

# Rutland Record

No. 9 1989

Journal of the Rutland Record Society



Nielding

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# *The Rutland Record Society*

The Rutland Record Society was formed in May 1979.

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

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Editor: Bryan Waites

Contributions and editorial correspondence should be sent to the Editor at 6 Chater Road, Oakham, Rutland LE15 6RY.

Correspondence about other matters should be addressed to the Secretary, 3 Chestnut Close, Uppingham, Rutland LE15 9TQ.

An information sheet for contributors is available.

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**COVER ILLUSTRATION:** the front cover shows a drawing of Essendine church from the south by Nathan Fielding, probably 1793. Original size 150 × 198 mm. *Fine Art Department, Leicestershire Museums.*

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# Editorial

## The Image of Rutland

BRYAN WAITES

There is a magic in the name of Rutland which makes it seem more of a kingdom than a county. Its smallness has contributed to its distinctiveness for as Blake recognised:

‘Nature and Art in this together suit  
What is most grand is always most minute’.

Long ago the image began to be created. Did it begin with Speed’s map of 1611 closely followed by Michael Drayton’s great topographical poem *Polyolbion* which eulogises the area? In 1662 Fuller spoke highly of Rutland and urged the inhabitants to ‘thank God who hath cast their lot in so pleasant a place’. Diarists and travellers added to the praise. More recently Hoskins has claimed that ‘Rutland is both very small and very good.’ He added ‘One would like to think that one day soon at each entrance to this little county, beside a glancing willow-fringed stream, there will stand a notice saying ‘Human Conservancy: Abandon Rat-Race at this Point’.

Col. Thomas Haywood has written that ‘Rutland has symbolized the small man’s right to freedom and independence’ and this was echoed by Bryan Matthews:

“There was something special about living in Rutland. It was comforting to know that any inadvertent bureaucratic nonsense could be unscrambled without delay or friction by a phone call to Catmose. There was a camaraderie in an FP number plate . . .”

‘Little Rutland’ was believed to have a special identity. After 1974 this resulted in keeping the county signs; trying to retain the postal identity, putting Rutland in the titles of businesses and organisations and in Rutland Water. In the efforts to survive as a county in 1948, 1962 and 1974 Rutland needed to develop an image.

Perception is very important – but we all see Rutland in different ways: is there a native view as opposed to a commuters’ view? Is there an internal as well as an external view? Is there an official view? Is there an R.A.F. view? Is there a public schools’ view? Image and propaganda are closely allied but both are purveyed by graphics, numerics, semantics and technographics or staged happenings. An instance of the latter is the identification of Rutland with Rutland Water and the exaggerated claims of the latter to be the largest in Europe. But surely it is enigmatic that we claim to be both the greatest and the smallest at the same time?

Rutland Water has been an image-maker and it has spread the name of Rutland even farther afield. Yet it is salutary to remember that on one Bank Holiday Rutland Water can attract half as many people as the total population of the District. But is Rutland all it seems? How far is the image appearance and not reality? Does the veneer of beauty conceal rural poverty, deprivation, immobility and some isolation? Could Rutland become a rural fossil? How far do we see Rutland as part of the future and how far do we see the need to conserve the past? History has fashioned the present image but how shall we construct the image for the 21st century? What role has the Rutland Record Society in creating the image of the future Rutland?

## Contributors

**Alison Marsland** was a student at Nene College, Northampton, when she researched the historic hedges of Rutland. Now she is living in her home town of Nottingham and works for CCN Systems Ltd.

**T. H. McK. Clough** has been Keeper of Rutland County Museum since 1974. He is the author of *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 26: Museums in East Anglia*, British Academy 1980, and numerous archaeological papers. He is a Council and Editorial Committee member of the Rutland Record Society.

**Barrie J. Cook** is Assistant Keeper, Department of Coins & Medals, British Museum and Curator of the late medieval and early modern coinages of Gt. Britain and Europe. Editor of the *British Numismatic Journal*. Contributor to exhibitions and catalogues such as *The Age of Chivalry* at the Royal Academy, plus numerous other exhibitions.

**Nigel Aston** is an Open University Tutor, a WEA lecturer and a teacher/examiner in A level History. He is writing a new guide to Burley church for the Redundant Churches commission and his *The French Bishops and Revolutionary Politics, 1786-1790* is to be published by OUP in 1989.

**Geoffrey K. Brandwood** gained his Ph.D at Leicester University in 1984 with a thesis on church building and restoration in Leicestershire & Rutland. He contributed to the recent revision of Nicholas Pevsner’s *Buildings of England: Leicestershire & Rutland*. He has just completed work on Rutland and other Midland counties for a forthcoming book in the *Blue Guide* series on English churches and chapels.

**Bernard Elliott** is a retired schoolmaster who was Head of History at three Leicestershire schools. He has contributed to the

*Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological & Historical Society*, the *Leicestershire Historian* and many other journals. From 1974 to 1984 he was President of the Vaughan Historical Society.

**Audrey Buxton** is a member of the Society and also of the Society of Genealogists. She lives in Greetham and for many years has been a contributor to the *Rutland Times*.

**P. R. Mounfield** was Visiting Senior Fulbright Fellow & Associate Professor in the Department of Geography & Regional Planning, Cincinnati, USA, prior to his present appointment as Senior Lecturer in Geography, University of Leicester. He is a frequent contributor to the *East Midland Geographer* and other journals, especially on the footwear industry.

**D. Turnock** is Reader in Geography, University of Leicester. His teaching and research interests focus on the geography of the British Isles, especially the historical geography of the 19th century, and regional development in the post-war period.

**Mary Southwell** lives in Victoria, Australia. In the space of only two years and for the most part at a distance of 10,000 miles, she has shown what can be done to uncover family history successfully and in detail.

**Heather Broughton** is Keeper of Archives, Leicestershire Record Office and Council Member, Rutland Record Society.

**Gwenith Jones** is Acting Keeper of Archives, Leicestershire Record Office.

**Christine Hill** is Senior Librarian, Oakham Library and Council Member, Rutland Record Society.

# Historic Hedgerows in Rutland

## The Character and Ecology of the Woodland Relic Hedgerow

ALISON MARSLAND

Hooper (1970) has shown that the age and mode of origin of a hedge influence the composition and diversity of the hedge flora. The number of species in a 30yd (c. 27m) length is strongly correlated with the age of the hedge, dated using documentary evidence. Data from studies of hedges in several counties was used to devise an equation which represented the way in which the number of species in a 30yd length varies with the age of the hedge: Age of hedge =  $(110 \times \text{number of species}) + 30$  years.

This equation has subsequently been modified to take into account regional variations. Nevertheless, all equations calculated so far give an approximate measure of one species for every hundred years of the hedge's existence, therefore this can be taken as a 'rule of thumb.'

Naturally, caution must be exercised when applying the technique and it is advisable that at least a dozen hedges should be recorded, preferably datable by documents and with a wide age variation. Even so, the 'Hooper's Hedgerow Hypothesis' as it is termed 'works sufficiently well to provide an extra useful tool in the study of the countryside assuming, as with all sources of evidence, it is treated with caution and not used as an immutable universal law.' (Pollard, Hooper and Moore 1974).<sup>1</sup>

The concept applies primarily to planted hedges that gain species through natural colonisation processes. However, further to Hooper's study, work by Pollard (1973)<sup>2</sup> has revealed several possible modes of origin of hedgerows which are as follows:

- i. Planted as single species hedges.
- ii. Planted as mixed hedges.
- iii. Formed from scrub growth, later managed to form a hedge.
- iv. The result of woodland assarting, relics of old woodland vegetation or planted around woods with species from the woods.

The fourth category especially, has been highlighted from studies of hedges in Huntingdonshire. Some hedges, associated with former woodland, seem to be more species-rich than those planted in open country. In addition, these hedges contain certain species of shrub or herb indicative of woodland origin. By recording one such hedge, a former boundary of Monk's Wood which contained a new realigned section, it was possible to reveal the species dominating in the old and new sections. The new sections were planted hawthorn with rose (*Rosa spp*), blackthorn (*Prunus spinosa*), privet (*Ligustrum vulgare*), ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*) and sycamore (*Acer pseudoplatanus*), whilst the older mixed

sections of the hedge included hazel (*Corylus avellana*), dogwood (*Thelycrania sanguinea*), maple (*Acer campestre*), woodland hawthorn (*Crataegus oxyacanthoides*) and spindle (*Euonymus europaeus*); these species were absent from or poorly represented in the new sections. Woodland herbs recorded were dog's mercury (*Mercurialis perennis*), bluebell (*Endymion non-scriptus*) and wood anemone (*Anemone nemorosa*); these also showed a striking association with the old sections of the hedge.

A survey of roadside hedges in the area also illustrated similar features; some seemed to fall into the category of 'woodland relics.' Others could be associated with former woodland now cleared, were close to existing woodland and were clearly once part of it or had no known association with woodland but were clearly of the same type. The remainder had a similar range of shrub species but there was a general absence of woodland herbs. There seem to be two possible explanations of this phenomenon:

- i. They may have been planted with shrubs collected from the woods when much more woodland was present i.e. mixed, woodland origin hedges, or
- ii. They may have been planted as single species hedges, again when woodland was relatively abundant thus, allowing more rapid colonisation and enrichment than would be possible today.

More detailed analysis of the woodland relic hedges reveals several features that are different from planted hedges. Hazel, spindle, field maple and dogwood occur much more frequently in this type of hedge than in planted hedges and there is usually abundant presence of woodland herbs in the ground flora, dog's mercury being by far the most frequent. The main colonisers of planted hedges in general tend to be elder (*Sambucus nigra*), rose (*Rosa spp*), ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*) and blackthorn (*Prunus spinosa*) with elm (*Ulmus spp*) and oak (*Quercus spp*) which are, to some extent, planted, and privet (*Ligustrum vulgare*) the only other species present in any numbers. Hedges with hazel present (generally a very good indicator species) are nearly all mixed and species-rich; maple and dogwood are common together with other species such as guelder rose (*Viburnum opulus*), spindle (*Euonymus europaeus*) and wayfaring tree (*Viburnum lantana*) which are more often recorded in hazel hedges than planted hawthorn dominant hedges. The frequencies of all these species are low in species-poor hedges but rapidly increase in richer hedges.

According to Pollard therefore, there exists a distinct category of hedges which are characterized

by having a variety of shrub species including hazel, spindle, dogwood, field maple or oak and having dog's mercury, wood anemone, bluebell or other woodland herbs in the ground flora. These are relics of ancient woodland and, if documentary evidence is available, this hypothesis may be confirmed. However, because of the poor colonising and dispersal ability of some of the species, it is highly likely that a hedge which possesses characteristic shrubs and ground flora is associated with former woodland. It is also quite possible that a hedge with no woodland herbs may also be a surviving remnant of woodland now cleared; the 'absences' perhaps being attributable to a combination of physical factors. The affinities of the various woodland species to hedges are greatly influenced in different parts of the country by differing edaphic and climatic conditions; this concept will be investigated further later.

It is a common misconception that the typical lowland 'Planned Landscape' of post-1700 enclosure, of which Rutland predominantly forms a part, is monotonous and largely uninteresting in terms of its historical ecology. Many counties often contain medieval woods, Anglo-Saxon hedges and ancient trees that were not removed by enclosure commissioners. In contrast to the characteristic hawthorn-dominated hedges of this relatively modern agricultural landscape, other hedges may occur that are floristically richer, some of which are fragments of old woodland. Therefore, these features represent natural 'relics' of an ancient landscape amidst the mosaic of regular fields and straight roads. The 'woodland relic' hedge, as it is termed, has been the object of investigation by several workers, notably Pollard (1973) and is especially interesting in terms of its contribution to our understanding of the landscape history of an area and the way in which particular floral assemblages in hedgerows vary according to their mode of origin.

Woodland relic hedges are usually surviving fragments of ancient, possibly primary, woodland and have had woody cover of some type since before the first clearance of woods in Neolithic Times. As hedges, therefore, they are generally old, much older than most planted enclosure hedges. The relationship between young planted hedges and age is due largely to simple colonisation by a fairly limited range of woody species depending on seed supply, the particular species' ability to establish and its persistence in the hedge. Even though the composition of early hedges is dependent to a large extent upon what they started with, they are likely to have several woodland species, as the abundant surrounding woodland would have provided shrubs for planting and, most importantly, a rich seed supply for colonisation. Several woody species have, however, been shown to be poorly represented in younger planted hedges such as those resulting from enclosure, thus illustrating the distinctive differences in the mode of origin of the two types of hedge and their development in relation to subsequent landscape changes in the area.

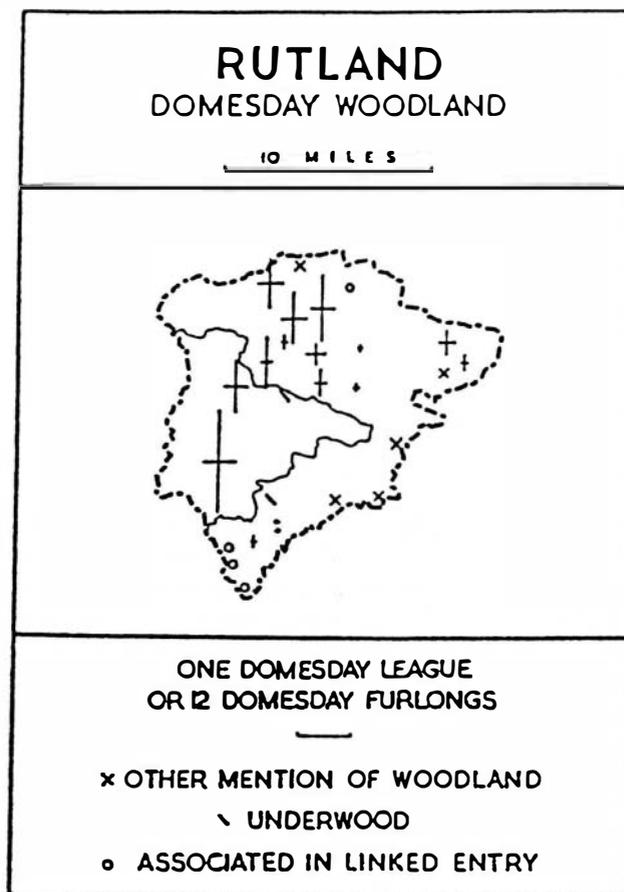


Fig. 1. Rutland: Domesday Woodland (H.C. Darby)

Nine hundred years ago when the Domesday Survey was carried out, Rutland was a well-wooded county, especially on the heavy claylands in the west between Wardley and Langham. Today, however, when so much woodland has vanished there is still an impression of being in a semi-forested area when passing near to Wardley, Belton, Braunston and Knossington. Indeed, the appearance of the landscape has been greatly influenced by its long status as a Royal Forest, a large tract of country belonging to the Crown within which the 'beasts of the chase' (buck, doe, fox, marten and roe) were preserved.

In the legal sense, the forest was an area belonging to the Crown which was subject to Forest Law (Turner, 1901). Although usually well-wooded, it also contained open spaces such as waste, moor and glades known as 'lawns' or 'launds' such as one which gave its name to Launde in Leicestershire. Wooded and thinly populated areas were usually chosen because of their suitability for providing cover for the beasts. Therefore in many ways, Rutland was an ideal county for the creation of a Royal Forest since, at the time of the Conquest, it was largely wild, uncultivated and sparsely settled, with large amounts of woodland.

The forty years since World War II have been years of unparalleled destruction of many landscape features. The grubbing up and removal of hedgerows, for example, is a familiar consequence of the

tremendous increase in modern arable 'prairie' farming, mechanisation being facilitated by the creation of huge, hedgeless fields. Even though hedgerow removal in Rutland has not been extensive in comparison with other counties, for example Huntingdon, (Pollard 1973), it has nevertheless taken place and is particularly noticeable in the undulating land to the west of the county. By highlighting the presence of rich mixed hedges and especially their associated species assemblages, their value as a tool in tracing an area's landscape history may be assessed and their importance as refuges for certain poorly colonising relict plant species emphasised.

Through investigation of sample hedgerows in an area of western Rutland in conjunction with utilization of available documentary evidence, it is my intention to attempt to reconstruct the extent of the ancient Forest of Rutland, later reduced to Leighfield Forest. Some hedgerows which may be relics of former woodland now cleared may represent the woodlands from which they originated via the particular woody shrub and herb assemblages contained within them.

## Methods

In order to understand the pattern of occurrence of the variable species assemblages encountered in the sample hedgerows and their possible relationships to former woodland in the area, the method employed in this research project is essentially two-fold. Utilization of present-day field evidence via the recording of woody species and woodland herbs and the interpretation of information contained within various sorts of historical records may contribute to the reconstruction of the former extent of Leighfield Forest. Equally, investigation into the past dynamics of woodland may help to present better explanations for the occurrence of the hedgerow and woodland plant communities that can still be seen today.

Several historical sources were used to obtain information relating to the landscape history of the study area. The most important sources used are listed in the reference section under note 3.

## Field Methods for Hedgerow and Woodland Analysis

### (i) Hedgerow

65 hedges were recorded using the method outlined by Pollard (1973) in his survey of Huntingdon roadside hedges. All shrub species (and hedgerow trees) were recorded in a 30 yard (c.27m) sample length in each hedge. In addition, random sampling was employed according to the methods of Willmot (1980) by starting each sample at a distance of 'x + 5' paces from one end of the hedge, where 'x' was the next two-figure number in a table of random numbers.

All woody species were recorded following the guidelines of Pollard, Hooper and Moore (1974); brambles and climbers such as ivy were excluded but rose (*Rosa spp*) was included, as it has woody



Fig. 2. Sampled Hedgerows and Woodland near Braunston.

development, as one species. However, species of *Crataegus* and *Salix* were recorded where Pollard, Hooper and Moore recorded only genera. As all oaks were pedunculate (*Quercus robur*) these were taken as one species, except the turkey oak (*Q. cerris*) which was included separately.

For the woodland herbs, dog's mercury (*Mercurialis perennis*) alone was recorded either present or absent. This was an inevitable consequence of the late time of year that the recording was done: none of the other possible woodland herbs, if any, were predominant such as bluebell (*Endymion non-scriptus*), wood anemone (*Anemone nemorosa*) or yellow archangel (*Galeobdolon luteum*). All data recorded were subsequently tabulated and statistically analysed.

### (ii) Woodland

In order to gain a general overview of the kinds of species present in each surviving ancient wood the tree and shrub flora was recorded using a standard transect method. A base line was orientated across

the wood which extended to the maximum length of wood in the particular direction. The sample transects ran at right angles to the base line, being placed at regular intervals of 20 metres along the base line to the edge of the wood. All trees and woody species were recorded at 10 metre intervals along the transect line. Brambles and climbers were excluded as before. Data were summarized and tabulated to be later statistically analysed, for example, as shown in Tables I and II.

Table I

Occurrence of hazel, field maple and dog's mercury in hedge samples.

		Hazel		
		Present	Absent	
Dog's Mercury	present	50	7	57
	absent	7	1	8
		57	8	65

$$X^2 = 2.99 \quad T = 2.71$$

$$\alpha = 0.01$$

		Hazel		
		Present	Absent	
Field Maple	present	51	7	58
	absent	6	1	7
		57	8	65

$$X^2 = 0.19 \quad T = 2.71$$

$$\alpha = 0.01$$

		Field Maple		
		Present	Absent	
Dog's Mercury	present	50	6	56
	absent	8	1	9
		58	7	65

$$X^2 = 0.31 \quad T = 2.71$$

$$\alpha = 0.01$$

Table II

Comparison of percentage frequencies of various species in woodland relic hedges in Shropshire, Warwickshire, Huntingdon and western Rutland (Cameron and Pannett 1980).

	Lowland Shropshire	Upland Shropshire	Warwickshire	Huntingdon	Western Rutland
Ash	17	24	60	48	69
Blackthorn	93	59	54	97	75
Dogwood	5	8	5	45	71
Elder	34	41	71	27	69
Field Maple	49	19	17	64	91
Hazel	83	95	91	58	86
Holly	51	78	43	0	3
Oak	51	59	51	21	26
Privet	0	0	0	0	3
Rose	78	78	63	64	52
Spindle	0	0	0	0	0
Mean no. of species	6.1	6.1	7.3	5.9	8.01

## Results

Documentary and other records provide clear evidence for the existence in former times of quite a large expanse of woodland within the county of Rutland. Maps illustrating both the extent of Domesday woodland (Figure 1) and the position of sampled hedgerows (Figure 2) show their strong association with the known distribution and occurrence of long established woodland. Fifteen of the hedges are close to existing woodland and in general these are the richest hedges; thirty-eight are in the general vicinity of existing or known cleared woodland and twelve have no known association with woodland.

All the hedges were 'mixed' and generally rich in species, varying from five to twelve woody species per thirty yard length. The mean number of woody species for lengths of all the sample hedges was 8.01 and this figure also corresponded with the mode, the largest percentage of samples containing eight woody species per thirty yard length. Of the species present, *Acer campestre*, *Corylus avellana* and *Thelycrania sanguinea* displayed extremely high frequencies and every hedge recorded contained at least one of these species.

Chi-square tests highlight an association between the occurrence of *M. perennis* and one of the 'indicator' woodland species, *Corylus avellana* in these hedgerows. However, the same association was not revealed between the occurrence of *A. campestre* and *C. avellana* or *A. campestre* and *M. perennis* (Table I). This result is found to be different from that revealed in the roadside survey of the Shropshire Flora Project,<sup>4</sup> but the odd nature of the Shropshire hedges and physical factors should be considered. *M. perennis* itself was extremely common, occurring in fifty-seven out of the sixty-five hedges. The remaining eight hedges with *M. perennis* absent showed an otherwise similar composition to the rest.

A generalised species list from the sampled woodland suggests a general similarity in the most frequent species, with *Corylus avellana*, *Fraxinus excelsior*, *Quercus robur* and *Acer campestre* being by far the most widespread. *Quercus robur* was ubiquitous because of its usefulness as a standard tree. There was also selective presence of unusual and 'alien' species, particularly in Allextion Wood, for example *Picea spp*, *Aesculus hippocastanum* and *Quercus cerris*.

## Discussion

Despite the absence of any definite association between the occurrence of the shrub species *Corylus avellana* and *Acer campestre*, their frequent presence together with the frequent occurrence of *Mercurialis perennis* suggests that the majority of the sampled hedges can be regarded as 'woodland relics' according to the terms stated by Pollard (1973). The above species and others such as *Thelycrania sanguinea* and *Malus sylvestris*, although actually such poor colonisers of hedges in the midland and eastern counties generally, are very common in old woodland there (Pollard, Hooper and Moore 1974). This

statement can be borne out to a large extent in the woodland study.

The hedges containing no *M. perennis* in the ground flora were concluded to have originated as single species hedges at a time when there was much more woodland coverage of the area and colonisation by woodland shrubs was relatively easy. Another explanation might be that they may have been planted with shrubs collected from the woods, again when woodland was more abundant. The subsequent reduction in seed sources by clearance of woodland and the poor colonising ability of several woodland species explains their poor representation in younger, species-poor hedges. Indeed, many of the sample hedges are relatively short lengths situated far from woodland seed sources, for example, in the parish of Leighfield which is less wooded today than any other part of the county.

All the sample woods display characteristic features of ancient woodland even though they are no longer completely natural. Applying the Tansley classification of ancient, semi-natural woodland, it can be stated that the majority of woods represent varying examples of ash-hazel-maple woodland (Peterken 1981).<sup>5</sup> Traditional management during the Middle Ages consisted of coppicing ash, hazel and maple with standards of pedunculate oak and ash. Now that the coppices are largely neglected, the canopies are generally dominated by oak and ash. Owston Big Wood and the south-western section of Prior's Coppice which are now preserved as fox coverts have nevertheless retained many of their earlier features; Allextion Wood has obtained an influx of new species, probably as a consequence of the trend from the late seventeenth century towards the planting of exotic species. There are patches of wych elm (*Ulmus glabra*) which form quite a large proportion of the tree community in Prior's Coppice, Launde Big Wood and Owston Big Wood.

The range of species present in the sampled woodlands reflected the classification of ash-hazel-maple woodland. This diversity was also found in the sample hedgerows as almost all the woody species found in the woodlands were present in varying degrees over the study area, apart from a few unusual species which are undoubtedly localised in their distribution, for example *Salix spp* which have a known preference for damper soils, and *Prunus domestica* because of its use as a food plant and its ability to sucker (Willmot 1980).<sup>6</sup> Without detailed knowledge of past management practices, differences in distribution of some of the other species could be explained only speculatively but it would be interesting to investigate specific ecological preferences of the rarer shrubs or the influences of man's activity on their distribution.

It is evident that the study area displays hedge types mainly resulting from enclosure with very occasional assarting of woodland. The western borderlands of Leicestershire have indeed been greatly influenced by enclosure. At Allextion for example, the parish is recorded as being fully enclosed by 1555. Approximately two miles to the

south in Stockerston, enclosure began in the 1570's and had been completed by some date in the seventeenth century. Yet a large woodland formerly covered this corner of Leicestershire of which fragments remain in Allextion Wood, and in Park Wood and Bolt Wood between Horninghold and Stockerston, not to mention Wardley Wood and Stoke Dry Wood on the Rutland side of the Eye Brook (the original structure and vegetation however, has been largely obscured by the planting of conifers in the latter two woods since 1949 and for this reason they were not chosen for study).

Even so, it has been shown that quite a large number of earlier hedges have been included in this landscape of enclosure. These are particularly visible in the area around Cold Overton and Flitteris, in the vicinity of the villages of Brooke and Braunston and especially in the centre of the parish of Leighfield itself. Boundaries around Prior's Coppice indicate that the woodland was certainly much larger during the Middle Ages and this is confirmed by the irregular field shape and the presence of a large wood bank to the east of the wood. It may be true that these fields actually represent remains of woodland assarts. There is also a noticeable lack of ridge and furrow, which also suggests that the area covered by surviving ancient woods was once much larger.

