eggleton	12	0	0	8	4	0	3	15	0
Gunthorpe	8	0	0	5	0	0	2	10	0
Langham	19	0	0	19	8	0	10	0	0
Oakham	20	10	0	14	8	0	7	0	0
Wardley	10	0	0	7	5	0	3	10	0
Flyteris Park	–	–	–	1	18	0	1	0	0
The manor of Leigh and forest lands	15	0	0	13	0	0	7	0	0
	169	10	0	[132	12	8]	64	5	0
Wrangdike Hundred									
Barrowden	20	0	0	16	16	0	7	15	0
Bisbrooke	15	0	0	11	8	0	5	5	0
Caldecott	20	0	0	14	5	0	6	10	0
Glaston	18	0	0	14	10	0	7	0	0
Lyddington	25	0	0	19	0	0	8	15	0
Morcott	19	10	0	15	0	0	7	0	0
North Luffenham	23	10	0	18	12	0	8	10	0
Pilton	7	10	0	5	0	0	2	8	0
Seaton	20	10	0	17	0	0	8	15	0
South Luffenham	19	10	0	15	0	0	7	0	0
Stoke Dry	17	0	0	16	4	0	7	0	0
Thorpe	11	10	0	8	14	0	4	0	0
Tixover	10	0	0	7	0	0	3	5	0
	227	0	0	[171	9	0]	83	3	0
Grand Total	997	0	0	[764	7	4]	371	1	0

Table 23, part 2. Rutland assessments for the Ship Money in 1635, 1636 and 1638.

adventure upon the like business again' (CSPD 1636–37, 530). As a result of his trouble he was able to return £764, but not until May 1637, though he was receipted for £800 – the difference may have been costs (CSPD 1637, 70). Similar foot dragging was seen in the rest of the country, which increased further with subsequent annual calls. In April 1639 the Privy Council wrote to sheriffs complaining of 'the slow coming in of ship money this year' (Sharpe 1992, 587; ROLLR DE730 Vol 3, f37). By 1640, there was more serious resistance: one unnamed Rutland hundred was described as 'most obstinate' (CSPD 1640, 638). The schedules that accompanied the 1635, 1636 and 1638 assessments are shown in Table 23.

Beyond the principle of whether payment should be made was how payments were to be assessed. When issuing writs to the inland counties the Council provided full directions. The sheriffs were to subdivide the assessment among the hundreds and were authorised to send warrants to the constables of the hundreds to summon men from each parish, usually petty constables. Although constables were to be made use of, it was clearly implied that the responsibility for the whole assessment rested on the sheriff. Their guidance on the methods to be used in the parishes was 'as is accustomed in other common payments which fall out to be payable by the county Hundreths'. Given these requirements it is not surprising that a comparison of the percentage breakdown of the Ship Money by hundred shows a similar pattern to the county rates, rather than those taxes that were based on named individuals, such as subsidies or the Forced Loan, since county rates, like purveyance, were based on an assessment for each town (Table 24).

Hundred	County Rates 1609–39	Ship Money 1635	Ship Money 1636	Ship Money 1638	Purveyance 1639	Subsidy December 1628
Alstoe	24.3%	24.1%	24.2%	23.8%	27.2%	28.8%
East	15.2%	14.4%	14.1%	15.2%	10.8%	12.9%
Martinsley	19.8%	21.8%	21.9%	21.3%	21.8%	20.0%
Oakham	16.3%	17.0%	17.3%	17.3%	20.6%	13.8%
Wrangdike	24.3%	22.8%	22.4%	22.4%	16.3%	24.5%
Forest	–	–	–	–	3.4%	–
County Total	£44.2	£997	£764	£371	£177	£171

Table 24 – Percentage by hundred of various Rutland tax assessments.

The 1635 assessment was accompanied by numerous complaints about the methods employed by some sheriffs. Consequently in later writs the Council inserted a clause for them ‘to have a more than ordinary care and regard whereby to prevent complaints of inequality’ (Gordon 1910, 147). As sheriff in June 1636 Sir Edward Harington took care to try to implement these requirements, writing to Rutland’s officials and chief taxpayers urging them to hold meetings and take steps for a more equal assessment of the county. However, the following January he wrote: ‘I am informed of much partiality used by the constables and churchwardens of Uppingham in their assessments of the inhabitants’, and required the High Constables of Martinsley hundred to ‘call the said constables and churchwardens before you, and after the hearing of the just complaints of all such as shall seem aggrieved with inequality of the said taxation, to settle all things in a just and equal way’ (*HMC Barker*, 402, no 24).

What is clear from these examples is that while the general approach to assessing Ship Money seems to have been around that of the county rate, how each parish came to its allotment was left to the parish officials. However, lists of who paid what must have been available, as indicated by the case of William Fynne noted above who was assessed by the sheriff for an extra 20s above that assigned by his neighbours, because of his ‘extraordinary ability [wealth]’ (*HMC Barker*, 402, no 21). Not only did the new tax create disputes between members of the same parish, but also between parishes. The county rates had remained unchanged since 1609, and many enclosures had taken place in the meantime, altering values and rentals. The question therefore arose as to whether enclosed and unenclosed towns should contribute equally. Such questions had also arisen over the rating of purveyance: Edward Harington wrote in 1636, ‘Whereas we have formerly desired you to take upon yourselves the rating of all the towns and parishes in this county of Rutland where any grounds have been taken in and enclosed since the making of the last rates ... whereof we consider to be very necessary that the burden of this service [purveyance] might be borne of all without partiality and equality’ (ROLLR DE730 Vol 3, f32). Such concerns were so substantial that with Ship Money a legal opinion was sought, which is set out below (BL Eg 2986, ff391, 392):

Mr Presgrave’s reasons why it is fitting the towns not inclosed should contribute equally with the inclosed towards shipping money and other payments

1. *It is true the provision is now paid in sheep which are fed in pastures, therefore they ought more largely to contribute than the open fields, but if a composition had not been made the king might have taken his benefit of [purveyance] in the market as well of corn as cattle and for the open fields should have been equal in charge with the pasture, but admit the compositor had been for corn, as it is in divers countries would it not then have been thought fitting that the pastures should have contributed in a large measure. Therefore let us observe the rule of equity to do to another as we would be done unto ourselves.*
2. *The profit of pasture ground is taken by the landlord not by the tenant who perhaps hath his grounds in lease at a very dear rent, will you by great assessments as well rack him as his landlord doth.*
3. *Admit an inclosed town be 1500 acres and a town adjoining to it as good fayre every whit; yet uninclosed and the content there of 5000 acres yet the surveyors trusted by the country layeth these 1500 acres because inclosed*

more towards provision then that of 5000 acres will you therefore have all payments to be proportioned alike to the provision when the reason of assessing so high was merely for serving the King in his individio and not otherwise.

4. *All payments are to be made according to the wealth and ability of the inhabitants of every town; In open fields lesser rents are paid than in inclosed and greater profit made both by their courses [lands] and commons therefore there is greater reason why they should pay to all payments according to their estates.*
5. *There are some towns the greater part whereof is inclosed the rest in open fields, upon the view those inclosures are set at a high rate, and the open fields more moderate; when the Sheriff comes to make his assessment for ship money he goes according to the provision set upon the whole town, then the town in rating any particular man goes by the yardlands, so those in the open fields shall have greater and more grievous rate set upon them than ever they had before and they have no other remedy than to ply to the Sheriff for succour, and then he must be enforced to tax every man whose estate he knoweth not, which will breed trouble and a confusion of business to the Sheriff.*
6. *To assess and rate the ship money by the provision is an innovation which is altogether misliked and as it was formerly assessed it was well paid which argued that the country was well contented with the rates formerly laid upon the town.*

The exercise of the Crown's prerogative powers was a major cause of friction between the Crown and its subjects. While some prerogative taxes, such as purveyance, had a long and settled tradition, others imposed by Charles such as the Forced Loan and extension of Ship Money to the inland counties were much more contentious. It is clear from the comments of the Commissioners and Sheriffs charged with the tasks of raising the Forced Loan and Ship Money in Rutland that they were not easy matters. The use of the Forced Loan to fund unsuccessful military adventures by the Duke of Buckingham further stoked resentment. Similarly, Ship Money, although used entirely for the fleet, politically created questions about arbitrary impositions and exacerbated frustration about the absence of Parliament. Despite Charles championing the Navy, it supported Parliament during the Civil War, and its later success against both Spain and Holland during the Commonwealth has been attributed to its expansion during his reign (Sharpe 1992, 598). Once the Long Parliament was called in 1640 and protected from dissolution, Ship Money was soon abolished.

Conclusion

Status and wealth brought an expectation, from both the individual and the community, of participation in local government. The small size of Rutland ensured that most of the county's prominent families were involved as Deputy Lieutenants, Sheriffs, JPs, or Commissioners responsible for raising taxes such as subsidies or the Forced Loan. Those members of the county community who were JPs had the major role in ensuring that the law was applied equitably, particularly the poor law, adjudicating in disputes between parishes and supervising the activities of the parish officials. The 'better sort' of villagers served as those officials. Additionally, JPs were expected to implement and enforce government policy, monitoring the population for sedition and conformity to the Church of England. They were also responsible for responding to local emergencies, such as the 1642 outbreak of plague in Oakham.

The Rutland JPs appear to have been divided into two benches, one at Oakham, serving Alstoe, East and Oakham hundreds, and the other at Uppingham, serving Martinsley and Wrangdike hundreds. Probably because of its size, in the first half of the seventeenth century Rutland had an unusually high number of JPs compared to other counties. They were well organised, already ahead of the standards set by the government when it issued its Book of Orders. Without any local bureaucracy of its own, the Crown was almost totally dependent on the goodwill of the county community for the maintenance of peace and raising of revenues. A breakdown of the partnership and trust between the county communities and the Crown was a major contributing factor to the Civil War. Unfortunately Rutland suffers from a lack of documents relating to the actions of its JPs and parish officials in the seventeenth century. The earliest quarter session record is for 1747. The presence therefore in Sir Edward Heath's papers of several examinations he undertook as a JP, together with details of disputes between parishes that the Rutland bench had to adjudicate upon, helps to fill a major gap in the county's history and brings to life the personal circumstances of its people (*see* Appendix 3).

In parallel with the civil power of JPs, the county had its own military body, the trained band, which consisted of both foot and cavalry units. The armed forces nationally had been allowed to deteriorate during the long peace that followed James I's accession. In 1614, following his appointment to the jointly-held Lieutenancy of Leicestershire and Rutland, the Earl of Huntingdon jolted his trained bands out of their torpor, ordering musters to identify and rectify defects in personnel, arms and equipment. By the 1620s, Huntingdon was being praised for the standard of his forces. However, the cost of this upgrade in weapons, equipment and training was high and paid for by the local community. Military costs increased further when the government required professional instructors for the trained band and local men for service in Europe. A progressive decrease in enthusiasm for military adventures can be seen through a decline in the social status of Rutland recruits. While volunteers made themselves available for the first call, subsequent calls required impressment. Similarly, although a high proportion of husbandmen were listed in the initial impressments in the 1620s, those pressed for the Bishops' Wars against the Scots were mainly labourers. The county munitions held in the Oakham magazine, unlike those of nearby counties, were left undisturbed during the first months of the Civil War, probably through the town being quarantined by the outbreak of plague there in 1642. Also, the trained band's weapons were not easily accessible, having been dispersed amongst the parishes. All changed following the royalist capture of Belvoir Castle, early in 1643, which prompted parliamentary forces to march into Rutland, remove the magazine, disarm local royalists and garrison first Rockingham Castle and then Burley House. Study of the muster lists of the Burley garrison indicates a high turnover of its troops and possibly a low level of

local recruitment. The return of peace saw the re-establishment of local militia units under the Commonwealth, but these were now designed for policing actions. This policy seems to have been continued with the Restoration.

Taxation in the early seventeenth century fell into three broad areas, those approved by Parliament, those based on the prerogative powers of the Crown, and those sanctioned through common law. The existence in the Heath Papers of many documents relating to each of these areas of taxation together with Rutland's unusual nature enables comparisons to be made that would otherwise be very difficult. Neither of Rutland's towns was chartered and they were governed in the same manner as all other parishes in the county. Like them their wealth primarily came from agriculture. Apart from customs duties the most common form of periodic parliamentary taxation during the reigns of the Tudors and early Stuarts was subsidies. The unchanging criteria for subsidy tax thresholds together with a lack of attention from Elizabeth's councillors meant that the main concern of the commissioners charged with raising subsidies became maintenance of local equilibrium. This steady state avoided questions from the Exchequer and maintained local equilibrium. A consequence of this policy and the high inflation of the Tudor period was that by the Stuart period assessments had become nominal. However, the stability of the thresholds and tax rates means that meaningful comparisons can be made. Those for the Stuart period have revealed a progressive drop in the number of goods subsidy payers in Rutland, one that appears most likely to reflect, and provide a marker for, a gradual loss of leases from the smaller farmers and a consolidation of leases into the hands of larger graziers. The smaller farmers were forced to fall back on limited family land holdings, with their subsidies changing from those on goods into those of land class payers. This metamorphosis changed the balance of contributions to the land assessment. Whereas at the beginning of the seventeenth century major landowners provided the largest land subsidy contribution, by the time of the last subsidy assessment in 1664, it was the small threshold landowners who provided the dominant contribution.

Even allowing for periodic national taxes until the Civil War, the largest taxation demands on villagers were those associated with tithes, parish and county rates. The average level of tithe in Rutland was 15 per cent, much higher than the nominal tenth, with levels of 20 per cent not uncommon. These levels made the tithe the single largest charge on townships. Unusually, a contemporary breakdown of both the level of tithes and how they were sub-divided between impropriators, rectors and vicars survives for the county. While the right to tithe was upheld by common law, the right to set parish and county rates was sanctioned by statute, with each parish setting its own rates. The parish officials were monitored by the JPs who in turn answered to the Assize. The poor rate was the most significant of the various statutory parish charges, as the levels of the population receiving poor relief could be high, particularly at times of bad harvest and high prices. At times of emergency, such as the outbreak of plague in Oakham, JPs were also permitted to impose charges on their community to ameliorate the situation of the affected inhabitants. However, the ever-parochial approach of people is clearly illustrated by the refusal of more distant parts of the county, until forcibly required, to contribute to the relief of their stricken fellow county folk.

One of the first major tasks of what came to be known as the Long Parliament in 1640 was funding the removal of the Scots army encamped in the north of England followed by the disbandment of the English army raised against them. This prompted a flurry of tax measures that included both subsidies and a poll tax, the latter charging individuals according to status. However, the 1641 rebellion in Ireland prompted a new tax, specifically to raise £400,000 nationally. This new tax corrected many of the problems associated with subsidies. Each county was given an allocated proportion of the total, which local commissioners divided between its hundreds and parishes. While subsidies were levied only on a limited number of subsidy men, the new tax required the parishes to raise the money from all those generating wealth from its land, including the nobility and clergy. This process is clearly seen in the surviving working papers for this tax for three of the county's five hundreds. Most of the detail contained in these papers was heavily edited before being sent as summaries to the Exchequer. At the county level the new tax used a revaluation of rental values for each parish which had been introduced the previous year to determine

Rutland's county rate. Analysis of these values has shown that they were consistent with what is known about the county's variation in land productivity and the progress of enclosure. The county's JPs were sufficiently confident of the accuracy of the new valuations to use them for a revision of the county rate. Similarly, the valuation was later used by the Parliamentary forces as the basis for their weekly tax system. With the Restoration, like so much else the parliamentary taxation regime was reversed, with a return to that of pre-Civil War times, with subsidies and even a poll tax. However, it was quickly recognised that more sustainable methods of raising tax were required, and the Hearth Tax was introduced in May 1662. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, a long-term solution to taxation was devised, the Land Tax, which was to survive until 1963. The genesis of the Land Tax emanated from the principles established for the tax to raise £400,000.

The exercise of the Crown's prerogative powers was a major cause of friction between the Crown and its subjects. Both Charles I and his father saw these powers as their God-given rights and any challenge as an attack on the monarchy. In contrast Parliament saw the use of these powers to raise money as a challenge to its right to grant taxes. Purveyance, like tithe, was based on an 'in kind' system, but by the seventeenth century Rutland's purveyance had been compounded. This allowed a money alternative, based on market prices, although the processes of enclosure that were simultaneously taking place created valuation disputes between parishes. While some prerogative taxes such as purveyance had a long and settled tradition, others imposed by Charles such as the Forced Loan and extension of Ship Money to the inland counties were much more contentious, even if Rutland complied by raising the money demanded, or at least much of it. The Long Parliament abolished Ship Money, but purveyance and other feudal charges were only surrendered by the Crown at the Restoration.

Thanks largely to the survival of Sir Edward Heath's papers it has been possible to provide a detailed reconstruction of the local administration and governance of Rutland in the early Stuart period, one that not only looks at the county in terms of assessments and valuations, but also provides glimpses of the lives of individuals caught up by military demands and the tentacles of the poor and criminal laws.

