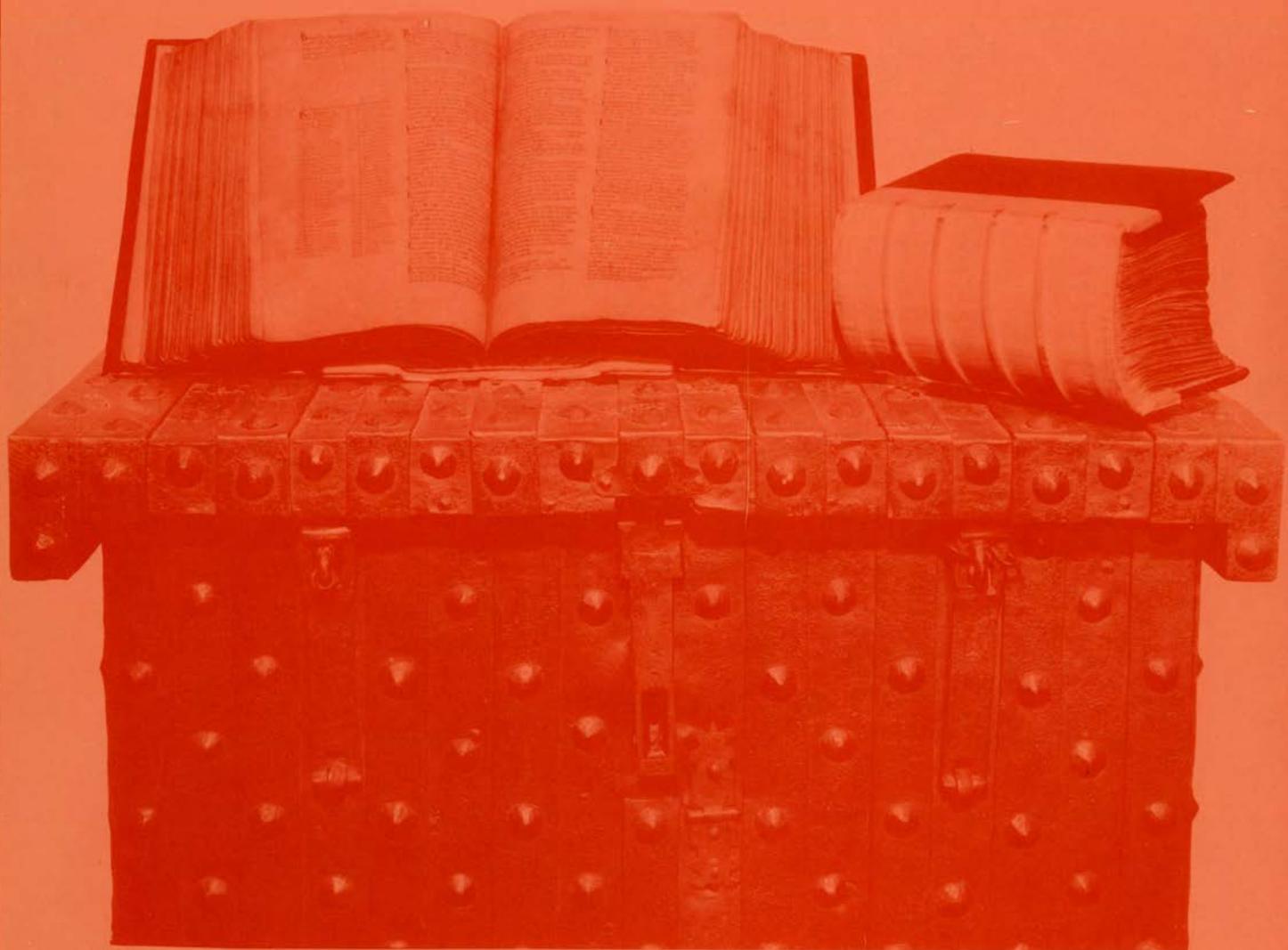


Rutland Record

No. 7 1987

Journal of the Rutland Record Society



The Rutland Record Society

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Editorial: A Wider World

BRYAN WAITES

Is local history too local? Has it a duty to be parochial? Certainly it can become overspecialised both in area and topic. Sometimes local historians may feel protected by the minutiae of their chosen study.

And yet, almost everything they investigate leads outwards if they wish to pursue it. The local Roman road will be part of a regional pattern; the abandoned canal and disused railway will be a component of a national network. The local abbey may have been founded from Citeaux or built of Caen stone. Your area will have personalities who were missionaries or explorers in distant lands. Perhaps some of them contributed to the independence of Hungary, Greece or other countries.

Even the tablet in the local church may commemorate someone who 'died in a bayonet charge at Gallipoli', which can lead you out of your own backyard. Local history must never be studied in isolation for it throws open a window on the region, the nation and the world. But what are these links which connect the local and the international?

Place-names are 'a little bit of Europe in Britain' and part of a wider process of settlement and migration which can be studied in a *European* context via Roman, Saxon, Scandinavian and Norman elements. Another aspect is to follow the spread of our local place-names to other parts of the world, for example, the Rutlands in North America.

Personal names too can be plotted according to origin to show interesting distributions. Scandinavian personal names such as Brand, Straker and Trigg now are accompanied by Polish, Ukrainian, Latvian, Italian, Pakistani, Indian and many others in our increasingly cosmopolitan society. A whole world of linkages is being reflected more and more in the environment around. Just as we may study the Norman architecture in our area so now we may look for the Norwegian church in Hull or London's Dockland; similarly we may find the local temple or mosque. We can trace the Huguenot immigration into England but we can also study the entry of Ugandans into Leicester as part of local history.

Investigation of emigration from some areas of this country to Australia, New Zealand and North America has become a fine art based on ample source material. Such is the interest abroad that a British historian could make productive contacts. There are special linkages, like the Welsh in Patagonia, which would repay study. Family links are associated with this and it may be that an Australian, say, can tell you more about your ancestors and your area than you know yourself.

Language links such as dialect and words in the

landscape lead outwards, too. The eastern counties still have strong links with Scandinavian countries through dialect. The introduction of foreign words into our language is worth noting too, especially when it echoes Imperial connections. Street names need explaining. Why is there a New Zealand Lane in Syston? How do we explain Edmonton Way or Jasper Road in Oakham? House names are becoming a detailed, respectable study. Certainly it can reach back some generations from Pightle to Palermo. Each has a story and a linkage.

Personalities are another important linkage. Even the most modest area can provide them. On a clear day, for example, from Boston Stump you can see the birthplaces or former homes of Matthew Flinders, George Bass, Sir John Franklin and Sir Joseph Banks — all key figures in the opening up of Australia. In the little village of Thorpe Satchville, Leicestershire, a plaque notes a member of the Paget family who led an Hungarian revolution and our own little village of Teigh has links with the famous Asiatic explorer, Anthony Jenkinson.

War provides further links. In Stamford one man is trying to find out the story behind every name on the local memorial. You can also 'follow your local regiment' through its history which entails studying its foreign campaigns. Perhaps your town was raided in the World Wars or machine-gunned, like Melton Mowbray. What is the story here?

There are botanical and garden links too. When was the first cedar introduced to England? Is Normanton's older than that at Quaintree Hall, Braunston? Are there cypresses from the Garden of Gethsemane in your churchyard? Did a local man introduce plants or animals into your area? Do the stately homes have gardens with the Italian, Dutch, French, Japanese or Indian influences? Can you work out the history of the landscaping? Architecturally, too, we can look for east coast pantiles; Wisbech, Spalding and King's Lynn echo Amsterdam in style. There have been world influences on our buildings from earliest times to the exotic skyline of Brighton Pavilion and the Italian Palladian style.

It has been long realised that the local historian makes a vital contribution to the understanding of national history. The recent development of Regional History at Hull University shows a growing recognition of the need to fill the gap between local and national. What is now needed is the recognition and development of the next dimension — to bridge the gap between local and international history. Even the most modest element in our local environment may lead us to the ends of the earth.

The Major Place-Names of Rutland: to Domesday and Beyond

BARRIE COX

The most striking feature of the place-names of Rutland¹ is their overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon nature. The Scandinavian immigrants who settled in the Danelaw made remarkably little impact on the county's toponomy.

Domesday Book is, of course, our earliest major source of information about Rutland place-names. Unfortunately, because its primary concern was with royal revenues, not all settlements existing at the time of its compilation were recorded there: only the manorial centres had that distinction. We have to guess at the various berewicks which may have belonged to each manorial *caput*² and the pitfall for us is that not all settlements present in our contemporary landscape, or even some which have long since vanished, had necessarily come into existence by 1086. However, in recent years, a little headway has been made in establishing a relative chronology for some English place-name types so that by examining the character of the known names of those Rutland settlements unrecorded in Domesday, we may make some assumptions about their ages. But from the outset we must never forget that names of places may change: a place-name of a late type does not necessarily mean that the settlement which bears it was late in its creation.

An English place-name usually consists of two parts, the specific (which is positioned initially) and the generic. Thus in Stretton, the generic is Old English *tūn* 'a farmstead, a village', while the specific, OE *stræt* 'a Roman road', tells us where this particular settlement was situated — hence **stræt-tūn* 'village beside a Roman road' (in this case Ermine Street).³ Similarly in Belmesthorpe, the generic is ON *porp* 'a dependent outlying farmstead or hamlet', while the specific is an OE personal name Beornhelm — thus **Beornhelmes-porp* 'Beornhelm's farmstead'. In simplex names such as Teigh (OE *tēag* 'an enclosure'), the simplex is the generic. It is by means of its generic that we classify a place-name.

From recent studies⁴ the following relative chronology for some OE place-names present in Rutland seems likely:

a) c.400-c.700 AD: generics in *hām* 'a village, an estate', *wic* 'a building or collection of buildings for special purposes'; *dūn* 'a large hill, a tract of hill country', probably *hamm* 'water meadow, land in the bend of a river or stream'. To these we must add names which are compounded with *-ingas* (genitive plural *-inga-*) denoting groups or associations of people, as in Empingham (OE **Empingahām* 'the village of Empa's folk'). In Rutland, only Empingham, Uppingham and perhaps Whissendine are of this type.

b) c.700-c.1250 AD: generics in *cot* 'a cottage', *tūn* 'a farmstead, a village', *word* 'an enclosure'; *broc* 'a stream', *hyll* 'a hill', *lēah* 'a wood, a woodland glade, a clearing in woodland', *wella* 'a spring, a stream'. Names with generics in *lēah* and *word* appear to develop early in this phase,⁵ while names in *tūn* commence about 700 AD but continue to be formed well into the thirteenth century.

For Scandinavian place-names in the Danelaw as a whole, the sequence of identified types appears to be:

- a) hybrid place-names with generics in OE *tūn* 'a village' but with specifics consisting of ON personal names (as, for example, Glaston — **Glaðstūn* 'Glaðr's village');
- b) names with generics in ON *bý* 'a farmstead, a village';
- c) names with generics in ON *porp* 'a secondary settlement, a dependent outlying farmstead or hamlet'.

In England, both *bý* and *porp* seem to have continued in living use as place-name-forming themes well after the Norman Conquest and in the case of *bý* probably into the last quarter of the twelfth century.⁶

In Rutland, the earliest Scandinavian hybrid place-name with *tūn* occurs only once and there are no certain cases of early names with *bý*. There are, in addition, only a dozen names with Scandinavian *porp* as the generic. Place-names with Norse themes, naturally, cannot be earlier than the settlements created following the dispersal of the invading Viking armies after 876 AD. In Rutland, such names are amazingly few compared with those in the surrounding counties of Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire.⁷

It will be noted that place-name generics fall broadly into two categories: those which denote human habitation or (farming) activity in the landscape and those which originally referred to natural topographical features and later became attached to settlements nearby. Rutland settlement names which occur in Domesday Book or earlier may be analysed as follows:

a) **Habitation names:**

OE *cot* 'a cottage, a shelter' — Caldecott, Morcott, Tickencote;

OE *hām* 'a village, an estate' — Empingham, Greetham, Luffenham, Oakham, Uppingham and perhaps *Thornham* (in Ayston) — but cf. *hamm*;

OE *stoc* 'a secondary settlement, an outlying farmstead' — Stoke Dry;

OE *tēag* 'an enclosure' — Teigh;

OE *tūn* 'a farmstead, a village' — Ayston, Belton,

Casterton, Exton, Glaston, Lyddington, Market Overton, Ridlington, Seaton, *Snelston* (in Stoke Dry), Stretton, Thistleton;
ON *þorp* ‘a secondary settlement, a dependent outlying farmstead’ — *Alesthorp* (in Burley), Belmesthorpe, Sculthorpe (in North Luffenham), Thorpe by Water, Tolethorpe (in Little Casterton);

ON *vandi* ‘a field’ — Wing.

(N.B. The identification of the Domesday Book *Harduic*, an outlier of the Lincolnshire manor of Skillington, with the Hardwick in Empingham parish is uncertain. Otherwise this Rutland Hardwick (OE *heorde-wīc* ‘a herd farm’) is unrecorded until 1281.)

b) Nature names:

OE *brōc* ‘a stream’ — Bisbrooke;

OE *ēa* ‘a river, a stream’ — Ketton (*Chetene* 1086 DB, *Chetenea* 1163 RegAnt);⁸

OE *denu* ‘a valley’ — Essendine, Whissendine;

OE *dūn* ‘a large hill, a tract of hill country’ — Barrowden (*Bergedun(am)* 1141 Reg), Hambleton (*Hamedun(a)* 1067 WDB);

OE *halh* ‘a tongue of land between two streams’ — Ryhall;

OE *hamm* ‘water meadow, land in the bend of a stream’ — perhaps *Thornham* (in Ayston), but cf *hām*;

OE *horna* ‘a projecting horn-shaped piece of land, especially one formed in a river bend’ — Horn;

OE *lēah* ‘a wood, a woodland glade, a clearing in woodland’ — Burley, Wardley;⁹

OE *mōr* ‘a moor’ — Cottesmore;

OE *ofer* ‘a slope, a hill’ — Tixover;

OE *wella* ‘a spring, a stream’ — Ashwell, Tinwell, Whitwell.

To the settlement names of both categories we may add the wapentake names Alstoe (OE *stōw* ‘a place of assembly, a holy place’), Martinsley and Witchley (both OE *lēah*) and Rutland itself (OE *land* ‘a tract of land of considerable extent’).

A large number of major Rutland place-names, however, do not appear by Domesday. These are listed and categorised below, with dates and sources of earliest mention:

a) Habitation names:

OE *bōtl* ‘a house, a building’ — *Newbottle* (in Ketton) 1297 *Wyg* (p)¹⁰;

OE *croft* ‘an enclosed field’ — *Bradcroft* (in Tinwell) c.1190 BM;

OE *hām* ‘a village, an estate’ — Clipsham 1203 FF and perhaps Langham Henry II Dugd, but cf *hamm*;

OE *heorde-wīc* ‘a herd farm’ — Hardwick (in Empingham) 1281 Cl;

OE *hid* ‘a hide of land, an amount of land for the support of one free family and its dependents’ — *Hide* (in Egleton) 1263 Ass (p);

OE *hus* ‘a house, a building’ — Woolfox (in Greetham) 1224 FF;

OE *stoc* ‘a secondary settlement, an outlying farmstead’ — *Martinstok* 1176 P (p). (This may be an earlier name for Martinsthorpe below, but it is

recorded thus as late as 1286 Ass);

OE *tūn* ‘a farmstead, a village’ — Braunston 1167 P, Edith Weston 1114 France, Egleton 1209 *For*, Geeston (in Ketton) 1286 Ass, Manton c.1125 Reg, Normanton 1180 P (p), Pilton 1202 Ass, Preston 1130 P, *Wenton* (in Cottesmore) 1200 CurR;

ON *þorp* ‘a secondary settlement, a dependent outlying farmstead’ — Barleythorpe c.1200 WDB, *Freghorp* (in Ketton) 1322 *Wyg*, Gunthorpe 1200 Cur, Ingthorpe (in Tinwell) 1189 (1332) Ch, Kiltorpe (in Ketton) c.1250 Ct, Martinsthorpe 1205 RFiniB (p), Westhorpe (in Wing) 1296 SR (p);¹¹

OE *wīc* ‘a building or collection of buildings for a special purpose, a dwelling’ — *Luffewyke* (in Manton) 1401 Cl;

OE *worð* ‘an enclosure’ — Pickworth 1170 P (p).

b) Nature names:

OE *beorg* ‘a hill’ — Barrow 1197 P (p);

OE *brōc* ‘a stream’ — Brooke 1176 P (p);

OE *dūn* ‘a large hill, a tract of hill country’ — Lyndon 1167 P;

OE *hamm* ‘water meadow, land in the bend of a stream’ — perhaps Langham Henry II Dugd, but cf *hām*;

OE *hēafod* ‘a headland’ — Woodhead (in Great Casterton) 1263 *For*;

OE *hyll* ‘a hill’ — Barnsdale (OE **Beornheardeshyll*) (in Exton) 1201 FF;

OE *lēah* ‘a wood, a clearing in woodland’ — Leighfield (originally Leigh) 1266 *For*;

OFr *mont* ‘a hill, a mount’ — Beaumont 1203 PatR.

To these post-Domesday place-names, we may add the name of the Wrangdike Hundred with its earliest recorded mention in 1166 P (from either OE *dīc* or ON *dík*, both meaning ‘a ditch’).

An examination of these post-Domesday recorded names in the light of our limited knowledge of toponymic chronology will offer some candidates most probably in existence before 1086. Clipsham, a name in *hām*, belongs to the earliest stratum of Old English place-names. So does Langham, whether it be a name in *hām* or *hamm*. Pickworth, the solitary name in *worð* in this county, belongs to the eighth or ninth century. *Luffewyke*, although first recorded very late, is the early name of the manor of Manton. The name is formed from the OE personal name Luffa, as in neighbouring Luffenham, plus the early generic *wīc*. The Luffa of both placenames was surely the same individual. *Luffewyke* was doubtlessly an outlying dependency of Luffa’s main settlement of Luffenham. Edith Weston, from its prefixed Eadgyth, queen of Edward the Confessor, must be placed firmly in the pre-Domesday period. Lyndon (with OE *dūn*) is a very early name of the era c.400-c.700 AD. Interestingly, its church is dedicated to St Martin.¹² Martinsthorpe’s church was also dedicated St Martin, while the place-name Martinsthorpe appears to be a later alternative for *Martinstok* and thus indicates an early site. The name of the wapentake in which it is situated, Martinsley, and the hill name *Martines ho* ‘Martin’s headland’ in the 1046 charter bounds of Ayston,¹³

suggest an early association of the region with a certain Martin, be he saint or Anglo-Saxon thane who bore the saint's name. The former name of Leighfield Forest, Leigh (OE *lēah* 'woodland, a wood'), is of the period from c.700 and probably early in that period.

The only other name which we can assign with some certainty to the pre-Domesday period is Normanton. This place-name is OE **Nordmanna tūn* 'the village of the Norwegians'. Such a name indicates the settlement of a recognised individual Norwegian group in a region of Danish domination. It is most unlikely to be later than the tenth century.

With the exception of Beaumont, we cannot be certain of the date of the other post-Domesday names. Beaumont is the only major Rutland place-name of Norman-French origin (OFr **beau-mont* 'beautiful hill'). We have no archaeological evidence for an early date for any of these post-Domesday recorded sites.

At the outset of this study, attention was drawn to the small impact that Scandinavian settlement made on the toponomy of Rutland. Names in the county which indicate such influence are principally those with the ON generic *porp* 'a secondary settlement, a dependent outlying farmstead'. Place-names showing Scandinavian influence are:

- a) Domesday and before: Glaston, *Alesthorp*, Belmesthorpe, Sculthorpe, Thorpe by Water, Tolethorpe, Wing;
- b) post-Domesday recorded: Barleythorpe, *Fregthorp*, Gunthorpe, Ingthorpe, Kilthorpe, Martins-thorpe, Westhorpe.