The results of the hedgerow survey show some similarity to those of Pollard (1973) in which sample mixed hedges contained high frequencies of such shrubs as *Corylus avellana*, *Acer campestre* and *Thelycrania sanguinea*. However, in the Rutland study an unusually high number of hedges with the floral composition described previously were recorded from an area known to be greatly affected by enclosure. In fact, no planted hawthorn hedges were covered by the survey, therefore no comparison could be made between these and the so-called 'woodland relic' hedges such as that carried out on sample roadside hedges in Huntingdon. It may be true that the hedges in the study are older than enclosure records suggest or they were all planted as multi-species hedges when the woodland was more abundant, as already explained. It certainly seems as though the sample hedges are not typical of areas with similar enclosure history in the East Midlands.

Affinities of the various woody species and herbs to woodland relic hedges are also greatly influenced by climatic, soil and other factors as well as by the hedges original composition and colonisation by or extinction of species. The geology of Rutland is extremely variable and the irregular distribution of drift deposits creates a great variation of local soil conditions. In the western sector of Rutland there are five main soil categories, the alluvial soils of the rivers Gwash and Chater and the Eye Brook valleys, the Boulder Clay of the central west and south-western sectors, the Jurassic clays which occur almost exclusively in the west of the county, together with Northampton Sand and Marlstone (Messenger 1971).<sup>7</sup> A large proportion of the hedges encountered seemed to be associated with the wide-

spread drift deposits although generally there were no very obvious differences in hedge types associated with different soils. However, taking into account differences in soil and other conditions there is quite a considerable similarity between the sampled hedges and woodland relic hedges in other areas, for example, Huntingdon, Warwickshire and Shropshire (Table II).

Thus, the woodland relic character of these hedges has been retained and the diversity of species persisting in them is high. Differences from observation, between mixed, species-rich hedges and enclosure hedges is especially marked in the study area. The results could probably have been improved by a total study of hedges in a particular parish in order to gain an idea of other hedge types, the types of woody species and herbs present within them and their historical status in relation to the species-rich hedges encountered in the present survey. The study was further limited by the fact that although there is a large range of general documentary sources relating to the study area and its landscape history, specific detailed documents focusing on, for example, individual woods and field boundaries, are relatively scarce, and clearly it is best to utilise a mixture of field evidence and detailed documentation relating to enclosure and past planting policies. It has been seen however, that woodland relic hedges in this area of Rutland can be distinguished with a fair degree of reliability.

In conclusion, this study of hedges in Rutland has illustrated a particular class of hedges that are characteristic in their composition of woody species and woodland herbs with high frequencies of unusual species that are not generally found elsewhere. The presence of such species as *Corylus avellana*, *Acer campestre*, *Thelycrania sanguinea* and *Quercus* with *Mercurialis perennis* in the ground flora is a strong indicator that the hedge is a woodland relic, in this case a remnant of the former woodland that covered a large proportion of the land surface, possibly having its origins in the primaeval wild wood. Evidence from maps, documents, parish topography, field names, boundary characteristics and the general local history of clearance and settlement in the area may help to demonstrate that a particular piece of woodland is ancient. Despite scarcity of documentary sources for this particular area, as many of the sample hedges contain one, if not all, of the above-mentioned species, they must have at some time in the past been either part of, or in close proximity to, an ancient wood. The fact that the sampled woodlands illustrate characteristic features of ancient, semi-natural woodland supports this conclusion. This study has also attempted to emphasise the importance of hedges as refuges for certain poorly colonising plant species (Helliwell 1975)<sup>8</sup> and this point would have been further elaborated if the sampled hedgerows had been compared to hedges of enclosure, for example to the south of the parish of Leighfield. Differences between the two types of hedges would thus be shown to be extremely marked. Notwithstanding the mag-

nitude of subsequent landscape changes, however, remains of Leighfield Forest are still obvious today amidst the extensive enclosed landscape which is so typical of the eastern counties of England.

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Fig 1. Shilling of Charles I, privy mark triangle in circle, of which there were over 1,690 in the Ryhall hoard. Copyright British Museum (actual size).

In February 1987, a notable discovery was made at Ryhall, a village in eastern Rutland just north of Stamford. A quantity of silver coins, which were to prove to be the largest hoard of Civil War date found this century, were recovered from the back garden of a house in the village. In due course the coins were declared Treasure Trove.

## The Discovery

On Saturday 21st February, the Rutland County Museum was informed from Oakham police station that a hoard of coins had been found at Meadowbank, Waterside, Ryhall. On visiting the site, one of the authors (TC) was shown two silver coins, and learned that two bags full of coins had been removed from the site of the discovery.

It transpired that the coins had been found while two workmen, Mr A. Hazell and Mr J. Norman, had been digging a trench in which to plant a hedge along the western side of the garden for the owners, Mr and Mrs J. Player. The garden adjoins a ploughed field and hitherto had only a post and wire fence. Mr Player had started the trench himself, but had been unable to finish it.

By the time the hoard had come to the notice of the police, the hedge had been set and the trench filled in. The site was thus not immediately available for archaeological examination. It was revealed that the coins had been found on the preceding Monday, and at the subsequent coroner's inquest it became clear that they had been removed without the knowledge of the landowners, and that the credit for disclosing the find belonged to Mr Hazell, a student employee.

Under the current English law of Treasure Trove, which many believe is in urgent need of updating, the finder of any gold or silver coin, plate, or bullion has a duty to report that find to the coroner. The site of any such find should be left undisturbed by further work, so that it can be examined by an archaeologist.

The bulk of the coins were taken into the possession of HM Coroner for North Leicestershire, and TC was able to assist in a preliminary examination and

counting of them. It was immediately apparent that there were several thousand coins – a summary list is given below. A few had been washed in water, but the great majority were covered in soil, many of them still adhering closely together. With few exceptions, they were in very good physical condition, and only one or two showed any corrosion or patination. Indeed, a surface wash was all the treatment deemed necessary when the coins were transferred to the British Museum for detailed examination by BJC. The reason for this good state of preservation became clear later. It was therefore easy to see that all the coins were of silver, with the exception of a single gold one, and they were readily identifiable as mostly shillings of Charles I. It was clearly a hoard of Civil War date, and it seemed likely at the time that it had been recovered complete. A search of the ground with the aid of metal detectors by members of the Rutland Field Research Group revealed no further coins, and, rather than disturb the new hedge, no excavation was carried out at the time.

## The Inquest Opens

On 23rd October 1987, the Coroner, Mr A. Tomlinson, opened an inquest on the coins in the historic setting of the 12th century Great Hall of Oakham Castle. Evidence was given concerning the nature of the find, and the circumstances of discovery and recovery of the coins – details which created a stir in court and were keenly noted by the local press who sensed a good story (*Stamford Mercury* and *Rutland Journal*, 30th October 1987). Mr Norman was cautioned by the coroner against giving any answers by which he might incriminate himself. However, further evidence established that the coins had been found in a singular globular mass in the ground at the bottom of the trench, and that there had been traces of a brownish stain around them. When they had been removed, there remained a concave hollow in the ground. There was no container of pottery or any other inorganic material. On the basis of this description, TC surmised that the coins had perhaps been buried in a leather bag. The presence of a small base-metal lump which might be a compacted bag seal lent credence to this hypothesis (later to be proved wrong in detail), and there was undoubtedly a very strong *prima facie* case of Treasure Trove – i.e. that the coins had been deliberately buried for later recovery, and not accidentally lost.

At this point, Counsel for the landowners, Mr and Mrs Player, having in mind the fact that a verdict of Treasure Trove would benefit not them but the finders, sought to establish that they could indeed have been lost. Map in hand, Mr P. Rowsell QC conjured up a vision of hot pursuit, perhaps in misty darkness, across the inundated flood-plain of the River Gwash – where the coins had been found – and



Fig 2. *Findspot of the hoard. Trees in the background mark the course of the R. Gwash.* Copyright Leicestershire Museums.

the unperceived tumbling of a bag of coin (weighing some 40 lb!) from a hard-pressed horse. Then, undisturbed it seemed by man or beast, the lost consignment of savings, payroll or taxes was imperceptibly buried by the quiet silts of the river. This splendid drama, clearly worthy of an episode in a television series such as *By the Sword Divided*, could not be directly refuted, and it seemed to the coroner an argument which in fairness to a somewhat bemused and unbriefed jury required further investigation. Accordingly, the inquest was adjourned for a month. The coins themselves, though present in court, remained frustratingly hidden from view.

When the inquest resumed on 4th December 1987, it was possible to give an assessment of the documentary evidence produced by Mr Rowsell, and to report on the results of an excavation which had been carried out in the meantime by Mr P. Clay of the Leicestershire Archaeological Unit, assisted by TC and members of the Rutland Field Research Group. The new evidence was to prove conclusive.

### **The Topographical Evidence**

The map referred to was the Enclosure Map of 1806 for the parish of Ryhall, compiled with its accompanying Award under the terms of the Enclosure Act for Ryhall and Belmesthorpe of 1800. The map and award are deposited at the Leicestershire Record Office. For comparative purposes, there exists the 1st edition Ordnance Survey 1:2500 (25" to the mile) plan of 1886-88, which is better than a partial estate map, also in LRO, of 1875. No other maps were found, apart from a smaller scale map of the

parish, dating from the early 19th century and based on the enclosure map, which provides no additional information. Although the enclosure map and the OS 1:2500 plan are drawn at different scales, and the enclosure map departs in detail from the accuracy of the OS plan, they can be compared by enlarging the former. An RAF aerial photograph of January 1947 confirms the location of the major field boundaries.

The field in part of which Meadowbank now lies is defined on the enclosure map as 'ancient enclosure'. In other words, it had then already been enclosed for, probably, many years. Examination of the enclosure award, which describes in detail the new enclosure arrangements reveals that at the southern end of this field there was a farm, with a stackyard and farmyard. The field itself, which with the farm belonged to the Marquess of Exeter, was called Water Yard Close, and contained also what appears to be a small paddock. This paddock covers approximately the area of Meadowbank and the southern part of its garden.

There is no significant difference between the course of the River Gwash and the mill-stream as shown in 1806, in 1886-8, and today, apart from the consequences of modern river controls resulting from the construction of Rutland Water. In 1806, the river was controlled by sluices and weirs because of the centuries-old presence of the corn mill. The river meadows, including Water Yard Close, were used for grazing – the OS plan shows a watering place for cattle in the paddock which has now been filled in – and for hay, and will not then have been ploughed.

There is nothing to suggest any topographical changes in the mere 160 years or so between the deposit of the coins and the drawing of the enclosure map. The permanent impact of any periodically severe flooding on this part of the Gwash valley over the past 350 years must have been relatively slight.

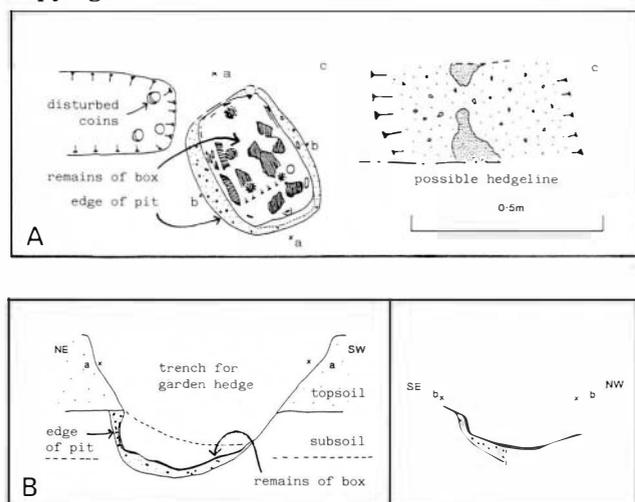
### The Archaeological Evidence

An archaeological excavation was undertaken in the garden of Meadowbank by the Leicestershire Archaeological Unit on 12th-13th November 1987. Its purpose was to locate the exact findspot of the hoard and to define the circumstances of its deposition.

With the permission of Mr and Mrs Player, a length of the new hedge was removed, and its trench was re-excavated. The trench was clearly defined, and varied in depth from about 350-480 mm (14-19 ins). The topsoil was on average some 200 mm (8 ins) deep, and so the trench penetrated the natural subsoil to a varying depth. The subsoil was clearly distinguishable by its colour and texture, and was an undisturbed geological deposit consisting of a very fine homogeneous clay and containing a few small stones.

At a point some 21 m (69 ft) from the house and 47 m (155 ft) from the river at the bottom of the garden, several stray coins were found in the back-fill of the hedge trench. These had obviously been missed when the bulk of the coins had been recovered. This area was therefore excavated with great care. At the bottom of the trench, two adjacent small groups were found. One of these had been disturbed during the digging of the trench, but the other consisted of coins lying *in situ* and undisturbed. Immediately beneath and beside these undisturbed coins were the tangible, but extremely delicate remains of a rectangular wooden box which had been held together by a few iron nails which were still identifiable as such. Altogether, a further 42 coins were recovered.

Fig. 3. *The archaeological excavations: A – Plan showing the pit and the remains of the wooden box which contained the coins; to the right is the disturbance possibly indicating an old hedge-line. B – Sections a-a and b-b across the pit and the box.* Copyright Leicestershire Museums.



The box had measured about 340 × 210 mm (13.5 × 8.25 ins) in plan, and had been a minimum of 80 mm (3.25 ins) high. Its exact original height is uncertain because of compression and distortion of the wood. Enough wood survived for it to be identified as oak, and the boards of which it was made were at least 5 mm (0.2 in) thick – perhaps considerably thicker in view of the weight of the contents. The majority of the coins are so thin (the shillings are on average only about 1.2 mm thick) that, neatly stacked, the entire hoard would have fitted comfortably into a box of this size.

Around the remains of the box, the edge of a pit which had been dug to receive it could be seen. The bottom of this pit was some 380 mm (15 ins) below the present ground surface, and it penetrated the subsoil by about 160 mm (6.25 ins). The box would thus have been buried completely within the subsoil. A small gap between the sides of the pit and the box had become filled with a coarser, gravelly soil. The profile of the pit shows that as the wood of the box had softened and decayed, the weight of the coins and of the earth above had pushed out the sides and pushed down the bottom of the box, so that it sank into a small space which there had been beneath it. Coins which were in contact with the wood had been pressed into it as it softened, so that when they were lifted, a mirror image of their designs could be seen. These coins had been discoloured by the acids in the oak wood, in contrast to the bright condition of the great majority.

Immediately to the north of the pit, there was an area of subsoil which showed signs of ancient disturbance in the form of a quantity of small stones, and a piece of iron slag. It is not known how far this disturbance extended, but its character would be consistent with the suggestion that it represents a long-filled ditch, a tree-hole, or the line of a hedge around the small paddock shown on the enclosure map. However, even allowing for discrepancies, the measurements are not entirely consistent with the latter interpretation, and it is not clear exactly how the hiding place of the coins was known to their owner.

### Historical Conclusion and the Verdict

The documentary and archaeological evidence conclusively demonstrates that the Ryhall hoard was deliberately buried, not in a bag, but in a wooden box. It also shows that the hoard, now completely recovered, was buried in an ancient enclosure, probably within a paddock within that enclosure, and possibly at an identifiable spot along a hedge bottom or at the foot of a tree. They could not have come there by accident. Faced with this evidence, the jury had then little choice but to return the proper verdict of Treasure Trove. Mr Norman and Mr Hazell were named as the finders of the entire hoard, notwithstanding that in fact Leicestershire Museums had later found the additional 42 coins. At last, the coins were revealed for inspection, and featured as a star turn on that evening's local television news.

No evidence has so far been found to suggest the identity of the original owner of the coins. Although the manor of Ryhall was acquired by the Cecil family in 1584, and was in their possession in the 1640's, it is not known at present who occupied Water Yard Close or the adjacent farm. However, Ryhall was the home of Sir Wingfield Bodenham, who himself had a sizeable estate in the parish. He was an ardent royalist, knighted in 1642 and appointed Sheriff of Rutland in 1643. He was taken in arms against Parliament in 1644 at Burghley, which is only some three miles away, fined £1,000 which he refused to pay, and imprisoned in the Tower until 1647. Whilst there, he indulged in antiquarian research which eventually proved invaluable to his friend James Wright, whose history of Rutland was published in 1684. A man like Bodenham could have been in the position of having access to the mint, and therefore to fresh coin of the kind that this hoard represents. The coins may have belonged to someone like him, or to a neighbour of like sympathies, who buried them for safe-keeping and never had an opportunity of recovering them. As such, the nature of the hoard is consistent with many other discoveries of hidden coins dating from the Civil War, for hoards of this period, c.1640-60, are amongst those most commonly found in modern times.

### The Numismatic Evidence

The Ryhall hoard is the only find of the period so far recorded from the historic county of Rutland. A number of finds are known from the other east Midlands counties, and altogether over two hundred reasonably attested examples of Civil War hoards have been recorded. Many more must have come to light without reaching academic attention. There is no great problem in accounting for such quantities of hoard material: the disturbed conditions of the time readily provide the motive for an increased burying of treasure and savings, and certainly explain their owners' failure to recover them. One presumes that unrecovered hoards must always represent only a small proportion of those actually deposited, but in disturbed times like the mid-17th century this proportion must have risen very considerably.

Being so common, new Civil War hoards do not often provide major new evidence for contemporary monetary conditions, but they can still give useful information, especially if they are of considerable size. The Ryhall hoard definitely has something to contribute to numismatic studies. Its size alone makes it worthy of note. Hoards of several hundred coins are not unusual, but in sheer numbers of coins the Ryhall find, consisting of 3,263 pieces, is the largest of the period recorded so far this century, and

Fig 4. *Part of the Ryhall hoard.* Copyright British Museum.



one of the largest of its type known to numismatists. The face value of the hoard at the time of its deposit was £160.1s.0d., a sizeable sum considering that ninepence to a shilling a day was a good wage for a labourer, a halfcrown was a day's pay for a cavalryman, and a decent horse might cost £10.

All the coins in the hoard are of silver, except for a solitary gold crown of James I, worth 5s.0d. when issued but revalued at 5s.6d. under Charles I. Of the silver coins, only one is a contemporary counterfeit – a small number for a hoard of this scale – and the others are all sterling silver, i.e. 92.5% fine metal, and are official products of the Royal Mint at the Tower of London. The counterfeit is purporting to be a shilling of Charles I, privy mark tun (1636-8). Most Civil War hoards contain few or no gold coins and are largely or wholly of silver, the source of the metal being the supplies of bullion passing from the New World to Spain. In the 1630s and 1640s, an arrangement between England and Spain for the transport of Spanish silver to the Netherlands provided for the passage of a proportion of this silver through the English mint.

The coins represented in the Ryhall hoard range across nearly a century of issues. The earliest coins are of Edward VI's third coinage (1550-3) and the latest are those of Charles I with the triangle in circle privy mark, in use at the mint in the years 1641-3. There are no coins from the Royalist provincial mints, whose output was always small.

#### SUMMARY LIST OF THE RYHALL HOARD

- Gold** 1 crown of James I (1603-25)
- Silver** 4 sixpences and 3 shillings of Edward VI (1547-53)  
2 sixpences and 7 shillings of Mary (1553-8)  
581 sixpences and 123 shillings of Elizabeth I (1558-1603)  
69 sixpences, 103 shillings and 1 halfcrown of James I (1603-25)  
119 sixpences, 2,036 shillings and 213 halfcrowns of Charles I (1625-49)  
1 counterfeit shilling of Charles I

The coins include no great rarities, and in general conform to what is known of mid-17th century currency from many hoards and other sources. It was natural to hoard the largest available denominations and so, like so many hoards of its type, the Ryhall find contains no coin smaller than the sixpence. Smaller silver denominations then in circulation included groats (4d), threepences, halfgroats (2d), pennies and halfpennies. It may be mentioned in passing, in this Rutland context, that a licence to issue copper farthing tokens was granted by James I to Lord Harington of Ridlington in 1613, but these are not found in silver hoards.

A few coins of Edward VI and Mary survive in the hoard from the years when fine standards were being restored to the coinage after Henry VIII's Great Debasement of 1543-7. All the debased coin

was demonetised by Elizabeth I in 1560-1 and, not surprisingly, no debased coins are to be found here. Tudor silver, in particular the huge issues of sixpences under Elizabeth I, continued to circulate in large quantities until the very end of the 17th century, when all the old hand-manufactured (hammered) coin was replaced by new machine-made (milled) currency. The proportion of Elizabethan silver in the Ryhall hoard is therefore by no means extraordinary. The condition of the 16th century issues reflects its length of circulation, as most examples in the hoard are visibly worn, and a number have been clipped.

The coins of the 16th and 17th centuries are differentiated within reigns by their privy marks. These are small symbols which at the time defined the issue in the eyes of the mint and government, and now indicate to us the dates between which the coins were issued, as at this time only the sixpences were dated, and even this was stopped after 1630. Normally, though not necessarily, the privy mark would be changed annually. The mark was usually a small, easily recognisable image such as a rose, thistle, lion, circle, cross or fleur de lis.

The evidence of the privy marks tells us when the Ryhall hoard was deposited. The most recent coins in the hoard are those of Charles I with the privy mark triangle in circle. This was put on coins issued in the years 1641-3, an unusually long period compared to the other privy marks of the reign. In fact, well over half the coins in the hoard are of this mark. Thus it is very likely that the hoard was deposited around 1642-3. The fact that it includes no coins from the royal provincial mints, most of which opened in around 1642, would reinforce this conclusion.

Hoards ending in the triangle in circle period are not uncommon. This was a time of great crisis, as it was on 10th January 1642 that the king left London to parliamentary control, before raising his standard at Nottingham on 22nd August. Thus the Tower mint was issuing coin with the triangle in circle mark under both king and parliament, and there is no way of telling under which authority particular coins were produced. Presumably these disturbed political conditions account for the failure to change the privy mark, and it seems that the outbreak of hostilities precipitated a wave of hoarding, the scale of which may even have been large enough to distort the composition of the currency.

The Ryhall hoard as so far described confirms rather than expands current knowledge of Civil War hoards and the monetary conditions of the time. Its unusual interest lies in the nature of the many triangle in circle coins, in particular the shillings, which it contains. Coins at this time were still handmade. Blank discs of metal were stamped between two steel dies to imprint both sides of the coin simultaneously. The dies themselves were handmade, and so no two of them were ever exactly alike: the positioning of small details would always have been slightly different. It is therefore possible to tell apart coins which were struck from different dies, or

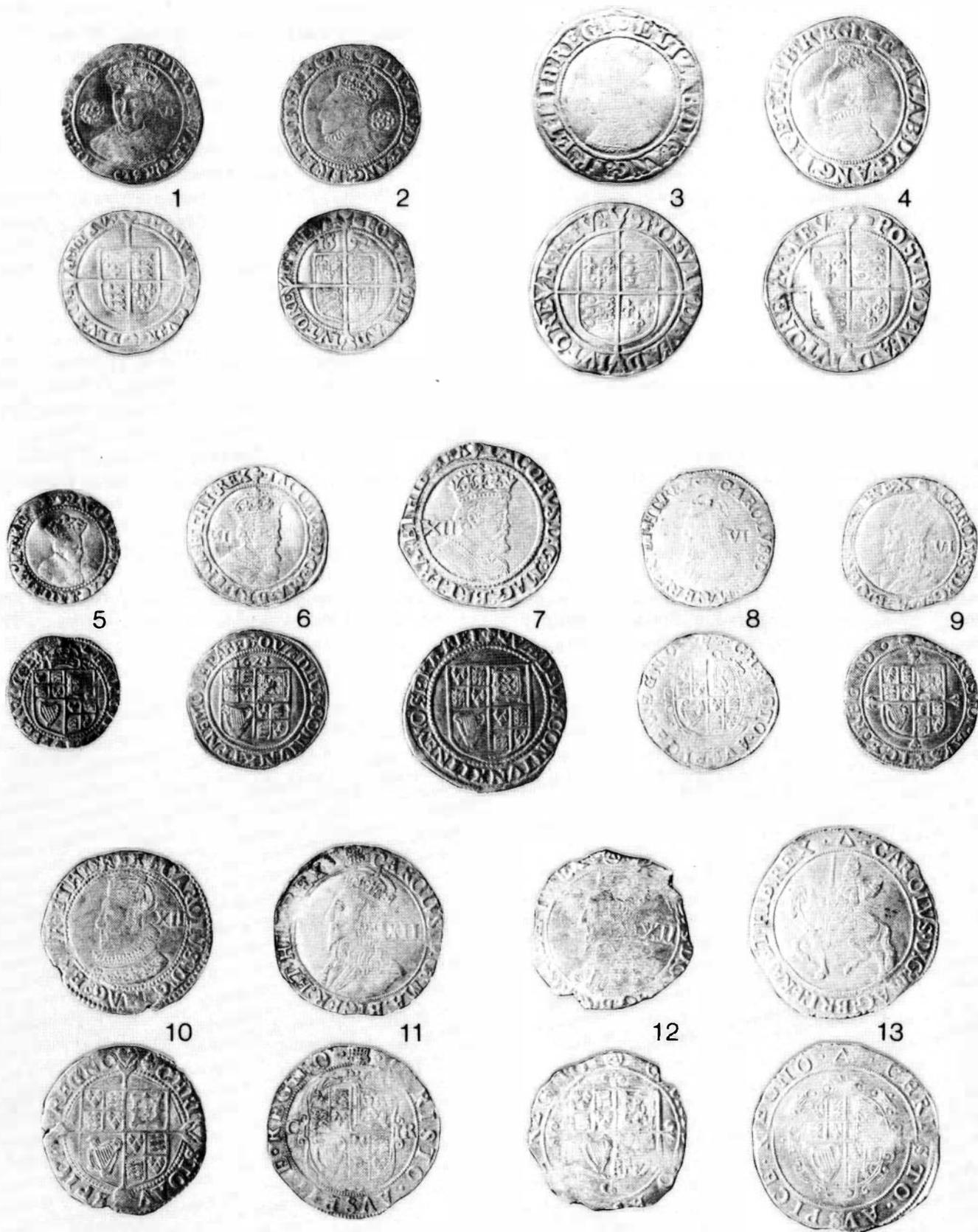


Fig 5. Selected coins from the Ryhall hoard (actual size):

1. Edward VI sixpence, 1550-3
2. Elizabeth I sixpence, privy mark tun (barrel), 1592 (dated)
3. Elizabeth I shilling, pm crescent, 1587-89/90
4. another, pm tun, 1591-4
5. James I gold crown, pm coronet, 1607-9
6. James I sixpence, pm fleur de lis, 1624 (dated)
7. James I shilling, pm fleur de lis, 1623-4
8. Charles I sixpence, pm crown, 1635-6
9. another, pm tun, 1636-8
10. Charles I shilling, pm fleur de lis, 1625
11. another, pm portcullis, 1633-4
12. another, pm triangle in circle, 1641-3
13. Charles I halfcrown, pm triangle, 1639-40

Copyright British Museum.

to identify coins struck from the same dies. With a huge issue like the triangle in circle coinage, it would be very difficult to accumulate, deliberately or accidentally, material from the same dies. Yet in the Ryhall hoard there are over 1,690 triangle in circle shillings, and of these at least 1,414 were produced from just three obverse dies (the obverse being the portrait side of the coin).