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Abbreviations

BL Add	British Library Manuscripts Additional Collection.
BL Eg	British Library Manuscripts Egerton Collection.
Cal Comp	<i>Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, &c, 1643–1660</i> (London 1889).
Char Rut	<i>Report of the Commissioners for Charities and Education of the Poor in England and Wales, Rutland</i> (London 1839).
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series.</i>
Hast	Hastings Manuscripts, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
HCJ	<i>Journal of the House of Commons.</i>
HLJ	<i>Journal of the House of Lords.</i>
HMC Barker	Jeaffreson, J C, <i>The MSS of the Rev Edmund Field: Letter book and papers of Sir Abel Barker</i> , in Historical Manuscripts Commission, 5th Report, Appendix, 387–404 (London 1876). NB – These MSS are now in ROLLR under the accession no DE700.
HMC Portland	<i>The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland</i> , Historical Manuscripts Commission, 13th Report, Appendix, pt 1 (London 1891).
Illinois	University of Illinois, Sir Robert Heath papers 1614–1699.
NRO	Northamptonshire Record Office
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Oxford / online 2004).
ROLLR	Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland.
SBPT	Shakespeare Birth Place Trust, Stratford-upon-Avon.
TNA	The National Archive, Kew, London.
VCH	<i>Victoria County History.</i>

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Appendix 1

Royal, Church and Local Government Institutions and Officials

Royal Government, Courts and Officials

High Court of Parliament

The two houses of Parliament, Commons and Lords, enacted legislation that with the monarch's approval became statute law. In addition, Parliament was a recipient of petitions for redress of grievance and the Lords of petitions relating to decisions of the common law courts and court of equity. The Lords also heard impeachment cases. The Commons comprised Members of Parliament, MPs, who represented either their county (Knights of the Shire), or cities and towns whose charters provided them with that right. The Lords were composed solely of peers of the realm, their sons who often bore courtesy titles being excluded. For example, Henry Earl of Stamford sat in the Lords, but his son, Thomas Lord Grey of Groby, sat in the Commons. County MPs were elected by qualified freeholders, and the arrangements for election of representatives from cities and towns varied from place to place.

The Privy Council

Originally an advisory council to the King, by the reign of Charles I the Council's role had evolved to reach its peak as an instrument of royal administration. As an adjunct the Council's judicial role had also grown through the inclusion of privy councillors as members of the Court of the Star Chamber. Charles regularly attended meetings of the Council and directed decision-making on many important issues, though the Council would also deal with matters independently. In the absence of Parliament, the Privy Council became the forum for issuing royal proclamations and enforcing law and order. The centralising of government in the period of 'Personal Rule' saw an increased involvement of the Council in local affairs and a corresponding engagement with Justices of the Peace. The Long Parliament's abolition of the Star Chamber saw the decline in the enforcement power of the Privy Council and post-Restoration membership became increasingly honorary.

The Exchequer

A department of the Crown that, until the nineteenth century, was responsible for the management and collection of taxation, revenues and audits of sheriffs' returns. Receipts for money received were provided by its officials, often the Clerk of the Pipe.

The Board of Green Cloth

A board of officials belonging to the royal household that amongst other duties supervised purveyance, a method of supplying the household with subsidised victuals. In the earlier seventeenth century, purveyance was worth about £40,000 per year to the crown. Purveyance and other feudal charges were abolished shortly after the Restoration, but the Board of Green Cloth survived until the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The Court of Star Chamber

The Star Chamber was composed of Privy Councillors and common-law judges and supplemented the judicial activities of the common-law and equity courts in civil and criminal matters. It was established to ensure the fair enforcement of laws against socially and politically prominent people so powerful that ordinary courts would likely hesitate to convict them of crimes. Over time, the Star Chamber evolved into a political weapon and was used to enforce Charles's royal proclamations during his period of personal rule. Opposition to the Star Chamber came from the gentry and common law practitioners concerned about the secrecy of its proceedings and arbitrary sentencing powers. The Star Chamber was dissolved by Act of Parliament in 1641.

The Court of King's Bench

The Court of King's Bench was the most senior criminal court in England, exercising supervisory jurisdiction over all inferior criminal courts.

The Court of Chancery

The Chancery had jurisdiction over all matters of equity, including trusts, land law, the administration of the estates of lunatics and the guardianship of infants. The Court was led by the Lord Chancellor, assisted by the judges of the common law courts. The staff of the court included a large number of clerks, led by the Master of the Rolls, who regularly heard cases on his own. Offices of the Chancery were sold by the Lord Chancellor for much of its history, raising large amounts of money. Many of the clerks and other officials were sinecures who, in lieu of wages, charged exorbitant fees to process cases. The Court was severely criticised for its slow pace, large backlogs and high costs, which persisted until its dissolution in the nineteenth century.

The Court of Common Pleas

The Court of Common Pleas was the primary court of common law, dealing with civil matters between subjects. It was dissolved in the nineteenth century.

The Exchequer of Pleas

The Exchequer of Pleas tried actions against Exchequer officials and actions by the monarch against non-paying debtors. It also had a common law jurisdiction that overlapped with that of the Court of Common Pleas. It was dissolved in the nineteenth century.

The Courts of Assize

Courts of Assize were periodic courts that exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction, though most of their work was criminal. The assizes heard the most serious cases, which were committed there by the quarter sessions. Justices of the Court of King's Bench, Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, and Barons of the Exchequer of Pleas travelled around the country on five commissions, upon which their jurisdiction depended. The Midland Circuit consisted of Northamptonshire, Rutland, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Warwickshire, which were generally attended in that order. They were abolished together with the quarter sessions in 1772 and replaced with a permanent Crown Court. The centuries-old tradition of such courts in Rutland being held in the Great Hall of Oakham Castle is currently still maintained with the symbolic holding of a Crown Court every other year.

The Escheator

A paid royal officer who on the death of a feudal tenant-in-chief holding land in the counties for which he was responsible conducted an *inquisition post mortem* which identified the size and location of the holdings, the rents and services. It also gave the name and age of the deceased and of his heir. Where there was no heir the Escheator took possession of property on behalf of the Crown. A property could also escheat through conviction and execution for felony, the felon's heirs being precluded from inheritance. Escheat did not apply to treason as the property in that case was forfeited to the Crown.

The Feodary

A paid officer of the Court of Wards appointed to receive the rents from the property of the Wards. The Court of Wards had been established in 1540 to assume responsibility of orphaned heirs to tenants-in-chief until they came of age, including administering their upbringing and estates.

The Receiver

A paid officer of the Exchequer who administered and received the revenue of crown lands as well as the jointures of the seventeenth-century queens consort. These included Anne of Denmark, Henrietta Maria and Catherine of Braganza. For this purpose, Northamptonshire and Rutland were combined.

The Church

Hierarchy

Following the Reformation, the monarch became the supreme governor of the Church of England. The clergy were divided between the two historic Archbishoprics of Canterbury and York, with below them the bishops, whose dioceses were divided into archdeaconries and rural deaneries and then further sub-divided into parishes. The cathedrals were each ruled by a Dean and Chapter. Bishops and cathedral clergy could also own manorial or tithe rights. Rutland was in the diocese of Lincoln until 1541 when it became part of the newly formed diocese of Peterborough.

The Court of High Commission

The Court of High Commission was the supreme ecclesiastical court. One of its powers was to license plays for publication. The court was convened at will by the sovereign and had almost unlimited power over civil as well as church matters. The Court of High Commission was dissolved by Act of Parliament in 1641.

The Church Courts

Archbishops, bishops and archdeacons had their own courts, known as consistory courts. Some cathedral clergy through manorial or tithe rights also could hold courts known as peculiars. Church courts adjudicated in cases of clerical discipline and matters relating to the sacraments, such as the baptism of children and marriage. Other areas under their jurisdiction included the licensing of teachers and physicians, inheritance (through probate of wills), witchcraft, usury and morals. The latter provided a wide range of targets: fornication, adultery, incest, illegitimacy, defamation, unseemly behaviour in church, working and rowdy drinking on Sunday, etc. Such actions formed a large portion of the Rutland archdeaconry cases reported in the extensive notes compiled by Archdeacon E A Irons (2016). Abolished during the Commonwealth, church courts returned with the Restoration. However, their power steadily declined to mainly matters concerning probate and matrimonial issues. Administrative reform in the nineteenth century saw those powers transferred to the civil courts, but the diocesan consistory courts still retain responsibility relating to the clergy and consecrated land and buildings, including the grant of faculties.

County Officers – Royal Appointees

The Lord Lieutenant

At the head of each county was the Lord Lieutenant who was appointed by the monarch as their representative. Traditionally, he was also a JP. The Earl of Huntingdon's Lieutenancy Commission for Leicestershire and Rutland makes clear that all other local officials deferred to him. He was given express power over justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, headboroughs (an alternative name for constables) and all other officers, ministers and subjects. In addition, he was to levy, gather and call together 'the militia men to ensure their readiness to resist, repress and subdue, stay, kill and put to execution of death all enemies, traitors and rebels' (Cogswell 1998, 21). In practice, the Privy Council kept a watch on local matters, and many local officials, such as the sheriff and justices, would report on specific matters direct to that body rather than working through the Lord Lieutenant. In Rutland, for example, the correspondence on raising ship money was between the sheriff and the Privy Council. The Council also wrote directly to Rutland justices at times of bad harvest, reminding them of their duty under the Poor Laws to provide corn for the poor. However, only the Lord Lieutenant and his deputies had authority over the militia.

The Sheriff

This unpaid office was of ancient origin. By the seventeenth century many of the Sheriff's original responsibilities had been transferred to other officials, such as Justices of the Peace and the Lieutenancy. However, they were still responsible for collection of taxes, including any shortfall, unless as happened with Parliamentary subsidies specific commissioners were nominated. They were also responsible for collection of fines and forfeiture ordered by the Quarter Sessions and the Assize. Many of the administrative functions were undertaken by under-sheriffs and bailiffs appointed by the sheriff. The unpopularity of the tax and fine gathering activity, together with the high cost of the honour, meant that many men were reluctant candidates. Sheriffs were selected by being 'pricked', a process that involved the monarch piercing a document next to a list of candidate names. Given that the sheriff could not refuse the honour, 'pricking' was sometimes used to remove difficult personages from Parliament or other spheres back to their county for their year of office.

The Justices of the Peace

The unpaid Justices of the Peace were appointed by the sovereign, though in practice the Lord Chancellor or the Lord Keeper had the responsibility and could also dismiss them if required. The close association between England's local administration and Parliament was complemented by the JPs' major public function combined with a prominent but private status. Appointments usually followed advice or suggestions from Lords Lieutenant, established JPs, Justices of the Assize, personal friends and men of influence. An individual justice was empowered to conduct the preliminary examination of suspects and witnesses in cases of felony, take recognisances, commit suspected felons to prison, and bind over the unruly to be of good behaviour. He was to

stop affrays, conserve rivers, and enquire into apprenticeship disputes and differences between master and servant; he could also take steps to suppress vagabonds, rogues, nightwalkers, nocturnal hunters in masks, and players of unlawful games; as well as binding over soldiers who had sold their weapons.

The responsibilities of the JPs were wide. They conducted arraignments in all criminal cases, and tried misdemeanours and infractions of local ordinances and by-laws. They also had many other duties, including the administration of the Poor Laws, maintenance of highways and bridges, enforcement of weights and measures and licensing of alehouses. The JPs' authority was enforced through the Quarters Sessions, where two or more Justices of the Peace, presided over by a chairman, sat with a jury. The quarter sessions did not have jurisdiction to hear the most serious crimes, most notably those subject to capital punishment. Those crimes were sent for trial at the periodic assizes. The Petty Session Courts in which Justices of the Peace heard cases alone without a jury did not function until the eighteenth century.

The Coroner

In medieval times this paid royal official had the power to investigate, through a jury, a wide range of criminal acts. However, by the seventeenth century the remit had narrowed to inquests into deaths and treasure trove.

County Appointees

The Deputy Lieutenant

In the earlier seventeenth century the appointment and dismissal of deputies was the prerogative of the Lord Lieutenant. As Rutland was relatively remote from the Earl of Huntingdon's seats at Ashby and Donington Park in Leicestershire, during his Lieutenancy the presence of local deputies made for efficient practical administration.

The Custos Rotulorum

Latin for 'keeper of the rolls', by the late Stuart period this office was usually combined with that of Lord Lieutenant (Gleason 1969, 4). In practice, the rolls/records were held by the Clerk of the Peace who was appointed by the *Custos Rotulorum*.

The Clerk of the Peace (also known as Clerk to the Justices)

This was an official appointed by the *Custos Rotulorum*. The clerk of the peace received an income through fees, but as the appointment was often held by a relative or friend of the *Custos Rotulorum*, he usually appointed a solicitor to act as his deputy for a share of the fee. Acting as the Clerk to the Quarter Sessions they drew indictments, arraigned prisoners and entered judgments and awards. Clerks of the Peace also had administrative duties that followed the wider responsibilities of the Justices of the Peace: they kept a register of licences, ordered the repair of highways and bridges, levied county rates and administered county gaols. They were accountable to the King's Bench for their indictments.

The Bailiffs of Hundreds

Bailiffs were appointed by the sheriff and assisted the quarter sessions and assizes. They acted as process servers and executors of writs, assembled juries, and collected fines.

The High Constable

The high or chief constables were appointed by the quarter sessions and paid a fixed fee. They were responsible in a county hundred for suppressing riots and violent crimes and for arming the militia to enable them to do so. For these duties the petty constables were responsible to them. The high constable received a portion of the county rates for the maintenance of prisoners in the county gaol, known as rogue money.

The Petty Constable

Petty or parish constables were unpaid. Initially they were elected but by the mid seventeenth century were typically appointed by the Justices of the Peace. The constable had a wide variety of responsibilities including investigation of assault, theft and breaches of the peace, and maintenance of the village stocks, pillory, cage or lock-up, as well as the raising of 'hue and cry' whereby victims of, and witnesses to, crimes had to shout an alarm, and all who heard this were required to pursue the felon. Other duties embraced controlling vagabonds and intruders who had no right of settlement in the parish; whipping vagrants; securing prisoners and transporting them to quarter sessions or assizes; collecting county rates and national taxes; and compiling muster rolls and jury lists and supervising of alehouses. The position of constable was thus time-consuming and resented by many who had to take their turn.

The Muster Masters

Usually appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, the muster masters were responsible for training the militia (trained bands). Their salary was raised by a rate on the county. In the 1630s their efforts were supplemented by experienced sergeants imposed by the Privy Council but paid for by the county (Fissel 2001, 68).

The Parish Church and Manor

The Incumbent / Patron / Advowson

The right to appoint or recommend an incumbent (parish priest) is known as an advowson and the possessor of the right is the patron. If the patron was not the diocesan bishop, the patron's candidate also required the approval of the bishop. The incumbent, usually a rector or vicar, received the benefit of tithes and any glebe. A rector's income was usually sufficient for them to employ a curate to undertake many of the parish duties.

The Vestry

The Vestry, named after the habit of holding meetings in that room of the church, was a meeting of parishioners or their representatives to make the necessary decisions. The membership of Vestries varied; some were open with all inhabitants having the right to participate while others were closed with membership restricted by wealth, standing or tradition. Vestries were not established by law and had come into being through an ad-hoc process, but with the passing of the Tudor Poor Laws, their existence proved convenient. Often chaired by the incumbent, the Vestry became responsible for the business affairs of the parish: collecting local rates or taxes, care of the poor and the highways, and the appointment of parish officials such as the parish clerk and sexton. The churchwardens were senior members of the Vestry.

The Churchwardens

Normally two in number, the unpaid lay churchwardens were elected annually by the minister and/or parishioners. They could present persons acting against the ecclesiastical laws to the church courts and their duties included checking that parishioners attended church regularly and behaved themselves and ensuring that the minister performed his duties correctly, as well as responsibility for caring for the structure, fabric, furnishings and contents of the church and the churchyard. Other duties involved paying the parish clerk, and purchasing communion bread and wine, prayer candles and books. Churchwardens were empowered to levy a church rate that generally was based on the poor rate, the only difference being that whilst the impropiators of tithes were liable to poor rates, they did not pay church rates on their tithes.

The Overseers of the Poor

The position of Overseer of the Poor was created by the 1597 Elizabethan Poor Law that required the election of two in each parish. Overseers were often churchwardens, and they had several duties, to estimate how much poor relief money was needed and set the poor rate accordingly, collect the poor rate, distribute poor relief such as money, food and clothing, supervise the poorhouse, and apprentice poor children. These unpaid appointees worked under the supervision of the Justices of the Peace.

The Surveyors of Highways

These were parish officials elected each year by the parish who were responsible for the upkeep of those highways within the parish that ran to market towns. Surveyors could levy a parish rate or require the inhabitants to work for four days on the roads. Later in the seventeenth century an Act was passed that gave JPs the right to nominate the Surveyor, acceptance being compulsory.

The Manor Court

A manor could be part of or coterminous with a parish, or encompass more than one parish. The manor was governed by the Lord of the Manor. The authority of the Lord was exercised by the Manor Court, which usually consisted of his steward and a jury of local men. By the early seventeenth century, the manor court was responsible for regulating land transfers of copyhold land, for which an entry fine and annual rent could be payable. Copyhold tenancies ceased following an Act of 1925 that converted them into freeholds. In unenclosed villages the manor court was also responsible for creating and enforcing manor by-laws, managing the open field system and right of common. The manor court appointed its own officials, such as the pinder, who was responsible for gathering and holding stray or incorrectly pastured animals and subjecting the owners to a fine.