Glaston is a hybrid name of a type assigned to the earliest Scandinavian settlement. It is compounded of the ON personal name *Glaðr* plus OE *tūn*. Of the Domesday names in ON *porp*, *Alesthorp* and *Belmesthorpe* both contain English personal names (*Alhstān* and *Beornhelm* respectively) rather than Scandinavian ones. Only *Sculthorpe* (*Skúli*) and *Tolethorpe* (*Tóli*) indicate Domesday farmsteads with Scandinavian owners. *Thorpe by Water*, *Belmesthorpe* and *Alesthorp* could well be Anglo-Saxon foundations at a date when ON *porp* had passed into the English language in this region as the name for such small dependent settlements. Of the post-Domesday *porp* names, *Fregthorp* (*Freðegyst*), *Gunthorpe* (*Gunni*), *Ingthorpe* (*Ingi*) and *Kilthorpe* (*Ketill*) are compounded with Scandinavian personal names. *Martinstorpe*, as we have seen, contains either a saint's name or that saint's name borne by an Anglo-Saxon. *Barleythorpe* was originally the simplex *Thorp*, just as was *Thorpe by Water*. Neither of these provides a clue to the origins of its founder.

We are left, then, with only two names indicating the earliest Scandinavian settlement — Glaston and Normanton. Normanton is, of course, a place-name created by English speakers but identifying early Norse settlement. Sites with names in *porp* were small dependencies on the periphery of earlier cultivated lands. Wing (ON *vengi* 'a field'), as its

name implies, did not originate as a village. Interestingly, Glaston has a pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery in the north of its territory. It is possible that the lost *Thornham* of the 1046 Ayston charter was the ancient Anglo-Saxon village (or estate) whose land was later to become that of the Norse named villages of Glaston and Wing and to which the pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery in Glaston belonged.

What is surprising is the absence in Rutland of any certain Scandinavian name in *bý* 'a farmstead, a village'. This type of place-name is the prime marker of Scandinavian settlement in surrounding Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire. Only Hooby Lodge (Stretton) suggests such a site, but the earliest record of the name at present known is as a field name as late as 1633;¹⁴ this may simply be a transferred name (cf Hoby (pronounced Hooby) in Leicestershire) and not a village site at all. Hoby in Leicestershire is a hybrid place-name compounded of OE *hōh* 'a headland, a spur of land' with ON *bý*. The topography in the close vicinity of Hooby Lodge also offers a small headland with the lodge at its foot. We may, then, have here an early **hōh-bý* 'farmstead at the headland'. But should this place-name be ancient, its hybrid nature would indicate only few Scandinavian settlers in its area.

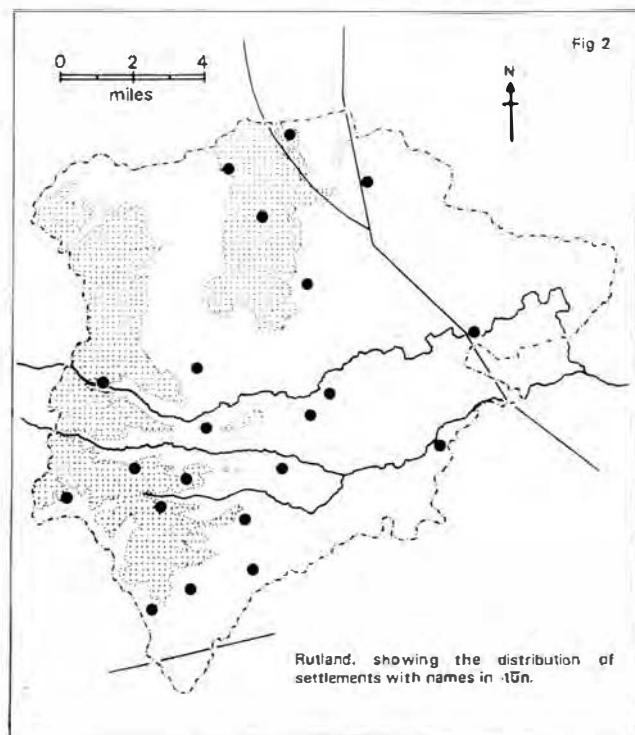
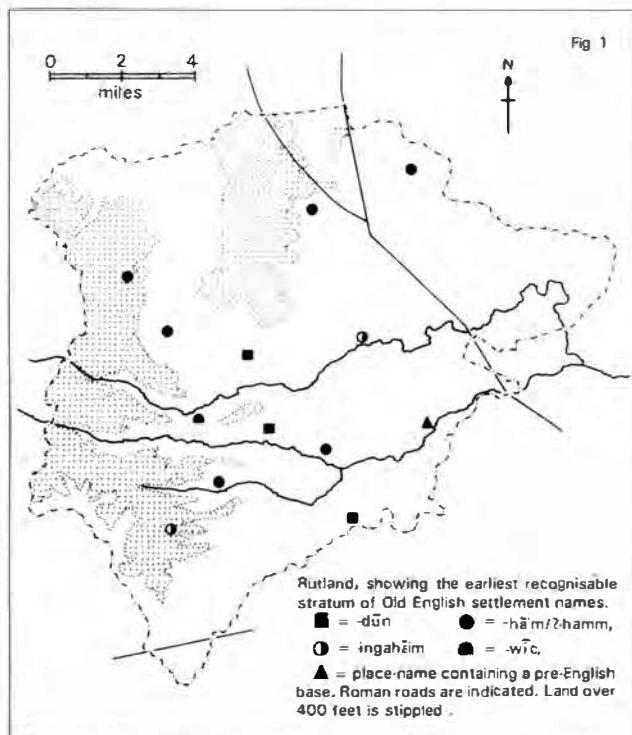
The late name of Wrangdike Hundred (*Wrangdich* 1166 P) could be either a Scandinavianised form of OE **wrang-dīc* 'crooked ditch' or ON **vrangr-dík* with identical meaning. In any case, like the hybrid place-names in *porp*, it is of a period when Norse forms had been assimilated into the English language in this region and is not evidence for primary Scandinavian settlement.

There are only thirteen major settlement names with Scandinavian generics in Rutland. Of these only six have both Scandinavian specifics and generics: to these six may be added the simplex Wing as an additional name formed totally from Norse. Only three Rutland place-names recorded by the time of Domesday contain Norse personal names and are likely to identify early Scandinavian settlers. It should be noted that in Rutland all place names which show any Scandinavian influence are habitation names. There are no Scandinavian nature names.

In contrast, there are sixty-three Old English settlement names in the county. Of these, forty (plus two possible) are habitation names and twenty-one (plus two possible) are original nature names. To these we may add the wapentake names Alstoe, Martinsley and Witchley.

From the evidence of the major place-names of Rutland, we can with some reason make the following general observations:

- a) the early Anglo-Saxon settlements took up prime sites *throughout* the county (Fig.1);¹⁵
- b) later Anglo-Saxon settlement, as represented by names in OE *tūn*, developed particularly on the less tractable soils of the south west quarter of the county and on the Cottesmore Upland in the north (Fig.2);



- c) the strong weight of OE place-names of the habitative type suggests intensive English settlement in the county;
- d) by the time of the Scandinavian settlement, English exploitation of the county's available agricultural land was well advanced so that there was relatively little room for new Norse farmsteads. The English population seems to have remained largely in situ and such few Scandinavian settlements as were newly created occupied in general only marginal land.

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1. For the purposes of this study, Rutland is taken to be the county as constituted immediately prior to the administrative reorganisation of 1974.
2. C. Phythian-Adams, 'Rutland Reconsidered', *Mercian Studies*, ed. A. Dornier, Leicester 1977, pp.63-84, makes suggestions for these.
3. Abbreviations used for early languages are: OE - Old English, ON - Old Norse, OFr - Old French. An asterisk before a name form indicates a hypothetical reconstruction.
4. J. McN. Dodgson, 'The Significance of the Distribution of the English Place-Name in -ingas, inga- in Southeast England', *Medieval Archaeology*, Vol. 10 (1966); B. Cox, 'The Significance of English Place-Names in -hām in the Midlands and East Anglia', *The Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, Vol.5 (1973); id, 'The Place-Names of the Earliest English Records', *The Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, Vol. 8 (1976); K. Cameron, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: the Place-Name Evidence', Inaugural Lecture, University of Nottingham, 1965; id 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: the Place-Name Evidence, Part II, Place-Names in Thorp', *Medieval Scandinavia*, Vol. 3 (1970); id 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: the Place-Name Evidence Part III, the Grimston-Hybrids', *England Before the Conquest, Studies...presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, Cambridge 1971; B. Cox, 'Aspects of Place-Name Evidence for Early Medieval Settlement in England', *Viator* Vol.11 (1980).
5. Cox, *Viator* Vol.11 (1980), pp.43-44.
6. ib., pp.49-50.
7. G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands*, Copenhagen 1978, is a comprehensive study of these counties.
8. Abbreviations for sources of early spellings are:
 Ass - *The Earliest Northamptonshire Assize Rolls (1202-3)*, Northamptonshire Record Society, Vol.5 1930.
 Ass - Assize Rolls for Rutland in the Public Record Office (PRO).
 BM - *Index to the Charters and Rolls in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum*, London 1900-12.
 Ch - *Calendar of Charter Rolls (PRO)*, 6 vols, London 1903-27.
 Cl - *Calendar of Close Rolls PRO*, in progress.
 Ct - Court Rolls for Rutland in PRO.
 Cur - *Curia Regis Rolls (PRO)*, in progress.
 CurR Rotuli Curiae Regis, Record Commission, London 1835.
 DB - *Domesday Book: Rutland*, ed. F. Thorn, Chichester 1980.
 Dugd - W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols, London 1817-30.
 FF - Feet of Fines for Rutland in PRO.
 For - Forest Proceedings in PRO.
 France - *Calendar of Documents preserved in France, Rolls Series*, London 1899.
 P - *Pipe Rolls*, Pipe Roll Society, in progress.
 PatR - *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, Record Commission, London 1835.
 Reg - *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, Oxford 1913, 1956, 1968.
 RegAnt - *Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, Lincoln Record Society 1931-58.
 RFinib - *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi*, Record Commission, London 1835.
 SR - Subsidy Rolls for Rutland in PRO.
 WDB - The Westminster Domesday Book, Westminster Abbey Muniments Room.
 Wyg - Wyggeston Hospital Records, Leicester Muniments Room.
9. The latter meaning of OE *lēah*, 'a clearing in woodland' implies, of course, settlement/agricultural activity, so that the generic may be considered strictly, in its development, as of the habitative type.
10. (p) after a date and source indicates that the form of the place-name survives as part of a personal name, as for example, *Wilhelmus de Neubotle*.
11. Whissenthorpe (in Whissendine) is a recent coinage.
12. Phythian-Adams *op.cit.*, p.76.
13. For commentary on these bounds, ib. p.81, n.21 and C.R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England*, Leicester 1966, no.161.
14. Brudenell MS ASR 562, Northamptonshire Record Office.
15. Ketton has been included on this distribution map. Its specific appears to be a derivative of Primitive Welsh *cēd 'a wood' (as in River Chater on which the village stands), possibly an OE tribal name *Cētan.

The Making of the Rutland Domesday

EDMUND KING

The *Victoria County History* volumes have long been the starting-point for the enquiries of serious local students of Domesday Book. They will find there a translation of the Domesday text, an index (not always in the same volume), a map giving the place-names in their Domesday forms, and a full introduction. The project was master-minded by J.H. Round; he contributed twelve of the introductions single-handed, and was heavily involved with the others.¹ It took, he was later to complain, ten years of his life (from 1899 to 1908). On 22 February 1908 he wrote to W. Page. 'I am today 54 and have hopelessly and permanently injured my career in the cause of V.C.H.'² But in truth these were ten years well spent, the work being exactly suited to Round's talents and bringing out the best in him. Where other editors were used in this time they were set to follow Round's lead. Among them was the young F.M. Stenton, who always remained grateful to Round for his support.³ Round's judgement was clear; 'as usual, I find Stenton's work remarkably good and intelligent'.⁴ It was Stenton who wrote the introduction to and translated the Rutland Domesday for the *V.C.H.*⁵ The work is 'remarkably good and intelligent' certainly, but Stenton seems here very much under constraint. Almost half of his introduction was concerned with the technicalities of the Domesday ploughlands. What space he was allowed to address to more general problems he used most profitably. He produced, as a 'working hypothesis', the suggestion that the distinctive position of Rutland lay in its possession by successive Queens of England. He would have liked to have been able to consider 'the history of Rutland in still earlier times'. It has been left to Charles Phythian-Adams to do that work, and confirm that hypothesis.⁶

The Rutland Domesday is interesting, because, of course, there is no Rutland Domesday. Stenton came straight out with it, and so must any successor. 'The description in Domesday Book of the district which forms the modern shire of Rutland is scattered over many disconnected pages of the Great Survey.' It may be considered under its three main divisions:

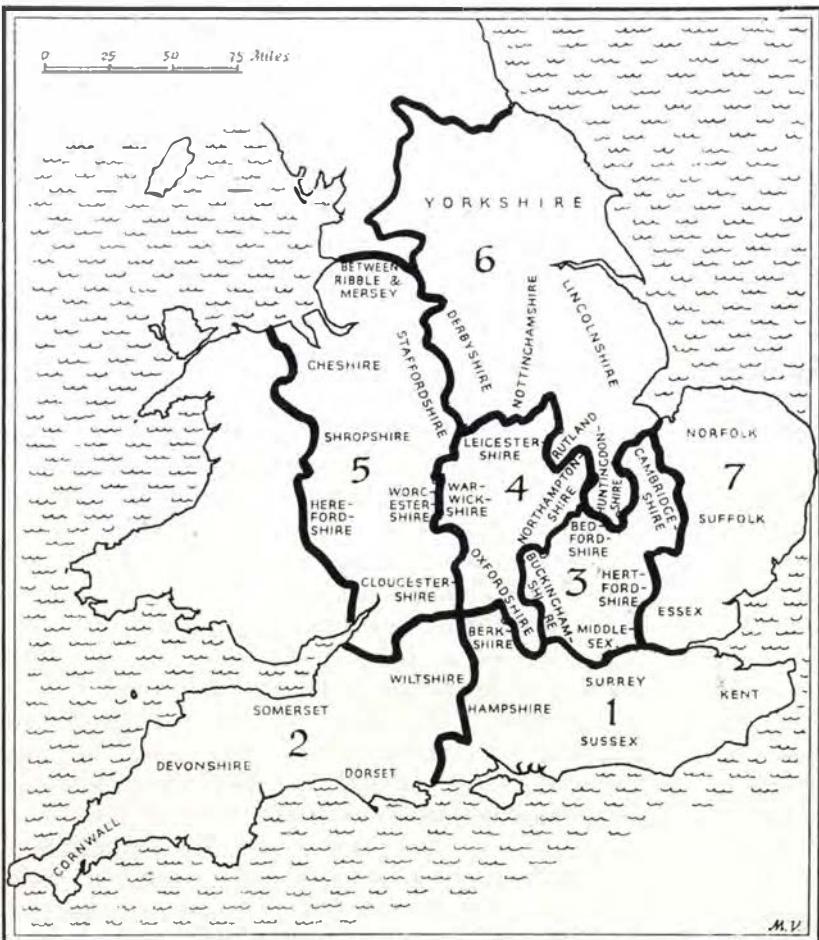
1. *Alstoe Wapentake*. The villages here, in the north of Rutland, are surveyed in the Rutland section of Domesday Book, which follows on immediately after Nottinghamshire. It is important to note that the majority of the villages in this area also appear in the Lincolnshire section.
2. *Martinsley Wapentake*. The western division of the shire, comprising the three great manors of Oakham, Hambleton and Ridlington. They are surveyed together among the king's lands in the Rutland section. They do not appear elsewhere.
3. *Witchley Hundred or Wapentake*. The eastern

strip of Rutland. These villages are surveyed, under their different landowners, in Northamptonshire. They are not collected together at any point. They do not appear elsewhere.

Within these divisions, there is a further division to be made. Nos 1 and 2 go together: they are the Domesday Rutland, surveyed after Nottinghamshire. No 3 stands aloof, surveyed as part of Northamptonshire.

This immediately raises a complication — as will appear, it is the first of many — for according to all received opinion Nottinghamshire and Northamptonshire were in two distinct areas so far as the making of Domesday Book was concerned. It was inaugurated, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in these terms. 'The king [at the Christmas court, 1085-86] had deep speech with his men, about this land, and how it was peopled. Then he sent his men into every shire...'. He sent different groups of men, into different groups of shires. They had clear common instructions, but each group had its own methods, and has its own distinctive features. Analysis both of the language of the different shire entries and of the way they were written up has led to the suggestion that there were seven circuits. The most recent analysis is still that of Carl Stephenson, published in 1947,⁷ and adopted by V.H. Galbraith. 'This is as near certainty,' Galbraith said in a letter to Stephenson, 'as we will ever get'.⁸ In this analysis circuit VI comprises the six shires of Huntingdonshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Rutland, Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. Galbraith was never quite persuaded. This was an enormous circuit. Perhaps Yorkshire and Lincolnshire formed a circuit on their own.⁹ At first sight circuit VI does seem overlong. The problem becomes more manageable, however, if we bear in mind that in these six counties the commissioners had only four parts of call. For the county courts of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire sat together¹⁰ — almost certainly at the royal castle at Nottingham — and it was both there and at Lincoln that they discussed Rutland. The commissioners made no separate stop at Stamford; doubtless they enjoyed the hospitality of its inns, but they pressed on quickly up Ermine Street.

We know the names of the commissioners who visited Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, and very likely from there travelled north. They were Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln, Earl Walter Giffard, Henry of Ferrars, and Adam brother of Eudo Dapifer. These were senior men, and they needed a lot of material and administrative support. The likely points of departure of those circuits which did not start out from London — Huntingdon,



**Fig 1 (composite of) Domesday Circuits
(source as in note 16)**

Gloucester, Oxford and Salisbury — make best sense in terms of the network of communications. Each was an admirable point of muster, where the commissioners could meet, collect their resources, be briefed and have some initial discussions, before setting out. It may be significant also that each centre was close to more than one of the great Benedictine monasteries. Here were the great reserves of native English-speaking clerks. It might be objected here that one of the most familiar features of Domesday is that is the work of foreigners. As Stenton put it in his *Rutland V.C.H.* article, it was 'the production of foreign scribes working against time on unfamiliar materials'. This idea has become almost a cliché of Domesday studies. But is this so? If Latin was the language of the official reports, and French that of the commissioners as they took their ease in the evenings, still for day after day in court English must have been the language most frequently used. Many Englishmen must have been involved in the making of Domesday Book. It is now suggested that the main scribe may have been an Englishman.¹¹

Was there perhaps a single master-mind behind the Domesday survey? Several good candidates have been put forward; Samson, later Bishop of Worcester, by Galbraith; Ranulf Flambard, later Bishop of Durham, by Sally Harvey.¹² We cannot be sure. The nearest we get to Domesday in the making

DOMESDAY BOOK FACTSHEET

Number of leaves:

Great Domesday 413 (707 pages of text)

Little Domesday 475 (898 pages of text)

Both books have end pages also, some of which include a few notations.

Places named:

13,418

Courts covered:

Little Domesday: Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk

Great Domesday: all the rest of the English counties excluding Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham, Northumberland. Flint was included but only that part of Lancashire between the Ribble and the Mersey.

Why it was done:

There were probably four reasons for William's survey:
To discover the value of properties which could be taxed.
To find out what the great magnates held to determine what they owed to the king.
To settle quarrels over land holding.
Curiosity about his new kingdom.

Information given:

Domesday provides details of landholders, property values, land use (arable, pasture, meadows, woodland, mills, fisheries), population and numbers of different categories of people.

The naming of the Book:

1086 — *Descriptio Angliae*

1099-1100 First mentioned as a book

1100 — The Book of Winchester or Kig's Book

1108-1133 The Book of the Treasury

1179 First mention of Domesday Book

also known as the Winchester Roll

Bindings:

There is evidence of a Norman binding for Little Domesday.

