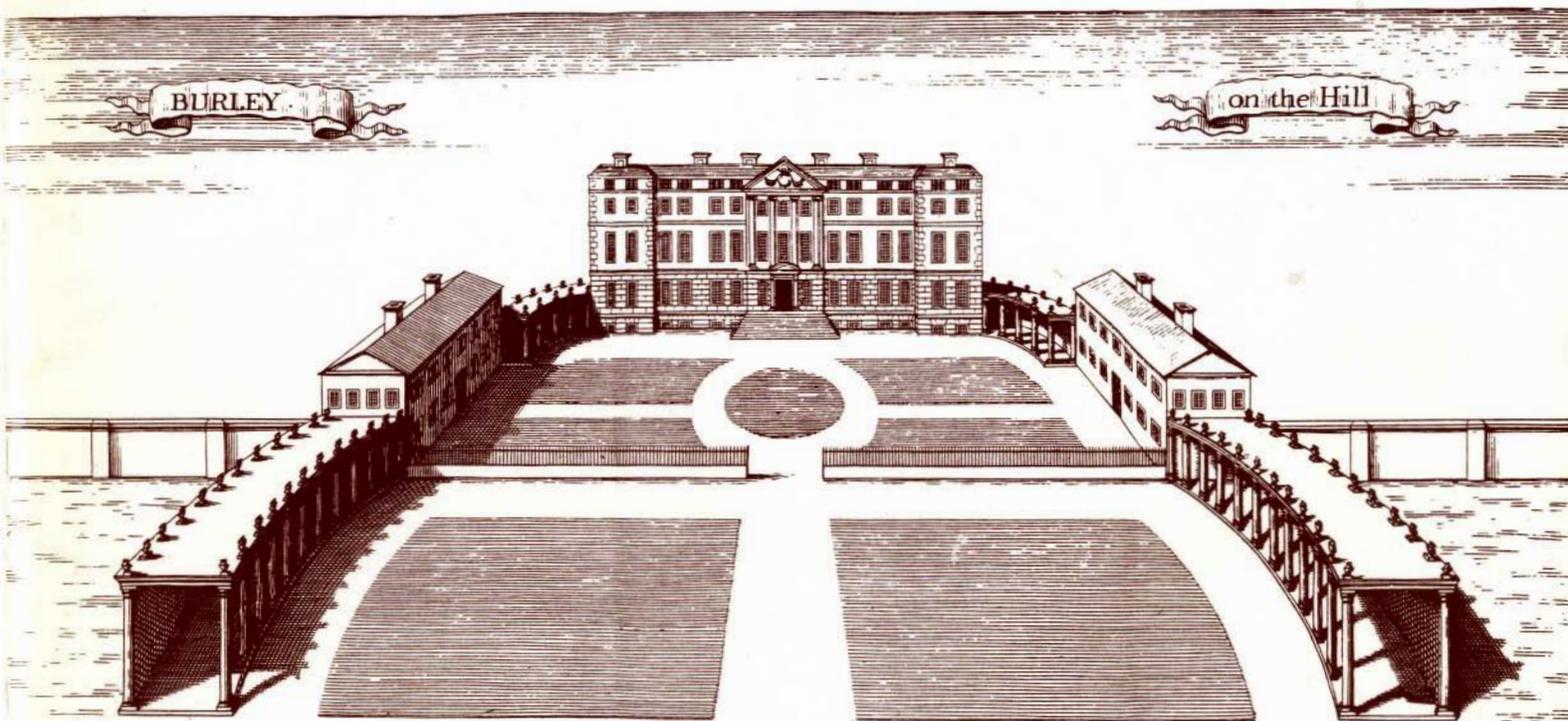


# Rutland Record

No. 10 1990

Journal of the Rutland Record Society

## HERITAGE ON THE HILL



*Illustrissimo & Prænobili  
de Nottingham, Baroni*

Tabula



*Domino, Danieli Comiti  
Finch de Daventry .  
merito votiva .*

TENTH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

# *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

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An information sheet for contributors is available.

**COVER ILLUSTRATION:** the front cover shows Burley on the Hill from the north and is taken from *The History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland*, 1684, with additions relating to the new House written in 1714 and later by James Wright and then by William Harrod.

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# Editorial

## Heritage in Danger

BRYAN WAITES

This is the end of an era for the great house of Burley on the Hill for it has been sold and now passes out of the Finch-Hanbury family. It is timely, therefore, that this Tenth Anniversary issue of *Rutland Record* looks back on some aspects of its history.

The present House, built by Daniel Finch between 1694 and 1708, has inspired eulogies from the beginning. The Rutland historian James Wright described it as a 'Heaven-like Palace' which he embellished with a long poem. 'There are not many in England that can equal and few or none surpass Burley on the Hill', he added.

Macaulay, in his great *History of England* (1858), admitted it was 'one of the noblest terraces in the island', and one hundred years later Sir Nicholas Pevsner echoed these sentiments: 'many a ruler of a minor state in Germany would have been proud of such a palace'. In 1973 Professor Jack Simmons summarised all our thoughts when he wrote, 'Among the modest houses of Rutland this was indeed a leviathan'.

But Burley is not just what we see today. It symbolises more than two thousand years of continuity of settlement on that wonderful scarp overlooking the Vale of Catmose. Although archaeological evidence is yet to be found, it is likely that an Iron Age hill fort was located there and that, at a later period, settlers moved down into the Vale, perhaps where Cutts Close is now so well-defined.

At Domesday, Burley was in the hands of one, Ulf, and Geoffrey, Gilbert of Ghent's man. Later it was held by a succession of families, all who built their houses on or near the site. By the 15th century, Burley had been acquired by the Harington's of Exton. Then it was sold to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who married Lady Frances Manners, daughter of the Earl of Rutland. As James Wright says 'John, Lord Harington in his time built a new House here, much better than he found; which the Great Duke of Buckingham in the reign of King James I either wholly built anew, or so very much improved that the Alteration was then more than double in Value: But this last is as much beyond the second as that excell'd the first'.

During the Civil War, in 1644, the Parliamentary garrison set fire to the House and all was destroyed except the stables. The extravagance of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham eventually led to the sale of Burley which was then purchased by Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham and 7th Earl of Winchelsea in 1694. It remained in the Finch family, passing, in 1939, to Col. James Robert Hanbury, the nephew of George Henry Finch, thence to the final family owners Mr & Mrs E. R. Hanbury.

As well as including original contributions, this issue reprints the classic work of Sir John Habakkuk on the building of the present House by Daniel Finch, written thirty-five years ago, but little known about in this area. Also, for a glimpse of the interior of the House at its peak in the 1950s, we have reprinted extracts and some illustrations from Lady Tate's guide written at that time. Burley will never appear the same again and, therefore, this is a valuable historical record. Readers can also consult *Country Life* 10/17th February, 1923, for an impression of the House thirty-five years earlier.

The Finch Archives are one of the great national collections and Rutland is fortunate not only in this but also in the Exton and Normanton records which are of equal importance. In the years ahead the scholar will find a rich harvest of estate, local and national history in Rutland records and Heather Broughton has indicated the potential of this as regards the Finch Archives in this issue.

This Tenth Anniversary issue commemorates the foundation of the Rutland Record Society in May, 1979. It exhibits our concern with the history of Rutland, its records and their conservation. Much more could have been included on Burley but space and money limited this. However, past and future issues have, and will, continue to examine its fascinating history and records.

However, the Society is not only concerned with history and records but with present, related, problems and issues of the historic landscape and townscape. Therefore, it is concerned about the current threat to Burley's historic integrity. The proposals for yet another country house hotel with multiple golf courses, alterations to the grounds and woods, creation of reflecting glass additions and other 'carbuncles' are bound to leave us all dismayed. There is a creeping, paralytic danger to one of England's greatest houses and we must be alert to it. We hope this issue will highlight the truly great significance of the 'Palace on the Hill' and stimulate all who value Rutland and Britain's heritage to spring to its defence. Of course there can be change but it *must* be historically and architecturally right. The historical integrity of the House and Grounds must be kept intact.

## Contributors

**James Stevens Curl** is Professor and Director of the Historical Architecture Research Unit, School of Architecture, Leicester Polytechnic. He is a well-known contributor to many journals and the author of a number of books.

**Sir John Habakkuk** was Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1938-50; Chichele Professor of Economic History and Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, 1950-67; Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, 1967-84, and is a Fellow of the British Academy and the Royal Historical Society. His interest in Burley and the Midlands began with the collection of family papers assembled by Joan Wake some years ago.

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

**Nigel Aston** is an Open University Tutor, a WEA lecturer and a teacher/examiner in A level History. He has written a new guide to Burley church for the Redundant Churches Commission and he recently published *The French Bishops and Revolutionary Politics 1786-1790* (OUP).

**Lady Tate** knew Burley very well in the 1950s and wrote an illustrated guide to the House when it was opened to the public for a time.

**T. H. McK. Clough** has been Keeper of Rutland County Museum since 1974. He is the author of several books and numerous archaeological papers. He is a Council and Editorial Committee Member of Rutland Record Society.

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

**Acknowledgements.** The Society is grateful to Sir John Habakkuk and Longmans for permission to reprint his chapter from *Studies in Social History* (1955) ed. J. H. Plumb. Also, to Lady Tate, Mr & Mrs E.R. Hanbury and English Life Publications Ltd. Derby, for permission to use illustrations and text from the Burley Guide. Also to the 11th Earl of Aylesford and the Courtauld Institute of Art for the figure of the 3rd Earl of Nottingham and to Leicestershire Record Office for reproduction of documents from the Finch Archives.

# Burley on the Hill

JAMES STEVENS CURL

The great house of Burley on the Hill stands sentinel on high ground to the north of what is now Rutland Water, and commands the countryside for miles to the south. It can be seen, set among mature trees, when travelling on the main road from Uppingham to Oakham, and there are many places from which this tremendous Classical pile can be spotted.

However, although the traveller in the vicinity of Burley can hardly fail to be aware that up on that eminence is a vast country house, the real surprise is the approach from the plateau to the north of Burley. Not only is the north front as handsome as that to the south, but from it spring curving colonnades linking the façade to the two blocks that help to enclose the great *cour d'honneur* to the east and west, while gate-piers and handsome iron gates mark the main north-south axis through the centre of the house. There are few nobler prospects in England than the north front at Burley, with its projecting centrepiece three windows wide, and giant Ionic Order of four pilasters carrying a pediment in the tympanum of which are the Arms of the Finch family carved by Salvator Musco (flourished 1678-1700) in 1698 for the princely sum of £10. On either side of the central pediment feature are plain astylar elevations, four windows wide, and two forward-projecting end wings two windows wide.

The front has a rusticated basement and ground floor, with smooth ashlar above, and a balustrade over the crowning cornice. It must be said that the closely-spaced windows in the narrow projecting wings are a weak feature architecturally, and are indicative of a designer not quite at home with the Classical idiom, although the eleven-windows-wide central portion of the façade is as robustly proportioned as any Classicist would wish.

From the two-window-wide wings unfluted Roman Doric colonnades link the main block to the two-storey subsidiary blocks, and from these the celebrated and severe Tuscan colonnades commence their progress, swinging outwards in two majestic sweeping curves to join the two-storey service blocks that complete the *ensemble*: it is a marvellous composition, influenced by designs of Andrea Palladio, and perhaps even by Bernini's stunning colonnades before St Peter's in Rome, a design which also employs Tuscan columns to carry the entablature.

Burley was built between 1694 and 1708 for Daniel Finch, the second Earl of Nottingham, at a cost somewhere in the region of £30,000, a figure which bears no resemblance to prices today, for inflation, labour costs, and availability of materials have made comparisons extremely difficult. The creation of the house and the acquisition of the



Fig. 1. *The approach to Burley from the north*

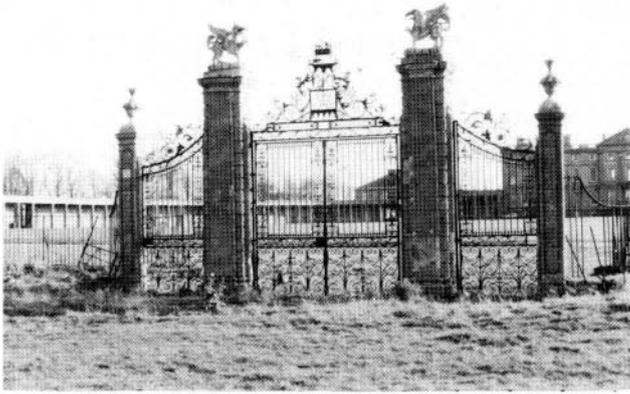


Fig. 2. *Entrance gates to the Cour-d'Honneur*

estate had much to do with making a show, with demonstrating that the Finches had 'arrived', and with the desire of the Earl to have a handsome country seat worthy of his title. It was a demonstration of status and of the visible expression of stability after the events of 1688 and the uncertainties that had bedevilled politics during much of the seventeenth century. In terms of investment, the building of large houses was a poor bet, for the structures added little or nothing to the value of estates: land, and the rents and produce of the land were what counted, for so often a large house would not only be a drain on capital, but would incur huge annual running costs. Nottingham paid about £50,000 for the estate, which had formerly belonged to the second Duke of Buckingham: the purchase did not include a mansion, for that had been destroyed by Parliamentary troops during the Civil War, leaving only the noble stable-block standing.