Appendix 2

An election for the Knights of the Shire at the County Court holden at the Castle of Oakham 2 July 1646 before John Osbourne Esq High Sheriff of the county

(ROLLR DE730 Vol 3, f56, here re-arranged into alphabetical order) (see fig. 5)

Note: The personal names in this Muster Roll are not included in the index of persons but are available online at www.rutlandhistory.org/governanceofrutland

Forename	Surname	Status	Voted For - Number indicates position in list of Voters					Total Votes
			Sir James Harington	Col Thomas Wayte	Christopher Brown	Evers Armin	John Halford	
John	Alcock		24	19				2
Francis	Allin		168	97				2
Henry	Allin		117			35		2
John	Allin		164	93				2
Kenelm	Allin		28	21				2
Laurence	Allin		200	123				2
Richard	Allin		169	98				2
Robert	Allin		167	96				2
Thomas	Allin		98	48				2
William	Allin		171	100				2
Robert	Archer			168		65		2
Daniel	Arden		25	20				2
John	Ashly		45			13		2
John	Ashton				75			1
Henry	Ashwell		156		54			2
Bartin	Atton		209	129				2
Robert	Atton		194		64			2
Thomas	Atton		143	77				2
Edward	Augar			61	47			2
Bryan	Austin		222	139				2
Bryan	Baker		18	14				2
Thomas	Bampton		37		8			2
Anthony	Barber		118		41			2
Henry	Barber				37			1
Robert	Barisse		173	104				2
Abel	Barker		133	67				2
John	Barker		107					1
Richard	Barker			154		56		2
Samuel	Barker			2			2	2
Robert	Barnard		90		34			2
Phillip	Barrow		22	17				2
George	Bayly			148			11	2
William	Bayly		80		23			2
William	Baynes		172	101				2
Arthur	Behoe		157			39		2
Augustus	Behoe		124			36		2
Edmund	Behoe		206			50		2
Remidge	Behoe		74			29		2
Michael	Bellamy		23	18				2
William	Bellamy		213	134				2
William	Bellars		162			42		2
Henry	Bennet			171		67		2
James	Billings			143			7	2
Robert	Blewitt		197	120				2
John	Booth		44	31				2
Francis	Boyall		205	125				2
William	Braunston			146			9	2
Matthew	Brewster			147			10	2

			Voted For - Number indicates position in list of Voters					
Forename	Surname	Status	Sir James Harington	Col Thomas Wayte	Christopher Brown	Evers Armin	John Halford	Total Votes
Boniface	Bridgeford		65			23		2
William	Bringhurst			32		16		2
William	Brire		163	92				2
Edward	Briscoe		136	70				2
Edward	Broughton		34			10		2
Humphrey	Brown		33	24				2
Thomas	Brown		154	87				2
Anthony	Bruxby		12	9				2
William	Bulliant		210	130				2
William	Bullimore		237	166				2
George	Bunning		126		48			2
John	Bunning		166	95				2
Thomas	Burneby		137	71				2
William	Burneby		152	85				2
Giles	Burton		208	128				2
Thomas	Burton		227	151				2
William	Burton			160	78			2
Geofrey	Bushby		238	169				2
William	Bushby			112			4	2
Edward	Canington		5	6				2
Henry	Canington		129		52			2
Henry	Canting		144	78				2
Anthony	Chisseldine		138	72				2
Edward	Chisseldine		139	73				2
Kenelm	Chisseldine			60	46			2
William	Chisseldine		148					1
John	Clarke		92					1
John	Claypool		86		30			2
Richard	Claypool		207			51		2
Zackary	Cliff		115			33		2
William	Clipsham		161			41		2
John	Cole		131	64				2
Richard	Coles		201			47		2
Valantine	Collins		178	106				2
George	Cook		40	29				2
John	Cook			155		57		2
Joseph	Cook		110		38			2
Simon	Cook		101	51				2
Thomas	Crampe		104	54				2
George	Culpin		66			24		2
John	Cummings		73		19			2
Francis	Daft		61			22		2
William	Dawson		97	47				2
Noel	Dracutt		203			49		2
Thomas	Dunmore		56			18		2
William	Dunmore		229	152	77			3
Laurence	East		27		6			2
Robert	Edmonds		4			4		2
Daniel	Emly				79	62		2
Stephen	Estwick		132			38		2
Michael	Exton		128		51			2
John	Fairchild		21	16				2
Rowland	Fairchild		91	42				2
Abraham	Falkner		234			63		2
Everard	Falkner			65		37		2
Everard	Falkner			66				1
John	Falkner		69			27		2
Kenelm	Falkner		147	81				2
Lyon	Falkner			3		3		2
Richard	Falkner		195	118				2
Everard	Falkner	Junior		5	1			2
Kenelm	Fauks		141	75				2
Arthur	Firkill		87		31			2
Robert	Fisher		235	165				2

Appendix 2 – Election of Knights of the Shire 1646

			Voted For - Number indicates position in list of Voters					
Forename	Surname	Status	Sir James Harington	Col Thomas Wayte	Christopher Brown	Evers Armin	John Halford	Total Votes
William	Fisher	Lord	221		70			2
Mark	Fleming		78		20			2
Edward	Freeman		228		74			2
Robert	Freeman		46			15		2
Thomas	Freeman			126			5	2
Henry	Freer		112	57				2
John	Gann		240		81			2
Thomas	Gann		71		17			2
George	German		180		60			2
Robert	German			145			8	2
William	Glen		231	158				2
John	Godfrey		179	107				2
William	Godfrey		181	108				2
Abraham	Goodlad		103	53				2
James	Goodlad		102	52				2
Roger	Graham		216	137				2
John	Green		3	4				2
John	Green		95	45				2
Thomas	Green		100	50				2
Thomas	Grey			1			1	2
Robert	Griffin		175		57			2
John	Grimsly		11			5		2
Robert	Gunthorpe					55		1
Thomas	Hack		120		42			2
William	Hack		99	49				2
William	Hackett		212	133				2
Thomas	Halliday		19	15				2
William	Hand			103		45		2
Edward	Harris		54		14			2
John	Harrison		214	135				2
John	Harrison			153				1
Robert	Harrison			25			3	2
John	Harwood		38		9			2
John	Hastings		219	138				2
Robert	Hewitt		32			9		2
Thomas	Hewitt		31			8		2
John	Hill			86				1
Thomas	Hill			89		40		2
John	Hornby			163		60		2
Edward	Horsman		2			2		2
Robert	Horsman		1			1		2
Augustus	Hough		76	40				2
Michael	Huberd		225		73			2
Edmund	Hunt		13	10				2
John	Hunt		116	22		34		3
John	Hut		29					1
John	Hut		153					1
Jeeve	Islip			142	71			2
Thomas	Islip			144	72			2
Thomas	Janneth		51	36				2
Thomas	Jenkinson			173	82			2
Francis	Jephson		186	113				2
William	Jephson		187	114				2
Richard	Key		42			12		2
William	Kimberley		49	34				2
George	Larrat			164		61		2
George	Laurence		130		53			2
Henry	Laxton		127		50			2
William	Laxton		94	44				2
Henry	Ley		232	159				2
Meril	Luin		7	7				2
Geoffrey	Lunn		211			52		2
Edward	Manton		26		5			2
John	Manton		224	50				2

			Voted For - Number indicates position in list of Voters					
Forename	Surname	Status	Sir James Harington	Col Thomas Wayte	Christopher Brown	Evers Armin	John Halford	Total Votes
Thomas	Manton		123	105	45			3
Thomas	Marston		174					1
William	Martin			91		43		2
John	Mason		55	37				2
Robert	Milne				7			1
Richard	Morris		159		55			2
Henry	Mould				11	14		2
John	Moysey		202			48		2
Thomas	Naylor		16			6		2
Walter	Newbon		39	28				2
William	Nix		30	23				2
William	Nix			39				1
William	Nixon		64					1
Thomas	Orme		158	90				2
John	Pack		10		4			2
Richard	Paksman		223	141				2
Thomas	Palmer		122		44			2
Arthur	Parfrey		239	172				2
William	Parker		48	33				2
Robert	Parkin			11				1
Francis	Parks			140		53		2
Edward	Peach		183	110				2
Henry	Peachy		15	12				2
William	Peake		58			20		2
George	Pepper		170	99				2
Roger	Pepper		220		69			2
Thomas	Pepper		77	41				2
Thomas	Petty		8	8		58		3
William	Pickering		50	35				2
William	Porter		108	56				2
William	Presgrave		47		12			2
Thomas	Pretty			156				1
Hugh	Pridmore		60			21		2
Thomas	Pridmore		52		13			2
Anthony	Rawlings		193		63			2
John	Rawlings		233	161				2
Robert	Rawlings		192		62			2
Thomas	Rawlings		191		61			2
Ralph	Read			63	49			2
Edmund	Reeve			109				1
William	Reeve		182					1
Richard	Remmington		57			19		2
Robert	Ridlington		109			32		2
George	Roberts			170		66		2
Archibald	Robinson		121					1
Nicholas	Robinson				43			1
William	Royce		190	117				2
Robert	Rudd		9		3			2
Henry	Rudkin		145	79				2
John	Rudkin		53			17		2
Mark	Rudkin		177		59			2
Thomas	Rudkin			131	65			2
William	Scott		63		16			2
Rowland	Seaton		149	82				2
William	Seaton		151	84				2
Zackary	Seaton		184			46		2
James	Sewell		62		15			2
Richard	Sewell		199	122				2
William	Sewell		119	59				2
Francis	Sharpe		93		35			2
George	Sharpe				21	31		2
Hugh	Sharpe		84		27			2
John	Sharpe		89	43	33			3

Appendix 2 – Election of Knights of the Shire 1646

			Voted For - Number indicates position in list of Voters					
Forename	Surname	Status	Sir James Harington	Col Thomas Wayte	Christopher Brown	Evers Armin	John Halford	Total Votes
Luke	Sharpe			162		59		2
Richard	Sharpe		189	116				2
Robert	Sharpe		96	46				2
William	Sharpe		85	94	28			3
William	Sharpe		165		29			2
William	Sherrard		142	76				2
Thomas	Shield		176		58			2
William	Shield		198	121				2
Randall	Shipley		106		36			2
Henry	Sisson		230	157				2
Robert	Sly		6		2			2
Miles	Smith			26	76	11		3
William	Smith		150	83				2
Richard	Spell		188	115				2
Thomas	Springthorpe			167		64		2
Francis	Styles			102		44		2
Thomas	Swift		204	124				2
Henry	Syms		67			25		2
Thomas	Tampion		140	74				2
Henry	Taylby		68			26		2
Thomas	Taylby		70			28		2
Peter	Terrett		105	55				2
Marsh	Thorpe		134	68				2
Thomas	Thorpe		241	174				2
Henry	Tiptapp		236		80			2
James	Tiptapp		226			54		2
Arthur	Tory		155	88				2
Michael	Tory		83		26			2
Toby	Turner		75			30		2
William	Vellam		125	62				2
John	Vines		79		22			2
Adam	Walbanks		135	69				2
Thomas	Walker		113	58				2
Francis	Ward		196	119				2
Samuel	Waterfall		88		32			2
Thomas	Waterfall		81		24			2
Robert	Watkin		14					1
Thomas	Wells		111		39			2
Oliver	Wetherall		20			7		2
Edmund	Wilcox		17	13				2
William	Wilcox		43	30				2
Edward	Wilford		146	80				2
Robert	Wilm		36					1
John	Wilson		72		18			2
Thomas	Wilson		41		10			2
Matthew	Wing			149			12	2
Vincent	Wing			127			6	2
Bryan	Withers		160		56			2
John	Woodcock		185	111				2
Peter	Woodcock		35	27				2
Robert	Worth		82		25			2
Thomas	Worth		59	38	66			3
Thomas	Worth			132	67			2
William	Worth		114		40			2
Richard	Wortley		218		68			2
Thomas	Wortley		217					1
William	Wortley		215	136				2
Total votes cast			241	174	82	67	12	576

Appendix 3

Rutland JP Case Studies

Reports to the Privy Council

One of the responsibilities the government imposed on JPs was a requirement at times of poor harvest to counter hoarding and rising prices by ensuring 'the supply of markets with corn for relief of the poor' (TNA SP16/349, f223). In this the government was not just concerned with care for the poor but driven by the fear that starvation could bring disorder and insurrection. In 1629, the cloth trade collapsed and a simultaneous harvest failure created a crisis. The Privy Council responded in 1630–1 by issuing Books of Orders that set standards for local benches and required them to report quarterly via the Assize Judges to the Privy Council. A summary of the new reporting requirements is given in the preamble to a 1635 Rutland report which ordered them to 'meet once a month and take presentment and punish; All constables that have not been careful in looking to watch and ward and punishment of rogues and wandering beggars; to take care for the relief of the poor and bind poor children apprentice; of all abuses in alehouses by alehouse keepers such as sell ale without licence swearers and disorderly persons from all absentees from church and many other offences against divers other his Majesties laws' (TNA SP16/300, f32). The JPs complied with the demand for reports, but this resulted in the Privy Council's servants becoming overwhelmed by the volume generated and resulted in orders for only abstracts to be supplied. Subsequently, the number of the returns gradually diminished as the Council became distracted by foreign affairs and collection of Ship Money (Sharpe 1992, 457–62). The Rutland bench was already holding monthly meetings in 1624 before the Book of Orders was issued and these continued into the 1640s (BL Eg 2986, f43, 84). The Rutland quarterly reports indicate that for judicial purposes the county was divided into two divisions. Martinsley and Wrangdike Hundreds were served by a bench at Uppingham, with a bench at Oakham for Alstoe, East and Oakham Soke Hundreds. Examples of both full and abbreviated reports to the Privy Council are given below, together with one specifically ordered by the Council following reports of seditious statements being made in Uppingham.

Quarterly report for Martinsley and Wrangdike hundreds, from Edward Harington and John Osborne, 20th October 1635, to the Judges of Assize (TNA SP16/300, f32)

These are therefore to certify you that we whose name are subscribed have usually kept in our division that meeting for many years and have punished many according to the nature of their several offences; And that since the last Assize visit the 13th day of August last we met at Uppingham for the two hundreds of the Wrangdike and Martinsley where were presented to us 33 vagrants or wandering beggars each were taken begging and were whipped and sent by passes to the places of their birth or last habitation, five constables we bound over to the quarter sessions for being negligent in their offices and complaint thereof made to us by a chief constable, and nine persons besides we bound over thereafter who being appointed to watch did neglect the same which offences were again presented and found by the Jury here and there fined; we also caused and saw eight poor children to be put and bound apprentice; we did also bind over to the Sessions two for abusing constables and were there fined; we also did put down from brewing and selling ale three alehouse keepers and punished another for brewing without licence, we caused fines to be levied of two alehouse keepers for selling ale contrary to the Assize and suffering people there to sit tippling contrary to the said statute and five persons for so sitting and tippling three paid their fines which were given to the poor of the parish where the offences were committed; And moreover there was then presented unto us five and twenty men recusants which have and usually do absent themselves from church; all or most of them have been many times indicted and presented both at the Assizes and Sessions, yet we made forth our Warrant according to the statute for the levying fines forfeited by them; the most of them have brought in to us their leases and compositions with his Majesty. And withal they bring to us a copy of an order made in the Exchequer in our late sovereign time King

James, in the behalf of one Barker a Yorkshire man that both he and all other recusants which had compounded with his Majesty should be freed and discharged from all fines by reason of their weekly absence from church; and all those which have not compounded do pay their several fines which are of ability to pay and it is given to the poor according as the statute appointeth when they are levied by virtue of our Warrant; many of them that notwithstanding we duly send Warrants against them upon presentation; yet they have not anything to distrain or levy their fines but are very poor people as any in the parish wherein they live, and many other offences were then presented unto us which were proceeded against according to the several statutes, we have and do take care for the relief of all poor people to have them set on work or relieved; All which we leave to your consideration and seeking your opinions what we shall more do as well against such recusants as have compounded with his Majesty as those that are so poor not able to pay.

And also that upon the 28th day of September last past we also met at Uppingham aforesaid and thither called all constables churchwardens overseers of the poor ale tasters and other officers within the aforesaid two hundreds, where according to their several offices they bringest in unto us bills of presentment of vagrants and wandering beggars punished within the said two hundreds since the 13th day of August before mentioned 42. And of recusants for absence from church for 3 Sabbath days as before 20; all of them who had not compounded with his Majesty had warrants made out against them for payment of their fines, which fines were levied of all which were able to pay the same and given to the poor, we caused and saw bound and placed 5 poor children apprenticed; and caused expenses to joint in money to place out 3 more, we bound over to our next Quarter Sessions one constable for neglecting of watch and ward and neglectment in his office, and five watchmen being appointed to watch and failing we likewise bound over to the next Sessions there to be also fined, we made out Warrants against two alehouse keepers for breaking the Assize of Ale and beer which fines were levied and given to the churchwardens and overseers of the poor to be distributed to the poor according to the Statute, we also upon complaint put down one alehouse, Also two alehouse keepers without licence were presented unto us one we caused to be sent to prison, the other hath no things to levy any fine upon and his person cannot yet be taken although a Warrant is made out against him, And so every month or six weeks at most we do and have done the like, which we leave for your grave consideration and rest; Your Lordships humble servants

Summary quarterly report for Wrangdike and Martinsley hundreds from Henry Mackworth and John Osborne, 14th March 1637 (TNA SP16/349, f223)

Presented by church wardens of Lyddington – Henry Clarke for absence from church for three last Sabbaths.
Apprentices put forth – 2
Vagrants punished and conveyed away according to statute in that behalf – 48.

To the Privy Council by Henry Mackworth and Guy Palmes 26th February 1631, following reports of seditious statements being made at Uppingham (TNA SP16/182, f77).

May it please your honours. According to your letters dated 15th February 1630/1 which were opened and perused by us the 24th of the same month concerning an advertisement tending to the stirring up of the poor about Uppingham to mutiny and insurrection. The careful disposition of arms for the county of Rutland; The supply of markets with corn for relief of the poor at reasonable prices, And placing them to labour with those of the richer sort, As also for raising of a stock to relieve and set them to work according to the law: In obedience to your commands, we humbly present this answer, The seditious words were uttered at Christmas last, And the shoemaker supposed to speak the same is formally bound over to appear at the next General Quarter Sessions to be held for this county. And in the meantime to be of good behaviour, And recourse immediately taken for the safe keeping of the arms; We have again examined the said parties, With such as we find may acquaint us with any particulars concerning the said advertisement. All which examinations we do herewith send to your Lordships. Where upon (and other circumstances considered) we find that this was rather a matter of affright to some particular men, than of dangerous consequence to the country.

Every private man charged in this county keepeth his own arms (but [= apart from] the arms for the trained band being in number one hundred) because upon muster and review they were ever defective and out of

order; are kept in a house near the market place in Oakham; where (with consent of the inhabitants in this country) they were placed by the Lord Harington then Lord Lieutenant, And an armourer appointed to keep and dress them, who (with like approbation and good liking) is yearly paid for his pains. And so hath been for the space of twenty years and upward. Which cause if your Lordships dislike (upon notice given) they shall be forthwith removed and sent to our townships as they stand severally charged; Our ammunition of powder shot match and other provision is kept in another private place in the same town but a good distance from the armoury for safety of all which we do from time to time use our best care and diligence, We have been very careful the markets shall be well supplied with corn, And have made our certificates to the Sheriff according to his Majesty's directions. And order is taken (according to law) for relief and setting to work of poor and impotent people; All which as we have hitherto endeavoured to perform so shall our care be continued for ordering the same, according to his Majesty's Laws and your honourable directions; So humbly presenting our services we take our leaves ever resting Your Honours to Command.