1320 Rebound or binding repaired

16th or 17th century another binding

1819 Bound in Russian leather

1868 Bound by Kew for Riviere

1952 Bound by Hassell

1985 Bound by Gubbins, repaired by Abbott & Haynes

Custody:

Kept in the Treasury at Winchester but peripatetic.

1180s kept in Treasury at the Tower.

Early 13th century moved to Westminster but still peripatetic on occasions.

Sixteenth century, the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer.

18th century Chapter House Westminster Abbey.

1859 Moved to Public Record Office, Chancery Lane.

1860s To Southampton to be photographed.

1914-1918 Moved for safekeeping to Bodmin prison.

1939-1945 Moved for safekeeping to Shepton Mallet prison.

Number of words:

Approx. 2 million.

(By Courtesy of The Public Record Office)

is in a letter sent by Lanfranc to one S., his 'dear and faithful friend'.¹³ It relates to 'those shires entrusted to your investigation', and states that Lanfranc has nothing in demesne there. Perhaps this is Samson, later Bishop of Worcester; perhaps not. Those who have commented on this letter seem agreed that S. is one of the commissioners; but perhaps this is not quite certain. Could he be the chief clerk? Might not each circuit have had, in our terms, a (temporary) Permanent Secretary, these men the key to its working, and responsible for the shape of the final record? It certainly appears that the most recent study is placing important emphasis on the circuits. The more emphasis is put there, the less silly such an idea becomes. And if we are looking for chief clerks, those based in our region will be intrigued by the career of Herbert Losinga, appointed in 1086? as abbot of Ramsey and then made Bishop of Thetford (later Norwich) in 1091, the latest and perhaps the most able of the Fécamp mafia.¹⁴ And the more decisions are made in the localities, the more understandable becomes the confusion of the Rutland Domesday.

No discussion of how Domesday was made should proceed for long without reference to why it was made. The one should help explain the other. There now seems a measure of agreement on the main purposes of the enquiry. They were three in number:
1 To record the transfer and possession of land.

William's followers had been granted the land of named individuals. A comparison of the holder in 1086 with the holder in 1066 provided one check on the legitimacy of occupation.

2 *To obtain the annual value of estates.* The king now had an up-to-date valuation of the resources of his greater tenants.

3 *To raise taxation more effectively;* in our terms, to provide a new rating system. It seems very likely that this was intended, if far from certain how the new system would have worked; the Conqueror died before any plans that may have been made could be carried out.

The first two of these purposes are not in doubt; the third is a little more contentious.

The key to land occupancy for the commissioners was the manor. 'Who owns the manor?' was the first question they asked. That question 'must have been as baffling to many of the men of whom it was asked as it has been to historians every since'.¹⁶ For these manors are of more than one kind, even within the confines of Rutland. On the one hand there are the great manors of Martinsley wapentake, where several later villages and existing settlements are not named but simply appear as berewicks of the central manor. Oakham had five berewicks; Hambleton had seven berewicks; Ridlington had seven berewicks. And even this information was something of an afterthought. It was not in the original but added later, as the illustration makes clear. 'Manors of this type are rare in the Danelaw,' Stenton noted in his *V.C.H.* introduction, but he did not elaborate. Recent work has made it clear that manors of this type were once ubiquitous in Britain.¹⁷ They have been described as 'composite' or 'tributary' manors. As lordship became more diffused, and agricultural exploitation more intensive, so these units broke up. It took an exceptional force to preserve them. This has been found not just in royal lordship, but specifically in that of the Queens of England. A number of determined dowagers are responsible for these distinctive entries. The three manors were worth £40, £52 and £40 respectively at the time of the Conquest; their value in 1086 is not recorded.¹⁸

Such manors were the 'glittering prizes' of the twelfth century. They were valuable for the profits of jurisdiction quite apart from their agricultural wealth. A writ for the monks of Westminster, preserved at Burghley House, can be dated so closely that it is tempting to see it as a result of claims made before the Domesday commissioners.¹⁹ Many such claims (*clamores*) were set down separately at the end of the entries for Huntingdonshire, Yorkshire and Lincolnshire: this is one of the distinctive features of circuit VI. But it was one thing to make complaint of your neighbour, another to make complaint of the king. Of the Westminster claim in Domesday there is just an echo in the phrase 'church-soke': 'we may suspect,' said Stenton very reasonably, 'that its appearance was not unconnected with the Westminster claim'. Behind the phrase was a great deal of discussion. In the long

run the monks of Westminster had to content themselves with the tithes of Rutland, their only demesne a part of the substantial estate owned in 1086 by Albert of Lorraine, a favoured royal clerk.²⁰ His estate alone was worth £10. These were good times for clerks.

Having considered some of the distinctive features of the Rutland record of 1086, we may come back to the question of why there was no full survey of Rutland in Domesday Book. 'Because Rutland was then in the process of formation' would be a perfectly good answer; and if that were true there would be no further problem to address. But Charles Phythian-Adam's work makes it a little less easy to leave the matter there. He notes that 'there are some hints to suggest that in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, Rutland was administered as a whole by the farmer of its extensive royal lands'.²¹ The county can be seen in the 1130 Pipe Roll, which was evidently not the first of its kind.²² Witchley hundred is not surveyed in the Northamptonshire Survey, which dates from the same time. This later county represents an earlier unit. If that unit existed in men's minds in the late eleventh century, why did the Domesday enquiry fail to record it properly? For failure it certainly seems. It may be that the clue should be looked for in the extensive royal lands. When William 'sent his men all over England' they were to do two things: (1) to enquire about the hundreds and royal resources, 'and what annual dues were lawfully his from each shire'; (2) to enquire about the resources of the tenants-in-chief, in land and livestock, 'and how much money it was worth'. In many respects, the second enquiry was better carried out than the first. If that seems surprising it may not be so, for the king will have started out better informed on his own resources than on those of his men. Some of his most valuable resources, the great towns of London and Winchester, were left out altogether. We can see the blanks that were left for them in the Domesday text.

The physical make-up of Domesday raises many interesting questions of this kind, and the publication of a complete facsimile will assist their discussion. This question of the blank spaces is worth a little more discussion, for it may well prove to be important for an understanding of the Rutland Domesday. Each county in Domesday, with only a few exceptions, was entered on a separate section or sections (technically gathering/s) of parchment. In assessing how much parchment was needed in each case, a careful estimate had to be made of the space required. These estimates are usually good. It was rare for a whole double-side (or folio) of parchment to be left blank, and in effect wasted.²³ What then are we to make of the nearly three folios (or six sides) left blank after Rutland? There are more gaps than usual in this part of Domesday. But it should be observed, as it may be relevant, that there would have been room here for the remainder of the shire, i.e. no.3 in the list given above, Witchley wapentake in Northamptonshire. Even without facsimile this calculation is possible, for the 1783 edition repro-

ROZELAND.

I. In Almoecestos Vipere sunt. u. hundredz.
In uno cap. xii. crucis ad glos. facilius crucis
esse possunt. hoc Viperae domini est in longa
fune Viperae / domini in brachio Viperae.

In Almoecestete. Vip. est. i. hundredz. in quo
xii. crucis ad glos. 7 xl. viij. crucis. 60 possunt
occupari tribus dominis regis occidentis. in quibus pos-
sunt autem xiiii. crucis. geha ad glos. regis.
In duo Viperae duocagi uacuum etiam
Aviculae pedes regi. c. l. libras albas.

Almoecestos. Viperae.

I. In Grecia. hoc Greci illi crucis ad glos. Tri. viij. car.
ibi hoc age. ii. car. in dno. 7 xxvii. u. v. bord.
bmoes. viij. car. 7. molin. 7 viii. adi p. Silue place-
pab. xxi. qd. lg. 7 vii. qd. lec. T. A. E. u. v. v. l.
In Grecia. hoc Greci illi crucis ad glos. Tri. viij. car.
7 vii. adi p. Silue place. 7 viii. adi p. Silue place. lg.
7 vii. qd. lec. T. A. E. u. v. l. m. qd. lg.
De tri. bui. 60 he qd. Gouffre dom. crucis.
7 ibi b. i. car. 7 viij. u. v. Valer. xx. l.
II. In Grecia. Sizilie hoc Waller comes
ii. car. qd. dom. ad glos. Tri. viij. car.
Ibi h. ludus comitatu-
m. car. 7. xxv. u. v. bord. bmoes. vi. car. 7. xl. adi p.
Silue place. place. 7. xxv. u. v. l. T. A. E. u. v. x.
l. m. x. l. h. ille calumne. m. parox. in frumento
In Grecia. hoc Erich dom. crucis ad glos. Tri. i. car.
Ibi hugo de Juxta h. i. car. 7 vi. u. v. c. i. car. T. A. E.
u. v. x. l. m. xl. l.
III. In Grecia. hoc Siuard dom. crucis ad glos. Tri. i. car.
Ibi ille calumne. h. i. car. 7 vi. u. v. bord. c. dom. car.
T. A. E. u. v. x. l. m. xl. l.
IV. In eod. lund. hoc Godum. i. car. qd. dom. ad glos. Tri.
u. car. Ibi Robe malor h. i. car. 7 xv. u. v. c. u. car.
p. u. v. qd. in lg. 7 vi. qd. lec. Ibi. i. molin. n. s. l.
T. A. E. u. v. l. m. similes.

V. In Wickneseidene. hoc Waller. viij. car. qd. ad glos.
Tri. xii. car. Ibi hugo de comitatu h. i. car. 7 viij.
u. v. bord. bmoes. viij. car. T. A. E. u. v. l. m. qd.
In Grecia. hoc Waller. com. ii. car. qd. dom. lg. l.
Tri. xii. car. Ibi h. ludus. iii. car. 7 xxv. vij. u. v. c.
vij. car. 7. xl. molin. xij. solid. p. u. qd. in long.

Fig 2 Domesday Book: the folio for the Rutland entry

(courtesy Public Record Office)

duces the lines of the original text. I counted 127 lines. As the text was written in double-column, and was here ruled for 44 lines, it is clear that this material would have taken a little under one folio (or two sides) to reproduce. More if some heading was required, and more still (perhaps half as much

again) if the compiler was relying on a text rubricated as the surviving Northamptonshire text is rubricated. The Witchley (or Rutland) manors are all picked out in this way; the other Northamptonshire hundreds are not invariably identified. This too may be a point of importance. Separate lists

would have been needed, and a fair amount of care required, to isolate the Rutland manors. At the crucial time, perhaps the lists were not to hand, the time not available? 'But we are verging here on speculation', to quote the careful author of *Domesday Rebound*.

The very large gap, left after this very little county, is a problem. Why the gap? Why also, granted the great care normally taken, were the entries for most of Alstoe Wapentake duplicated? And why are there variations between these entries? Stenton's comparison of the duplicate entries, given in the Rutland *V.C.H.*, is of the greatest value. No attempt will be made to repeat it here, but one example is needed for the more limited discussion which follows. The entries which follow relate to Whitwell.

Whitwell, folio 293b (Rutland)

M.—In WITEWELLE habuit Besy i carucatum terrae ad geldum. Terra iii carucis. Ibi Herbert de comitissa Judita habet i carucam vi villanos iii bordarios habentes ii carucas. Ibi ecclesia presbiter xx acras prati i molendinum (de) xii denaris. Silva per loca pastils vi quarentenae vi perticae longitudine iii quarentenae xiii perticae latitudine. T.R.E. valuit xx solidos, modo xl.

Whitwell, folio 366 (Lincolnshire)

M.—In WITEWELLE habuit Besy i carucatam terrae ad geldum. Terra iii carucis. Ibi Herbert homo comitissae habet i carucam vi villanos ivi bordarios cum ii carucis. Ibi ecclesia presbiter i molendinum (de) xii denarii xx acras prati. Silva pastilis vi quarentenae vi perticae longitudine iii quarentenae xiii perticae latitudine. Valet xl solidos.

Stenton made two general comments on duplicate entries, several of which show more discrepancies than there are here:

- 1 'a considerable margin of error should be allowed before any theory involving an extensive employment of Domesday statistics is held disproved'.
- 2 'the precise formulae into which the statements furnished by the original returns should be cast were left in great measure to the discretion of the individual scribes who compiled Domesday Book'. Since Stenton wrote the different stages in the compilation of Domesday have been much discussed. According to the most recent survey, the main text of what used to be 'Great Domesday Book' 'was compiled by one man and checked and annotated by another'.²⁴ But is the compiler still the abbreviator? Any theory that these sections of Domesday were abbreviated at circuit level would need more evidence than this, and better authority than my own, to be accepted. But there seem to me problems in stating that these Rutland entries were abbreviated at Winchester. If 'the compiler' is 'drastically abbreviating' the local returns,²⁵ the correspondence is remarkable. If we have an earlier official abbreviation, why do we so clearly retain the phraseology of two different scribes? The drift of recent scholarship, if one may use the term of work of this distinction, is to credit more authority to the localities. The more the localities are stressed, the more it becomes important to work on the dynamics of the different circuits. A resolution of the particular problems of the Rutland Domesday will help to an understanding of the making of Domesday Book itself.

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The Rutland Estates of the Mauduit Chamberlains of the Exchequer

Barrowden and nearby villages in the valleys of the Welland and the Chater fell increasingly under the domination of the Mauduit chamberlains of the Exchequer in the period between 1131 and 1268.¹ Most stages of their encroachment can be traced through entries in the Beauchamp Cartulary, a late fourteenth-century manuscript which is now in the British Library.² Some originals of these copied charters, together with further related documents, were in the possession of the late Marquess of Exeter and are still at Burghley House, Stamford, while in the Public Record Office there are entries on various court rolls, together with several filed feet of fines, which contribute to the overall picture.

The Domesday Survey records the Mauduits as minor tenants-in-chief in Hampshire, but their fortunes were augmented c.1131, when King Henry I granted Matilda, daughter of Michael of Hanslope, together with her father's lands, to William Mauduit (II), since Michael, in his lifetime, had made the king his lawful heir.³ Michael's son Hugh was a clerk in the service of Henry of Anjou, the future Henry II, while retaining personal links with the Mauduit family. He became a minor landholder in the East Midlands,⁴ and in the reign of King John, a Michael Fitz Hugh attested a Mauduit charter concerning South Luffenham.⁵

While Hanslope, the chief estate of Michael's barony, lay in Buckinghamshire, the bulk of his lands were just over the shire border, in south-east Northamptonshire.⁶ Moreover, he had been castellan of Rockingham castle in the north of that shire,⁷ and from the early years of the twelfth century he held Barrowden with its appurtenant villas by a grant of Queen Matilda, the wife of Henry I. In a defective transcript of the Queen's grant, the additional villages are named as 'Luffenham', Seaton and Thorpe (-by-Water),⁸ whereas the Domesday Survey also listed Bisbrooke, Glaston and Morcott as villas appurtenant to Barrowden.⁹

Queen Matilda, like her predecessors as queen-consort, had dower rights in Rutland,¹⁰ but on her death in 1118, overlordship of Barrowden reverted to Henry I. At some period in his reign, he granted Barrowden at farm (i.e. on a lease) to a magnate, William d'Aubigny 'the Breton', but it is uncertain whether this occurred after the Queen's death, or only after that of Michael. Whereas the Domesday Survey valued Barrowden and its appurtenant villas at £7, William d'Aubigny rendered £20 per annum.

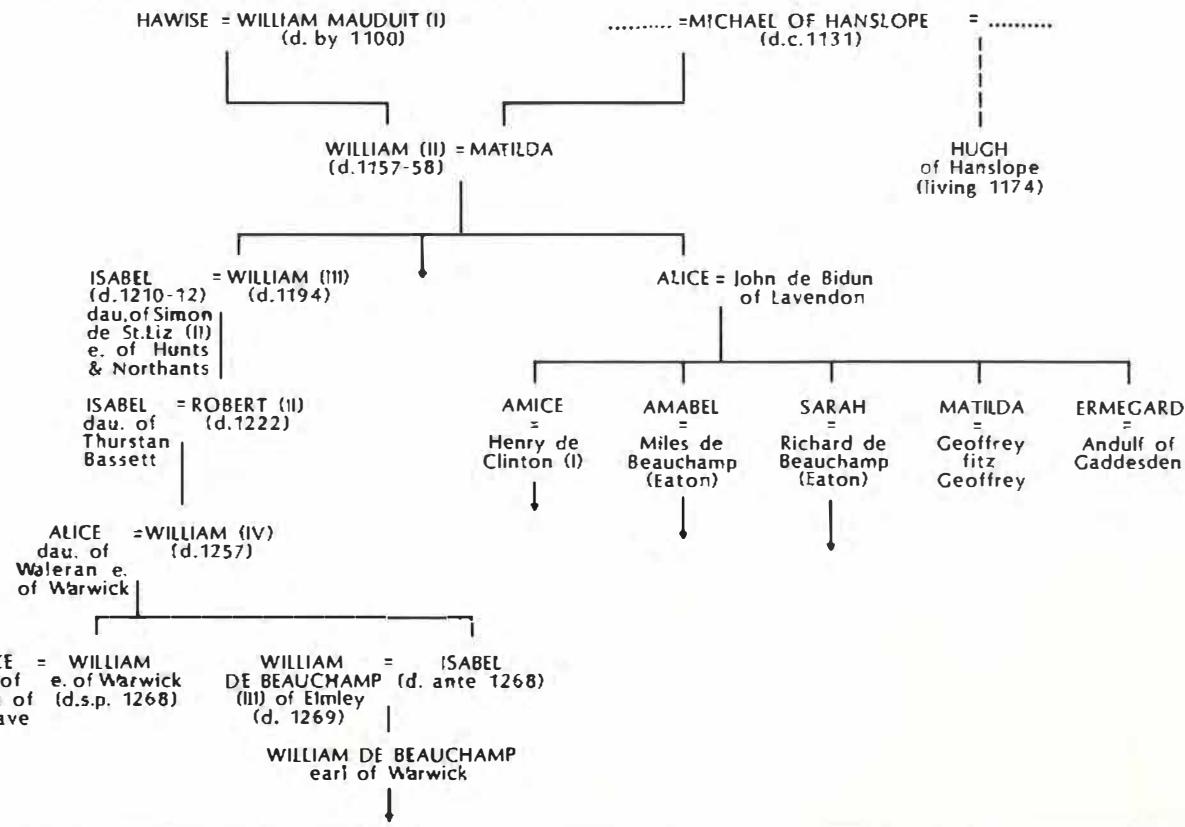
In 1141, when the Empress Matilda was temporarily triumphant over King Stephen, William Mauduit joined her party, and was rewarded with the restoration of Barrowden, with its soke, as

Michael held it, to hold in chief.¹¹ The appurtenant villas omitted earlier from Queen Matilda's grant were acquired at this point, if not earlier, because, as we shall see, William certainly controlled Morcott. In 1153, when Duke Henry of Anjou was campaigning successfully against King Stephen, William Mauduit again joined the Angevin camp, and on 7 June received from the Duke a confirmation of his chamberlainship and his various lands, including Barrowden with the whole soke (presumably a reference to the outlying villas, as well as jurisdiction over them); the castellanship of Rockingham, and an additional £100 worth of lands.¹² This last promise was partly fulfilled by a grant of land in Manton, made by Henry 'at Nottingham'.¹³ The Mauduit family continued to hold Rockingham castle down to the beginning of 1205, when control passed to the Neville family.¹⁴

In the district around Barrowden, we see from the evidence of the Mauduit charters that land was measured in the Danelaw units of the carucate and bovate, although its financial value was occasionally given in terms of a fraction of a knight's fee. Both forms of assessment were employed in the complicated negotiations over the dower of William (II)'s daughter Alice, who was married to John de Bidun, a Buckinghamshire tenant-in-chief. In 1185, she was a widow, aged about fifty, living on her dower estate in Lathbury, Bucks., but also holding in Morcott land worth £10 per annum, together with an additional carucate. Her eldest daughter had been married to Hugh (*sic*) de Clinton, on the king's orders; the second and third daughters were married respectively to Miles and Richard de Beauchamp, and the fourth to Geoffrey Fitz Geoffrey, while the fifth daughter was still unmarried.¹⁵ By 1212, Alice was dead, and her former marriage-portion in Morcott was being claimed as the dower land of Isabel Mauduit, widow of William (III). Isabell's son Robert (II) negotiated the recovery of Alice's land, but in compensation granted each of her daughters a package of rent income.

