The Rutland Record Society

The Rutland Record Society was formed in May 1979. Its object is to advise the education of the public in the history of the Ancient County of Rutland, in particular by collecting, preserving, printing and publishing historical records relating to that County, making such records accessible for research purposes to anyone following a particular line of historical study, and stimulating interest generally in the history of that County.

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Editorial:
The New Horizon

Never before has local history been so popular. A revolution of interest has taken place and we are on the brink of it reaching schools through the development of new syllabuses. For some time, under the umbrella of Environmental Studies, local history has been growing in primary schools.

Such developments are vitally important for many reasons but the least obvious is that local history helps to encourage a regional sense, a love, loyalty and awareness for the locality. We are badly in need of this kind of local patriotism at present. Indeed, a love for one’s region, especially in the young, may lead to less vandalism and a better appreciation of the environment.

Market research findings show that there is still a strong regionalism in Britain that even the juggernaut of modern standardization has failed to quell. We should seek all ways open to local historians to encourage this regional sense for it is, in the end, the backbone of the Nation.

The whole field of local history is infinite but for children we should aim to concentrate on the visible evidence in the present. That means history in landscape and townscape. This gives much-needed relevance and familiarity. It can also take as its modus operandi an active, enquiring approach. It will start from the ground and the evident problem, later seeking out documentary sources from the Record Office, guided by the teacher as needed, to solve the particular landscape problem. As a Society we need to think how we can stimulate such an approach. How can we involve young people more, especially in the use of local records?

Seventy years ago, A.J. Herbertson, the famous geographer, stressed the importance of teaching a child to see, know and love his own district as ‘an inestimably valuable element in education’. Later, the French historian Marc Bloch commented on the need to explain history to children and that the ability to do so was one of the chief tests of adult historians. Can we make better people by teaching them local history related especially to their environment?

This may be a bold claim but it is worth a try. Besides, can it be wrong to draw their attention to our heritage which is visible all around us in the landscape? In a multicultural society one may argue that love for your region and respect for your heritage is irrelevant. After all, it is not the heritage of West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis. Yet we would wish them to accept it as a shared and rightful legacy if they lived here. Besides, whoever you are you need to know and appreciate your region — that is a paramount right in an equal society. In the end it could be the best thing to create harmony amongst different cultural groups.

Contributors

David Parsons took his first degree at Durham University and continued as a research student in the Department of Archaeology. He is now senior lecturer in the Adult Education Department of Leicester University, specialising in church archaeology and co-ordinator of research for Brixworth Archaeological Research Committee. He is archaeological consultant to the Diocese of Leicester and chairman of the Orton Trust for the encouragement of craftsmanship in natural stone. From 1970 to 1971 he was successively Assistant Editor and Honorary Editor of the Archaeological Journal. His interests are early medieval churches in England and Germany, the career of St. Boniface and early liturgical arrangements in churches.

Beverley Gail Hayes-Halliday is directly descended from the stonemasons, builders and contractors of Rutland and is presently a director of a Nottingham-based property development company. She has been interested in genealogy and photographic history for many years. She lives in Nottingham.

John L. Barber is Chairman of the Friends of Rutland County Museum. A former pupil and for many years a master at Oakham School he is the author of the much-acclaimed book The Story of Oakham School.

Geoffrey Brandwood graduated at Manchester University and did post-graduate work at Nottingham University. His special interest in Leicestershire and Rutland churches resulted in an invitation to contribute to the revision of the county volume in the prestigious Pevsner series on the Buildings of England recently (2nd. edition).

He is the author of The Anglican Churches of Leicester (1984) and the Bibliography of Leicester Churches Part 2, (1980). Recently, he gained his Ph.D. with research into nineteenth century church work in the area.

Archibald Spencer Ireson was born in 1901 into a family of stonemasons recorded back to 1751, all the males having followed this interesting vocation. A qualified building surveyor, he was partner in the family building and masonry business for over forty years and has personal skill as a stonemason. He was co-author with the late Alec Clifton-Taylor of English Stone Building (1953) and is founder of the Men of Stones.

Eric Hardy, a Midlander by birth, is now retired after a lifetime spent on the technical side of the Rubber Industry. He is now able to devote more time to varied interests including writing and family history. In pursuit of these he has looked closely at Rutland and its many facets resulting in his book A Quest for Rutland (1984).

Stephen Veazey is senior lecturer in Physics at Luton College of Higher Education. He was born at Morcott and educated at Morcott Hall School and Oakham School. He holds degrees in Physics from the universities of London (B.Sc.) and Lancaster (M.A.). His major interests include the relationship between science and religion and the socio-historical aspects of science and technology. Currently, he is secretary of the Science, Technology & Society Association.

Audrey Buxton lives in Greetham where she has undertaken a great deal of original research on the village and its population with a special interest in family history. For many years she has been a regular contributor to the Rutland Times.
Transitional Architecture in Rutland

The former county of Rutland is an ideal area to study the transition from the Romanesque (‘Norman’) to the Gothic style in the period either side of AD 1200, as the late Sir Nikolaus Pevsner pointed out in the original introduction to Rutland in his *Buildings of England: Leicester and Rutland*. He claimed that some two dozen Rutland buildings illustrate some aspect of the transition, and listed briefly the relevant features of a selection of them. All but one of them are, as might be expected, churches and Table 1 below gives brief details of twenty-two examples of church naves which have different combinations of the various features. In addition, the west front of Ketton church clearly demands consideration as a piece of transitional architecture. In an area with only fifty medieval parish churches and chapels this is an unusually high proportion of buildings with such hybrid characteristics. This makes Rutland a particularly good region in which to study the apparently slow development of the Early English form of the Gothic style from its beginnings in the latter part of the 12th century. This is all the more true in view of the twenty-fourth example, the great hall of Oakham castle. Being so closely linked with the dated rebuilding of the choir of Canterbury cathedral in the 1170s and 1180s, it is a prime document in the history of the transition.

This paper is a version of my lecture in the Oakham Castle 8th Centenary series in 1980. It makes no claim to great originality, but seeks to put some flesh on the bare bones of Sir Nikolaus’s account.

The rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral

In 1174 a disastrous fire destroyed much of the choir of Canterbury cathedral. After some hesitation the monks of the chapter decided to rebuild rather than repair and employed a Frenchman, William of Sens, to superintend the works, which lasted for about ten years. William brought with him advanced architectural ideas from France, and probably some craftsmen who were experienced in putting them into practice. The result was a new internal structure for the old choir at Canterbury and an extension further to the east, both in a style new to England, which is now known as ‘Early English’. This seems a strange title to apply to the Canterbury building, whose origins are so clearly French, but the French forms are interpreted rather than borrowed wholesale and the new style is unmistakably English. Two factors no doubt played a part in this ‘translation’: the already existing building in which William had to work, and whose outer wall survived the fire, clearly conditioned the planning of the new choir; further, in the course of the rebuilding William of Sens had a serious accident and returned to France, his place being taken by another William, distinguished by the surname ‘the Englishman.’

However one characterises it, the style was nonetheless new in the English context. The Canterbury choir stands at the beginning of a development in architecture which took place in the 13th century and serves as a veritable pattern book of features which became available to English masons from the 1180s onward. The most obvious of these is the pointed arch; apart from the Burgundian-influenced Cistercian abbeys, Canterbury was the first major English building to use the shape which was to remain the norm for the rest of the Middle Ages. On both arches and vaulting ribs a variety of mouldings was employed, some inherited from the Romanesque style, such as the billet, and some newly-introduced, such as the dogtooth; among the arch mouldings at Canterbury is the arris roll, which will be described and discussed below. The capitals include the crocket type, in which the foliage derived from classical Corinthian capitals turns over at the corners into a tight ball-like feature, taking the place of the classical Ionic scroll. The mention of ‘corners’ is perhaps misplaced, since the abaci above the capitals start to lose the traditional square format, first of all by losing their corners; this is the first stage in the development of the octagonal and finally the circular abacus and capital.

The Great Hall of Oakham Castle (Figs. 1 & 8a)

Equipped with some at least of this repertoire, and apparently with the actual templates for shaping the capitals, a band of masons arrived at some time in the 1180s to build the great hall at Oakham. The...
Oakham capitals are so similar to the first (William of Sens) series at Canterbury that it is thought that the masons who carved them must previously have worked at Canterbury itself. They are, however, not slavish copies; for example, the Oakham capitals include dogtooth decoration, which at Canterbury is confined to the arch-mouldings. Dogtooth also enriches the hood-moulds of the arcade arches and the reveals of the window embrasures. Both of these sets of major arches, however, are round-headed in the old Romanesque manner. The pointed arch is used only sparingly, and for the heads of minor features. In contrast to the internal embrasures, the external heads of the individual window lights are pointed. So, too, are the heads of the blocked doorways at the east end of the nave of the hall, doorways which originally led to the kitchen and allied services in a separate building outside the hall proper. But the blocked doors at the east end of the north aisle, one at ground-floor and one at first-floor level, are round-headed (see Fig.1). All these ground-floor doorways (one round-headed, two with pointed arch) must, however, be of the same build since they all have the characteristic arris roll around the whole reveal — that is, a roll moulding which takes the place of the sharp 90° angle between the wall surface and the soffit of the opening (see Fig.2).

It is thus possible to distinguish between those features available to the Canterbury masons which were adopted by the builders of the hall at Oakham and those which were apparently rejected. The flat-leaved version of the crocket capital with a proto-octagonal abacus (an abacus with corners cut off diagonally), the dogtooth moulding and the arris roll were all accepted, but the pointed arch was used only tentatively for the smaller openings. The question of the continued use of semi-circular arches for major openings will be considered below in the discussion section, but the difference between the heads of the doorways in the east wall deserves immediate comment. It is striking that the two openings with semi-circular heads are at the end of the north aisle and thus in a fairly unobtrusive position, while the two doors with pointed arches are in the nave wall, and would have been constantly visible from the 'high table' end of the hall. At the time when the hall was built pointed arches were no doubt regarded as somewhat avant-garde and 'smart', and by using them in the main part of the hall the lord of the manor could demonstrate publicly that he was in the forefront of the fashion. Nobody of importance, however, would see the doorways tucked away in the corner of the north aisle, so there would be no motive for abandoning the traditional arch form for one which doubtless would have cost extra to build.

**Twenty-three Rutland Churches**

Comparable in many ways with the hall at Oakham, especially in point of date, is the west front of Ketton church, which I have discussed in some detail elsewhere. The lower part of the facade, incorporating the original main or processional entrance, is a true hybrid. The west door itself has a semi-circular head, and most of the component parts and the decorative treatment are uncompromisingly Romanesque in style. The outer order of the doorway, however, has waterleaf capitals and there is some dogtooth decoration on the soffit; the arch itself has an arris roll moulding and the hood-mould once again has dogtooth. Waterleaf capitals reappear in the flanking blind arches, which are also decorated with dogtooth, and this time the heads are pointed, despite the continued profusion of zigzag. In the new edition of *Leicestershire and Rutland* it is suggested that these pointed arches may have been made steeper when the side aisles were added with buttresses at the junctions, and one wonders whether the implication is that the blind arches were originally round-headed, like the doorway. Though I am sceptical about the originality of some of the pointed arches with zigzag in Rutland churches (eg. Essendine chancel arch, Brooke south door), I do not see how the blind arches at Ketton can ever have been wider than they are at present. In the original aisleless state of the 12th-century west front there are likely to have been the typical broad Romanesque buttresses clasping the SW and NW quoins and allowing as little space for the composition of the entrance facade as the present elevation indicates. The west front at Ketton is therefore closely comparable with the great hall at Oakham in using the round-headed form for the major arch and reserving the new pointed arch for the minor blind arcading.

Elsewhere in Rutland the evidence comes mainly from the nave arcades of churches. Either side of AD 1200 a varied range of forms was available, and each church shows a different combination of them, as Table 1 indicates. Three main diagnostic features are considered here. The first is straightforward: the shape of the arch, that is whether the opening as a whole is round-headed or pointed. The second is the profile of the arch head itself. Of the forms available here, the most easily recognisable is the double chamfer, that is an arch of two orders, each of which has a plain chamfer in place of a sharp arris. This form is common in parish church architecture throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, and its...
Transitional Architecture in Rutland

Fig. 2 Schematic arch profiles with roll mouldings (not to scale), a: basic type with plain soffit; b-d: variations of the chamfered arris; e: developed profile with hollow between roll mouldings.

appearance in the present context makes it a forward-looking feature. Other arch profiles vary from the simple to the complex, but all include an element (either a plain soffit surface or a hollow) flanked by a roll moulding at each arris. Figure 2 shows the basic form of this profile component and some of the variant ways in which the roll moulding is applied to the core. This element forms the minor order of the main arcade arches in the choir at Canterbury, where the date is known to be c. 1180 or earlier.

The third diagnostic feature is the capital and the abacus surmounting it. Here the typological progression seems to be from a square plan in the Romanesque to a circular plan in the Early English with intermediate shapes including cruciform as well as the square with chamfered corners and the true octagon. The leaf forms on the capitals range from the Oakham type with crockets forming the 'corners', to the plainer late Romanesque waterleaf and ultimately the stiff leaf typical of Early English work.

The number of possible permutations of these variables is very large, but in practice it is possible to group together examples with several elements in common. Table 2 shows that five distinct groups may be identified. On stylistic grounds the examples in Group V may be accepted as being later in date than those in Group I, and the characteristics in Groups II-IV imply a morphological sequence. It must be emphasised, however, that none of the buildings is intrinsically datable, and the morphological progression need not imply a strict chronological order. For instance, it is perfectly possible for some examples in Group II to be very little earlier than those in Group V and thus perhaps contemporary with or even later than some examples in Group IV. Moreover, there is considerable variation within the groups (especially in III and IV), which have been determined largely on the basis of their capital type. A comparison of Tables 1 and 2 provides a brief summary of the characteristics of the churches in each group; they are described here more fully, with comments where appropriate.