The hoard contains between 300 and 600 coins struck by each of these three obverse dies. One of them is paired with two reverse dies, responsible for 365 coins with one and 211 with the other. Of the other two obverse dies, one is paired with a single reverse die for 350 coins and the other with one reverse die for 481 coins.

After being struck, new coin would be stored and then distributed from the mint in exchange for bullion or old coin, at which point the output of different dies would mix irretrievably in circulation. Clearly, therefore, a large segment of the Ryhall hoard had seen no circulation at all. It had been acquired from the mint and added to an accumulation of coinage from existing circulation, at which point it was buried for safety by its owner, never to be recovered until today. Evidence from this huge concentration of coins from so few dies may be useful in research into the minting techniques of the time.

The appearance of these triangles in circle coins is noteworthy. Mint-fresh though they are, they give the appearance of being clipped or damaged, so mis-shapen and irregular are they, and with the design often so weakly struck. They look inferior to the much more finely struck and carefully manufactured coinage of Elizabeth I and James I, or even the earlier issues of Charles I. Presumably with the onset of civil war, pressure on the mint to increase its output, as government and people accumulated cash for the uncertain times ahead, accounts for this decline in manufacturing technique. One can almost visualise the harassed moneyers gradually relinquishing standards of finish, reduced to cutting the blank flans roughly with shears as can be seen on some of the halfcrowns, and sweating over the striking of the dies, while at the same time maintaining the accuracy of the weight of the coins and the fineness of the silver at traditional standards.

As we have seen, the Ryhall hoard has been declared Treasure Trove, that is, material substantially of gold or silver, buried with the intention of recovery by someone whose identity and heirs are now unknown. Treasure Trove is Crown property, but the custom has arisen, so as to encourage the prompt and full declaration of finds of historic interest, of rewarding the finder or finders appropriately. National or local museums may acquire what material they wish if they pay the assessed reward. Items not wanted for these public collections are often returned to the finder to dispose of as he wishes. It is likely that the British Museum and the Rutland County Museum may each acquire at least some portion of the Ryhall hoard, but at the time of writing the relevant decisions have not been made and the detailed disposition of the coins is not yet

known. A full record of its contents will be retained and eventually published in detail in the numismatic literature.

In the meantime, this account of the hoard and its discovery will serve to commemorate those uncertain, furtive moments nearly 350 years ago when some person unknown deposited much of his worldly wealth in the safekeeping of Mother Earth.

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#### Acknowledgements

The authors are grateful for the generous cooperation of Mr and Mrs Justin Player in permitting the excavation to take place; Mr Patrick Clay for his direction of the excavation, and members of the Rutland Field Research Group for their voluntary assistance; Mr Graham Morgan, of the Department of Archaeology, University of Leicester, for identifying the wooden remains; Mr K. A. Howes, conservator of coins at the British Museum, for cleaning the coins; and the Leicestershire Record Office for making available the maps of Ryhall in their collections.

**Postscript:** Leicestershire Museums acquired 89 coins from the hoard in October 1988.

## THE RUTLAND BOOKSHOP UPPINGHAM

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'... few places', wrote Humphrey Repton, 'can vie with Burley in magnificence, both natural and artificial'. Two hundred years ago it was the centre of political and social life in Rutland, its prominence in the surrounding countryside a reflection of the importance of its owner, the 9th Earl of Winchilsea. It was he who, in 1795, commissioned Repton, the outstanding late eighteenth-century garden designer, to remodel the Burley landscape. Repton went on, two years later, to work for Sir Gilbert Heathcote, 4th baronet, at Normanton Park. That design is now almost entirely submerged under Rutland Water, but at Burley the landscape around the great house, though much altered, remains essentially as he refashioned it for Lord Winchilsea. As such it is one of the most outstanding examples of his mature style anywhere in the country.<sup>1</sup>

By 1795 Repton had built up a successful practice as one of the foremost landscape gardeners of his day having, since the late 1780s, designed approximately fifty parks from Cornwall to Yorkshire.<sup>2</sup> Most of his clients had been solid gentry families so Burley, owned by an Earl and the Lord Lieutenant of a county represented one of his most important commissions to date. Repton's appeal lay in his pragmatic approach to design, and with his willingness to use devices like parterres, trellises, and flowerbeds, he steered a middle course between the stale, uninspired landscape gardens of the later followers of Lancelot 'Capability' Brown and the more extreme exponents of the Picturesque school led by Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price.<sup>3</sup> The latter wanted English gardens to conform to aesthetic principles founded on an admiration for the melancholy, rugged landscapes of Claude, Poussin, and Salvator Rosa.<sup>4</sup> Repton too had a general respect for the picturesque aesthetic of the late eighteenth century<sup>5</sup> but was less interested in creating 'scenes of horror, well calculated for the residence of *Banditti*' than in catering for the requirements of the individual owner.<sup>6</sup> He claimed that he wanted to rescue gardening from the tyranny of fashion and give it '... the elegance, the convenience, and the magnificence of rival scenes, appropriate to the uses of gentleman-like habitation ...' Repton was resolved never to permit landscape gardening to be reduced to a formula.<sup>7</sup> Study, observation, and experience went together to give all his undertakings a basic thoroughness.<sup>8</sup>

The essential conservatism of Repton's work, his unwillingness to become the prisoner of any one aesthetic school seemed to reflect a wider, distinctively English characteristic that had become a national asset in the long war against revolutionary and republican France that had begun in 1793.<sup>9</sup> It is no coincidence that the majority of his commissions before 1795 had been for supporters of William Pitt's



Fig 1. *Humphrey Repton*. National Portrait Gallery

administration and Repton had even been consulted in improvements planned by the Prime Minister at his Holwood estate in Kent in 1791.<sup>10</sup> Hostilities hit his profit margins, but he never doubted that the cause was just, or that the English social order was both defensible and desirable.<sup>11</sup> Such loyalties undoubtedly helped to commend him to Lord Winchilsea.

Repton cannot be considered an original genius in landscape creation like 'Capability' Brown: he was too much of an eclectic assimilator for that. He always worked with the grain of the particular landscape he had been commissioned to remodel ... and took care not to deter a potential employer if it could possibly be avoided. Before starting a commission, he produced one of his now celebrated 'Red Books' written by himself and with exquisite water colour illustrations alongside the text which showed the landscape in its unaltered state; folding flaps were superimposed on the sketch to depict the landscape as it might become after 'improvement' – if the client agreed.<sup>12</sup> The Burley 'Red Book' is, as usual, a model of tact (Repton was always concerned to awaken the interest of his customers), and it shows his respect for the character of the existing house in its surroundings.

His client, Lord Winchilsea, was a bluff middle-aged bachelor and a courtier.<sup>13</sup> His love of farming

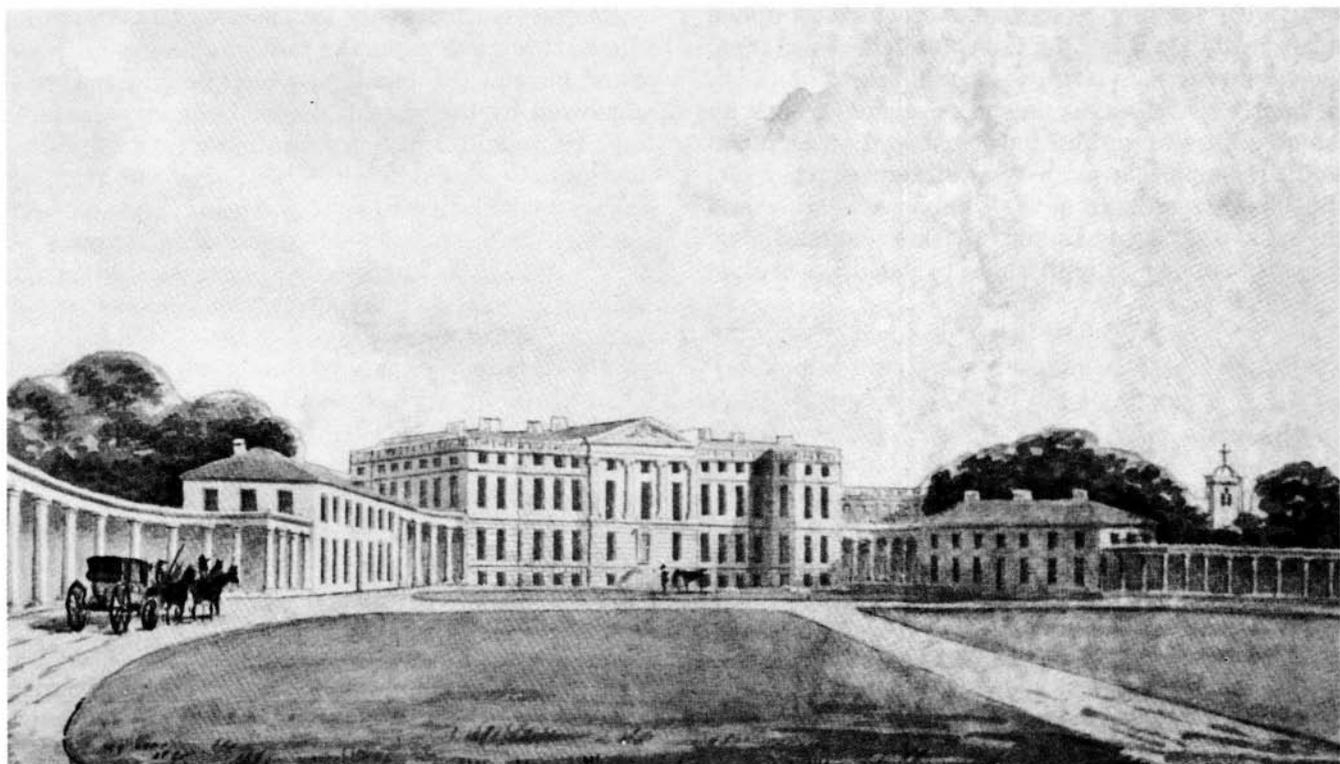


Fig 2. *Burley, north aspect*. Repton's Red Book

and sound estate management, an unpatronising concern for the wellbeing of his tenants, an interest in military affairs and firm loyalist politics made him just the sort of man to appeal to George III and he had acted as one of the king's Lords of the Bedchamber since 1777,<sup>14</sup>. Winchilsea had been undertaking considerable improvements to the house and estate buildings since approximately the same date.<sup>15</sup> By the early 1790s, he was ready to turn his attention to the Burley landscape, especially as the estate had begun to generate enough income to make it realistic to employ a designer of Repton's calibre. Aware of the hardships that the war against France had brought in its train since 1793, Winchilsea – who had, as one anonymous poet quaintly put it won a reputation as 'the Peasant's Advocate, the Poor Man's Friend'<sup>16</sup> – wanted landowners to follow his example and encourage smallholders if only to keep the poor rates down.<sup>17</sup> It may have been this concern for the rural population that first brought the Earl and Repton together, for the latter was known to be concerned that the rural poor should be housed properly, and wanted landowners to maintain cottages on their estates and indeed construct new ones.<sup>18</sup> Repton had an active interest in building ordinary thatched cottages into his landscape, not artificial ruins, sham churches or bogus buildings.<sup>19</sup>

Repton was quick to see how much scope the landscape at Burley offered him. The gardens there had originally been completed by 1724 to a formal, Italianate design and featured five sharply descending terraces to the south.<sup>20</sup> The house was situated on what Repton quaintly called 'a table mountain'. In a location where 'so much of the natural sublime actually exists', art could be used to heighten the

final effect. He emphasised to Winchilsea that his alterations would not affect the existing '... certain dignity of style at Burley', and used a political analogy to drive home his point which he knew would appeal to his client. Burley '... like the cumbrous robes of our nobility, neither can nor ought to be sacrificed to the innovation of fashion or the affectation of ease and simplicity'.<sup>21</sup> Repton's proposed changes to the Burley landscape can thus be read as a statement of his own moderately conservative political convictions threatened by what he saw as the levelling republicanism of French revolutionary values.<sup>22</sup>

The basis of Repton's plans for Burley was quite straightforward: a basic north/south contrast. To the north, across 'the great plain', art would rule with the massive proportions of the house and courtyard stressed to produce effects '... of surprise, of magnificence, and of the sublime', and views of the countryside would be effectively excluded.<sup>23</sup> The reverse effect was intended to the south where the spectator's gaze was directed towards distant landscape features rather than the 'magnificent palace' of Burley. Yet in both directions the emphasis was as ever firmly on what could be viewed from the window. Repton wanted to stress the terrace to the south as an enrichment of the foreground area, serving as a base for the house to stand on. The house was not to be set in a sea of lawn as Brown might have suggested. Instead, showing himself ready to reintroduce some touches of formality in restricted areas, Repton recommended the creation of specialised flower gardens right up to the walls.<sup>24</sup>

Before Repton even reached Burley, the wall enclosing the spacious forecourt at the north end had already been demolished on Winchilsea's in-

structions, leaving a gate and porter's stranded lodges in the centre.<sup>25</sup> Repton wanted to sweep them away, and recreate a fully enclosed *cour d'honneur*. He gently criticised his patron's decision to open up the quadrangle, saying that it exposed an artificial area to comparison with the adjacent countryside, and '... it shrinks from the comparison'. He would have liked to have linked up the colonnades by extending them on both sides to join in a central triumphal arch.

He saw his essential task as maximising the visual impact of the house by delaying the experience of seeing 'the ample court' until the entrance gates were actually reached by the visitor.<sup>26</sup> This would necessitate re-siting the main approach to the house so that one came upon it unaware from the 'forest-like common to the east'.<sup>27</sup> Repton's maps indicate that his projected entrance would have left the modern Exton-Burley Toll Bar road close to the latter, skirted the extensive woodland which hemmed in the house to the south and south-east then swung round at the last moment to reveal the house and quadrangle in their full splendour. The road would then continue in a straight line 'till it fits into a circle with the colonnade', which would deliberately show the depth of the house.

Sadly, Winchilsea had neither the money nor the inclination to implement Repton's imaginative plans. He made no attempt to rebuild the north wall only a few years after knocking it down (Repton was surely over-optimistic in even hinting at the possibility of it); admittedly, the two surviving lodges were destroyed, but plain wooden railings were used to link the colonnades together and wrought iron gates moved to where Repton had imagined his triumphal arch would stand. The suggested indirect entrance from the east had no better fate. Instead, the principal access road to the house was fashioned to come in at an oblique angle from the opposite direction though Repton may have derived some comfort from the delayed visual impact of the piazza on the visitor created by some judicious tree-planting.

It is the terrace to the south which is the best surviving evidence of Repton's work. Here at least the wishes of designer and client seem exactly to have accorded, and a classic Repton design resulted which subtly connected the lawn with the house by means of a terrace – the demarcation line 'betwixt the natural and artificial scenery of Burley'. It was to remain as 'a proper artificial object' and work of art though with one deep stone terrace surmounted by an elegant balustrade 'becoming the character of the house' replacing five shallow brick terraces. A pavilion was also suggested as '... a proper finishing' to the west terrace. Repton recommended the demolition of the flight of steps in the centre, and with Winchilsea's full approval, vast amounts of earth (exactly calculated by Repton) were moved to eliminate the brick terraces. Repton, ever sensitive to landscape contours, was not generally keen on earth moving on any scale, so Burley constitutes a rare example of him breaking a normal habit.<sup>28</sup>

Repton had markedly less success in persuading the Earl to implement the radical changes he advocated beyond the terraces, which he claimed were 'distorted by the absurdities of Geometric gardening'. He sought first to eradicate the long avenue to the south – 'a miserable remnant of this unmeaning taste' – which, as a mere cart road (marked by a common field gate), was an unsuitable approach to the house. The Burley woods were to be thinned out, leaving only detached groups to give the effect of one mass of wood. Winchilsea did not agree. He was, however, prepared to allow Repton to create wooded hills at other angles to the house, and this distinctive Repton signature is thus much in evidence at Burley, though not strictly in the locations that the designer wanted!<sup>29</sup>

Nor did Repton have his way over the Burley fishponds which lay at the foot of the slopes, on the way toward Egleton (a manor in the possession of the Finch family). The designer wanted to give these rather dilapidated square basins of water greater prominence in the landscape.<sup>30</sup> He suggested a longer, curved space of water: the channel of which would be narrowed to make a shorter bridge (or rather a dam with the appearance of a bridge) intended to be more visible from the house.

At the end of the Burley 'Red Book' Repton had tried to guard against criticism from his client:

'... I must beg your Lordship's indulgence whenever my sentiments do not exactly coincide with your own.'

That turned out to be exactly the case. Winchilsea decided to adopt Repton's recommendations for remodelling the Burley landscape but in an abbreviated form. He could not in the end bring himself to alter the southern side of the park as the designer had urged; Winchilsea had his own ideas about what was best suited to the site and Repton duly deferred to his client's wishes.<sup>31</sup> Talk of bringing Repton's friend and partner, John Nash, into the scheme as had been mooted in the 'Red Book' came to nothing. However, enough was done to make Burley, in Edward Hyams's words, 'a first attempt to synthesize Italian and English garden style. But more than that, the Burley landscape must be read as an outstanding example of the politicised garden design of the 1790s, a statement and reflection of Repton's pride (which chimed in so acceptably with Winchilsea's) in the traditional British polity of 'Church, King, and constitution', designed for use, suspicious of programmatic innovation but ready to incorporate changes in the interests of both improvement and beauty. Repton's garden, to use his own words represented '... the happy medium between the wilderness of nature and the stiffness of art; in the same manner as the English constitution is the happy medium between the liberty of savages and the restraints of despotic government; and so long as we enjoy the benefit of these middle degrees, between the extremes of each, let experiments of untried theoretical improvement be made in some other country'.<sup>32</sup>

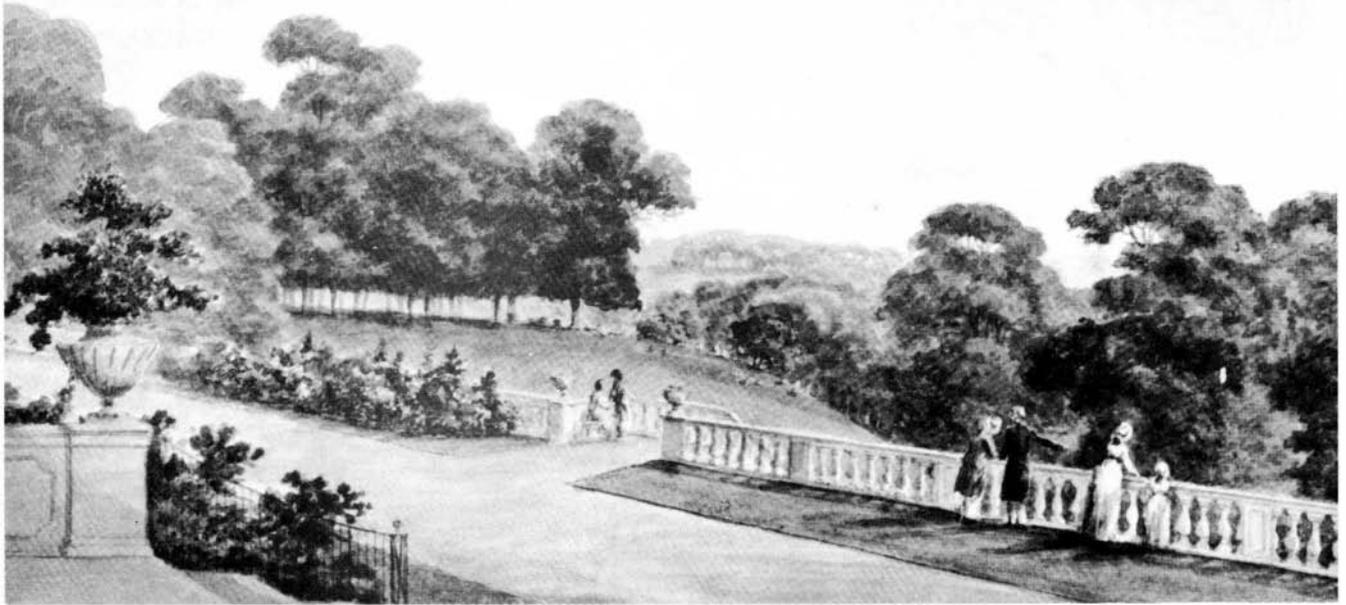


Fig 3. Burley, south view: *The Terrace*. Repton's Red Book

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2. George Carter, Patricia Goode, and Kedrun Laudrie, *Humphrey Repton, Landscape Gardener, 1752-1818*, (Norwich, 1982), pp.22, 34.
3. Repton's divergences from Brown's practices are well discussed with reference to Repton's own writings in Hyams, *Brown & Repton*, pp.132-33.
4. For Payne Knight and his quarrels with Repton, see eds. Michael Clarke & Nicholas Penny, *The Arrogant Connoisseur: Richard Payne Knight 1751-1824*, (Manchester, 1982), pp.48-49; Hyams, *Brown & Repton*, pp.160-63. The Picturesque debate of the 1790s is deliciously satirised in Thomas Love Peacock, *Headlong Hall*, ed. Richard Garnett (London, XLI), especially pp.64, 70-73, 98-100.
5. As Stephen Daniels has recently noted, '...the imperatives of beauty and use often co-exist in unresolved tension in his work'. See Daniels's essay 'Humphrey Repton and Landscape morality' in ed. J.R. Gold & J. Burgess, *Valued Environments*, (London, 1982), p.128.
6. ed. J. Dixon Hunt & Peter Willis, *The Genius of the Place*, (London 1975), p.358. See also D.C. Streatfield & A.M. Duckworth, *Landscape Gardens and the Literature of eighteenth century England*, (Los Angeles, 1981), p.64; Joseph Burke, *English Art, 1714-1800*, (Oxford 1976), p.380.
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10. Carter, Goode, and Laudrie, *Repton*, p.111
11. *Ibid*, pp.23, 112.
12. Miles Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, (London, 1960), p.248. For early 19th century criticisms of Repton's folding flaps, see Streatfield & Duckworth, *Landscape Gardens*, p.67.
13. For Winchilsea see the generally reliable account in Pearl Finch, *History of Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland*, (vol. I, London, 1901), pp.321-36; cf., ed. Bryan Waites, 'Finch Family', *Rutland Record* 8 (1988), p.273.
14. N.R. Aston, 'The French Revolution and Rutland', *Rutland Record* 5 (1985), pp.181-85.
15. Leicestershire County Record Office (thereafter Leics C.R.O.), Finch Ms. DG7, 4971, INV.4, i-iii, for alterations to Burley House undertaken in 1775-77.
16. See verses by 'A.S.', dated Shrewsbury, 24 Aug. 1796, Leics C.R.O., Finch Ms. DG7, 4978, 24 (i).
17. Winchilsea was the author of *An illustrious example of attention to the condition of the cottager*. See A. Hunter, *Georgical Essays*, (3 vols., York, 1803), III, 122-29.
18. See Repton's *Communication to the Board of Agriculture*, (London, 1797).
19. Hyams, *Brown & Repton*, p.134. Cf., Carter, Goode, and Laudrie, *Repton*, p.64.
20. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Leicestershire & Rutland*, (2nd ed., rev. Elizabeth Williamson, Harmondsworth, 1984), pp.441, 460.
21. Repton, *Observation on the Theory & Practice of Landscape Gardening*, (London, 1803, reprinted Oxford, 1980), p.131.
22. See Aston, *RR* 5 (1985), *passim*.
23. Repton, *Observation*, pp.132-33.
24. For this characteristically Reptonian feature see Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.245; Stroud, *Repton*, p.35.
25. On the basis of Repton's comments in the Burley Red Book I would agree with Miss E.K. Stokes in her *Guide to Burley On The Hill*, (Derby, n.d.) that the lodges were not destroyed until 1796, Cf. Pevsner, *Leics. & Rutland*, p.460. Miss Stokes is a fierce critic of Repton's work at Burley, (she refers to him as 'the destroyer of many fine places') but she omits to mention that, on the north side of the house at least, it is Lord Winchilsea himself who acted as a 'destroyer'.
26. Repton, *Observation*, p.132.
27. Repton's indirect entrances to his parkscapes gave ammunition to his Picturesque opponents. Payne Knight accused him in *The Landscape*, published in 1794, of making 'many a tedious round, to shew the extent of my employer's ground' - a charge at Burley Repton was determined to refute by citing precise measurements.
28. Carter, Goode, and Laudrie, *Repton*, p.16.
29. Hyams, *Brown & Repton*, pp.132-33.
30. Repton's views on the place of water in landscape gardening are elaborated in Hyams, *Brown & Repton*, pp.135-36.
31. Winchilsea seems to have considered himself a competent garden designer. Thus in 1808 he designed a Hermitage in Burley Wood to serve as a Summer House (burned down c1965) and possibly the adjacent Solomon's or Simpson's Hut, also destroyed. See V.C.H., *Rutland*, II, 113; Alstoe, 'Hermit's home or rich man's folly?', *Stamford Mercury*, 15 Aug. 1986.
32. *Sketches & Hints*, App. p.61 (Open letter to Uvedale Price).