On 27 October, in the presence of King John, at Westminster, Amice and Henry de Clinton, and Matilda and Geoffrey Fitz Geoffrey each acknowledged Robert's title to a fiftieth part of a knight's fee in Morcott, a fifth share of a mill in Barrowden, and of another in South Luffenham. Henry and Amice, the eldest daughter, were compensated with a grant of 40s. annual rent due from the tenement of Bartholomew of Pilton, who came to Westminster to witness this settlement and to acknowledge his obligation to pay his rent to the couple. In return for the grant, the couple agreed to render to Robert annually 20s., and the service of a hundredth part of

Fig 1 Simplified Genealogical Table of the Mauduit Family.



a knight.¹⁶ This fragment of military service represented, on one level, merely a small annual money payment, but on another, it established that the Clintons were feudal tenants, and Robert might therefore be able to assert a claim to part, at least, of the valuable 'feudal incidents', such as wardships, which might fall due intermittently. Because the core of the Mauduits' Rutland lands were ancient demesne, i.e. former royal estates, and, moreover, were acquired generations after the imposition of knight service, we should not expect to find evidence of the Crown's imposing military obligations on them. An *Inquisition Post Mortem* held after the death of William (IV), in 1257, revealed that 'Barrowden manor and Wrangdyke hundred' were held of the king in chief, by service of half a knight. However, when William (V) died in 1268, jurors at the Inquisition reported that 'Barrowden manor...was the king's ancient demesne...service unknown.'¹⁷ These references to Barrowden as a manor are remarkable, since the term never occurs in charters concerning the Mauduits' Rutland properties.

Geoffrey and Matilda Fitz Geoffrey were compensated with the grant of a bovate in Morcott, held by Richard Fitz Derewin; half a bovate held by Hugh de Wrangdyke; an eighth of a bovate held by Simon Fitz Ralf, and a payment of 2s.6d. annually, at Michaelmas, from the miller of Barrowden.¹⁸ Miles and Amabel de Beauchamp came before King John at Westminster on 1 December in that year, and were similarly compensated. In their case, they received the bovate held by Richard Mawe, and similar fractions held by Hugh of Wrangdyke and

Simon Fitz Ralf.¹⁹ A fourth sister and her husband, Ermegard and Andulf of Gaddesden, made a similar settlement on 18 November 1214, when the peasant tenants of their bovate and its fractions were named respectively as William Fitz Serlo, Hugh Fitz Swete and Simon ... (the foot of fine is torn at this point).²⁰ No trace has been found of an agreement made with Richard de Beauchamp and his wife.

The advowson (i.e. right of presentation) of Morcott church was also claimed by Isabel Mauduit, but in 1204 this was contested by Erneis the crossbowman, alias Ermald Fitz Richard. After various postponements, the case disappears from the records, but evidently Isabel lost, since in 1225 a presentation was made to the living by the guardian of the heiress of Richard the crossbowman.²¹ Isabel Mauduit was a daughter of Simon de St. Liz (II), Earl of Huntingdon and Northants (d. 1153).²² As an elderly widow, she may have been vulnerable to harassment, since the St. Liz family had died out in the legitimate male line, while her son was usually occupied with his Exchequer duties. Early in 1210, a certain man was accused of killing four others in the house of Robert Mauduit's mother. He confessed, and was hanged, whereupon both the sheriff, Ralf de Normanville, and all those owing suit to the shire court, were amerced, because murder was a plea of the crown, and the execution had taken place without the king's express command.²³

Barrowden

Robert Mauduit does not appear to have developed his lands in Barrowden, and these were next augmented by his son William (IV), who succeeded

in 1222. Roger Fitz William Fitz Albenn quitclaimed his whole inheritance there;²⁴ while William the chaplain, son of Robert of Hanslope (Bucks) quitclaimed all his land in Barrowden and elsewhere within William Mauduit's hundred of Wrangdyke.²⁵ Robert Fitz Hugh of South Luffenham quitclaimed an annual rent of 6d. rendered by Alan of the Marsh (*de Marisco*) for a messuage in Barrowden,²⁶ while Alan himself confirmed part of a toft which Halden held, on the east side of Barrowden church, together with a grange and a kiln built on it, rendering 6d. annually to the chief lords. In return, William gave him 40s.,²⁷ a surprisingly large sum for part of a toft, unless the real attraction was the kiln. S.H. Beaver has shown in a recent volume of *Rutland Record* that there are traces of early medieval iron-working in the Northampton Sands ironstone field which encompasses part of the Welland valley. With the revival of the industry in the nineteenth century, and the early years of the twentieth, quarries were again opened up, including three in villages where the Mauduits had earlier held land: Cottesmore, Manton and South Luffenham.²⁸ However, it is conjectural whether any of these was the site of thirteenth-century quarries, or whether the kiln in Barrowden at that time was constructed for some process in iron-working or lime burning, to which the Mauduit charters make no reference.

The Mauduits were certainly interested in the profits of technology and William Mauduit (V), who succeeded his father in 1257, possessed several mills in Barrowden (their number is uncertain). About Christmas 1259, he granted an annual payment of 40s. from these to Richard Gibiun, for his homage, until he was able to provide him with lands or rents in Easton Mauduit (Northants).²⁹ Bearing in mind the underlying political tensions of the late 1250s, it is probable that this charter represents part of the negotiations by which Gobiun, most likely a member of the Northamptonshire landed family of that name, became a retainer of William Mauduit. In contrast to his father, William (V) was a supporter of Henry III. He responded to various royal summonses occasioned by the baronial unrest of the king's later years, and was rewarded by lands and a pension.³⁰ He might therefore consider it advantageous to incur some financial outlay in recruiting a following fitted to his status as heir apparent to the earldom of Warwick.

Another messuage in Barrowden, lying between that pertaining to the church, and that of Alan of the Marsh, was in one charter quitclaimed to William (V) by Alice Fys, daughter of Ralf of Barrowden, and in a related document, was granted jointly to Alice and her daughter Matilda for their two lives.³¹ It is not certain whether Alice formally surrendered this land in order to obtain a new joint tenancy, or whether the latter grant is the earlier, but that the land was perhaps surrendered on Matilda's premature death.

It will have been noticed from foregoing references that while twelfth-century charters speak of the

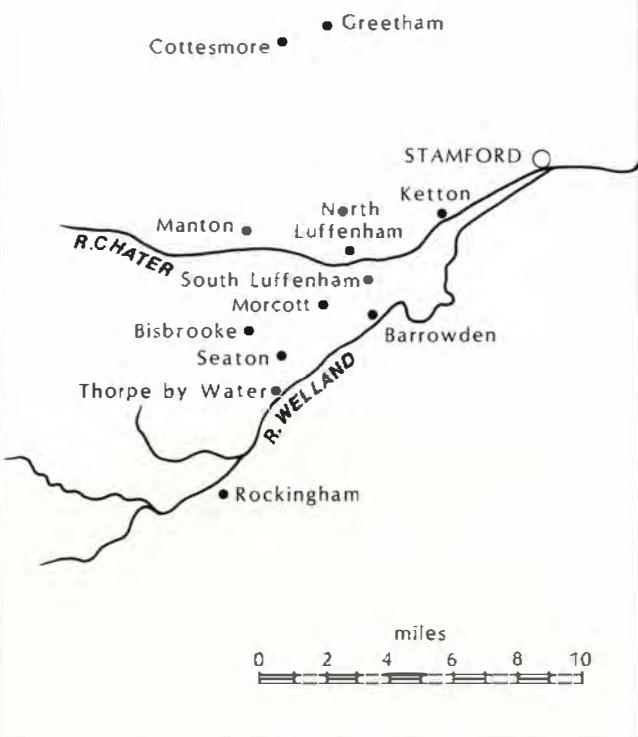
soke of Barrowden, by the thirteenth century the term Wrangdyke hundred was more commonly used. The possession by the Mauduits of a privately-held franchisal court was a considerable financial asset, as we see from an entry on the *King's Bench Roll* for Michaelmas 1253. A royal attorney then brought a suit alleging that King Henry III was entitled to the amercements of the view of frank-pledge in Wrangdyke hundred, and that William Mauduit (IV)'s 'unjust' detention of these had caused the Crown the loss of £100. However, the Mauduits had long since learned from their Exchequer training to keep safely records of any royal grants which they acquired, and William was able to defend his title by producing charters of Henry I, the Empress Matilda and Henry II, which all included jurisdiction over his estates in Barrowden and its neighbourhood.³²

North Luffenham

William Longsword, brother of King Henry II, granted an estate in North Luffenham, 1156 x 63, to his steward Salomon.³³ Following William's premature death, many of his household staff joined the heir of Henry II, Henry the Young King. Salomon was described as usher to the young Henry's household when he received from him a confirmation of this grant, 1170 x 77.³⁴ Early in 1178, however, the estate was in the hands of King Henry II, and the Pipe Rolls show that the sheriff or his deputy rendered an annual farm for it to the Crown from Michaelmas 1178 onwards. By 1184, this sum had risen from 60s.6d. to 71s.,³⁵ probably a reflection of intensified royal financial exactions. William Mauduit (III) was himself sheriff of Rutland between 1179 and 1190, apart from a period in 1188 x 89,³⁶ and evidently considered the estate a good investment, since he bought it from the Crown in 1190.³⁷ In 1196, Robert Mauduit (II) brought a lawsuit against Walter de Cauz, who had evidently inherited one tenancy of this land, and at Westminster, on 5 June 1197, Walter quitclaimed his right in it for eleven and half marks of silver.³⁸ Another claimant, Richard Papillun, was also persuaded to relinquish his claim.³⁹ Simon Colle brought a lawsuit against Robert Mauduit in the shire court in April 1208, but the case was evidently transferred to Westminster, for, in a quitclaim drawn up in the Exchequer, Simon surrendered to Robert a bovate formerly held of him by Salomon Fitz Robert 'at farm and at term', i.e. on a fixed lease.⁴⁰

When King John was at Chester, on 17 May 1211, Robert Mauduit brought before him two suits concerning land in North Luffenham. By the first of these, John Fitz Alwy was confined for his lifetime in his tenancy of five-eighths of a bovate, at an annual rent of 2s.⁴¹ The other suit concluded with Robert Fitz Godwin and his wife Emma quitclaiming to Robert Mauduit half a bovate and half a toft.⁴² However, Robert Mauduit lost his claim to another property in North Luffenham, composing four-sevenths of a bovate, which he contested

Fig 2 The Welland Valley



against Agnes Bacon in the royal courts, between Michaelmas 1210 and the summer of 1212. The expense of this litigation must have been considerable, especially as Robert was eventually obliged to proffer the Crown a palfrey for licence to make a formal renunciation of the land.⁴³ Yet the lengths to which he was prepared to pursue this and other suits illustrate his determination to strengthen his grip over North Luffenham.

Robert's other acquisitions in North Luffenham cannot be closely dated. Peter le Fletcher quitclaimed a bovate which Michael Fitz Ailwin held, together with sixteen acres which Robert Luvet granted from his demesne.⁴⁴ It proved impossible for Peter to warrant four of these acres, which were held by Andrew of Ketton, so Robert Luvet granted six more in exchange.⁴⁵ It proved impossible for Peter to warrant four of these acres, which were held by Andrew of Ketton, so Robert Luvet granted six more in exchange.⁴⁵ John son of Reiner Croc quitclaimed to Robert Mauduit his father's land in North Luffenham, in return for 20s. of silver, before the whole hundred-court of Wrangdyke, 'and many others who were not of the hundred'.⁴⁶

A lawsuit waged intermittently between the early months of 1206 and the spring of 1208⁴⁷ culminated in a grand assize, at the conclusion of which Henry Fitz Hugh, Hugh Fitz Hugh and Simon Fitz Goche and his wife Sibil surrendered to Robert three bovates in 'Luffenham', which he restored to them less three acres. Each bovate would owe 12d. annual rent; a penny three-farthings at Martinmas in lieu of the customary service; specified day-works at

certain seasons of the year, and a gersum of 2s. when any daughter of these tenants married. They also surrendered another bovate which had been claimed against Robert's mother Isabel.⁴⁸ The interest of this case is that, although the defendants were customary tenants, owing labour services and merchet (the payment when the daughter of a villein married), yet Robert sued them in the royal court, rather than in Wrangdyke hundred-court. Since he was a royal chamberlain, with close associates on the judicial bench, he perhaps sought the support of his judicial colleagues if local feeling was against him, even though he claimed that the land had been held by his grandfather, William (II), in the reign of Henry II. It is also interesting that these peasants could afford the expense of lengthy litigation in the royal court. Robert was also successful in another suit, of uncertain date, by which Osbert Fitz Turstin and John Burred were compelled to render him the relief they owed him for a tenement which comprised land in both North and South Luffenham.⁴⁹

William Mauduit (IV), who succeeded his father in 1222, acquired from Simon, son of Robert Luvet, the lands which Richard, son of Alan Bassett, held of his fee in North Luffenham.⁵⁰ The date of this transaction is uncertain, even though Alan Bassett invoked the support of William in his lawsuit against Eleanor, widow of Robert Luvet, waged in 1231-2, over land which Alan then held, but in which Eleanor (the eleventh victor) claimed dower rights.⁵¹

South Luffenham

Robert Mauduit's acquisitions in South Luffenham cannot be closely dated. They all relate to small properties, as with the half-bovate and half toft granted by Randulf the smith of Great Doddington (Northants) for 3s., in the presence of the hundred (court) of Barrowden. Hugh Fitz Hamo granted half a toft for 10s. sterling; Thomas the clerk and his wife Matilda quitclaimed one a half roods of land between South Luffenham and Sculthorpe for 4s.; Agnes, daughter of Richard and widow of William of Great Doddington, granted half a bovate for 4s.; Hugh Fitz Asti quitclaimed a third of an acre for 3s., and Hugh Fitz Randulf granted two acres for 22s.⁵²

William Mauduit (IV) granted to the freeholders of South Luffenham and Barrowden their common pasture called The Hay, formerly held by Richard Fitz Richard of Tilthorpe (possibly an error for Sculthorpe), together with pasturage of his arable land, after the corn-harvest, between 29 September and 2 February. In return, the freeholders granted the close of Shirewood, which his former bailiff, Richard Scherihare, enclosed for his use, so that he might fence it without detriment either to the freeholders' rights or his own.⁵³

In the mid-thirteenth century rising corn prices were encouraging manorial lords to attempt to enclose former common grazing. William (IV) had also enclosed a common pasture, 'La Chace', on his Hanslope estate, to the annoyance of his free tenants.⁵⁴

Cottesmore and Greetham

Waleran, Earl of Warwick (d.1204), granted to his younger son, Waleran, Greetham and half of Cottesmore.⁵⁵ In 1220, Waleran was able to pay only ninety-two of the two hundred marks which he owed to Robert Mauduit (II). Shortly afterwards, Robert is known to have held a river-meadow in Cottesmore, and, since Waleran's charter is in the Beauchamp Cartulary, it is likely that he received Waleran's lands in Rutland in lieu of the balance of his debt. In 1236, William (IV) was recorded as a tenant of the earldom of Warwick in Rutland and Cottesmore, with other lands acquired from Waleran, was assigned as the dower of Alice, William's wife and Waleran's sister.⁵⁶ In 1248, the Countess Margery (Earl Waleran's granddaughter) and her husband tried to recover Greetham and half of Cottesmore from William and Alice, but without success, and in 1257 William Mauduit (IV) died seized of those lands which he held of the earldom as a quarter of a knight's fee.⁵⁷

On 30 September 1253, following a suit held before the itinerant justices at Oakham, Adam Champeneys and his wife Matilda acknowledged that a messuage, three bovates of land and six acres of meadow in Cottesmore belonged to William and Alice, whereupon Adam and Matilda were granted a tenancy at an annual rent of 6d. About 8 April 1257, Adam 'son of Thomas of Billesdon' and his wife Matilda Champeneys quitclaimed to William Mauduit (V) their right in a toft in Cottesmore; in twelve and half acres of land with the appurtenant herbage, and in all rents, wardships, reliefs, lands and tenements which they had there, deriving from the tenement formerly held by William Champeneys, in return for four marks of silver. There was a subsequent dispute about the terms of this agreement, however, and on 13 October 1257, Adam 'of Billesdon' and Matilda acknowledged before royal justices at Westminster the right of William Mauduit (V) in a toft, twelve and half acres of land and a tenement in Cottesmore, and surrendered their claim for four marks of silver.⁵⁸

A fee in Cottesmore and Greetham was granted by William Mauduit to Bernard de Brus of Exton and his wife Alice de Beauchamp, and this evidently descended with the manor of Exton.⁵⁹ When William died, his only recorded land in Cottesmore and Greetham was held of him by William de Braycote, who had an annual rent of 19s. from it.⁶⁰ The manor of Greetham, however, was later held in dower by William (V)'s widow, together with most of the manor of Barrowden.⁶¹

William Mauduit (V) became Earl of Warwick in 1263, on the death of John du Plessis, widower of the Countess Margery. William himself died without direct heirs only five years later, when his lands and title passed to his sister's son, William de Beauchamp (IV), thus ending the Mauduit connection with Rutland.⁶²

The most striking point about the Mauduit charters is the way in which they illustrate the persistence with which these manorial lords

pursued a policy of encroachment upon peasant holdings, in order to accumulate demesne land in certain villages, presumably those best suited to arable farming. As the population of England rose in the thirteenth century, so did corn prices, and the Mauduits also readily appropriated common grazing land in order to bring it under the plough. The overriding objective of extending the demesne was attained through a variety of courts, according to the circumstances of each case. The charters also illustrate other aspects of life in thirteenth-century Rutland, providing useful evidence on land values; on the development of mills; on patterns of peasant inheritance, and on the survival of Scandinavian personal names and place-names, in this southern frontier of the Danelaw.

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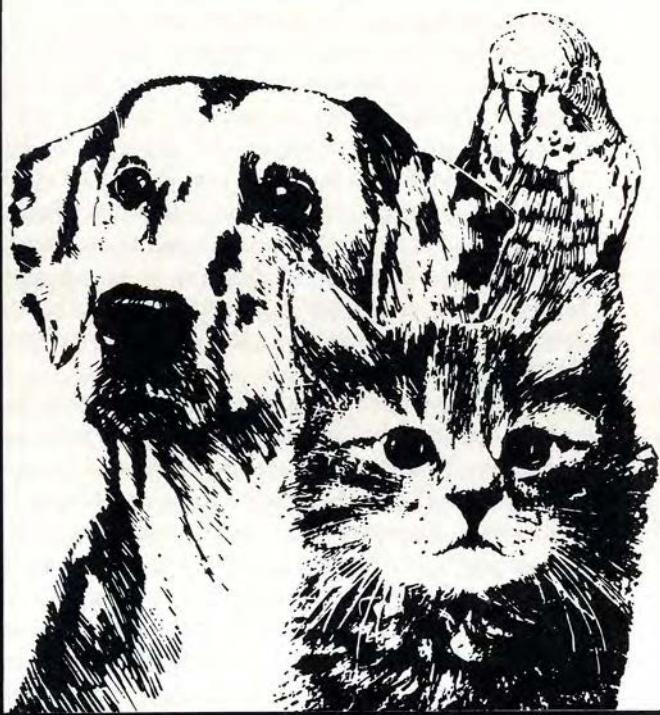
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Sir John Harington of Exton: Patron of the 1595/96 Christmas Festivities at Burley-on-the-Hill and of the Chamberlain's Men

Among the Anthony Bacon papers kept at Lambeth Palace Library there are a number of contemporary records describing the Christmas festivities celebrated at Burley-on-the-Hill in 1595/96. The account of the festivities holds much interest for the literary historian, for it contains the terse statement that a London company of actors went to Burley-on-the-Hill to entertain the relatives and guests of Sir John Harington with a performance of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*. I have discussed the literary aspect of this memorable event in a separate paper, but for various reasons I have not dealt with the local, social, and economic nature of the celebrations.¹ It is the object of this paper to provide the missing information.