Group I (Fig. 3)

The north arcades at both Brooke and Burley are almost entirely Romanesque in character. Capitals with corner crockets support arches of fairly plain profile. At Burley the arches are of two orders; the inner order of the central arch is slightly chamfered. The single order at Brooke is slightly chamfered throughout. This chamfering looks ahead to the
fully double-chamfered profiles of Groups III and IV. In addition, the abaci at Brooke stand at the beginning of the development of the octagonal type: their corners have been trimmed back very slightly to a diagonal line.

Group II (Figs.4 & 8b)

The arches in this group have more complex profiles including the arris roll — soffit — arris roll component described above (see Fig.2). The north arcades at Morcott and South Luffenham are very like each other, with cruciform crocket capitals similar to the fully Romanesque example at Bringhurst (Leicestershire). At Morcott the west respond appears to be recut from an earlier scallop capital. The north arcade at Little Casterton has a similar arch profile, though the junction of the arris roll is treated in such a way that the appearance is that of a roll applied to the centre of a chamfer (see Fig.2b). The capitals are decorated with waterleaf and the corners of the abaci are nicked to produce a chunky cruciform shape. The capitals and abaci of the two easternmost bays of the north arcade at Seaton are similar, but here the roll mouldings are not separated by a plain soffit, but by a deep hollow. This apparently more developed profile is not necessarily later than the plainer form, since the added western bay and the whole of the south arcade, which must be later in date, have arch mouldings of the roll — soffit — roll type.

Group III (Figs.5 & 8c)

With a few exceptions which will be noted later, the arcade arches in the churches of this group are still semi-circular, but now of two orders and double chamfered. The unifying feature in this group, however, is the almost universal use of the octagonal waterleaf capital. The classic examples are the north arcade at Wing and the south arcade at Belton; Tixover and Clipsham offer a slight variation by introducing circular capitals in the responds. The north arcade at Edith Weston has multiple arch mouldings including the arris rolls, but with a deep hollow between them in place of a plain surface (compare Seaton in Group II). The remaining examples have double-chamfered pointed arches of standard Gothic form. At North Luffenham this seems to be the result of a later rebuild, and one is tempted to assume that the same applies to Ryhall and Hambleton. It would be too much of a coincidence for all rebuilt arcades to occur only where there are waterleaf capitals, and it is perhaps more satisfactory to take these examples at face value and regard them as a separate sub-group. It may be significant, however, that Glaston (assigned to Group V) also combines the pointed arch and the waterleaf capital.

Group IV (Figs.6 & 8d)

The examples in this group apply consistently the circular capital tentatively introduced at Tixover and Clipsham; arches remain semi-circular and with one exception are double-chamfered. There is little variation within the group. The south arcade at Seaton has a little nailhead decoration; the intermediate capital of the south arcade at Morcott has curious excrescences, which may be an attempt to imitate the crockets of the earlier north arcade; and the capitals at Great Casterton have stiff-leaf decoration. The only significant variation is the arch-profile at Seaton, which is the roll — soffit — roll type characteristic of Group II.
The arcades of this group (north arcades in each case) have pronounced Gothic characteristics. The piers at Stretton are multiple-shafted, and each shaft is surmounted by a capital with stiff-leaf decoration. The arches are still semi-circular, however, and have multiple mouldings of a developed Group II kind, in which the arris roll — soffit — arris roll element has been squeezed together so that the soffit ceases to exist; the two rolls are now juxtaposed with a sharp groove between them. At Whissendine the profile varies from arch to arch, but most bays are somewhat similar to Stretton. The arches are pointed, however, and are supported by quatrefoil shafts with stiff-leaf capitals, while two bays have nailhead decoration. The arcade at Glaston shows yet another combination. The arches are pointed, as at Whissendine, but their profile includes the deep hollow between the arris rolls, which links Glaston with Seaton (N) in Group II, and even more strongly with Edith Weston (N) in Group III, since the capitals are also of similar type. It is tempting to include Glaston in Group III, since other churches in that group also have pointed arches, but on balance it seems to be more ‘Gothic’ on account of the keeling of the roll mouldings.

**Comparanda outside Rutland**

This wealth of Transitional evidence in Rutland should not be viewed in isolation. Similar combinations of elements can be found elsewhere (though nowhere in such concentration), in particular in the area to the south-east of Rutland: the Soke of Peterborough and northern Northamptonshire. Nearest geographically is Barnack church (Cambridgeshire). The arch to the north chapel is semi-circular and double-chamfered, and the north arcade round-headed with multiple mouldings of Group II type. The arcade capitals are cruciform and crocketed. In the south arcade, multiple-moulded round arches are supported on quatrefoil piers and stiff-leaf capitals. Barnack church is therefore a textbook of the features represented in the various Rutland churches under consideration. Farther to the south-east Castor church (Cambridgeshire) is of interest for several reasons. In its 12th-century form it was an aisleless cruciform church very similar to Ketton. At an early stage it was expanded by the addition of a south aisle, and the surviving arcade consists of double-chamfered round arches supported on circular piers surmounted by circular capitals with nailhead decoration. Some way south of these examples, the north arcade at Polebrook (Northamptonshire) again has double-chamfered round arches on cruciform crocket capitals somewhat akin to those at Morcott and South Luffenham. Nearby Warmington (Northamptonshire) is of special interest, since its octagonal waterleaf capitals carry pointed arches (compare Ryhall and Hambleton), which are however not double-chamfered but multiple-moulded with the arris roll — soffit — arris roll inner order. It has been claimed that these
## TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether Church</th>
<th>North or south arcade</th>
<th>Shape of arch</th>
<th>Arch profile</th>
<th>Capital/abacus form</th>
<th>Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ashwell</td>
<td>N (W bay)</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>double-chamfered</td>
<td>round, nailhead</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayston</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>double-chamfered</td>
<td>round, plain</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belton</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>double-chamfered</td>
<td>octagonal, one with stiff-leaf crockets</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooke</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>slight chamfer</td>
<td>square, crockets; abacus corners cut diagonally</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burley</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>slight chamfer, inner order (one arch only)</td>
<td>square, crockets</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casterton, Great</td>
<td>N &amp; S</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>double-chamfered</td>
<td>round, stiff-leaf</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casterton, Little</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>arris roll</td>
<td>cruciform, waterleaf</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clipsham</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>double-chamfered</td>
<td>round &amp; octagonal, nailhead</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edith Weston</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>arris roll with hollow</td>
<td>octagonal, waterleaf</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>double-chamfered</td>
<td>round, no special features</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glaston</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>pointed ?*</td>
<td>keeled arris roll with hollow</td>
<td>octagonal, waterleaf</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hambleton</td>
<td>N &amp; S</td>
<td>pointed *</td>
<td>double-chamfered</td>
<td>octagonal, waterleaf</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luffenham, North</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>pointed *</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>octagonal, waterleaf</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luffenham, South</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>arris roll</td>
<td>cruciform, crockets</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manton</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>double-chamfered</td>
<td>round, plain</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morcott</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>arris roll</td>
<td>cruciform, volutes</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preston</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>double-chamfered</td>
<td>round, no special features</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryhall</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>pointed ?**</td>
<td>double-chamfered</td>
<td>octagonal, waterleaf</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seaton</td>
<td>N (2 arches)</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>arris roll with hollow</td>
<td>cruciform, waterleaf</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S (+ 1 N)</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>arris roll</td>
<td>round, nailhead</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stretton</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>developed arris roll</td>
<td>multiple, stiff-leaf</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tixover</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>double-chamfered</td>
<td>round &amp; octagonal, waterleaf</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whissendine</td>
<td>N &amp; S</td>
<td>pointed</td>
<td>developed arris roll</td>
<td>round &amp; multiple, version of stiff-leaf, nailhead</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wing</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>double-chamfered</td>
<td>octagonal, waterleaf</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*denotes features which are, or may be, secondary

...arcs have been remodelled, but the combination of octagonal waterleaf capitals and pointed arches in Rutland churches suggests that there may be nothing discrepant about Warmington. There are various difficulties in the interpretation of this church, however, and it seems best not to be too dogmatic before the publication of the findings of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, who have recently investigated the building in the course of their survey of Northamptonshire.

It is clear from these examples that the Transitional features in Rutland are no isolated phenomena, though it is unusual to find so much evidence in such a small area. Without any absolute dates — even for such an obviously important church as Warmington — it is hard to draw conclusions about the progress of the Transition in this part of the country, but it is clear that a fairly extended period of experimentation and compromise must be reckoned with. Assuming Oakham great hall to represent the beginning of the development, that period must last from 1180/1190 until some time in the 13th century — say c. 1220 on purely subjective grounds.

### Discussion

Although it is not possible to come to any firm conclusions about the development of Transitional architecture in Rutland, there are three general points that deserve discussion.

The first concerns dogtooth decoration, the hallmark of Early English work and present in profusion in the great hall at Oakham. It occurs again on the west front at Ketton, but apparently in no other Rutland building discussed here. The most likely explanation seems to be that the ex-Canterbury masons who built Oakham made only a limited contribution to the surrounding area (perhaps Ketton, and almost certainly Twyford in Leicestershire) before moving on to other important commissions (? Grantham). Local masons were left to continue the development of the Gothic style in the county, and the number of hybrids described here shows what a tentative and long drawn-out process it was. It may be that dogtooth was one of the trade secrets which the Canterbury masons took with them when they left the area.

The second striking thing about the buildings under discussion is the long persistence of the semi-circular arch. We can hardly accuse the Canterbury masons of taking the templates away with them, since even they had not built major arches in pointed form at Oakham. Nor can it merely be a matter of craft conservatism, for surely some patron besides Walkelin de Ferrers would have demanded the 'smart' new shape in one or other of the churches mentioned here. There must be an altogether more practical reason for the resistance to the pointed
TABLE 2
Archeological characteristics of Rutland churches by typological groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group I — Romanesque type, but with slightly chamfered arches</td>
<td>Brooke, Burley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group II — Round arches with arris roll profile, cruciform capitals or abaci</td>
<td>Casterton, Little Luffenham, South Morcott (N arcade) Seaton (N arcade)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group III — Arches mainly double-chamfered, octagonal capitals with waterleaf</td>
<td>Belton Clipsham Edith Weston (N arcade) Hambleton Luffenham, North Ryhall Tixover Wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group IV — Round arches, mostly double-chamfered, round capitals</td>
<td>Ashwell (one bay) Ayston Casterton, Great Edith Weston (S arcade) Manton Morcott (S arcade) Preston Seaton (S arcade)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group V — Gothic type with residual Romanesque features</td>
<td>Stretton Whissendine ? Glaston</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

is clear, but the evidence does not allow one to argue that a population explosion took place exactly at the time of major church extension activity in Rutland and elsewhere. In any case, the major population growth seems to have taken place in towns. The recently published summary account of the investigation of the church at Wharram Percy (N. Yorkshire) records the addition of side aisles in the late 12th and 13th centuries, but argues on the grounds of other evidence that the expansion of the building was unconnected with population growth. One of the two alternative explanations offered by Hurst is that liturgical developments demanded extra space in church. In general terms it seems likely that this is at least as important a causal factor as population growth. In particular the development of the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary during the 12th century must be seriously considered as a prime reason for the expansion of churches either side of 1200. The new aisles of this period may well have been intended to house a more dignified Lady Chapel than would have been possible in an aisleless church. It is hardly likely that parish churches acquired an altar dedicated to St Mary for the first time at this period. As to where such altars were placed before this date, there is no evidence which applies to the average parish church, but in view of the increasing evidence for a forward (i.e. westerly) position for the high altar in the early medieval period it is worth considering that the Lady altar might have been farther east, in the position later occupied by the high altar. This would be perfectly consistent with the later medieval development in major churches, where the common position for the Lady Chapel was on the main axis to the east of the high altar.

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6. Since the present article was written, the relevant volumes have appeared: RCHME, Inventory...of Northampton, vol.6: Architectural monuments in north Northamptonshire, HMSO, 1985
The Halliday family probably originated in Scotland. They were a border clan settled on both sides of the Solway. When the clan went on a plundering trip into England, the Annandale mosstroopers, with a gathering cry of 'a holiday', would congregate on Halliday Hill, which still exists today.

The chief who first took the name of Halliday had his castle or strong tower at Corehead near the source of the river Annan. The direct Scottish line failed in the fifteenth century, however from this line the English lines claim descent as branches started up in Yorkshire and Gloucestershire. From Gloucestershire came Walter Halliday the Minstrel, Master of the Revels to King Edward IV in 1469, from him are many descendants taking the name of Halliday to many counties.

In the 1480s the Hallidays were residents of Leicestershire and also Eye near to Peterborough before moving into Rutland in the 1560s. Whilst in Rutland they moved through Oakham, Burley-on-the-Hill, Greetham, Exton and out to Stamford after which they moved to Nottingham in the 1930s where they are today. The name Halliday has been spelt in many ways over the centuries for example, Hollydaie, Hallyday, Haliday. I have used the spelling just as it appears in the relevant document. The same applies to the forenames, mis-spelled or not, in the original.

The Halliday family first appear in Rutland records in the sixteenth century when three brothers are noted in the county. They were Richard and Henry both of whom married in Oakham to girls from the Jordaine family. The third brother, Hugonie lived in Burley-on-the-Hill. The name Hugonie is somewhat unusual but this is how it is spelt in his will of 1612. It does vary though in the documents, in places it is Hugie and in the Burley Parish Registers it is written as Hengh. I believe that it is probably a variation of the name Hugh.

Henry Hollyday of Okeham (Okeham first became Oakham in 1650 according to the Parish Register) and his wife Agnes Jordaine had a great grandson called Nathaniel Halliday baptised in Oakham in 1662. Nathaniel was the first person to be mentioned in the family as a stonemason and builder in Rutland. Nathaniel was the eldest of four children and in 1687 he married Elizabeth Moyer in Oakham where they had nine children.

From the account books of the Finch family of Burley House, it appears that Nathaniel did considerable work there. From 1700 to 1706 he worked on the chancel, which is the area encompassing the high altar in a church, and payments on account of the pond head, repairing the stables, and stone digging are some of the items noted. He had several men working for him of which Messrs Thompson, Hawley and Reading are noted. Nathaniel died in 1739. Nathaniel Halliday had, with other issue, two grand sons called William (senior) and John.