There is no irrefutable evidence about who actually designed Nottingham's great house, although there is a note from him to his executors in case of his early death, to the effect that they would find among his papers his 'design for the house and garden at Burley' together with an estimate for £15,000. This probably means that he drew out a general proposal for a house, but that the details were worked up by the Clerks of the Works and by the master-craftsmen who embellished the fabric later. From the papers in the Leicestershire Record Office<sup>1</sup>, however, it seems more than likely that Nottingham designed Burley, having taken advice from no less a person than Sir Christopher Wren and many other distinguished contemporaries. We know that Nottingham drew up detailed memoranda relating to workmen's agreements, and that he was closely involved in a consideration of the nuts and bolts of detail and construction. There had been a few examples of buildings influenced by the architecture of Andrea Palladio in England, notably those designed by Inigo Jones and his followers, but there was little building of great consequence during the Commonwealth period. After the Restoration of the Monarchy building activity resumed, and the latter part of the seventeenth and first decades of the eighteenth centuries saw several noble piles

take shape: included among these are Chatsworth, Blenheim, Castle Howard, Easton Neston, and Nuneham Courtenay. Although Burley was never as grand as the Baroque masterpieces of Blenheim and Castle Howard, and its grounds were not embellished with temples, mausolea, gazebos, belvederes and the like, it was one of the best-sited houses, and possessed that marvellously Italianate open-sided court to the north that makes it memorable and architecturally so ambitious.

Assuming the Earl was his own architect (as was certainly the case in a number of other instances when educated aristocrats were acquainted with the language of Classical architecture) is not far-fetched, for Nottingham seems to have been intimately concerned not only with the grand design but with the *minutiae* of construction and detail, and it is more than likely that he laid down the basis of the design. When young, he had lived in Italy, in the 1660s, when Bernini's great colonnades were under construction, and there is evidence he certainly discussed materials, if not architecture, with Wren. It also seems to be certain that opinions about building methods were sought from a number of people including Sir Henry Sheeres,<sup>2</sup> Surveyor of the Ordnance, and a model of the proposed house was made for the Earl by Thomas Poulteney, the joiner who carried out work on many of the City of London churches designed in Wren's office after the fire of 1666. Although detailed accounts of the building survive, there is no record of any fee paid to a designer: Nottingham paid the masons, joiners, and other master-craftsmen for completed sections of work to agreed sums per quantity or length or volume. This method of construction put an enormous onus on the Clerk of the Works, Henry Dormer (d 1727), who is known to have designed some buildings elsewhere as well as acting as Architect and Land Surveyor in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire. Dormer was later Master of Jesus Hospital at Rothwell, Northamptonshire, where he died. Dormer was the man in charge of the work up to 1697, and the rest of the construction was supervised by John Lumley (1654-1721) of Northampton, who appears to have been a master-mason and a



Fig. 3. *North façade and colonnades with lower two-storey pavilions*

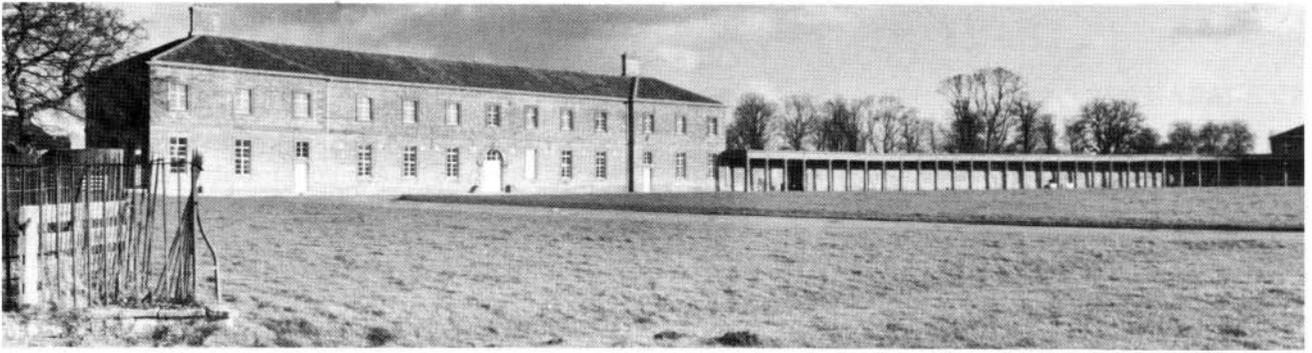


Fig. 4. *The eastern service block and Tuscan colonnade*

designer of some competence. We know that Lumley was in business as a Surveyor and a Master-Mason in Northampton itself, and that he succeeded Henry Dormer as the Surveyor employed by Nottingham to supervise the building of Burley. Given the time scale, it would seem logical to presume that Dormer superintended the footings and much of the shell, but that Lumley, who was versed in architectural detail and enrichment, took over when the building had started to take shape. This is borne out by the references to mouldings, draughts, and so on made by Lumley, and many of the architectural details may have been designed by him. We also know that the house was structurally complete by 1700, but that Lumley was still involved when the stable-block was altered from 1705. Through Nottingham's influence Lumley was appointed Surveyor at Great Park House, Amptill, Bedfordshire, from 1704-7, and he was employed to draw up a scheme for rebuilding the south range of the Front Court of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1719.<sup>3</sup> Lumley also carried out work at Apethorpe for the Earl of Westmorland, at Aynho Park in Northamptonshire, and at Greens Norton Church, also in Northamptonshire.

The foundations were made of stone, but the structure of the house was of brick, faced with stone. Clipsham was chosen as the source for the stone, although the colonnades were constructed of mater-

ial from Ketton. Bricks were formed and burned on site by one Matthew Child (who had been a tenant of Nottingham in Kensington), and the bricklayers came from the London area (Rutland not having skilled bricklayers). Some masons (as would be expected) were locals, from the Clipsham or Ketton areas, but there seems to have been a shortage of 'freemasons to work and prepare the stone', as Nottingham wrote to his father-in-law, Lord Hatton. So although there was no shortage of good stone, and no difficulty in quarrying and delivering that stone, skilled men to dress the stone were in short supply.

The glazier (Eeles) and joiner (Hopson) both had worked in London on important projects, and both were to go on to work at Blenheim. Later joinery was carried out by one May, while plastering and chimney-pieces were also by London men. Burley, therefore, was built by craftsmen who had worked on prestigious buildings, including Greenwich Hospital and other works by Wren. Some of the finishings, including the painting of the main staircase, were by Flemish craftsmen who had settled in this country. However, if the master-craftsmen came from London, the bulk of the site work was carried out by local men, although, and surprisingly, as has previously been noted, masons capable of dressing the stone were augmented by craftsmen brought in from outside the vicinity.

In the early years of the eighteenth century, too, the considerable works needed to bring the gardens into line were carried out and the great terraces fronting the house must have been highly 'labour intensive', as we say nowadays. When the stables (the last of Buckingham's mansion) were altered in 1705, the old-fashioned Dutch gables were removed, and the whole grandly formal design was finalised. Cleverly, the eastern service block is wider than that on the west, but the façades facing the court are similar and symmetrical (although the roof pitches are different). It looks as though the present prospect from the north was only finished around 1706, and the retention of the stables was probably one of the catalysts for the grandly symmetrical approach we know today.

There was one other existing building that remained on the site, and that was, of course, the church of the Holy Cross. Surrounded by its small graveyard it was tucked into a corner at the west end of the main block, and screened by trees from



Fig. 5. *Church and graveyard from the south-east*



Fig. 6. *Graveyard and House*

the south. Indeed, the fact that the house was built so near the church (probably for reasons of convenience to attend the Divine Service and probably to exploit the most advantageous position on the high prominence) perhaps helped to establish part of the plan-form of the Roman Doric colonnades and the two-storey blocks that stand in front of the north façade of the main house.

The churchyard is secluded and enclosed, and contains a number of memorials, some of real quality. The church itself was heavily restored within an inch of its life by John Loughborough Pearson in 1869-70, and consequently feels more like a Victorian church than an *echt*-mediaeval pile: In fact, of the outside fabric of the building virtually everything, especially the hard and robust window-tracery, is Pearson's work apart from a lancet at the west end of the north aisle and the remarkable sculpture surmounting the belfry-stage of the tower. Pearson rebuilt the chancel and aisles and, for Pearson, it is dull enough stuff. Inside the church there is much more evidence of the mediaeval building: there is a fine Romanesque north arcade with circular pier and responds, and capitals with leaf-volutes under chunky square abaci. The arches themselves have one chamfer and one step. The south arcade appears to date from the thirteenth

century and consists of three bays with circular piers, round abaci, and double-chamfered arches. There is some typical First-Pointed nailhead enrichment. Also of the thirteenth century is the tower, the sculpture of which has previously been remarked upon. The octagonal font has tracery patterns and a frieze and is Third-Pointed in style. There is some passable glass, including an east window by Clayton and Bell, dating from the time of the Pearson restorations.

Perhaps the finest object in the church is the memorial to Lady Charlotte Finch of 1820 by Sir Francis Legatt Chantrey (1781-1841): it features a kneeling figure of white marble in a suitable Romantic Neoclassical style. Of the other monuments there are a late-fifteenth-century pair of alabaster effigies, and a tablet surrounded by angels to the memory of Mrs E. E. Finch (died 1865) in a typical mid-Victorian sentimental style.

The church is now redundant and is cared for by the Redundant Churches Fund. With its graveyard it forms an intriguingly informal pocket hard against the formal geometry of the house and its outbuildings. There are some excellent gravestones in the churchyard, some with fine sculpture and others with splendid lettering: there they stand in a little oasis of peace in one of Rutland's loveliest spots.

Apart from the redundancy of the church, considerable changes are likely to happen at Burley in the future. The two large blocks to the north of the main house and on the east and west of the court have been converted for residential use and so their future is assured. The church itself has undergone re-roofing and refurbishment, so its fabric will be guaranteed for the next generation or two. A new use for hotel purposes is currently being proposed for the main house, while various proposals for recreation are being mooted for the grounds. As a Grade I Listed building it is clear that the greatest of care will need to be taken for any changes, but it is equally clear that considerable sums will be needed to restore the fabric of the house and the quality of the landscape. Burley is a national treasure and is recognised as such.

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- Full accounts of Burley can be found in Finch, Pearl. *History of Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland with a short account of the owners and extracts from their correspondence and catalogue of the contents of the house*. London, 1901. See also Habakkuk, Sir John. 'Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham: his house and estate' in *Studies in Social History*, edited by J. H. Plumb, 1955, reprinted in this issue of *Rutland Record*. All photographs in this article are by the author.

# Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham: His House and Estate

SIR JOHN HABAKKUK

BURLEY-ON-THE-HILL stands on a high prominence over-looking the Vale of Catmose in Rutland.<sup>1</sup> Defoe came this way in the early eighteenth century, not very long after it was built, and was moved to say 'There may be some extra-ordinary places in *England*, where there are so many fine ones, I say there may be some that excel in this or that Particular, but I do not know of a House in *Britain*, which excels all the rest in so many Particulars, or that goes so near to excelling them all in everything'.<sup>2</sup> Since the builder of the house had been responsible for imprisoning Defoe in 1704, this must be counted as an unbiased tribute. In 1815 the Duke of Wellington thought of buying it, and of building on the site an entirely new house or palace. A friend, Mr. H. B., 'ventured to say that Burleigh was among our finest houses, and much too good to pull down. . . . They cannot build anything as good as Burleigh is at this moment for £200,000; and I much question whether they will build him so handsome and commodious a mansion'.<sup>3</sup> Burley-on-the-Hill is one of the country houses of the second rank, smaller than the Leviathans like Blenheim and Castle Howard, but in the same class as Easton Neston or Nuneham Courtney. It was built between 1694 and 1708, and it belongs therefore to one of the great periods of English house-building, for though it is difficult to plot with precision the number and size of great houses built at various times, it is a common and reasonable impression that the end of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth were times of exceptional activity. Today the glory has departed from these houses; many have been pulled down, many put to alien uses and those that still survive in the hands of the families for which they were built do so mainly by grace of the shillings of curious visitors and government subvention; and they survive as relics of a society, not indeed distant in time, for our grandfathers knew it, but strange and remote. They may soon be as obsolete and curious as the cromlechs. Yet in their day they were the centres of an active social and political life, the homes of a ruling class. For what sort of men were they created? Why did men desire to live in such great and remote mansions? Who designed and built them? How were they paid for? Or rather, since our field must be limited, what are the answers to these questions in the case of this single house of Burley?