Our informant is Jacques Petit, a Huguenot from Gascony, who had entered the service of Anthony Bacon in 1586. After 1593 he was one of the several Frenchmen Bacon engaged as foreign intelligencers on behalf of the Earl of Essex. He was always on hand whenever there was some special need for a French interpreter or instructor. Thus Petit is mentioned as being in attendance on Antonio Pérez, the one-time secretary to Philip II, who in 1593 found refuge in England, where he took up residence at Essex House until July 1595. When the Spanish exile was about to leave England, Petit wrote a sonnet on 2 July and deplored his departure in two doggerel quatrains.²

Almost five months after the departure of the notorious Spaniard — it was Tuesday, 27 November 1595 — Petit was on his way to St Albans. He rode into the town as the clock was drawing near six, took up his quarters, and then joined the retinue of Edward Russell, the Earl of Bedford, and Lucy Harington, the Countess, who were on their Christmas progress to Burley-on-the-Hill. Petit had been commissioned to take over a vacant tutorship and the Countess had been invited to spend the Christmas festivities at her father's Manor House. Petit duly reported to his master that no sooner had he obtained leave from the Earl's steward to sit down to the prepared meal than a local juggler began performing some tricks to entertain the young Earl and the adolescent Countess. When the juggler had done with his antics, the two violinists, who had accompanied him, gave way to four or five trumpeters. With a flourish they ushered in a train of gentlemen-in-waiting, who brought all sorts of delicate dishes to please the aristocratic palates of the two young worthies. Petit was put off by the lavish display of dainties and thought it advisable to apologize to Bacon for his idle report.³

The itinerary mapped out for the Earl and the Countess was so timed that they could cover some

twenty miles a day and put up at a house that became their baronial rank. Thus preference was given to the route that took them through St Albans, Luton, Selsoe, Bedford, Chellington, Wellingborough, Kettering, Uppingham, Oakham over the more frequented and better maintained London to York road. St. Albans, Bedford and Boughton near Kettering were to be the stopping-places. To put it in Ogilby's measurements: it was 21.5 miles from Cornhill to St Albans; 25.9 miles from St Albans to Bedford; 25.2 miles from Bedford to Kettering; 21.4 miles from Kettering to Oakham; and 1.3 miles from Oakham to Barleysthorpe where at the end of the village the road branched off to Burley-on-the-Hill.⁴

On Wednesday, 28 November 1595, the company, as Petit recorded, proceeded to Bedford. According to the custom of the age, it was incumbent upon the town to welcome their feudal lord. The reception given to the Earl on his arrival was worthy of his position. As soon as he passed through the town gate, the bells began to chime and the dignitaries of the town, headed by the mayor, the alderman, the bailiffs, and the chamberlains, regaled him with apples and wine.⁵ This ceremony may have symbolized the 'third penny' or quit rent to which the Earl was entitled.

The Bedfords had arranged to spend the following night at Boughton Castle, the country-seat of Sir Edward Montague (1532-1602), Sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1567, and of his wife Elizabeth Harington (d.1618), the eldest sister to the father of the Countess. But Sir Edward was loath to accommodate his niece and her retinue. Thus they were obliged to take up quarters in the neighbourhood, most likely at Kettering, and had to foot their own bills, as Petit, full of reproach, reported to Bacon. However, the following morning, Friday, 30 November, they were all treated to a meal at Boughton Castle. On their departure it came as a surprise to Petit that the Montagues deigned to accompany the Bedfords but a beggarly quarter of a mile. In the evening of the same day, the company arrived at Burley-on-the-Hill.

It must have been a great honour for the Gascon to be entrusted by Sir John Harington with supervising the French studies of his heir and to present the credentials of his master Anthony Bacon. Petit had been appointed to take the place of his predecessor, M. le Doux, who was another of the numerous French followers in the service of the Earl of Essex. Petit's pupil was none other than the three-year-old John Harington (1592-1614), an infant prodigy of learning, who was to become the intimate companion of Prince Henry.⁶ John hardly made any



Fig 1 John, First Lord Harington of Exton, 1540-1613.
(By courtesy of the Committee of the Victoria Art
Gallery, Bath)

progress under Petit's tuition, for his term of office was too short. But the preference for French as shown in John's future correspondence with Prince Henry must have been awakened in 1595.

Petit's duties must have commenced at the beginning of December 1595 and came to an abrupt end in February 1596.⁷ The reason for this short engagement has to be sought in the petty rivalries among the several tutors employed in Sir John's baronial household. Petit's arrival aroused the indignation of Valérienne du Vault, the French governess to Sir John's younger daughter Frances. On the announcement of M. le Doux's resignation from his post, she had been looking forward to coaching both John and his sister Frances. But the prospect of an increase in gratuities came to nothing when Petit was appointed to succeed M. le Doux. Moreover, she was labouring under the delusion that her countryman had come to take over the instruction of Frances. She therefore resorted to slander, letting it be known that Petit's French was bad and not up to his task. Valérienne du Vault can partly be exonerated from her over-reaction, for Lady Anne Harington had inadvertently hinted to her that one instructor would do to teach her son and daughter French.⁸ This attempt at reducing the excessive costs to be paid for maintaining a courtly style of life, however, ran counter to Sir John's social ambitions. Valérienne du Vault's intrigues against Petit came to such a pass that he entreated Bacon, towards the close of January 1596, to revoke his appointment. He implored his master to allow him to seclude himself in a 'temple of virtue' in Gascony.⁹ Yet he had to be patient for another month, for Sir John left the Manor House after the Christmas festivities accompanied by M. le Doux.

The squabbles and intrigues below stairs among the French teaching staff — M. le Doux had also been fanning the flame — did not prevent Petit from watching, chronicling, and taking part in the Christmas festivities. Before dwelling on the festivities, it seems advisable to make some comments on Sir John's social position and financial situation. Sir John (c.1540-1613) was an exponent of a gentry family that owed their wealth to office-holding among the Tudor monarchs and to a series of happy matrimony. On the death of his father Sir James Harington of Exton in 1592, he inherited one of the largest landed fortunes in England. He owned the manors of Exton and Burley in Rutland and also possessed Combe Abbey in Warwickshire as the marriage portion of his wife Anne Kelway, the heiress of another rich office-holder, Robert Kelway, Surveyor of the Court of Wards.¹⁰ He was Sheriff of Rutland and sat in the Parliaments of 1593 and 1601 as senior representative of the county.¹¹ His manner of life and conduct of affairs corresponded to that of the highest ranks. Thus his annual revenue is known to have equalled that of the best barons. Thomas Wilson, in 1600, described him together with Sir John Petre and Sir Nicholas Bacon as being able to disburse a landed income of between £5000 and £7000 per annum.¹² This means that he must have disposed of some £2000 to £4000 more than the average landed income of a late Elizabethan peer.¹³ He was to reach the zenith of his career under James I who was a distant relative of his. In April 1603, he entertained the King, then on his progress from Scotland to England, at Burley-on-the-Hill. On this occasion he commissioned the poet Samuel Daniel to deliver *A Panegyrike Congratulatory* to the King and, while hunting hares with his Majesty on Empingham heath, he engaged 'a hundred high men that seemed like the Patogones,' that is Patagonians, 'huge long fellows of twelve or fourteen feet high.'¹⁴

As senior head of the Haringtons, Sir John had extended an invitation to all his relatives to repair to his seat for the Christmas season. The staggering dimension of the enterprise strikes the eye if one considers that his father and mother, Sir James and Lucy, daughter of Sir William Sidney of Penshurst, had reared a family of eighteen children, out of whom three sons and eight daughters entered into marriage.¹⁵ Unfortunately our French informant does not go into particulars about which of the Haringtons were present and which absent. We can, however, assume that not many of the class conscious Haringtons missed the family reunion and the amenities of the Christmas celebrations at Burley-on-the-Hill. We do know that besides the Countess of Bedford two of Sir John's sisters, Mary and Sarah and their respective husbands Sir Edward Wingfield and Francis Lord Hastings, took some part in the merry pastimes. No mention is made by Petit of Sir John's two younger brothers, Sir Henry and Sir James; but we can take it for granted that Sir James, who owned the neighbouring manor of Ridlington, was present. Among

those present must also have been Sir John's second eldest sister Francisca, whose husband, Sir William Lee, was the son of a local gentry family,¹⁶ and Mable (d.1603), who was married to Sir Andrew Noel (d.1607), Sheriff of Rutland in 1587, 1595, and 1600.¹⁷ Among the absent members must be counted his sister Margaret, who in 1588 had married the Spanish grandee Don Benito de Cisneros and was then living in Spain.¹⁸

It is obvious that the Christmas celebrations on such a magnificent scale proved a great drain on Sir John's financial resources. He had already overdone things when on 12 December 1594 he married his fifteen-year-old daughter Lucy to the twenty-two-year-old third Earl of Bedford at the bridegroom's seat in Stepney.¹⁹ The actual sum of dowry he bestowed on Lucy is open to speculation. Yet it must have been an enormous marriage portion considering that it upset the solvency of one of the best landed knights in England.²⁰ In order to improve his financial plight Sir John was obliged to resort to economic measures that were current among the landed classes. He could no longer afford to allocate his estates to unprofitable copyholders at their free disposal. He therefore monopolized the land to which he had admitted his tenants and revised the terms on which they held his property. The old tenements were put on lease. The terms of rent-collecting were so timed that the leasehold money was pouring in to meet the soaring expenses of the Christmas season. Here follows the account of Sir John's management and financial straits as reported by Jacques Petit to Anthony Bacon on 14 December 1595:²¹

"With your permission I shall take up again my old course in order to tell you how people comport themselves in this place. No day goes by without the Countess and the Earl going hunting in their four-horse carriages. The good Sir John Harington pays all the expenses of these entertainments and pays dear for the dignity of the title of Countess for his daughter and, as much as I understand, he would dearly like to go back and redo what has been done. He used to give out his land to his copyholders without exacting an annual rent, employing or rejecting copyholders as it pleased him. Now he is obliged to give a lease to this one and make a contract with that one at fixed rents and places himself under an obligation to whomever makes a down payment. To believe what all the servants of his house have told me, he has received, for the last three or four weeks, 'more than a bushel and yet every day it cometh in abundance.' Indeed he needs it in view of the fact that he has accommodated and fed more than two hundred persons in his house, and keeps thirty or forty horses and as many, if not more, pairs of dogs, regaling all passersby, mainly on Sundays, which makes me believe that there is no inn in London which lays so many tables for its guests as they do here."²²

Hunting was one of the heavy burdens to Sir John. The guests arrived at Rutland, which was famous for its hunting grounds, in the midst of the hunting season. The young Countess of Bedford indulged so excessively in this sport that she provoked Valérienne du Vault beyond endurance. The French governess strongly disapproved of the Countess of Bedford's coquetry with the champions of the hunting parties.²³

When the Lord of Misrule initiated the twelve

days of licence, which lasted from Nativity to Epiphany, the increase in expenses was stupendous. So far Sir John had been attending to his relatives and guests, that is, according to Petit, up to two hundred persons; but from Christmas Eve to Twelfth Night he had every day to supply good cheer and entertainment for as many as nine hundred holidaymakers. The Manor House swarmed with guests and villagers from neighbouring towns and hamlets. The concourse reminded Petit of a royal court.²⁴ Services were held twice daily, Petit informed his gout-stricken master in London, and every day there was a new clergyman celebrating the morning service and officiating evensong. The two-hundred private guests were entertained in the refectory and the eight or nine hundred countrymen and women were catered for in the hall. Music preceded each course to make the exotic delicacies more palatable and kept on playing after the prodigal meals to soothe the post-prandial inertia and summon the flagging energy for a digestive dance. Sir John used to take his meals in the hall with his neighbours and farmers. He treated them to a sophisticated variety of dishes and exquisite wines. For the rest the steward provided four or five tables decked with foodstuffs and seating eighty to a hundred persons. He saw to it that there were enough supplies until everybody was satiated. There was a surplus of food which not even the poor could eat up. After the meals there were plenty of social games. The first-hand account of our eyewitness reads as follows:²⁵

"After these holidays of ease and pastime I make so bold as to send my humble greetings to your grace with the present letter, which will report, with your leave, on the excellent and magnificent order that was observed in this house with all suitable merry-making this Christmas.

To entertain and cater for eight or nine hundred neighbours, who every day came to feast here, the following order was observed.

Twice a day there was a sermon at the church, in the morning and the afternoon, and every day there was a new clergyman. The Earl and Countess were present most of the time.

The Earl was waited upon with all possible honour and respect. There was music at lunch and dinner; thirty or forty gentlemen were in attendance when they brought dishes; two or three knights and their ladies were seated at his table besides a great many gentlemen and gentlewomen. Then after the meals there was dancing and pleasant games for fun and amusement.

Sir John used to dine in the hall where he received his neighbours and most important farmers, regaling them with excessive good cheer of all sorts of dishes and wines.

His steward saw to it that the others lacked for nothing, having four or five long tables decked with foodstuffs for eighty or a hundred persons at a time. When these had finished, they made room for as many further persons and left. When everything was over, the poor were given bread and food in abundance so much so that when all were satisfied, there was still much food left."

When Petit came to recording the plays and masques that were performed, he failed as a reliable chronicler. The quality of local amateur players must have been rather poor. It was certainly not to his liking. He therefore dismissed the whole matter in a sweeping judgement, noting that Sir John



Fig 2 Lucy Harington, 1581-1627, Countess of Bedford, daughter of John, First Lord Harington of Exton. (By courtesy of the National Museum, Stockholm)

would have been better advised not to have spent any money on tragedies and games that had to be acclaimed out of sheer courtesy. His displeasure was couched in the following terms:²⁶

"They still keep on devising and concocting divers ruinous expenses this Christmas, squandering much money on tragedies and games of the Lord of Misrule. But as usual people put up a good face on a bad game."

As a climax to the social games and dramatic entertainments a masque and Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* were staged on New Year's Day 1596. Petit was impressed by the quality of the Chamberlain's men. He found their performance better than the play's subject. His deplorably short eye-witness account is worded as follows:²⁷

"On New Year's Day these good [people] proved their generosity above all the Countess, for she gave good proof of it to all classes, from the [highest] to the lowest, even I came in for something. The London players have come to make their contribution. They were asked to play on the night of their arrival and were dispatched the following day.

A masque created by Sir Edward Wingfield was performed here; the tragedy of *Titus Andronicus* was also put on, but the spectacle was of greater merit than the subject."

Travelling over two hundred miles at the height of the Christmas season for a single evening performance was a novelty in the annals of Elizabethan stage history. The players were used to travelling in the provinces when the London theatres were closed

owing to the plague, but never before had they rushed out of London to give a single private performance as far away as Rutland. For the Chamberlain's men their overburdened Christmas programme must have been quite a feat of endurance. They played before the Queen on 28 December 1595 and again on 6 January 1596. On New Year's Day they were at Burley-on-the-Hill and staged *Titus Andronicus* the selfsame day of their arrival. They spent the night at Burley and hurried back to London the following day. If they travelled at the same pace as the Earl and Countess of Bedford, that is covering about twenty-five miles a day, there were just four days for the journey there and four days back.

The performance of Shakespeare's fashionable tragedy seems to have been preceded by Sir Edward Wingfield's masque, a circumstantial piece obviously written to celebrate the family reunion of the Harringtons, their friends, and followers. Though nothing is known about Sir Edward as an amateur playwright, he is bound to have enjoyed the confidence of his brother-in-law that he was the right man for the occasion.²⁸ One may assume that as a cultivated nobleman he had an artistic vein and keen interest in literature. There is good reason to believe that he patronized Gervase Markham, a young poet, who in 1595 had dedicated a sonnet to Sir Edward in his poem *The Most Honorable Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinville*, calling him "all my all, essence of what I am," and who in 1597 inscribed to him another sonnet full of gratitude and warm affection in the presentation copy of his *Devoreux*, a verse eulogy of the Earl of Essex.²⁹ A relic of Sir Edward's own muse seems to lie enshrined in Markham's *The Poem of Poems. Or, Sions Muse, Contayning the diuine Song of King Salomon, deuided into eight Eclogues* (1596). One E.W. addressed a flattering sonnet to the eleven-year-old Elizabeth Sidney, daughter of Sir Philip Sidney, to whom Markham's *Poem of Poems* is dedicated. Here follows the sonnet which ends with a couplet reminiscent of Shakespeare:

All the worlds glorie, and the earths delight,
Created for to teach Phylosophie
That ther's a greater Essence of more might
Then Grandam Natures old taught dietie.

Looke on these lines, deere issues of a King,
The Song of Songs, that lent inuention eies,
Which great Iehouahs Querrister did sing
Unto the Sphearie Organ of the skies.

Learne not but learne by this celestiall bride
To entertaine espoused happiness.
Yet let thy Virgine-Taper euer bide
Like mid-day Sunne to light true holines.
For though the world and all things fade away,
Thy Vertues and this Song shall nere decay.

Robert Gittings holds the view that E.W. may well stand for Edward Wingfield.³⁰ The ascription of this sonnet to Sir Edward gains further credibility if we bear in mind that Lucy Sidney, the mother of Sir Edward's wife Mary Harington, was Elizabeth's great-aunt. Sir Philip and Mary Harington were cousins.³¹ Moreover, the Earl of Essex, who owing to his marriage to Sir Philip Sidney's widow had

become the stepfather of the young dedicatee, was the patron of both Sir Edward and Gervase Markham. As Sir Edward can lay claim to be the sonneteer E.W., it seems not rash to argue that he must have been a minor writer endowed with a poetical gift that commanded the attention of his brother-in-law. We can therefore assume that on New Year's Day 1596 Sir Edward rose to the occasion of entertaining the family reunion and the guests at Burley-on-the-Hill with an appropriate masque.

In keeping with the practice of the day, the Haringtons must have taken an active part in the masque. The fifteen-year-old Lucy Harington, the Countess of Bedford, to be praised as a paragon of beauty and celebrated as a patroness of some of the greatest poets of the age, was offered a golden opportunity of making her stage début before her own parents and relatives. It was an ideal preparation for her later appearances in the masques written by Ben Jonson for the entertainment of the Jacobean court. In any case the Countess of Bedford stood in the limelight of the solemnities observed on New Year's Day. In following the time-honoured tradition of presenting gifts, she showered her generosity on all and sundry, even on the Gascon tutor. Petit again fell short of providing satisfactory information. He did not mention whether the presentation of the New Year's gifts was part of the masque.

One of the Haringtons who is likely to have kept aloof from the bustle of New Year's Day was Sarah, one of Sir John's eight married sisters. On 17 December 1595, a messenger coming from York had brought the news to Sarah and her husband, Sir Francis Hastings, that their uncle Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon, had died without issue on Saturday, 14 December, and their aunt the Countess on 15 December. The earldom was settled on George Hastings, the brother of the deceased Earl and father of Sir Francis. This meant that Sir Francis and his wife Sarah Harington, who used to reside in the Old Palace near Ashby Castle, were now heirs to the title.³² But fate was against them. On Wednesday, 18 December 1595, Sir Francis died at Burley-on-the-Hill. His death cast a paralysing gloom over the Christmas festivities. Inconsolable sadness and profound silence now reigned in the Manor House. The 29-year old widow abandoned herself to despair, caring no longer what would become of her and her five children. Almost insane by grief, she confined herself to her black bed of mourning, losing all interest in life and oblivious of the fact that she was near her time of delivery.³³ Petit's message despatched to Bacon conveys to us the abrupt change from festive mood to mourning.³⁴

"It has come to pass even before I dispatched the enclosed letter that Sir John Harington and his relatives deeply mourn the loss of Sir Francis Hastings, who died after having borne the title of 'Mylord' for four days only. He had married one of the most beautiful sisters of Sir John Harington. She is now abed so afflicted and ill that there is almost no hope of saving her life, quite apart from the fact that she is about to be delivered. Her words are quite wild, for she says she does not



Tamulus Roberti Kelwayi aruigeri, secum Lehannus Domini Harington &c.