I wish to acknowledge the kindness of Mrs Ros Hanbury in permitting me to inspect Repton's 'Red Book' for Burley. All quotations without a reference are taken from this source unless otherwise indicated.

Until very recently there seemed to be no comprehensive pictorial record of Rutland churches before the great wave of Victorian restorations. Then a lovely album from the late 1830s in the library of Uppingham School attracted attention and was enterprisingly published by Gillian Dickinson as *Rutland Churches before Restoration* (Barrowden Books, 1983). Almost immediately afterwards a second but earlier collection turned up at an Uppingham bookseller and was acquired by Leicestershire Museums in the spring of 1984. The drawings, numbering sixty-seven in all, were exhibited at the Rutland County Museum in March and April 1985 and are now housed at the Fine Art Department, New Walk, Leicester, under references F10/1984/1 to 67. Their significance lies in the fact that they pre-date the Uppingham School collection by nearly half a century, though the exact age of the main group cannot be pinpointed with as much accuracy as one would wish. In some cases the pictures are drawn from completely different directions from those in the 1830s and in others features are shown that are otherwise not illustrated anywhere else. The spelling of several place names shows interesting variants on the accepted versions today. Unfortunately nothing significant is known about the origin of the collection apart from what can be deduced as internal evidence in the pictures themselves.

The drawings are not all by one artist nor necessarily of the same date. There are in fact three or four artists involved and it seems the pictures have been collected together by someone clearly interested in Rutland churches, and therefore probably local. Three of the sixty-seven are dated, two – Market Overton (no. 38) and Teigh (54) – definitely, and one – Whissendine (65) – probably 1793. These all belong to one of the groups. The main set of pictures, forty-nine in all, is undated and unsigned. They can, however, be dated fairly closely around 1793 too. They show Tickencote after the remodelling of 1792 but also the medieval spire at Teigh which is said to have been removed in the same year. The pictures may be divided into three groups as follows:

1. Forty-nine drawings, one and only one for each church, executed in pen, ink and wash, and all by the same hand. They are all small, the largest being 140 mm × 118 mm and the smallest only 58 mm × 55 mm. They all share a curious characteristic in having a lurid yellow wash. It is hard to believe this is original and it has been suggested that a pale wash may have deepened in tone over time. They are not particularly accomplished artistically and

occasionally the perspective breaks down. They all have stylised, unrealistic clouds. However, the broad outlines of the architecture and its major details seem generally trustworthy. The lack of uniform size and the standard of execution imply that this set was never intended for public display or reproduction. Langham (30) is even drawn over two pieces of paper stuck together. The fact that every church has been conscientiously drawn suggests that a local person was the artist, touring the buildings perhaps over one or two seasons.

2. Undoubtedly the most accomplished pictures are those by Nathan Fielding. He signs eleven pen, ink and wash drawings and the style and handwriting on a further three unfinished works show him as the probable artist. His pictures are much larger than the first set with a uniform size of about 195 mm × 235 mm. Teigh (54) and Whissendine (65) are pencil sketches that have been only partly inked in.

Nathan Fielding was born at Sowerby near Halifax about 1746 and achieved recognition chiefly as a portrait painter. His career began as a painter of portraits on porcelain which earned him the title of 'The English Denner' after the German miniaturist Balthazar Denner (1685-1749). Later he turned to landscape painting and was the teacher of his four watercolourist sons of whom the best known are Copley (1787-1855) and Thales (1793-1837). He settled in London in 1788, exhibited portraits and a landscape at the Society of Artists in 1791 but in 1804 he was living in Keswick. In 1807 he was in Liverpool and was last heard of in 1814.<sup>1</sup> In 1794 he signed and dated a 'View of Burley-on-the-Hill' (c. 445 mm × 545 mm) which was sold at Christies in 1947. It was sold by Major James Hanbury, the owner of Burley, and presumably had been in the house until that time.<sup>2</sup> Fielding was evidently in Rutland in the autumn of 1793 and the Burley painting was one of the fruits of his trip. Why and for whom he sketched the churches we do not know. Whether our unknown collector bought them from him in late 1793, whether they were drawn to fill in time between commissions from Rutland landowners, whether they were speculative works destined for a London engraver and subsequently abandoned as more lucrative commissions came in are all, sadly, only matters for conjecture.

3. The third group is a miscellaneous selection of sketches comprising a rough pen and ink drawing of the medieval arch and surrounding farmyard at Pickworth (43), an attractive pencil, pen, ink and watercolour view of Great Casterton (12), a pencil drawing of Teigh in an oval surround (53), a crude

pencil sketch of the font at Market Overton (37) and the chancel arch presumably at the same church. The latter is especially useful from an historical point of view as it is the only interior depicted and shows markedly different arrangements from those of today.

The following notes summarise the information that the pictures provide. Where no detail is given this indicates that the drawing adds nothing of any significance to that derived from the 1830s series. The brackets indicate to which of the three series defined above the picture belongs. Where spellings of the placenames given on the drawings are at variance with modern convention these are given in brackets.

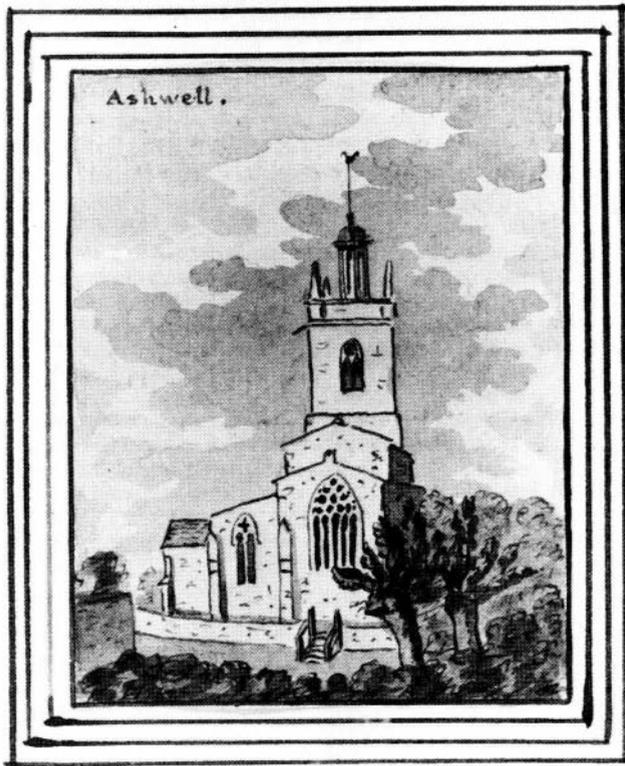


Fig 1. *Ashwell from the east.* Leicestershire Museums

- 1 (1) Ashwell. From E. A cupola on the top of the tower, not there in the 1830s
- 2 (1) Ayston (Aiston). From NW.
- 3 (2) Ayston. From SE. Signed 'N. Fielding'
- 4 (1) Barrowden. From W.
- 5 (1) Belton. From N. Useful as the 1830s view is from the SE.
- 6 (1) Bisbrooke. From SE.
- 7 (1) Braunston. From NE.
- 8 (1) Brooke. From SE.
- 9 (1) Burley from SW. A view from an unusual direction. Indicates the magnitude of J. L. Pearson's changes in 1869-70. Plain rectangular windows in the clerestory and in the S aisle. A big roof sloping down over the S chapel from the top of the clerestory to below the eaves of the S aisle. On top of the tower is what looks like a vast ironwork contrivance crowned by a weathercock. This strange contrivance is seen in a couple of distant views in Laird's *Topographical History of the County of Rutland* (1818).
- 10 (1) Caldecott (Caldcot). From N. Until 1976 there was a bellcote on the nave E gable and this is shown in the 1830s. This seems to be a strange omission by our artist as the feature must be medieval. In the '30s the view is from the SW.
- 11 (1) Great Casterton (Bridge Casterton). From S.
- 12 (3) Great Casterton (Bridge Casterton). From S.

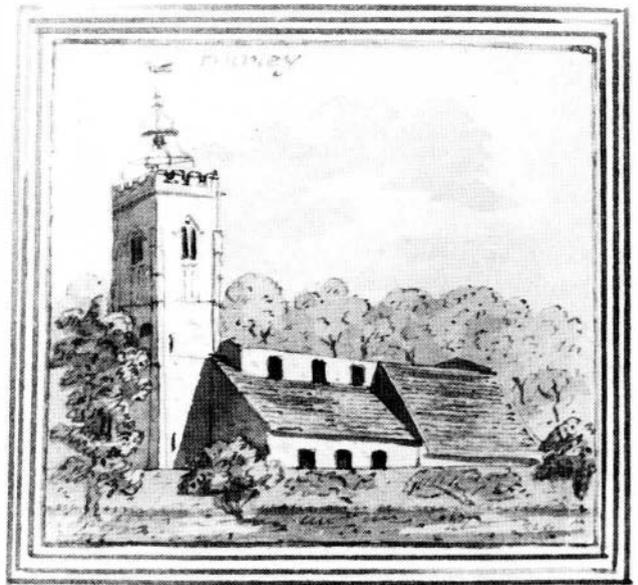


Fig. 2 *Burley-on-the-Hill from the south-west.* Was the structure on the tower once used as a beacon? Sometimes church towers supported beacons (the last survivor is at Monken Hadley near Barnet) though the construction of the feature at Burley makes this explanation unlikely and the dark area in the centre looks like a bell. Leicestershire Museums

- 13 (1) Little Casterton. From SE. A very poor porch preceding the present one of 1837. Chancel similar to the 1830s except no buttress on the S side: no roundel over the E window. This supports the evidence of rebuilding and slight lengthening of the chancel in the early C19.
- 14 (1) Clipsham. From NE. Two arches on N of the chancel blocked as is the one from the N aisle to the former N chapel (re-erected in 1858). In the E part of the N wall of the N aisle is a blocked two-light square-headed window.
- 15 (1) Cottesmore (Cotsmore). From N.
- 16 (1) Edith Weston. From SSE.
- 17 (1) Egleton. From SE.
- 18 (1) Empingham. From ENE. Vestry at NE corner with a two-light transomed E window
- 19 (2) Empingham. From ENE. Signed 'N. Fielding' Transept shown as shorter than in 18
- 20 (1) Essendine. From NW. Rare view of N side.
- 21 (2) Essendine (Easondine). From SSE. Signed 'N. Fielding' E window blocked but by the 1830s there was a three-light Perpendicular window. There are other interesting differences. In the 1830s there is a well-defined quatrefoil in the SW part of the chancel. c.1793 there is a square feature here but no clear detail. Nor, c.1793, is there a finial on the chancel E gable. The differences are probably due to a restoration in 1835 no details of which are known from other documentary records.
- 22 (1) Exton. From E.
- 23 (2) Exton. From SE. Signed 'N. Fielding' The jambs of the blocked window in the S transept S wall reach down to the foot of the window – not so in the 1830s and other old illustrations (presumably this is an error by Fielding)
- 24 (1) Glaston (Glaiston). from WSW.
- 25 (2) Glaston (Glaiston). From SW. Signed 'N. Fielding'. Several plants growing out of the S side of the nave
- 26 (1) Greetham (Greatham). From NNW.
- 27 (1) Hambleton (Hammilton). From SW.
- 28 (2) Hambleton (Hamilton on the Hill). From SE. Signed 'N. Fielding'. Useful as it shows the pre-1892 chancel.
- 29 (1) Ketton. From N. N transept wall flush with the N aisle wall. No parapets on the nave and aisle. The present ones must be G.G. Scott's additions of 1861-2
- 30 (1) Langham. From SE.
- 31 (1) North Luffenham. From S.
- 32 (1) South Luffenham. From SE.
- 33 (1) Lyddington (Lydington). From NE.
- 34 (1) Lyndon (Lynden). From SE. Indicates a simple priest's door not really visible in 1830s
- 35 (1) Manton. From NW.

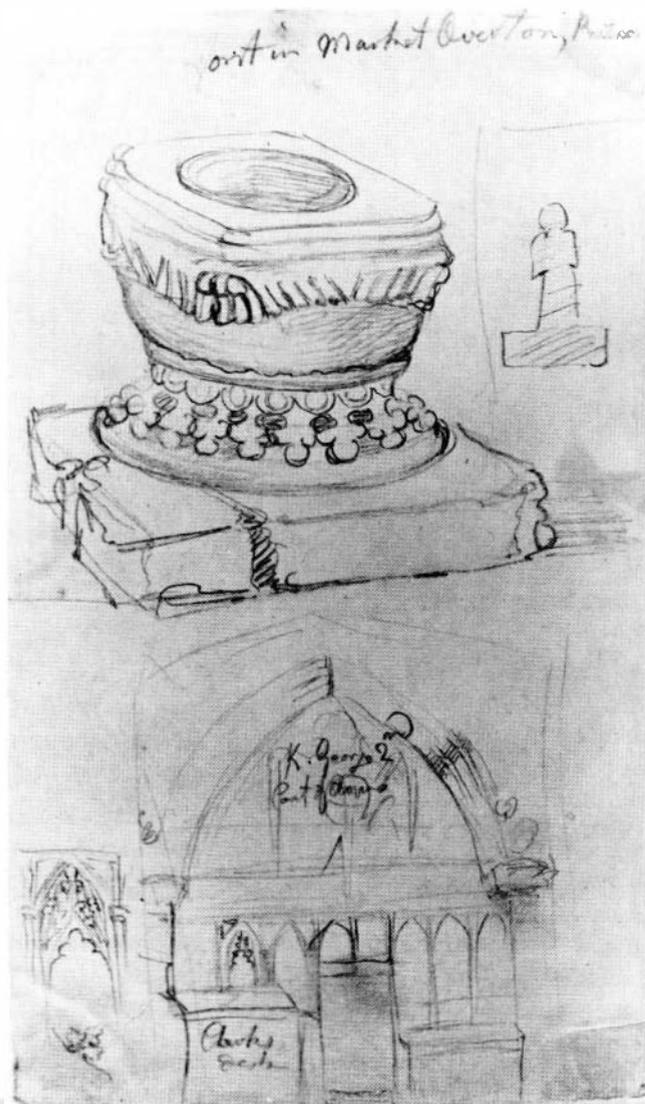


Fig 3. Market Overton. The font and a rough sketch of the chancel arch are probably in the same church. Leicestershire Museums

- 36 (1) Market Overton. From SW. Square-headed doorway in base of the tower
- 37 (3) Market Overton. Two sketches. Above, one of the font. Below, the arrangements around the chancel arch presumably at Market Overton. Screen in the lower part of the arch with 'Clark's desk' before it on N. Above is a tympanic filling with 'K. George 2nd Coat of Arms'. The drawing is crude but there is a little tracery shown in a screen panel which gives a general impression of the detail. No hint of carving or painting in the screen wainscot
- 38 (2) Market Overton. From SE. Attributable to N. Fielding. Inscribed 'Sketch'd Fridy Sepr. 1793' (date not given). Three light mullioned E window.
- 39 (1) Martinthorpe. From N.
- 40 (1) Morcott (Morcot). From SW.
- 41 (1) Normanton. From NW. Shows the tower of 1764 (replaced in 1826) – two stages, W window in the lower and circular windows in the upper (one per face), embattled parapet, then a short octagon (with an opening on each face) set upon a square structure
- 42 (1) Oakham. From ESE. The best known illustration of the E end arrangements prior to the changes at Scott's 1857-8 restoration, i.e. showing the embattled gable spanning both chancel and N chapel
- 43 (1) Pickworth. Arch from S.
- 44 (1) Pilton. From SE
- 45 (1) Preston. From SE. E window is square-headed, has six lights and a transom (present one probably 1856).
- 46 (2) Preston. From S. Signed 'N. Fielding'

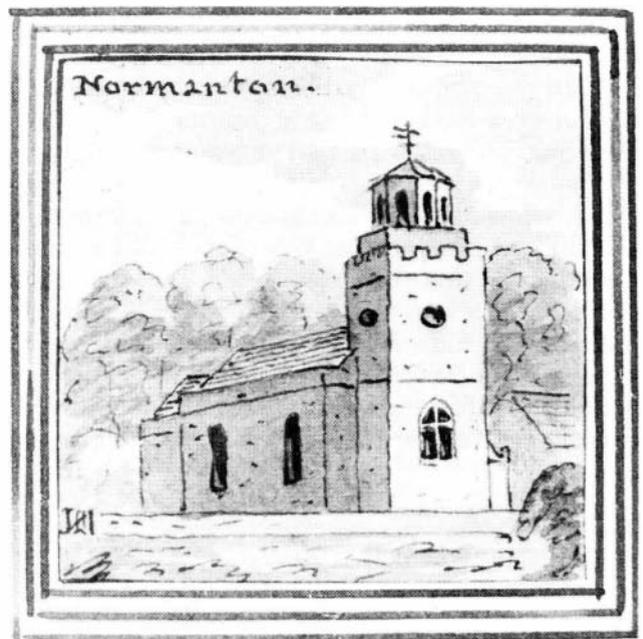


Fig 4. Normanton before the rebuilding of the tower in 1826. Leicestershire Museums

- 47 (1) Ridlington. From S. As in 1830s but no creepers on the walls
- 48 (1) Ryhall (Ryal). From SE.
- 49 (1) Seaton. From SSW.
- 50 (1) Stoke Dry (Dry Stoke). From NE.
- 51 (1) Stretton. From SW. A bellcote on the nave E gable: not there in the 1830s
- 52 (1) Teigh. From NE. As in 53 and 54 a parapet spire, gone in the 1830s, is shown. Two tiers of lucarnes in the cardinal directions. Small pinnacles at the corners of the tower

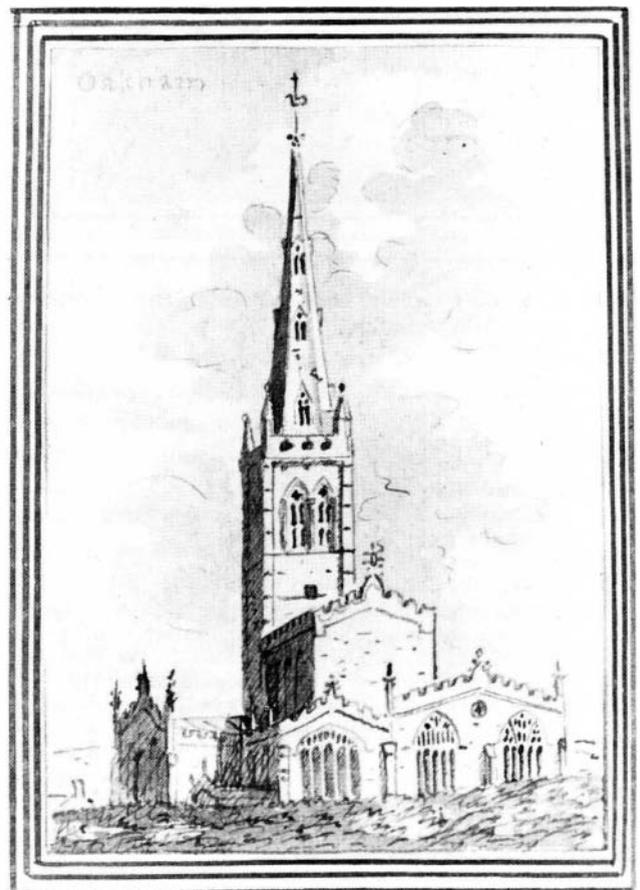


Fig. 5. Oakham from the east, clearly showing the single gable over the chancel and north aisle that existed until 1857-58. Leicestershire Museums

- 53 (3) Teigh. From ESE. Rough pencil sketch. Oval shape.  
 54 (2) Teigh. From S. Attributable to N. Fielding. Dated '1793'. The right side of this pencil drawing is inked in and described in a marginal note as 'L. Sherards dwelling House'.  
 55 (1) Thistleton. From SE. Venetian E window more clearly seen than in the 1830s picture when it is half hidden by a creeper. On the reverse of the reused paper on which the drawing is mounted is a note recording the burial of a rector of Thistleton in 1771  
 56 (1) Tickencote. From SE.  
 57 (2) Tickencote. From SE. Signed 'N. Fielding'  
 58 (1) Tinwell. From SE. Suggests lower half of E window is filled in  
 59 (1) Tinwell (Tinwall). From NE. Signed 'N. Fielding'  
 60 (1) Tixover. From SW.  
 61 (2) Tixover. From SE. Signed 'N. Fielding'  
 62 (1) Uppingham. From S. Very basic S porch with a square-headed doorway  
 63 (2) Uppingham. From SE. Signed 'N. Fielding'  
 64 (1) Wardley. From SE. Shows a two-light square-headed window on the chancel towards the E end, not shown in the 1830s and not there now  
 65 (2) Whissendine. From S. Attributable to 'N. Fielding'. Dated 'Mondy Sepr 179[3?]'  
 66 (1) Whitwell. From SSE. A two-light, apparently blocked window on the chancel S side  
 67 (1) Wing. From S. Lower tier of lucarnes on the spire placed lower than in the 1830s. Simple S porch with square-headed entrance

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2. Waterhouse, *op.cit.* and verbal information from the Archives Department at Christies. It was lot 23 on June 20th and was sold to a Mr Curry for 25 guineas.

The illustrations are *not* reproduced at the same size as the originals. The actual sizes are: Essendine 150 × 198 mm. Normanton 58 × 55 mm. Uppingham 150 × 198 mm. Oakham 135 × 90 mm. Burley 77 × 85 mm. Ashwell 85 × 65 mm. Market Overton 252 × 110 mm.

I am most grateful to Mrs Robin Paisey and Miss Julia Collieu of the Fine Art Department of Leicestershire Museums for allowing me to examine the pictures on several occasions and for their advice and encouragement.



Fig. 6. Teigh. The spire is said to have been removed in 1792 though a date of 1794 on the bell-frame could put the change up to two years later. The present belfry stage was added at that time and its parapet and frieze made to match those on the nave of 1782. Leicestershire Museums

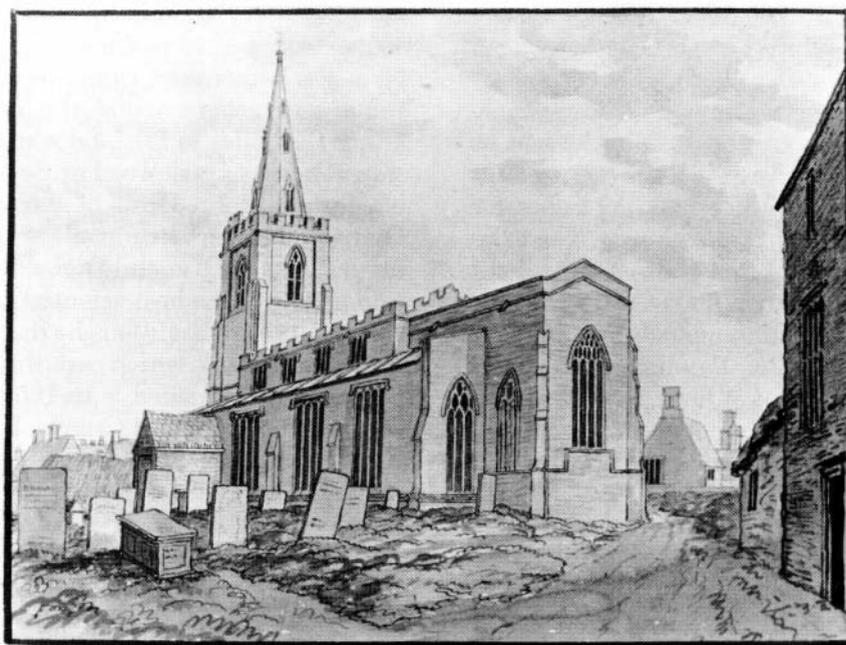


Fig. 7. Uppingham, probably in 1793, signed by N. Fielding. Leicestershire Museums

Though most people in Rutland accepted the new church order of the Tudors, a tiny minority remained faithful to Rome. But they had to pay a high price for that loyalty, since the English government required everyone to attend the established church and to acknowledge the royal supremacy. Hence almost from the very start the few Catholics who still remained in Rutland suffered annoyance and at times persecution. In 1582, for example, John Flower of Whitwell and George Warde of Edith Weston had to appear before the Privy Council on a charge of harbouring a priest, Edmund Chambers, but the charge was not proved and so they escaped punishment.<sup>1</sup> But another layman who did not fare so well was John Lion, who was hanged, disembowelled and quartered in Oakham market place on 16 July 1592 for refusing to acknowledge the royal supremacy.<sup>2</sup> Another layman who was to suffer the extreme penalty within the next few years was perhaps Rutland's most famous Catholic, Sir Everard Digby of Stoke Dry, who became implicated in the Gunpowder Plot.<sup>3</sup> In 1592, he succeeded his father, also Everard, as Lord of the manor of Stoke Dry, was knighted in 1603 and then married a rich heiress, Mary Mulshaw of Gayhurst, Buckinghamshire. In fact, he went to live in her house in Buckinghamshire and there he met Robert Catesby and so was drawn into the Plot. Robert Cecil, James I's chief minister, already suspected a plot and so was ready for any emergency. Consequently, the conspirators, including Sir Everard, were easily caught and suffered accordingly. But the tradition that the Gunpowder Plot was hatched at Stoke Dry is difficult to support since Sir Everard had transferred his residence to Gayhurst in Buckinghamshire.

All Catholics did not suffer death for their opposition to the Tudor religious settlement. Those people who refused to go to church and so were known as recusants were subject to fines. By the Act of Uniformity of 1559, recusants were fined 12 pence for every time they were absent from church. Then the fines were increased by an Act of 1581 (23 Elizabeth 1) when recusants had to pay a fine of £20 per lunar month. This Act too was subsequently modified by an Act of 1587 (28 and 29 Eliz. 1), which enabled the Crown, in default of payment of fines, to take all the goods and two-thirds of the property of an offender. From 1587 to 1591 the fines dues from convicted recusants were entered on the Pipe Rolls, but in 1592 a separate series was begun devoted entirely to recusancy and hence known as the Recusant Rolls.