William Halliday (senior) married Temperance Heath in 1757 at Oakham, their children formed the three distinct family branches. Nathaniel the Exton branch, Henry the Stamford branch and William (junior) the Greetham branch. Nathaniel Halliday who founded the Exton branch was named after his great grandfather and grandfather, he was baptised in 1758 at Oakham. In 1778 he married Elizabeth Smith and they had fourteen children of which Edward Halliday, baptised 1807, a stonemason was born at Exton and married Elizabeth. Edward and Elizabeth had ten children of which all the sons appear to have taken up agricultural work. Edward's brother John Halliday baptised in Oakham 1808 was also a stonemason, he married Mary Ann and they had seven children all born at Exton, only one Frederick Halliday born 1840-1 carried on the tradition and became a stonemason.

Forming the Stamford branch was William and Temperance's son Henry Halliday. He had a grandson called Henry Halliday who was baptised in 1796 in Oakham but moved to Stamford and married in 1820 to Elizabeth Chapman. Henry was a stonemason and so were his sons Thomas Chapman Halliday and George Halliday. Thomas Chapman Halliday was baptised in 1834 in Stamford and married also at Stamford in 1865 to Maria Charity a tailor's daughter who was mentioned in an invitation from the Mayor of Stamford, Samuel Fancourt Halliday. Thomas Chapman Halliday's brother was George, a stonemason born at Greetham and married to Elizabeth, they had six children, their only son George was a saddle boy at Black Forge, Scotgate, Stamford.

The last of the three branches to be formed was the Greetham branch formed by William and Temperance's son William (junior) and his cousin Sarah Halliday. William Halliday (junior) married his cousin Sarah Halliday in 1790 at Oakham and they had a son called John Halliday who was a stonemason. John's wife like his mother was also called Sarah. John and Sarah Halliday had five children their eldest son was Thomas Charity Halliday. He was baptised in 1816 at Greetham. He was a stonemason, builder and contractor. He also had farming and corn merchants businesses at Greetham, Oakham and Stamford.
Thomas Charity Halliday married Lavinia Fancourt, the daughter of Samuel Fancourt, a carpenter from Exton and they had ten children. They lived on Main St, Greetham, at the corner with Great Lane. In 1841 Thomas Charity Halliday was described in the census returns as a stonemason living in Exton with his wife Lavinia at her parents' home. By 1851 he was described as a mason and builder, Master, employing 2 bricklayers and 1 labourer living at Greetham. In 1861 he was a Master builder employing 47 men and 4 boys living at Greetham. In 1871 he was a builder, Master, employing 28 men, 18 labourers and 4 boys and he lived at Main Street, Greetham. Ten years later he was described as a builder and contractor employing 48 men and 6 boys. He was also a farmer and still lived at Main Street, Greetham.

Thomas was well known locally as a stonemason who worked on many churches and large houses throughout England. His notebook of 1842 (which has been deposited with the Rutland Record Society by Mr A.S. Ireson whose family worked for the Hallidays of Greetham and Stamford) details much work undertaken including restoration work on St Peter and Paul of Exton. The notebook has a beautifully hand drawn sketch of the church spire with notes on sizes, there are also detailed drawings of windows, gargoyles and plans of the spire, apart from being a craftsman he was quite an artist.

At about the same time that these notes were made the church was apparently struck by lightning and it could be that these notes are for the quotation for the restoration work which was carried out in 1850. Also noted in the book are details of new balustrading and stairs to the front of Walcott Hall, an 18th century mansion in Shropshire with a great park, previously acquired by Clive of India (1725-94) for his retirement. Repairing and renewing windows to Wroxton Abbey, a Jacobean stone house in Oxfordshire, which was the home of the North family for centuries (The 8th Lord North was Prime Minister in 1770-82), is also included as well as the building of a new bakehouse at Whitchurch for Mr Jackson.

It is said that Thomas's company worked on Castle Donnington Church, Old Dalby Hall and Willoughby-on-the-Wolds Church in the Nottingham area. The company built some of the 19th century parts of Oundle School, and the nave on the partly submerged Normanton Church in the Rutland Water. The company also did extensive work on Apethorpe Hall for Lord Brassey. Thomas's workshop fronting to Great Lane, Greetham, still stands today and is a very curious structure. Inset all over the building are pieces of carved stonework, which he had been commissioned to replace, he then built some of the remnants into the walls of his workshop to make a most unusual and attractive feature.

Thomas Charity Halliday died in February 1884 at Greetham, in his will he left £13161-15-10 mostly made up of building businesses in Greetham and Stamford, farming and corn merchants businesses in Oakham and quarries at Clipsham. Of his ten
I started to trace my family tree in 1974. After questioning my father and his brother and sisters, I went to Stamford Cemetery where some of my ancestors are buried. It was always believed that the family originated in Stamford, a myth I soon disproved. From there I went to St Catherine’s House, London to search the indexes of Births, Marriages and Deaths. I also went to Somerset House in London to see wills, again found by searching the indexes. Having exhausted these sources I next visited the Lincoln Diocesan Records Office to search the Bishops’ Transcripts (it was the duty of a vicar to send in to his Bishop a list of all marriages, births and deaths each year that occurred in his parish) for Stamford (they do, of course, have other records but at that time I was only interested in Stamford). I then tried the census returns in the Public Record Office, London, but they are always very busy. Fortunately, I discovered that most large libraries carry copies of their local census returns and so Stamford Library proved most helpful. These records gave me a new lead and I began to look at the records for Oakham. Most of the Oakham records are split between Leicestershire Record Office and Northamptonshire Record Office.

At Northampton I found a few old wills (these took weeks to decipher as they were written with a quill and ink and were not very legible so I was glad to have been able to have a copy made) and some photocopies of the Bishops’ Transcripts and some Parish Registers for parts of the Rutland area.

At the Leicestershire Record Office I found more copies of the Bishops’ Transcripts and also many of the original Parish Registers and by this stage I had managed to trace my family back to about 1700. My next step was to find the Parish Registers for Oakham and with the help of the Record Offices I found that they were still kept at All Saints’ Church, Oakham. I made an appointment to see the registers thinking that it would be a marathon trying to read the Old English script but to my delight I found that someone had transcribed the entire register into a very legible script, which made my task so much easier. I was able to trace my family straight back to 1590 without any gaps. For information before the Parish Registers began, most of my enquiries have been confined to wills as unfortunately, my family do not appear in any other documents that I have so far traced.

Burke’s directories have given some information on the family generally. After I had done the research using Parish Registers, etc. I discovered in my local library the International Genealogical Index compiled by the Church of the Latter Day Saints. They have done marvellous work in transcribing and indexing Parish Registers, however they are not complete and I was very glad to discover them only after I had done the research. Oddly enough, if I had found the indexes first it could have led me on many false trails.

Fig 2 Title page of Thomas Charity Halliday’s will.
The Case of the Missing Horseshoe

JOHN L. BARBER

In my book, *The Story of Oakham School*, published by the Sycamore Press in 1983, I have for the first time revealed the name of the Oakham School boy who stole the horseshoe, ‘Clinker’, from Oakham Castle in 1846. It was a closely guarded secret, and I have never heard the culprit named. But he is now long since dead, and I have been able to identify him by some simple detective work, which may be of some interest to our readers. The clues came to light when I was doing some research work in preparation for my book; they are to be found by reference to an article with the same title as the present one in *Volume II of the Rutland Magazine* (1905-06) pages 186-191 and 222-23, written by Rev. Messing Rudkin (1845-1909), who was born at Exton of a well-known local family. Rudkin, whose ministry was the whole time outside his native Rutland, knew the name of the culprit, but was sworn to secrecy. However, it becomes increasingly obvious that he is itching to reveal the secret, and he gives us as many general clues as he dares without ever disclosing the actual name, and finally one crucial crossword-type clue, which solves everything.

But first the story of how the horseshoe came to be stolen, as told by the culprit himself to Messing Rudkin, when the latter visited him at his parsonage in 1873 at a time when both men were serving in the same diocese (Gloucester and Bristol). The perpetrator of the theft recalled the days when he was a boy at Oakham Grammar School (sic) in the first half of the nineteenth century in the days of the great Dr. Doncaster (Headmaster 1808-46). One day he and his younger brother had been out to play cricket ‘on the field behind the gaol’ — the field is the present Doncaster Close and the gaol the Creative Design Centre at Oakham School. On their return to School House they took a short cut across the Castle grounds and noticed that one of the windows had been left open. ‘The temptation was great for them to make their way in, and, having accomplished this feat, they looked for something they might carry away as a memento of their visit’. The peg over the judge’s seat — the peg upon which it seems his black cap used to hang when occasion demanded — attracted their attention. But it was so tightly fastened to the wall that, try as they might, they were unable to remove it. ‘They next looked round for some other portable object, and their eyes fell upon “Clinker”, then glittering in its freshly gilded coat. One mounted on the other’s shoulders, took it down, and it was carried home to the School House, where it was hidden away under a loose board in the dormitory, which gave a receptacle for many forbidden things’.

Perhaps at this point I should interrupt the story for a moment or two and explain that the gilded shoe, ‘Clinker’, had been presented six years earlier in 1840 by Lord Willoughby de Eresby, and was called ‘Clinker’ because it was an actual horseshoe taken from the hoof of his favourite horse of the same name. It used to hang where it still hangs ‘just over the doorway leading into the Grand Jury Room’ (later the Petty Sessions room and now known as No.1 Court). Messing Rudkin originally gave the date of the theft as 1843, but later he corrected it to 1846 (the culprit was in the School only from 1845-47); he also corrected the hiding place to ‘an excavation under the study floor — not under the dormitory’.

There was a great hue and cry raised in Oakham town when “Clinker” was found to be missing, and the boys of the Grammar School were not forgotten. However, all the police enquiries were in vain, and the horseshoe lay in its place of concealment until the holidays came and the culprit took the shoe with him, presumably to his parents’ home in Leicester. After winning a scholarship to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and having in due course taken his degree, he began to think about taking Holy Orders, but ‘the possession of the shoe troubled him, and he prepared to send it back’. In fact he did go ahead with his ordination and became a Naval Chaplain, but for some years he was unable to persuade his younger brother to agree to the return of the stolen horseshoe. But eventually, in 1858 (the very year in which the old Hospital of Christ was pulled down and replaced by the present School House) the brothers returned the horseshoe by post to Oakham Castle along with some rather poor doggerel verse, and apparently a request that its safe receipt should be acknowledged in the *Standard* newspaper.

So much for the story — now let us examine the clues which point to the identity of the thief, even allowing for the fact that Messing Rudkin is often inaccurate in some of his details. To my mind it is quite obvious that the shoe was taken by Robert Noble Jackson, who was the son of Captain J. Jackson of Leicester. After his school and university days and after some years as a Naval Chaplain, he became Vicar of Winchcombe-with-Gretton and Rector of Sudeley Manor. He was at Winchcombe-with-Gretton from 1871-88, but he continued at Sudeley till 1917, died three years later at the age of 92, and was buried in the churchyard at Winchcombe. From all that one can discover about him he was quite a character, and it is said that when conducting a burial service he would omit the words ‘sure and certain’ from the phrase ‘in sure and certain hope of the resurrection’ if he had any doubts.
The Case of the Missing Horseshoe

Rev. Robert Noble Jackson (1828-1920) a photograph of the painting which hangs in the vestry of the parish church at Winchcombe.

about the morals of the person who was being buried: and the congregation always showed great interest in the Vicar's judgement!

The other family about which we need to know is the Noble family. Rev. John Noble (senior) was Vicar of Frisby-on-the-Wreake from 1796-1843, and we know that in his family there were at least two children — Rev. John Noble (junior), 1804-71, and Rev. Robert Turlington Noble, 1809-65. The former was Rector of Nether Broughton from 1847-75 and is buried there. The latter spent nearly twenty-five years in India as a missionary and founded Noble College at Masulipatam. He was at Oakham School in the 1820s and won an Exhibition to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. It seems likely that Sarah, the wife of John Noble (senior), had the maiden name of Jackson, and that the Noble and Jackson families were related by marriage and that Sarah was probably the sister of Captain J. Jackson of Leicester, the father of Robert Noble Jackson.

Now to the clues which we find in the article by Messing Rudkin: firstly, 'In the season of Lent in the year 1873, I found myself toiling up a very steep hill in the Cotswold range behind a very old omnibus from which most of the male passengers had descended to ease the horses on the steep ascent. We had left the town of C...... some miles behind, where was the nearest railway station, and were on the road to one of the many old-fashioned market towns of Gloucestershire, about the same population as Oakham'. The town of C...... must surely have been Cheltenham, the road the present A46, the steep ascent Cleeve Hill just to the north of Prestbury and the old-fashioned Gloucestershire market town with a population about the same as Oakham, Winchcombe.

Secondly, Rudkin tells us that his host on this occasion had formerly been a Naval Chaplain.

Thirdly, in 1900 Rudkin was in Oakham Castle when he learnt from the widow of the keeper that the culprit, in the company of another clergyman, had only recently been there, that both of them had stood beneath 'Clinker', and that she had heard the one confess to the other that he was the man who many years before had stolen the horseshoe. She could not remember their names, but both had signed the Visitors' Book, and the widow's son, in order not to forget them, had marked them in the book with a circle. After relating this incident in some detail and after repeating his vows to secrecy, Rudkin, near the end of his article, provides the final give-away clue, when he writes: 'Suffice it to say, that the one who took the shoe bore for a Christian name the surname of the other, and from my knowledge of Leicestershire, I believe them both to have been descended from a very old Leicestershire family of noble character, if not of lineage'. Needless to say the italics are mine!

Obviously none of the three Noble clergymen mentioned can still have been alive around 1900, but Jackson must probably have been accompanied on that occasion by some younger member of the family. I can find only one inconsistency in Rudkin's story — there seems to be no trace of Jackson's younger brother, but then the Oakham School records for the period in question, which I have consulted, are anything but complete.