A contrast is often made in social history between old and new landed families, the former long seated in the countryside, the latter establishing themselves for the first time with the gains of law, trade or government service. The man for whom Burley was built—Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham—

does not fall easily into either category. He belonged to a cadet branch of a landed family long established in Kent which acquired substantial estates by a series of lucrative marriages. Early in the seventeenth century the representative of the family at that time, Sir Moyle Finch, married the daughter and heiress of an Essex landed family, the Heneages, and this coalescence of estates raised the main line of the Finches out of the substantial squirearchy into the aristocracy. Daniel Finch's grandfather was a younger son of this marriage who, like many another younger son, went in for the law; he became Recorder of London and Speaker of the House of Commons. His eldest son, Heneage, Daniel's father, was also a lawyer, one of the most successful of his day, who ultimately became Lord Chancellor and was created Earl of Nottingham. This cadet branch had been endowed with estates brought into the family by the marriage with the Heneage heiress. Younger sons were not, in ordinary circumstances lavishly provided for, but where the mother had property of her own she sometimes settled all or part of it on a younger son, and this had happened in the Finch family. Daniel's father, Heneage, inherited from his grandmother a substantial estate at Ravenstone in Buckinghamshire, which in the 1670's yielded about £1,200 a year, and another at Daventry which yielded about £700.<sup>4</sup>

Heneage, the first Earl, was in his day a man of considerable importance and from his legal practice and the salary of £4,000 which he received while Chancellor, accumulated a substantial fortune. He did not, however, greatly extend his landed estate. Early in his career he acquired from his younger brother the house at Kensington which their father had bought in the early seventeenth century, and he probably purchased some property in London. But his landed income at its height was only some £3,000 a year, a modest income for his rank. Above all, he never took the decisive step of acquiring a country seat. There was a decayed manor house at Ravenstone, but though Heneage built almshouses there and was buried in the local church, it was not a country seat; it was a farmhouse let to a local farmer. The family lived in their house at Kensington. Kensington in the seventeenth century was a pleasant and healthy village—it did not begin to fill up until William III acquired a residence there—and it contained a number of large mansions, Holland House and Campden House for instance, as well as many smaller ones. But the Finch property there was not in the proper sense of the term a country estate. The total property was small. It seems to have covered nearly all the lands of the modern Kensington Gardens, that is to say it

1677

Summe total	- 310-16-6	John White
Toy {Cook 7-17-6		Jim Harrison
Butler 10-18-9		Nid
Porter 10-04-6		Adam
	29-00-0	Wm in G. Taylor
	281-16-6	Richt. woman
Due to Off's acct. f. wagon	16-13-10	my P <sup>y</sup> Footman 16-20-0
		Toid
	265-02-8	Harry
Women	79-03-0	Weeder women
James Ugan	12-00-0	Mokeatker
Gillard	08-00-0	
Randal	03-10-0	
Belford	05-00-0	
John cook	05-00-0	
The Gardiner	06-00-0	To Mr Cockaine
Hugh	06-00-0	To Mr Habo
James Ice	03-10-0	
Simon	03-00-0	
Stephen	03-00-0	
Tho. Gray	03-00-0	
Tho. Jester	03-00-0	
John & Baker	03-00-0	
Wm Verrier	04-00-0	Toy Butlers
Rob. Dues	03-00-0	To Off

234-13-0  
265-2-8  
30-9-4

Fig. 1. Accounts of servants wages paid by Daniel, 2nd Earl of Nottingham, 1677 (LRO. Acc.3)

was about two hundred acres; part of this was let to a farmer and the rest probably consisted of gardens—rather elaborate gardens, for when Pepys went there in the summer of 1664, 'seeing the fountain and singing there with the ladies', he thought it 'a mighty fine cool place. . . with a great laver of water in the middle, and the bravest place for musick I have ever heard'.<sup>5</sup> The house itself, the core of what is now Kensington Palace, was of some architectural interest. It was in the form of a compact rectangle, and it has been regarded as 'the fore-runner of a whole series of plans leading to a typically eighteenth-century villa plan and marking the final breakaway from medieval tradition'. But it did not contain many rooms. It had three main storeys with attics above; on the ground floor there was a hall, a parlour, probably a chapel, and one or two lodgings; on the upper floor was the Great Chamber, the Gallery and two lodgings or bedrooms. There was some sleeping accommodation for guests or servants in the attic, and in the basement were the kitchen and servants' room. On the two main floors that is, there were probably eight rooms, excluding the Chapel.<sup>6</sup> Heneage does not seem to have made any substantial alterations to the house, and never appears to have contemplated moving from it, or building a country house at Ravenstone. His main efforts were devoted to launching his sons, and particularly his eldest son Daniel. For him, in 1673, he secured a marriage, both lucrative and socially advantageous, with one of the three daughters and heirs of Robert, Earl of Warwick, one of his neighbours at Kensington. Her share of the Warwick

estates consisted of the island of Foulness and of a number of manors in Essex, and to win so well-endowed an heiress Heneage made a very generous settlement, and in pursuance of this settlement helped his son in 1677 to buy a substantial estate at Milton in Buckinghamshire, not far from the family property at Ravenstone.<sup>7</sup>

### I. THE ESTATE

Daniel succeeded his father in 1682. In 1685 he married for the second time, Anne, daughter of the old cavalier, Viscount Hatton of Kirby, who brought with her a portion of £10,000.<sup>8</sup> In 1686 he began to look out for a place to live in the country, either to purchase or to rent. Occasionally he dealt directly with potential sellers, but as a general rule he negotiated through Robert Clayton, the foremost scrivener of his day, who probably knew more about estates for sale than anyone else in the late seventeenth century. It was a bad time to buy an estate; and Nottingham further limited his choice by confining himself to Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire and Rutland, in which area lay not only the estates he had inherited from his father, but those of his father-in-law. It is a comment both on the small number of estates available for purchase and on the seriousness with which contemporaries regarded the reported intention of James II to confiscate the former monastic lands that Nottingham should write to his father-in-law on June 30, 1688, 'I have no scruples about Abbey-Land, but on the contrary think those the best purchases, because there are fewer rivals and consequently will be the cheapest, and there are so few things now to be sold, that every man that has money to lay out is very ready to hearken to every offer of that kind'.<sup>9</sup>

If he could not buy, Nottingham was prepared to lease. A Northamptonshire squire, Sir Thomas Samwell, offered him his spare manor house at Gayton, but it was too small: 'he tells me twill hold 40 in family, but mine exceeds that number by near twenty, so that I fear it will be too little'.<sup>10</sup> The other properties available to him were all estates in the hands of more or less heavily indebted landowners, and there was some defect in each of them. Nottingham negotiated for an estate at Boughton in Northamptonshire which belonged to the Earl of Banbury, a young profligate 'who always failed at his appointments',<sup>11</sup> but Banbury asked too much—22 years' purchase for his land of inheritance, 16 years' purchase for lands leased from the Savoy, £7,000 for the woods and £2,000 for the house. Hanslope Park in Buckinghamshire was another possibility; it lay conveniently enough, 'but the house has cost him [i.e. the then owner] so much money he will value it highly in the purchase and 'tis so very bad and so ill contrived that I shall give but very little for it'.<sup>12</sup> Here again negotiations broke down on the price. There were also prospects of his buying an estate at Salden, in Buckinghamshire, from the Fortescue family, and Moulton Park in Northamptonshire, but they came to nothing.

On 8 October 1689, Nottingham got the details of

the estate of Burley in Rutland 'and if it be possible to compass it', he wrote, 'I shall not think of any other purchase'.<sup>13</sup> This was an estate which belonged to the second Duke of Buckingham who died in April 1687, leaving his properties heavily encumbered. The Duke had been very heavily indebted almost from his youth. As early apparently as 1671 he had settled all or most of his estates on trustees who were to pay him £5,000 a year for life and out of the rest to raise money to pay his debts. After that he borrowed further large sums and incurred heavy expenses in buying the estate of Cliveden and building a great house there. Already before his death his creditors had obtained decrees in Chancery for the sale of his property, and after his death the creditors obtained an Act of Parliament providing for the immediate sale of the Duke's estates at Burley, at Helmsley in Yorkshire and at Whaddon in Buckinghamshire. There were delays in obtaining the Act, so many and conflicting were the claims of Buckingham's creditors, and it was not until July 1693 that Burley was put up for sale and not until February of the following year that the purchase was certain.<sup>14</sup>

There is a tradition that Nottingham was first interested in the estate at Helmsley, but while on a journey to view it he passed by Burley, was pleased with its amenities and decided to buy it. Family tradition often preserves a core of hard fact, but it does not seem so in this case. All Nottingham's previous negotiations had been for estates not far distant from Ravenstone and Daventry. From the first time he saw particulars of Burley he regarded it as a highly desirable purchase, and from his point of view it was indeed an ideal estate and in just the right part of the world. Nottingham's fear was that Charles Duncombe, the great banker, who was also looking for a substantial estate, would bid against him for Burley. Duncombe 'promised not to rival with me in the purchase of Burleigh'. Nottingham was nervous that Duncombe would break his words 'and play me a trick', but Duncombe kept his bargain, and purchased the Duke of Buckingham's estate in Yorkshire.<sup>15</sup> Thus,

Helmsley, once proud Buckingham's delight,  
Slides to a scrivener and a city knight,  
and Nottingham acquired Burley. The purchase was completed in the summer of 1694, at a price of approximately £50,000. The price seems to have been calculated at twenty-years' purchase, which was a modest valuation for an estate in this part of the country, a compact estate moreover, which made Nottingham the largest landowner in Oakham and in several surrounding parishes. One peculiarity the estate had; it included no mansion, for the great house of the Buckinghamians had been burned by a Parliamentary garrison during the Civil War, and only the stables- 'the noblest of their kind in England'-had escaped the flames.

## II. THE HOUSE

Nottingham had sold his house in Kensington to William III in June 1689, and during his term of office as Secretary of State his family had lived in a

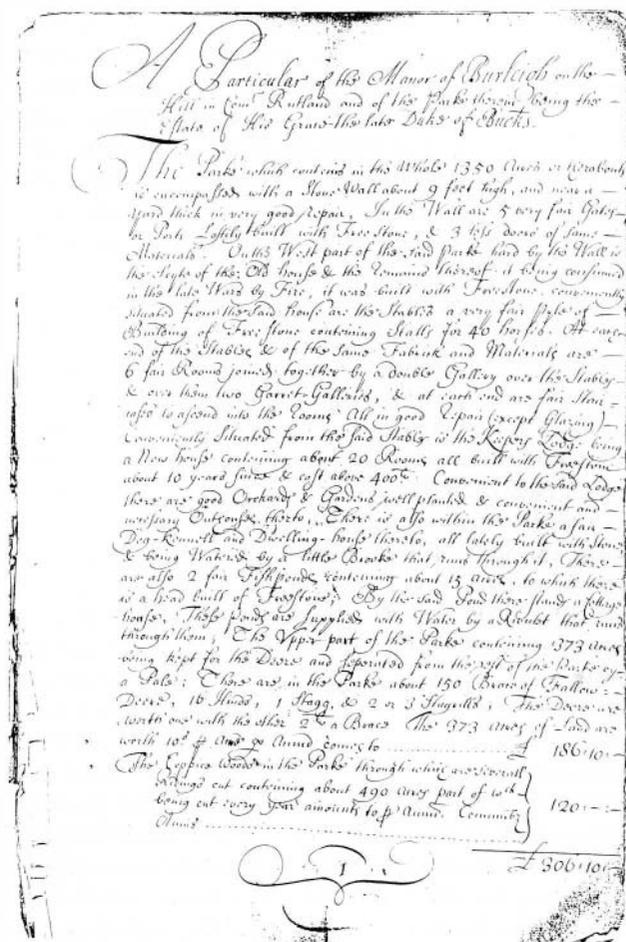


Fig. 2. First page of the Particulars of the Manor of Burley, 1685 (LRO. DG7/1/56)

rented house in London. He resigned his office in November 1693, and there was no longer any need to live the year round in London. 'I am resolved', he wrote, 'to go into the country, though I live in the stables at Burleigh'.<sup>16</sup> So drastic a course did not prove necessary for he obtained a lease of the great house at Exton, which belonged to the Earls of Gainsborough, and moved his family there in the summer of 1694. Almost immediately the purchase was completed, Nottingham set about preparing to build a house.

There is no known architect of Burley, and it has been conjectured that he was his own architect, like his friend Sir John Lowther at Lowther Castle and his uncle Lord Conway at Ragley. In 1665, when he was 18 years old, he had spent a year in Italy; at that time Bernini's colonnade in front of St Peter's in Rome was nearing completion, and it has been suggested, as evidence that he was his own architect, that this was the inspiration of the colonnade which is so extraordinary a feature of Burley. He clearly discussed his project with other landowners who had experience of building great houses, and with knowledgeable men in London.<sup>17</sup> In his correspondence there is a brief and tantalizing reference to a conversation with Wren in April of 1694; 'I find', he writes to his father-in-law, 'Sir Christopher Wren agrees with your Lordship's opinion that oak timber is not so good as fir for floors, for

its own weight will warp and bend it.<sup>18</sup> It is conceivable that he sought advice from officials of the Office of Works, with whom he may have come into contact when he was Secretary of State. In July 1695, when the main work was about to begin, somebody, presumably his superintendent of works, on his behalf asked Sir Henry Sheeres, surveyor of the ordnance, for an opinion 'touching some general rules for building'.<sup>19</sup> He also had a model of the house constructed for him by Thomas Poulteney the joiner employed on many of the city churches.<sup>20</sup> But the absence in the many letters that survived of any reference to a designer of the building, the absence, in his accounts, of payment to anyone who might be identified as architect, the very detailed attention which Nottingham himself paid to every operation and aspect of the building, and the numerous occasions on which he refers to his intentions and schemes—all these circumstances make the conjecture plausible that Nottingham designed his own house. Though in this period when the professional architect had barely emerged, and architect-like functions and abilities were widely diffused among the men who took part in a building, this may not have meant much more than that he had clear and exacting ideas of what he required from the masons, joiners, carpenters and so forth who worked for him.