On the first Recusant Roll, 1592-3, there are the names of five recusants in Rutland who owed money for refusing to attend church.<sup>4</sup> They were James Digby of Liddington, gentleman, Jane Flower, the wife of John Flower of Whitwell, and Thomazina Royden, her servant, Elizabeth Freestone, the wife

of William Freestone of Ryhall, and Alice Robinson, the wife of Thomas Robinson of the same village. Both Digby and Jane Flower owed £60 each, but how much the others owed is not stated.

By the time the second Recusant Roll was drawn up, Digby had not paid his fines. So, all his goods had been seized as well as two-thirds of his lands.<sup>5</sup> Digby was a large landowner and so the seizure involved property in North Luffenham, Morcot, Pilton, Seaton, Thorpe-by-Water and Bisbrooke. But no other recusants were named in this roll and so presumably they had paid their fines. It is noticeable that these recusants were women and the part played by women has led a Catholic historian to write that women played an abnormally important part in the early history of the Catholic community.<sup>6</sup>

As well as being fined and having their property seized, recusants also suffered excommunication. In a list of those excommunicated in the diocese of Peterborough in 1601, as one might expect, occur the names of James Digby and of his wife Benedict. In addition, there are several new names: Bridget Sherwood of Stoke Dry, gentlewoman, Francis Britten of Glaston, gent., John Digby of Seaton, gent. and William Cook of Lyndon, gent.<sup>7</sup>

### Joseph Digby

James Digby died in 1619<sup>8</sup> and his son, John, continued the family tradition of being a Catholic.<sup>9</sup> John's son, another James, was also a recusant and he married Elizabeth Ravenscroft of Middlesex, by whom he had had nine children.<sup>10</sup> This James Digby of North Luffenham was one of the Catholics of Rutland who in March 1649 had all his estates sequestered, that is, they were placed in the hands of a Parliamentary committee who collected the rents and requisitioned the crops and livestock. Other Catholics in Rutland who suffered in this way were Thomas Haslewood of Belton, Henry Heredon of Morcott, John Hunt of Barrowden, Sir Kenelm Digby and Robert Brudenell.<sup>11</sup> Of all these the most famous was Sir Kenelm Digby, who gained a reputation as one of the best scientists and philosophers of the day. In the Civil War, he had suffered sequestration of his estates which cost him £10,000 and finally he had been banished.<sup>12</sup> In 1653, he was allowed to return from exile and Cromwell himself invited Sir Kenelm to dine at his own royal table.<sup>13</sup> As for Brudenell, his estates were across the border in Northamptonshire.

James Digby's fourth son, Joseph, was one of the few Catholics of Rutland who aspired to the priesthood.<sup>14</sup> Born in 1662, like all English boys who wished to become priests, he had to go abroad for his training and so he attended the English College at Douai in Flanders where, on 8 December 1687, he took the oath which all secular priests had to take

that after ordination he would return to serve in England. He was ordained some time before May 1693 when he left Douai to become confessor to the Poor Clares at Dunkirk. Possibly, he enjoyed the hospitality of the nuns so much that he tended to forget his oath, for it was not until November 1705 that he came to England and then it was only for a visit, for he returned within a short time to Dunkirk, where he died on 27 December 1708. In his will he left everything to his friend, Edward Dickinson, the future Bishop of the Northern District of England.

### **The Jesuits in Rutland**

As well as the secular clergy, there were the religious orders who sent their priests to England on missionary work. The order which did the most towards the reconversion of England to Catholicism were the Jesuits. Founded by Ignatius Loyola, the Jesuits reached England in 1580 with the arrival of Fathers Persons and Campion,<sup>15</sup> and by 1622 they had a sufficient number of priests in this area to form the district known as the College of the Immaculate Conception, which covered Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Rutland.<sup>16</sup> The first Jesuit to serve in Rutland was Fr. Thomas Hunt, who was a native of Lyndon and who died from the effects of cold and exposure when he stayed out all night in the open to avoid capture.<sup>17</sup>

Another early Jesuit to serve in Rutland was John Howlett.<sup>18</sup> In the Elizabethan period, most students entering the English Colleges in Europe adopted an alias. They were used for reasons of security and some priests were known by their aliases all their lives. Howlett adopted the alias of Howling when he entered the English College at Douai. Howlett had been born in 1545 and graduated at Oxford, but chose to remain loyal to the old religion rather than accept the Elizabethan settlement. Thus, he went overseas to the English College at Douai to train as a secular priest. He professed his intention of becoming a priest in 1571, but the date of his ordination is unknown. Like so many secular clergy in the late 16th century he joined the Jesuits, but his period of service in the order was short, for he died in 1589.

Little is known about another Jesuit to serve in Rutland and that was Thomas Durand.<sup>19</sup> He was born in 1597, went to Watten for his novitiate and then to Liège for his ecclesiastical studies, where he made his profession in 1620. The date of his ordination is unknown, as is the date of his return to England, but he died in 1633.

### **Edward le Hunt**

A secular priest from Rutland was Edward le Hunt.<sup>20</sup> Born at Barrowden in 1641, he was the son of John Hunt and his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Wallaston of Staffordshire. John Hunt's father, Francis, had married Dorothy Durant and Edward assumed the alias of Durant.<sup>21</sup> He entered the English College in Rome on 16 October 1663 when he gave this information about himself to the authorities there:

"My name is Edward le Hunt. I was born at Barrowden in Rutland in 1641 and about 30 November 1641 I was baptised by a Catholic priest. Later I was confirmed. I was educated in the aforesaid county till I was ten or twelve years of age and then I lived in London. The social status of my parents and grandparents is middle class. My relatives are for the most part Catholics and I have two brothers and three sisters. I was always a Catholic and have never lapsed. I was never employed in earning my living. In my education I studied humanities up to Poetry. I can speak and write Latin, but I have no knowledge of Greek or Hebrew. I have always enjoyed good health and I am free from all faults and irregularities."<sup>22</sup>

Having given this account of himself, Edward then promised that he would return to England to save souls. He was ordained on 5 March 1667 and left for England on 23 April 1670 when he worked in Shropshire, but the date of his death is unknown.

### **The Compton Census**

About this time we have our first rough knowledge of the numbers of Catholics in Rutland. In 1676, Henry Compton, Bishop of London, ordered the Anglican clergy to provide him with the number of communicants, non-conformists and papists in their parishes. In Rutland it was reported that there were 61 papists, living mainly in five villages: North Luffenham had 15 papists, South Luffenham 10, Stoke Dry 13, Morcott 10 and Barrowden 7.<sup>23</sup> In penal times Catholicism was a seigneurial religion. That is, it depended for its maintenance upon the families of the Catholic gentry around whose homes ordinary Catholics would gather for work and protection. Thus, at Nevill Holt in Leicestershire, the Nevills kept the Catholic faith and local Catholics came to work as servants in the house or workers on the estate.<sup>24</sup> Similarly a few miles away at Husbands Bosworth local Catholics sought shelter and work with the Turville-Petres who were Catholics.<sup>25</sup> Likewise in Rutland, local Catholics sought protection and work on the estates of the Digbys at Stoke Dry, North and South Luffenham, while the Herendons of Morcott and the Hunts at Barrowden sheltered a few of their co-religionists.

Soon after the Compton census came the Titus Oates' Plot in 1678 and Oakham was the birthplace of Oates, who must be considered one of the greatest liars the world has ever seen, for the plot in which the Jesuits were supposed to assassinate Charles II in order to ensure the succession of James II was completely fictitious. However, many Catholics suffered from the supposed plot, but not in Rutland, where the only Catholic to suffer was Jeffrey Hudson, the famous dwarf, who was arrested and imprisoned for some time in the Gatehouse at Westminster.<sup>26</sup>

### **Catholicism in 18th century Rutland**

Throughout the 18th century Catholicism made little progress in Rutland. At the beginning of that century there was only one mass-centre in the county and that was at South Luffenham where the priest was a secular, Thomas Whalley alias Porter.<sup>27</sup> Born in Lancashire in 1675, he entered the English College, Rome on 18 October 1695 and there on 26 March 1701 he was ordained. He left the College on

7 October 1702 and then spent another six months in Rome. Finally, he left for England in company with the Bishop George Witham, who had been appointed to take charge of the Northern District of England. But Whalley was sent to work in the Midland District, especially in Rutland, and he died at South Luffenham, being buried under his alias of Porter in the churchyard there on 24 July 1730.

Though most Catholic priests, it would seem, set a good example to their followers there were undoubtedly one or two rogues among them, of whom John Mottram was one.<sup>28</sup> In 1703, he was admitted pensioner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, but was then expelled for immorality and so to get his revenge on the Anglican authorities he became a Catholic. He made his way to Seville where he was welcomed by the priests there who after a short while allowed him to be ordained. Soon after that he returned to England, where for a brief period he gave satisfaction, but then got into debt and fled to London. The authorities caught up with him and he was imprisoned. Not only did he now apostasize, he became a priest-catcher and received a warrant to arrest Bishop Bonaventure Giffard, Bishop of the London district. He failed in this object, however, but then made his way into Rutland, where in 1722 he married Henrietta, daughter of Henry Tymperon, rector of Market Overton, to whom a tablet in the parish church is dedicated.

### **The Vicars-Apostolic Returns of 1773**

In 1688, Pope Innocent XII had divided England and Wales into four districts or vicariates: the London, Midland, Northern and Western vicariates. In 1773, the Roman authorities sent a circular letter to the four English vicars-apostolic, asking them for a detailed report on the state of Catholicism in their districts.<sup>29</sup> Rutland was in the Midland district and its bishop was John Hornyhold and on 17 September 1773 he reported as follows on the state of Catholicism in Rutland: In Com. Rutland unicum Sacel. Fidei circ. 90. Past. e Cler. Sec. That is, in the county of Rutland there is only one chapel. There are about 90 faithful and one secular priest. This one chapel was at South Luffenham.

### **Catholicism in 19th century Rutland**

A growing shortage of priests in the late 18th century led the Catholic authorities to place the available priests in places where they were most needed. So it was that in 1803 the priest at South Luffenham, the Rev William Hays, was moved to King's Cliffe in Northamptonshire and so Rutland was left without a mass-centre or a priest in the first half of the 19th century.<sup>30</sup>

In 1851, there was a religious census in England and Wales, based upon those attending church on Sunday 30 March.<sup>31</sup> But no mention was made of any Catholic chapel in Rutland in that census. Though the Catholic hierarchy had been established in 1850, Catholicism was evidently at its nadir in the middle of the 19th century. Over the centuries the penal laws had virtually extirpated the old

religion from Rutland and there were several counties like Rutland with scarcely a Catholic in them. But in 1851 there occurred an event which was to lead to an improvement in the situation for Catholicism in Rutland and that was the conversion of the second Earl of Gainsborough and his wife to Catholicism.<sup>32</sup>

### **The Conversion of the Second Earl of Gainsborough.**

In his student days at Cambridge, Charles George Noel had taken a deep interest in the Oxford Movement which eventually, as in the case of John Henry Newman, led him to embrace Catholicism. This action was undoubtedly the beginning of the revival of Catholicism in Rutland for like all converts the Earl was keen and enthusiastic, so different from the old English Catholics who tended to keep themselves to themselves. Thus, after his conversion the Earl built a large church attached to the east end of the Hall in 1868-9. Dedicated to St Thomas of Canterbury, it was built by Buckler and had tall transeptal chapels but no aisles. At the same time, the Earl installed a private chaplain, who opened a mass-centre in Mill Street, Oakham in 1879.<sup>33</sup> Two years later the Earl suddenly died on 13 August 1881, aged sixty-two.

Naturally the Earl and his wife sought the company and friendship of other Catholics and one family with whom they struck up ties of friendship were the de Lises of Garendon and Gracedieu in Leicestershire.<sup>34</sup> Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle was himself a convert, having become a Catholic at the age of fifteen years. His wife, Laura, however, came from an old recusant family, the Cliffords of Chudleigh, Devon. From 1840 until almost the day of her death in 1896, Laura kept a very full diary and it is from her diary that we realise the tremendous impact that the conversion of the Gainsboroughs had upon Catholicism in Rutland.

The first resident priest whom the Earl maintained at Exton was the Rev Mr Munro. But so many guests were invited to their house-parties that the Earl persuaded other priests to come to Exton. Thus, on 5 August 1869, Laura recorded that Mr Marshall said Mass in a small chapel upstairs, while Mr Munro said Mass in the new chapel attached to the hall which the Earl recently built. At this time the secular clergy were called 'Mr' and only the religious clergy received the title of 'Father'. Occasionally, the Earl managed to persuade a bishop to stay at Exton Hall. So, on September 18, 1870, Bishop Amherst of Northampton stayed for a week during which he said Mass at 9 o'clock daily. Other notable priests were not averse from accepting the Earl's invitation: Canon Drinkwater from London, for example, stayed at Exton in November 1872. The de Lises were also there and Laura reported "Canon Drinkwater said Mass at 9. Breakfast at 10." In June 1877, to mark the golden jubilee of Pope Pius IX's episcopal ordination, important celebrations took place at Exton Hall. The house was illuminated from all the windows and for the first time for many

years in Rutland there was in the evening a procession of the Blessed Sacrament round the grounds. A number of priests took part in the ceremonies: Bishop Amherst of Northampton, Canon Brown from London and Fr Sisk, a Cistercian from Mount St Bernard's Abbey in Leicestershire, whom no doubt the Earl met when he stayed with the de Lisles at Garendon.

After the Earl's death in 1881, his successor the third Earl built in 1883 in Oakham a new church dedicated to St Joseph and St Edith to the plans of E. A. Van Dale.<sup>35</sup> Monsignor Charles Payne served the Oakham mission as well as continuing to reside as chaplain at Exton Hall. But at the end of the First World War he bought a presbytery in Mill Street and after that resided there in preference to living at the hall.<sup>36</sup>

As with most Catholic parishes, Oakham, after the end of the Second World War, saw a gradual increase in its numbers, which led the parish priest, Fr Daniel Ainsworth from 1953 to 1970 to prepare plans for a new church and finally in 1975 these plans came to fruition when the new church of St Joseph's, built by T. E. Wilson, was opened in April of that year by Bishop James McGuinness. In 1980, the same architect converted the previous church in Mill Street into a parish centre.

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*Exton Hall with the ruins of the Old Hall in the foreground. Rutland Journal*

It is a common error to suppose that before the advent of the railways the British stayed largely at home. To the contrary, the known distribution of goods and the existence of many ancient trackways still in use today after thousands of years show constant movement of people, animals and produce.

Under Claudius, some of these trackways were improved, others were built from scratch to high specifications, and we owe the Romans a deep debt of gratitude for their sound engineering expertise. Naturally, conditions were not often pleasant (at one time it was common practice to make a will before setting out on a journey), but the Roman roads, with their staging posts at twenty-mile intervals, provided us with a basic communications and comforts network which was not bettered until the motorways came into existence.

One of the most important routes, Ermine Street, was one of the four main roads in Claudius' day, second only to Watling Street. We speak of it now as the A.1, or the Great North Road, an artery running through the north-east of Rutland and joined a mile and a half east of Greetham village by Sewstern Lane, an ancient saltway known also as Fosse Lane within Greetham and Thistleton parishes. A drove road winding down from Nottinghamshire and beyond, this track passed through the Romano-British settlement now under the runway of RAF Cottesmore and skirted a kiln and quarries. No wonder that within Greetham parish boundaries there were six inns and three<sup>1</sup> alehouses, for the volume of travellers passing through must have been prodigious.<sup>2</sup>

At a short distance north of the junction of Fosse Lane with Ermine Street, known as Horn Lane within the County, stood two of these hostelries. The

larger and more southerly was the better-class establishment named variously as the *Oak* or the *Royal Oak*; in 1780 after changing hands and refurbishment the *New Inn*; later the *Greetham Inn* and recently the *Stretton Highwayman*. An impressive stone building, it boasted substantial outbuildings, some since demolished, and catered for the coaching trade when no fewer than forty-four coaches – twenty-two each way – changed here or at the *Black Bull* on Witham Common every 24 hours.<sup>3</sup>

The poorer traveller would have plodded on another half-mile, where its humbler counterpart, the *Winchilsea Arms*, lay behind a picket fence alongside the dusty road. There was no accommodation, and the alehouse keeper combined his calling with that of a smallholder.<sup>4</sup> The *Winchilsea Arms* had presumably come into the possession of Daniel Finch c.1730 when he succeeded to his title and became Lord of the Manor of Oakham,<sup>5</sup> and given the family's coat of arms as its sign; but some ten years later a new and curious name had replaced it. *The Ram Jam House* appeared on a board over the door.

Although this building, too, had changed hands over the years, was altered in 1900, rebuilt in 1928 and undergone extensive alterations and additions in 1986, the *Ram Jam* it is to this day. Why? Obviously the name is memorable, but what is its origin?

How I envy counties with record offices. Here are ready-made repositories, a natural Mecca for those private and public bodies with limited storage space wishing to dispose of their earlier archives. Alas, poor Rutland! We were, and are, without one. Until 1974, there was no specific repository for civil papers, and this lack has proved catastrophic for Rutland in at least two important instances. First, in an excess of zeal – even though their inclusion was infinitesimal to the cause – the County Sessions records collected by the late Mr Phillips and stored by him in the old Weights & Measures office in Station Road, Oakham were taken for salvage and pulped in aid of World War II. The second loss, even more appalling given contemporary enlightenment, was the action taken by a Police Superintendent at Melton Mowbray in 1974, when he ordered the destruction by burning of all of Rutland's Police records. There are no duplicates: our earlier licensing documentation has gone.

All searches at Leicestershire Record Office proved fruitless, and the handful of licensing records left in Chancery Lane<sup>6</sup> and at Kew<sup>7</sup>, though interesting, were not helpful. I have, however, found four other areas of possible research on public houses: maps, trade directories, newspapers and various books on travel in general and inns and inn-signs in particular. One can take it that the first

OAKHAM to NEWARK.		
<p><b>COTTESMORE</b>, Earl of <i>London</i>.</p> <p><b>THISTLETON</b>, near, at <i>Ayton</i>, <i>George Pluiger</i>, Esq.</p> <p><b>NEWARK</b> possesses considerable historic interest, and presents, in its general aspect, a pleasing subject of investigation. The domestic buildings are chiefly of a respectable character, and the castle and church are deserving of attentive examination. The former, in which the ill-advised King John breathed his last, was either founded or re-edified by Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, in the twelfth century, and affords, even in a state of ruin, a majestic ornament to the town. The latter, usually deemed one of the finest parochial edifices in the kingdom, is a noble structure, in the <i>Norman</i> style, and is superbly ornamented in every part; it is finished with a light and elegant stone tower, that sustains a lofty spire of uncommon beauty, which forms a conspicuous object to the traveller for many miles round. The town-hall, a spacious and handsome building, was erected in 1805, at an expense of 17,000<i>l.</i> Newark has a good free grammar-school, contains places of public worship belonging to the different sects of dissenters, and several charitable institutions: it sends two members to parliament, has various branches of manufactures, among which that of cotton-spinning is by far the most successful, and an excellent market on Wednesday.</p>	<p>From <i>London</i></p> <p>35</p> <p>32½</p> <p>31</p> <p>28½</p> <p>26½</p> <p>25½</p> <p>24</p> <p>36½</p> <p>29½</p> <p>26½</p> <p>24</p>	<p>From <i>Oakham</i></p> <p>2½</p> <p>4</p> <p>6½</p> <p>8½</p> <p>9½</p> <p>11</p> <p>35</p> <p>6½</p> <p>9½</p> <p>12½</p> <p>36½</p>
<p>From * <b>OAKHAM</b>, Rutlandshire, to <b>Burleigh</b> on the Hill</p> <p>Cottesmore</p> <p>• <b>Greetham</b></p> <p>Thistleton</p> <p>South Witham, Lincoln.</p> <p>* <b>The Black Bull</b></p> <p>* <b>NEWARK</b>, Nottinghamshire, pages 225 and 226</p> <p>OR,</p> <p>From * <b>OAKHAM</b>, Rutlandshire, to</p> <p>* <b>Greetham</b>, above <b>Ram Jam House</b></p> <p>To <i>Stamford</i> 8 m. ↗</p> <p>↖ to * <b>The Black Bull</b>, Lincolnshire</p> <p>* <b>NEWARK</b>, Nottinghamshire, pp. 225 &amp; 226</p>		
<p><b>BURLEIGH ON THE HILL</b>, Earl of <i>Windsor</i>.</p> <p><b>GREETHAM</b>, <i>Exton Hall</i>, Sir <i>Gerard Noel Noel</i>, Bart.; and farther to the right, <i>Lyndon Hall</i>, <i>Samuel Barker</i>, Esq.</p> <p><b>RAM JAM HOUSE</b>, 3 m. distant, <i>Hollywell</i>, <i>Mrs. Gen. Birch</i> <i>Resardom</i>; at <i>Cliphams</i>, <i>Miss Snow</i>; and 1½ m. distant, <i>Stocking Hall</i>, <i>Gen. Grosvenor</i>.</p>		
OUNDLE to ROCKINGHAM.		

Fig 1. An extract from Patterson's Roads, 16th edition, 1822

two, where the information is contemporary (and I stress this where newspaper accounts are concerned) will be correct. The earlier travel books, which mention the more famous hostelries only, tend to repeat hearsay accounts and often perpetuate myth and legend.

The *Winchilsea Arms* of the 1730s had become *The Ram Jam House* by 1781. This we know from the map of Rutland published by Captain Armstrong that year, and it is also confirmed in Cary's map of 1787.<sup>8</sup> *White's Trade Directory* of 1846 mentions it, but the period is too late to be of use.

The *Rutland & Stamford Mercury* is a rich source of material of all kinds, and the number of early issues surviving is astonishing. I recommend a visit to the paper's offices in Broad Street, Stamford, to anyone with a love of social history, where not only will they find editions of this paper from 1733 (sparse at first) to the present day, but those of ten others including the *Stamford News* (1809-1829) and the *Stamford Bee* (1831-32), all covering 'local' items as far north as Yorkshire as well as the national and international news of the day.<sup>9</sup> This source was not productive initially, but provided corroborative evidence towards the end of my research.

The next step was to try to locate every possible book on inns and travel in the hope of finding a mention of the *Winchilsea Arms* and/or *The Ram Jam House*. I was agreeably surprised that so many did so, and I pay tribute to the keen business sense shown by the man who renamed this once modest house: I feel certain that its unique name is a major key to its success, notwithstanding the two major stories (with variations) which lay behind it. As I read on, it became all too clear that some of the earlier authors, at a time when it was not believed either to be important or necessary to reveal one's sources, had plagiarised quite shamelessly, occasionally not even bothering to change the text. Sometimes there were minor variations, but finally there emerged one minor and two substantial opinions as to the origin of 'Ram Jam'.

First, 'ramjam' has been used to mean 'crammed full', and I suppose the tap room of this busy public house could well have been packed with people from time to time.<sup>10</sup> Secondly, I imagine everyone in the County must be familiar with the tale of the landlord/landlady/pretty chambermaid who was beguiled by the poorly-dressed stranger/highwayman/Dick Turpin himself in 'old coaching days'. The evil fellow was supposed to have charmed whoever-it-was at the inn into swallowing a pretty tall tale: by making two holes in opposite ends, it would be possible to draw both mild and bitter beer from the same barrel. On the pretext of looking for spike-pops, the villain left the poor unfortunate in an embarrassing position with one finger rammed and the other jammed into the holes, whilst the stranger escaped without paying the bill and with the contents of the money-drawer.

But there is another explanation. Again, the evidence appears long after the supposed event, and

there are minor variations. In or about 1740 the inn was either bought or kept by an officer's servant/a sergeant/a soldier lately returned from service in India. With him he brought the secret of a unique liquor which he sold in small flasks under the name of 'Ram Jam', said to be the Indian words for a table servant. The liquor was sold singly or by the case or half-case, and 'became as notable a thing as Stilton cheese.'<sup>11</sup> The recipe, passed on to the man's son, had died out by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Of these hypotheses, the first seems possible. The second would be more plausible had it been told only about the Rutland venue. However, according to Mr Eric Swift of Scraftoft, pretty much the same tale attached to the *Swan Inn* at Bibury, except that the highwayman has become an Oxford student. The evidence in favour of the third explanation is overwhelming.

Several authors and sources agree that the name dates from about 1740, and it was certainly in use by 1781, as we have seen. Of the eleven books and historical papers subscribing to the liquor theory, Charles Harper's *The Great North Road* (1901) states that 'its fame began about 1740, when the landlord was an officer's servant, returned from India. He possessed the secret of compounding a liqueur or spirit which he sold to travellers down the road . . . He called this spirit 'Ram Jam', which seems to be an Indian term for a table servant, and sold it in small bottles . . . The secret of this liqueur was imparted to his son, but afterwards died out, and it is said that 'Ram Jam' ceased to be sold before the beginning of the nineteenth century.'

A. W. Coysh in his book *Historic English Inns* repeats this in shorter form but has the landlord as 'an army sergeant': Arthur Mee's *The King's England: Leicestershire and Rutland*, says 'By the Great North Road is the well-known *Ram Jam Inn*, taking its name from a delectable drink sold to coach passengers in the eighteenth century.' Mr Eric Swift in *Inns of Leicestershire* published in 1975 goes one step further, he says that the landlord ' . . . made a rather potent brand of ale . . .'<sup>12</sup>

Sources for these statements are, however, in rather short supply, and although a theory may sound attractive, documentary evidence is still needed. In this case it comes in the form of a print (Fig. 3) in the National Monument Records collection dated around 1780.<sup>13</sup> Above the sign *The Ram Jam House* over the door is affixed a smaller board which proclaims 'Fine Ram Jam' and this, in my opinion, clinches the matter.

Two more books added significantly to the store of information and led me in new directions. One, suggested by Rutland Local History Society's *Turnpikes & Royal Mail of Rutland*, drew me to Rees' *Cyclopaedia*, published in 1819.<sup>14</sup> The relevant entry under 'Drunkenness' takes a slightly different line: 'The Indians hold drunkenness a species of madness; and, in their languages, the same term Ramjam, that signifies a drunkard, signifies also a phrenetic.'