Administration of the Poor Law

The most significant statute legislation for the inhabitants of a parish, besides those for public order, was the 1597 Poor Law. This Act charged the parish with the responsibility for its own poor and required the local magistrates to ensure that its provisions were equitably applied. This applied both within and without parishes and JPs were particularly involved in disputes between parishes.

Responsibility for an illegitimate child between Stretton and Market Overton (BL Eg 2986. f338, 339)

In the month of August 1662 a woman great with child comes into the town of Stretton in the county of Rutland and cries out that she is in labour, she goes into the next place she came to being the porch of a gentleman's house in the said town and there before any woman came to convalesce her was delivered of a woman child, but soon after the women of the neighbourhood coming about her, they did perform those offices that were necessary both to the woman and child, and as soon as they could did remove her to an alehouse in the town, and out of their charity did supply her with necessaries and also gave her some clothes for the child, and thus she continued for the space of ten days saying she was a widow, her name Elizabeth Holt, that her husband did live at Barnet, but was dead a quarter of a year before, and that she was going to her father living at Swarston [= Swarkestone] Bridge in Derbyshire. At the ten days end she takes her leave of the town and thanks them for their kindness and goes away with her child and on the same day being Thursday the 21st of August: at Market Overton being but 2 miles [away] and in the same county about 4 of the clock in the afternoon passed through and in the church porch leaves her child and presently conveys herself away out of the county not yet to be heard of. The overseers for the poor of Overton understanding that a child had been born at Stretton some days before, went over with the child and a woman that they had hired to suckle it for the present to the said town of Stretton and there did discover that this was the same child that was born there, by the confirmation of several women that had seen it and by the clothes upon the child which were owned by them who had given them to the mother, but they would not receive the child at their hands, thereupon they make their complaint to the next Justice of Peace, three whereof at a meeting [*in margin*: Lord Campden, Sir E. Heath, Alex. Noel] upon Tuesday the 26th of Aug: upon hearing several witnesses of both towns who made good this matter of fact, made their order that the town of Stretton should receive the child and take care for it till the father or mother could be found out or that further order should be taken therein at the next Court Quarter Sessions to be holden for the said county.

At the session held at Oakham on Thursday the 9th of October following the town of Stretton being aggrieved at this order complain desiring to be relieved, but the session would not reverse the said order but by consent of both sides and the whole bench the case in law was agreed to be referred to the judgement of the Judges of Assize that would come next into the county, upon a case to be drawn up and agreed to on both sides agreeing it that the child was born at Stretton and that this was that child only ordered that the child should continue at Stretton to be kept there at their charge until the Judge of Assize should make other order. Upon this whole oath the question is where this child ought to be kept.

Responsibility for the carrying and conveying of vagabonds and cripples from Tickencote northward, between Tickencote, Empingham, Exton, Greetham, Thistleton and Stretton (BL Eg 2986, f69–72) – an Assize case from December 1638.

Tickencote is a small village and so poor that there is scarce one man able to pay the yearly taxes there upon laid when they are levied without borrowing money to defray the same, and standeth out of the road, yet nevertheless all vagabonds and cripples sent from Stamford northward are brought first to Bridge [= Magna or Great] Casterton and then to Tickencote being the next parish thereunto.

All vagabonds and cripples either taken at or brought to Tickencote to be conveyed northward have constantly always been conveyed from there to Empingham being the next parish and but two miles from Tickencote and from thence to Exton and so to Greetham and were never carried to Stretton which is four miles from Tickencote and the direct way from the one to the other is through the parish (though not the towns) of Empingham Exton and Greetham and the way through the said towns ~~is not about a mile more to the same place [deleted]~~ being the better way they are to pass either that way or by Stretton then if they were carried directly to Stretton from Tickencote back and forward so that Stretton being a small village should carry throngs and perish.

At the general sessions of the peace at Uppingham in January last it was ordered without the knowledge of the inhabitants of Tickencote that all vagabonds coming to Tickencote should from there be immediately carried to Stretton. With this order both the inhabitants of Tickencote who were to carry their vagabonds a far greater way than ever they were wont to do as also of Stretton (who now had a new charge of conveying vagabonds imposed upon them which they never had before) found themselves aggrieved and complained thereof.

And at the next general sessions of the year for that county in April last the former order was made void, and it was ordered that the vagabonds should be conveyed from parish to parish according to the Statute of 39 Eliz. by the several constables of the several parishes the same way that formerly they were usually and accustomedly conveyed by before the said order then made void.

To this latter order the Lord Viscount Campden though not present at the making thereof hath since under his hand assented.

The inhabitants of Empingham oppose it.

The question arising upon this case is about the expression of those words in the Statute 39 Eliz. Cap 4 *viz*: Shall be forthwith sent from parish to parish by the officer of every the same the next straight way to the parish where he was born etc. whether vagabonds shall be carried by the Constables of Tickencote to Empingham which is the next parish to it, and the straightway lies through it, and so to be further conveyed by the Officers of Empingham to the next parish there unto according to the former use else be carried directly to Stretton (though through the parish of Empingham etc) ~~because the way by Stretton is higher by a mile than the former way was [deleted]~~.

Note: The Justices of the Assize adjudicated in favour of the position adopted by the Quarter Session and against the inhabitants of Empingham.

Dispute between Cottesmore and Ketton concerning responsibility for a 12 year old child (BL Eg 2986, f249, 250)

John Wells taken vagrant and begging within our town of Ketton with same given him by law and by pass send him to Cottesmore where he says he was born. [*signed*] William Naylor, John Royce [*signed with mark*] Constables; Tho. Farbecke, minister.

[On examination by Edward Heath at Cottesmore on 5th December 1642] John Wells sayeth that he was born at Cottesmore in this county of Rutland (though upon searching of the register book his name was not found) and he is son of one Zackary Wells that now dwells at Weston near Spalding in Lincolnshire, that he hath lived with his said father until May Day last, at which time his said father did place him with one William Francis of

Barnack in Northamptonshire the neat-herd of the town with whom he continued until Michaelmas last [29th September]; At which time his said father took him from thence and placed him with one Richard Snary of Ketton in the county of Rutland shepherd and gave some piece of money with him but how much it was, he knoweth not, and did promise to come again for him upon the Sunday after Martlemas day [10th November], And he further sayeth that since that time he never saw his father nor did he come for ought he knoweth, to the town of Ketton according to his promise, where upon his said Mr Richard Snary did presently turn him out of doors and told him he would keep him no longer, but gave him a bag and a spoon and bade him go about and beg, and said that all the towns about would give him relief; And he sayeth that thereupon he did go up and down on begging in the said town of Ketton but went not forth into any other parish to beg, and that for the space of a fortnight last past (about which time his Mr Snary did put him out of doors he hath lain up and down the town of Ketton in several persons barns or outhouses, until Friday last being the 2nd day of this instant month of December when the constables of Ketton did send him away with a pass to be brought to Cottesmore to be settled there, and sayeth that he came as far as Exton the same day and then his guide left him and he came alone the next morning to this town of Cottesmore.

If this be the truth of the case there is no question but the town of Ketton are by law chargeable with the said John Wells and that the town of Cottesmore are not compellable any way to relieve him, whereupon the Inhabitants of Cottesmore making their complaint unto me that if the said John Wells should be continued within their town, he might become chargeable to the same, I have willed them to convey the said John Wells back again and to deliver him unto the hands of the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor for the said town of Ketton or one of them together with this warrant, whom I do hereby require in his Majesty's name to provide for the said John Wells within their said town either with his last master or in some other place according as the law requireth, and as they will answer the contrary at their perils.

Settlement Order – Copy of warrant from Edward Heath at Cottesmore to the Overseers for the Poor of Morcott 31st August 1663 (BL Eg 2986, f345)

These are to will and require you in his Majesty's name straightly to charge and command you that provide for Ann Bottom born within your said town or show good cause to the contrary. And herein fail not as you will answer the contrary at your peril.

Removal warrant from Cottesmore to Wisbech, signed Robert Berkley and Edward Heath, 26th March 1639 (BL Eg 2986 f73)

[On examination William Chappell showman] sayeth that he was born at Wisbech in the county of Cambridge but his wife and his five children were born at Cottesmore in Rutlandshire, he sayeth he was an inhabitant in Cottesmore for divers years and about the beginning of May last he removed from Cottesmore to Wisbech aforesaid and there took a house for a year from the annunciation before [ie 25th March 1638] and dwelt there over time until Thursday last with his wife and family, and on Thursday last came from Wisbech at the desire of his wife and came to Cottesmore for her health sake and because she was born there, and came thither Friday last, and when he came thither, not having any house, for his wife and children have lain in the street; And he sayeth he never was a vagrant but came voluntarily from Wisbech to Cottesmore.

This appearing to be the truth of the case is without question, that the said Chappell and his family being last settled in Wisbech ought to be there provided for a dwelling; And that the parishioners of Cottesmore are not by law chargeable in any sort to relieve them; wherefore they having complained to us of the said Chappell's coming amongst them, and likely to be chargeable to the parish if he be permitted to continue there, now require the said parishioners of Cottesmore to take some course for the present avoiding [= removal] of Chappell and his family out of their parish, and if need be, for conveying them to Wisbech aforesaid there to be provided for, at the peril of the church wardens and overseers of the poor of Wisbech.

On verso – The Warrant for William Chappell's removing from Cottesmore to Wisbech by the Judges of Assize 26 Mar 1639

Absconding father – Guy Palmes at Ashwell, 6 January 1641/2, to the Constables of Oakham
(BL Eg 2986, f156)

For as much as I am reasonably informed by one Ann Coxhall that Thomas Thorpe of your town labourer is the reputed father of supposed begotten bastard child upon the body of the said Ann These are therefore to require you to bring the said Thomas Thorpe before me or some of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace within this county to find sufficient sureties as well for his personal appearance at the next Quarter Sessions of the Peace to be held on for this county as also for his good behaviour towards the Kings Majesty and all his liege people. And hereof fail not.

Administering, Licensing and Appointing Officials

Appointing constables – To Edward Heath (post Restoration) one of his Majesty's Justices for the county
(BL Eg 2986, f399)

We whose names are here under written, being the inhabitants of Lyndon a small town having but one constable (and he is now newly deceased his son executed his place, in his life time, so his son having laid down a great deal of money for the town, hath a desire to execute his father's place, your petitioners desires are, that it would be pleased to swear John Goodman Constable in his father's room having now no guide for our town, and your petitioners will ever be bound, and thankful unto your worship. Thus we rest. [signed] John Love, Thomas Sharpe (mark) Edward Allen (mark) churchwarden, Robert Sharpe (mark), John Finningley, John Eton (mark), Morrice Walter, William Bell bailiff.

Alehouses & Tippling – Edward Harington & Abraham Johnson 8th February 1625/6
to the Chief Constables of the East Hundred or either of them (BL Eg 2986 f43)

For as much as we find by the late forbearance of our monthly meetings great neglect and remissions to be occasioned in many officers in performance of their duties by which means vagrants and rogues do abound in all places, And offenders do take to themselves liberty to do evil for want of the due execution of justice. And whereas we are pleased the prices of corn being of late so much increased that the multitude of unnecessary and disorder by alehouses in most towns is a great cause of enhancing the price of malt which is needlessly spent and riotously wasted in the said houses to the dishonour of god and the hurt of the commonwealth for which cause we are resolved at this meeting to take a general survey of them all within the every hundred and so to put down so many of them as we shall find superfluous. These are therefore to require and charge you in his Majesty's name to give warning to all the Constables Church wardens, Alehouse keepers and ale tasters within your said hundred to appear before us at Oakham on the fifteenth day of this month by eight of the clock in the morning to deliver up unto us the names of all such as have been punished for vagrants and rogues according to the law in their several parishes since our last meeting. And the names of those that have seen or released any such and have not conveyed them to the Constable of the said town to be punished according to the law. And the names of such as are or have been at any time since or last meeting negligent in keeping watch and ward in their several parishes. And the names of such as either sell ale without licence or contrary to the Assize or have at any time within these six months last past continued drinking or tippling in any inn, tavern victualling house or alehouse in any town or village within this country. As also the names of all common drunkards, swearers, riotous or disorderly persons. As also to present unto us the names of all such as have within these four weeks last past absolved themselves from divine service in their parish church or chapel upon Sundays. And the names of all such as within the month last past have upon the Sabbath day gone out of their own parish to see any Bull baiting, Bear baiting, interludes or any other sport whatever. And likewise to make or cause to be made diligent and privy search the day and night before this meeting, in all towns villages and other places in your hundred, for all rogues vagrants wandering and sole persons and to bring them before us at the time and place aforesaid. As also to warn the said Constables and Church wardens throughout your said hundred to levy and gather those fines and forfeitures which at any time heretofore have been by us imposed according to the law, (but not collected or accounted for) upon alehouse keepers for breaking the assize, and others for absenting themselves from divine service, And to bring with them the said fines and forfeitures by them collected by virtue of the several warrants to them directed upon the penalty of

the law to be inflicted upon them that shall wilfully fail therein. As also you the High Constables to be then and there present to do and perform all such other matters as on this his Majesty's behalf shall be enjoined you. Hereof fail you not as you will appear the contrary at your peril.

We charge you likewise to warn the said churchwardens to bring us in a note the names of all the impotent poor in their several parishes by themselves. And the names of all the poor able to work by themselves and what stock every town hath raised for the said poor. And what apprentices they have bound in their several parishes, And what poor children they have fit to make apprentices and the names of such in their parishes as are able to take apprentices hereof likewise fail you not.

Alehouses & Tippling – Edward Heath, December 1639, Warrant to the Constables and Church Wardens of Cottesmore (BL Eg 2986 f76)

For as much as it hath appeared to me Edward Heath Esq one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace within the county of Rutland as well by the testimony of others, as also by the several confessions of William Sturgis and John Ostler being both inhabitants within your parish, that both said William Sturgis with some others upon the eight day of this instant month of December being the Lords day, was and continued drinking and tippling in the house of the said John Ostler being a common seller of ale, and then and there did misbehave himself in using unlawful games and exercises, and that the said John Ostler being an alehouse keeper within your said parish did upon the said eight day of this instant December permit and suffer the said William Sturgis and his companions to continue in his said house drinking and tippling, and then and there to misbehave themselves in using such unlawful games, to the great dishonour of god and contrary to the forms of diverse laws and statutes of this realm in such cases made and provided. These are therefore in his Majesty's name to charge and command you and every of you forthwith to levy by distress of goods of the said William Sturgis and John Ostler the several sums of six shillings and eight pence and ten shillings, that is to say, the sum of six shillings eight pence of the said William Sturgis, and the sum of ten shillings of the said John Ostler. The said several forfeitures so levied to be bestowed and employed by you to the use of the poor of your said parish. And if the said William Sturgis and John Ostler within six days next after such distress by you taken as aforesaid shall not pay the several sums of six shillings and eight pence and ten shillings so forfeited by them as aforesaid, that then you cause the said distresses so taken to be appraised and sold, and that the overplus which shall remain upon such sale after the said several sums of six shillings and eight pence and ten shillings shall be detained in your hands, you shall surrender back again to the said parties. And if you shall find no sufficient distress whereon to levy the said sum six shillings and eight pence forfeited by the said William Sturgis that then you the Constables or one of you shall commit the said William Sturgis to the common stocks of your said town there to remain by the space of three whole hours; and for default of sufficient distress whereon to levy the said sum of ten shillings so forfeited by the said John Ostler that you convey the said John Ostler to the common gaol of the county there to remain until the said penalty of ten shillings so forfeited by him as aforesaid be fully paid; and hereof fail you not to do without expecting any further warrant for the same.

Application for an Alehouse Licence in Whissendine, 18th October 1641 (BL Eg 2986, f150)

These are to certify you his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for this county of Rutland, to whom this bearer shall repair, that the said Maximel Compton inhabitant of the town of Whissendine so far as we can knowingly testify is a very honest man in life and conversation and industrious in his calling, and there upon are we induced to afford him this described testimony, and also with him and for him to become petitioner to your worships that he may obtain your licence to keep a common alehouse in the town of Whissendine aforesaid for long as he shall demean himself honestly, soberly and quietly as a man ought to do in the calling and for a still further satisfaction concerning his abilities and convenience themselves they are to certify that he enter into the same house which formerly hath been used in the like way there are both rooms for men and horse sufficient and convenient: Now if the Your Worships shall be pleased to grant to the petitioner his suit: we whose names are underwritten shall for this and for all other lawful favours afforded us ever remain Your Worships very loving neighbours and faithful servants [*signed*] Michael Reaves, Michael Winge, Thomas Rudkin, Nathaniel Orson, William Balkamee [*or* Bellamee], Thomas Wortley, John Hacke, Thomas Hacke, Laurence Green, Jeffery Lunn, John Cassler, James Livitt, W. Shallcross vic [*vicar of Whissendine – see Longden 1938–52*].

Application for an alehouse licence in Cottesmore, 3rd October 1660 (BL Eg 2986, f294)

Right Worshipful. This is to let you understand that we whose name are here under written do think Pricilla Poole to be a very fit woman to brew because her house stand convenient both for the town and country. And she hath kept very good order in her house without any complaint. And she is very willing to entertain all needful travellers both for diet and lodgings at all times upon any need requires. [signed] Thomas Chamberlain constable, Samuel Lo church warden, John Towell, Arthur Pursey, John Whetton, Nicholas Cristian, Robt. Christian, John Nix.

Hundred	Clark 1983, 42		BL Eg 2986, f395	White 1846		
	1577 Inns & Taverns	1577 Alehouses	1630s* Alehouses	1846 Victuallers	1846 Beer Houses	1846 Total
Alstoe			24	11	8	19
East			20	11	9	20
Martinsley			43	17	11	28
Oakham			44	20	13	33
Wrangdike			29	15	10	25
Total	5	100	160	74	51	125

* This undated list of alehouses almost certainly relates to the 1630s when the Crown enquired nationally of their extent from the local JPs (Clark 1983, 43).