At this period a man had a choice of three methods of arranging the building of a house: he could employ the builder directly on time rates; at the other extreme, he could contract with a single builder to build the house at a fixed price; or a method something between the two, he could arrange with the master-masons, joiners, etc., to do specified sections of the work at so much per foot or whatever was the relevant measurement. Nottingham adopted the last of these methods.

This laid a very heavy burden on the man who superintended the building operations and calculated the various payments due. Henry Dormer, who performed these functions for Nottingham, had already acted for him in the survey of Burley made on behalf of Chancery before the final completion of the purchase; he is known to have made designs for the rebuilding of the chapel of St Mary in Arden, near Market Harborough, in 1693, and he may conceivably have had some hand in designing Burley, or at least in giving precision and practical form to some of Nottingham's general ideas. Dormer continued to control operations until April 1697 when he succeeded by John Lumley of Northampton, who remained in charge until the house was completed, and who continued to come to Burley for some days each year so long as any of the supplementary work remained to be done. It is not clear why this change of overseer was made. There had been many difficulties over the building in the winter of 1696-7 and it may be that there was some unrecorded breach between Nottingham and Dormer. More probably, by 1697 the work was entering a stage which required the supervision of a man more experienced in ornament and decoration. All we know of Dormer, besides his design for St. Mary

in Arden, is that in 1706 he made a model of a new steeple for the church at Burton Overy in Leicestershire, and he is not known to have taken part in the building of any other great house. Lumley was evidently more skilled in ornament, for he did work on the first Earl of Nottingham's tomb at Ravenstone, and made marble and stone urns for Lord Ashburnham's house at Ampthill.<sup>21</sup>

Nottingham originally intended to build his house entirely of stone, but, as the result of Sheeres' advice, decided to use brick for 'the case or carcass of the building', and to confine the use of stone to the foundations, the outer covering, and ornamentations. Brick, Sheeres argued, was more durable and a lighter burden to the foundations, but the argument that presumably appealed most strongly to Nottingham in his haste was that 'stone work ripens by slow degrees in comparison to brick, that the one in a year or two may afford a tolerable habitation, while the other in thrice the time will continue green, moist, cold and unfit to dwell in'.

Preparatory work started in May 1694 when Nottingham started to arrange for a supply of stone. Clipsham was a few miles away and he decided to build the outside walls of the house in Clipsham stone. There is no evidence that the presence of good building stone in the neighbourhood influenced Nottingham in his choice of estate, but it certainly proved a great advantage that he did not, like the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim in the next decade, have to go far afield for his stone. At first, indeed, Nottingham had some difficulty in making satisfactory contracts with suppliers.

The prices Wilkinson demands are higher much than Sir Jo Lowther pay'd or Mr Bertie to whom Wilkinson himself furnished the stone, but I hope to be in the country time enough to adjust all matters preparatory to my building: and that those I shall deal with will not ask more than they do of others; the quantity of my building may be a reason for them to take less of me: I am sure tis a good reason for me to get everything as cheap as is possible: so as it be good & substantial.<sup>22</sup>

But eventually he made arrangements with a number of Clipsham men, who owned or leased quarries, to supply him with some stone and he made contracts with several Clipsham masons to do the necessary masonry work in and around the house. The great colonnades on the flanks of the house, he planned to build of stone from Ketton, which was some ten miles away towards Stamford, and for this he contracted with a partnership of Ketton masons headed by Miles Pomeroy. Although, according to Miss Pearl Finch, over fifty masons are mentioned, the main work was in the hands of a small number of master craftsmen, many of whom worked in partnerships. The principal masons were Bray, Richard Hide, Toplis and Swindall, Halliday, Jackson and Rice, and Wigson and Rowbottom. Most of the masonry on the walls of the main house was done by this last partnership.

The bricks were made on the spot, by Matthew Child, Nottingham's old tenant at Kensington, and by brickmakers who came mainly from Nottingham

and London. And most of the brickwork was done by two partnerships—Varney and Baker, and Hurst and Reading—who probably came from either London or Reading.

The masons were all local men, from either Clipsham or Ketton. Some of them owned or leased quarries but some did not. Conversely, many of the men who supplied stone, including some who supplied a great deal and some who supplied little, did none of the actual masonry. The masons who did most of the work worked in partnerships, and from the frequency with which names changed, they seem to have been flexible, or at least impermanent. The accounts suggest that many of them were short of capital. These masons were not specialists in the mansions of the great. Samuel Halliday of Stamford, a descendant of the Nathaniel Halliday who worked on Burley, was still engaged as master-mason and quarry-owner early in the present century. He 'restored churches and country houses and built rectories, gate lodges, stables, estate cottages and other buildings over a wide radius of the three counties whose borders meet at Stamford',<sup>23</sup> and the masons who built Burley probably spent most of their time on a similar range of buildings.

There is no mention of difficulty in obtaining masons for building the house; but the masons themselves had some difficulty in procuring adequate labour, partly, no doubt, because of the speed at which Nottingham was attempting to build. In May 1696 he wrote to his father-in-law:

I am now very well provided of builders, but my great want is of freemasons to work and prepare the stone, without I shall make very little progress this year, nay I must in a very short time give over. Mr Sharp of Clipsham can't, as he says, procure men, which makes me trouble your Lordship with this to entreat your favour in recommending this work to the Weldon men: Sharp will give a good mason that can work the mouldings from 10 to 12 shillings a week to Mich and from Mich to Lady day 9<sup>s</sup>. And he would give 1½<sup>d</sup> p foot for working rustic ashlar & 1<sup>d</sup> per ft for the plain ashlar, & rather than fail 1¾ & 1¼: and he would want 10 or 12 men at least for the first sort of work about the mouldings. Yr. L. will greatly oblige me to order Mr. Horton to speak with as many as are or can be speedily at liberty to come to Burley & to know the rates which they require & if Yr. L. cld prevail with them to come upon the abovesaid terms, or so much under those rates as you think reasonable because Sharp at present does not give so much, I might hope to get my house up this year which is of so much importance to me.<sup>24</sup>

Most of the other important craftsman employed were men who are to be found employed on similar work elsewhere. The glazier's work was done by Isaac Eeles, and some of the joiner's work by Charles Hopson; Eeles had been engaged on the glasswork at Greenwich Hospital,<sup>25</sup> Hopson in 1706 was appointed the King's Master Joiner, and both were employed at Blenheim.<sup>26</sup> Most of the joiner's work was done by Matthew May, and the painting by Charles Blunt of Nottingham, and most of the plasterer's work by James Hands of London. The fireplaces were made by Richard and Edward Chap-

man of Bedford Square, London, who supplied the chimney pieces for Winslow Hall, built for the secretary of the Treasury, William Lowndes, between 1699 and 1702 and attributed to Wren.<sup>27</sup> Thus Burley, as probably the other great houses of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, represented a fusion of local with London talent; it combined the work of men whose normal occupation was local domestic building with the work of men who contributed to the greatest buildings of the age.

Preliminaries for the work were started in 1694 but very little actual work was done in that year or the next. In July and August 1695 labourers were digging the foundations and Dormer was buying timber for scaffolding. The main structure of the house was put up in 1696, 1697 and 1698. By the end of 1696 or the beginning 1697 the first floor was roofed over, and late in 1697 the bricklayers got to the top of the house. The years 1698 and 1699 saw the greatest activity by the joiners, the glaziers, the plasterers, the painters. By the beginning of 1700 the house itself was completed, though a considerable amount of work remained to be done to the interior and to the grounds.<sup>28</sup> At least it was completed sufficiently for the family to move in. They gave up their tenancy of Exton in December 1699 and moved to Burley probably a little before this, though in the early months life there must have been bleak. 'Though I have lain here this fortnight,' writes Lady Nottingham from Burley, 'I can't say we are more settled than when we first came for we still eat at Exton and I'm afraid must do so for some time.'<sup>29</sup> But though the house was habitable, much remained to be done. The library floor was not finished until the middle of 1704, and work on the painting and decorating of the interior of the house continued for several years after the family had taken up residence. Gerrard Landscron, a native of Flanders who came to England and assisted Verrio and Laguerre, painted the walls of the main staircase with scenes representing the history of Perseus and Andromeda, and the principal rooms of the house were hung with tapestries. In these years, too, the gardens were laid out, and large numbers of workers were employed to level out the great terraces that front the house. Outbuildings had to be added, and after a fire in 1705, the great stables, the last remnant of the Duke of Buckingham's house, were rebuilt and enlarged. Altogether, a third of the total cost was incurred after the fabric of the house was completed and the family had moved in.

When he was about to start building, Nottingham estimated the probable cost of the house at about £15,000, but Burley took longer to build than he expected and the actual cost greatly exceeded the estimate. The fact must have been notorious, for Defoe notes that the house was built 'at a very great expense and some years of labour'.<sup>30</sup> Nottingham himself complained of it and writing from Burley in 1701 to his neighbour, Lord Normanby, he says that he is engaged in building 'which is a pleasure your Lordship will not envy me once you have tried it'.<sup>31</sup> Miss Pearl Finch suggests that the final cost came to

£80,000.<sup>32</sup> Calculations of costs vary of course according to the items included; some estimates cover only the bare fabric of the house, others include the furniture and internal decorations, the outbuildings and the gardens. It is also difficult, when the cost has to be reconstructed from the landowner's general accounts, to identify with certainty the payments made on account of the building. But £80,000 is a figure it is impossible to reconcile with Nottingham's finances. My own calculations, covering all the items, suggest a cost not greatly in excess of £30,000.<sup>33</sup>

*Total Building Expenses*

	£	s.	d.
1694	1,184	3	10½
1695	954	11	3¼
1696	2,006	10	6¼
1697	4,608	12	8
1698	2,658	9	0¼
*1699	4,297	17	6¾
*1700	2,509	2	6½
*1701	1,128	0	3¾
*1702	676	13	8
1703	858	16	6½
1704	1,113	12	7
1705	2,500	17	3¾
1706	1,362	1	8¼
1707	1,452	11	0
1708	1,880	16	3¼
1709	914	17	0¼
1710	549	12	9¼
	£30,657	6	7½

It was not unusual in the eighteenth century for the cost of great houses to exceed their original estimate. The most notorious instance is Blenheim, but that unhappy story is only an epic version of a not uncommon experience. Bubb Doddington, for example, was left £30,000 to finish the great house at Eastbury, which is said to have finally cost £140,000.<sup>34</sup> The divergence between estimate and actual cost was often due to major changes of plan once the building was under way—the imaginations of architects tended to soar as their creations took shape—but there is no evidence that this happened at Burley, though the gardens may have been more elaborate than Nottingham originally intended. There may have been a change of plan but it does not look like it. Some of the additional cost was possibly due to the speed at which the house was put up. Part may have been due to difficulties in obtaining satisfactory stone; there was a 'hard course' in the middle of the rock at Clipsham, so that stone raised in frosty weather perished, and there were exceptionally hard frosts in the winter of 1696.<sup>35</sup> Part of it was certainly due to the fire in the stables in 1705 which made necessary some expensive building. But most of the unforeseen expense was probably just the result of the difficulties inherent in the task of estimating the cost of building operations at a period when the profession of architect and methods of costing were undeveloped. The shell of the house did not cost much more than Nottingham had expected; what inflated the cost was the expense

incurred after the main fabric of the house was completed and the family in residence—the cost not so much of interior decoration, as of the finishing-off operations in the gardens and subsidiary buildings; and it may be that it was just in this field that the original estimate went most astray, or that Nottingham's plans became more elaborate.

### III. THE FAMILY

Much more was involved in 'establishing a landed family' than the purchase of an estate and the building of a house. Arrangements had to be made for securing their permanence in the family. On this point there was a constant conflict. It was the interest of the family to keep the estate intact, not merely because it was the material basis for the social standing of the family, but also for more strictly utilitarian reasons; if the owner for the time being had complete power over his estates he might injure it by extravagance, and thus endanger the provision made for his uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters, and his own children. The interest of the family was, therefore, to limit the power of the owner for the time being. The interest of the owner for the time being, on the other hand, was to retain the maximum freedom, not simply that he might more easily indulge his own inclinations, but also that he might maintain control over his children, and particularly his eldest son. Family settlements were a compromise between these two interests, and the balance reflected the particular family circumstances at the time when the settlement was made.

Daniel's father, the first Earl, put the arguments very well in the negotiations for Daniel's first marriage with Lady Essex Rich. The bride's mother, the Countess of Warwick, was pressing him to make Daniel only a life tenant. The first Earl agreed that this was a reasonable request and would give Lady Essex greater security; for 'no man knows what kind of husband he may prove, nor how he may use his children by the first wife if he lived to have a second; nor what dangers he may incur in the troublesome times if his estate be unsettled'. As against this, the Earl argued, if Daniel was made a life tenant, his wife's jointure and the portions of his daughters would be limited by the settlement; whereas, if ownership of the estate was unfettered, he would be free to increase jointure and portions as he pleased. This was a rather specious argument, and the real reason why Daniel's father wished to retain power over his estate was the desire to maintain parental authority.