Two little tailpieces: in an article of less than a thousand words in Volume IV of the Rutland Magazine (1910-11), pages 63-64 Robert Noble Jackson himself twice refers to the 'Clinker' escapade. In the light of what we have discovered, this might possibly be construed as further evidence, perhaps the faint echo of a still slightly guilty conscience. Secondly, I cannot be certain whether W.L. Sargant, Headmaster of Oakham School 1902-29, knew that it was Jackson who had stolen the shoe, but I suspect that he did. However, for all his youthful pranks, Jackson was a most faithful Old Oakhamian, and in 1910, when he was 82, he was invited by Sargant to give away the prizes at Oakham School on Speech Day. No doubt both men had a knowing twinkle in their eyes on that occasion as they conveyed the customary moral precepts to the youth of the day!
The Restoration of Exton Church

“The church at Exton, upon the whole, is, I think the handsomest in the county of Rutland,” declared an anonymous writer in the Gentleman’s Magazine in 1796. Laird, writing in 1818, agreed. But, on 25th April 1843, this large and beautiful church, dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, suffered a major disaster. During a furious storm lightning shattered the spire and caused a great deal of damage. Stones from the spire were scattered “in all directions, some falling through the roof of the nave and others being deeply embedded in the ground, and one large fragment (about half a hundredweight) being forced to a distance of sixty-five yards north of the church. The windows at the south side and the west end were completely shattered.”

This calamity signalled the start of a restoration campaign which took place in two phases over a ten year period. The importance of the work is two-fold; the appearance and atmosphere of one of Rutland’s grandest churches was substantially altered, and two of the more important nineteenth-century architects were involved. Most published accounts give either inaccurate or inadequate information and this article therefore attempts to provide a comprehensive survey of the work at Exton between 1843 and 1854.

No time was lost after the disaster. On 8 May the Rev. Leland Noel (brother of the Earl of Gainsborough and vicar 1832-71) wrote to the Incorporated Church Building Society asking for an application form for a grant and on 2 June the Society was asked if work could proceed without prejudicing a grant. On 26 May, a month after the lightning strike, an inspection had been made by an architect, the young Richard Cromwell Carpenter (1812-55). There is no clue as to why Carpenter was chosen but it is probable that the Noel family, as incumbents and Earls, wished to employ a prestigious London man who could be expected to do good work. The choice was a very sound one since Carpenter was one of the rising stars of the ecclesiological movement; he was friendly with Pugin and his work was highly thought of by the influential Cambridge Camden Society. His untimely death in 1855 robbed English church architecture of a notable talent.

Carpenter’s report recommended the taking down of the spire as far as the lantern and the partial rebuilding of the lantern, but he found that the tower (‘steeple’) was generally “fit to be used in the reconstruction of the work”. He also found that the rest of the building was in a far from satisfactory state. The clerestory was particularly poor; repairs had been made “by cement in the crudest manner. The battlements are very defective as are also the windows and string course. The north wall...is bulged out by a great extent.”

Repairs to the roof were needed following the lightning strike. Inside, the north arcade leaned outwards and the chancel needed attention, especially its east wall. Re-seating and removal of the gallery were recommended. The most dramatic proposal was the removal of the clerestory and the substitution of a high-pitched roof. The practical argument was that this would cost “less than that of reinstatement of the present clerestory and roof”; the ideological one was that the roof would be returned to its pre-fourteenth-century pitch and a period of architecture more in favour than the despised age of Perpendicular (Perpendicular architecture only regained popularity after 1870). The Rutland example where such a course of action was followed is at Ashwell during Butterfield’s superb restoration of 1851.

Carpenter intended to do a great deal; in the event he did very much less. Why is not clear, nor, indeed, is the exact timing of the restoration. His estimate for repairing the steeple tower and spire was £340 and the other works a further £743. The spire and lantern had been taken down by August 1844 and by this time the belfry windows had already been repaired. It is not certain when Carpenter’s work was finished but White’s Directory of 1846 reports rebuilding as under way. A note in the restoration minute book in 1852 mentions bills from Carpenter in 1843 and 1846 so it is probable that the earlier of these refers to his fees for his inspection (£8 2s. 0d.) and commission on the cost of taking down the spire and lantern and the initial repairs. 1846 is probably the date when the spire was rebuilt. Something of a puzzle surrounds the cost of the work and the bills from Carpenter. His estimate of £340 for the steeple repairs is fairly small but the 1852 note concerns a letter from his solicitors over the recovery of £99 1s. 6d. At the usual rate of 5 per cent commission, this implies expenditure of £2,000, a very substantial sum for restoration work in the 1840s. As so often the initial estimate was no doubt an understatement but the discrepancy was considerable.

It seems highly likely that there was some sort of disagreement between Carpenter and the parish, perhaps caused by the cost difference. This is suggested by the delay in settling his bills and the fact that Carpenter had to call upon solicitors to recover the debt. Whatever the detailed reasons, he was replaced by another young, rising architect, John Loughborough Pearson (1817-98), who had begun his practice in 1843 and was to go on to a highly distinguished career. A meeting was held in June 1847 to consider fund raising for further restoration but nothing positive happened until four
years later. On 5 December 1851 a letter was sent to Pearson stating that “the opinion of many persons has been taken with plans, drawings, specifications etc. but the present committee of management... would be glad to have another opinion, throwing all former plans aside and commence upon a new scheme” (one would dearly love to know about the abandoned plans). He was invited to inspect the
church, though his appointment could not be
guaranteed. With great rapidity Pearson came up by
train the following Monday, 8 December and a week
later put in his report.

Before examining his conclusions and what was
done, it is worth considering for a moment the
church as it appeared before 1852. The general
outline is as it appears today but there are some
notable differences in the tracery, the parapet on the
nave, the form of the priest’s door and the pitch of
the porch and transept roofs. The interior was filled
with the customary box-pews, which spilled over
into the chancel, and a gallery stood before the tower
arch. These may have been the “loft or gallery” put
up in 1728 and the seats put in at a similar date.19
There were also galleries in the transepts and a
cyptic note in Pearson’s specification calls for
taking “down the east gallery of the nave to the
point of the chancel arch”.11 The nave roof was a
simple tie-beam affair, probably of the late seven­
tenth century or the eighteenth century. It was
probably a replacement for the one described in 1640
— “The roof and leads of the church over the
middle isle is very ruinous”.12 The Ecclesiologist had
been particularly offended by the “neat parlour” (for
the Noel family?) at the east end of the north aisle,
“duly enclosed by curtains and tapestried wooden
walls so as completely to exclude observation”.13
This space of “secluded luxury”, twelve feet by
fifteen, was carpeted and provided with thirteen
“drawing-room chairs”, a table in the centre and a

The Bishop’s Visitation of 1851 considered the
chancel was “decent but not in very good repair”
whereas the rest was in good condition.14 This seems
absurd in view of Carpenter’s report of 1843 and the
comments that Pearson was to submit. The latter
found all the roofs in a “very unsound and
dangerous condition”. The clerestory walls needed
rebuilding, as did parts of the arcade arches, four
piers of the nave, the south porch, and the gables
over the chancel arch, and other parts of the walls,
especially the east wall of the chancel. A new east
window and seats were required and the ground was
to be excavated to a depth of eighteen inches and
ventilation thus provided beneath the seats. The
space under the tower was to be converted into a
vestry and the gallery removed. Pearson provided a
sketch of an organ chamber/vestry on the north side
of the chancel and this is rather like the one actually
built. He also proposed a heating system,
replastering of the walls inside and the blocking of
the little door on the south side of the tower. His
estimate for all this was £2539 11s. 3d.

On 15 January 1852 Pearson’s appointment as
architect was confirmed and on 1 March he
announced that tenders should be submitted on the
22nd. Two days later a meeting was held to consider
these and that of Thomas Charity Halliday for
£2,425 10s. 0d. was accepted. The Halliday family
became noted as contractors for church restorations.
Their workshop at Greetham may still be seen,
containing in its walls many fragments of medieval
tracery, no doubt removed from various Rutland
churches. At this point a few minor puzzles enter the
story. Two copies of the contract with Halliday
survive in the parish records (dated 29 March and 15
May 1852) but these refer to the terms of employ­
ment, not the work involved. The specification
cannot now be traced but is quoted in extenso in the
Rutland Magazine for 1907-8 but not assigned a
date.15 Here it is stated that the contractors were
Halliday and Hibbert, but the latter name does not
appear in any of the other documents. It states there
was to be a new east window but that the others
were to be repaired. Yet as far back as 1 March
Pearson had written mentioning that he had been
asked to estimate the extra cost of making new
window tracery. In the event the chancel and east
window of the south transept were provided with
fanciful ‘pastry-cutter’ tracery. It would seem that
this did not form part of the original contract but
when it was firmly decided upon is not clear.

The whole process of Victorian restoration has
never lacked critics, even at the time. Ruskin was an
early, vociferous opponent and as early as 1843 had
attacked restoration in his Modern Painters I,
claiming in a typically Romantic but impractical
fashion that the restored parts of a building were
inferior to the weathered ones. He renewed his
attack in The Seven Lamps of Architecture where he
made his famous statement, “Restoration, so called
is the worst manner of Destruction”. It is all too easy
to forget that much work needed to be done, as the pre-1850 condition of Exton makes clear. There was much excellent work done as the local examples of Ashwell, Hambleton (chancel), and Oakham (Scott’s woodwork) show. However, there was also a good deal that was mediocre and, indeed, downright bad, and, unfortunately, what Pearson did at Exton is the sort of thing that gave restoration a bad name. It is not that the work was not of high quality — it is that the changes were often arbitrary, and to both contemporary and modern minds, unnecessary.

As seems to have happened with Carpenter, there was an overshoot on the contracted work. By April 1853 the contracted value of £2,426 had risen to an estimated total cost of £3,389 and the parish found itself, contrary to the original intentions, applying for a grant to the Incorporated Church Building Society. It has £3,129 in hand and the ICBS granted £110 towards the difference. The extra cost is partly explained by the tendency to seek extra improvements and partly by the fact that conditions were found to be far worse than anticipated. Pearson’s initial inspection had been hurried, a point he admitted in March 1852 and he discovered that further repairs would be needed. By June 1852 the full gravity of the problems were apparent and he mentioned in a letter that much of the walls should be rebuilt “for to me they appeared in the worst possible state, much worse than I have ever seen old walls.” There was much arbitrary change and the overall effect is one of surprising dullness, except for the new window designs, which are typical of High Victorian fancy. There is no doubt that much rebuilding was necessary, for example, the clerestory, the east wall of the chancel down to the window sill, the roofs and some of the nave piers.

But Pearson went very much further. It is debatable whether the rebuilding of the porch, the addition of the buttresses on the south side of the chancel and the lowering of the aisle and transept walls was necessary. The more dramatic changes were of the sort that would be condemned in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. The new tracery in the chancel altered its character substantially and the removal of traces of a window in the south wall of the south transept seems to display a cavalier handling of the archaeological evidence. Most surprising was the replacement of the embattled parapet on the nave by a plain one but this was by no means an isolated incident. Rather later, Scott did the same at Leicester, St Mary de Castro (1859-60), Loughborough (1860-63), Ketton (1862) and Lutterworth (1866). The theory was probably that embattled parapets belonged to the unfavoured late medieval period and something earlier and plainer was ‘better’. A pointed priest’s door was inserted to replace a square-headed one.
The Restoration of Exton Church

The interior was completely refitted and bears little resemblance to the pre-1850 arrangements. Probably the finest feature is the bold hammer-beam roof. Inevitably the box-pews and galleries were replaced by open seating. As in most restoration schemes stress was laid on increasing accommodation in general and the number of free seats in particular; in fact an increase in both was almost invariably a requirement for churches seeking an ICBS grant. In the grant application the existing and proposed accommodation was stated as.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Proposed</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appropriate seats</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free seats</td>
<td>75</td>
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<tr>
<td>Children's seats</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
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</table>

The whitewash was scraped off and the wall-plaster replaced by natural-coloured rendering which does much to create a cold, drab interior (cf. also Ashwell, Burley and Whitwell). However, the idea of sombre churches was much favoured by the mid-Victorians and no doubt Exton was a success in contemporary terms. The fact that Pearson went on to restore the nearby and very dilapidated church of Burley-on-the-Hill is a tribute to the idea that his activities at Exton were approved of.

It is unclear if any of the work continued into 1854. The final cost came to £3,997 15s. 9d., half of which was subscribed by the Earl of Gainsborough (£1,500) and three other members of the family (£800). Such munificence was repeated at hundreds of churches up and down the country until the latter years of the nineteenth century and was responsible for placing the buildings in an excellent state of repair. The price, however, was often the radical change of the sort that Ruskin had condemned. But he was certainly not alone. Such concerns must have been in the minds of the members of the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society as they approached Exton on a visit in 1879. “We began to be afraid,” they reported, “that the whole church had been rebuilt from its external appearance.” And so it appears today — a magnificent structure, to a large extent rebuilt and as much an example of Victorian religious zeal as a masterpiece of medieval church-building.

REFERENCES
1. Part 1, 17.
2. F.C. Laird, A Topographical and Historical Description of the County of Rutland (London, 1818), 86
3. Stamford Mercury, 28 April 1843; this account gives full details of the damage.
4. For example, the Victoria History of the County of Rutland ed. W. Page (London, 1935), vol.2, 131 is vague on dating and makes no mention of the architects and names. Pevsner The Buildings of England: Leicestershire and Rutland (1st ed., Harmonsworth, 1960) gives the wrong date (1850) and Halliday and Hibbert as the architects.
5. Incorporated Church Building Society (ICBS) records in Lambeth Palace, 1st ser., E Box 2.
7. Ecclesiologist 3 (1844), 155.
8. p.612.
10. Churchwarden’s accounts, 1690-c.1726.
11. Other galleries in Rutland known to have stood against chancel arches are at Braunston, Caldecott and Great Casterton. However, the absence of other references in the generally good documentation at Exton is odd. I am bemused as to what might be expected to happen below “the point of the chancel arch”.
13. 2 (1843), 102.
15. 3 (1807-8), 195-6. The article speaks but vaguely about date (“about the year 1850”) which is odd since a specification is unlikely not to bear a date, and in this case the date cannot be dated before 1852.
16. ICBS records, 1st ser., E Box 2, letter of application, 19 April 1853.
17. Iron plaque in church porch; ICBS records, 1st ser., E Box 2, certificate of completion.
18. As note 15.