Table 25. Numbers of alehouses in Rutland in the 1630s and for comparison in 1577 & 1846.

From the sixteenth century a three-fold categorisation of drinking establishment was recognised in statute and common law. Inns were usually large establishments offering wine, ale and beer, together with elaborate food and lodging for travellers. Taverns sold wine to the more prosperous, but without the extensive accommodation of inns, and alehouses were normally small premises serving ale or beer and providing basic food and accommodation for the lower orders (Clark 1983, 5). The 1846 victuallers represent a mix of both inns and taverns. James I issued monopoly patents for selling licences to inns and taverns, the 1620 records for which list eight in Rutland, namely six in Uppingham and one each in Oakham and Great Casterton, a distribution that reflects the major through routes of the time (Jarrett 2000, 431).

Unsurprisingly in both the 1630s survey and White's 1846 directory the largest numbers of drinking establishments were in the Hundreds of Martinsley and Oakham Soke which include the county's two towns. The 60% increase in Rutland alehouses between 1577 and the 1630s accords with Clark's (1983, 50) estimate for rural areas over the same period of 30 to 40% for licensed alehouses, plus an unquantified increase in unlicensed alehouses. This growth in alehouses was mainly associated with population increase and, although the population of Rutland continued to rise until 1851, the number of drinking establishments was lower in 1846 than in the 1630s. This decline mirrors trends seen in other counties and occurred principally in the period 1750 to 1830. The main reason for this was restriction and enforcement of licences by JPs owing to concerns from the ruling classes about disorder, coupled with the rise of Methodism (Clark 1983, 54, 57, 254–6). In 1830 the pressures reversed, with the Beer House Act liberalising regulation and making it much simpler to obtain a licence, but numbers had still to recover.

Criminal Cases

Poaching – Edward Heath's Notes for Monthly Meeting (BL Eg 2986, f84).

Jeffery Watson hath informed me that about the 4th day of June last past 1640, he saw Mr Ross of Ashwell shooting at a hare in Barrow field near Cottesmore Lings, and that he heard the report of the gun and also saw him take up a hare killed with the same shot. Andrew Heard's man being at the same time with Jeffery saw the same and can testify as much. And he further sayth that he hath often met the said Ross and Richard Sharpe his brother both of Ashwell smithy with guns on their necks both in Cottesmore and Barrow fields.

Arrest warrants from Guy Palmes to the Constables of Cottesmore (BL Eg 2986 f74, 75)

Ashwell, 21 October 1639. These are to will and require you and in his Majesty's name straightly to command you that upon Thursday next being the 24th day of October you bring before me the bodies of William Sharpe of Cottesmore in the County afore named husbandman and John Finn of the same labourer to answer to such things as shall in his Majesty's behalf be objected against them; hereof fail not at your peril,

29th October. If the said John Fynn do not at or before the 12th of November next put in good security to save the inhabitants of Cottesmore from all charge and loss that may come unto them by reason of his residence [= residence] there That then he be brought before me [Guy Palmes] that such course may be taken with him as the law in that case expecteth.

Ashwell, 14 November 1639. Whereas John Finne remaining within your constabulary is not of good name and fame but a disorderly fellow and of ill behaviour. These are therefore to require you forthwith upon receipt hereof to attach the body of the said John Finne and him so apprehended to bring before me or some other his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the county of Rutland aforesaid to enter recognisance with sufficient sureties personally to appear at the next general Quarter Sessions to be held for the county and to obey future order as shall be set down by the Court and in the meantime to be of the good behaviour towards his Majesty and all his loyal people. If he shall refuse this to do that then without expecting any further warrants you him safely convey to the gaol within the county, there to remain until he shall willingly do the same. Fail you not.

Order for the release of a prisoner by Edward Heath and Lord Campden, 17th July 1641, to the Keeper of his Majesty's Gaol for the County of Rutland (BL Eg 2986, f142)

Whereas we are fully satisfied of the future good behaviour of one Richard Brickwood lately committed to your custody as well for not finding surety for his good behaviour as also for non-payment of a certain fine set upon him by us in open Quarter Sessions of the year held at Oakham the 1st day of this instant month of July. And upon promise of his future reformation we so order and appoint the said Richard Birckwood to pay but [space left blank] of the said fine so set upon him as before. These are therefore to require and charge you that upon receipt hereof you set at liberty the said Richard Brickwood of your said gaol and forbear to imprison him longer (he paying for much of the said fine as before is set down and also such fees as have been or shall be due by reason of such his imprisonment: under hereof fail not at your peril. EH

I am willing the prisoner shall be enlarged out of prison but I conceive the fine cannot be mitigated but in open session. Therefore I think fit he shall be bound to his good behaviour and appearance at the next sessions where I shall be willing the offence may be considered with all lawful favour. LC

Examination by Edward Heath, 2 December 1640, of Francis Cole of Oakham (BL Eg 2986, f92)

The said Francis Cole confesses that upon Sunday being 25th day of October last he took out of the chest of James Farly of Oakham a certain sum of money but how much he knoweth not, but says that he took all the money thereof. and that afterwards he spent it at several places within this county viz: at Mr Farrows at Oakham 2s and at Roger Duesberrys at Oakham 2s and at Powers at Exton 3s and at the house of Sheering's of Tickencote 5s and that one Samuel Moulton of Tickencote did get by cozening away from him 2s 6d and that he spent in several places in Stamford 5s 6d. ~~And he sayeth that Margaret Day did cozen him of 6d being at the House of Farrows in Oakham, but knoweth not whether she had any more money of his. [deleted]~~ And he further confesseth that he was drunk at the house of Farrows and lost money out of his pocket at that time when he lay there asleep, but knoweth not who had it: only he sayeth that Margaret Day did cozen him of 6d but knoweth not whether she had any more.

[Notes in margin]

Desborough [Duesberry] is an old lame man and could not come. Powers was mistaken by the confession of the boy as Thorpe informed me who now sayeth it was one Rowledge a poor foolish man.

Robinson is the alehouse keeper at Tickencote and I sent for him. And he sayeth the boy never was at his house

to his knowledge and that he is sure he never was harboured there in lodgings but perhaps he might be lodged by that Moulton who dwells in an end of the same house with this Robinson, but Moulton is a poor lame man and could not come. Robinson was dismissed again. Mr Wingfield witness in his behalf.

Examinations by Edward Heath JP, 30th May 1642, of William Compton of Gosberton, Lincolnshire (BL Eg 2986, f207, 208)

First – The examinant sayeth that he hath lived in Gosberton [Lincolnshire] for the space of seven years last past or thereabouts, and that yesterday being Whitsunday he came from his own house about eleven or twelve of the clock in the forenoon with a resolution to see some friends in these parts, dwelling at Pickworth and Gratham [Greetham] in the county of Rutland and having found an old bridle by the way and coming through the fens about 4 miles on this side his house he met by chance with some men who were driving up some horses to be taken, with whom he joined himself in company and helped them, at the last they having taken those horses which they intended they asked him if he knew that mare and foal which was in the company of those other horses, to whom he sayeth that he replied that he did know her, for she was his own and that he was come to take her up, whereupon they did help him to take her, and so he brought her away intending to sell her at Melton Fair on the Tuesday following, but coming through Clipsham in this county about 6 of the clock last night he was there stayed upon suspicion, and the mare and foal as he sayth are there in the hands of the Constable of that town; And he further sayeth that he knoweth not whose mare and foal she is, nor what fen she was taken up, nor who the men were that did help him take her.

Second – The examinant sayeth that he hath lived in Gosberton for the space of seven years the mare and foal which were taken with him at Clipsham upon Sunday night last, are his own, and that he bought them at Gosberton upon Thursday last for the sum of four pounds of a man that dwells at Dunnington [Donington, Lincolnshire?] whom he knoweth well by sight, but knoweth not his name, and sayeth that he was going with this mare and foal towards Melton Fair to sell them there, which fair was to be held upon Tuesday the last day of May, and he sayeth that he hath often used to buy and sell horses, and the reason why this mare was not shod was as he sayeth because they do not use in the fens to shoe their horses, but that he did intend to shoe her this day by the way; he further sayeth that he came forth from his house at Gosberton between 11 & 12 of the clock yesterday and came to Clipsham about 6 of the clock, but intended to go to Whissendine that night and sayeth that he thought the highway had lain through those grounds of Clipsham where those two men met him who did apprehend him and bring him to the town of Clipsham, because in former times when he dwelt in this country he used to go that way; he further confesseth that he did tell the constable of Clipsham that he did buy the mare and foal of one Richard Hardy of Surfleet, but he now sayeth that that was not true which he then spoke, but that the truth is that he had her of the man of Dunnington as above and was to pay his money at midsummer next, and that he was to go over to the man the next week to give him bond for it.

He sayeth that yesterday as he was coming up into these parts to see his friends he found a bridle by the way and coming through the fen about 4 miles from his house he found some company taking up some horses and he helped them and they asked him whose the mare and foal was and he said it was his, so they helped him to take her and he brought her away intending to sell her at Melton Fair and that he sayeth that this is the truth and that whatsoever he said before was not the truth and that he knoweth not whose mare she is nor in what fen she was taken.

Examination by Edward Heath JP of John Heath of Alerton [sic = Ollerton] in the county of Nottingham husbandman, 6th July 1642 (BL Eg 2986, f215)

This examinant sayeth that the two grey nags which he brought to Thistleton with him and also one black nag were his own. And that one of them (*viz* the younger grey) he bred up himself, And the other grey he bought with him out of Yorkshire and the black nag he bought at York fair upon Wednesday last past being the 29th day of June; And that the first grey nag was bred up in Clipstone Park in Nottinghamshire; And the other grey horse was bred up in Cran Hall near Hexham in Northumberland, with one Thomas Heath his brother there dwelling; And which grey nag he fetch from Clipstone Park about a month since and put him to grass to a

place called [Roole?] where the said nag was kept 3 weeks at pasture with one Thomas [Very?] and fetched from [Roole?] upon Monday last being the 4th day of this instant month of July; And the black nag which he brought at York was bought of one Alexander Barry for £3 10s. And he sayeth that the occasion of his coming to Thistleton was to live with the miller there and to be a partner with him and to that purpose bought one of the horses but intends to sell the other.

Maintenance and Care of County Property

Examples from several bills for maintenance of the Gaol and House of Correction

(BL Eg 2986, f88, 89, 90, 93, 94, 96, **132, 141**, 148, 149, 151, 160, 221)

John Porter's bill for his work during 1640 at the House of Correction and the Gaol - f132	£	s	d
Item for irons and bolts knocking off and on and mending them when they were broke		10	6
Item for the pump iron making new		2	0
Item for locks for doors and keys mending		1	10
Item for a [cauter] to burn prisoners at the bar			8
Sum		15	0

Edmund Johnson's bill for work on the House of Correction, 12th July 1641 - f141	£	s	d
Paid for 4 loads of straw at 18d a load		6	0
Paid for the carriage of the said 4 loads straw at 2s a load		8	0
Paid for 62 foot of board at 1½d per foot		7	9
Paid for one stick for the door jambs		7	0
2 lbs of 6d nails		1	0
Half pound of 8d nails			4
Paid to the thatcher for 5 days work at 13d a day		5	4
Paid to the drawer and server to the thatcher for 5 days work a pair at 8d		6	8
Paid for watering the straw			8
Paid for carriage of 4 loads of clay and digging of it		2	8
Paid for a pair of grate bands and rivets weighing 21½ pounds at 4d a pound		7	2
Paid for a latch and a catch		2	4
Paid for 3 loads of stone at 18d a load		4	6
Paid for the carriage of the 3 loads of stone		1	6
Paid for a lock and a staple		4	
Paid for 5 days work of the carpenter		5	
Paid for a scuttle			4
Paid to the mason for 7 days work at 12d a day and 7 days his man at 6d a day		10	6
Paid for bread and beer for the carpenters, carters, thatcher, server and drawer and mason		4	6
Sum	4	5	3

Edmund Johnson was the gaoler for which in 1640 he paid 6 shillings a year for rent of the gaol (BL Eg 2986 f96).

He would have received his income by charging the prisoners for food and other services.

Repair of Ways and Bridges (CSPD 1631–33, 591, no 66, 28th March 1633).

The Justices report to Privy Council that they 'have viewed the ways and bridges through which his Majesty [Charles I] is to pass, and have seen such reparation made of both as will witness their joy to receive his Majesty...'

Watching the Magazine – Paid to Leonard Byshopp and Thomas Bushby by Edward Heath, 14th July 1642 (BL Eg 2986, f217)

The sum of three pounds eleven shillings paid unto us for watching the magazine in Oakham by virtue of one order made the last quarter sessions to that purpose.

Support of the Church of England

Reporting of recusant names and places of residence to the Privy Council by Lord Campden, Henry Mackworth, Guy Palmes, Henry Mynne and John Osborne; 17th December 1636 (TNA SP16/337, f113)

Martinsley Hundred

Lyndon Francis Hunt gent; Ann Hunt; Dorothy Hunt; Bridget Hunt, spinsters; William Stapleford labourer.

Oakham Soke

Belton Thomas Haslewood Esq; Frances Haslewood spinster.

Wrangdike Hundred

Seaton Nicholas Crispe (also Cripps) gent and Katherine his wife.

Morcott Bridget Harrendyne widow.

Barrowden Francis Hunt gent; John Hunt gent and his wife; Ellen Hunt daughter; John Hunt.

South Luffenham William Road gent and his wife; Thomas Everall yeoman and Dorothy his wife; John Digby gent; Francis Blortley yeoman and Mary his wife; Mary Andrews the wife of Anthony Andrews blacksmith; William Bently labourer; Jane Parker servant to Mr Road.

North Luffenham James Digby Esq and Bennet his wife; Elizabeth Harrendyne spinster; Ann Johnson servant to Digby.

Stoke Dry Mistress Colebank widow; Paul Colebank gent; Edward Nulshall gent.

Note: The number of recusants listed was 32, similar to the 40 identified in the May 1641 subsidy (see Chapter 4). Although both of these figures are much lower than the 61 Catholics recorded in the 1676 Compton religious census, that figure had probably been doubled to allow for children. If so they would indicate that the Rutland recusant population remained stable and concentrated in the parishes of: Morcott, North Luffenham, South Luffenham and Stoke Dry, this despite their vicissitudes during the Civil War and Commonwealth, which included the loss, by some, of two-thirds of personal estates (Whiteman 1986, 396; Bourne & Goode 1991, 6; Petersson 1956, 233).

Warrants to search the houses of the principal recusants from Edward Harington, Sir Francis Bodenham, Edward Heath and John Osborne, 28th November 1640. The search to be conducted on 7th December (BL Eg 2986, f91)

Nicholas Crispe of Seaton gent; John Hunt of Barrowden gent; James Digby of North Luffenham Esq.; John Digby of South Luffenham Esq.; Thomas Hasselwood of Belton Esq.; Mrs Bridget & Mrs Dorothy Hunt of Lyndon; Bridget Hesendine of Morcott widow.

Note: Presumably this was to search for arms extra to those they held as private contributors to the militia (see Appendix 6) or for evidence of sedition.

A certificate from Jeremy Taylor, rector, John Pepper and Nicholas Ireland of [the recusant] Mr Hunt's going to church 6th May 1641 (BL Eg 2986 f131)

May it please the Right Worships the Justices of the Peace or others whom it may concern to receive certificate from those present that Mr John Hunt of Barrowden was this morning at Divine service from the beginning to the end of it, in the parish church of Uppingham.

Attesting the loyalty of the vicar of Hambleton (BL Eg 2986, f397)

Note: After the Restoration the loyalty and conformity of ministers of religion was open to question and prompted the following attestation in support of the vicar of Hambleton to the JPs.

We whose names are hereby subscribed do certify that Dr Lawrence Hungerford our neighbouring minister at Hambleton in Rutland is well known unto us to be of sober life and conversation and one who never did (as

ever we could hear) show himself in any degree disloyal to his Majesty, but hath ever demeaned himself quietly and kept his parish wholly (this consisting of many families) a loyal people and free from all falsities and schism, as ever we could hear of.

Administering the Protestation (BL Eg 2986, f131; 134–139)

In the late spring of 1641, at the time of the impeachment and attainder of the Earl of Strafford, who had been the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, rumours began that the king planned to use an army, possibly an Irish Catholic one, to overawe Parliament and release Strafford. In May a committee of the Commons was appointed to draft a national declaration that resulted in the Protestation. This required the swearing of an oath by all men aged eighteen or over to maintain and defend, first, the true Reformed Protestant religion as expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England, secondly the King's royal person according to the duty of allegiance, thirdly to the powers and privileges of Parliament, and lastly the lawful rights and liberties of the subject. Members of the Commons took the Protestation on 3rd May and the Lords the following day (Whiteman 1995, 14). None of the official Protestation returns that were required by the Speaker for each county in January 1642 survive for Rutland. However, it is clear from those documents that do survive that at least some of the county's villages were amongst the first to take the Protestation in the country. Lists survive for Cottesmore, Barrow and Thistleton, all dated 24th May. The lists appear to include all the men of the towns, with a cross next to all but a few of the names. The cross almost certainly indicates those who took the Protestation. Of the five Cottesmore men without a cross next to their name, four are listed as very old and two of the three Barrow men are listed as 'abroad at work'. These absences would point to the town's Protestation being a collective act. Another list for Whissendine, on the same day, lists those that 'have not made their appearance'. This reversal made the clerk's job much easier in the large village where the bulk of men had taken the oath. Of the thirty-six names, all but three have crosses next to them, probably indicating a later taking of the oath. Another list of names on 24th May is of persons from around the county who made the protestation before Edward Heath, one of the JPs. The final list names Hambleton men who made the Protestation again before Edward Heath but on May 31st. This relatively short list, like the Whissendine one, may have been for men who had missed an earlier oath taking. The cluster of lists dated 24th May indicates coordination and may point to JPs such as Edward Heath journeying around the county to administer the oath at prearranged meetings.