It is against nature to make the father subject to his child . . . It is against experience, and a bitter one in my family; for I have known the son of such a settlement cast away himself in marriage and then often to disinherit his father by treating to sell the inheritance for a song while his father lived. It is against my practise who never demanded it for my daughter, and insisted to have it otherwise for my Lady Frances. Lastly, it is against my promise made many years since to my son, that I would never enthrall him when he married.<sup>36</sup>

The settlement that emerged from this discussion marked a clear victory for the bridegroom's father. The Buckinghamshire estate, which was worth about £1,200 p.a., was settled on Daniel and his wife immediately; some £400 p.a. was for the separate maintenance of the wife and if she outlived her husband she was to retain it all as jointure, and Daniel was empowered to charge the estate with £8,000 portions for daughters if the couple had no sons. This was a definite and firm commitment beyond the power of either Daniel or his father to revoke, but the rest of the family estates, which were to come to him after his father's death, came to him on easier terms which gave him power to modify the settlement. On his second marriage, in 1685, Daniel settled Daventry as his bride's jointure, but retained power over the rest of his property.<sup>37</sup> In most of his estates therefore—in the London estate which he inherited from his father, in the estate at Milton, which he and his father purchased in 1677, in Burley, which was his own purchase, and in the Essex estates left him by his first wife—he had more or less complete power, and was thus very much less fettered than most landlords of comparable wealth. This freedom had important effects on the way he financed his various activities for had he not been so free he could hardly have built his house, or at least would not have been able to finance it in the way he did.

Daniel seems to have had the same inclination as his father in favour of allowing freedom to the owner of the estate for the time being; he regarded the strict settlement as something undesirable in itself but which might be necessary to curb possible extravagances. When he made a will in 1695 his heir was his first-born Heneage, who was blind, and he left him the estate for life only. 'But', he writes to his executors, 'if he recovers his sight . . . and if you find him fit . . . I have left you power to make him tenant-in-tail.' In case Heneage should die, he writes in the same letter,

I wish you could persuade my son, to whom my estate and title will come, to make himself upon his marriage but tenant for life, reserving a power (as I had) to make his son so too. This, if it had not been too nice and difficult, I would have done in my will, not so much out of a vain affection of continuing a great estate in my family, as because he will thereby be under a necessity of observing some good economy that he may be able to provide for his younger children, and consequently will not run into that foolish or extravagant way of living which debauches and corrupts the manners of many families, as well as ruins their fortunes. . . .<sup>38</sup>

As Nottingham himself observed, 'no estate can provide so fully for younger children, but they must in great degree help themselves'. In his final will he provided annuities, charged on the estate, for all his younger sons, £300 for William and John, and £200 for Henry and Edward, the two youngest.<sup>39</sup> And all younger sons did, in fact, procure independent sources of income. William and John were trained to the law. The former was secretary to Lord Carteret in 1719 and 1720, envoy to Sweden from 1720 to 1724 and afterwards to Holland, and from 1742 to

1765 he was Vice-Chamberlain of the household. The latter was a successful practising lawyer. Henry had a grant of the office of surveyor of His Majesty's Works, and Edward, the most successful of Nottingham's younger sons, held a succession of diplomatic posts, as well as a number of sinecure offices. All four of them were Members of Parliament for almost all their adult life, and they illustrate the advantages enjoyed by a great political family in the eighteenth century in providing for its younger sons.<sup>40</sup> Even so, in wealth and social standing they were very far below their elder brother, who in due course inherited the entire family estate.

Daughters were more important than younger sons, for they were the means by which the great landed families made their alliances, and, like most landowners, Nottingham endowed his daughters more generously than their younger brothers. His eldest daughter, Mary the only child of his first marriage, received £20,000, a large portion, but one appropriate to the only child of an heiress. The daughters of his second marriage were moderately dowered, for Essex, the eldest, received £7,000 and others £5,000 each; but these sums were substantially more than the annuities received by their brothers. Annuities for life were generally bought and sold at seven years' purchase, but sometimes family settlements provided for a more generous rate, and a younger son who preferred a capital sum to an annuity might be allowed the option of capitalizing his annuity at ten years' purchase. Even at this more generous rate, the capital value of the incomes which Nottingham provided for his younger sons amounted to only £3,000 and £2,000. Moreover, while £300 and £200 a year did no more than make the life of a younger son as a placeman a tolerable one, even such a modest portion as £5,000 might in favourable circumstances secure for his sister the hand of a peer. Nottingham's daughters, unlike his younger sons, remained in the social group in which they were born. Five of them married, and of these four made unusually advantageous marriages. The eldest daughter, Mary married twice, first the second Marquis of Halifax, and secondly John, Duke of Roxburgh. Essex married Sir Roger Mostyn; this was the least elevated of the marriages and Nottingham's correspondence echoes with his son-in-law's financial misfortunes. Mary—to the confusion of genealogists Nottingham called two of his daughters by this name—married Thomas Wentworth, later Marquis of Rockingham; Charlotte married Charles, Duke of Somerset; and Henrietta, William, Duke of Cleveland.

It is not surprising that his eldest daughter with a portion of £20,000 should have made a splendid marriage. But £5,000 was a quite modest portion and none of his daughters were beauties. Most of them seem to have inherited the peculiarly swarthy complexion that earned for the family the nickname of the Black Finches. The fact that three of Nottingham's daughters, so dowered, were able to contract aristocratic marriages reflects the social connections and personal standing of their father.



ture and annuities. In 1687, for example, the family spent £4,976, the main items of expenditure being:<sup>45</sup>

	£
Housekeeping	1,651
Stables, coaches, dogs and liveries	792
Repairs and gardens	272
Children	246
Lady Nottingham	278
Lady Mary Finch } Mr. Robert Finch }	290
Briefs (i.e. charities)	183
Physick	62
Accidents (i.e. incidentals including Lady Nottingham's lying-in)	446
Wages	525

His current income therefore did not allow much scope for saving. Nor did he make much while he was a Commissioner of the Navy from 1679 to 1684.

When he first started to look for an estate in 1686 he does not appear to have had any non-landed wealth, except for £10,000 due from his father-in-law, as his wife's marriage portion. At that time he intended to sell the property at Kensington and he was looking for a modest estate such as he might pay for with the proceeds of the sale and his £10,000 portion. From the sale of his house at Kensington he received £19,000; he was looking, that is, for an estate of a capital value of less than £30,000. The estate which he eventually bought cost about £50,000, and this more ambitious scale of purchase reflects the gains he made during his first period as Secretary of State.

Nottingham was Secretary of State from March 1689 to November 1693: Secretary for the Northern Department from 3 March 1689 to 2 June 1690; sole Secretary of the Southern Department to November 1693. As Secretary he received certain fixed payments. First of all an annual patent salary of £100 p.a. Then an allowance, or pension as it was called, of £1,850 a year. Finally, a sum of money in lieu of diet; the Secretary of the Northern Department received £242 and the Secretary for the South £730. In addition to these fixed annual sums the Secretary received a large sum in fees for obtaining the royal signature to various classes of document. As Professor Mark Thompson has observed, 'In the first year of a reign the amount of fees was especially large, since a demise of the Crown rendered all offices vacant and all commissions void. Years of war were also very lucrative, owing to the great number of military commissions then issued.'<sup>46</sup> Nottingham's first period as Secretary covered part of the first years of the reign of William and Mary which were also years of war. Nottingham also had his share of the profits of the official Gazette. But the largest single item were payments of secret-service money; at this period the Secretary of the Southern Department received £3,000 a year and the Secretary for the Northern £2,000. Even at this date these sums were regarded as additional salaries; for the cost of real secret service Nottingham received separate payments which are not usually recorded in his private accounts, and when his private accounts record

payments for secret service-e.g. £50 to the person 'who apprehended De Foe'-they are generally covered by receipts of money granted specifically for the purpose.

From all these sources Nottingham received the following sums.

*The Earl of Nottingham's Income as Secretary of State,*  
1689-1693

Pension	£ 8,487	14	6
Diet	2,082	14	8
Gazette	4,376	19	3
Patent Fee	483	11	0
Fees	5,383	18	2½
Secret Service	16,000	0	0
	£36,814	17	7½

Against this has to be set the expenses of his office. Certain deductions were made from his emoluments for the fees of the issuing officers. Various bills had to be met for cleaning and heating the office. Both these payments were small. The heaviest costs of office were those involved in the style of life of the Secretary, and especially the expenses of maintaining a substantial establishment in London for a large part of the year. The total household expenses during his years of office [1689-1693] amounted to £25,519; for the five years 1695-1699 they were £16,312. It would probably be reasonable on this account to deduct about £9,000 from his office emoluments, which would make his net gain between £26,000 and £27,000.

Nottingham invested the money he had received from the sale of Kensington House and some of his emoluments of office in mortgages. Like most other people, he was anxious not to let his money lie idle, and since in the later seventeenth century, it was difficult for a lender to secure good mortgages at exactly the moment when he had the money to lend, he anticipated the proceeds of the sale of his Kensington House and, at least to some extent, the emoluments of office. Between November 1688 and December 1689, he acquired new mortgages to a value of about £34,500, and in order to tide him over the time between his lending the money and his being paid by the State he borrowed short-term money, from Thomas Fowle, a London goldsmith and Anthony Keck, a scrivener; he also borrowed £2,000 short-term from Lord Halifax and £500 from a Mr. Franklin. After the end of 1689 there is no trace of Nottingham's acquiring further mortgages. By that time he had decided to acquire Burley and it is reasonable to suppose that he wanted to keep any further accumulated funds in a more liquid form. At any rate, after 1689 he put his surplus money into government tallies, i.e. Government promises to repay out of the proceeds of taxation. At one time in 1693 he was holding as much as £18,250 worth of tallies. It is not easy to say how much of this was obtained by actual purchase of tallies, for Nottingham received part of his emoluments in this form: £13,000 of his secret-service money was paid in this way. On the other hand, it is certain that in 1692

and 1693 Nottingham was buying tallies for cash—he specifically says so in one of his letters<sup>47</sup>—and it is probable that in 1692 and 1693 he invested £15,000 in this way. Tallies varied in their merits, according to the funds on which they were secured and the prior charges on these funds. They had the advantage of yielding a high return, from 6 to 8 per cent. in the case of those held by Nottingham. On the other hand, if the purchaser could not hold them until the fund on which they were secured was sufficient to pay them off, he might have to sell them at a substantial discount. Nottingham himself, when raising money to make his purchase of Burley sold one tally of £5,000 for £4,900, a 2 per cent. discount, and another of £3,000 for £2,820, a 6 per cent. discount. But presumably, on balance, they were preferable for Nottingham's purpose to loans on bond.

In 1694 and 1695 Nottingham sold his tallies, obtained the repayment of some of his mortgages and assigned others, and called for payment of his £10,000 marriage portion. Altogether, from these sources, he raised about £71,000. This was to within a fraction of what he had expended on the purchase of Burley and the portion of his eldest daughter. The implication, however, that he did not need to borrow for these purposes is not justified, for he had often to make payments before he could realize assets and had to borrow to tide over the interval. He also had to borrow a large part of the marriage portion of his eldest daughter and, in order to repay, sold his London property at Whitefriars for £7,770 and a farm in Buckinghamshire for £4,400. But remains true that about half the price of Burley was paid for out of the emoluments of office.

It is a common impression that while great estates were purchased out of capital, great houses were paid for out of current income. Since the building of such houses extended over a number of years, this was, indeed, the most obvious method of financing the operation, and a number of cases are known of land-owners who specifically declared their intention of acting in this way. When, for example, the Earl of Newcastle started to rebuild Nottingham Castle in 1674, he set aside the income of several of his estates for the purpose.<sup>48</sup> George Doddington provided in his will for the building of Eastbury, which was 'to go on without any stop as fast as the revenue the Southsea left will allow of, which will be about £1,800 a year'.<sup>49</sup>

What exactly Nottingham's intentions were in this matter we have to deduce from the instructions he drafted for his executors in case of his death.

You will see among my papers [he wrote in 1695], my design of a house and gardens at Burley, which I reckon may cost about £15,000. I do not prefix or limit the sum, but I would have my intentions pursued by such degrees as the profits of my estate, not necessarily directed otherwise by my will, will enable you. For I would not have my eldest son under the temptation of living in town for want of an house nor of being too extravagant in building one . . .<sup>50</sup>

He estimated that, after his death, there would be a

surplus, after his family was provided for, of £2,800 p.a. and he directed that for three years this was to be devoted to the building of the house. But even in these circumstances he envisaged a sale of land, for he empowered his executors to sell certain of the Essex estates inherited from his wife and out of the proceeds pay the portion of one of his brothers (£2,000) and his sister's portion (£5,000) and use £8,000 to complete the building.<sup>51</sup> How Nottingham intended to provide for the finance of his building in the event of his death is imperfect evidence of the methods he intended to employ if he lived. But it seems clear that both annual income and the sale of land were intended to contribute.