Fig 3 Robert Kelway's monument in Exton church with his daughter, Anne, and her husband Sir John Harington, First Lord Harington of Exton, both kneeling in front (Wright, 1684).

want to live any longer, that things may take their own course, it is all one to her, since she has lost the solace of her life, him who loved her and she loved beyond all things in the world. Sadness is her comfort, tears and groans are her nourishment, and solitude is her sole distraction. She withdraws from all company in order to turn over in her mind the dismal departure of her beloved. She has three sons and two daughters by the deceased, and the eldest has not yet attained the age of ten years.³⁵ The joy this good nobleman had in seeing his relatives and kinsmen increase in number has quite abated; for nobody breathes a word at present. As the master is dumb, all the servants are silent, and all because of bereavement. The wife of the Earl of Huntingdon died one day after her husband."

While the widow was pining away with grief, her father-in-law, Lord George Hastings, was engaged in preparing the funeral of his deceased brother Henry and son Francis. He received orders from her Majesty to bury the two at York. Yet he petitioned the Queen for permission to entomb his brother in the family vault of the Earls of Huntingdon at Ashby-de-la-Zouche. On 28 April 1596, the sumptuous funeral ceremony of the third Earl of Huntingdon was celebrated with all the pomp and honour becoming his rank.³⁶ There is no certain record confirming that Sir Francis was also buried in the family vault. The disconsolate Sarah was to find solace in three more marriages.³⁷

The Christmas Festivities at Burley-on-the-Hill

were an epic event which give a marvellously detailed insight into the social life of the Tudor nobility. Even more pertinent, however, is the question 'Did Shakespeare himself come with the company into Rutland? There are definite signs that he did, since he is believed to have joined a company of players touring the provinces before he came to London. Thomas Whitfield Baldwin in *The Organisation and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company* (New York, Russell & Russell, 1961, pp.26970) assigns the leading part of Titus to George Bryan, his son Lucius to Richard Burbage, Saturninus to Augustine Phillips, Marcus Andronicus to John Heminges, Aaron to Thomas Pope, the clown to William Kempe and Bassianus to Henry Condell. William Sly, as Baldwin suggests, would find a fitting role as one of the quarrelling sons of Tamora and Shakespeare would have been one of the many dignitaries. Shakespeare's personal appearance in Rutland is a strong possibility.

REFERENCES

1. See 'An Unrecorded Elizabethan Performance of *Titus Andronicus*', *Shakespeare Survey*, 14 (1961), 102-9.
2. I have edited the sonnet and the two quatrains in *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: The Correspondence of Antonio Pérez's Exile*, i (London: Tamesis Books Ltd, 1974), 238-40. There is a short entry on Petit in Oscar J. Campbell's and E.G. Quinn's *The Reader's Encyclopedia of Shakespeare* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1966) based on my former article.
3. Lambeth Palace Library, MS 652, no.94. Dated 'Le 27 de No. 1595, St Auban;' addressed 'To the Right worshipfull & singular good master Mr Ant Bacon;' in a different hand 'At Lester howse deliuer this, by Temple bare;' endorsed by Bacon 'De Jacques Petit le 28me de nouembre 1595.' Holograph, 1 p., sealed.
4. John Ogilby, *The Traveller's Guide: Or, A Most Exact Description of the Roads of England* (London: T. Hive for Abel Swall, 1699), 88-90.
5. MS 654, no.47. Dated 'Le 20 de Décembre 1595;' endorsed 'De Jaques le 24me de Janvier 1596.' Holograph, 3 pp. The relevant passage reads: 'Then the company spent the night at Bedford where the bells were rung in order to do the Earl homage and entertain him, and he was presented with apples and wine by the prominent citizens of the town.' I have retained the old numbers though the documents have been foliated since I copied them.
6. See Ian Grimble, *The Harington Family* (London, Jonathan Cape, 1957), 154-64.
7. On March 20, 1596, he was commissioned to attend the young Baron Karl von Zierotin, a Bohemian, travelling with a safeconduct of Emperor Rudolf II, on his journey to Scotland (MS 656, no.99). In October 1596, he was despatched by Bacon to attend on Lord Rich, who accompanied the Earl of Shrewsbury on his mission to ratify the League Offensive and Defensive with the French King (MS 659, no.191).
8. MS 654, no.125.
9. MS 654, nos.9, 46, 61.
10. Grimble, 74.
11. Grimble, 145.
12. Thomas Wilson, *The State of England anno Dom. 1600*, ed. F.J. Fisher, *Camden Miscellany*, 16, (1936), 23.
13. Lawrence Stone in 'The Elizabethan Aristocracy: A Restatement,' *Economic History Review*, 4 (1952), 304, makes the point that the average landed income of a late Elizabethan peer was £2000 to £3000 a year.
14. For Daniel's *Panegyric* see *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, i (1883; rpt New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), 139-67.
15. Grimble, 73.
16. Sir William is mentioned in the inscription on Sir James's and Lady Lucy's tomb. See James Wright, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland* (London, 1684), 54-6.
17. DNB.
18. Margaret Harington followed the example of her relative Jan Dormer who married Don Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, the Duke of Feria. See my study of the *Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature* (1956; rpt New York: AMS Press, 1972), 68. The name of 'Don Benito de Sisneros Hispano' is inscribed on Sir James's and Lady Lucy's tomb erected by Nicholas Stone in Exton Church. The monument with the Latin text is reproduced by Wright, 54-6.
19. J.H. Wiffen, *Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell from the Time of the Norman Conquest* (London, 1833), ii, 63. In 1594 the Earl of Bedford, a follower of the Earl of Essex, was described, along with the Earl of Southampton, as 'fantastycall.' See Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 484.
20. Bedford had inherited very huge debts when he succeeded to the earldom in 1585 and had spent the 1590s in running up more debts of his own. For the excessive marriage portions paid in those days see Stone, *The Crisis*, 175-6.
21. MS 652, no.161. Dated 'De Burghly ce 14 de 10bre 1595;' endorsed 'De Jaques Petit le 19me de Décembre 1595.' Holograph, 2 pp., sealed. For the convenience of the reader I have added the accents, apostrophes, changed the punctuation, and expanded some abbreviations without otherwise modernizing the spelling. This applies to all the quotations made from Petit's correspondence.
22. MS 652, no.161.
23. MS 654, no.125.
24. MS 654, no.47. The concourse of guests enjoying Sir John's generous hospitality remains unprecedented. Figures given by Stone are much more modest. The Duke of Buckingham entertained over 500 guests at Thornbury over Christmas in 1507. In 1628 Sir Arthur Capel at Hadham Hall served 331 meals on Christmas Day, 350 on Boxing Day, and 396 the day after. See Stone, *The Crisis*, 557.
25. MS 654, no.167. Dated '(?) de Janvier 1596;' endorsed 'De Jacques Petit, le mois de janvier 1596.' Holograph, 2 pp., sealed.
26. MS 652, no.161.
27. MS 654, no.167.
28. Sir Edward Wingfield, the son of Sir Thomas Wingfield by his second wife Honora, was born about 1652 and died in the Fleet prison, intestate, destitute, and disgraced by the Queen, on 20 November 1603. He had five sons and three daughters by Mary Harington. A close friend of Essex, Sir Edward took part in the Portugal expedition (1589), and the expedition to Cadiz (1596), and as a colonel accompanied the Earl to Ireland where he was wounded (1599). He was again wounded, this time seriously, at the crossing of the Blackwater during the Irish summer campaign in 1601. When he finally returned from Ireland in 1603, he was imprisoned for debt. For a short biography see *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1558-1603*, ed. P.W. Hasler (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1981), 634-5.
29. The presentation copy of STC 19793 is in the Bodleian Library (shelfmark Malone 333). Markham wrote down the sonnet opposite the title-page. I have added the missing punctuation but have kept the original spelling.
- To the honorable Knight Sr Edward Wingfield
 Mighty vpholder of my ruins state,
 Breath of my life, life to my world sick mind,
 See heere the worcke thy rest on me begatt.
 The image of the peace by the [sic] I find.
 Looke on it (great one) as those Artists doe
 Wch from a formlesse vndigested masse
 Shaping faire figures, fix there [sic] eies therto
 And by oft mending make it pfitt passee.
 But if thou findst my mold intéperate,
 To gross a substauce or to brittle earth
 And of thy hope thy hopes be desperate,
 Confownd my verdure in my first springs birth.
 If any do repine, thus answer still:
 Who plants, may pull, who doth create, may kill.
 Ieruis Markham
30. Robert Gittings, *Shakespeare's Rival* (London: Heinemann, 1960), 33, 117-8.
31. Sir James Harington married Lucy, daughter of William Sidney of Penshurst, Sir Philip Sidney's grandfather. See Grimble, 73; and DNB under Sir Henry Sidney.
32. Petit's message to Bacon reads as follows: 'Since my last letter dated 15th of the present month, information has been received that all the sisters of Sir John are Dames. These

good tidings have been caused by the death of the Earl of Huntingdon who last Sunday went to see whether his expectations had a better chance of being fulfilled in the kingdom of the other world than in this world. Sir George Hastings does not envy him this journey and is happy to give him the right of seniority there so that he can enjoy the right and his wealth here. For according to what people say he inherits everything and at present holds all the titles of honour.' MS 652, no.163. Dated 'Le 17 décembre 1595;' endorsed 'De Jaques Petit le 25me de Décembre 1595.' Holograph, 2 pp., sealed.

33. She was delivered of a fourth son, Francis, who died in infancy. See Henry Nugent Bell, *The Huntingdon Peerage* (London, 1821), 99.
34. MS 652, no.164. Undated, but written, as appears from internal evidence, on 18 December 1595. Endorsed 'De Jaques Petit le 25me de décembre 1595.' Holograph, 1p., sealed.
35. That is, the sons Henry, George, and Edward, and the daughters Catherine and Theodosia. Her eldest Henry was to succeed to the earldom as fifth Earl of Huntingdon. He was born at Exton, Rutland, on 24 April 1586, and at the age of eighteen was to marry Elizabeth, the youngest of the three daughters of Ferdinando Stanley, the Earl of Derby, in June 1603. See Bell, 98-100.
36. Bell, 80-1. The expenses amounted to nearly £1400 (79). The delay of 18 weeks was uncommon. Funeral preparations on an average took just over a month. See Stone, *The Crisis*, 573, 578.
37. Sarah contracted her second marriage with the elderly judge Sir William Kingsmill; her third with Edward, eleventh baron Zouche of Harringworth (d. 1625); her fourth marriage to the diplomatist Sir Thomas Edmondes was solemnized on 11 Sept. 1626. She died three years later at the age of sixty-three. See *DNB* under Thomas Edmondes and Edward Zouche. Her second marriage to judge Kingsmill inspired her cousin, the poet Sir John Harington, who may also have taken part in the Christmas festivities of 1595/6, to write one of his many pointed epigrams. It reads:

In commendation of his right virtuos cosen the Lady
Hastings maried to Mr Iustice Kinsmell
Fair flower of Haringtons renowned race,
Sara, whom Venus envies for her face;
Trew Saras kinde that calld her husband lord,
And livde obedient and in sweet accordre;
A Sara did her husbands age so cheer
He grew a father at an hundred yeer.
Looke yow to doe all this? Then looke well to itt,
For by your looke I looke that yow should do it.

Quoted from *The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington. Together with 'The Praye of Private Life'*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), Epigram 421, p.318.

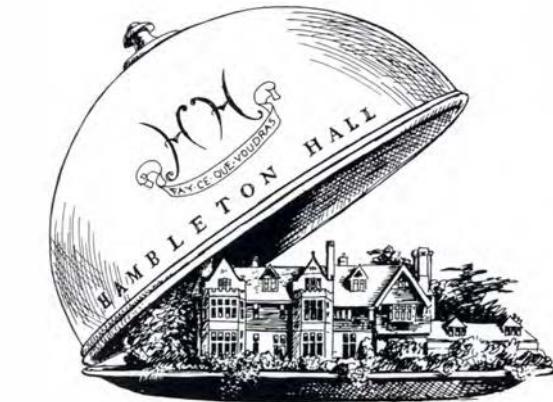
The author and editor are grateful to Miss Edna Stokes of Easton-on-the-Hill and Mr Quentin Purdy of Oakham for helping in bringing this article to publication.

Contributors

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A Medical Trade Token of Oakham

T.D. WHITTET

Tradesmen's tokens formed an illegal money of necessity issued between 1648 and 1679 when small change was scarce. The standard work on the subject is *Trade Tokens issued in the seventeenth century* originally published by William Boyne¹ in 1858, revised by George C. Williamson² in two volumes 1888-97 and reprinted in three volumes by B.A. Seaby Ltd in 1967.³ This work is now popularly called 'Williamson' and will be referred to as such in this paper.

Williamson listed the token of Richard Mathew and John Potterill of Oakham but gave the occupation only of the latter.³



Fig 1 Token of Richard Mathew & John Potterill

Richard Mathew and John Potterill of Oakham
O. RICH · MATTHEW · AND · IOHN · Arms: on
a bend 3 fleurs-de-lis. R. POTTERILL · OF ·
OAKHAM - THEIR ½d.

This token is unusual in having been issued by two persons. It bears no clues as to the occupations of the issuers and is undated. It is shown in Fig.1. Williamson spelled the name of the first issuer Mathew.³



Fig 2 Token of Widow Mathew

Richard Mathew

Williamson³ gave no information about Richard Mathew but the visitation of Rutland stated that the family originated from London.⁴ It listed John Mathew of King Street, Westminster, barber-surgeon, who married Catherine Light. She must have been 'Widdow Mathew' of that street who issued in 1659 a token without a device but bearing the initials K.M.⁵(Fig.2). Their son Richard, aged about 50 in 1681 was said to be of ample means. The

records of the London Barber-Surgeons' Company show that on February 19 1599/1600 John Mathewes, apprentice of Thomas Coleman, was freed and on March 4 1644, John Mathewes, apprentice of Jaspar Arris, was freed.⁶ The last-named was probably the father of the token issuer. On August 12 1662 'Richard, son and apprentice of John Mathewes, defunct,' was also freed. It seems likely that, after her husband's death, Catherine carried on the practice and her son settled in Oakham.

It was reported that nothing was to be found in the visitation books to justify arms but 'Mr Mathew produced a red seal with a lion rampant left by his father.'

Richard was said to have a son aged eight in 1681.

The Potterill Family

Williamson gave a considerable amount of information about the Potterill family and I have discovered a great deal more. The name was spelled Potterill and Potterell indiscriminately. The token issuer could have been John Potterill, apothecary, whose will was proved in 1652, or his son John, also an apothecary who died in 1702. The family was probably descended from that of the neighbouring county of Leicestershire which had a strong apothecarial tradition.⁷

John Potle, BA, MA, BM (Oxon), whose name was also spelled Pottle and Pottrell, was granted a licence to practice medicine in about 1550.⁸ He was probably John Pottell 'fezicon and appotecarie', apprentice-master of William Kirk who became free of Leicester in 1593/4 and John Pottrell, physician, whose apprentice Robert Pottrell, probably his son, and John, described as his second son and apprentice, were freed in 1605/6 and 1614/15 respectively. Both were called apothecaries.⁷

John Potterill 1 of Oakham

The will of John Potterill of Oakham...apothecary was made on March 1, 1651, when he was 'Weake in bodie but of sound and perfect memorie.'⁹ Attached was a schedule of goods to be given to his daughter Mabel which included a large amount of silver and pewter plate, linen, household furniture, etc. To his sons Edward and William he left £10 each and forgave the former a debt of £5. He also wrote 'Whereas my sonne Humphrey is bound apprentice unto mee for seven yeares and hath served me as an apprentice for two yeares and more of the said time my mind and will is that my sonne John shall immediately after my death take him to serve him all the remainder of the said terme which shalbee unexpired att the time of my death and shall

educate and instruct him in the mysterie and science of an Apothecarie and Chirurgeon.'

John St. John owed him £250 'upon bond and above £80 for the forbearance', on receipt of which his executor was to pay Mabel £80 and his two sons, presumably Edward and William £40 each. Humphrey had been left £60 at the end of his apprenticeship. All his lands etc. were left to his son John who was sole executor. Other bequests were 20s. to his sister Frances Potterill and to his 'good friend Elizabeth Presgrave a double ducket of gold. To my brother Poterill and his wife a piece of gold each.' John Jr. proved the will on November 2, 1652.

John Potterill 2 of Oakham

John Potterill 2, presumably the eldest son of John 1 could have been the token issuer. His will was made on October 27, 1702, when he was 'in perfect mind & memorie.'¹⁰ He left to his daughter Mary Wright, his son-in-law Thomas Helmsley and granddaughter Elizabeth Helmsley £5 each. He also left to each of his five grand-children Mabela Wright, Timothy, William and Katherine Helmsley 10s each for mourning rings.

His son William, who was sole executor, was left all his 'Real and Personal Estate.'

Humphrey Potterill of Stamford

Williamson wrote of him 'the books of the Hall of Stamford inform us that Humphrey Potterell, apothecary, was, at a common hall, August 27, 1657, abated 'fforty shillings of his ffyne wch was imposed on him for his freedome' (the regulation fine at this period was £20). In 1659-60 he was one of the capital constables for the parish of St. Michael, overseer of the poor 1659-60, churchwarden 1669-70, pursuant to royal commission, August 29, 1662, elected a capital burgess, or a common councilman and served the office of chamberlain 1671-2.'

In 1655 Humphrey Potterell of Oakham, Rutland, apothecary, married Mrs Elizabeth Faustor of Barleysthorpe in the same county, spinster. Barleysthorpe is a village or hamlet very near to Oakham and was in Oakham parish.¹¹

The registers of St Michael's, Stamford record the baptisms of seven children of Humphrey and Elizabeth Potterell between 1657 and 1671. Four of them were buried within the same period.

The registers also recorded Edward Harrison as 'lawful administrator to the effects of Mabel Harrison, alias Potterell, late of Oakham, dec. 22 Oct., 1658.' and to John Potterill, gent. being assessed for land in 1662-3.

The will of Humphrey Potterell, apothecary of Stamford,¹² on August 24, 27 Chas. II (1676) leaves £50 to his son Thomas, to be paid within six months of the end of his apprenticeship, and £60 each to his daughters Abigail and Mary, at 21 or on marriage.

That he was the son of John 1 is shown by the fact that he left the 'money owing by Mr St. John & bequeathed to me by the will of my father' to his brother John...or his executor to pay between my children.' His wife Elizabeth was sole executrix and

was to receive the residue of the estate.

The witnesses were C. Hill and William Lord. The latter was Humphrey's apprentice and became free of Stamford on August 10, 1675, and a Capital Burgess in 1677.¹³ The will was proved by Elizabeth on February 12 1675/6.

Thomas Potterill

Williamson wrote 'Thomas Potterill, his son, (Humphrey's) also an 'apothecarye paid six pounds thirteen shillings and ffour pence,' June 11, 1685, and took up his freedom. We find his name in the list of capital burgesses in October, 1675, but not that of October, 1688. Mr Thomas Potterill resided in the parish of St John's, was overseer of the poor 1686-7, sidesman 1690-91, and churchwarden 1692-93.'

The registers of St John's record the baptism of Humphrey, son of Thomas and Mary Potterell on August 20, 1687, and his burial on the 23rd. Their daughter was baptised on April 14, 1693.

William Potterill

On October 4, 1713, Edward Allen, son of Mark, maltster, was bound to William Potterill, surgeon-apothecary of Oakham for eight years at a premium of £20.¹⁴ The latter was probably the son of John 2, mentioned in his will.