Warrant enforcing Lent restrictions from Lord Campden and Sir Henry Mackworth to the high constables of Martinsley, 17th February 1633/4 ((HMC Barker, 402, no 14).

This bound all inn keepers and victuallers to observe the orders against dressing flesh in Lent. At the same time as making this order, Campden obtained from the King and Archbishop of Canterbury a licence for himself to continue to eat flesh during Lent (ROLLR DE3214 f10401).

Appendix 4

The Rutland Militia Roll 1639 (Hast Misc box 7, f1)

[A] catalogue of all the inhabitants and able [bodied men in] the county of Rutland
taken at Empingham [in the said] county by direction from the Lords of
the [most] honourable Privy Council the second day of January 1638/9

*Note: The personal names in this Militia Roll are not included in the index of persons but are available online at
www.rutlandhistory.org/governanceofrutland*

Alstoe Hundred - [Total 316]			
Ashwell			
William Wilcoxe Henry Green John Cole William Pepper Joseph Green Toby Phillipott	John Casterton John Daye Richard Ruddell Samwell Gibson Guy Wilborne Thomas Baylie	Edward Barliman Humphrey Herringe Edward Houlbeck William Wixe Francis Bridges Thomas Cope	William Hope William Herringe Guy Sharpe Andrew Heard
Barrow			
William Dunmore Richard Rabler Thomas Byrd	Thomas Richardson Samwell Cranwell William Bradwell	William Wilsworth William Ilson	Nicholas Wilsworth Henry Wilsworth
Burley			
John Branch Patrick White John Mowbrey Richard Clarke	John Watkin Robert Clarke William Muger Thomas Ruffe	Robert Quinbrough Thomas Cole Humphrey Winterton Thomas Hill	John Standley John Andrews John Jackson
Cottesmore			
Benjamin Chamberlaine Nicholas Casledine Thomas Casledine James Sneath Thomas Millner John Loe William Halley William Nunnick Nathaniel Porter	Robert Wells Henry Wilford John Walker John Nixe John Skellett Robert Grocock William Bellars Richard Michelson John Chapman	John Geesin William Harde Nicholas Harde John Ousler Anthony Harteliste Robert Clarke Ouswell Leland Robert Hutchin William Hutchin	William Sicklinge Richard Sicklinge William Coop William Dee Thomas Chamberlin Nathaniel Sharpe Simon Wilcoxe Jeffrey Stublely
Exton			
Thomas Smith Chistopher Smith Olud Woods Ferdnando Mason John Fisher Frampton Barton Edward Coles William Ward	John Forrest Thomas Brooke jun Anthony Miller John Smith jun William Inglesey Edward Mathewe John Hope Nicholas Scotney	William Newman John Hackett Robert Gunthorpe [Edwa]rd Ward John Luxe John Perseball John Bishell James Lock	William Sturges sen William Sturges jun William Barrowe John Swell Olyd Mowbray Thomas Dodall Robert Rogers [William] Halford
Greetham			
Thomas Hardy Henry Corke [Thomas] Hardy Michael Tomlyn Robert Preist George Robinson	Richard Collen Robert Cam Richard Shorte John Finn Henry Sisson James Sisson	William Willis Leonard Templemen Simon Halley Thomas Blase Nicholas Blase Edward Alexon	Richard Woodcooke Richard Bellars Adam Collen John Collen William Glen William Talbott

William Blase John Forster Simon Winge Samwell Pitte William Curtis Henry Lee	Richard Baron Henry Tompson Nicholas Tomlin Matthew Collen Christopher Broughton Richard Watson	Thomas Foyster Olud Wicarrs George Walker John Brigge Peter Casterton John Collen	John Wixe Thomas Dracott Richard Duck William Bente Chistopher Paulfreman
Market Overton			
Matthew Nixe Thomas Worth Edward Newell Jo[hn] [missing]ugh sen W[illiam] [missing] Jos[eph] [missing] Jos[eph] [missing] Ja[mes] [missing]	Richard [missing] Robert [missing] Daniel Gann Edward Roberts Hugh Browne John Hall John Drayper William Money	Thomas Kente Richard Collin William Christian James Sifers Thomas Wilkin Thomas Porter Thomas Sisson William Nix	George Wilbourne Matthew Stanhope John Coop Richard Thurlebye William Nall jun Anthony Lee William Parker
Stretton			
Thomas Neylor John Ireland Raph Cocke William Cleyton Stephen Eastwick	Thomas Rubbin Richard Collin Thomas Browne Robert Bagworth William Macksey	John Paine Richard Sutton Robert Coop John Portwood Thomas Stanhope	William Skillington Robert Tubbs Andrew Beakele Thomas Grante Henry Grante
Teigh			
Phillip Barrowe John Glover William Berrey Henry Wade John Green Robert Yates	Richard Barrowe William Nixon William Dalbie William Smith Anthony Templeman Richard Ashwell	Richard Eccopp Richard Colle William Coxe Thomas Green Emanuel Wixe Richard Nelson	William Hatchcock Zachary Hudson William Camline William Eccoppe
Thistleton			
William Sisson John Tobine John Cronkhornes Thomas Collingroved Thomas Wright	Richard Atton William Reddish Henry Gibson Henry Bennett John Smith	Francis Sison Henry Whitacre Christopher Greene Robert Ward John Pitte	Edmond Caunte Thomas Ward George Butler
[Whissendine]			
Robert Haye William Browne Thomas Greene Stephen Greene Brian Barker Thomas Mason Thomas Harrison Robert Wyer John Towers Thomas Greene John White Roger Hack William Hack Robert Kitchen	Thomas Rudkin Thomas Holliday Robert Flower William Fisher Emanuel Barnatt James Morrise Zackary Line Gilbert Fossett Henry Mason Edward Ilson Robert Watkin Thomas Wittell Robert Kitchen John Kitchen	Thomas Greene Stephen Greene Bartholomew Phillipott Nicholas Robinson John Robinson John Banister Robert Palmer Henry Wells Abraham Stafford Thomas Clarke John Perkins Maxey Compton Edward Elson John Woolley	Stephen Clarke Richard Castle Clement Coup Thomas Pine Lawrence Greene William Coxe Michael Bellamy Henry Spritle William Hackitt Ephrat Sharpe Robert Blackborne William Reeve Joseph Pepper
Whitwell			
Francis Taylor John Newman Richard Poole	Robert Kenghe Richard Kenghe	Augusten Pool Matthew Pool	John Tucker Roland Reresbye

East Hundred – [Total 285]

Belmesthorpe			
James Barnes Robert Wilne Robert Brightman John Boyall John Hayer	William Boyall Edward Barny John Bransby Thomas Goodman Francis Wilson	James Waterfall Thomas Wilne James Draper John Burning Francis Barber	Thomas Oatch Thomas Holmes John Pears

Casterton Magna			
William Sculthorpe Lawrence Jerman Jeffrey Sharpe John Exton John Marknes Robert Barber Thomas Marknes	Robert Tyers Henry Tyers Thomas Bitterley Thomas Bett William Jermin jun William Cranwell John Cranwell	Richard Roeford Anthony Aldgate John Aldgate jun George Coxall Edward Calladine Anthony Cromwell William Winsloe	Richard Sharpe Thomas Thompson Thomas Love John Love jun Clement Love Lenard Oldgate William Ducker
Casterton Parva			
John Hitchcock James Bottomley Jacob Lankton	Henry Francis John Bottomley William Slight	Robert Waddington Gregory Allen John Gray	Francis Bland John Gann
Empingham			
Richard Judkin Matthew Young John Day William Sisson Richard Wright Humphrey Harrison Samuel Exton Raph Sisson John Wheatley Thomas Wheatley Edward Watson Thomas Fenchild Thomas Exton Robert Sisson John Gibbins John Watte George Richardson Henry Laxton	John Bowley Henry Ellis Samuel Browne Jonas Kirk Thomas Judkin Matthew Fancot Jonas Duckworth Christopher Granter Thomas Whitehead Michael Exton Thomas Exton Isaac Bolland George Packer Raph Lea John Exton Thomas Sisson William Lea Robert Louth	William Judkin Henry Lea Samuel Smith Richard Baynes Robert Edmonds John Duckworth John Laxton William Burth Michael Burth Edward Waterfall Francis Cauvener Thomas Burning Thomas Lawrence John Scotney sen John Scotney jun John Burning John Merrill Nicholas Packer	William Sisson William Cesterton sen William Cesterton jun John Cesterton Francis Bridges William Hudson Hugh Millington Richard Mason John Mason Henry Thompson George Palmer Thomas Smithergill Nathaniel Behoe George Behoe George Lawrence Francis Stevens
Essendine			
Thomas Andrew William Saunders William Burnby Bartholomew Cox	Thomas Smith William Hare Thomas Chatten John Feverhill	Thomas Parson Richard Barras Robert Bull Thomas Bull	John Bull James Barber
Ingthorpe			
Paul Louth John Blackley John Bould	Richard Gibson Henry Tompson James Tompson	Robert Barney Matthew Barney Edward Bland	Robert Speed Robert Sharpe John Louth
Ketton			
John Hardy John Portwood Henry Simson Robert Richardson Richard Wilkinson Michael Manton William Swift Thomas Osbourne John Cain Augusten Peck George Portwood Thomas Ducker Roger Caroll John Andrew Thomas Buck	Henry Bradley William Parish Edward Brewster William Wilkinson John Osborne John Bland John Wood John Royce John Sandall Richard Wright John Chatron Nicholas Freeman John Fowler Boniface Bridgeford William Sewell	John Bridgeford John Good William Lea Robert Wilson John Turney Thomas Peiceball George Culpin William Fether Clement Culpin George Andrew George Bland Rowland Rause John Cooleman George Atkinson Robert Smith	Thomas Brightforth Robert Francis Thomas King Robert Nix Richard Dalbie Henry Turney John Manning Robert Neylor William Neylor Richard Waddington Robert Hunt Francis Dafte William Peake
Ryhall			
Gabriel Boyall Thomas Brightman Thomas Wilson William Holmes Thomas Gann	Andrew Meadows Lawrence Person William Wallis Matthew Wallis Thomas Wright	John Holmes Thomas Holmes Thomas Skeath Humphrey Barker Jeffrey Holmes	Robert Glenn Raph Gray Humphrey Gray Thomas Holmes Thomas Gray

William Bingham Rodwick Dee John Dee	John Blackley William Howitt John Pilkinton	Thomas Wells Anthony Barber Thomas Cox	Thomas Waterson Robert Mosey Robert Thorly
Tinwell			
John Palfreman John Hibbins Clement Sharpe Clement Gibson Robert Hill Daniel Emble James Palfremen	Robert Archer Thomas Whitehead Thomas Goodlad Robert Loe Barnabas Turner Sylvester Billens Anthony Lee	Jeffrey Wildbore Francis Garvis Robert Howett Richard Goodfry William Garnet Peter Kennard John Sharpe	William Freeman Thomas Palfreman John Johnson Christopher Jarvis Thomas Gibson Thomas Hardie Nicholas Love
Tickencote			
Robert Pryor Thomas Wade Luke Allen Robert Baynes	Richard Kirton John Qewe Phillip Fragines	Rowland Sharpe John Hawley Wedward Clarke	William Baynes John Grimthorpe Robert Panke

Martinsley Hundred – [Total 333]			
Ayston			
John Massey Robert Massey Thomas Bate William Jordaine	Richard Hillam Robert Barnard John Pope Edward Bishop	Bryan Salterthayte William Hillam Thomas Chesledine	Thomas Robert John Robert Richard Kirk
Edith Weston			
Robert Ridlington Robert Greman William Branston Matthew Brewster Robert Freeman Edward Small John Orgainy	John Pell Richard Bull George Bealy William Pall John Falkner Abraham Taylor Henry Hilton	John Islipp Matthew Baynes Thomas Islipp Joseph Cooke John Bull William Fowler John Jerman	Richard Billings William Bell Andrew Burning William Richardson Francis Croson George Freeman
Hambleton			
George Andrew Robert Cram Hugh Hill Henry Turner Robert Tookey Henry Fowler William Woods Robert Woods Richard Barnes Henry Tomlin Robert Nichols George Payne Robert Turner	John Whitehead Henry Nichols Edward Scotney Lenard Coop Michael Wing Christopher Faverfield Thomas Charter William Boyfeild Thomas Foot Simon Crane John Witham Thomas Fowler John King	William Frisby William Bagley Thomas Ireland Robert Blewitt Richard Blewitt John Chapman William Wing Thomas Wing Thomas Fynn George Barnes jun Thomas Bingham William Baynes George Barnaby	William Woodward Thomas Moysey Edward Clatten Richard Duck William Burges John Allen Raph Clarke Edward Bartoffe Zackary Bett William Bolland
Lyndon			
Robert Sharpe Richard Love Andrew Hand William Bell	Norridge Walter William Coles John Fynningley Clement Behoe	Bartholomew Walker Thomas Preston John Mitchell	Paul Salmon Edward Allen John Goodman
Manton			
William Smith James Thorpe Richard Wells Rowland Seaton Thomas Ridlington Thomas Forman Richard Hill Thomas Littlefoot Roger Ball Henry Bryars	Thomas Broome William Broome Thomas Broome John Allen Richard Newman Henry Newman Robert Corner Francis Woodkeep John Hubbard Robert Baron	Robert Towell John Burth William Falkner John Bolland William Bolland Keneline Allen Daniell Deacon William Shirie Nicholas Wensloe Edward Walker	Nicholas Bull Thomas Burneby William Burneby John Farrow Thomas Fowler William Hubbard Richard Bridges William Clement William Seaton

Normanton			
Peregrine Moates Henry Wells	Joseph Chamberlaine George Brasfield	John Beckitt John Bloodworth	
Preston			
John Scott Thomas Rudkin sen William Spike Thomas Rudkin jun William Ellitt	William Tompson Robert Tompson Robert Tillwhistle William Walker John Thorpe	Stephen Garnett William Norman Peter Pulford John Pulford Robert Cooper	Thomas Dallamore Thomas Walker Thomas Casledine Thomas Andrew jun Thomas Browne
Ridlington			
Edward Lenton John Hensworth William Cutt Edward Mason William Rawlings Lawrence Jarvice	Henry Nicholls John Woods Robert Ratley Thomas Pine Clement Berrie William Manton	Thomas Scott Thomas Good Thomas Norman John Harrison Henry Hillum Francis Midleton	William Dunford William Walker Robert Walker George Towell Richard Harrison
Uppingham			
Thomas Brunby Richard Kirk Christopher Hayes William George Richard Wells sen John Wells Richard Wells jun John Foster Henry Goodman James Clarke sen James Clarke jun Robert Sewell jun William Simper John Todd Sabastian Duckman John Matthews Robert Tasker John Flemming William Catesbey Mr Manby William Hope Edward Peach Clement Stroad Robert Kirk John Bennett James Walebank Richard Wright Robert Berrisse Lion Falkner jun	Robert Frisby William Bemrose John Sonderwood Thomas Flemming sen Thomas Flemming jun John Wade jun Francis Laxion Everard Wilson William Bryars Thomas Walebanke William Wilson Richard Martin Lion Falkner sen Goodlad Coulson Henry Barwell Rowland Harefoot Edward White Richard Falkner Samuel Bradshaw Josephat Reynes Nathaniel Prepher John Setchill Hugh James Richard Sharpe Peter Roe Richard Catling Henry Pipher John Hull sen John Hull jun	Richard Poole Thomas Underwood Edward Dusson John Foster William Watson Hugh Jackson Thomas Elwood Thomas Gaunt Edward Styanson Thomas Mears John Goade John Wheatley Thomas Furnace William Hall Thomas Large Francis Wharton Thomas Mould James Rawley Roger Furnace John Watte William Sneth William Mould Richard Walker William Allen John Ward Matthew Walker Thomas Walker Fabin Belthopp Thomas Bull	Daniel Sumpter William Sumpter William Bell George Bell William Farmer Thomas Bates George Bennitt Phillip Flemming John Goodwyn Peter Butler sen Peter Butler jun Nicholas Clipsham Thomas Orme Theophilus Billingley Adam Edgson William Edgson Robert Collings Ismael Phillipott Thomas Frisby John Tompson Andrew Brolest John Power John Taylor Ephram Wright John Wright Robert Flemming Isley Deesey Robert Martin
Wing			
William Sharpe jun William Sharpe sen Thomas Holmes William Allen Richard Holbrooke John Torie Anthony Wardlington	Richard Allen John Stapleton John Allen Francis Dillworth Edward Broughton Nicholas Quenby Robert Allen	Francis Allen John Burning sen John Burning jun Mark Sheild Arthur Tory Thomas Suell Anthony Johnson	Thomas Sheild Richard Sharpe sen Edward Fisher Robert Baynes sen John Sharpe

Oakham [Soke] Hundred – [Total 365]			
Brooke			
Jeffrey Poole Thomas Merriman William Martin sen Nicholas Tomlin John Smalley	John Hallart John Johnson William Marlin James Johnson Thomas Woods	Richard Bagton John Basse William Hubbard Richard Burns Richard Cramp	Thomas Coop Francis Hubbard William Flower Robert Ronny Thomas Dixon