In the event, since he did not die until 1729, the surplus of his annual income proved much smaller. At the time he made his calculations, Nottingham's income from estates had just been augmented by the purchase of Burley. The annual value of this property was £3,800, but Nottingham received much less than this. For one thing, a great park was as essential as a great house, and he created here a park of 1,360 acres, some 500 acres of it in wood, and the rest in pasture. Though he received a small income from the sheep and cattle who grazed in the park, he made some £600 a year less than he would have by letting the land to tenant farmers. Moreover, Burley at the time of his purchase, was burdened with the jointure of the Duchess of Buckingham, amounting to £1,240 a year, and an annuity to Lady Exeter of £200; the Duchess lived to 1704 and Lady Exeter to 1703. Altogether in 1695, Nottingham's total income from his estates, before deducting taxes and costs of maintenance, was about £8,400 a year. In that year he estimated that taxes came to £1,170 and the cost of administration and maintenance to £217; in fact, the costs of maintenance generally proved higher than this because Foulness was several times flooded. In the later 1690s, therefore, his net estate income normally came to about £7,000. At this time his expenditure was distributed in this way:<sup>52</sup>

	1699			1700		
Household Expenses	£3,026	14	11½	£3,096	6	7¼
Horses and Stables	134	18	0	38	13	7
Lord Nottingham	49	3	0	76	0	6
Lady Nottingham	359	8	4	241	11	0
Children	106	18	6	104	2	9
Sister & brothers	568	7	8	572	18	11½
Legal Expenses	56	19	2	90	0	0
Charities	194	0	0	189	12	9
Annuities	217	10	0	220	0	0
Incidentals	2	19	3	73	18	0
Allowances	42	16	2	37	10	0
Furniture & Utensils	284	17	0	35	2	0
Physick	1	1	6	3	4	6
Rent [of London house]	58	6	6	60	7	0
Spinners	10	0	0	—	—	—
Taxes [on the houses]	39	12	8	15	8	10
Interest	510	0	0	510	0	0
Total:	£5,663	12	8½	£5,364	16	5¾

Despite the increase in his family his expenditure was not a great deal higher than it had been in 1687 and he had a surplus, one year with another, of about £1,500.

Moreover, as we have seen, the house cost more to build than Nottingham expected, and in the year where the main fabric was being built its costs far exceeded the surplus available out of annual income. During the years of most intensive building Nottingham was therefore compelled to borrow, which he did in amounts which were relatively small from friends like Sir George Rook, the admiral, from his brothers, from his steward and sometimes even from his own servants. To repay these debts he sold a considerable part of his Essex estates. From this sale he obtained some £18,000, and almost all this sum was absorbed in the discharge of debt; there was nothing over to fulfil his original intention of paying the portions of his brother and sister. Not all the debts so discharged had been incurred as a result of building operations—some were a relic of loans raised towards the £20,000 portion of his eldest daughter—but it would be safe to assume that not far short of half the building expenses incurred up to 1700 were ultimately met by the sale of property.

From 1702-4 Nottingham was Secretary of State for the second time and during this term he received the following sums<sup>53</sup>:-

Pension	£3,185	11	0½
Diet	1,102	3	10
Gazette	953	12	11
Patent Fee	200	0	0
Fees	2,260	16	11
Secret Service	5,807	0	0
	£13,509	4	8½

About £1,000 of this was absorbed in office expenses and taxes. The greater part of what remained contributed to the payment of a marriage portion of £7,000 with his daughter Essex, and there was a little over to settle the costs of building. By 1704 there were no debts upon the estate except for the portions for his sister and two brothers.

After 1704 his income improved slightly, for, though he had lost some £800 a year from the sale of the Essex property, he gained £1,440 when the jointure and annuity ceased to be paid out of Burley. For some six years or so, until his children came of age to be educated, his expenditure on household and family was well below his revenue, and he was able to meet the cost of the building that was done after 1704 out of income, with an occasional short-term borrowing. After 1710, however, the maintenance and education of his children began to cost him a large amount of his income—for many years almost as much as building operations had cost—and generally left no surplus. In 1703 the annual maintenance of his children had cost £103: in 1710 and 1711, when his eldest son was on the Grand Tour, and William and John were at Eton, the cost came to £1,694 and £2,097 respectively. The Grand Tour alone cost over £3,000. Nothing so expensive as the Grand Tour of the eldest son occurred again; the second son spent two years on the Continent, but at a total cost of only £415, and the remaining sons do

not appear to have gone on tour. Nevertheless the cost of the children's maintenance was generally well over £1,000. In 1717, for example, the eldest daughter had an allowance of £120, the next two of £80 each and the two youngest £60 each; the second son was on the Continent with an allowance of £200 p.a., the next two had an allowance of £120 each and the youngest had £50; altogether the children in this year cost some £1,300. It may well be that it was the growing expense of his family which finally put an end to the adornment of his house and gardens. At any rate, after 1710 Nottingham had no surplus out of current income; in some years he was borrowing despite the lower level of taxation in the last decade of his life. And though he once again held office, as Lord President of the Council from 1714-16, his gains from this source were modest. He received a salary of £1,500 a year and a 'pension' of £3,500 a year, but no fees, and his total emoluments, after deducting the incidental expenses of his office, came to only £6,730. His household expenses, while he held office, were over £3,000 more than usual, and his net gains were probably not more than £3,500, and almost all this appears to have been spent on the maintenance of his children.

The portions for the remaining daughters who married in his lifetime were therefore raised by borrowing; and at his death Nottingham owed, besides small debts, about £22,000:<sup>54</sup>

To Anne Countess Dowager, as executrix	
for his sister Mary	£9,900
Edward Finch, his brother	5,800
William Finch his brother	1,600
Henry Finch his brother	1,000
Daniel Finch, his son & successor	2,573
Daniel Armstrong	1,500

Except for the debt to Armstrong, who was the son of his steward, all these were debts to his family, and were either payments to his brother and sister charged upon the estate by his father, or borrowings by him to pay the portions of Mary and Charlotte. In addition there were also charged upon the estate £5,000 each for the three of his daughters remaining unmarried at his death. Shortly before his death, Nottingham directed that these debts should be paid off by the sale of Foulness. As it turned out this property was not sold; it was indeed an unattractive property to a purchaser since it was liable to inundation. And when the family finally sold property to pay debts—not Nottingham's debts but debts which might very well have existed but for the charges he left upon the estate—it was not until 1786, and the estate they then parted with was not Foulness but Daventry.

In one of his letters Nottingham recommended his son never to 'accept any public employment from any King or Government'<sup>55</sup> His dismissal in 1693 rankled. Yet the gains of office—amounting in all to between forty and forty-five thousand pounds—provided a large part of the finance for the creation of his estate and house. But for these gains, it is certain that he would nor have bought so large an

estate as Burley, and it is unlikely that but for the income of Burley he would have built so large a house. We cannot be categorical on this second point. For one thing he could have sold more of the property he had inherited. He could also and this would have been a more probable alternative have raised money by borrowing. In particular, instead of paying the marriage portions of his first two daughters out of his own resources he might have conformed to the common practice among landed families and mortgaged his estate. He might also have provided them with smaller portions; he was only obliged by settlement to give his eldest daughter £8,000, not the £20,000 he in fact gave her, and the portions of his other daughters were entirely at his discretion. Because of the nature of his marriage settlements, Nottingham had a degree of power over the disposal of his estate which was not common among landed families, and we do not know how his favours would have been distributed between his estates, his house and his family, had he not enjoyed gains from office. The most perhaps that can be said is that these gains enabled him to make a substantial net addition to the estates left him and to build a house, without sacrificing the interests of his children and without burdening the estate with intolerable debts. It was a substantial estate, though not one of the first magnitude. Its gross income in the 1720's was about £9,000 and it was well below the £20,000 a year enjoyed by many of the ducal families. What altered the financial position of the family in the eighteenth century was Nottingham's succession, in the last months of his life, to the estates of the elder branch of the Finch family, the Earls of Winchilsea.

From this single case we cannot draw large conclusions about the importance for English landowners of wealth made in politics. Indeed Nottingham's story must suggest doubts whether any simple generalization on this subject will ever be possible. We can tell very little from the gross gains until we know how much was absorbed in the temporary and necessary inflation of the recipient's standard of living. Even then, much depended on the precise time in a family's history at which the gains were made. Nottingham's most lucrative period of office occurred at a critical point in his life, soon after his marriage, and when he was already looking for a country estate to purchase; equal gains made by a man late in life might have been disposed of in quite different ways. Then again, much depended on how wealthy the recipient was to start with and on the size and character of the claims on his wealth by other members of his family. Nottingham was tolerably wealthy before he entered on office, he had an unusually large number of children, and some of his property consisted of scattered estates in a county distant from the region of his main interests, estates which had come into the family by marriage, and which could therefore be disposed of with much less reluctance than the family's ancestral domains. This combination of circumstances was distinctive. Perhaps most of all the reaction of a man to gains

The Receipt for cleaning Pictures for  
My Lord Nottingham

When your Pictures Break out with white  
Scuffie spots, Take oyle of Sweet olives and  
rub it all over y<sup>e</sup> spots, & let it remaine on 3  
days then make a Lather with Soap & wash  
oyle of those places, & likewise y<sup>e</sup> Pictures all  
over with a sponge or very fine brush having  
a Saile of Esane water by you to Rins the  
Soape of very often, then let them stand  
3 or 4 days then take white of Eggs a little  
white Sug Candy & a very little of Brandy  
Coating them well tog<sup>th</sup> then take a Clean  
sponge & dip it in this varnish & wipe  
y<sup>e</sup> Pictures all over with it.

Fig. 4. Receipt for cleaning pictures for My Lord Nottingham c 1700 (LRO. Misc.2)

from office depended on his personal character. On his mother's side, Daniel Finch was one of the Harveys, a merchant and professional family of great ability which included among its members the discoverer of the circulation of the blood. Daniel acquired from them not only his christian name but probably a good deal of ability—the exterior airs of Business and application enough to make him very capable—and his prudent attitude to money matters. In one of his letters he directed that his sons should have an allowance of £100 a year until they came of age, and added

Perhaps if any of them should come to the Inns of Court and study the law the way of living even of sober men is so enhanced that some addition may be necessary, but I do not think it is so at the University, notwithstanding their foolish customs, and intreat you to suppress in my children the vanity and affection of what they call there a Nobleman, of which kind scarce any ever came to be considerable men.<sup>56</sup>

Unlike most-noble landowners, Nottingham liked to pay his capital charges out of income, and, when this was impossible, to raise the money by sale rather than by mortgage. The debts he left at his death amounted to about one-tenth of the capital value of his property, not a high proportion by the standards of the early eighteenth century. Had he had the temperament of the princely Duke of Chandos he might have yielded to the temptation to purchase more expensive estates.<sup>57</sup>

Nor can we generalize from this single instance about the effect of the building of a great house on the finances of landed families. It is sometimes supposed that a wave of housebuilding, such as took place among the English aristocracy and gentry between the Restoration and the middle of the eighteenth century, reflects the increasing prosperity of landed families. In Nottingham's case it is true that the scale, if not the existence of Burley was due to the gains of office; and other great houses of the period were built by 'new men' out of the money made in trade or law, for example the house which

Sir Gilbert Heathcote built at Normanton not far from Burley. Of such men it may be true that they built because they could afford to build. But several old families, who depended entirely on their rents for income, built or enlarged their mansions and this was a period when, over most of England, rents were stationary. It cannot be the case with families such as these, that they built because their incomes were increasing. Rather they built because it had become fashionable to do so. Here perhaps it was that the wider significance of houses such as Burley really lay. They helped to spread the fashion. Both Nottingham's fondness for tapestries and the subjects chosen—The Triumphs of Julius Caesar, for example, and Hero and Leander—suggest the influence of Versailles, which was certainly present in explicit form in the building of Blenheim. In this sense Nottingham was following a fashion. But he was also the intermediary by which new fashions in building and decoration penetrated into the remoter manor houses of gentry who had not set foot abroad. The quality of country houses, of their furnishings and ornaments was, to judge from contemporary correspondence, a favourite topic of conversation. The new houses, with their larger rooms and ampler decorations, changed the assumptions of the local landowners about the style of house that was appropriate to their dignity. And it is a reasonable guess that the country squire who dined for the first time at Burley went away discontented with his smaller and older manor house in a mood to add a wing or a floor, or give it a more fashionable façade. It is in the account books of the families who in this way followed the fashion without the help of gains from office, trade or law that the most important effects of housebuilding are to be traced.