It seems that the Potterill family had property and possibly pharmacies both in Oakham and Stamford.

From the reference to surgery in the will of John 1 and the fact that Richard Mathew, a barber-surgeon was his or his son's partner makes it obvious that they practised medicine, surgery and pharmacy. There are many examples of apothecaries apprenticing their sons to barber-surgeons and vice versa but this is the earliest example I have found of a barber-surgeon and an apothecary being in partnership — an early example of general practice.

Burke's Armoury¹⁵ does not give any arms for Potterill but includes:

'Powtrel, or Poundrell (co. Derby). Or (another, ar.) on a bend az. three fleur-de-lis of the first.' This is identical with the arms on the token. Very similar are those of:

'Powtrell, or Powntrell. Or. on a bend engr. az. three fleurs-de-lis ar. (another within a bordure gu.)'

Crowther-Benyon¹⁶ wrote 'If Boyne is correct in stating that the Potterills of Oakham bore their own name on the token, the circumstance is noteworthy, as it would appear to be somewhat unusual for good families to be engaged in trade at this time.' My researches have shown, however, that there is ample evidence that many members of wealthy and armigerous families became apothecaries and several had their names and coats of arms on tokens.

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 5. Williamson, *op.cit.*, 649.
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- The author is grateful for grant-aid from the Wellcome Trust for this research.
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Rutland Records

RUTLAND RECORDS IN THE LEICESTERSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

New Accessions 1 April, 1985-31 March, 1986

- DE 2852 Papers of Bentley Warren, undersheriff of Rutland; plans of Tudor House, Uppingham, 1669-1935
- DE 2856 Seaton parish council records, including Seaton tithe award and map, 1846-1974
- DE 2859 Calendar of prisoners; Oakham assizes, 1906
- DE 2860 Plans of Catmose estate, Oakham, 1933
- DE 2875 Morcott parish records, 1539-1938
- DE 2884 'Rutlandshire' by Rev. Thomas Cox, 1726
- DE 2902 Bisbrooke parish records, 1665-1981
- DE 2924 Rutland small claims court records, 1847-1894
- DE 2953 Preston school log books and admission register, 1872-1962
- DE 2956 Red Cross Agricultural Fund, 1937-1946; Rutland Herb Committee, 1942-1950
- DE 2961 Rutland Association for Prosecution of Felons – minutes, accounts etc, 1831-1915; papers regarding sequestration of Langham living, 1967

The Record Office has received an interesting and varied range of new accessions during the year. One collection in particular, the records of the Rutland Association for the Prosecution of Felons (DE 2961), has caught the attention of Gwenith Jones, Assistant Keeper. Her account of the collection follows.

Staff have also been involved in the survey of Rutland parish records (*Parochial Registers and Records Measure*, 1978) and this is now nearing completion. Some of the Rutland parish records on deposit have now been microfiched; it is hoped that the microfiche series will be made available to searchers very shortly and that copy sets will be purchased for consultation in local libraries.

The County Archivist provided a display of Barker and Conant documents for members of the Rutland Record Society at Lyndon. An exhibition of parish documents was also prepared for Morcott parish. Stock taking – a regular commitment among staff – has focused on the Finch collection (DG7) during the year. I am pleased to report that the collection has now been checked, sub-numbered, re-folded, repaired and reboxed.

Two Record Office *Guides to Collections* were published during the year, *Family and Estate Records*, by Heather Broughton, and *Quarter Sessions Records*. Both include detailed references to Rutland material stored in the County Record Office.

*Heather Broughton
Keeper of Archives*

Rutland Association for the Prosecution of Felons

On 11 December 1985 the Record Office received on deposit from Mr D. Tew of Fowler and Co, solicitors, 12 High Street, Oakham a collection of papers (ref.no: DE 2961) which included records of the Rutland Association for the Prosecution of Felons, 1831-1949. Most Associations for the Prosecution of Felons were established in the late 18th century, when men of property were concerned to safeguard their interests in the face of increasing inadequacies in the system of law and order. The Rutland Association for the Prosecution of Felons, however, was not established until 1831, and it is unfortunate that the collection contains no documents which would point to the reasons for its establishment at such a comparatively late date.

The earliest documents in the collection are copies of the original rules of 1831. These state that membership was open to anyone residing in Rutland or within ten miles of Oakham. The principle upon which the Association worked was that members paid an admission fee and an annual subscription and: 'That all Persons who shall commit any kind of Felony on the person or property of a Subscriber, shall be apprehended and prosecuted at the joint expense of the Society, and by and out of the Subscription Fund' (DE2961/7). General Meetings were to be held alternately at the George and the Crown Inns at Oakham in the afternoon of the first or second Monday in January each year, at which a committee of at least five members was to be appointed to manage the Association's business for the ensuing year.

Details of the composition and numbers of the membership can be gleaned from the subscription books dating from 1858 onwards. These show that the majority of members were tradesmen or farmers, but the membership also occasionally included a member of the professions or clergy. The names of two or three members of the local aristocracy are given at the beginning of each list of subscribers. Their subscription was usually larger than that of the other members and they appear to have been given the title of 'Honorary Members'. On the basis of a five yearly sample of membership figures the average membership was 47, although it fell as low as 35 in 1870, prompting a resolution in the minutes of 1871 that as the present admission fee of £1 was preventing new members from joining the fee should be reduced to 5/- . Thereafter the membership increased to its highest level during the period 1876 to 1895 before declining in the years after the turn of the century (a period when it contained an increasing percentage of firms and societies).

It soon became customary for a dinner to be given on the occasion of the annual general meeting, the cost of which was paid out of the Association's funds. In 1852 the Association passed a resolution guaranteeing to pay the innkeepers for a minimum of thirty members to ensure that they were not out of pocket. This number was reduced to twenty in 1865 when the membership was in decline but the Association additionally guaranteed the innkeeper the consumption of five bottles of wine. From

REWARD!!

**NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN,
That any Persons Trespassing upon this land,
SEARCHING FOR MUSHROOMS**

or in any way
DAMAGING THE GROWING CROPS
upon this Farm, will be PROSECUTED.

A REWARD WILL BE PAID

to any person giving such information as will lead to the Conviction of the person or persons guilty of any of the above offences.

BY ORDER),

SYDNEY J. FOWLER,

ОАКНАМ.

Clerk to the said Association.

MATKIN, PRINTER, OAKHAM.

Fig 1 Reward Poster

1866 onwards all general meetings were held at the George Inn and in 1872 the cost of the dinners was increased from 2/- to 2/6. These may well have been pleasant social occasions — bills for the dinners covering the period 1902-1915 show additional payments for spirits, cigars, cigarettes, and lemons and sugar to make punch.

The relationship of the Association with the police was not always an easy one, as illustrated by this minute in 1845:

'Much dissatisfaction was expressed at the Police Men in Oakham, having made a charge upon this Association for loss of time in apprehending some Gypsies who were camping in Barlethorpe Field near the closes of several of the Members of this Association when it was unanimously Resolved that Mr. Adan be told that the Association will not for the future pay such Police Men for their time & trouble in apprehending offenders who commit degradations upon the Members' property, living in Oakham' (DE 2961/1).

Payments to the police were, however, made in future years — in 1847 for apprehending a turnip stealer at Egleton and for apprehending some men for window breaking, in 1853 for expenses they incurred in trying to apprehend Mr Perkins' apprentice for robbing him and running away, and in 1881 for information leading to the conviction of a person for setting fire to an ash tree. The crimes against members of the Association which feature most prominently in the records are those of theft, damaging fruit trees, fences and buildings, and arson. Comparitively few of the attempts to find those

VII

THAT the following Rewards shall be offered by this Association, to any person or persons (not being the person or persons sustaining such loss), who shall discover and apprehend any Offender or Offenders who shall have committed any of the following crimes and misdemeanours, on the person or property of any member of this Association, to be paid by the Treasurer, on Conviction, (that is to say):—

	£.	s.	d.
For wilfully setting Fire to any House, Out-house, Barn, Stack, or Rick of Corn, Hay or Straw,	10	10	0
For Burglary, Highway or Footpad Robbery, or stealing any Horse, Mare or Gelding, Ox or Cow,	10	0	0
For Maiming any Horse, Mare, or Gelding, Ox, Cow, Sheep, or Lambs, and for stealing any Sheep or Lambs,	5	0	0
For stealing any Corn, or Grain, thrashed or unthrashed, or any Hay out of any Barn, Hovel, or Rick Yard,	2	2	0
For stealing any Calves, Pigs, or Poultry, or any Corn, or Grain, Grass or Hay, growing, or in shocks or cocks, in any state whatsoever in the Field, stealing or damaging any Waggon, Cart, Plough, Harrow, or any other Implements of Husbandry,	2	2	0
For Robbing any Orchard, Garden or Fish Pond, or chopping down any Timber, Fruit, or other Tree or Trees,	1	1	0
For stealing any Turnips, Potatoes, or Cabbages, Wood or Underwood, or breaking or stealing any Gates, Posts, Rails, Stiles, Ironwork, or any hedge or hedges, or any Windows,	1	1	0



F. J. Barlow, Printed

Fig 2 Extract from 1831 rules (DE 2961/7)

responsible for these crimes appear to have proceeded to prosecution.

The Association was a patriotic body. In 1905 the king was passing through Oakham at the time of the Association's general meeting and a telegram was sent to him expressing their 'heartfelt and loyal wishes for a long continuation of your Majesty's Wise and beneficent rule.' (DE 2961/2). A toast list from the 1912 general meeting begins with a toast to the King, Queen and Royal family.

In 1916 the minute book contains a resolution of a Special Committee meeting that the general meeting would not be held that year because of the unsettled state of the country. The next minute is dated 1949, when a final meeting was held at no.12 High Street, Oakham attended by five of the surviving members of the Association. This minute states that: 'It was agreed that the necessity for the continuance of the Association no longer existed and that the Association be wound up forthwith' (DE 2961/3). A balance of £21.19.8 in hand was divided equally between the Farmers Benevolent Fund and the Rutland Police Benevolent Fund.

The most significant items in the collection are the minute and account books extant from 1843 onwards and the subscription books, extant from 1858. The only surviving records for the earliest years of the Association's existence are copies of the original rules dated 1831. A later set of rules dated 1885 are also present. The bulk of the remainder of the collection comprises bills for expenses incurred from 1900 onwards, being yearly bills of solicitors for administrative work, the printer's bill, a bill for the annual dinner and occasionally a bill for the services of bill posters.

Gwenith Jones
Assistant Keeper of Archives

RUTLAND IN THE GENEALOGIST

The following have been noted in early volumes of *The Genealogist*, and it may be interesting for members to know of them:

- J. Simpson, Extracts from the parish registers of Little Casterton, vol.I (1877) 64-6, 154-5, 163-5
- J. Simpson, Extracts from the parish registers of Edith Weston, vol.I (1877) 292, 334-6, 362-6
- J. Simpson, Extracts from the parish registers of Tinwell, vol.III (1879) 105-9, 327-8
- J. Simpson, Extracts from the parish registers of Lindon, vol.III (1879) 329-33
- J. Simpson, Extracts from the parish registers of Seaton, vol.V (1881) 61-4, 109-13
- J. Simpson, Extracts from the parish registers of Whissendine, vol.VII (1883) 40-7
- W.F. Carter, The Fowlers of Hambleton, vol.VII (1883) 4-10
- Anon, Pedigree of the family of le Fauconer, Falkener, and Fawkener in Leicestershire and Rutland new series, vol.I (1884) 129-39 with fold-out pedigree.

It must be stressed that the parish register selections are only extracts, and certainly not very extensive. They are, however, supplemented with additional biographical notes in some instances. In many cases, the original registers are now deposited in the Leicestershire Record Office.

There is, unfortunately, no run of this journal within the county, the nearest being Cambridge University Library, and Birmingham Public Libraries (incomplete). However, I have access to a run in the Society of Antiquaries, and hope to search other volumes and obtain photocopies to be deposited at the Rutland County Museum in due course.

T.H. McK. Clough

Museum & Project Reports

Edited by T.H. McK. CLOUGH

RUTLAND COUNTY MUSEUM

In every year the Rutland County Museum adds what to the layman must seem a most curious assortment of items to its collections. However, these new acquisitions must always be united by the underlying themes defined in the museum's approved collecting policy, of which the principal elements are their association with Rutland, and their relevance to the existing collections. 1985 was no exception in providing items of interest to the Rutland Record Society, of which brief details are given below.

- 1985.3 Sugar beet prize certificate, 1928-29
- 1985.14 Collection of books, photographs and papers relating to Willingham Fowler of Exton and his family (cross-reference: 1983.11, 1986.4043).
- 1985.16 Model of Burley Hermitage, made by W.H. Sewell
- 1985.27 Collection of books, papers and printed maps of Rutland, from 1985.43-45 the estate of J.W. Wallace of Blakeney. Other material deposited at the Leicestershire Record Office.
- L.1985.30 Day book of John Parker, Preston, 1840's (microfilm copy at LRO, MF 179)
- 1985.40 Photograph of South Luffenham school in fancy dress 1904.
- 1984.57 Small collection of invoices and other papers relating to R.H. Bland, bus proprietor, Cottesmore, 1920's-30's.
- 1985.64 Sale poster: Royce, properties in Uppingham, 1897.

Two items stand out in this list, namely the material relating to the Fowler family, and the bequest from J.W. Wallace. The former contains a considerable quantity of farming records of the mid to later 19th century, culminating in the family falling victim to the agricultural depression, as well as an interesting selection of school work by both Willingham Fowler himself and his daughters. The latter includes a valuable series of maps of Rutland, usefully augmenting our rather scrappy collection, as well as other curios, such as a bell-clapper from Glaston church. John Wallace was the son of a well-known Uppingham doctor whose house was later acquired by Uppingham School.

At the museum itself, the main developments were the successful opening of the new Poultry Hall agricultural displays, and the completion of building work in the Stable Block. The main projects for the coming year

are the installation of a display on the Volunteer Soldier in Leicestershire, and the computerisation of the museum's accession records. We also intend to improve the reference facilities available for the consultation of Rutland archive material in microform, and the museum is now equipped with a microfiche reader.

With regard to the Volunteer Soldier display, the museum is very anxious to hear of any material relating to the Leicestershire Yeomanry or any other of the volunteer regiments of Leicestershire and Rutland. This includes uniform, photographs or any other relevant kind of militaria.

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

RUTLAND FIELD RESEARCH GROUP FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

Excavation work. Excavations of the medieval building complex at Whitwell (Area 2/2) was continued during fine weekends from mid-April until October 1985. Work was mainly concentrated at the eastern end of the site, much of which appears to have been 'quarried' for building stone. This material was probably used in the more recent houses of the village and alterations to and around the Hall. Sections of the early building walls on the site have been reduced down to foundation level. One short section contained what appears to have been a filled doorway leading on to a partially paved room. Considerable quantities of charcoal and some medieval potsherds were found on the floor of this room as well as 17th century pantheon ware sherds and a sheep jawbone complete with teeth. This wall had a deep 'eaves drain' which continued under the wall foundations and through the hedge baulk into the previously excavated drain system of Area 2/1. Removal of lower rubble fill west of this wall and drain produced a large quantity of potsherds ranging from 11th century to 16th century, some oyster and mussel shells, a metal box clasp, nails and bone fragments.

Field walking. The excavation programme was interrupted during September to permit urgent investigation of the fields adjacent to Burley Road, Oakham. The Oakham Local Development Plan originally proposed

the construction of a northern link road between Ashwell Road and Burley Road, crossing fields numbered 6543 and 5545. Local Ordnance Survey maps indicated a site of a spring labelled 'Our Lady's Well'. Close scrutiny of this area revealed the probable site of the well, indications of an early road (a 'greenway') towards Oakham Church, a large building platform and three areas of medieval 'ridge and furrow'. Research into the available documentary sources provided information relating to the transfer of ownership and relative income from the use of the well dating back to the 15th Century. In order to preserve the site for posterity and further investigation and possible preservation of the well itself, representations were made at the Local Inquiry held in Oakham. We were very pleased to receive notice of the favourable reception of representations from ourselves and other bodies and the news of the plan for a new route of the said road. We would like to record our sincere thanks to the District Planning Officers for their support.

Investigations of aerial photographs of the Burley Road area by Leicestershire Museums suggested a new problem in that the latter proposed road route passes through crop marks suggesting a possible ancient ritual site. The Research Group were requested to carry out detailed field search of the new site area and adjacent fields as a matter of urgency. The suggested ritual site is in field number 7757 and this has been searched and all finds plotted. Considerable numbers of artifacts were recovered from the field surface and were concentrated in two areas, on and around the crop mark area and also in the eastern corner of the field. The artifacts included many worked flint tools, flakes and cores of the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods, Bronze age, Iron age and Neolithic pottery sherds, oyster shells and ferrous objects.

The material collected has confirmed the significance of the supposed ritual site and it is hoped that members of R.F.R.G. will be able to assist the Leicestershire Excavation Unit to carry out a detailed investigation of the site later. Further field walking has taken place in fields numbered 9872 and 7875, and finds are being examined and plotted by the Leicestershire Museums. It is anticipated that construction work will begin shortly on the Wardley Hill A47 road straightening programme and additional field walking and observation will be necessary.

Activities. Work has continued in rationalisation of documentary research and specialist reports of Nether Hambleton material with a view to publication shortly. Initial proposals for lectures have been made for the Winter Programme of the associated societies and the Group's social programme continued as in previous years. There has been a slight increase in membership and we would welcome all who are interested in joining the Group.

A.W. Adams
Chairman

RUTLAND LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

Following Mr A.R. Traylen's ending his long association with the Society, and under the direction of a new Committee, the RLHS is identifying new areas of activity for itself. The 'In Rutland' series of booklets has been discontinued. The Society is devoting more of its energies to conservation: conservation of Rutland's buildings through maintaining a close link with the Planning Committee of the District Council, and educating its members in our buildings; and conservation of our historical sense by building up an archive of oral records and of photographic records to be housed in the museum. It is also intended to recruit the interest of younger members of the community through our links with the Rutland VI Form College. Photographic records were made of two interesting buildings prior to their conversion to modern needs, and a day devoted to exploring methods of recording the recollections of the elderly, under the guidance of Mr Sam Mullins of the Harborough Museum, resulted in the formation of a group within the Society which will concentrate on making these records. Unhappily Dr Harris was forced to step down from the Chairmanship of the Society due to ill health, but he remains an active member of the Committee. Miss M. Brooks, Vice-Chairman, has acted as Chairman meanwhile.

J. Crossley
Hon. Secretary

Notes and Queries

Mr A.S. Ireson writes to congratulate Miss Hayes-Halliday on her article in *Rutland Record No.6*. 'I am very pleased to learn so much more about the Hallidays. I can well remember Samuel Fancourt Halliday, for he was Mayor of Stamford and a much respected local character when I was a boy before the First World War. I also remember T.W. Senescall; and one of Halliday's surveyors, a Thomas Halliday, who is likely to have been a descendant of Thomas Charity Halliday.'

The Halliday building business petered out about 1916-17 when very little quality work was being done and Samuel was then a very elderly man. My father, who started his own masonry and building business ten years before, was then able to engage some of Halliday's best craftsmen, which was a great help. One of them, Fancourt, was a carpenter. We also had most of the old papers, plans, contracts and drawing instruments.

While with Halliday, my father worked as a mason on Greetham church, Donnington church, Old Dalby Hall and Oundle School. Years later, our firm worked on Greetham church. There was still a Halliday farming at Greetham about thirty years ago.

Have you any records to show that it was a Walcott Hall, the Shropshire

mansion, where Halliday did the balustrading and stone stairs, as shown in the pocket book? I have always thought it was Walcot (one 't') Hall, near Barnack and Stamford, where there is work exactly as illustrated and where we worked in later years.'