Braunston			
William Burton gent Gyles Burton Robert Rawlins Nathaniel Sculthorpe Merrill Lamb John Billings gent Lawrence Casledine Thomas Rossewell Marlin Burton Richard Glenford William Reve Thomas Tampion	Augusten Rawlins Richard Blabie Augusten Woodkeeper Thomas Atton sen Robert Foster jun Alexander Hackett Henry Cantyn Matthew Vryn William Browne Robert Barley Augusten Deacock John Stranger	John Burning Robert Atton Edward Atton Bartin Atton Robert Foster sen Thomas Dracott John Godby Robert Snartt Thomas Bryers Richard Fisher Nicholas Lacot Thomas Falkner	Henry Dracott John Elderkin Richard Foster Thomas Burton Edward Chisldine Sucrat Chisldine Thomas Bate John Bate Richard Cantin
Belton			
Thomas Marson Thomas Walker Henry Allen Roger Atton Francis Marshall Thomas Browne Edward Sharpe Daniel Pakesman Richard Johnson Anthony Dawson	William Pouds Francis Ward Amos Croddin Edward Talby John Laxton Benjamin Marson Robert Hill Francis Atton Henry Fryer Francis Edgley	Thomas Billings William Earl Edward Owse Thomas Camp James Ogden William Halliday Thomas Sharpe John Godfrey William Godfrey Mark Flemming	Joshua Tookey Richard Tyers William Healy William Overend Thomas Overend Richard Overend William Worth William Collin Valentine Collin Thomas Beaver
Barleythorpe			
Mr Price Mr Bushby William Rudkin Thomas Rudkin William Fowler Abell Vines	Henry Jorden Thomas Jorden Jeffrey Cantin Thomas White William Blonte John Kimberley	Nathaniel Kimberley William Kimberley John Nunick Henry Jorden Edward Berrey William Smith	Jeffrey Bushby Thomas Adcock Thomas Hand Daniel Cade James Newton William Nunick
Clipsham			
Michael Gray James Gubbins John Lewitt	John Glover John Francis Nicholas Mibney	Matthew Robinson John Pitt Dria Burr	Alexander Pitt Francis Stevens Richard Barker
Egleton			
Nicholas Towell Roger Fowler Jervis Goodwin Edward Hutchinson Christopher Ward	John Towell Thomas Howett John Conington William Kirk Mark Jackson	Thomas Harboth jun William Towell Christopher Towell William Corner John Parker	John Clarke John Ward Jacob Fowler John Dickens
Langham			
Anthony Chisldine William Pepper William Dudson Humphrey Hubbard Matthew Beaver Thomas Hubbard Thomas Frury Thomas Gilburn Richard Dracott Henry Francis William Hubbard Ambrose Barker Toby White Robert Dunwell Francis Hunt	James Barton Francis Dracott Thomas Parr Thomas Ball Robert Parr Roger Good Richard Hubbard Richard Blunt George Milner Thomas Pitte John Ebdes William Blabie Henry Bull Bartholomew Riddell John Hormbie	Thomas Hornbie Abraham Pitte Richard Phillpott Humphrey Bull John Bush Bartholomew Stines William Baxter Stephen Palmer Roger Jorden Stephen Ellis Bartholomew Riddell Thomas Pitte William Jandie Ambrose Riddle Robert Brown	John Hack Thomas Blabie Thomas Naylor William Pepper Thomas Thorpe Thomas Warde Thomas Cole William Harris Thomas Dalbie Henry Hubbard George Stevens Anthony Chisledyne Richard Chisledyne Luke Sharp Matthew Redmaile
Oakham			
John Mason George Ripier Thomas Pudget Jeffrey Skith Peter Terwhit	William Aleso Thomas Watfield Mark Wayte Thomas Wignall Edward Backer	William Martin Anthony Brookesby John Baylie John Owen Edward Jackson	Elias Henshaw Richard Ward Stephen Torie Henry Flemming Hugh Gilbert

Thomas Craupe Samuel Wilford William Ashley John Cockall Thomas Cockall Thomas Hack William Ashton Robert Wade Phillip Coy Robert Foller Thomas Porter Thomas Bushby Thomas Ashton William Wade Thomas Wyer Ambrose France Thomas Cramp Francis Cramp Peter Water	Robert Wright Edward Alackney Bartin Beltain Hugh Pitt Thomas Snall William Rudshaw James Hubbard Anthony Parfitt John Ashton Arthur Barns Matthew Barns John Crampe Anthony Bellamy George Wooley Robert Farrow Robert Martin Josiah Burton Mr Johnson Samuel Pool	Jervase Flemming John Porter Richard Leason John Leason William Meadows Samuel Hall Thomas Simley John Smith John Hall Thomas Meakins Thomas Pettie Thomas Brabbin John Johnson Lawrence Johnson William Bayly Edward Dross John Francis William Hollinworth William Harker	Francis Thorpe Robert Ball John Hubbard Edward Leavers William Fowler Richard Jorden William Reave Francis Stiles Edward Redmill John Kidd William Barker George Bate Thomas Wade William Bullivant Remidge Fawknor May Owen Nathaniel Perkins Thomas Cade
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Westminster Fee [Oakham]

Richard Brewing Robert Sharp Henry Driffeld John Thorpe Richard Bennington James Porter Thomas Brett Richard Redmill Thomas Mallin Thomas Holliday Bartin Canlin	William Rowlett Alexander Moysey Thomas Bretton Thomas Grey Thomas Thorpe Thomas Hubbard Thomas Dansey John Waters Lazarus Skarbrow William Mowbrey Thomas Cade	Daniel Cade John Harford Richard Copall Thomas Hopkins Thomas Darbey John Smith John Taylor William Peice Samuel Cole William Wade William Hawkins Mr	Richard Redmill William Sharpe Luke Bull John Bull Bartill Crampe George Royce Richard Royce Thomas Andrew John Andrew
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Wardley

Daniel Wilson Nicholas Noon	William Noon John Martin	William Sewelk Joseph Watkin	Robert Hudson John Goodwin
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Wrangdike Hundred – [Total 372]

Barrowden

John Hunt gent Myles Smith gent Thomas Jenkinson gent William Deade gent John Phillips gent James Goodladd Richard Towns Roger Cooke John Richman Roger Willie Henry Coop William Dawson Clement Dawson	Robert Choyse Thomas Taylor Rowland Fairchild Joseph Fairchild James Strickland Simon Cooke Soloman Clarke Thomas Allen Jeffrey Norrish Abraham Defras John Bursnall Henry Fowler William Taylor	Kelham Renolds Robert Renolds Adam Elson Robert Riddill William Browning Robert Sharpe Elias Cobly Thomas Flint William Caxon William Dumnore Robert Smith William Barker Anthony Dalby	Richard Fairchild Robert Johnson Henry Cliffe jun John Sivan Robert Ducker John Cope Henry Fox Soloman Herford Francis Coop Thomas Parsons
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Bisbrooke

Thomas Stringer Thomas Cosen Richard Cosen William Sewill Anthony Massey	Mark Berrey Mark Rudkin John Martin Richard Cante Richard Chesterton	John Stringer Thomas Stringer Richard Allen Richard Winckley	Cuthbert Deacon Mark Cooke George Howson
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Caldecott

Henry Ward Zackary Ward Walter Newbon gent Robert Shorte	William Hill sen William Hill jun William Sicklin Thomas Fryer	Raph Spell John Browne sen John Browne jun John Kirby	Thomas Slade Peter Woodcock sen Peter Woodcock jun William Bull
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Richard Fryer Walter Bunkley Thomas Redshawe	Robert Skealhorn William Bringethe Robert Ily	Zackary Kirby James Kirby George George	Richard Morris jun Anthony Simpson Robert Woodcock
Glaston			
Daniel Larrett John Alexander Robert Harrison Anthony Tomlinson William Wellam Bryan Frankland	Raph Reade Robert Slye John Luffe Edward Harris Thomas Pridmore Richard Fathers	Thomas Prettie Thomas Ibbs Tobie Andrew William Poole Henry Sudbury Mark Simpson	Francis Inge William Johnson Edward Chambers William Ibbs sen William Knapp
Lyddington			
Kenelme Stanger Robert Manton George Sisme William Matthews John Dolton Clement Browne Thomas King John Webster John Hill sen Kenelme Waterfeild Joseph Waterfield Godfrey Waterfield Joseph Bronson Thomas Falkner Clement Sherwood Robert Slye John Jackson	Robert Walker George Pearce John Peck James Burton Stephen Wright Robert Briton John Lawbe Gabiell Colwell Simon Wade Thomas Coleman John Freeman sen John Warrin Robert Smith James Hill Job Akernes John Allen Robert Taylor	Nicholas Wharton Thomas Billings William Warde William Barker William Clarke Kenelme Marvin sen John Freeman Stephen Cotterill Kenelme Wright Francis Sherwood Henry Clarke Simon Wells Robert Boyes John Ireland Nathaniel Ireland Kenelme Hill Robert Tansley	Richard Norridge Edward Waterfield Thomas Elliot Anthony Flower John Manton Robert Hill Richard Lacie William Horne Zackary Prittie Clement Pritte James Winter John Hill jun Edward Marvin jun Richard Hill
Morcott			
Mr Farmer William Clipsham Peter Barriffe Robert Aissar Henry Green William Andrew John Barker Stephen White Nicholas Warner Nathaniel Hill	Robert Preston Robert Elwood John Tealbye Jenkin Harrison Euard Freeman Edmond Behoe John Falkner Henry Tealby John Sherwood Richard Freeman	Christopher Knapp Edward Foster Thomas Tealbye William Casledine Robert Sharpe John Rudkin John Shewe James Turner Roger Gunter George Roade	Thomas Burning Richard Angell Richard Whitehead Israel Knapp Daniel Cox Edward Gosse Mark Wing Edward Muff
North Luffenham			
Edmond Hunt gent Gyles Hobson Richard Luffe Vincent Wing Thomas Freeman Ferdinando Pope Thomas Sculthorpe John Hodgeson William Banke John Bredfield John Jacklins Robert Wheatley	Harbeowe Munton Mark Lyn Harrold Goodman Robert Hobson John Andrew John Ireland William woods Thomas Bales Richard Browne Robert Baylis William Sharpe William Gibbins	Arthur Millinton Matthew Dafte John Sharpe Henry Wells Richard Ireland Thomas Rudkin Richard Renolds William Wortley William Turney Thomas Munton George Cluff William Holland	William White Richard Pitte James Digbie gent George Burhopp Thomas Bentley Richard Miller Roger Elwood Christopher Wen John Andrew Thomas Hunt
South Luffenham			
Matthew Poole John Lough Richard Barker Nathaniel Yeoman John Walebanke John Larrett James Walebanke Samuel Barker	Richard Redman Robert Bell Jervase Slascum William Sharpe Richard Walebanke Abraham Millnes Samuel Abbott Edward Ratcliffe	John Cooke John Williams Anthony Andrew Roger Sharpe Abraham Barwell William Chadd John Armsbye John Daues	Rowland Daues Henry Swabie Richard Dunmore Robert Nixon Thomas Watte John Yeomans
Pilton			
John Sculthorpe Richard Falkner	Abraham Falkner Edward Cox	William Vane Thomas Fawkes	John Shelton

Seaton			
Ambrose Broughton gent	John Ashton	John Pridmore	John Mattox
Michael Catesbie gent	Robert Walker	George Lankton	John Goodman
Anthony Sculthore	Michael Walker	Erasmus Barwell	Michael Gunthorp
Michael Hubbard	Anthony Pridmore	George Glead	Roger Cooke
George Warde	Robert Noyle	Francis Goyles	Richard Tompson
John Woodward	Thomas Cosens	Jonas Merrill	William Goodman
William Peake	Thomas Garwell	Thomas Merrill	John Morcott
Peter Cleyton	Robert Gibson	Andrew Holmes	Jaspar Parr
John Hand	Richard Spencer	William Hackett	
Edward Broughton	John Noridge	William Clippin	
George Richman	William Pridmore	Toby Chapman	
Stoke Dry			
Thomas Estwick	John Richards	John Duck	
Nicholas Estwick	Peter Ashbie	James Renolds	
Thorpe			
Edmond Sismey	William Parker	Thomas Payne	Matthew Stanger
Thomas Parker	Henry Langton	Nathaniel Smith	John Falkner
John Boteler			
Tixover			
William Britten	William Harrington	Nicholas Walker	John Robinson
Robert Cox	John Castard	Thomas Dakins	William Taylor
Richard Britten	John Hix	Thomas Coward	William Reresbye
Henry Sherman			

[Grand Total – 1,671]

Notes

The total of 1,671 men listed in the militia roll represents an understatement of the whole population of able men in Rutland aged between 16 and 60, for the various reasons discussed in this study. The level of understatement can be estimated in several ways:

1. A comparison of the militia roll with the 1640 trained band muster list shows only 46% of names on the parish foot list were also on the militia roll.
2. The Rutland Protestation lists of May 1641 for Cottesmore, Barrow and Thistleton totalled seventy-one, twenty-nine and twenty-nine men respectively, while the militia roll totals are thirty-five, ten and eighteen respectively, representing short falls of 49%, 34% and 62% (BL Eg 2986, ff134–7).
3. Repeats of the same surname in the militia roll of 17% are low compared to comparable figures calculated from the [much later] 1851 census for the male members of the same family aged 16–60 in North Luffenham and Egleton of 39% and 38% respectively, or an understatement of 44%. The 1851 figures are themselves low estimates as they do not include other persons with the same surname in the same village. At the time of the census both villages were rural, with North Luffenham still operating an open field system.
4. There were 2,901 households listed in the 1665 Rutland Hearth Tax returns (Bourne & Goode 1991, 8). The average number of males aged between 16 and 60 per household in the 1851 census of North Luffenham and Egleton was 1.05 and 0.88 respectively. Applying the average to the Hearth Tax households gives an estimated 16 to 60 population of 2,814, the actual militia roll total representing 60% of this estimate.

Despite the limitation of all four estimates, such as unknown numbers of disabled individuals and uncertainty about how 1851 census figures relate to the mid seventeenth century population, all four methods of estimation point to a general understatement of about 50%.

Appendix 5

Rutland Muster Roll 1614 (Hast Mil box 1, f11)

'The certificate of the hundreds names surnames and dwelling places of the now standing and trained band with their several arms and furniture where with they are charged within the county aforesaid under the leading and conduct of John Coney gentleman. Viewed at muster before Sir Edward Noel baronet, Sir Guy Palmes knight and Basil Fielding Esquire three of the deputy lieutenants in the county aforesaid which muster and view were taken and made according to letters and other directions received from the right honourable the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Lieutenant for the said county of Rutland bearing date nineteenth day October 1614.'

Note: The personal names in this Muster Roll are not included in the index of persons but are available online at www.rutlandhistory.org/governanceofrutland

Alstoe Hundred				
<i>Town</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Corselet</i>	<i>Musket</i>	<i>Caliver</i>
Ashwell	Nicolas Bery Francis Bridges	1	1	
Barrow	John Hinman Matthew Nix	1	1	
Burley	Thomas Jackson	1		
Cottesmore	Henry Richardson James Bellars	1	1	
Exton	Robert Dalbey John Clarke Hugh Tyler	1	1	1
Greetham	Henry Sisson Thomas Gibson		1	1
Market Overton	Noel Nix Thomas Cope	1	1	
Stretton	Thomas Nealer William Andrew		1	1
Teigh	Daniel Nix Robert Yates	1	1	
Thistleton	Francis Parker Christopher Green	1	1	
Whissendine	Roger Hack William Stephens John Castlin William Reeve William Wortley Stephen Watkin	1 1	1 1 1	1
Whitwell	[missing] Weston		1	
Total	27 [see note on p119]	10	14	4

East Hundred				
<i>Town</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Corselet</i>	<i>Musket</i>	<i>Caliver</i>
Casterton Magna	Jeffery Sharpe		1	
Casterton Parva	Pethegrew Preston	1		
Empingham	Nicholas Thorpe William Sisson Francis Flower	1	1 1	
Essendine	Thomas Gam		1	
Ketton	Robert Turney Thomas Lightfoot Robert Pope	1 1	1	
Ryhall & Belmesthorpe	Thomas Wilson Richard Wright	1	1	
Tickencote	John Sisson		1	
Tinwell & Ingthorpe	George Sharpe Clement Tomson		1 1	
Total	14	5	9	

Martinsley Hundred				
<i>Town</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Corselet</i>	<i>Musket</i>	<i>Caliver</i>
Ayston	Toby Haryes	1		
Edith Weston	George Bailey Lawrence Ward	1	1	
Hambleton	John Allen John Blewynt William Wyles	1	1	1
Lyndon	Robert Sharpe	1		
Manton	Thomas Burning John Frisby		1 1	
Preston	Bartholomew Winterton Anthony Tomlinson		1	1
Ridlington	Henry Walker Thomas Walker		1	1
Uppingham	William Wright John Robarts William Wharton Thomas Wash	1 1 1	1	
Wing	John Allen Thomas Burning	1	1	
Normanton *				
Total	19	8	8	3

* No information is given for Normanton

Oakham Hundred				
<i>Town</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Corselet</i>	<i>Musket</i>	<i>Caliver</i>
Barleythorpe	James Jorden John Nunweek	1	1	
Belton	Nathan Tooky Christopher Wilkingson	1	1	
Braunston	[Bartholemew] Burton John Walker	1	1	
Brooke	Thomas Tharpe William Martin	1	1	
Clipsham	Edward Spures P[missing] Prait		1	1
Egleton	William [missing] Edward Goodwin		1	1
Langham	William Stretton John Bawle	1	1	
Oakham	John Manton William Wynter Thomas Porter William Meadows	1 1	1 1	
Wardley	William Roberts		1	
Total	19	7	10	2

Wrangdike Hundred				
<i>Town</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Corselet</i>	<i>Musket</i>	<i>Caliver</i>
Barrowden	Edward Jackson			1
Bisbrooke	Thomas Wilcocks	1		
Caldecott	Thomas Woodcock Richard Moryst	1	1	
Glaston	William [D]ellam Christopher Hickman Henry Sisson	1 1	1	
Lyddington	Robert Ireland	1		
Morcott	Clement Tooky Edmond Rudkin Michael Clipsham	1	1 1	
North Luffenham	John Oldham Thomas Scotch	1	1	

Pilton	John Falkener		1	
Seaton	Thomas Manton	1		
	William Chapman		1	
South Luffenham	Richard Larratt		1	
	Zackary Walbanks	1		
Stoke Dry	Michael Reynolds	1		
Thorpe	Hugh Ward		1	
Tixover	William Willton		1	
Total	21	10	10	1

Document Grand Total	[100]	40	50	10
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Note

The actual total for individual arms in Alstoe hundred is 28, whereas the document states 27. The difference is due to William Stephens of Whissendine being incorrectly assigned both a corselet and a caliver. The document grand total appears to have been added at a later date.