I am most grateful to the Rev. G.V. Jameson for permission to take photographs of R.C. Carpenter’s proposals and the old drawings in the church. Mr Richard Adams took all the photographs reproduced here for which I thank him most cordially.

Fig.5 Interior (1985).
Rutland Miscellany

The Wase Papers in the Bodleian Library

JOHN L. BARBER

It is a strange characteristic of research work that important facts often come to light by mere chance and when least expected, often too late for the new material to be incorporated in a finished or nearly finished work. Such has been my own experience, and the discoveries came too late for inclusion in my Story of Oakham School (Sycamore Press, 1983). Nevertheless the new information, which was not known to the compilers of the V.C.H., is of such crucial importance that my regret at not having been able to include it in the current edition of the book is offset by tremendous satisfaction that it has finally solved the problem of Oakham School's earliest headmasters, as well as adding something to our knowledge of seventeenth century Rutland. As far as Oakham School is concerned it was an area badly documented and full of doubts and speculation (in contrast to the considerable amount of information that we have about the founder and the foundation). Now the whole story is incontrovertibly clear, and the crucial evidence comes from a man who lived and held the headmastership less than one hundred years after the foundation, and who must surely have had at least the greater part of his facts correct. Let me explain.

In the course of some reading in no way connected with my book, I came across the name of Christopher Wase. What was said about him suggested to me that he might be the source of some useful material about Oakham and Uppingham schools. My 'hunch' was correct. In 1675 Wase wrote a book, published in Oxford, called Considerations concerning Freeschools. The Wase papers belong to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, but they are deposited on permanent loan in the Bodleian Library, and are described in an article by P.D. Wallis The Wase School Collection, which includes an index of all the references to individual schools in the collection. The three relevant documents, which have much more to say about Oakham than Uppingham, are as follows:

1. (MS. C.C.C. 390/2 fol.131), a letter from John Love (Headmaster of Oakham School 1662-1702), who came from the nearby village of Stonesby, dated 29th May 1675 — three years before Wase published his work.

2. (MS. C.C.C. 390/3 fol.154), a letter from Robert Horne of Clare Hall, Cambridge, dated 5th June 1676, listing Oakham and Uppingham exhibitions at Clare Hall, and at St. John's.

3. (MS. C.C.C. 390/3 fol.165), an undated note about similar Oakham and Uppingham exhibitions at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

Items 2 and 3 tell us little if anything that we did not previously know, but item 1 holds much that throws light on the history of Oakham School in particular and on Rutland in general. It is a letter from Love to Wase, in which the former is supplying the latter with the basic facts about Oakham for the work which he had in mind. It is of such importance that I deem it worthy of reproduction in full:

Sr.

(A) Your demands are so reasonable that should not I in some measure satisfy them, you might justly brand me with that infamous note of incivility.

(B) As therefore to your 1 query, who Founder? Mr. Robert Johnson Archdeacon of Leicester, born in Rutlandshire, sometime Fellow of Jesus College, Oxon. Joh. Leech in Epte. Ded. to yr same R.J. before a Grammar published temp. Jacob. (C) In answer to your 2. The deed concerning the purchase of the site and sole of the school bears date July 21st 1654 or 26th of Eli., and was built in the same year, so likewise was Uppingham, which 2 are for so small a County. (D) 3. The Masters were in order thus: Mr. Rushbrooke, Mr. Wals, Mr. Jeremy Whitaker, Mr. Stackhouse, Dr. Gill, Mr. Rich.Swan jnr., Mr. Richard Swan snr., Dr. Freer. The Schoolmaster's stipend was originally £30.p.m.: now increased to £40. The Usher's stipend was £15, now £20. Besides some small Annuities have been granted to the Mr., viz £40 p. annu. by Edward Le Noel, £20 by the Dean of Westminster, £20 p. annu. by Wm. and Basil Fielding Knight, now not paid, — by the Earl of Denbigh. (E) There are 7 exhibitions in each schoole (for they are both of the same foundation) at 4 markes the exhibition; sixteen exhibitions equally divided from 4 year to 4 year, unto 4 students of St. John's College in Cam: unto 4 of Emanuel, 4 of Clare Hall and 4 of Sidney at £6.6s.8d. the exhib per annu. (F) There are Governors of the two schools in number four and twenty, 7 by succession for ever, namely the Ld. Bp. of London, the Ld. Bp. of Peterborough, the dean of Westminster, the dean of Peterborough, Archdeacon of Northampton, the Master of Trinity College in Cambridge, and the Master of St. John's College in Cambridge. The rest by election are either to be Knights, Esquires, or Clergymen in the County of Rutland, all whom to nominate I think will not make much of the business in hand. (G) There is our Library in Okeham pleasant enough in its site, but most of the best books rifed and stolen in the time of rebellion. (H) The register of Peterborough is one Mr. Stamford, who lives at Peterborough; If there be any thing else that I can assist you in, pray make use of Sr., Yr. humble Servant, Jo. Love Okeham May 29th 1675

For the sake of easy reference I have added the letters A to H against each of Love's paragraphs, and propose to add comments wherever necessary and to assess the new information in the light of what it adds to our knowledge of the period.

(A) Love is obviously replying to specific questions addressed to him by Wase, and most of the information he supplies relates to Oakham in particular. There appears to be no parallel return from Uppingham, and the reason for this is not known.

(B) Love is wrong in stating that Johnson was born in Rutlandshire, for in point of fact he first saw the light of day in Stamford, where his father, Maurice, was three times Alderman, the equivalent office in Stamford to that of mayor in today's terms. Love is also at fault in referring to Rutlandshire: it is no more correct to add shire to Rutland than to, say, Cumberland or Northumberland.

The other interesting reference in para (B) is to John Leech, but I was puzzled by it until I consulted my old friend, Bryan Matthews, who explains things as follows: "John Leech, of Brasenose College, Oxford, was a well-known schoolmaster of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, who clearly knew and admired Robert Johnson, and had worked with him at some time in their early years. In 1618 he wrote a Booke of Grammar Questions, and in an 'address to the friendly reader' at the beginning (written in Latin) he pays tribute to Robert Johnson and "illa duae splendidae gymnasiae alterum Uppinghamiae alterum Oakhamiae in Rutlandia vestra'". The word before in Love's letter obviously has the meaning in front of i.e. the dedicatory letter at the beginning of the Grammar.
(C) The date July 21st 1584 is interesting. We know that on April 27th in the same year “the scite and soile of the school at Uppingham” was granted to Robert Johnson, but Arthur Hawley (an Old Uppinghamian who did so much valuable research into the history of the two schools between the Wars) gives 16th November 1584 for the Oakham grant. Whichever date is correct, once the sites were acquired, building went ahead with great speed on both schools, whilst it was some years later before the corresponding almshouses came into being. Finally it is amusing to note Love’s comments on the erection of two similar schools in so small an area, and later (para F) on the choice and number of Governors.

(D) This is the crucial paragraph in so far as Oakham School is involved. In my Story of Oakham School I have, faute de mieux, followed W.L. Sargent in my list of earliest headmasters (with some doubts and misgivings I might add, especially in respect of James Wadson and Abraham Green, for I have not been able to trace the sources upon which he based these tentative assertions). I am in no doubt about the first headmaster, as the information is given in the Foundation Grant of 1587 along with the name of the first usher, Abel Mellors. Although Love gives the names of the first eight headmasters of Oakham School in their correct chronological order, he adds no dates, but most of these can be supplied from other sources. However, if we subtract the names of James Wadson and Abraham Green from W.L. Sargent’s list, and if we add a SECOND Richard Swan, then Love’s and Sargent’s lists would agree (apart from the spelling of Wallis/Wallace).

But it is with the name of Richard Swan that the greatest difficulties occur. Sargent plumped for Richard Swan junior, but was later persuaded by Hawley that it should have been Richard Swan senior, the Rector of Preston and a Governor of the foundation. In the event it seems from Love’s letter that both were right, the son being followed by the father as headmaster. But the exact circumstances are confused, and we must remember that these were troubled times and called for emergency measures. The Uppingham School Roll (9th edition) lists Richard Swan as usher at Uppingham from 1640-44 and says that he died two years later. Sargent names Richard Swan as headmaster of Oakham School from 1644 and gives his death in 1648. It seems probable that Richard Swan junior, after four years as usher at Uppingham, came to Oakham as headmaster in 1644, died two years later, and was succeeded (no doubt as an emergency measure) by his aged father, a Governor and a practised schoolmaster, who himself died in November 1648 and was succeeded in the following years by Dr. Michael Freer. It is an explanation that appears to fit the facts and would perhaps have satisfied both Sargent and Hawley.

The first eight headmasters with dates would then be:

- Robert Rushbrooke 1584-1612
- John Wallis (Wallace) 1612-1623
- Jeremy Whitaker 1623-1629
- James Stackhouse 1629-1642
- Alexander Gill 1642-1644
- Richard Swan, junior 1644-1646
- Richard Swan, senior 1646-1648
- Michael Freer 1648-1661

Paraphrase (D) also throws new light on some of those whom Johnson had persuaded to support the school with financial aid as described by Thomas Fuller in his Worthy, published in 1661. The subventions from Edward Lord Noel and the Dean of Westminster come as no surprise, as they represent contributions from both Lordshold (the Noels had succeeded the Harringtons) and Deanshold factions, and both the Harringtons and Westminster Abbey appear to have had responsibility jointly for whatever education there was in Oakham prior to Johnson’s foundation. The name Feilding, however, does give us new information and a hitherto unknown set of benefactors. Feilding was the family name of the Earls of Denbigh, and their seat was the now vanished Martins-thorpe Hall. Both Basil Feilding and William Feilding are mentioned in the V.C.H.

Paras (E) and (F) add nothing new to our knowledge, and para (H) has little reference for us in a Rutland context, but para (G) throws a little more light on the period of the Civil War, a period not particularly well documented in this area. However, with a more than usually enlightened Puritan in the person of Sir Thomas Fairfax (Cromwell’s Commander-in-Chief) in possession of the Duke of Buckingham’s estates at Burley-on-the-Hill, neither Oakham itself nor Rutland in general appear to have suffered as badly as many parts of the country “in the time of the rebellion”.

Caius Gabriel Cibber

Cibber was born at Flensborg, Slesvig, in 1630, the son of a cabinet-maker employed at the Danish Court, and went to Italy when he was about seventeen. Here he remained for several years and then moved on to the Netherlands. Towards the end of the Commonwealth he arrived in England, where he was employed by John Stone, the youngest son of Nicholas Stone, master-mason to Charles I. When his master died in 1667 Cibber started to work on his own and, in 1668, was appointed “sculptor in ordinary unto His Majesty” by William III.

Nothing is known of the sculptor’s first wife, but his second, whom he married in 1670, was an heiress and brought him a dowry of £6,000. She was Jane Colley, daughter of William Colley of Glastonbury, Rutland, and it was she who became the mother of Colley Cibber, the future actor, playwright and poet laureate. In spite of his wife’s fortune Cibber was always in financial difficulties. He was arrested for debt and confined in the King’s Bench at the time he was cutting the reliefs on the Monument in the City of London. He continued his work from the prison, to which he was forced to return every night.

From 1687 until 1690 he worked for Lord Devonshire at Chatsworth and, in the former year, gave his new employer an account of the work he had previously done for Lord Kingston at Thoresby (a house afterwards burnt down in 1745). The memorandum, which is in Cibber’s own handwriting, is pasted in the beginning of one of the Chatsworth building account-books and runs thus:

The rates I had at my Lord Kingstone were as fallen.

The two figures flat in the pediment each of them having four tunn of stone in them. I had seventy pounds for one & for both one hundred & forty pounds.

For one round statue, having a boy upon its shoulders I had three score pounds.

For four statues which were not wrought round, I had forty-two pounds ten shillings per statue.

The two figures flat in the pediment each of them having four tunn of stone in them. I had seventy pounds for one & for both one hundred & forty pounds.

For one round statue, having a boy upon its shoulders I had three score pounds.

For four statues which were not wrought round, I had forty-two pounds ten shillings per statue.

For two doggs I had eight pound apeice.

For twelve Caesar’s heads I had five pounds per head.

For two hoggs I had eight pounds per hog.

For the two figures flat in the pediment each of them having four tunn of stone in them. I had seventy pounds for one & for both one hundred & forty pounds.

For one round statue, having a boy upon its shoulders I had three score pounds.

For four statues which were not wrought round, I had forty-two pounds ten shillings per statue.

For two doggs I had eight pound apeice.

For twelve Caesar’s heads I had five pounds per head.

For this my Lord did pay for my board & wine for me & my man & then I did two sphinx at ten pounds a piece, having in them but three quarters of a tunn.
For two statues as big as the life I had thirty-five pounds a piece & all charges born. And at this rate I will doe my endeavour to serve any nobleman in Freestone.

Cibber's work at Chatsworth included the altar and figures of 'Faith' and 'Justice' for the chapel, and statues of 'Lucrece' and 'Apollo' which are now on the grand staircase. His original drawings for the two last-named are in the possession of the writer. For the garden he made two sphinxes, a Triton for the fountain, a figure of 'Flora', etc.

In 1694 he began building the Danish Church in Welclose Square, the greater part of the cost being borne by Christian V of Denmark, who subscribed £4,600. The church, which was consecrated on 15 November, 1696, was demolished in 1869. In 1700 Cibber himself was buried there, in the grave of his second wife who had died three years before.

Cibber was not responsible for many monuments, but one of them is undoubtedly one of the finest in England. This commemorates Thomas Sackville (d.1677) at Witham in Sussex. The boy lies on a sarcophagus, his left hand resting on a skull, while on either side kneel lifesize figures of his parents, Lady Dorset in prayer, Lord Dorset gazing at his son. The look of frozen sorrow on the father's face makes this group one of the most moving in England.

According to the original contract drawn up between the sculptor and the boy's mother, the monument was to cost £365, while the work was to be "substantially, rare and artificially performed" to 'ye well liking of Mr. Peter Lilly, his Maty's painter, or any other artis who should be desired to give their judgement thereof' (Phillips's History of the Sackville Family, Vol.I, page 420).