The age of the great houses is now so remote that it is natural for us to wonder why men should have wished to employ so much of their wealth in building them. It is not in the course of nature that moneyed men should buy great estates and build country mansions. Nineteenth-century America did not lack men of great wealth, yet they rarely employed it in that way. The aristocracy of the Italian towns remained primarily an urban class; their houses were the great palaces which still line the streets of Florence. The immediate reason why Nottingham wished to build was quite simple. While he still lived in Kensington, he had a large domestic staff, which in 1683 consisted of fifteen women and twenty-one men. The women included the housekeeper, an under-housekeeper, several lady's maids, two housemaids, one plate maid, one kitchen maid, one dairymaid, one nursery maid, and two laundry maids. The men included the bailiffs, a cook, a butler, a porter, and a coachman, four footmen, four grooms, a huntsman, a carter, a butcher, a groom chamber and a gardener.<sup>58</sup> This was a large staff for so modest a house. After his second marriage, in 1685, Nottingham could expect that his family and the necessary domestic staff would increase. By 1693, after he had decided to purchase but while he was still living at Exton, his female

staff had increased to twenty and his male staff to twenty-nine; it looks as if he had already allowed for the increase in maids and helpers around the grounds which Burley would allow or need, for there was no further increase in staff after the family moved into their new house. The need to accommodate this large establishment certainly influenced Nottingham in his decision to move to the country, though it can scarcely have been the decisive factor since the needs of his growing household could have been met by enlarging the house at Kensington. And if overcrowding made Nottingham leave, why had it not moved his father in the same direction? It must have been a tight squeeze at Kensington even in Heneage's time, when Daniel and his first wife joined him there after their marriage.

Nottingham's own account of his motives for wanting an estate in the country are quite explicit. It was simply that he wanted to live in the country. He wishes to buy, he writes, 'that I may have the satisfaction of having some place to retire to'.<sup>59</sup> 'I am resolved to go into the country,' he says on another occasion, 'though I live in the stables at Burley'.<sup>60</sup> 'I much long to be in the country'.<sup>61</sup> In his draft instructions to his executors in 1705 he writes. 'I have appointed my gardens, cow-yards and a building opposite my stable to be finished. These things being done the habitation will be convenient and pleasant and may induce Daniel (his eldest son) to live in the country, which I hope he will love, and mind his own affairs and estates, which is part of a gentleman's calling'.<sup>62</sup> In the event, except for the years of office, the family did spend the greater part of their time at Burley. Normally they stayed in London only for January, February and March, occasionally for part of December and April, and even during these months the children seemed to have stayed in the country, at least when they were young. For most of the time the family did not even have a London house of their own. At some time in the 1680's Nottingham sold his father's house in Queen Street and thereafter generally rented a house for the season. In 1705, for example, Nottingham rented a house in Soho Square; later he took lodgings in York Buildings, in 1710 for ten weeks and in 1711 for twenty-one weeks. In 1712 he took lodgings in Bloomsbury Square, and in 1714 in St. James Street, and it was not until 1715 that he took a long lease, a twenty-two year lease from Lady Russell of a house in Bloomsbury Square.<sup>63</sup>

It would be foolish to ignore these explicit declarations that Nottingham liked life in the country simply for the amenities it afforded. These lush and undulating Midlands, still at this time mainly unenclosed, afforded some of the pleasantest landscape in Europe. It would be perverse to seek out obscure reasons why men should want to go and live among them. Yet it is likely that there were other reasons, so widely influential that they were taken for granted and thus escape from the explicit expression of motives by any individual landowner. But not from the explicit expressions of the individual architect. 'I believe that if your Grace will please to



Fig. 5. *Burley from the south* (English Life Publications Ltd.)

consider the intrinsic value of titles and blue garters, and jewels and great tables and numbers of servants etc. in a word all those things that distinguish Great Men from the small ones, you will confess to me that a good house is at least upon the level with the best of 'em.<sup>64</sup> Thus Vanbrugh wrote to the Duke of Newcastle in 1703 in an attempt to persuade him to rebuild Welbeck. A good house was not only one distinguishing feature of a Great Man, of no more importance than several others; it provided the necessary setting for great tables and numbers of servants. The country mansion was formed, as Mr Whistler has put it, 'to express a particular way of living' which could not have been so aptly expressed in any other milieu. Daniel's father, to the end of his life, retained something of the character of the indispensable legal expert; Daniel on the other hand was a leading political figure, and in building his house he was completing the picture of himself as the equal of such as Halifax and Danby.

A great house was more than the expression of a certain style of living. It was a monument to the achievement of the builder. The absence of an existing house when Nottingham bought the estate at Burley was from his point of view an advantage not a defect, for it gave him a free hand to raise his own creation. When a new house costs so much to build it is at first sight curious that houses already built should have sold for so little. The existence of a house, even one that was ample and well-conditioned, added little to the market value of an estate and sometimes added nothing at all. When Bubb Doddington's house at Eastbury, completed at great cost less than twenty-five years before, was put up for sale in 1762 it failed to find a purchaser, and had to be pulled down.<sup>65</sup> The same fate befell Lord Montfort's house at Horseheath.<sup>66</sup> The cases could be multiplied, and the explanation is that men who were buying an estate did not want a house simply to live in, nor even in order to give scope for their crotchets about domestic architecture. They wished to provide posterity with tangible and enduring evidence of their achievements. The motives

which inspired Sarah and John Churchill at Blenheim were reflected in a less intense form in the building of Burley.

Nottingham thought of himself not only as an individual with personal achievements to commemorate, but as the representative of his family, responsible for the preservation of its repute and its fortunes for succeeding generations. When in the closing of his life he inherited the estates and title of the elder branch of the Finches he vigorously resisted the extinction of the title which his father had acquired in that of the senior title of Winchilsea.

I know very well [he wrote to his son in September 1729] that I cannot refuse the title of Winchilsea and all that you say of it is very right, but I am not debarred from using the addition of Nottingham in all deeds and papers I shall sign, nor even in the House of Lords in my subscribing the oaths and tests and any protestations, for this I will certainly do to distinguish my branch of the family from the former.<sup>67</sup>

This sense of family was not confined to Nottingham, but was widely diffused among his uncles and his brothers and sisters. Primogeniture would not have survived so long among English landed families had it not corresponded to a sense among the younger children themselves that the standing of the family and its maintenance from generation to generation was of more importance than their own individual interests. They did not regard themselves as deprived of their rights by settlements which secured the family estates to their elder brother. The younger members assisted the principal representative of the family with occasional loans, and when they died without children of their own they bequeathed their property to the main line. In the case of the Finches at least, the annuities paid to younger children were not an entire loss to the estate. The brother who became a clergyman and remained a bachelor, the spinster sister, had thriftier habits than a great landowner, and some of their income was accumulated and in due course returned to enrich the main stream. Thus a great house was

more than a pleasant place to live in, more than a memorial to its builder. It was the capital of the family and the repository of its traditions.

#### NOTES

1. Information on Nottingham's estate and house is to be found in the Finch papers, now temporarily deposited with the Historical Manuscripts Commission. These contain (a) his correspondence, which is at present being calendared—this is referred to in this essay as Finch MSS. Correspondence; (b) miscellaneous deeds, surveys and accounts, which are referred to here as Finch MSS. Miscellaneous. The main volumes of Nottingham's accounts, covering the period 1681-1724 are numbers 131, 122, and 123. Number 119 contains details of the expenses of building for the period 1696-1707. There are also volumes of household accounts. I wish to express my gratitude to Lt.-Col. James Hanbury, the owner of these manuscripts, for making them available, and to Mr. R. L. Atkinson for providing facilities for work on them.  
The earlier documents belonging to this collection have been calendared and published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Manuscripts of the late Allen George Finch, Esq., 2 vols. 1913-1922. These are referred to here as H.M.C. Finch MSS.  
The Hatton Finch papers at the British Museum, which contain a large amount of Nottingham's official correspondence, include also many of his private letters. The most useful for the present study have been his letters to his father-in-law, Lord Hatton (Add.MSS. 29594-5), and his wife's letters (Add.MSS. 29596).  
The Finch-Hatton collection at the Northamptonshire Record Office contains, besides some of Nottingham's official correspondence, the common-place book of one of his daughters. (N.R.O., F.H. 281.)  
The family papers were used by Miss Pearl Finch for her valuable History of Burley-on-the-Hill, 2 vols. (London 1901, privately printed). There is an article on the house by Mr. Christopher Hussey in *Country Life*, February 10 and 17, 1923. For this reference, and for much other guidance in the architectural literature of the period, I am greatly indebted to Mr. H. M. Colvin.
2. Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through England* (1927), ed. G. D. H. Cole, ii, 502-3.
3. *The Diary and Correspondence of Charles Abbot, Lord Colchester*, ed. Charles Lord Colchester (1861), ii, 634.
4. H. M. C. Finch MSS., ii, f. 19; *Victoria County History of Buckinghamshire* (1905-28), iv, 441; J. Bridges, *History of Northamptonshire* (1791), i, 45; G. Baker, *History of Northamptonshire* (1822-41), i, 307.
5. W. J. Loftie, *Kensington* (1888), p. 138. *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Lord Braybrooke, ii, 336.
6. P. Faulkener, 'Nottingham House', *Archaeological Journal*, cvii (1950), pp. 69-71; G. H. Chettle, 'Kensington Palace', *Journal of the British Archaeological Society*, xvi (1953).
7. The marriage settlement is in Finch MSS., Misc., nos. 31-5.
8. It is a curious side-light on the reliability of contemporary gossip about the size of marriage portions that Bridget Noel should have written of Anne Hatton, 'Her portion was but £1,000' (quoted in *Complete Peerage* under Winchilsea), whereas in the marriage settlement and in Nottingham's accounts the sum is quite clearly £10,000.
9. Add. MS. 29594, f. 101.
10. *Ibid.*, f. 89.
11. *Ibid.*, f. 23.
12. *Ibid.*, f. 170.
13. *Ibid.*, f. 180.
14. H. M. C. 11th Report, app. 11, p. 305; 12th Report, app. part VI; *House of Lords MSS.*, 1689-90, pp. 218-19; C.J x, p. 382.
15. Add. MS. 29595, f. 33.
16. *Ibid.*, f. 44.
17. He wrote to Sir John Lowther, to enquire who had made the model for Lowther Castle (Pearl Finch, *op. cit.*, i, 63).
18. Add. MS. 29595, f. 44, 1 May 1694.
19. B. M. Sloane MS. 3828, ff. 176-80. 'Some Directions for my Lord Nottingham's Building by Sir Henry Shere. 5 July 1695.'
20. For Poulteney, see Publications of the Wren Society, xx, p. 167.
21. For Dormer, see H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects* (1954), and for Lumley, see Rupert Gunnis, *A Dictionary of British Sculptors* (1953).
22. Add. MS. 29595, f. 52
23. H. J. Massingham, *Where Man Belongs* (1946), pp. 92-3.
24. Add. MS. 29595, f. 112.
25. Wren Society, v, 31, 49.
26. *Ibid.*, xv, xxi.
27. *Ibid.*, xvii, 55.
28. These stages in the building are reconstructed from payments in Nottingham's accounts. Mr Hussey suggests that 'Probably from motives of economy, for the Earl seems to have been building out of income only, the roof was not put on till 1704-5, by which time the masons and builders would have been paid off and the money be free with which to engage the carpenters and lead workers'. But the correspondence about a roof on which this view was based refers more probably to the roof of the stables which had to be repaired after the fire in 1705.
29. Add. MS. 29596, f. 9.
30. Defoe, *op. cit.*, i, 502.
31. Finch MSS., Correspondence: box V, bundle 22.
32. Pearl Finch, *op. cit.*, i, 26.
33. Except for the years 1699-1702 inclusive, the costs have been calculated from the individual items in Nottingham's account. For 1699-1702 the totals are those calculated by Nottingham's steward.
34. Lawrence Whistler, *The Imagination of Vanbrugh and his Fellow Artists* (1954), p. 161.
35. Pearl Finch, *op. cit.*, i, 381.
36. H. M. C. Finch MSS., ii, ff. 18-19.
37. Finch MSS., Miscellaneous, nos 31-5, contains Daniel Finch's marriage settlements.
38. Finch MSS., Correspondence, nos 515 and 515a.
39. Private Act: 10 Geo. 2, c. 14.
40. See their biographies in the *D. N. B.*
41. Add. MS. 29595, f. 69. He means that he has given a larger portion than he intended.
42. H. M. C. 11th Report, App. Pt. V, MSS. of Earl of Dartmouth, p. 294.
43. Finch MSS., Correspondence, nos. 515 and 515a.
44. Besides ten other children who died young and seven still-born.
45. Finch MSS., Miscellaneous, no. 131. Lady Mary and Mr. Robert Finch were sister and brother of Daniel Finch. It is difficult to give a representative figure for Nottingham's landed income at this time for some of his Essex property was let on beneficial leases.
46. M. A. Thomson, *The Secretaries of State, 1681-1782* (Oxford 1932), p. 147.
47. Add. MS. 29595, f.48, 24 May 1694.
48. A. S. Turberville, *Welbeck Abbey and its Owners* (1939), II, 147-8.
49. Vanbrugh to Lord Carlisle, 19 July 1722, quoted by Whistler, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
50. Finch MSS., Correspondence, nos. 515 and 515a.
51. This calculation is contained in Finch MSS., Miscellaneous, no. 35. In this document, written almost certainly in 1695, Nottingham declares that 'probably taxes on land will not last above three years for the war cannot last so long'. The same expectation is to be found in Gregory King, 'Natural Observations' [in *Two Tracts*, Ed. Barnett (Baltimore, 1936), pp. 48-9].
52. Finch MSS., Miscellaneous, p. 129. The expenditure on furniture and utensils in 1699 probably includes an abnormal element, since he was preparing to move into Burley.
53. These are calculated from the detailed receipts recorded in Nottingham's private accounts. Miss Pearl Finch quotes a document, 'Thomas Armstrong's Account of the Profits of the Office from 22nd May 1702 to 22nd April 1704', which gives the receipts of office as £16,279 14s 8d. and expenditure as £4,191 0s 0d. I have not been able to trace this document. The most likely explanation of the discrepancy with the figure in the text is that this account included money received and spent on real secret-service purposes.
54. Private Act, 10 Geo. 2, c. 14.
55. Finch MSS., Correspondence, nos. 515 and 515a.
56. *Ibid.*
57. For the acquisitions of the Duke of Chandos, see C. H. Collins Baker and M. I. Baker, *The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges, first Duke of Chandos* (1949).
58. Finch MSS., Miscellaneous, no. 125.
59. Add. MS., 29595, f. 23.
60. *Ibid.*, f. 44.
61. *Ibid.*, f. 60.
62. Finch MSS., Correspondence, letter of 21 June 1705.
63. Finch MSS., Miscellaneous, no. 123.
64. Whistler, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
66. Catherine E. Parsons, 'Horseheath Hall and its Owners', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, xli, 45.
67. Add. MS. 29549, f. 127.  
This article has been reprinted from *Studies in Social History* ed. J. H. Plumb, Longmans, 1955, without alterations.