Appendix 6

The [Rutland] Militia 1640 (ROLLR DE3214/12325)

(M = Musket, C = Corselet (pikeman's armour), S = May 1641 Subsidy Tax Payer, R = On 1639 Militia Roll)

Note: The personal names in this Muster Roll are not included in the index of persons but are available online at www.rutlandhistory.org/governanceofrutland

A list of Horse	No.	A list of Horse	No.
The Lord Sherrard (S) ¹	2	Mr Pallmer ³	1
Sir Guy Palmes (S)	1	Mr Andrew Burton (S) & Mr [John] Booth (S)	1
Sir Edward Harington (S)	1	Mr Richard Haulford (S)	1
Sir Henry Mackworth (S)	1	Mr [Abel] Barker (S)	1
Sir Francis Bodenhams (S)	1	Mr [Valentine] Saunders (S)	1
Sir Henry Minne (S)	1	Mr [Nathaniel] Crew (S)	1
Sir Kenholm Digbye (S)	1	Mr [William] Colley (S)	1
The Lady Wingfield (S) ²	1	Mr [Edward] Andrews (S)	1
Mr [Thomas] Levit (S)	1	Mr James Digbye (S, R)	1
Mr [Robert] Horsman (S)	1	Mr John Greene (S)	1
Mr Sam[uel] Wentworth	1	Mr [Edward] Preston (S)	1
Mr Borrough & Mr Beecham	1	Mr [Christopher] Brown (S)	1
Mr [Edward] Heath (S)	1	Mr [George] Binion (S)	1
Mr Hide (his widow Sarah, S)	1	Mr Robinson ⁴ & Mr [Richard] Bullingham (S)	1
Mr Samuel Johnson (S)	1		
[Total]			[30]

Notes

1. William lord Sherrard died 1st April 1640; his widow Abigail was charged with the subsidy tax due to the minority of their son.
2. Lady Wingfield included due to minority of her son Richard.
3. Either Richard or Roger of Stoke Dry (BL Eg 2986, f247).
4. Probably William Robinson of Tinwell.

The Clergie ¹ (Longden 1940)			
	[Names inserted later]		Armes
[Glaston]	Mr [Richard] Farren		M
Barrowden	Mr [Robert] Ward	Thomas Parsons (R)	M
[Tinwell]	Mr [John] Wilebore		M
South Luffenham	Mr [John] Armstrong	Wid[ow] Chad ⁴	M
Hambleton	Mr [John] Duckett &		M
Lyndon	Mr [Nathaniel] Gulston	Will. Coles (R)	
Stretton	Mr [Jeremy] Whitacre &		M
Tickencote	Mr [Josiah] Peachye ²	Jo. Fyn ⁵ (R)	
Clipsham	Mr [James] Fisher	Jo. Pitts (R)	M
Ridlington	Mr [John] Gibson		M
Preston	Mr [Richard] Swann	Will. Elliot (R)	M
Morcott	Mr [Richard] Watts	Ever Freeman (R)	M
Exton	Mr [John] Orme ³ &		M
Thistleton	Mr [Samuel] Craddock	James Tiler	
Wardley	Mr [Francis] Lante &		M
Edith Weston	Mr [Thomas] Haulford	Jo. Freeman	
Casterton Magna	Mr [Edward] Salter		M
Oakham	Mr [William] Peachye &		M
Burley	Mr [Samuel] Gibson	Ric. Binon	
Normanton	Mr [Robert] Laxon &		M
Casterton Parva	Mr [Roger] Haddon		
Wing	Mr [Francis] Mearles &		M
Whitwell	Mr [Thomas] Frier	Thom. Barwell	
North Luffenham	Mr [Jonathan] Tooque	Hen. Ireland	M
Ashwell	Mr [Daniel] Cooke	Will. Haye	C
Stoke Dry	Mr [Humphrey] Stevens	Ro. Woodcoke (R)	C
Uppingham	Mr [Jeremy] Taylor		C
[Market Overton]	Mr [John] Green		C
[Teigh]	Mr [James] Adamson		C
[Ayston]	Mr [Edmund] Masy		C
[Total Muskets]			[17]
[Total Corselets]			[6]

Notes

1. None of clergy appear on the militia roll. All were rectors, except for the vicars of Hambleton, Oakham and Burley. Rutland rectories not included on the list were Cottesmore, Pilton, Seaton and Tixover, nor the Prebends of Lyddington, Ketton and Empingham. While the vicars charged with arms held some of most valuable of those livings, they were still well below the values of Cottesmore and Seaton (BL Eg 2986, ff239–41).
2. Buried May 1639, rectory passed to brother William Peachye, both were sons of William Peachye, vicar of Oakham.
3. Vicar of Exton and Greetham, Rector of Horn.
4. The widow of William Chadd of South Luffenham, who was listed on the militia roll.
5. John Finn of Greetham listed on the Militia Roll.

Alstoe Hundred					
Town	Men	Arms	Town	Men	Arms
Ashwell	Guy Cole	C	Market Overton	Francis Blaby Francis Robinson	M
Ashwell	Guy Sharpe (R)	C	Stretton	Edward Ward	M
Ashwell	Willm Willcockes (S, R) Francis Rose (S)	C	Stretton	John Ashwell	C
Barrow	Willm Ilson (R)	M	Stretton	Henry Ashwell (S) Thomas Nayler (R)	C
Barrow	Walter Richards (S)	M	Teigh	Richard Ashwell (R) Henry Wade (R)	C

Burley	Hump. Winterton (R)	M	Teigh	John Glanly John Phimper	M
Burley	Thomas Panke (S)	C	Teigh	Robt. Coles Phillip Barrowe (S, R)	M
Cottesmore	Nathaniel Sharpe (R) Symon Wilcox (R)	M	Thistleton	John Wright	C
Cottesmore	Ambrose Stublye	M	Thistleton	Edward Gibye John Smith (S, R)	C
Cottesmore	Henry Okeham	M	Whissendine	Edward Orson	C
Exton	John Smith (R)	M	Whissendine	Willm Hacke (R)	M
Exton	Francis Mason	C	Whissendine	Willm Castledine	C
Exton	Richard Coles (S) John Moyses (S)	M	Whissendine	Willm Rodgers	M
Exton	John Dines (S) Nicholas Pridmore (S)	M	Whissendine	Robt. Fletch Stephen Green (R)	M
Greetham	Thomas Foster	M	Whissendine	Widow Willcockes (S) Edward Willcockes	C
Greetham	Willm Wiles	M	Whissendine	Thomas Rudkin (S, R)	M
Greetham	Henry Sisson (S, R)	M	Whissendine	Jeffery Lunne (S)	M
Greetham	Robt Coles (S)	M	Whissendine	Thomas Wortlelye (S)	M
Greetham	Francis Boyall Henry Swifte	M	Whissendine	Roger Hack (R) Richard Wortelye (S)	C
Market Overton	Erasmus Blaby	M	Whitwell	John Jester	C
Market Overton	Henry Peachy	C			
Total Muskets					[25]
Total Corselets					[16]

East Hundred					
<i>Town</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Arms</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Arms</i>
Casterton Magna	Anthony Cranwell (R)	M	Ketton	Mrs Tredway (S) Mr Arminge	C
Casterton Magna	William Sculthorpe Jeffery Sharpe (S)	M	Ketton	William Peake (S, R)	C
Casterton Parva	John Cranwell (R)	C	Ketton	John [left blank]	M
Empingham	James Smithergell	C	Ketton	Henry Story Thomas Heriott (S)	M
Empingham	Robt. Sisson (R) John Mason (R)	C	Ryhall & Belmesthorpe	William Shipley	M
Empingham	William Sisson (R)	C	Ryhall & Belmesthorpe	Robt. Brighteman (R)	C
Empingham	Richard Judkin (R) John Mobrey	M	Ryhall & Belmesthorpe	John Wallet (S) James Thompson	M
Empingham	Robt. Edmonds (S, R)	C	Tickencote	Thomas Hogskin	C
Essendine	Bray Wright	C	Tinwell & Ingthorpe	Thomas Hewit John Gibbins	M
Ketton	Robert Nailor (R)	C	Tinwell & Ingthorpe	George Sharpe Daniel Emblin (S, R)	M
Ketton	William Nailor (R)	C	Tinwell & Ingthorpe	Clement Thompson (S)	M
Ketton	John Manning (R)	C			
Total Muskets					[10]
Total Corselets					[13]

Martinsley Hundred					
<i>Town</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Arms</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Arms</i>
Ayston	William Hillam (R)	C	Preston	Thomas Rudkin (R)	C
Ayston	Mr Farmer Thomas Moore (S) Peter Woodcocke	C	Preston	John Scott (S, R)	C

Edith Weston	Robt. Freeman (R)	M	Preston	Andrew Rudkin (S) Nicolas Ireland (S)	M
Edith Weston	George Bayly (R)	C	Preston	Edward Ireland And [blank]	C
Edith Weston	John Pell (R)	C	Ridlington	Peter Hacke	C
Edith Weston	Robt. Jarman (S) James Billings (S)	M	Ridlington	John Walker	M
Hambleton	Thomas Blewit	M	Ridlington	Edward Lenton (S, R) John Scott (S, R)	M
Hambleton	Robt. Blewit (S, R)	M	Ridlington	Peter Berrise	M
Hambleton	John Allin (R)	C	Uppingham	Everard Willson (R)	C
Hambleton	Robt. Nicholls (R)	M	Uppingham	Phillip Fleming (R)	M
Hambleton	Willm. Finne	C	Uppingham	Edward Gedraim Jo. [illegible]	M
Hambleton	Willm Andrew	M	Uppingham	John Ward (R)	M
Lyndon	Bartholl. Walker (R)	C	Uppingham	Adam Walbancks (S)	M
Manton	Willm. Allin Tho. Browne	C	Uppingham	Mr Lion Falkener (S, R)	C
Manton	Willm. Burneby (S, R)	C	Uppingham	Mr Clement Burton	C
Manton	Robt. Ridlington (R)	M	Uppingham	Mr George Palliner Mr John Manbye (R)	C
Manton	Willm Chisseldine (S)	C	Wing	Hugh Sharpe	C
Manton	Thomas Burnesbye (S, R)	C	Wing	Robt Baines (R)	C
Manton	Willm Bradley	C	Wing	Richard Sharpe (S, R) John Allen (S, R)	C
Normanton	Pettygreen Moate (R)	M	Wing	Robert Ribbie Robt. Mason (S)	C
Total Muskets					[16]
Total Corselets					[24]

Oakham [Soke] Hundred					
Town	Men	Arms	Town	Men	Arms
Barleythorpe *	John Kimberly (S, R)	M	Clipsham	John Kimberly	C
Barleythorpe *	Willm. Mobrey (R)	C	Clipsham	John Coles (S)	C
Barleythorpe *	Mr Willm. Busebye (R)	M	Clipsham	Arthur Torpe (S)	M
Belton	Robt. Worthe	C	Egleton	Christopher [damaged]	C
Belton	Francis Edgley (S, R)	C	Egleton	John [damaged]	C
Belton	Thomas Hessellwood (S)	C	Egleton	Nicholas Towell (S, R) Roger Fowler (S,R)	C
Belton	Thomas Marson (S, R)	C	Egleton	Mr [William] Blythe (S)	M
Belton	Francis Ward (S, R)	M	Langham	Gregory Stifenes (R)	M
Belton	Willm. Godfrey (R) Thomas Sheild	M	Langham	Thomas Hubberd (R)	M
Braunston	Willm. Sherwood Bartin Cantyn (R)	M	Langham	Luke Sharpe (S, R) Anthony Chisseldine (S, R)	C
Braunston	Francis Edgley (R)		Oakham	Mark Wayte (R)	C
Braunston	John Dickman	M	Oakham	Remidge Faulkener (S, R)	C
Braunston	Dorothy Kilbye (S)	C	Oakham	Francis Crampe (R)	M
Braunston	Giles Burton (R) Willm. Burton (S, R)	C	Oakham	Francis Stiles (S, R) Anthony Bruxbye (S, R)	C
Braunston	Thomas Tampion (R)	M	Wardley	Thomas [damaged]	C
Brooke	George Martin	M	Wardley	Willm. [Rob]eits (S)	M
Total Muskets					[14]
Total Corselets					[17]
* = Barleythorpe & Westminster Fee					

Wrangdike Hundred					
<i>Town</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Arms</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Arms</i>
Barrowden	Augustin Marson	C	North Luffenham	Zackery Pheasant	M
Barrowden	James Goodlad (R)	M	North Luffenham	Robt. Munton	M
Barrowden	Kellum Renolds (S, R)	M	North Luffenham	Christopher Andrew	M
Barrowden	John Hunte (S, R)	M	North Luffenham	Edmund Hunte (S, R)	C
Barrowden	Henry Clife (R) Brian Weathers (S)	M	North Luffenham	Walter Newbone	M
Barrowden	Willm. Dominion Zackery Clife (S)	M	Pilton	Richard Falkener (R)	C
Bisbrooke	Anthony Mersye	C	Seaton	Anthony Sculthorpe (S, R)	C
Bisbrooke	Mr Willm Andrew	C	Seaton	Michael Huberd (S, R)	M
Caldecott	Henry Ward George George (R)	M	Seaton	Ambrose Broughton (S, R)	M
Caldecott	Zackery Ward (R)	C	South Luffenham	George Larrett	C
Glaston	John Alexander (R)	M	South Luffenham	Mr Zackery Johnson	C
Glaston	Daniel Larrett (R)	M	South Luffenham	James Larrett James Walbanks (S, R)	M
Glaston	Anthony Brudenall (S) Christopher Hickman (S)	M	South Luffenham	Mr Sam. Barker (S, R)	C
Lyddington	Kellam Stanger	M	South Luffenham	Mr Walbanks (R)	M
Lyddington	Robt. Boyer (R)	M	Stoke Dry	George Sisomer	M
Lyddington	George Sissmey (R)	M	Stoke Dry	Nicholas Britewin	C
Lyddington	Walter Newborne (R)	M	Thorpe	Edmund Sisson (R)	M
Lyddington	Thomas Smith (S) Willm. Newborne (S)	C	Thorpe	Edward Harrison (S)	M
Morcott	Edmund Behoe (R)	M	Tixover	John Hicks (R)	C
Morcott	Edward Foster (R)	M	Tixover	Edward Anger (S) Miles Briten	M
Morcott	Laurence Farmor (S, R)	M			
Total Muskets					[28]
Total Corselets					[13]

Grand Total Muskets	[110]
Grand Total Corselets	[89]

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Rutland Local History & Record Society publications

The Society's publications consist of the *Rutland Record*, a series of Occasional Publications, and the Rutland Record Series of research reports. *Rutland Record* is the Society's annual journal, an A4 publication of around 48pp, issued free to paid-up members; it normally contains a selection of historical and archaeological articles and the annual reports of local organisations whose work is connected with the heritage of the historic county. Occasional Publications, which are not included in the membership subscription, are normally dedicated to a single subject and appear at irregular intervals. The Rutland Record Series, also not included in the membership subscription, are more substantial research publications normally on a single subject or theme relating to the county of Rutland. Earlier issues of *Rutland Record* and Occasional Publications are out of print, but most of these can be consulted free of charge on the Society's website, as can *The Heritage of Rutland Water*. All available publications can be purchased in person at the Rutland County Museum, ordered from the Society by post (enclosing a cheque to include p&p), or ordered on-line (using a credit or debit card) from GENfair. Full details, including lists of contents, can be found on the Society's website, www.rutlandhistory.org, or on www.genfair.co.uk.

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About this book

This book describes how the county of Rutland was governed in the unsettled times of the seventeenth century. At that time, many tasks of government were almost exclusively undertaken at a local level. We are fortunate that many Rutland Justices of the Peace papers and Lieutenancy archives survive from this period, enabling us to illustrate how Rutland's ruling elite approached their responsibilities. These included managing criminal law and the poor, handling an outbreak of plague, maintaining the militia, impressing men for national service, ensuring that local markets operated freely, and organising taxation, both local and national.

Into this established local environment stepped the royal government of Charles I, whose increased use of prerogative powers placed new demands, both civil and ecclesiastical, on the county authorities. His subsequent decision to dispense with Parliament removed the traditional route for counties to express grievance. The clash between these two sources of power, local and national, eventually broke out into civil war. Although the majority of Rutland's major landholders supported the king, its parliamentary minority was able to control the county through outside military support. Examples of the war's impact on Rutland include a belated rush to secure the county's munitions stored at Oakham and an individual hurriedly burying a substantial hoard of coins at Ryhall. With the war came large demands for money, for goods to supply the garrisons at Burley and Rockingham, and for the billeting of soldiers, with each faction exacting penalties on their opponents.

Once the fighting was over, local bureaucracy, albeit controlled by Parliament, slipped back into well-oiled routines and was soon chasing up pre-war back taxes. Likewise, the restoration of the monarchy saw little change apart from royalists taking control, but with some members of the magistrates' bench of the Interregnum transitioning into the new order. At the same time security concerns changed from suppression of royalists to that of religious dissent.

Very large numbers of Rutland individuals are listed in the various taxation, military, voting, poor and other records used in the preparation of this work. Their details are being made available online so that they are accessible for use by local and family historians at www.rutlandhistory.org/governanceofrutland.

About the author

Ian Ryder, the Society's Honorary Treasurer and Membership Secretary, has written previously about the civil war in Yorkshire and Ireland, and is the author of the Society's *Common Right and Private Interest: Rutland's common fields and their enclosure* (Occasional Publication 8, 2006). His 'Social Investigations in early Victorian Rutland, part I: the State of Education' in *Rutland Record* 31 (2011), 16-38, was short-listed in the British Association for Local History's awards for research and publication in 2013. Part II of that study, examining their role in raising national awareness of a public health crisis in the expanding industrial towns, was published in *Rutland Record* 33 (2013), 110-21.

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