Cibber also executed two monuments for the Earl of Rutland at Bottesford, Leicestershire, one of the eighth Earl and his Countess, the other of Lord George Manners. In a letter written in 1682 to Mr. Herbert, his patron's secretary, on the subject of these monuments, Cibber mentions that the marble for them is to come from Lyme Regis in Dorset. He also refers to repairs to the church, remarking that "to make cedar seates for groomes and footmen as well as in the quire is verye redical", and offers to Lord Rutland two half-sized figures of gladiators, larger than life, which he had begun at Ketton (Historical Manuscripts Commission, Duke of Rutland, Vol.II, page 67). These may be the figures which are still in the garden at Belvoir.

In the Isham archives at Lamport Hall is a drawing by Cibber of a simple monument, consisting of three panels, which was to cost £44. The specification on the back, dated 12 March, 1670, states that this work is to be "all brought safe to Lamport in Northamptonshire and then to be sett up in a Chappell for Sir Justinian Isham before ye 24th of June, 1670", but apparently the design was not accepted and the monument never executed.

In the Court Minute-book of the Skinners' Company is the following entry dated December, 1684: "James Smith, the mason to the Company recommended one Gabriel Cibert, a stone-cutter of St. James's, for the setting of the statue of Edward the third on the Exchange for this Company". In the following March another entry records that the sculptor had asked £70 for work and that he was invited to bring the model to the Hall. Apparently the Company did not like it, or perhaps considered his charges too high, for they gave the commission to Edward Piere who agreed to make a statue for £60.

REFERENCES
Harold Faber’s C.G. Cibber; Walpole Society, Vertue Notebooks; Builder, 1862, page 835; Art Journal, 1903. See also Rupert Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1680</td>
<td>'Melancholy' and 'Raving Madness'</td>
<td>Bethlem Hospital (now in Guildhall Museum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1680</td>
<td>'Boy Playing Bagpipes'</td>
<td>In 1926 at Welcombe, Stratford on Avon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1681</td>
<td>Statues on Library (£80)</td>
<td>Trinity College, Cambridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1681</td>
<td>Charles II</td>
<td>For Soho Square (now at Grims Dyke, Harrow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1692</td>
<td>'Flora', 'Pomona', 'Ceres' and 'Diana'</td>
<td>For Hampton Court (now at Windsor Castle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1695</td>
<td>'Faith', 'Hope' and 'Charity'</td>
<td>P.R.O. Works 5/145.</td>
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<td>1697</td>
<td>William of Wykeham</td>
<td>For Sessions House, Westminster (marble)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>For gate of Steelyard (now in Guildhall Museum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1669 Chimney-piece</td>
<td>For the Monument (£600)</td>
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<td>1670 Eagle</td>
<td>For Newgate (P.R.O., E. 101/475/2)</td>
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<td>1673-1675 Reliefs</td>
<td>For Newgate, west side</td>
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<td>1674 City Arms</td>
<td>(Guildhall Library, MS. 184/4)</td>
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<td>1674 Kings Arms</td>
<td>For Hampton Court (£175), (now at Windsor Castle)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1690 Marble vase and urn</td>
<td>For Hampden Park</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(former with relief of</td>
<td>(1755), (now at Windsor Castle)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meleager hunting the</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Calydonian Boar</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1691 'Four great flower-pots of Portland stone'</td>
<td>Kensington Palace (P.R.O. E. 351/3467)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1692 'Two great coats of arms with two boys to each, bigger than life'</td>
<td>Over the windows on the south front of Hampton Court (£110), (P.R.O. Works 5/145)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1694 Pediment</td>
<td>East front of Hampton Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1688-1700 Various works, including keystones of the arches of the great dome; the phoenix on the south pediment; and four 'incence pots' upon the piers of the south entrance</td>
<td>St. Paul's Cathedral (Wren Society's Publications)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Recipes and Rutland Cheese

ERIC HARDY

In my travels through Rutland's literature, I long ago delved into that treasury of information bequeathed to us by our forbears, The Rutland Magazine. This records the interests and expeditions of the Rutland Archaeological and Historical Society in earlier times, and was collated and printed by a local printer, Matkin, most probably on the Pearl press which now resides after a hard working life in the Rutland County Museum.

I remember finding in it the description of an old housewife's recipe book which someone had reported finding in a second hand bookshop in Northampton in 1886, and had acquired. The book which was bound in old calf, had nearly 360 pages full of cooking and other recipes, and was written, as such books were in those days, in longhand, described as "old fashioned, yet a good hand".

Unfortunately the contents of the recipes were not disclosed in the article, no doubt due to reasons of space, but one's appetite was whetted by the title given, which suggested that they had often emanated from the kitchens of grand country houses and the nobility. We find for instance under "Sallads" - "The Lady Burlacuy's greene Sallot", or under "Preserves and Paysts" - "The Lady
Vere’s way of drying Apricocks”. Then there was “Lady Carlisle’s Orange Bisket”, and, no doubt on a lower scale, one found “Mrs Dewey’s Cake”, plus many more in the same vein. The recipes dealt with mysterious things like sacke possetts, Flunderkirs, Erlelype, and a Tansy of Pippins, and even Jumballs, Lady Hewett had something to do with this.

The owner’s name was inscribed on the book, and at the back, she had, as in family bibles, recorded her marriage in 1680, and the birth and sometimes death of each of her six children in the years following. Her name was Mrs Sissons, and she came from a well known Rutland family, who had lived in Cottesmore around that time. I knew that because my own forbears had lived there too, and had been associated with the church and the local community in the 17th century.

Another thing I found in the Rutland Magazine was a brief article about the manufacture of slip-cote cheese, which had been carried on in Rutland. In those earlier days there were no such things as bulk milk collections or factory processed cheese. Each farm used its surplus milk to make cheese with, which they might sell in the village or the nearest market, to which it would be taken by donkey cart or by pony and trap. The cheese would be made according to the traditional way in the region, and slip-cote was the authentic cheese of Rutland.

It was a cream cheese and would need to be eaten young, it ripened quite quickly, a little over a week according to the weather and the temperature, in fact it had to be eaten young for there were no refrigerators in those days, and the taste after a while would turn sour when it was less palatable. It was traditionally ripened between cabbage leaves which apart from protecting it left a nice pattern, and it earned its name from the fact that the skin tended to fall off when it was ripe and ready to eat. The mere thought is enough to call for a sacri possett, so perhaps I’d better not.

Recently I came across a book The Compleat Cook which contains a large number of old English recipes culled from original sources, much as would have been found in Mrs Sisson’s handwork. Amongst them I found several similar recipes for Slip-cote cheese, of which the following would be a typical example—

**To Make a Slip-cote Cheese**

Take a gallon of new milk and half a pint of cream and half a pint of cold water. Warm the milk a little and put the cream and water to it. Put in a spout full or a little more of quick rennet, as much as is necessary to make a tender curd; then when it is come, drain it through a strainer, and taking care not to break the curd, throw it gently into a cloath in a cheese mould, then press the curd down with a 2, 3 or 4 pound weight. Turne it every halfe howre, for six howres, then take it out of the mould, and let it lie on the hose till the next morning, then wipe the salt off with a wet cloath, and laye it between a drye cloath till the next day. Then laye it upon rushes for 8 or 9 days turning it twice a daye, and then you may eat it.

The recipes varied only in small details, particularly in the amount of cream added at the start, this was an age when people were not too concerned about fat content or waistlines, and the use of cream, certainly so far as the upper classes were concerned, was often liberal. The rennet used was a strong variety for cheesemaking purposes, and the salt was used to help preserve the cheese.

There are probably not many people around now who can remember when Slip-cote cheese was made in Rutland, but one of my correspondents could, and told me that he remembered it being made on a farm in Braunston, which was owned by the Addison family, and perhaps they were the last to make it. Maybe it was not really anything more than a simple farmhouse or cottage cheese, but when you think of all the hundreds of different sorts of cheese on the market today, including Derby, Leicester, Gloucester, Cheshire, Lancashire, and many cream cheeses, it seems a pity that Rutland Slip-cote seems to have died out and is unremembered, instead of its right with its neighbours in the 17th century.

The mere thought is enough to call for a sacke possett, and perhaps I should finish with My Lady How’s Receipt for one, but then again it includes a quart of cream boyling hott, so perhaps I’d better not.

**REFERENCE**


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**Discussion: church orientation in Rutland**

**STEPHEN VEAZEY**

The paper by Richard Davies and the reply by David Parsons raise a number of interesting points. The aim of this contribution is to comment briefly on some of these points in the hope of provoking further discussion. It will also shift the emphasis towards a consideration of the patronal festivals of the Rutland churches.

1. **The Hypothesis** — It is important to distinguish between the dedication festival and the patronal festival for a church. In some cases, the dates of these two events will be the same, but this is not inevitably or necessarily so in all cases. It is common practice to refer to the patron saint(s) as the ‘dedication’.

The dedication festival is the annual commemoration of the original act of dedication or consecration of the building, and of the church as a worshipping community, whereas the patronal festival is the annual commemoration of the patron saint or saints, according to the calendar. The original choice of the patron saint was, presumably, influenced by the hope that his or her prayers and intercession would be especially efficacious on behalf of a particular community. This offers a possible explanation, in general terms, for the relatively large number of cases where the Virgin Mary or All Saints was chosen.

The hypothesis, which Davies sets out to test, may well be defective in that it is framed in such a way as to incorporate the confusion between ‘dedication’ and ‘patronage’. It is inappropriate, and probably theologically unsound, to write “…the Saint’s Day to which that church is dedicated”, or “…the saint’s days of dedication”.

2. **A possible reason for the bunching of patron saints’ dates into the second half of the year** — vide Davies’s conclusion (a) — might simply be that such a pattern was imposed by the seasons of the natural and ecclesiastical years. Lent, as a penitential season, excludes the major feasts of saints and would also exclude, presumably, dedication and patronal festivities. Similarly, the high festival periods between Christmas and the Epiphany, and between Easter and Corpus Christi would tend to exclude these festivals. On a more mundane level, the celebration of dedication and patronal festivities would involve a considerable amount of out-of-doors activity of both religious and secular kinds — in particular processions — which would not be favoured by the more fine weather of summer and autumn.

David Parsons’ comments on the relatively large number of Rutland events in late November and early December are convincing.

3. **Queries on matters of fact associated with Davies’s conclusion (b)**

(a) 26 cases for St Peter as the patron saint appears to be incorrect, unless there are unrecorded cases of multiple patronage; from the data tabulated, the number would seem to be 12.

(b) The accuracy of some patronal feast dates as listed is dubious. It is surprising to see St John Baptist (Bisbrooke and North Luffenham) sharing the same date (27 September) as St John Evangelist (Caldecote and Ryhall). Reference to the calendars listed in the 1549 and 1662 Prayer Books indicates that St John Baptist is observed on 24 June (nativity red-letter) or 28 August (beheading black-letter), while St John Evangelist is traditionally observed on 27 December.

(c) It is also surprising to see St Michael (Whitwell) being
observed on 6 December rather than on 29 September; if this point were shifted a good fit with the curve could be obtained.

4. The role played by magnetic instruments in the aligning of church foundations is of great interest; the possibility of their use should not be ruled out, especially in the later mediaeval period. A number of writers dealing with mediaeval science and technology suggest that a crude form of magnetic compass, such as a magnetised needle floated on water or pivoted on a card, was known in the West by the 12th century. Surveying instruments such as the alidade were also known and in use at that time, while astronomical/astrological devices such as the astrolabe had appeared. Crombie describes how the astrolabe could be used to give the direction of north. It is also necessary to bear in mind that, in all cases of physical measurement, absolute accuracy is never attainable. One can only speculate about the magnitude of the error that must have been inherent in all observations that these mediaeval astronomers and surveyors made.

5. It would be interesting to speculate on the patronage of local religious houses and their influence on the choice of patron saints for churches in the locality. It would seem to be highly probable that, quite apart from the well-documented association of Rutland churches with Westminster Abbey (dedicated to St Peter), the clergy in Rutland would have had strong connections with eg Peterborough, Lincoln and Stamford. 

6. It is suggested that research into the reasons for the choice of patron saints in particular cases would be especially valuable.

REFERENCES
2. David Parsons, ‘Notes and Queries’, Rutland Record, 1985, no. 5, p. 190
4. Lowther Clarke loc cit pp. 215-239, who describes the changes made in the calendars in the 1543, 1552 and 1559 revisions prior to that of 1662. More importantly, he shows that current commemorations as described here are consistent with the Sarum Use. No feast is allocated to 27 September in any of these calendars; there is evidence that Sts Cosmas and Damian were observed there in pre-Reformation times (eg: the Sarum calendar of ca.1535 quoted in F.E. Brightman, The English Rite, Vol. I, 1915, p. 110). Lowther Clarke states that “the feast of [St Michael on] 29 September was especially popular in England during the Middle Ages.” It would be helpful if ecleologists could indicate what Use (Lincoln?) might have been employed in the Rutland area during the period in question, and how this differed from the Use of Sarum.
7. Lowther Clarke Liturgy and Worship, 1964, SPCK, p. 238
8. Christine Mahany, Stamford — Castle and Town, 1978, South Lincolnshire Archaeology 2
10. Charles Phythian-Adams, ‘The Emergence of Rutland’, Rutland Record, 1980, no. 1, pp. 5-12 has a map of Domesday Rutland but, unfortunately, does not appear to elaborate on this topic
11. Miss E.M.S. Hammond, Hudson Memorial Library, St Albans Abbey, 1984, private communication
Rutland in Maps

MORDEN 1676
(From The 52 Counties of England and Wales described in a Pack of Cards)
Each of the 52 playing cards is divided into three panels by double horizontal lines. In the top panel are the suit mark, the title of the county and the designation of the card (for kings the head of King Charles II, for queens that of Catherine of Braganza and for knaves various male heads). The centre panel contains a thumb nail county map while the bottom panel contains a limited amount of geographical information. In most editions Rutland is shown as the county's 'chiefe Town'!