I wrote then to the High Commission of India in

Aldwych, London, but their First Secretary (Culture) could throw no light on the matter. He suggested I try the India Office Library which, in fact, I had already approached a fortnight earlier.<sup>15</sup> In their opinion 'ram jam' was a nonsense phrase perhaps coined on the pattern of 'ram-ram' (a form of salutation or greeting.) They did say that 'jam' is Urdu for 'cup', however. Meanwhile, an Indian member of the Leicester University Reference Library staff, Mr Rashid Siddiqi, had mentioned to me that there is an Indian drink called Ram Jam, concocted from the tari tree and made by boring a hole in the trunk and leaving the juices to collect and ferment for a few hours.<sup>16</sup>

The second book, *Just Rutland*, by J. and A. E. Stokes, confirmed the name of the landlord at the time, Mr Charles Blake, whose family I had found in Greetham Parish Register No. 2. Between 1744 and 1753/4 were baptisms of two daughters and a son – Dorothea (1744), William (1753) and Abigail (1753/4) – Abigail's marriage was recorded in 1777. There were other Blakes mentioned between 1702 and 1812, but I have not been able to establish any relationships to date. Significantly absent was the birth, marriage and death of Charles Blake and the baptism of his other child(ren), for he had at least one other son, named after himself.

Although *The Ram Jam House* stands in the parish of Greetham, it is only a stone's throw from Stretton village, which lies opposite on the eastern side of the Great North Road. I had been puzzled by the absence of burials, for the Misses Stokes date Blake's death as 1791 (although they are wrong in saying that the *Ram Jam* was 'A regular halting point for the stage coaches.') They go on to say: 'Here they stopped and lingered for a brief space while fresh horses were harnessed, and in the interval the landlord served the passengers with a potent liquor of his own devising. The drink he gave the name of Ram Jam, and the inn, according to general supposition, inherited the title, though the secret of the brew apparently was not to survive its inventor.'

Logistics provided the answer. Whereas it would be an easy matter to take a child to be baptised in Greetham church, some two miles away, the close proximity of Stretton churchyard made it an obvious burial ground. Stretton parish register records the burial of Frances, wife of William Blake (one of Charles's sons was William) in 1742: the baptism of Sarah, Charles's daughter, in 1743; the burial of William and James in 1748/9 and Dorothy in 1749; Charles Blake (Keeper of the *Ram Jam House*) in 1791; his wife Susan in 1793; and Charles Blake Jr. in 1810.

The *Rutland & Stamford Mercury* of 11th March 1791 confirms that 'On Saturday last died, Mr Charles Blake, in the parish of Greetham, in Rutland, in the 80th year of his age.' The issue of 13th September, 1793: 'On Sunday last died at Greetham, in Rutland, Mrs Blake aged 81; and on 9th November, 1810 (died) Last week, Mr Blake, landlord of the Ram-Jam Public-house, Greetham.'

The dates all fitted beautifully and the connection

had been confirmed. I felt it was time now to see if India Office Library could provide evidence that Charles Blake Snr. had visited India before he came to Greetham, and if any of the Blakes had left wills.

Although available documentation in the I.O.L. is remarkably detailed, before 1753 it is a matter of luck if the researcher finds what he or she is looking for. There are no passenger lists for ships to or from this country prior to that date.<sup>17</sup> I searched the Bengal and Bombay Army Muster Rolls for the relevant period and more which gave names of soldiers and civilians stationed in several places.<sup>18</sup> Since there was no certainty of Charles Blake's status I looked at all the names listed, and marvelled at the mix of nationalities, but the name I wanted was not there. I also examined as many of the ships' logs for the period, where they existed, in the time available. There were no Blakes among the crews.

I wrote to Northamptonshire Record Office and was told that the Blake wills were not proved at the Consistory Court of Peterborough. However, the Index to P.C.C. wills 1750-1800 included both Charles and Susannah Blake, and my search moved to Chancery Lane. To my delight, all three had left wills. Those of the parents were relatively simple, Charles Snr. mentioning his wife Susannah and son Charles only. They were to receive jointly and equally all his 'Household Goods Plate Linnen Rings Jewels Watches and Sums of Money Securities for money debts stock of Liquors coppers Brewing Utensils Barrels and other Vessels Cattle Chattels and all other my Personal Estate and Effects.' Eighteen months later his widow joined him, leaving everything to Charles.

It is Charles Junior's long and detailed will which is the most interesting. Described as 'Gentleman' in the Stretton burial records, although still the licensee according to the *Stamford Mercury* report, he left personal effects and property to the value of just under £3,500; an enormous sum in today's money, having taken over the *Ram Jam* on his mother's death. How was it possible for his father and mother (who was illiterate) and, later, himself to have amassed such a sum by running a simple alehouse and smallholding? Even more astonishing is their burial place at Stretton. Immediately outside the south porch of Stretton church stands a magnificent table tomb (Fig. 2) with apical ends, pillasters, cartouches and swags of leaves and flowers.

Charles Blake Jr., to whom it is said was imparted the secret recipe for 'Ram Jam', carried on the business with his wife Elizabeth. On 4th November 1810 he, too, was interred in Stretton churchyard 'in a vault close to my Mother on the North side the monument' following his death on 31st October. To his widow he confirmed his marriage settlement of 'Lands Hereditments and premises . . . in South Witham and Caythorpe . . . And also . . . a Close situate in Thistleton.' In addition she had the use of all his other hereditaments and real estate for life, and his personal estate so long as she did not remarry.

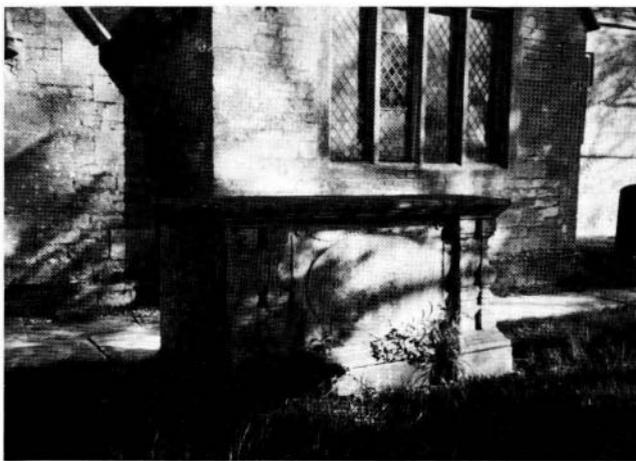


Fig. 2. *The Blake Tomb, Stretton churchyard*

It would appear that Charles and Elizabeth had no children, as none appears either in Greetham or Stretton parish records and Charles's sister Abigail (who married William Wyche of Crowland at Greetham on 18th December 1777), together with her two sons, Charles and William, inherited the entire estate following Elizabeth's death. Evidently Charles's relict went to live with the Wyche family in Lincolnshire, as Stretton register notes the burial of 'Elizabeth Blake from Crowland' on 17th June 1831, aged 71. Her name is not recorded on the remaining blank cartouche on the west side of the vault, but no doubt her remains lie near her husband's. Nephew Charles received his uncle's 'silver Coat & Waistcoat Buatons Shoe Buckles Knee Buckles Tortoiseshell Reading Glass & Snuff Box Silver Tankard & Watch which were my ffather's & the Gold Ring which was my Mothers.'

What riches! I am firmly convinced that the third explanation is the true one, that the Blake family fortune was amassed consequent upon the sale of the delectable 'Ram Jam'. I fear, however, we shall never know for certain what ingredients were used in its manufacture, for the recipe is not referred to in any of the wills. The Rees entry mentions ale, as does Eric Swift, and indeed there were many variations to be had.<sup>19</sup> Introduced by the Danes, it was regarded in medieval times as a food: at least one Frenchman attributed the strength and endurance of English bowmen to its excellent properties. Dagger, huff cap, dragon's milk, merry-go-down, humming ale and stingo are some of the imaginative names used, with equally colourful results only to be guessed at. Although the basic recipes were similar, each brewer had his or her own secret ingredients which added a distinctive flavour and bite. Herbs and spices were much in evidence from early times; the Anglo-Saxon 'lamb's wool' was compounded from ale mixed with ginger, sugar, toast and crab apples, roasted beforehand until they burst. Mum Ale, from Brunswick, was worked with a mixture of malted wheat, oatmeal and ground beans after which was added 'tops of fir and birch, handfuls of burnet, betony, majoram, avens, pennyroyal, wild thyme, elderflowers, cardamom seeds and barberries.'<sup>20</sup> The result was kept for two years before drinking. Eng-

lish brewers used still other ingredients as diverse as saffras, walnut rinds, madder, red sanders and ellecampagne, throwing watercress, brooklime, wild parsley and horseradish into the hogsheads for good measure. Other compounded beverages included wine, the more common being Piment, Posset and Copus, beer flip and Punch, the later name interestingly being derived from a Hindustani word, 'paunch'.

Any of these could have formed the basis of 'Ram Jam'. It could even have been a spiced gin.<sup>21</sup> Coconut, albeit expensive, would have been available in this country at that time, but it may well be that the exotic sound of the words was all that Charles Blake used to capture the public's imagination. Or could he have put two Indian words together – 'Ram' meaning a Hindu God or Divinity, and the Urdu 'Jam', a cup, to make a phrase which, loosely translated, could mean 'elixir'?

I do not think the answer is to be found. But what else do we know about the Ram Jam House? Its age is uncertain. The extensive rebuilding works carried out at various times have obliterated all traces there may have been of its origins save the Saxon sundial in the wall by the main entrance. Coysh says that it is 'a stone building constructed around a fourteenth century alehouse which was thatched . . . A massive beam over the (bar) fireplace has been carbon dated and is said to be over 1,000 years old.'<sup>22</sup> Roman tiles are said to have been found.<sup>23</sup> Again, we may never know.

Regarding the House's later history, neither of the two contestants in the famous fight at Thistleton Gap stayed there. The *Stamford Mercury* reports on 27th September 1811 that: 'Cribb is at Witham Common where Lord Yarmouth, the Hon. Berkeley Craven, &c. have assembled' (at the *Bull Inn*.) 'Molyneaux left Stamford last night for the *New Inn* at Greetham'. On 4th October their reporter notes that the fight, which was a return bout and was said to have drawn some 15,000 spectators, lasted eleven rounds and was won by Cribb, who broke Molyneaux' jaw in two places.

On a happier note, Hon. Hugh Lowther, later 5th Earl of Lonsdale and donor of the Lonsdale Belt, won a wager of £5 that he could beat the American Mr Weston in a pedestrian contest, walked from Knightsbridge Barracks to the *Ram Jam* on 17th and 18th June 1878 – almost exactly one hundred miles. The Hon. Hugh won, returning a remarkable time of 17 hours 21 minutes, stopping three times for a one-hour rest and arriving just before midday on the eighteenth. He attributed his success to putting on new shoes and socks every five miles, and completed the course at an average speed of a little under 6 m.p.h. Afterwards, he 'strolled on to Asfordby to arrive in time for dinner with his mother . . .'<sup>24</sup>

Perhaps we have seen the last of colourful eccentrics such as these, although some contemporary sportsmen and businessmen seem determined to keep alive the image of the 'mad dogs and Englishmen'. What is certain, is that the English wayside inns where they rested their weary bones are more

in demand than ever, and always likely to be. What the twenty-first century has in store for us by way of creature comforts will be made clear all in good time: meanwhile, I await the manufacture of H. G. Wells' time machine, and a visit to Charles Blake so I can ask him the vexed question: 'What do you put in Ram Jam?'

#### REFERENCES

1. *The Wheatsheaf, The Plough, The Black Horse, The Crown & Anchor, The Oak*; there was an alehouse on Little Lane, and one other I have not been able to locate. On the Great North Road, *The Royal Oak* and *The Winchilsea Arms*.
2. Horn Lane Tollbar was let in 1826 for a period of two years for £1,064 p.a. plus £98 from the previous tenancy, *Rutland & Stamford Mercury*, 11th October 1826. In the same year Sir Walter Scott noted in his diary that it was 'the dullest road in the world and the most convenient'.
3. *The Great North Road*, Charles Harper (1901) p.196
4. Valuation of the Rutland Estates of George H. Finch, Esq., 1871, at Burley-on-the-Hill. Acreage held by James and Sarah Spring: 37a. 1r. 27p. at an annual rent of £64.
5. Information in letter from T. H. McK. Clough to T. Hart dated 25.7.1985.
6. State Papers: Eliz. SP12/119 1a Dec. 1577; E180.117 (1622-23) Alehouse licences giving names of Justices, Sureties and Keeper, but not the house.
7. WO30; 48/49/50; 1686, 1756 and undated respectively: alehouses with rooms suitable for billets.
8. Armstrong's map appears in *Rutland Record No. 3*
9. *Stamford Herald* (1793); *Stamford & Boston Gazette* (1809); *Loyal Intelligencer* (1793-5); *Lincolnshire Chronicle* (1833-4); *Northampton Herald* (1840-42); *Stamford & Rutland Guardian* (1875-81, 1890-1916); *Stamford & District News* (Sept. 1912-May 1915) and *Stamford & Rutland News* (1915-42)
10. *Oxford English Dictionary* 'Ram-Jam full' – crammed full.
11. *Historic & Picturesque Inns of Old England*: Charles Harper (1926) p.89
12. Mr Swift wrote to me regarding his personal knowledge of the 'Ram Jam', and subsequently told me of the lively discussion in *Notes & Queries* Vol. II (1930). There is a copy in Leicester Reference Library, Bishop Street.
13. N.M.R., Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Fortress House, 23 Savile Row, London W1X 1AB
14. There is a copy in Leicester University Reference Library.
15. The British Library, India Office Library & Records, 197 Blackfriars Road, London, SE1 8NG
16. Affirmed later by Mr Quraishi in the India Office Library, who said this could be done with the coconut palm. Drunk before sunrise it is said to produce no ill effects.
17. Although there are occasional crew lists and logs. See Series L/MAR/B/ . . .
18. L/MIL/10/130; L/MIL/12/117, 118 & 119: Bengal and Bombay Army Muster Rolls.
19. See Note 12 above. *Inns of Leicestershire* (1975) p.32
20. *Inns, Ales & Drinking Customs of Old England*, H.F. Hackwood, pp.99/100
21. *Ibid.* pp.128-130. To avoid the punitive measures of the Gin Act, 1736, chemists added spice and sugar and called it 'medicine'; taverners, 'wine'. Ladies Delight, Tow Row and Makeshift were some of the names given.
22. *Historic English Inns*, A. W. Coysh, p.158
23. *Notes & Queries* p.321. F. M. Denton of the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, writes that the current landlady in 1916 said the inn was 'very old, dating certainly from Roman times, as proved by bricks still in the walls'.
24. *The Yellow Earl*, Douglas Sutherland (1965) pp.22-23

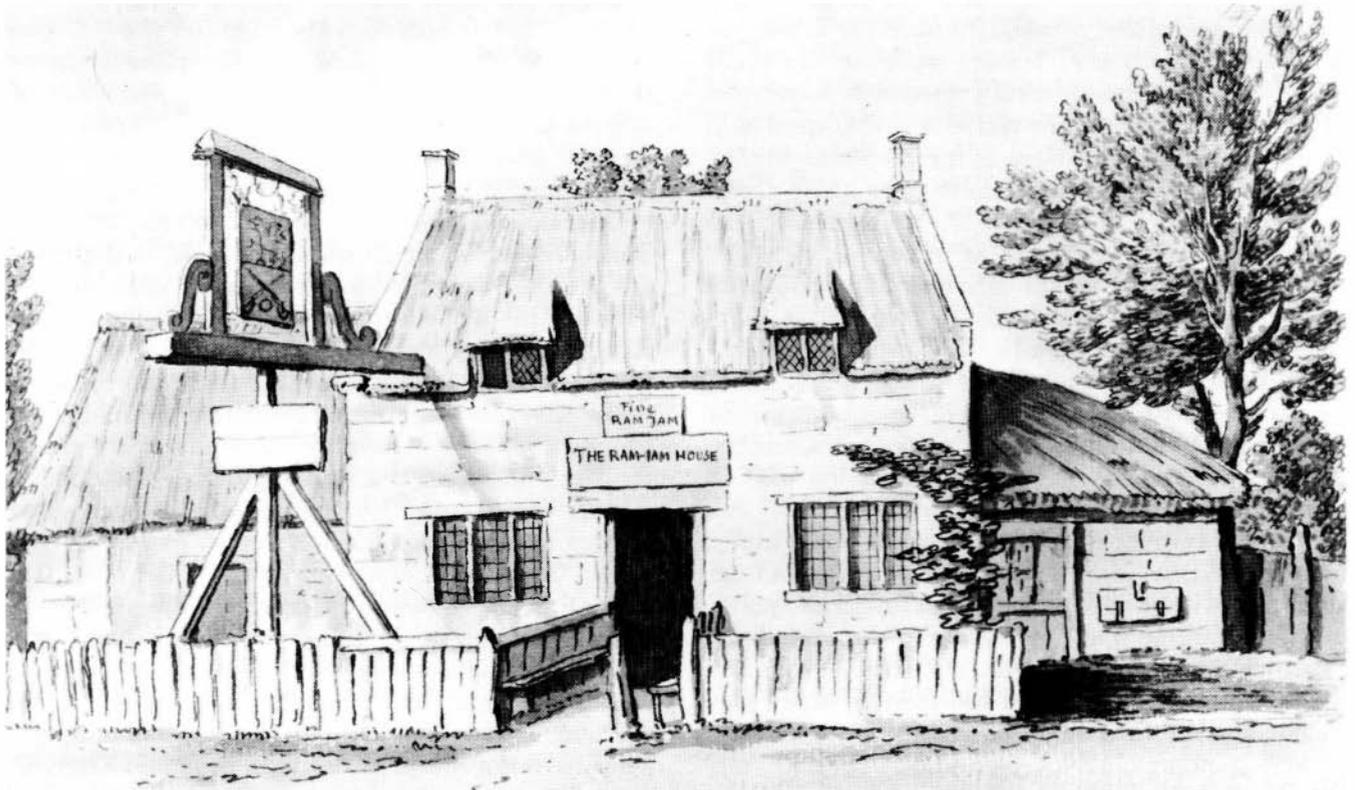


Fig. 3. *The Ram Jam House*. British Library

# Rutland's Ironstone Quarries in 1930: the Notebooks of the late Professor S. H. Beaver

P. R. MOUNFIELD

and D. TURNOCK

Professor Stanley Beaver died in 1985 after a professional lifetime devoted to Economic Geography. Much of his research work was closely connected with North Staffordshire, especially the Potteries, for he headed the Geography Department at Keele from 1950 until his retirement in 1974 but he was always glad to retrace his earlier work devoted to the ironstone quarries of the East Midlands. Stanley Beaver was brought up in Kilburn, London, but as a boy during the school holidays, frequently used to stay with an aunt who lived in Northamptonshire. During the early post-war years Stanley worked at the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and was involved in the setting up of the Ironstone Restoration Fund. Even earlier than that, however, the collection of material for his MA thesis on the British Iron and Steel Industry of Britain led him to the East Midlands ironstone field where he carefully surveyed every quarry then extant. In addition to the dissertation itself several publications emerged on the area, the most recent of which appeared in the *Rutland Record* shortly before his death.

During the Institute of British Geographers Annual Conference at Leicester, Stanley Beaver participated in an industrial geography excursion into Northamptonshire on 7th January 1981 and on that occasion most generously offered his ironstone records to P. R. Mounfield, who led the excursion, and who had a professional association with Stanley Beaver of many years standing, having helped in the revision of the last edition of Stamp & Beaver's *British Isles*. The coverage of Rutland by these materials is more limited than that for Northamptonshire because the scale of quarrying operations was still comparatively modest in 1930 but the following extracts from Stanley Beaver's fieldwork notebooks provide an interesting snapshot of conditions at the time.

The extracts have been taken virtually word for word from the notebooks with only minor abridgement and redrafting to make for greater clarity and conciseness. The material stands on its own and requires only minimal interpretation. Readers will quickly appreciate that Beaver studied the quarries with the eye of a trained geologist as well as that of a geographer. He made his visits at a time of technological transition and noticed some interesting variations in the extent to which machines had superseded hand-working: the Cottesmore case is obviously remarkable in this context. Conservationists will note that with the machines came increasingly serious problems of derelict land which reached such proportions by the end of the Second World War that



Fig. 1. Professor S.H. Beaver. University of Keele

legislation was required. The various references to calcining add up to a very detailed insight into the initial processing of the ore. Regrettably there are few other portrait pictures of the Rutland quarries but some further information is provided by Eric Tonks who carried out field work in the 1950s with particular reference to the railway systems in the quarries. All Beaver's visits were made in April 1930.

## SECTION ONE: QUARRIES PRODUCING IRONSTONE AT THE TIME OF THE VISIT Burley

### Dorman Long & Co. Ltd.

This large quarry is situated about one and a half miles northeast of Burley and just over one mile due south of Cottesmore. In the cutting between the office and the wood known as Watkin's Gorse a peculiar apparent unconformity is to be seen. The bottom five feet of ironstone is perfectly horizontal but above the beds have a marked dip of more than ten degrees towards the southeast. This could not be a real unconformity and slip-faulting could not be an explanation since the lower beds are immune. Ice action is seen as a possible explanation for the false bedding: the presence of ice is very obvious from one or two huge drift-filled gullies, the most notable of which occupies a large area of Watkin's Gorse and west thereof (boulder clay of a dark blue-grey tint containing innumerable boulders of shapes, sizes and rocks).

The quarry face is about half a mile long running in a N.N.W.-S.S.E. direction and working slowly westwards. The ore bed is mainly good stuff from eight to ten feet thick, all very weathered and broken up with little or no bluestones and not needing much leaving underneath. The cover here is only four to five feet, consisting of rubbly ore and soil, and is removed by hand and dumped and levelled off behind the face. The ore is dug by steam digger – an easy process with such broken ore – and loaded into wagons for removal to the cali-banks. An attempt has been made here to calcine the ore in situ, as at Irchester: a stretch of about a quarter of a mile at the southern end has been tested but the process is not such a success here as elsewhere owing to the amount of water in the quarry.

Apart from this the calcining is done in three huge clamps each of which holds about 40,000 tons of ore. Each clamp is being continually altered. On one side of the core burnt ore is being removed and on the other side fresh ore is being tipped, up to a certain point when tipping will recommence on the other side – always leaving a burning core. In building up the clamp a layer of large ore blocks is put at the base, then a layer of large lumps of coal and then ore is tipped together with a certain amount of slack on top. One of these heaps will take on average about twenty weeks to burn through. Wind may hasten the burning and cause higher temperatures which make for clinker formation (large black clinkery masses of iron) and help in the smelting. Rain doesn't have much effect apart from causing dense clouds of steam. The explosions so frequently heard in a newly lighted cali-bank are probably due to gases splitting large lumps and occur usually only near the edge when first lit and when blue stone is present: occasionally lumps are shot out by these explosions.

The calcined ore is loaded by steam digger into wagons for screening. The screening plant is situated on the western side of the central bank and is worked by a vertical boiler off an old steam navy. Two sieves are moved to and fro and on the top one the burnt ore is shot from wagons. The dust collects in wagons underneath and the screened ore is shot out into 20 ton Dorman Long hoppers. A bank of screenings is being built on the eastern side of the clamps. Some of it is used for ballast on the rail tracks and an experiment is at present in progress for its use for hard tennis courts. This quarry is connected by a standard gauge track which links up, several hundred yards beyond the Cottesmore-Ashwell road, with the Ashwell mineral line of the L.M.S.R. which also serves the Cottesmore pits. The area was leased in 1918 but much preliminary railway and cutting construction was necessary so that work did not commence at the quarry until 1921. At first it was a narrow gauge track but it was converted to standard in 1924-5. Originally most of the ore was sold to other companies but now all the output goes to Dorman Long's Clarence Ironworks at Port Clarence, Middlesbrough. The amount sent away each week is about 3,000 tons, all of it calcined

and all of it by rail to Middlesbrough via Toton and York (freight rate 7/2d per ton). Coal for calcining comes from the Leicestershire-Nottinghamshire area. About 75 men are employed.

### **Cottesmore**

#### **Sheepbridge Coal & Iron Company**

These workings are at least twenty years out of date and how they manage to keep going as they do is amazing. Ever since 1882, when work started, the quarries have never been more than twenty feet deep and so they have never come under the Quarries Act. Ore is practically at the surface and all the working is done by hand: no machine has ever been seen in the place and the trucks are hauled from the pit to the beginning of an endless rope system by horses. Sandwiched between the highly-efficient workings of Pilton and Burley on the one hand and Market Overton and Stainby on the other the quarry presents a most remarkable contrast with the rest of the industry. It is undoubtedly the only quarry without a machine and it is certainly the only one where horses are used instead of locomotives. Query: how do they manage to keep on?

The present working lies on the north side of the Cottesmore-Ashwell road almost one mile south of Barrow and three quarters of a mile west of Cottesmore. It has an eastward-working face about a quarter of a mile in length. All the area on the south side of the road is now disused and most of the ore has been worked out from here. The cover is removed by hand and levelled off behind the quarry, and the soil is replaced. Land is handed back in lots to the farmer every six months when it is quickly ploughed and sown again so that only twenty yards behind the quarry face the land is being cropped again.

The ore is hewn out at the base with a pick and then the top is prised down with crowbars – about nine or ten men being employed to heave down a section about three or four yards long. The ore is then hand loaded into small wagons. About 35 men are employed here but only twelve of them work at loading ore. It is usually arranged that enough stone is prised down before Saturday to enable these men to earn a full day's wage in half a day. Each loader loads some 15-16 tons per day: on average about 90 tons per week. The weekly output of the quarry is just over 1,000 tons.

Until recently a great deal of trouble was experienced with water. The Lias clay is about five to seven feet below the base of the working and a new main drain runs through the hill down to the old canal, with subsidiary drains put in every chain along the quarry. One of the results of hand labour is that the quarrymen can, if they wish, select their stone rejecting poor or sandy stuff. In this quarry a bank of black stone occurs not infrequently at the top of the ore bed. It is underlain by nine to twelve feet of poor sandy stone and the foreman was wondering if it would be possible to get the black stone without the other: just imagine what a labourer from Corby would think of this!