A correction to the penultimate paragraph of Audrey Buxton's article on page 221 in *Rutland Record No.6*. The first sentence should read: 'After looking at this Register I am convinced that Empingham was not the only place in Rutland with a Branch of the Mormon Church.'

Prince Yuri Galitzine has written *Domesday Book in Rutland: the Dramatis Personae* which will be circulated free to members. It consists of a fascinating review of the personalities who feature in the Domesday Survey in Rutland.

The Society's AGM was held at Rutland County Museum on 8th May, 1986, when the Council was re-elected without change. Mr Roy Millward, formerly Reader, Department of Geography, University of Leicester and author of *A History of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Phillimore, 1985), lectured on 'W.G. Hoskins and Local History in the East Midlands'.

More than eighty members enjoyed an open day at Burley on the Hill on 21st June, 1986, by kind permission of Mr & Mrs Hanbury. There was a display of documents assembled by Mrs Heather Broughton of Leicestershire Record Office and talks by Mrs Hanbury on the history of the house and by Dr Nigel Aston and Mrs Caroline Aston on Repton and the landscaping of the grounds. It was a great delight to wander through the rooms and to see the splendid view over Rutland Water.

The Society was represented at the British Association for Local History sponsored East Midlands Local History Fair at Leicestershire Museum of Technology, on 17-18 May, 1986. This valuable event should be repeated as it conveyed a great deal about the work of local societies and did much to disseminate ideas.

So far, the Society has been fortunate to secure grants of £1000 each from the Royal Society and the Marc Fitch Fund and £500 from the Twenty Seven Award towards the publication of the Thomas Barker Journals, due late in 1987.

Members may like to know more about the Institute of Agricultural History and the Museum of English Rural Life, both situated at the University of Reading, Whiteknights, PO Box 229, Reading RG6 2AG (Tel. 0734 875123 ext.475). The Institute is responsible for teaching and research, there are information resources dating from 1750 covering all aspects of farming and rural life also. The exhibitions illustrate agricultural tools and implements, rural industries and domestic equipment, farm wagons and ploughs, etc. The Library has a working reference collection of about 17,000 books, pamphlets and periodical volumes on the history of English agriculture and rural life. This is supported by a Photographic Collection of more than 500,000 prints and negatives from mid-nineteenth century to the present day including the work of amateurs as well as professionals and farming organisations plus journals such as *Farmers Weekly*. Two local history collections cover the Thames Valley area. Visitors may order photographic prints by consulting the index. The Archival Collection includes literature from about 2,500 firms and records of agricultural associations with farm business records. A summary printed catalogue *Historical Farm Records* lists the deposits. The Bibliographical Unit holds over 30,000 classified references to the printed literature of British agricultural history and publishes specialised bibliographies including *Dissertations on British Agrarian History* and *Farm tools, implements and machines in Britain*. There is a Schools' Service, a collection of prints and paintings and well-developed Visitor Services with a full staff to help. Opening hours: Exhibition Tuesday to Saturday 10.00-1.00pm, 2.00-4.30pm. Collections by appointment (except Library and photographic index) Monday to Friday 9.30-1.00pm, 2.00-5.00pm (Fri. 4.30).

Mrs B.W. Clark has uncovered some interesting facts about the career of Admiral Ronald Hopwood (1868-1949) who was born at Ketton Hall and published several collections of maritime poetry including *The Laws of the Navy* (John Murray, London, 1951). Anyone who can add to this should write to the Editor.

David Tew writes 'I enclose a photocopy of a reference to Robert Noble Jackson in the Rev. Gordon Taylor's book: *The Sea Chaplains: a history of the Chaplains of the Royal Navy* (Oxford Illustrated Press, 1978). I take it that the Admiralty must have thought him a good man to appoint him as the first chaplain to HMS *Warrior* (see reference in *Rutland Record No.6* 'The Case of the Missing Horseshoe'). I am always interested in anything to do with the *Warrior* as my mother's father was commander of the *Warrior*, but much later on, about 1880, long after she had ceased to be in the front line of battleships. Some years ago I went to see her being restored at Hartlepool and was astonished to find what a large ship she was. She dwarfed all the other ships in the harbour at the time. I expect that you will have read that she is to be exhibited at Portsmouth alongside the *Mary Rose* and the *Victory*'.



Book Reviews

A History of Leicestershire and Rutland
By Roy Millward. Drawings by Helen Millward, cartography by Ruth Rowell and Kate Moore. Phillimore (*The Darwen County History Series*), 1985. £8.95. ISBN 0 85033 390 3.

This is a landscape history of that part of the East Midlands which we must now call 'Leicestershire', and, as such, it is interesting, informative, and up-to-date. It is written with a simplicity and ease of style which disguises profound scholarship, and the illustrations — photographs and drawings — are delightful. Yet members of the Rutland Record Society are not likely to consider that it qualifies for a history of *Rutland* in the Darwen County History Series, a series which has been based on pre-1974 boundaries. True, the author speaks feelingly of the 1974 local government upheaval and suggests there could have been an alternative course for Rutland, and throughout his book he most conscientiously draws examples from the Rutland area to support his points wherever this is possible (it is not possible in six chapters, which are devoted entirely to affairs in Leicestershire). These Rutland portions contain interesting titbits of information, incorporating recent theories and ideas as well as some of the author's own suggestions, though occasionally his statements are over-generalised, as when, for example, he says that both of Archdeacon Johnson's schools had to await the 19th century for their transformation into the large public schools of today (Oakham, we believe, had to await the 20th century). Taken together, however, even with the general descriptions characteristic of the whole area, these 'Rutland bits' do not constitute rounded history. There is something on iron smelting, place names, the medieval forest, Normanton church and Rutland Water (to take a few examples), but little or nothing of political history, the great families, ecclesiastical history or the development of the market towns of Oakham and Uppingham. For these and other topics Bryan Matthews' *Book of Rutland* (1978) — a title not even mentioned in Roy Millward's bibliography — is still the authority. Lovers of Rutland can only regret that this is not the 'concise and readable synopsis of the history of *Rutland*' which the

Darwen County History Series seemed to promise. Perhaps the publishers could not see the viability of a separate publication for such a small area, but why not a separate portion of a volume? The 'History of Rutland' still remains to be written. Perhaps some local scholar will rise to the task.

E. Barbara Dean

The Norman Conquest of Leicestershire and Rutland: a regional introduction to Domesday Book.

Edited by Charles Phythian-Adams, Leicestershire Museums Publication No.73, 1986, £3.95. ISBN 0 85022 200 1.

This excellent and scholarly book comprising 51 pages is unique even amidst the plethora of Domesday publications in 1986 for it examines, in readable detail, the great Survey in action in one region. The interesting and inspired layout together with most apposite illustrations, tables and headings, is very conducive to easy assimilation of even the deepest technicalities. The blend between local detail and national, methodological concepts is well balanced and cleverly done and the interpretation of personalities carefully interposed. The Editor has not only brought to bear his command of the period and documentary evidence but he has known when to appear in the text and when to leave it to the contributors. Congratulations must go to all involved. To have completed this in fifteen weeks is in itself, surely a triumph, but to have done it to such a high standard is an even greater accomplishment.

Bryan Waites

A History of Lincolnshire

By Alan Rogers. Drawings by Jim Laverty and Keith Woodcock, cartography by Derek McFeeley. Phillimore (*The Darwen County History Series*), 1985. £8.95. ISBN 0 85033 546 9.

This is a much enlarged and revised edition of the author's book of the same title published in 1970 by Darwen Finlayson; it has been virtually re-written to take into account recent work on the history of the old county, particularly by the History of Lincolnshire Committee. Some of the

shorter chapters have been amalgamated and two new chapters on modern Lincolnshire added. The illustrations (twice as many as in the original work) are all new, and three new maps have been added and two old ones omitted. Marginal drawings now add to the attraction of the book, as in other volumes of the *Darwen County History Series*. For all this, it must be considered as a new edition (although not so stated on the title-page) and not a completely new work.

E. Barbara Dean

The Stones of Stamford

By A.S. Ireson. *Stamford Development Committee Publication* 1986.

Another publication by Rutland Record Society Council member A.S. Ireson, entirely from memory, experience and observation during over sixty years of a working life. Celia Fiennes described Stamford 'as fine a town all of stone as may be seen' and the author examines all the types used from Barnack Rag to Ancaster Freestone and Collyweston Slates. This is illustrated with many interesting photographs and has a useful glossary. The aim of the book is to make Stamford even more interesting to the non-technical reader and it will certainly entrance the tourist.

Bryan Waites

Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire
By Graham Platts. Volume IV in the *History of Lincolnshire*. 1985. 340pp, maps, illus., index. £13.00 ISBN 0 902668 03 X. From *History of Lincolnshire Committee, Exchequerate Arch. Lincoln LN2 1PZ*.

This splendid series of twelve books is now nearing completion and this volume will rank as one of the best. It is very well-produced by Alan Sutton Publishing and has many useful, clear maps, diagrams and illustrations. One item to delight the Rutland reader is the footnote on page 1 which refers to an article in our journal *Rutland Record* No.1.

The author deals with Lincolnshire's medieval lords, the peasantry, agriculture, rural crafts, occupations and marketing, the Black Death,

towns, law and disorder and culture. He has a pleasant, readable style and he has consulted a great variety of source material which is carefully noted. He pays attention to the locality but does so in terms of the relevance to national trends, especially regarding agriculture. His geographical analyses which give proper consideration to the relationships between man and the land, suit Lincolnshire very well, and his keenness to display distributions, especially on maps, is very commendable. He shows, also, a realistic appraisal of the economic background.

Although Rutland has only a few references (one is the concentration of robbers around the county boundaries of Rutland, Lincolnshire and Leicestershire near the A1) there is much on Stamford and its area which contributes to a regional picture.

Bryan Waites

The Dictionary of Genealogy: a guide to British ancestry research

By Terrick V.H. Fitzhugh. 2nd impression 1986. 320pp, maps, ills. £14.95. Available from Alphabooks, Sherborne, Dorset DT9 3LN (Tel 0935 814944)

The author is a professional genealogist and

one of the founders of the Association of Genealogists & Record Agents. He founded the *Amateur Historian*, now *The Local Historian*, and was its first editor. He is also a professional ancestry researcher of great experience.

The book has been beautifully produced and has more than fifty useful illustrations, most of which display different kinds of historical record. Part One is a short guide to ancestry research outlining the approach and detailing repositories and major sources. The bulk of the book follows as an alphabetical dictionary.

There is, of course, a great range in the size of entries from several pages on parish registers to one line entries on 'Silly — innocent, simple'. This latter illustrates some entries which are either unnecessary as definitions in this type of book or are rather lamely described. The six-line 'definition' of acre seems virtually useless, at least it might include some examples of a numerical value even though there are variations in this.

County entries are useful but for Rutland, the County Museum should be mentioned as a record repository and though it is heartening to see the reference to Rutland Record Society publications 'Muster' has been misspelled. The

entry on Maps could have been much strengthened by reference to Dr J.B. Harley's outstanding publications. That on Guide Books needs specific examples and how they can be of use.

Though the National Army Museum is mentioned I can find no mention of the important record repositories of the Imperial War Museum and Greenwich nor is the Institute of Agricultural History and its comprehensive collections listed. However, it would be unjust to find too many faults with such a worthy and difficult endeavour. No doubt the author will note comments made by critics and amend the book in future editions.

Sections which are particularly useful relate to the Army, Emigration (passenger lists and related records), General Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Parish Registers and Secretary Hand. The illustrations are very useful indeed and give a good cross-section of documents which the genealogist has to consult. Everyone must welcome such a handy guide to a complex variety of sources which undoubtedly renders the searchers task easier and more economical.

Bryan Waites

Rutland Bibliography

CHRISTINE HILL

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

ACCOUNTROLLS OF THE OBEDIENTIARIES OF PETERBOROUGH — edited by Joan Greatrex. Northamptonshire Record Society on behalf of the Dean and Chapter: £9.00, 1984. This transcription of the remaining account rolls are an important source of the history of the Benedictine Abbey of Peterborough between the late 14th and the early 16th century.

ATLAS OF LEICESTERSHIRE; compiled by A.J. Strachan. 2nd edition. Community and Employment Research Unit, Dept of Geography, Leicester University: £3.50, 1986. An Atlas designed to meet the needs of those who wish to understand more about Leicestershire and its towns. Black and white maps and diagrams are presented under a wide variety of topics including 'Historical setting', 'Nature Reserves and Water Resources' and 'County Towns'.

BUCHANAN, John — An Oakham Overture to Poetry; Sycamore Press Ltd: £4.80, 1985. A combination of anthology and textbook of poetry compiled by John Buchanan, Headmaster of Oakham School, 1958-1977.

THE CONANT MSS; Field names and Family names of Rutland. Rutland Record Society: £3.00, 1985. An index to 1. Field names and 2. Family names, referred to in the Conant manuscripts from Lyndon Hall and Hambleton Old Hall. Most of these manuscripts are now deposited in the Leicestershire Record Office.

CROWTHER, Peter — The Rutland Dinosaur, *Cetiosaurus*: the tale of a reluctant hero; Leicestershire Museums Art Galleries and Records Service: £0.40, 1985. The Rutland Dinosaur was discovered at Great Casterton in 1968 and after many years of reconstruction was finally put on show in 1985 at the New Walk Museum and Art Gallery, Leicester.

DICTIONARY OF EDWARDIAN BIOGRAPHIES: LEICESTERSHIRE & RUTLAND; Peter Bell, Edinburgh, 1985. A reprint of *Contemporary Biographies*, ed. W.T. Price, 1902, with many references to Rutland personalities.

GREAT BRITAIN COMMONWEALTH WAR GRAVES COMMISSION: The War Dead of the Commonwealth. The register of the names of those who fell in the 1939-1945 War and are buried in the Cemeteries and Churchyards in Leicestershire and Rutland Commonwealth

War Graves Commission: £3.00, 1981. Recently added to the stock of Oakham Library.

MAPS OF RUTLAND; compiled by M. Goldmark and A.R. Traylen ('In Rutland' series Vol 9). Rutland Local History Society and the Spiegl Press: £5.75, 1985. An introduction to the printed maps of Rutland from 1579 to 1845 with illustrations of most of them and brief notes as to their dates and other points of interest.

JONES, Gwenith — Quarter sessions records in the Leicestershire Record Office; Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and Record Service: £2.75, 1985. This book is intended as a guide to the Quarter Sessions records and the summary lists it contains are not intended to replace the more detailed lists and indexes available in the showroom.

LIDDLE, Peter — Community Archaeology, a fieldworkers handbook of organisation and techniques; Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and Records Service: £2.50, 1985. A handbook for the local archaeological Fieldwork or 'Community Archaeology' groups in Leicestershire. These groups are a mix of amateur practitioners backed up by professional advice and expertise.

MILLWARD, Roy — A history of Leicestershire and Rutland. (The Darwen County History series); Phillimore: £8.95, 1985. A general history of the two counties covering over 2,000 years.

OLIVER, Alan — A Sketchbook of English Landscape; Sycamore Press Ltd: £20.00, 1985. The Rutland-based artist has selected over a hundred sketches reflecting his work over the last five years. These sketches include many Leicestershire and Rutland scenes and are accompanied by notes on why a specific occasion or subject was chosen.

PALMER, Roy — The Folklore of Leicestershire and Rutland; Sycamore Press Ltd: £12.00, 1985. A comprehensive survey drawing on printed sources, unpublished manuscripts, oral tradition and personal knowledge. The first major work, in its field, on the two counties since 1895.

THEROYCE MSS. — An index to the Document cases referring to the County of Rutland; Rutland Record Society: £3.00, 1985. An index, arranged by place and year, to the surviving

records of Royce and Company, the former Rutland firm of estate agents, auctioneers and valuers. These records are now in the possession of the Rutland Record Society.

RUTLAND RAILWAY MUSEUM — Stock Book 1st Edition — 1984; Rutland Railway Museum: £0.80, 1984. The aim of this booklet is to describe the Museum's Collection at Cottesmore and to explain its historical significance within the context of railway preservation.

RUTLAND SINFONIA — The first ten seasons, 1976-1985; Rutland Sinfonia: £1.00, 1985. A pamphlet which records in words and photographs the formation and progress of the Rutland Symphony Orchestra.

WAITES, Bryan — Rutland Alphabet: a guide to Rutland's landscapes and villagescapes; Spiegl Press: £2.75, 1985. An A-Z guide to Rutland places, people and topics. This book is based on a series of articles which first appeared in the Melton and Rutland Journal.

WAITES, Bryan — Rutland Trails; The Author: £0.90, 1986. A guide to the exploration of the countryside, towns and villages of Rutland by car, cycle or by foot.

JOURNALS

THE BIRDS OF LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND. Report for 1984. The annual report of the Leicestershire and Rutland Ornithological Society.

THE BIRDS OF RUTLAND WATER 1984 — compiled by Tim Appleton. The annual report published by the Leicestershire and Rutland Trust for Nature Conservation.

BULLETIN OF LOCAL HISTORY: East Midland Region, Vol. XX, 1985. Published by the Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham.

THE LEICESTERSHIRE HISTORIAN, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1984-85. Published by the Leicester Local History Council.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST AND PRESENT: The journal of the Northamptonshire Record Society, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1985-86.

RUTLAND RECORD: Journal of the Rutland Record Society, No. 6, 1986.

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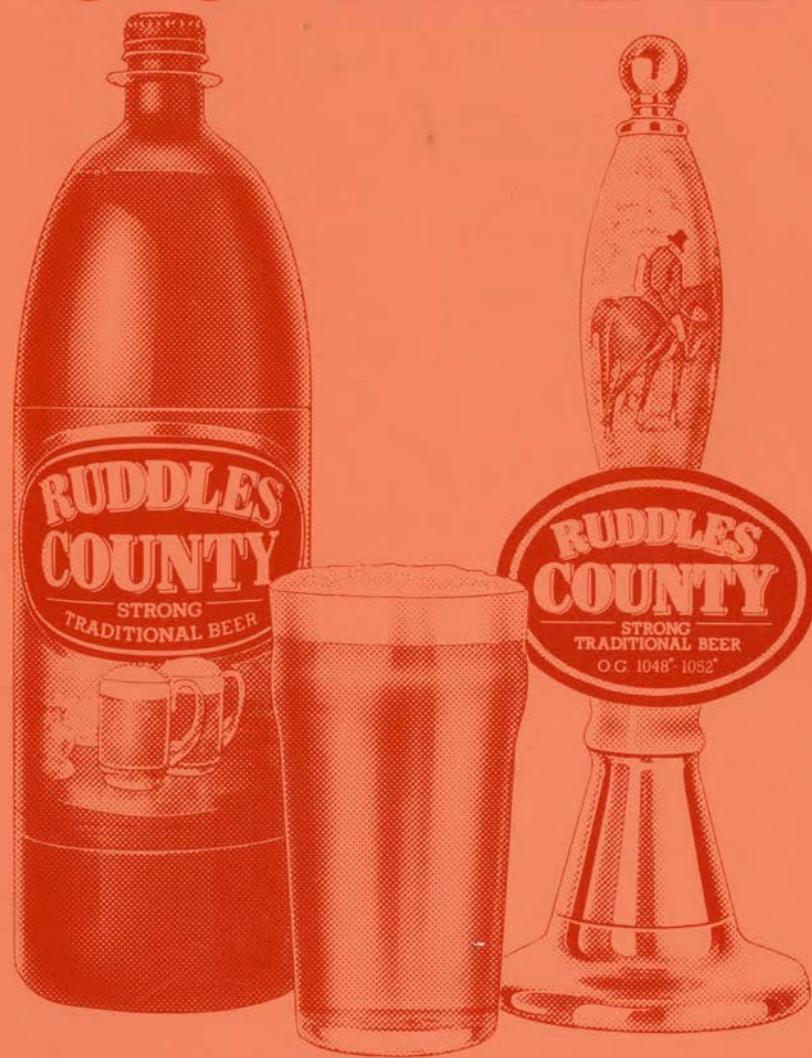
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