Rutland Records

RUTLAND RECORDS
IN THE LEICESTERSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

New Accessions 1 April, 1984-31 March, 1985
DE 2688 Marriage settlement and papers of Babington and Noel families, 1816-1942
DE 2689 Papers concerning Orphans Stock at Burley on the Hill, 1715-1731
DE 2694 Oakham parish poor law papers etc., 17-20th C.
DE 2722 Eastern & Midlands Railway Extension plans and sections, 1888
DE 2756 Burley on the Hill parish records, 1813-1983
DE 2759 Cottesmore Parish Council records, 1905-1981
DE 2763 Cottesmore parish papers, 1885-1976
DE 2772 Prescription books of Cornelius Bayley, M.P.S. of Uppingham, 1920-1933
DE 2792 Records of Oakham Canal Company 1793-1852, and Fowler and Co., Oakham solicitors
DE 2806 Title deeds to the Crown House, Morcott, 1740-1940
DE 2809 Barrowden deed of bargain and sale, 1660
DE 2810 Belton charity papers, c.1685-1950
DE 2852 Papers found in the Manor House, Uppingham

Oakham parish poor law records
The problem of poverty is as old as man but until the end of the 16th century was largely dealt with by private charity, especially from the church. The dissolution of the monasteries in 1536 meant that a large source of alms dried up practically overnight but this was not the only problem; other factors, many of them familiar today, included inflation, rising population, enclosure for pasture and the transformation of old industries. Vagrancy and petty crime increased so that the problem of poverty became part of the problem of law and order and the old poor law, established by legislation in 1597-1601, was partly a solution to the increase in vagrancy and begging. A distinction was made between the 'deserving' poor who had become destitute through no fault of their own and were therefore worthy of help, and the 'undeserving' poor who were the agents of their own misfortune and needed compulsion to make them responsible for their lives rather than relying on 'state' help.

The 'great Elizabethan poor laws' as they became known (1597-1601) established the parish as the unit of administration and introduced compulsory, rate-financed poor relief. Unpaid Overseers of the Poor were elected annually: their task was frequently a thankless one, especially in areas of substantial poverty and where there were few people able to pay poor rates. As a result parishes became unwilling to provide for people who did not 'belong' there and this was rationalised in an Act of 1662 which brought in the system of settlement. Legal removal was introduced, which had to be carried out within 40 days of a person's arrival, but those renting a tenement worth £10 or more or who could indemnify the parish, were exempted. Those who sought temporary or seasonal work had to carry a settlement certificate from their parish officers agreeing to take them back. The system of settlement was modified by experience over the years and could be gained in a number of ways — by being born in a parish, serving an apprenticeship for the full term, filling a parish office, etc. — and it was always the last event that determined settlement. An Act of 1795 decreed that no one could be removed until actually bound in volume form without the suit marks.

REDMAYNE 1676
(From a set of Geographical, Chronological and Historiographical Cards of England and Wales)
This tiny map of Rutland which is shown on the card of the one of clubs, is distorted and nearly obliterated by the suit mark. The only features are a few hills, trees and rivers and one place, that of Uppingham — the county's 'chiefe Town'!

RICHARD ADAMS
chargeable and prevented the forcible removal of anyone unfit to travel. In 1722 all parishes were given powers to establish a workhouse and Gilbert's Act of 1782 enabled parishes to unite for this purpose.

The records of the old poor law should be found among the parish records but often they do not survive at all or may be divorced from the rest of the collection, sometimes in private hands. A typical collection should include: overseers' accounts, settlement certificates, removal orders, settlement examinations, apprenticeship indentures and registers, bastardy bonds (or filiation orders), together with various ancillary documents. Oakham has a particularly good set of records now transferred to the Record Office.

Before 1894 the parish of Oakham was divided into three townships — Lordshold, Deanshold with Barleythorpe (Westminster Fee) and Gunthorpe — and the first two were also separate manors. This is reflected in the records: in the church are two boxes marked 'L.H.' and 'D.H.', respectively (sadly now ridden with woodworm) and the documents distinguish between Lordshold and Deanshold. However they have been mixed up at some time in the past and it is now impossible to separate them again; they have therefore been listed as one collection.

There are six volumes of overseers' accounts from April 1726 to May 1836 with substantial gaps and some overlapping dates. There is also one rate book for October 1831 to January 1832.

There are 149 settlement certificates from 1697 to 1834. 28 of these are for people settled in Oakham Lordshold and 19 for Deanshold, with one unspecified. Not surprisingly most of the others are from other Rutland parishes (31) and the surrounding counties: 33 from Leicestershire (mostly from the Melton Mowbray area but with quite a few from Hallaton), 18 from Lincolnshire (mostly Stamford) and 7 from Northamptonshire. The remaining are from Nottinghamshire (4), Peterborough (3), Yorkshire (2), Staffordshire, Surrey and London (1 each). Some of the certificates are for families, some for a woman with children (legitimate or illegitimate) and some for individuals.

There are only 20 removal orders, a very small number compared with the settlement certificates. This may mean that few people were removed by orders or that other orders have not survived. They date from 1749 to 1855. Most of them relate to places very near to Oakham although there is one removing a family to Kent.

There are almost as many settlement examinations as removal orders (19). These are 'potted biographies' of people to determine their settlement and can be very informative. The Oakham ones date from 1749 to 1798 and include three men serving in the Rutland militia.

One register of pauper apprentices has survived for Deanshold, covering the years 1807-31. The apprenticeship indentures, as one would expect, form the largest group after the settlement certificates: there are 71, dating from 1704 to 1850. Just half of the apprentices were bound to masters in Oakham (36), 15 to masters in other Rutland parishes, 14 in Leicestershire, three in Lincolnshire and one each in Cambridgeshire, Derby and

Overseers of the poor accounts 1788-1808 (open at 1798). Leicestershire Museums.
Sheffield. The most popular trade was boot and shoe making of one kind or another with 14 apprentices, followed by tailoring (7), weaving and woolcombing (6), bakery (5), milling, carpentry and framework knitting (4 each). There were three apprenticed to masons and blacksmiths, two to a thatcher and one each to a gardener, whityer (sic), innholder, tanner, flax dresser, labourer, joiner and cabinet maker, wheelwright, coachsmith, cutler (in Sheffield), basket maker,ollar maker, slater, bricklayer and peruke maker and hairdresser. There are also a number of associated apprenticeship papers.

Illegitimate children were often a problem for the parish authorities and if the putative father could be traced he would be expected to pay for the child’s maintenance until he or she was of age. A bastardy bond would be entered into indemnifying the parish agent against any costs. There may also be associated papers, such as bastardy examinations and warrants to arrest the fathers of bastard children. There are 26 bastardy bonds from 1677 to 1809 including two dated 1782 and 1789 involving the same mother and father; there are also two bastardy examinations of 1786 and 1784.

In addition to these major groups there are one or two slightly unusual items. There are 15 bonds (1662-93) indemnifying the parish against any costs arising from people settling in Oakham and nine miscellaneous bonds (1680-1796). The last of these concerns the relief of a lunatic belonging to Oakham but living in Ely.

Poverty touched many people’s lives in the 16th to 19th centuries and the records of the old poor can provide a fascinating insight into local conditions. Those for Oakham have been listed individually and are available for researchers. The parish registers will be deposited shortly to join the rest of the collection.

Kathryn M. Thompson, County Archivist

RUTLAND RECORDS IN THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

Previous articles in Rutland Record have indicated that the diocesan records are the prime source for Rutland documents. Obvious as a source for detailed work on churches both architecturally and as an organisation it may be of interest to point out that these records provide useful information on schools. The visitation questions put to late 19th century clergy included a number relating to schools. Some clergy, of course, replied very briefly but this is not always the case, some waxing eloquent:— ‘The School was built in 1873 at the sole expense of Lord Leverhulme and for its size it is one of the best schools in the county [Stretton 1878]’. As well as day and Sunday Schools it was not uncommon for the Church to hold evening schools for adults. Twenty attended the night school in winter at Uppingham (1881). At Wing the average number of school children was ‘much the same as it was 3 years ago but perhaps a little increased by the presence of a few children from the railway labourers huts’ (1881). Questions reveal that the funding for the schools came from many sources: endowments, government grants and voluntary contributions sometimes from only one or two individuals ‘supported by Lady V Peché and myself in small degree’ (Bisbrooke 1875).

Although questions relating to education were posed only in the visitation returns of the late 19th and early 20th century the diocesan records do contain earlier references to education. Schoolmasters were supposed to be licenced by the Bishop and were meant to appear at the visitation. Mr D. Shearing in his thesis ‘A Study of Educational Developments in the Dioceses of Peterborough 1561-1700’ has used these and other sources to provide appendices of schools and schoolmasters in the diocese. There are only two surviving schoolmaster appointments for Rutland both relating to Oakham (1802, 1818). The same series (Schoolmaster Appointments) also includes papers relating to unlicensed teachers at Belton 1710 (SA 69-70). It should always be remembered that a number of parishes in Rutland were not in the diocese of Peterborough.

Mrs J.A. Minchinton Assistant Archivist

RUTLAND RECORDS IN THE LINCOLNSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

In October 1420 Thomas Hill, the Sequestrator of the Bishop of Lincoln in the Archdeaconry of Northampton, arrived in Oakham to inquire into the circumstances surrounding the death of Henry Couper, a chaplain of that place. By jumping into a deep and watery well, Couper had drowned himself but he had nevertheless been buried with Christian ceremony in Oakham churchyard. It was therefore Hill’s task to ascertain whether the unfortunate Couper had committed suicide; whether he had shown any signs of repentance; whether he had acted in a rage; who had buried him and on what authority and who had been present at the burial. In due course it was found that Couper had acted voluntarily and that he had been buried, on doubtful authority, by a chaplain from Dingley. Hill therefore ordered that the body be exhumed and removed from the churchyard.

This glimpse of tragedy in Oakham in the reign of Henry V is preserved in the register of Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln from 1420 until 1431. These episcopal registers, deposited in the Lincolnshire Archives Office, form the principal series of the records of the medieval diocese of Lincoln in which Rutland was situated until the creation of the diocese of Peterborough in 1541. The purpose of this note is to indicate some of the types of material which the Rutland historian may find in them.

The Lincoln registers have the distinction of being the earliest in western Europe, the first commencing around 1214. They fall into two main categories: the institution registers, recording the institutions of clergy to parish churches and other benefices, and the memoranda registers into which were copied documents which might be required for future reference. In addition there were ordination lists and registers of royal writs.

A typical entry in an institution register gives the name of the new incumbent, his status (priest, deacon, subdeacon or acolyte), the name of the benefice and the cause of vacancy, the name of the patron and the date of ordination lists and registers of royal writs. They fall into two main categories: the institution registers, recording the institutions of clergy to parish churches and other benefices, and the memoranda registers into which were copied documents which might be required for future reference. In addition there were ordination lists and registers of royal writs.

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have been published by the Lincoln Record Society and there are in the Lincolnshire Archives Office calendars of the memoranda of Bishop Dalerby (1300-1319) and Bishop Fleming (1420-1431). Many of the memoranda relate to the clergy: there are letters dimissory issued to those seeking ordination in another diocese, and licences to beneficed clergy for non-residence, either for study (such as Master Ralph de Turvill, rector of Clipsham, licensed to study in England or abroad for one year in 1351) or to remain in the service of some nobleman or prelate (such as Roger de Ledbur, rector of South Luffenham, to be in the service of Thomas, Earl of Warwick, 1339). When an incumbent became too old or weak to carry out his duties, a co-adjutor might be appointed, as was William of Empingham, rector of Little Casterton, to assist Walter, rector of Tickencote in 1296. Other memoranda relate to the laity, such as the licences granted to those who wished to have private chapels in their manor houses; two such were issued in 1330 to Walter of Yarmouth in Cottesmore and John de Cromwell in Essendine.

In addition to these routine entries there are among the memoranda more miscellaneous items such as the inquiry into the Oakham suicide quoted above. Also recorded are a number of wills and testaments of which the bishop granted probate. One such, printed in the Lincoln Record Society edition of Bishop Repingdon’s register, is the testament of William Yong, rector of Tinnew (1416). Abstracts of all these wills may be found in Alfred Gibbons, *Early Lincoln Wills* (1888), a work which should be used with some caution.

Nicholas Bennett
Archivist

**THE MORMON LIBRARY, LOUGHBOROUGH**

**PART II**

The more one delves into the resources at Thorpe Hill, the more impressive becomes the zeal and diversity of Mormon efforts to amass every possible aid for the dedicated genealogist. New publications, including our own *Rutland Record* are collected and microfilmed (although Journal No 1 is missing, alas) as well as old; nothing is dismissed as being too lowly or on the fringe for inclusion in the records at Salt Lake City.

Eventually, copies filter back to the country of origin, although of course any record on the I.G.I. from any country in the world, can be sent within weeks to the nearest Mormon Branch Library for on-the-spot perusal. The Parish and Vital Records listings are updated each January and June, the June one unfortunately coming out too late for inclusion in this publication; therefore it is always worth while to ask the Librarian if your particular record is now available. Since January 1984 the following have been added or are being processed:

**Parish Records:**

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**Other Records available:**

Society of Friends, births, marriages and burials from Quarterly Meetings in Rutland, Leicestershire and Warwickshire 1776-1837; Oakham Monthly Meetings 1623-1729. Seaton Monumental Inscriptions 1828-1923 (Phillimore) Marriage Indices for: Oakham All Saints 1754-1837

Rutland:

(a) Mr Bower Marsh’s
(b) for 1562-1837 including Bisbrooke, Gt Casterton, Pickworth Tickencote, Tinnew and Tixover.