The endless rope runs from the cutting near the office down to the weighing station where the L.M.S.R. branch from Ashwell begins. Here the ore is tipped from the narrow gauge trucks into railway wagons. On the endless rope the full wagons descending pull up the empty ones so that no motive power is necessary. It is only seven years ago (September 1923) since this replaced an old two-rope system. The rope is not started until mid-day and is then kept running until 4.30 p.m. No calcining is done here, the ore all being sent away raw mainly to the Renishaw Iron Co. and Partington Iron & Steel Co.

**Market Overton**  
**Stanton Ironworks Co. formerly James Pain Ltd.**

Two pits are working at present both about half a mile north of Market Overton. The old workings east and southeast of the village are now disused, the former having been worked out. A large worked-out area lies immediately north of the village and is now restored in pasture. As in the other north Rutland quarries the cover is thin on the whole. In the eastern pit which has cut through the bridge road the cover is four to five feet thick and is worked by hand (it being cheaper to do this than with a navy especially when the land has to be levelled). The ore bed in this pit is about ten to eleven feet thick, all oxidised brown stone removed by navy. Water is removed from this pit by a drain. The western pit is much larger and the cover increases in thickness until at the western end, with the coming in of clay and sand of the estuarine series. It is six to eight feet thick. The ore bed is over twelve feet thick in parts but it decreases in thickness while becoming more massive and blocky at the western end. The stone is mostly oxidised and blue cores are of rare occurrence only. Stone, between two and six feet thick and unworkable, lies between the base of the western quarry and the Lias clay. Water is rather a nuisance and has to be pumped out. The cover is removed by digger and conveyor (with tub) and the ore with a digger. Levelling off behind this pit is naturally a much slower process than in the eastern pit.

About sixty men are employed here, mainly on removing cover, levelling off and operating machinery. The output is about 4,000 tons per week. Although this is a Stanton pit it does not send much stone to Stanton since the Stainby workings, being closer, supply most of the company's own needs. The chief customers are the Frodingham Iron and Steel Co., Partingtons of Manchester and Scotts of Leeds Steel Works, Hunslet. The pits are connected by a standard gauge line which runs due north to the Saxby-Bourne line of the L.M.S.R. One of the engines in use here came from the Uppingham quarries.



Fig 2. *An ironstone gullet near Thistleton.* Rutland Journal

**Pilton**  
**Pilton Ironstone Company (Staveley Coal & Iron Company Ltd.)**

These extensive quarries are situated about half a mile southeast of Pilton village on the south side of the road to South Luffenham. There are two large quarries on the east side of the Morcott road and a third standing at present on the west side of that road. The ore-bed is here about eight to ten feet thick and it rises slightly southwards into the hillside. It is a good quality ore with very little blue-stone present. The cover is about twenty to thirty feet in the eastern working consisting of estuarine stuff (sand and clay) capped by thin limestone slabs. This limestone is absent from the central working where the cover is only fifteen to twenty feet thick. The output of the quarries goes principally to the Staveley works at Chesterfield but some 700 tons per week are also sent away to various firms in the Frodingham district.

Work here is slack just at present owing to the fact that one of the Staveley furnaces is being relined but it is hoped to be in full swing by May 10th or soon after. The Pilton people are taking advantage of this lull to get their machinery repaired (one of the diggers is having boiler repairs). The working is here, as at the other Staveley concerns (Cranford and Loddington, Northants) all mechanical and the standard gauge is employed for the trucks so that the ore can be loaded direct into Staveley trucks. There are two large and two small Ruston diggers (large ones for cover; small ones for ore) and also a conveyor which is building the characteristic unrestored alp-like dump-heaps. It is only recently that the ground has been left unrestored: the greater part of the area between the quarries and the road has

been levelled off and is now under cereals. One of the small diggers has caterpillar wheels and when it was decided to shift it from one quarry to the next it was run up the cover-slope, across part of a sown field to cut through a hedge like a tank and then descend into the next quarry! It would have been a ticklish and expensive job to move an ordinary wheel-mounted digger thus.

The company started with an area leased about 1916 but this was left and it was only in 1919 before they began to open up. Under normal circumstances the output of these quarries is about 3,500 tons per week. Some fifty men are employed. Calcining is occasionally done here, presumably in slack times at Staveley when it is the most convenient thing to do with the stacked ore. There is a 10,000 ton clamp burning at present near the railway, but only two have been burned here before: one of 11,000 and the other of 9,000 tons.

## **SECTION TWO: QUARRIES DISUSED OR PRODUCING MATERIAL OTHER THAN IRONSTONE**

### **Easton on the Hill**

Derelict workings west of the village. Some six feet of broken rubbly ore still shows with four to five feet of soil covering. The base of the quarries are waterlogged. The ground behind has been roughly levelled: some land is in pasture and some is ploughed.

### **Luffenham**

Luffenham Stone & Asphalt Co. Ltd., formerly Luffenham Iron Company. The quarries lay north of Foster's Bridge on the north side of the lane to North Luffenham about two miles east of that village. The ironstone was only worked for a short time when the quarries were first opened near the railway. On working into the hillside the cover increased so

rapidly that, consisting as it did of Lincolnshire limestone, it was considered more profitable to work the limestone cover than the ore bed beneath with the result that the iron ore bed now lies some thirty feet below the base of the limestone quarry. Some of the limestone is sent to Kettering furnaces for fluxing purposes.

### **Uppingham**

Pain's old workings, about half a mile south of Uppingham, half way up the hillslope, are now extinct. The rails have been removed; the tunnel under the road still remains; but the western end of the quarry is now used as a rubbish dump. These pits are permanently closed: they were never acquired by Stanton with the rest of Pain's workings.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE**

Beaver's article on 'Ironstone in Rutland 1882-1982' appeared in *Rutland Record* No. 3 (1982-3) pp.110-7. It mentions most of the relevant literature as well as summaries of the material quoted in this article. Readers may be interested in the paper by John Sheail on 'The Mineral Workings Act and the restoration of ironstone workings in Northamptonshire, England 1936-51' in *Town Planning Review* Vol. 54 (1983) pp.405-24.

The following obituaries give full details of Professor Beaver's activities: *Times*, 14th November, 1984; *Geography*, January, 1985, p.80; *Geographical Journal*, vol. 151, Part 2, July, 1985, pp.305-306; *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS* 504-506, 1985. An entry for the *Dictionary of National Biography* has been prepared. The Rutland Record Society is grateful to Mrs Elsie Beaver for a donation towards the production costs of this issue. The photograph of Professor Beaver has been provided by Dr Brian Turton of the University of Keele.

# Able Artisans: the Southwell Family of Uppingham

MARY SOUTHWELL

Tailor, grocer, gardener, grazier, butcher, baker, fishing-rod maker, soldier, town-crier, innkeeper, shoemaker, page, plough-boy, blacksmith, agricultural labourer, draper, dressmaker, dustman, milkman, railwayman, postman, chemist, carpenter, cook and nursemaid.

John Southwell of Uppingham (1778-1845) and his descendants have been manually skilled craftsmen and tradesmen for two centuries. This able family has maintained its numbers through epidemics and two World Wars, despite the high infant mortality rates of the 19th century; 452 direct descendants are known, of whom about 320 are alive in 1987. They are represented in Uppingham and surrounding towns, Southern England, Yorkshire, U.S.A., Canada, Australia, Zimbabwe, Spain, Germany and Norway.

John and Ann Southwell baptised their daughter Mary at Uppingham Parish Church in 1775, followed by John in 1778, six other children, and lastly William in 1789. Their gravestone (John 1813 and Ann 1835) is at the top of the steps leading from London Road up to the Church. We can find no earlier history, John Senior was not baptised or married at Uppingham. There is an anecdote that 'Two brothers, who were tailors, came from the Fen Country to Uppingham', and there is a jug, presented to 'William Southwell, Master Tailor, in 1807' now in the possession of Viola Mary (Southwell) Love in Toronto, Canada.

John of 1778 married Mary Hawkins in 1801 and they had four children John, Thomas, Susannah and William before Mary died in 1811. John died in 1845 at the age of 67. In 1840, on August 18, his portrait was painted as a birthday gift to his daughter, Mrs Susannah Raithby of Wisbech. His cheerful face hangs over the mantelpiece at the Windsor home of Margaret (Southwell) Greven.

John born 1801, a tailor, married Frances Taylor in 1823. She died in 1836 after having three children, Mary, Fanny and Horace (1829). A second marriage to the rather younger Mary Ann continued the family with Hector Hawkins (1837-53) and eleven other children in the years to 1860. We can follow the fortunes of this family from the start of Civil Registration of births in mid-1837 and by the ten-yearly Censuses from 1841.

In 1841 John, aged 40, was a tailor living in Tod's Piece, North Street, with his second wife Mary and five children. By 1851 he had moved to Horn Lane, was employing two men, son Horace was a tailor, daughter Fanny was housekeeper to Harry Edson in High Street, and seven children were at home. The year 1861 finds John and Mary Ann in Ragmans Row, their 12-year old daughter Ellen is a servant to Henry Ringham, hairdresser. In 1871 only Frederick, an agricultural labourer, Eliza and



*John Southwell (1778-1845) painted in 1840*

young Sarah Ann were still at home, Ellen is a cook to John Baylis, hotel keeper in High Street. By 1881 John Southwell, widower, aged 80, tailor, lives in North Street with son Frederick aged 28 'employed in various ways', daughter Eliza and granddaughter Ada. Fred Southwell's picture can be seen today in the montage at *The Vaults* in the Market Square – holding the Town Crier's Bell.

Thomas Southwell of 1803 married in 1825 Elizabeth Freeman whose father John was a publican and landholder. The Enclosure Map (1803) shows allotments of land to Charles Freeman and Richard Freeman (three pieces in Brand Field). In 1841 John and Richard were publicans, Charles was of independent means, and Robert (below) was a farmer. The Freeman family may be followed by the transfer of property in the manorial courts. Elizabeth Freeman's brother Robert and sister Susan did not marry and the Freeman inheritance passed on their deaths to the family of Thomas Southwell. On the death of Thomas's children Mary Ann, Jane, John Freeman and William in 1904 to 1912, this property passed to the children of Tom Washington Southwell. Thomas's daughters Jane and Kitty were dressmakers, Eliza was assistant to Tom W. the butcher, son John Freeman was a shoemaker and William was a grocer.

The butcher's shop on the corner of High Street East and Queen Street was already established in 1839. Thomas, aged 37, a tailor and publican, was shown in 1841 as living in High Street (after Smith's Yard); in 1851 as a tailor and farmer of 32 acres; in

1861 as a tailor and farmer of four acres, and in 1871 as a tailor, his son Thomas W. then being a butcher and grazier of ten acres. In 1881 Thomas W. was a farmer of 70 acres and a butcher, employing two men and two boys.

To return to the family of John, 1801, only Horace 1829 and Alfred 1842 have been followed. Horace married in 1856, Ellen Rudkin, the ninth of twelve children of carpenter Henry Rudkin and his wife Ann Stevens of Empingham. Rudkin is a name well-known in Empingham; Francis, John, Thomas, William and Henry all had large families there in the years 1820-1860. Henry's father John Rudkin married Mary Smith in 1793 at Edith Weston, and his father Henry Rudkin married Christian Pitts at Oakham church in 1749. We correspond with Noel Rudkin, of the Oakham branch, and his wife Ellen. Horace and Ellen's third and fourth children, Tom 1862 and Clara 1866 were born in Leeds (Ellen's sister Jemima Thrippleton was living there); the other six children were born in Uppingham, as were most of the people mentioned in this story.

Horace 1857 married twice but had no children, he was a gardener, moved to London and Bristol and in his later years carried a yoke with buckets of pig swill round Uppingham; he always wore a beret or hat. Clara did not marry, she died in Uppingham in 1946. Ellen (Nellie) married John William Thorpe a groundsman at the School, they lived in Norton Street in a spotlessly clean and polished cottage where Lizzie Musty joined them when widowed.

George Henry Southwell 1859 married Mary Ann Taylor from North Luffenham, daughter of Aldgate and Ann Taylor and great-granddaughter of William Taylor who married Sophia Aldgate in 1800. They had ten children, among them Albert Edward, who, as a boy, was shot by a farmer and lost an arm, James Aldgate (Neggy) who also had ten children, Ada Louise Boyd who went to Australia in her later years, Alfred Wallace who moved to Stamford in 1937 and later to the U.S.A. and George Ernest, Mabel, Gertrude May, Percy Edgar and Florence Alice who all remained in the Uppingham district. Among this family were, and are, many gardeners, farmers and builders.

Tom 1862 was a blacksmith who became a gardener after an accident to his eye. His wife Harriet Anne was the daughter of Luke and Rachel Charity of Harringworth, her brother Luke was a railway platelayer. Fourteen children were born, of whom George Ernest died as an infant. Tom kept two allotments, one, along the path to Bisbrooke, which he worked in a morning, and one on the Ayston Road he worked in the afternoon. He won prizes at the Rutland Show for the Largest Exhibit (rhubarb). On Sunday morning the family collected the newspapers from the train and sold them from the hallway of the home. John Albert went to Buxton; Horace to Ripley, Derbys.; Willy, Wilfred, Dora and Lucy to

London; Nellie and Geoffrey to Peterbro'; Walter and Ronald joined the railways at Chesterfield; Rachel Anne remained in Uppingham; Thomas Henry had the *Waggon and Horses* and later the *White Swan* in the Market Place; and Herbert, after serving ten years in the Regular Army, was the postman in Uppingham, he lived in a house 'at the top of the town, in the middle of the street'.

Harry Southwell 1868 married Phyllis Annie David in Nottingham, and returned to live in Queen Street. His son Harry Jim was killed in 1918, and his other five children Arthur, Frank (milkman), Fred (tailor), Phyllis and Ethel all lived at Uppingham or at Corby. John William 1871 lived at Riverbank, Winchmore Hill, London. He made split-cane fishing rods, and his son Robert Horace followed him in the business. His four children and their descendants lived, or live in the London area. Alfred of 1842, a baker, went to Wisbech. His son George Hector, an engineer, married Rose Ellen Southwell of the Wisbech family of the same name, and descendants are at Windsor.

Of the children of Tom Washington Southwell, the butcher, Alice Elizabeth Broadway and John William 1880, a butcher and a great horseman, remained in Uppingham, whereas Mary Jane moved to Sussex. Their descendants live in Uppingham, the South of England, Canada and Zimbabwe.

As memorials to the Southwell family there is a group of early gravestones in a prominent position at the top of the steps leading from London Road into Uppingham Churchyard, and many other graves are scattered round the Churchyard. The name 'H. Southwell' is on the War Memorial. The 'Southwell Rooms', now the Council Rooms, and a window in the Parish Church were named in memory of William Southwell, the grocer. There is also a window in memory of Kitty Dalton and her sister Susan Love, (possibly Kitty 1836 and Susan Southwell 1837).

My husband Gordon, a baby when his father Walter died in 1928, knew little of the family. I started the search at Uppingham Parish Church in June 1985, and by word-of-mouth, telephone calls, viewing church records, the censuses 1841-81, and the I.G.I. have assembled nine generations. Many relations have been most helpful, and I thank them all, in particular Jean Nolan, Chris Burrowes and Margaret Greven who shared their researches with me, and Joyce Henschel, Derek Close, Kathleen Winter, Victor McLernon, Herrick, Gordon and Geoffrey Southwell, Eric, Walter and John Thorpe who sent early or current photographs and recorded their parents early family stories. If you know any more of the Southwell family, in particular early history or news of other branches, I should be most pleased to receive it at 50 Deutscher Street, Avondale Heights, Victoria, 3034, Australia.

# Rutland Records

## RUTLAND RECORDS IN THE LEICESTERSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

### New Accessions 1 April 1986 – 31 March 1988

- DE 3010 Morcott parish registers, 1813-1960
- DE 3012 Exton parish records, 1597-1977
- DE 3013 Whitwell parish records, 1716-1985
- DE 3050 Uppingham parish register, 1853-1883
- DE 3066 Clipsham parish records, 1726-1845
- DE 3069 Title deeds relating to Greetham, Oakham and Glaston, 1719-1764
- DE 3115 Additional records of Leicestershire and Rutland Society of Friends, 1657-1986
- DE 3126 Additional records of Fowler and Co., solicitors, Oakham, c.1899-1970
- DE 3158 Rutland County Court ledger, 1847-1859
- DE 3167 Rutland Petty Sessions Court Registers, 1923-1983
- DE 3177 Additional records of Fowler and Co., solicitors, Oakham, 1822-1987
- DE 3178 Oakham parish records, c.1620-1910
- DE 3201 Documents re improvements to buildings in Tixover, 1886-1905
- DE 3202 Assignment of shares, Uppingham Gas, Light and Coke Co., 1843
- DE 3206 Legal charge for a plot at Cold Overton Road Estate, Oakham, 1963
- DE 3210 Ledgers of the Tate family, baronets of Rutland and Denbighshire, 1771-1828
- DE 3211 Photographs of Leicestershire and Rutland houses et al, early 20thC-1941
- DE 3212 Oakham Congregational church minutes, 1891-1934
- DE 3214 Exton Hall MSS – papers of the Noel family (Earls of Gainsborough and Viscounts Campden), 13th-20thC
- DE 3215 Braunston Parish Council, overseers of the poor precept book, 1922-1940
- DE 3216 Ketton parish church rate book, 1854-1857
- DE 3256 Papers of Daltons (solicitors), Oakham, mainly relating to land tax, 1838-1932
- DE 3270 South Luffenham Parish Council records, late 19thC-early 20thC
- DE 3280 Bond deed re Uppingham Gas, Light and Coke Co., 1839-1858
- DE 3295 Brooke parish church account book, 1946-1979
- DE 3302 Langham parish register, 1837-1978

The Record Office has received many interesting new accessions during the last two years. The most significant of these is undoubtedly the Exton MSS (DE 3214) which consist of over eighty trunks of documents accumulated by the Earls of Gainsborough and their predecessors. The documents date from the thirteenth century and relate to estates in Rutland, Leicestershire, Gloucestershire, Kent and other counties. With the aid of a grant from the Pilgrim Trust a temporary cataloguer has been appointed specifically to work on this collection, and it is expected that listing will begin in the summer.

From October 1986 onwards stricter security measures were introduced at the Record Office, in line with developments at many other offices nationwide. The most obvious step was the introduction of a system of readers' tickets, for which proof of identity (preferably bearing both name and address) and the name and address of a referee are required.

The survey of Rutland parish records (Parochial Registers and Records Measure, 1978) has been completed. Work also proceeded on microfiching the Rutland parish

registers deposited at the office and searchers now consult microfiche rather than the original registers. Copies of the microfiche will soon be available for public consultation at local libraries.

Staff have been involved in two major exhibitions during this period. In 1986 Heather Broughton co-ordinated the exhibition mounted by Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and Records Service to mark the 900th anniversary of the Domesday Book, entitled *Domesday, Day of Reckoning*. The exhibition was displayed at Rutland County Museum during May and June 1986. It was accompanied by a specially commissioned book entitled *The Norman Conquest of Leicestershire and Rutland* (ed. Charles Phythian-Adams). In 1987 the County Archivist was responsible for mounting a Leicestershire viewing of *The Common Chronicle* exhibition, which had been initially on display at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. The exhibition consisted of a selection of the archive 'treasures' of County Record Offices of England and Wales. Included in the Leicestershire showing was 'The Laws of Cricket', 1784, which forms part of the Finch collection (ref. DG7/3/141).

In the sphere of Record Office publications *Family Forbears – A Guide to Tracing Your Family Tree in the Leicestershire Record Office* by Jerome Farrell was published early in 1987 and was an immediate success, 600 copies being sold by the end of the year. Work also began on another in the Record Office's *Guides to Collections* series on the subject of nonconformity. This is planned to appear in early 1989.

Gwenith Jones  
Acting Keeper of Archives

### The Care of Rutland Parish Records

Legislation for the storage and protection of parish records began earlier than many people think. The Tudor injunctions directing incumbents to keep a record (1538) and later a register (1598) of baptisms, weddings and burials ordered every parish to provide a 'sure coffer' with two locks for the storage of such records. The incumbent had custody of one key and the churchwardens custody of the second. New entries were made in the parish register each Sunday after the service, in the presence of one of the wardens.

For centuries the addition of further entries and the occasional reference to earlier accounts and the like were usually the only disturbances to the contents of the parish chest. However, physical conditions may not have been all that they should be and by the early twentieth century Diocesan authorities were becoming concerned as the future preservation of the church records. A few incumbents had transferred records to museums, libraries and private institutions for safekeeping at this time; however statutory provision for the care of records on a diocesan level was required and in 1929 a Parochial Registers and Records Measure gave legal status to the concept of a diocesan record office. As there were few local government or County Record Offices established at this time the 'diocesan record office' implied a church-owned building staffed by church employees.

During the intervening years there has emerged a sharper appreciation of the usefulness of records generally, with the practical result that parish records in particular have been put to more intensive use for research of many kinds, historical, genealogical, sociological and demographical. Easier means of travel and increased mobility have exposed parish records, and other parish property, to more risk of loss or damage. More use of records has meant more wear and tear. Hand in hand with these developments there has been, fortunately, the establishment of a national network of local government record offices with vastly improved repository facilities and conservation skills.

Since 1962 local authorities have had clear power to accommodate Church and similar records into the care of their record offices, these becoming 'Diocesan Record Offices (DROs). Leicestershire Record Office had received material 'unofficially' since it was established in 1947 and the Archives Dept. of Leicester City Museums had held the registers of several Leicester parishes since the 1950s. The situation in Rutland however, for various reasons, was slightly different. First, no local authority record office was established by the former Rutland County Council. Second, the Peterborough Diocesan Record Office (Delapre Abbey at Northampton), whilst accommodating the deanery and diocesan records of the diocese, and the parish records of Northamptonshire, was in a rather difficult situation regarding parish records of Rutland. The metamorphosis of Rutland from County to District Council in 1974 meant that Leicestershire County Council thenceforth, under the 1972 Local Government Act, had a duty to enquire into and see that the parish records of Rutland were properly looked after. Thus it was agreed by the Bishop of Peterborough, in conjunction with the County Archivists of Northamptonshire and Leicestershire, that the Leicestershire Record Office should become the designated repository for the deposit of Rutland parish records.

At this time a few Rutland parishes had deposited their material on 'temporary' loan (Braunston, Brooke, Normanton and South Luffenham) and deposit terms were now formalised to 'permanent' or indefinite loan in these cases. In compliance with the 1972 Local Government Act, Dr Parker, the then County Archivist, undertook a survey of records stored in each parish church in Rutland. The records were sorted and examined with great care and a schedule was drawn up and typed. These lists have subsequently proved of tremendous benefit to incumbents and parishioners as a record of the contents of each 'parish chest' and for information and security purposes.

Coincident with Dr Parker's completion of his Rutland Record Survey was the passing of the Parochial Registers and Records Measure, 1978, 'to consolidate with amendments certain enactments relating to the registration of baptisms and burials . . . to make fresh provision in place of the Parochial Registers and Records Measure 1929 with respect to diocesan record offices, the deposit therein of certain parochial registers and other records in ecclesiastical custody and the care of such registers and records'.

The new duties imposed by the Measure are as follows:-

1. every bishop to provide for at least one legally designated Diocesan Record Office to serve his diocese
2. every custodian of records which are at least 100 years old to deposit them in the Diocesan Record Office unless specific exemption is obtained from the Bishop
3. records retained in parochial custody (in particular those over 100 years old exempted from deposit) must be cared for in a specific manner: the parish must monitor the temperature and humidity conditions in which the records are kept by means of a maximum/minimum thermometer and hygrometer. The Bishop has the right to order deposit in the DRO compulsorily if duties of care are not enforced
4. every bishop to operate a system of regular statutory inspection for each parish once in every sixth year, the first to be begun before 1 January 1984.
5. with regard to access, the bishop is empowered to require the temporary deposit of all types of records in a DRO for the purposes of exhibition, research, copying or listing.

The Measure came into force on 1 January 1979 and has naturally had certain repercussions. There has been a large influx of records from Rutland parishes placed on deposit. The majority of records had previously been identified by Dr Parker; there were, however, some 'surprises' - the Civil War scrapbook of Preston parish, containing demands and receipts for ship money, lists of

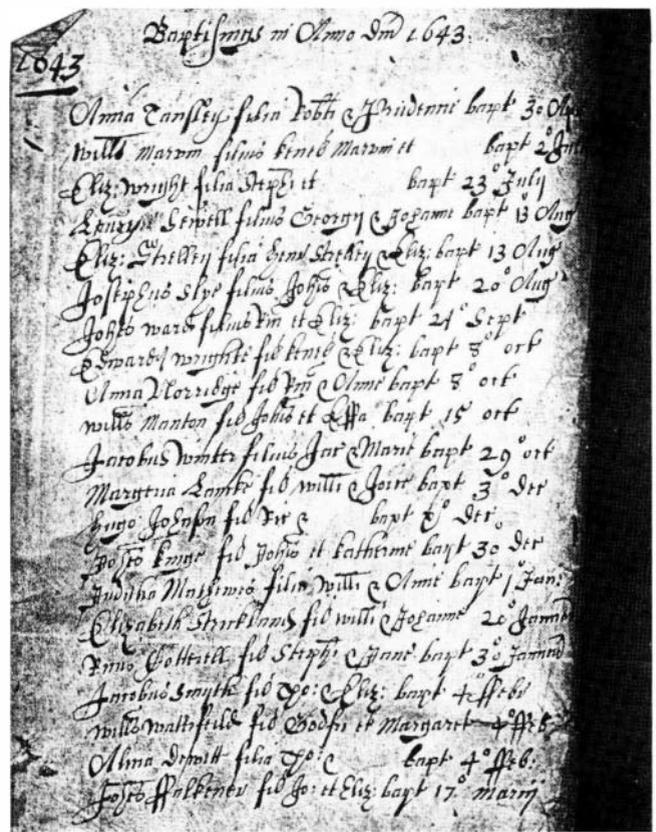


Fig. 1. Lyddington parish register extract. DE 1881/19 Leicestershire Museums

provisions requisitioned by the army and tax demands during the seventeenth century, Lyddington's earliest register of baptisms, marriages and burials, 1569-1725, not found in 1975 but located in 1980; and early apprenticeship indentures and settlement certificates of Empingham, 1718-1826, are but a few.