Marriage Allegations 1660-1851 plus general index 1660-1920 (Canterbury)

Rutland Militia Rolls index 1779-1783

Uppingham School Roll 1824-1896

Taxation/Subsidy Roll 1526 (Salter)

Visitation 1618-1619 (Armitage, Rylands)

Obits. and records for Rutland, Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire 1800-1859 (Justin Simpson)

Index to Probate records: Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire Peculiars in Rutland Miscellaneous Rutland Probate records, Pre-1858

Henry Isham Longden — Probate records

Henry Isham Longden — Northamptonshire and Rutland clergy from 1500

Samuel Flowers: *Family History* History and Antiquities: Thomas Blore, James Wright, Victoria County History Various maps of Rutland and later guidebooks

Directory: Kelly’s, White’s, Slater’s, Pigot’s and others Redlich’s *History of Teigh* (1926)

**Record of Members of Empingham Branch of the British Mission**

This Branch of the Mormon Church was extant from 1852
to 1858. The first member, Charles Welch, was born at Leire (Leire?) on 18th May 1827 and was baptised by Henry Hand on 14th October 1849. Of the forty-five members who joined the Church at Empingham, five died and ten emigrated to the U.S.A. The rules at this time must have been particularly strict: of the remainder, fifteen are annotated either 'Cut Off' or 'Excommunicated'; unfortunately no explanations are given and we have no knowledge of what constituted a demeanour serious enough to cause such members to be struck from the Roll. Three members moved away, until by 1858 the Mission must have been considered to small to be viable.

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<td>1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>John Hargrave</td>
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<td>Adelaide Laxton**</td>
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Names of this nature can be to us and to the local historian. Often not realised how interesting or important anything ephemeral material relating to the rural life of Rutland, and are always anxious to see such items so that they can be acquired or copied. The assistance of members of the Archaeological and Natural History Society will be gratefully received, especially as it is so often not realised how interesting or important anything of this nature can be to us and to the local historian. Indeed, some of this material, including items which have only recently come to the museum, is proving invaluable as primary sources for the new agricultural displays currently being prepared for the Poultry Hall extension to the museum.

1984.34 London Gazette, 25-28 July 1867, with loyal address from Grand Jury, Rutland Assize, 8 July 1867.

1984.37 Oakham School Prize Medal, awarded to Thomas Cochrane, December 1833.

L 1984.51 Collection of glass negatives from the Rutland Archaeological and Natural History Society, on loan from Stamford Museum.

Information supplied by T.H. McK. Clough Keeper, Rutland County Museum

RUTLAND COUNTY MUSEUM

As in previous years, a number of items of interest to members of the Society have been acquired for the museum, and a selection from this is listed below. We have been glad to accept photographs and other ephemeral material relating to the rural life of Rutland, and are always anxious to see such items so that they can be acquired or copied. The assistance of members of the Society will be gratefully received, especially as it is so often not realised how interesting or important anything of this nature can be to us and to the local historian. Indeed, some of this material, including items which have only recently come to the museum, is proving invaluable as primary sources for the new agricultural displays currently being prepared for the Poultry Hall extension to the museum.

1984.8 Photograph of Oakham Post Office staff, by Billows, 1907.


1984.20 Apprenticeship indenture of Henry Sharpe to John Read, Oakham, basket maker, 24 Feb 1854.


RUTLAND FIELD RESEARCH GROUP FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

Excavation of the Whitwell (Site 2) Medieval building complex continued from May to October 1984. Further lengths of stone wall footings were revealed. The floor of the main building was paved with large limestone slabs up to 70cm square. These were drawn and removed. Part of the floor had up to four layers of stone; the original ironstone grit floor had evidently sunk periodically, and the stones had apparently been laid to overcome wet floor problems. Very few artifacts were found in this area, but outside the walls medieval potsherds of several periods, ferrous metal objects, animal bones, and mussel shells were found.
In view of plans to build a northern relief road for Oakham, the site of St. Mary's well, adjacent to the Burley Road, was surveyed. An ancient 'green way' apparently leading towards Oakham Church, a probable building platform and three separate areas of ridge and furrow around the Well site were identified. An official inquiry to be held shortly now suggests a more northerly route for the proposed road. The Group has supported the new proposal and hopes that the alternative proposals for the field for residential building will not cause irreparable damage to the archaeological and ecological aspects of the area.

A plan to build a by-pass route for the Wardley Hill section of the A47 has also been investigated, and much of the proposed route has been examined by a fieldwalking team. Artifacts recovered include potsherds ranging from Roman through to 19th century, an enamelled brooch of Medieval or Roman date, worked flints of Mesolithic and Neolithic periods, early horseshoes and other metal items, and animal bones and teeth. It is hoped to continue field walking after the cropping season. Other roadworks will be observed at Whitwell and Ayston Beeches. Documentary research has continued in respect of Nether Hambleton, a short report on touchstones has been received and a report on the animal bones is awaited.

Notes and Queries

Grahame Thom would like to make contact with a member in Rutland able to assist with research regarding his ancestor Charles James Bullivant, solicitor of Oakham around 1810-30, whose parents were Thomas Bullivant and Elizabeth Dorothea Ashby. Grahame is willing to research Australian records in exchange. Write to 48 Derwent Street, Lyons, A.C.T., 2606, Australia.

Hilary Crowden, Croft House, Seaton, Uppingham, would be grateful for information on the Sismeys of Thorpe also in Rutland or elsewhere in Rutland, but I have myself discovered another. It lies in between the Digbys, Catesbys, Sheffield Bellairs and Bellfargo families.

D.R. Howison, The Old School, Exton, has this gravestone in his possession which was formerly in the grounds of Deanscroft, Station Road, Oakham, now Oakham School. Can any readers solve the mystery?

MY BELOVED
COCKTAIL
WHO WAS FOUND AT
ARRAS IN 1916
A LOVING AND FAITHFUL
COMPANION WHO NEVER
FAILED ME
DEANSCROFT 1927

John Barber writes "In Rutland Record No.4 (1984), page 152 I recorded the presence of twelve Crapper manhole covers in Oakham. No one has yet told me of any more, either in Oakham or elsewhere in Rutland, but I have myself discovered another. It lies in between the Hayne in Melton Road and the adjoining property to the east in the middle of the passageway, which leads from Melton Road to the new car park next to the St. John & St. Anne's complex. However, two of the original twelve have now been destroyed (those behind the Museum and near the Drill Hall, Penn Street). The total, therefore, now stands at eleven".

RUTLAND LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

At the Society's Annual General Meeting Mr. A.R. Traylen was elected to a new office of President and was succeeded as Chairman by Dr. D.P. Harris. Mr J.M. Crossley, now Senior Technician at Rutland County Museum, was elected Honorary Secretary. The new committee has formulated revised aims and objectives and will circulate a regular newsletter three times a year. New titles include Traction Engines of Rutland, and Maps of Rutland, obtainable from the Museum. Work continues on further publications.

Leicestershire Museums Service through Rutland County Museum with grant-aid from the Victoria & Albert Museum has acquired a valuable and unique collection of eleven drawings by Nathan Fielding and 49 unsigned ink and wash drawings plus seven more in ink or ink and pencil of Rutland churches in the 1790s. The illustrations reveal a great deal about the condition of the churches before their nineteenth century restoration and the collection ante-dates by fifty years the watercolours and drawings of the recently published Uppingham School collection.

Paul Ridgway of Ketton and A.V. Goodfellow of Northampton report on Collyweston Bridge "there is no direct proof of a medieval bridge here but 'through toll' was claimed in the 14th century and this, together with the pointed arches, makes it probable. There is a datestone over the first segmented arch on the Rutland side (1620) and it can be taken that this side of the bridge..."
was built or re-built then. The use of pointed arches on the Northants side could mean that these three arches were built at the same time by different masons or even earlier. If, as is almost certain, it was re-built then the two halves were worked on at different times. The seventh arch on the Northants side dates from the 19th century, an addition to improve the approaches'.

The British Association for Local History is sponsoring an East Midlands Local History Fair at Leicester Museum of Technology, Corporation Road, Leicester, on 17-18 May, 1986. There will be a range of activities throughout the two days, all with an historical theme, as well as talks, film shows, oral history, etc. The aim is to bring together the many local history societies and organisations in the region.

Contributions for Who Was Who in Rutland are still being requested. Please contact the Editor.

John Barber writes: "Some time ago I was handed a large box of bills and an account ledger, all dated between 1850-83, which had belonged to a Mr Charles Scott. They were discovered in the false roof of No.9 Mill Street by a Mrs Sillitoe, of The Barn, Mill Lane, Cottesmore, the proprietress of what was at the time The Wool Box (now a café). They were a very mixed lot and in an indifferent state of preservation. However there was one ledger, to which the ravages of time had been kinder: it ran from 1860-71, and listed all the business he did with Oakham School. He names "Dr. Woods" (Dr. W.S. Wood, Headmaster 1846-75) and "Rev. Skipworth" (Rev. P.G. Skipworth, Assistant Master 1864-75) and over one hundred boys in the school at the time. Some of the spelling is doubtful and no initials are given, but from an early School Register it is possible to identify most of the scholars.

Mostly the accounts refer to repairs, and the list below (original spelling preserved) is not without interest, especially in these inflationary times: Trowsers repairing 6d.: Jacket repairing and buttons 1/4d.: Flannel trowsers washing 6d.: Blue fancy coat with silk binding £1 17s.: Collar cap repairing 4d.: White waistcoat cleaning 6d.: 3 pairs of trowsers mending plus cotton 1/6d.: Double-breasted grey jacket £1 7s.: Green base (baize) cover for hat 1s.: Cap new silk tassel 1/3d.: Flannel shirt 10d.: Inderruber braces 1/4d.: Melton cloth trowsers £1 2s.: Leather belt 1/4d.: Waistcoat watch pocket 4d.: Rug repairing and one yard of stuff 1/3d.: Trowsers altering and buttons 9d.: Carpet repairing 6d. etc. etc. etc.

What remains of the loose accounts, which relate to a much wider clientele, paint much the same picture. Walter Cushing, of 141 Brooke Road, Oakham, whose mother at one time lived next door to Charles Scott, remembers her mentioning his name. Apparently he was a high-Class tailor, who did a great deal of business not only with Oakham School but also with the local hunting fraternity.

The Society's AGM was held at Rutland County Museum on 9th May, 1985. Bryan Matthews was elected Life Vice President and David Tew Vice Chairman. Dr E.J. King of Sheffield University lectured on 'The Monks of Westminster Abbey and the Villagers of Oakham'. The next AGM is scheduled for 8th May, 1986. There was a very well-supported and enjoyable visit to Lyndon Hall on 22nd June, 1985, with talks from Sir John Conant and Mr & Mrs John Kington as well as displays of the Barker Mss. and competitions. The proceeds go towards the publication of the journals of Thomas Barker. An historical field visit to Eastern Rutland was undertaken on 21st September, 1985, with contributions from John Barber, Bryan Matthews and Joanna Spencer. Mrs R. Outram has been elected as Membership Secretary, a new post, and all members wish to convey their sincere thanks to Joanna Spencer for her enthusiastic work as Vice Chairman. Although retired from that office she is still one of our most active members.

Our Chairman, Prince Yuri Galitzine, has produced two valuable catalogues now available from the Editor:— The Conant Mss. Field Names of Rutland. An index. £3 inc. p&p. The Royce Mss. An index to the document cases referring to the County of Rutland. £3 inc. p&p.
Rutland Bibliography

CHRISTINE HILL

An annotated bibliography of recent books, pamphlets and journals relating to Rutland and the surrounding area

BROUGHTON, Heather E. — Family and estate records in the Leicestershire Record Office. (Leicestershire Record Office Collections No.1). Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and Record Office, 1985. This book is principally a guide to the major Leicestershire and Rutland family collections on deposit in the Record Office. These include collections from the Rutland families of Constable, Finch and Noel. A CALENDAR OF WILLS relating to the counties of Northampton and Rutland, proved in the court of the Archdeacon of Northampton, 1510-1692. Edited by W.P.W. Pullimore. (The Index Library: Vol.1) microfiches. Originally published in 1888. This microfiche copy has recently been added to the stock of Oakham Library.

CLAYTON, Michael — The Golden Thread; Foxhunting Today. Methuen: £29.95, 1984. This work is not intended to be a detailed survey of British hunts but as a personal appreciation of the best qualities of hunting which has been described as ‘the golden thread running through the British countryside’. It contains a chapter on ‘The Shires’ which includes the Cotswome. There are 32 colour illustrations by the sporting artist John King.

COLLINS, Val — Water supply, Reservoir Development and Planning: a study of the impact of Rutland Water. A thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham, for the degree of Master of Science, December 1st 1977. A bound copy of this thesis has recently been added to the stock of Oakham Library.

FIVE LEICESTERSHIRE MAY-DAY SONGS — Leicester Research Department of Chamberlain Music and Books, 134 London Road, Leicestcr, 10.60, 1984. These songs were collected over 20 years ago by the Leicestershire and Rutland Federation of Women’s Institutes and are now published in this format for the first time. Many of these songs have remained unchanged for over 150 years, and in the preface of the book it is stated: ‘The aim of this book is to show that many villages in rural England retain an element of their traditional customs and traditions, and that some of these are related to specific localities and events.’

INDEX TO THE WILLS and administrations. (Leicestershire and South Derbyshire Coalfield) 1200-1900. By Colin Owen, 1984, maps, diagr., bibliogr., £14.95 (p&p £1.20). All the above publications published by and obtained from Leicestershire Museums Service.

The Landscape of a Leicestershire Parish (Groby). By Stephen Woodward, 1984, 42pp., maps, diagr., illus., bibliogr., £2.00 (p&p £3.50), ISBN 0 85022 1679.

The Street Names of Leicester. By J.D. Bennett, 1985, 28pp., illus., bibliogr., £2.00 (p&p £5.00), ISBN 0 85022 175 7.

The Great Central Through the Cameras of S.W.A. Newton and R.F. Hartley. By J.M.C. Hardy, 1985, 49pp., maps, illus., £2.50 (p&p £5.00), ISBN 0 85022 162 X.

The Leicestershire and South Derbyshire Coalfield 1200-1900.

The defence of Rutland Water. A thesis submitted to the Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham.

THE JOHN CLARE SOCIETY JOURNAL, No.3, July 1984. The official journal of the John Clare Society, published annually to reflect the sense of place. WRIGHT, Geoffrey — The Stone Villages of Britain. David and Charles: £15.00, 1985. The aim of this book is to show that many villages in Britain derive their individual character more from the stone from which they are built than from location or from social conditions. Ketton and Lyddington are given particular mention in the author’s ‘Personal Choices’ of villages in which stone dictates the character and creates the sense of place.
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