The first of the regular statutory inspections of the Rutland parishes commenced in 1983. The inspecting officer approved by the Bishop for this Survey has been the professional staff of the Diocesan (Leicestershire) Record Office. The Survey is now complete and during these three years every church in Rutland has been visited and certain details recorded. The documents are listed and described, particular attention being paid to the format, material, condition and location of each; details of type of storage, security and access arrangements and environmental conditions are also noted. Specific questions are asked: Are records more than 100 years old to be retained by the parish? If so, has the Bishop's permission been obtained/applied for? Has a special storage cupboard been obtained? In many cases parish records pre 1886/7 are automatically transferred for deposit; in some parishes a vacancy makes the decision to deposit without an incumbent's authorisation rather difficult; in a few parishes (5) the arrangements for the future of their records are still awaiting clarification.

The benefits of the Survey are several. Perhaps the most important is the identification of older records and their storage conditions. In addition incumbents and a wider public have access to an up to date list of parish records. Thirdly the loss of certain records, listed previously by Dr Parker but unlocated in recent years, intensifies our awareness of the vulnerability of these original and unique documents. Maps and plans, particularly tithe and enclosure plans, have suffered the most over the years. Perhaps some of these and other missing parish papers will be found before the next statutory inspection begins in 1989.

Once records are deposited in the DRO they are sorted and examined by professional staff. Any items in a fragile

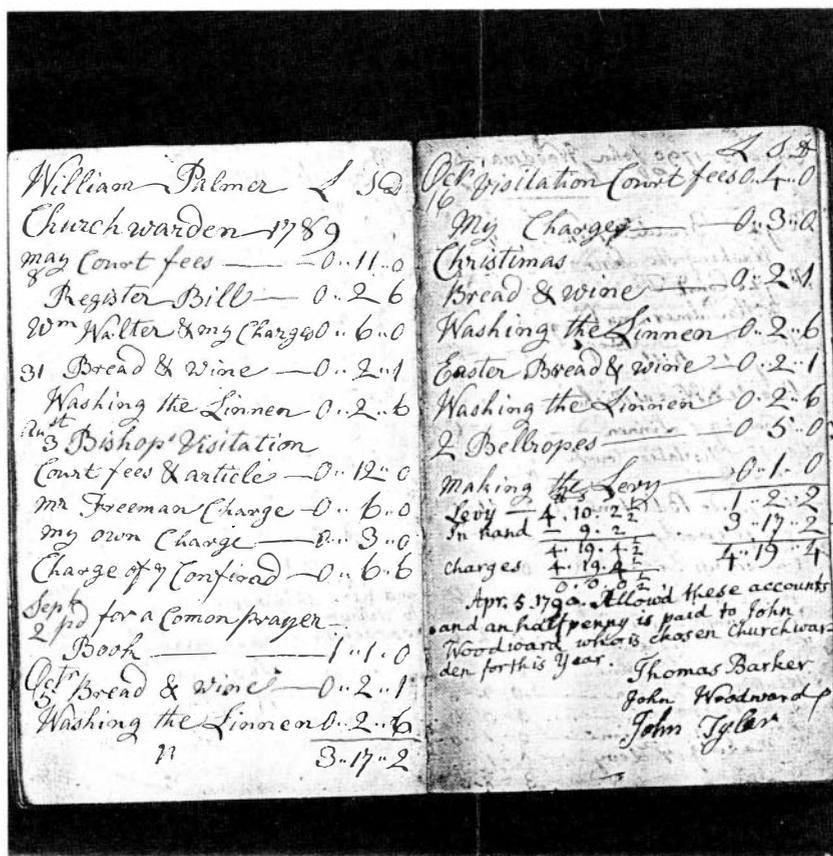


Fig. 2 Lyndon churchwardens a/c book. DE 1938/12 Leicestershire Museums

or suspect condition are removed for repair prior to listing; damage from damp and cold is commonplace among parochial records and often the 'civil parish' papers (settlement certificates examinations, removal orders etc.) suffer the most, their poor-quality paper and inks disintegrating quickly in the uncongenial conditions. The records are boxed and stored in purpose built strongrooms whose facilities have been produced on demand for public research in the Record Office. Handling original material, however, has now become something of the past; the long-term wear and tear, which might have in time seriously damaged these records, coupled with the vast improvements in microform photography and techniques in recent years, have both been very strong arguments for the copying of the registers and the subsequent production only of these copies. The availability of these 'microfiche' is not restricted to the users of the Diocesan Record Office.

Copies can be made available for consultation in local libraries and similar establishments and thus obviate the necessity for researchers from Rutland to travel to Leicester to acquire parish information.

The Rutland parish registers are now protected from constant handling and, once repaired, stored in the best possible conditions to ensure their future preservation. The information in them can be widely disseminated and appreciated by the growing numbers of local historians. The existence of these records, some of them spanning 400 years, is a remarkable feat in itself; with the encouragement of the Church, the recent legislation, and the improvements in technology, conservation and curatorial skills, we can have faith in their future survival.

Heather Broughton  
Keeper of Archives

## Museum & Project Reports

Edited by T.H. McK. Clough

### RUTLAND COUNTY MUSEUM

Since the last report, the work of the Rutland County Museum has concentrated very largely on the history of the Volunteer Soldier in Leicestershire and Rutland, the theme of a major new exhibition which opened on 14th May 1988. This exhibition concentrates on the history of the Yeomanry regiments of the two counties. These were raised in 1794 and the Rutland Yeomanry Cavalry was the first such regiment to be accepted as complete. Also covered is the history of the Rifle Volunteers of Leicestershire (there were none in Rutland) from 1859 to 1908 when they became fully integrated into the Leicestershire Regiment. The part played by the Leicestershire Yeomanry in their first overseas duty in the Boer War, and their distinguished campaigning in the two World Wars, is also described. Other sections of the exhibition cover the Rutland Militia and the 58th (Rutlandshire) Regiment.

Much has been learned about the history of the volunteers, and the gallery will be accompanied by two publications, a gallery guide and a more detailed historical study. It must be stressed that the collections of the Rutland County Museum do not themselves contain much in the way of military archive material, nor do the displays relate to the regular army in any way apart from the very small section on the 58th. Most relevant archive material which has been consulted is deposited in the Leicestershire Record Office.

Since the last of these reports was compiled (*Rutland Record* 7, 1987), a number of interesting additions have been acquired for the museums collections.

- 1986.3 Printed Act for the Enclosure of Preston, Rutland, 1773.
- 1986.7 Ledger of William Drake, grocer and baker, Morcott, Rutland. 19th century.

- 1986.16 Collection of annotated photographs of bridges and railway installations in Rutland, compiled by R. Sterndale Bennett, c.1940.
- 1986.32 Theatre programme: Oakham Minstrel Troupe, 1897.
- 1986.40-43 Further collection of papers relating to the Fowler family of Exton, mostly school exercise books, photographs and drawings by the Misses Fowler.
- 1986.61 Newspaper cuttings about Oakham men in the Great War.
- H.1.1987(L) Collection belonging to the Leicestershire Yeomanry, including black and white photographs of the Boer War, a roll of officers, and a roll of other ranks dating from after the Great War.
- H.20.1987.1 Indenture and other papers relating to George Seaton of Egleton, carpenter, and family (LRO M1337).
- H.29.1987 Collection of photographs of Ketton, Ketton Hall sale catalogue 1919, &c.
- H.42.1987 Threshing account book, Greetham, 1882-1903.
- H.55.1987 Medals and other material relating to Major C.N. Newton MC.
- H.56.1987 Medals and other material relating to Insp. J. Bottom, Rutland Constabulary.
- H.57.1987 Medals and other material including photographs relating to Alan Bond OBE DL LID.
- H.58.1987 Sale catalogues relating to Rutland properties (duplicates from LRO DE 3177).

The Museum has now acquired a microfilm/microfiche reader, purchased by the Friends of the Museum with the help of the Rutland Record and Local History Societies. Microform copies of Rutland Archives will gradually be added to the reference material held at the museum, first amongst these being microfiche of the Rutland parish registers deposited at the Leicestershire Record Office. These should be available for consultation by the time this appears in print.

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

## RUTLAND FIELD RESEARCH GROUP FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

### Excavation work.

Excavation of the medieval building complex at Whitwell (area 2/2) was carried out from April to October 1987, but many weekends were lost due to heavy rain. Work concentrated on the eastern lower end of the site, and several new significant features were revealed. Several courses of stonework in the form of a quadrant could be a water sump or the foundations of a small external staircase. Several smooth dark slabs across half of the feature and some 50 cm below floor level suggest the possibility of a small well. Work during the early part of the 1988 season has brought to light a line of large limestone slabs below floor level in the direction of the well or sump feature, perhaps a slab-covered drain similar to earlier ones found under main wall foundations.

The main east to west wall of the building(s) continues to the lowest end of the site. Near and parallel to the eastern edge fence is a north/south wall of substantial construction joined to the main east/west wall and also to approximately five metres of northern wall some five metres from the southern (east to west) wall. The area between the north and south walls has been completely cleared of turf, subsoil and rubble, and many artifacts have been recovered. Pottery sherds ranging from the 9th to the 16th century, many animal bone fragments, shells (including groups of snail shells) and medieval nails appear to be spread generally across the higher floor levels.

### Other fieldwork.

During the early part of the 1987 season, following a report of spoil dumping on the outer ditch of the Roman town at Great Casterton, the Group investigated the material before instructions were given to remove it from the scheduled area. As expected, various types of Roman pottery were recovered, and also bones, metal objects and two coins. The coins were provisionally dated third century AD and second century BC. The latter was in very good condition and depicted a four-horse chariot, a kneeling figure and a camel and is probably of Macedonian origin, c125 BC. The material recovered from Casterton as 'unstratified' is intended for educational use.

The interim report on the Burley Road 'ritual' site has been published. Members of the Group were involved in the excavation work at the end of 1986 and have followed up by carrying on some field walking in adjacent fields. Arrangements have been proposed to continue this work after harvest 1988.

Investigation of building sites in the Great Casterton area produced some Roman pottery in the village itself, but other

(Stamford) sites are all on the Lincolnshire side of the county border and were not examined by the Group.

Some members of the Group have assisted (in a W.E.A. course) in the translation of a medieval Latin survey of Oakham Lordship c1305 due for publication by the Rutland Record Society.

One interesting small scale activity was assisting Leicestershire Museums in revealing more coins and evidence of the deposition of the Ryhall hoard of silver coins, as reported elsewhere in this issue.

### Other Activities

A successful symposium on Rutland Archaeology was held at the Rutland County Museum and we appreciate the support provided by members of Leicestershire Museums. The annual day excursion by Group 14 of the Council for British Archaeology was held at Oakham and its environs, and was very ably organised and led by Mr T. Clough, our Vice-Chairman. Several work days at the Museum have enabled us to label and store most of the artifacts from Whitwell. Material recovered from the Wardley Hill road works area was forwarded to Leicestershire Museums for identification. Social activities of the Group continue to be well supported, and the Annual Dinner at Cottesmore and the Summer walk around Stamford followed by a picnic in Wakerley Woods were most enjoyable. Membership and financial position remain steady but new members are always welcome.

*A. W. Adams,  
Chairman*

## RUTLAND LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

The Society continues to flourish with Dr D.P. Harris back in the chair. Its increasing membership suggests that the activities arranged by the committee have met with the approval of its members. These included visits to Elton Hall and Temple Newsome, and to Ironbridge Museums. Mrs Pamela Drinkall has led a series of study periods in which the investigation of Oakham's history has been used as a model for the study of any other locality; those attending were introduced to the parish registers and census returns which are the basic tools of such a study. The Society is involved, with the Planning Committee of the Rutland District Council, with the award made in memory of George Phillips of a plaque to the building completed during the previous year which is judged to have made the most significant contribution to conserving the built environment of Rutland. In 1987 the award was made to the Normanton Park Hotel. A social evening in December completed the year's activities. The Society's growing collection of copy photographs of old Rutland is being catalogued by Mrs Betty Finch, and a Guide to Oakham should be in print shortly.

*J. Crossley  
Hon. Secretary*

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

ANDERSON, P. Howard – Regional Railway Handbooks No. 1: The East Midlands. David St John Thomas: £11.95, 1986. The first volume in a new series which is intended primarily for those interested in present-day railways. It includes a survey of East Midlands rail activity, a general chronology of East Midlands railways and lists preserved lines and museums.

BENNETT, J.D. – Leicestershire Portraits. Forty biographical sketches of Leicestershire characters from medieval times to the twentieth century. Leicestershire Libraries and Information Service: £2.50, 1988. An alphabetical listing of deceased Leicestershire and Rutland personalities. Each biography is accompanied by a short bibliography.

CAR TOURS THROUGH NORTHAMPTONSHIRE AND RUTLAND – compiled by Allan & Irene Blacknall. Allan Blacknall: £1.50, 1987. A guide intended to show the visitor and resident the main attractions of the area presented in the context of four tours.

CLOUGH, T.H.McK. – The Horseshoes of Oakham Castle, 2nd edition. Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and Records Service for the Friends of the Rutland County Museum: £0.85, 1987. An explanation of the origin of the custom of presenting horseshoes to the Lord of the Manor, including a list of the horseshoes in chronological order.

COOPER, Scott – Rutland and its pubs. Spiegl Press: £4.25, 1987. A survey of all present-day Rutland pubs with assessments of beer and services provided and some incidental history and description of the villages visited.

COTTON, Simon – A Guide to the four Churches in the parishes of Uppingham with Ayston and Wardley with Belton.

ARMSTRONG, A.A. – The Story of the Organs of Uppingham Church. Uppingham Church of SS Peter and Paul: unpriced, 1987. Published together as one pamphlet.

ELLIS, Frank – Holla if you're far: memories of village life in Northamptonshire and Rutland. Spiegl Press: £1.80, 1987. Mr Ellis was born in Duddington, Northamptonshire in 1905 and has now lived in Barrowden, Rutland, for many years.

FARRELL, Jerome – Family Forbears: a guide to tracing your family tree in the Leicestershire Record Office. Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries & Records Service: £3.45, 1987. A brief guide to tracing a family tree with emphasis on use of the Leicestershire Record Office's holdings of Leicestershire and Rutland records.

GALITZINE, Prince Yuri – Domesday Book in Rutland. The Dramatis Personae. Rutland Record Society: £2.00, 1986. A listing, with biographical information where known, of the names of Rutland landowners recorded in the Domesday Book. The names are arranged in the three categories of landowners used in the Domesday Book: 1) Tenants in Chief 2) The Tenants and 3) The Antecessors.

THE KESSLER COLLECTION: A loan exhibition of paintings and drawings by modern masters, collected by the late Mrs Anne Kessler, 20th November 1986 – 1st February 1987. Leicestershire Museum and Art Gallery, New Walk: £1.85, 1986. The catalogue of an exhibition of items loaned by the National Gallery of Scotland, Leicestershire Museums and Art Galleries, the Tate Gallery and by private collections. The late Mrs Kessler, formerly of Preston, Rutland, gifted a large part of her collection to the above galleries.

MATTHEWS, Bryan – Eminent Uppinghamians. Neville and Harding: £7.00, 1987. A selection of short biographies of famous, deceased old boys of Uppingham School from a period of about the last 100 years.

MITCHAM, Terry – Birdwatching in Rutland. Spiegl Press: £2.50, 1987. The aim of this booklet is to provide visitors to Rutland with an introductory guide to the best bird-watching sites in the area.

NONCONFORMIST Chapels and Meeting-houses, Leicestershire, Nottingham and Rutland. Extracted from an inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-houses in Central England. Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England: £1.95, 1987. Arranged alphabetically by place within each county, with brief historical notes and some photographs and line drawings.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST of Leicestershire and Rutland. A regional introduction to Domesday Book. Edited by Charles Phythian-Adams. Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and Record Service: £3.95, 1986. Published to elaborate on the contents of an exhibition held at the Leicestershire Record Office to mark the anniversary of Domesday Book and to provide a lasting commentary on the contents of Domesday Book.

PALMER, Marilyn – A guide to the Industrial Archaeology of the East Midlands. Parts of Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. Association for Industrial Archaeology/Leicestershire Industrial History Society: £1.80, 1986. A selective gazetteer of sites, arranged by county, which is designed to illustrate the diversity of industry within the East Midlands. Rutland is included under Rural East Leicestershire and has 12 entries.

PICKERING, James and HARTLEY, Robert F. – Past worlds in a landscape. Archaeological crop marks in Leicestershire. (Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and Records Service Archaeological Reports Series No. 11): £4.25, 1985. A comprehensive gazetteer of the crop mark evidence based on a systematic study from the air which seeks to assess its relationship to the framework of more traditional archaeology.

PROPHET, John – Views of Old Rutland: When Rutland was a county and the Twentieth Century dawned. The Villages 1. Spiegl Press: £3.25, 1986. Black and white sketches based on old photographs of Rutland at the turn of the century. Vol. 1 covers Ashwell to Lower Hambleton with a colour centrepiece of Morcott.

PROPHET, John – Views of Old Rutland: When Rutland was a county and the Twentieth Century dawned. The Villages 2. Spiegl Press: £3.25, 1987. Volume two of this work covers the villages of Hambleton to Wing with a colour centrepiece of Langham.

THOMPSON, K.J. – Oakham Congregational Church. A brief history 1662-1986. The Church: £1.00, 1987. A short history of the church which includes a list of ministers and student pastors since 1662.

TOZER, Malcolm – Physical education at Thring's Uppingham. Uppingham School: unpriced, 1976. An account of the development and role of physical education at Uppingham School from 1850-1914.

WAITES, Bryan – Rutland Heritage. Spiegl Press: £2.75, 1986. An introduction to the various elements which have helped create the history and present environment and landscape of Rutland.

WAITES, Bryan – The Rutland Raddlemans in *Evergreen*, Autumn 1986.

WHO WAS WHO IN RUTLAND A special issue of the Rutland Record: Journal of the Rutland Record Society, No. 8, 1987. Edited by Bryan Waites. Rutland Record Society: £3.00, 1987. Brief biographies of deceased personalities, and of local families, who are associated with Rutland and have contributed to its character.

## JOURNALS

THE BIRDS OF LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND. Report for 1985 and 1986. The annual report of the Leicestershire and Rutland Ornithological Society.

BULLETIN OF LOCAL HISTORY: East Midlands Region, Vol. XXI, 1986 and Vol. XXII, 1987. Published by the Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham.

EAST MIDLANDS ARCHAEOLOGY, No. 1, 1985 and No. 2, 1986. Published by the Council for British Archaeology, Group 14.

JOHN CLARE SOCIETY JOURNAL, No. 6, July 1987. The official Journal of the John Clare Society.

THE LEICESTERSHIRE HISTORIAN, Vol. 3, No.4 1985-6 and Vol. 3, No. 5, 1987. Published by the Leicester Local History Council.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST AND PRESENT: The Journal of the Northamptonshire Record Society, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1986-7 and Vol. VII No. 5, 1987-8.

RUTLAND RECORD: Journal of the Rutland Record Society, No. 7, 1987. Also no. 8, 1988 Special Issue: *Who Was Who in Rutland*

# Rutland Record Society: Publications

**Rutland Record 1 (1980)** £2.55 (members £1.50)  
The Emergence of Rutland; Medieval Hunting Grounds of Rutland; Rutland Field Names; Illiteracy in 19th century Rutland.

**Rutland Record 2 (1981)** £2.55 (members £1.50)  
Archdeacon Robert Johnson; Thomas Barker of Lyndon Hall and his weather observations; Rutland Agricultural Society; Rutland Farms in 1871.

**Rutland Record 3 (1982/83)** £2.55 (members £1.50)  
Cropmarks in the Rutland Landscape; Rutland's Place in the History of Cricket; Ironstone in Rutland; Oakham School 140 years ago.

**Rutland Record 4 (1984)** £2.55 (members £1.50)  
The Sharmans of Greetham; Churches of Rutland; Belton-in-Rutland: Portrait of a Village; 19th century Greetham; Thomas Crapper and Manholes.

**Rutland Record 5 (1985)** £2.55 (members £1.50)  
Westminster 'Abbey's Rutland Churches and Oakham Manor; History of Ruddle's Brewery; The French Revolution and Rutland.

**Rutland Record 6 (1986)** £3.00 (members £2.00)  
Transitional Architecture in Rutland; Family of Rutland Stonemasons; The restoration of Exton church.

**Rutland Record 7 (1987)** £3.00 (members £2.00)  
Major Place-Names of Rutland; The Making of the Rutland Domesday; Lords and Peasants in Medieval Rutland; Shakespeare in Rutland; A Medical Trade Token of Oakham.

**Who Was Who in Rutland** (a special issue of Rutland Record 8) £3.00 (members £2.00)  
A reference book containing over 170 biographies of personalities connected with Rutland. Illustrated and including source lists.

**Rutland Record 9 (1989)** £3.00 (members £2.00)  
Historic Hedgerows; The Ryhall Hoard; Humphrey Repton and the Burley Landscape; Some Early Drawings of Rutland Churches; Catholicism in Rutland; In Search of Ram Jam; Rutland's Ironstone Quarries in 1930; The Southwell Family of Uppingham.

## Rutland Record Series

**1 Tudor Rutland: The County Community under Henry VIII.** £5.00 (members £3.50)  
Edited by Julian Cornwall (1980). A hardback book of 134 pages with a scholarly introduction, map, glossary and index. The Military Survey of 1522 and the Lay Subsidy of 1524 give a unique cross-section of the people of Rutland in the 16th century.

**2 The Weather Journals of a Rutland Squire** edited by John Kington. £15.00 (members £12.00)  
Thomas Barker of Lyndon Hall, brother-in-law of Gilbert White, kept weather, farming and countryside records for over sixty years in the 18th century. Scholarly introduction, commentaries, maps, illustrations, glossary, index.

## Occasional Publications Series

**1 Quaintree Hall House, Braunston**, by Prince Yuri Galitzine (1983) £2.00 (inc. p&p)

**2 The Conant Mss.** Field Names and Family Names of Rutland (1985) £3.00 (inc. p&p)

**3 The Royce Mss.** An Index to the Document Cases Referring to the County of Rutland. £3.00 (inc. p&p)

**4 Domesday Book in Rutland: the dramatis personae** by Prince Yuri Galitzine (1986) £1.95 (members £1.50)

**5 The Oakham Survey 1305** edited by Allen Chinnery. £4.50 (members £3.95)  
A medieval survey in great detail of an English market town revealing population, occupations, topography, customs and personal as well as placename evidence.

**Post and Packing:** *Rutland Record*, *Domesday Book in Rutland*, *Oakham Survey* – 1 copy 50p; 2 copies 70p; 3 copies 90p; 4 copies £1.20 *Tudor Rutland* and *Weather Journals* £1.50 each. Orders to Rutland County Museum, Catmos Street, Oakham, Rutland LE15 6HW. Tel. (0572) 3654. Please contact Museum for details of special offers available.



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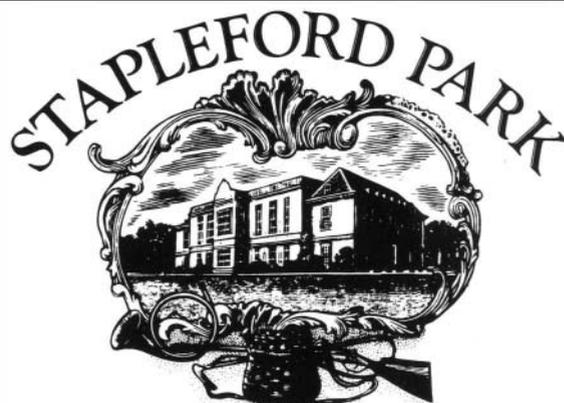
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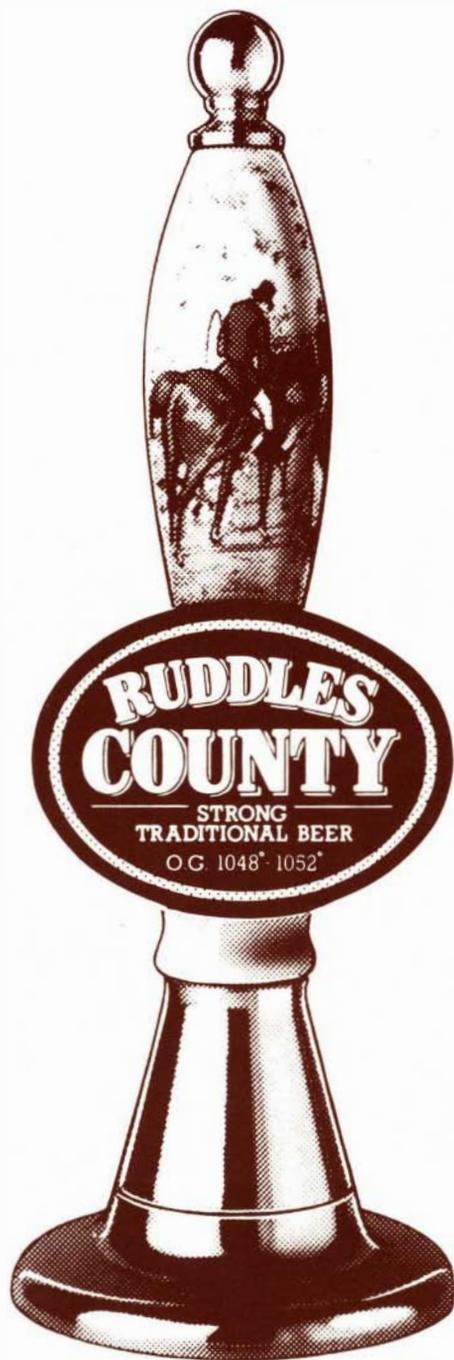


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