When we examine the archives of an estate we view not only the records accumulated by the immediate family, not only the local papers relating to our own county and far more than documents of recent times. The study of a family archive can be a wide ranging and far reaching exercise, possibly taking the researcher back through nine hundred years and across local, national and international boundaries. The Finch collection offers to the historian documents from the days of the Finch family, the dukes of Buckingham, the Haringtons and beyond. The Royal Household, Parliament, the British Embassy in Turkey, the Continent, Buckinghamshire and Essex have all been milestones in the history of the families associated with Burley on the Hill. A description of the records of the illustrious Finch family and of the records of Burley on the Hill and its earlier owners cannot in this format be exhaustive. This article, therefore, aims to persuade the reader to research the family more deeply from the original sources.

Like all archive accumulations, the records of Burley were drawn up in the course of business of various sorts, for legal, estate, political, family or personal reasons since the earliest times. The records were kept for use and reference until they passed out of currency, at which point they became 'vulnerable' - being of no immediate use they ran the risk (as documents do today) of being destroyed. Other forces, too, have determined what now survives - poor storage conditions, vermin, fire, flood, dispersal and in the case of Burley, Civil War, have shaped and marked the archive into that which survives today. This must therefore influence our understanding and appreciation of the collection. Fortunately for Rutlanders and locally based historians the Finch MSS have neither fallen into foreign hands nor been divided up and dispersed. The collection has attracted national interest since 1879, when the Historical Manuscripts Commission brought the collection to the attention of a wider, non-local public. Happily the good offices of the family have ensured that almost the entire collection is retained intact locally. Consequently the sanctity of the archive group is honoured and the collection is deposited with Leicestershire County Council for the benefit of all.

A detailed examination of the records must begin with the estate papers, good administration and management of the estate being the family's anchor point and base for future success. Land owners have always required deeds of title to prove legal ownership, terriers and surveys to describe their holdings at a certain time, accounts and rentals to monitor the financial proceedings and correspondence to communicate with their agents, stewards and other employees. Title deeds to the Rutland

estate, centred on Burley, extend from the thirteenth century and relate to properties not only in Burley, but also in Hambleton, Greetham, Cottesmore and Oakham. These manors, which had been bought by Sir John Harington, later first Lord Harington of Exton, subsequently passed to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and his son, being sold to Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham. One interesting early deed is a quitclaim, dated 3 May 1409, to Hugh Wyght of Oakham, involving a burgage tenement in Oakham in

'a certain street called Newegate between the tenement of Robert Pykewelle and that of William Flore' (William Flore was controller of the works of the castle and sheriff of Rutland). The document lists Roger Flore as the first witness - he was a Member of Parliament for Rutland - and has the seal of William Hunt, the first party, appended. Oakham was a private borough in the hands of the Lords of Oakham barony as early as the thirteenth century and burgage tenements are known to have existed in Newegate as late as 1521.

The earliest description of land at Burley is a survey originally made in 1209 and copied in the eighteenth century. It relates to the vicarage of 'Burley' together with 'a certain part of the wood belonging to the Lord [of the manor] and Pasture, valued at 10s p. a., excepting a certain barn in which the Nuns lodge, and half an oxgang of land given to the chapel of Alesthorpe' (once a hamlet separate from Burley, probably near Chapel Farm). Thirty six other terriers and surveys for the area survive, covering the period 1556-c. 1820, for the parishes of Greetham (Raffe Batts land) in 1556 and 1790/2, Empingham, Normanton and Hardwick in 1701, Burley, Leighfield and Hambleton, 1729, Egleton, 18th.c, Belton and Morcott (Hospital), 1779. Surveys were often made upon change of ownership of the estate. In 1648 George, second Duke of Buckingham, one of the principal Royalists in Rutland, fled the county and had his estates forfeited to the Commonwealth. Surveys were made by the Parliamentary Commissioners in 1651/2 with the purpose of selling the estates, and those for the manors of Egleton, Burley and Greetham survive in the collection. (By rather obvious manoeuvring the Duke returned to England in 1651 and married Mary, daughter of the Parliamentarian Lord Fairfax, to whom his Rutland property had been assigned. By the time of the Restoration therefore, Buckingham's feet were firmly in Burley's door and the estates were officially returned to him later in 1660). Another rich period for the making of surveys was in the later eighteenth century, when the death of Daniel, seventh Earl of Winchilsea (1690-1769) coincided with the wave of Parliamentary Inclosures throughout the land. Under the new owner of the



Fig. 1. Detail from a document from Charles II to Vizier Azem, 1666, in the Finch Archives (LRO. DG7/5/2)

Burley estates, George, Daniel's nephew, surveys were made of Burley Park, 1784, Belton, 1786, Hambleton, 1785, Greetham, 1787, Oakham, 1787, Egleton, 1790 and copies of these and of the accompanying plans, which survive in at least two cases, provide much detailed information about the lands at a crucial period of our history.

Estate accounts were kept for all aspects of the administration, for rents, labour, farms and parks, stables, game, wood, stock and grain. Rentals record the overall financial income and dues for the estates, not only in Rutland, but in other Finch lands in Northamptonshire, Essex and Buckinghamshire. The majority of other accounts survive from the 1680s, when Daniel, second Earl of Nottingham bought the estate, and continue until the early twentieth century. The heavy debts of George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, which led to the sale of the estate to Daniel Finch generated a large number of legal papers and accounts. Particulars of the manor, compiled in 1685, describe

'the scyte of the Old house and the remains thereof it being consumed in the late Wars by fire' and value the annual income of Burley, Egleton, Greetham, Oakham, Leighfield and Hambleton at £3667 10s 9d. Daniel Finch had been looking for a country property as a retreat from his official duties as first Lord of the Admiralty and Secretary of State. He may have been informed by his younger brother, Heneage, who was Solicitor General at the time and dealing with the suits against George Villiers, of the

forthcoming sale of Burley. In his will of 1695 Daniel Finch wrote

'You will see among my papers my designe of an House and gardens at Burley which I reckon may cost about £15000 . . . I would have my intentions pursued by such degrees as ye profits of my Estate, not necessarily diverted otherwise by my will, will enable you.'

In fact Daniel lived to control the entire building operation of the new house (the third on the site) which commenced in 1694 and continued until 1714-1720. The cost was approximately £80,000 and surviving documents, correspondence, bills and receipts for the period show the materials used, the methods and procedures involved and the types of labour employed. Weekly accounts record the loads of stone, sand and bricks ferried from Clipsham and elsewhere and the days spent: 32,300 bricks, almost 200 feet of ashlar and 30 loads of limestone were among the materials used during one week from 13 to 18 July 1696. Accounts for work to the church and other buildings on the estate are also to be found, including repairs of the windmill, stables and farm buildings.

Other estate records relate to properties outside Rutland, acquired through marriage. The Buckinghamshire connection came into the Finch family in 1574 upon the marriage of Moyle Finch with Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Heneage. Heneage was appointed Treasurer of the Queen's chamber in 1570 and Master of the Rolls in 1577. He was highly regarded and trusted by Queen Elizabeth and in addition to his knighthood in 1577 he received from her many valuable grants of land, including property in Yorkshire, Northamptonshire and Norfolk (for which a few deeds still survive). His biggest prize, however, was the gift in 1588 of the manors of Ravenstone and Stoke Goldington in Buckinghamshire. Included in the property was the manor of Middleton [Milton] Keynes - a fascinating sketch surveys part of the manor as it was seen in 1685. A later sale particular of 1789 notes

'the Estate adjoins the Turnpike road leading to Northampton, is well situated with respect to Markets, being only Three miles from Newport Pagnel . . .

A far cry from Milton Keynes today, with more than 150,000 people housed on the site of the old manor alone. Other documents relating to Buckinghamshire include title deeds to cottages at Ravenstone, 1669-1900, rentals of Milton and Ravenstone, 1805-1881 and estate accounts for Ravenstone up to 1894. Land in Essex came to the Finch family in 1678 with the marriage of Daniel Finch to Lady Essex Rich, the second daughter and co-heiress of Robert, Earl of Warwick. The Essex holdings concentrated on the manor of Rayleigh and included the Foulness estate. Over four hundred documents survive, dating back to the sixteenth century, and include title deeds, rentals and accounts for the Warwick estate. An interesting list of farmers and bailiffs in 1637 and a survey of timber of 1680 are notable, as are later surveys of farms in Foulness Island dated 1778 and 1799. Extracts and copy extracts from manor court rolls relating to the Earl's estate in Felstead survive

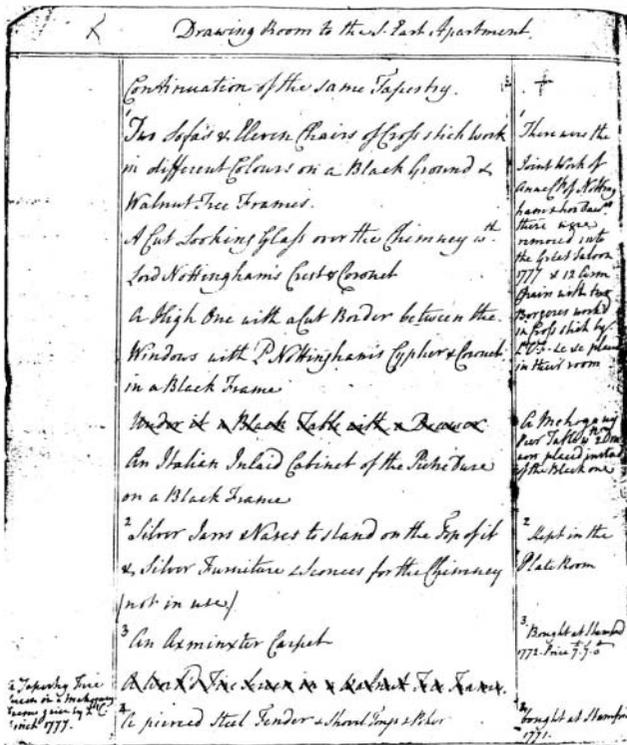


Fig. 2 Inventory of Burley, 1772 (LRO. Inv.4)

for the period 1633-1662. Other property also owned by the Finch family included Kensington House, London (now Kensington Palace). Heneage Finch, 1st Earl of Nottingham (1621-1682), bought this in 1661 from his younger brother John, a physician, and both he and his son Daniel used the house considerably while carrying out official duties. In 1689 Daniel sold the house to William III. Little survives in the collection relating to the house - several inventories, some of which record the contents of the house room by room, are of special interest, listing the household furniture, utensils, plate and linen. These were made during the ownership of Heneage between 1664 and 1676.

Although estate management was of necessity at the hub of household activities, much of the administration was operated by agents and staff, allowing the family opportunities to maintain or pursue careers or interests locally and nationally. Until the late nineteenth century the aristocracy dominated government, the armed forces and the civil service and certainly the families of Burley made notable contributions to the good of State and County. Sir John Harington, who had succeeded to Exton and Burley on the death of his father James in 1592, had been knighted in 1584 and was M. P. for Rutland in 1571, 1593, 1597-8 and 1601. He was also High Sheriff in 1594-5, 1598-9 and 1602-3 and at the Coronation that year was created Baron Harington of Exton. Following this he was entrusted with the guardianship of the Princess Elizabeth, (particularly during the 'Gunpowder Plot' period, when there was much local activity) a duty which he continued until her marriage in 1613. Sadly no documents survive in the collection relating to the Haringtons' political activities - our evidence must be gleaned

from Chancery and other national series of papers held by the Public Record Office, London. Similarly there is little in the collection about Harington's successors at Burley, the dukes of Buckingham. For the famous stories about the first performance of Ben Jonson's 'Gypsies' and the presentation of Jeffrey Hudson 'The smallest man of the smallest county in England' to Queen Henrietta in a pie served at the table at Burley we must rely on the local antiquarian notes of James Wright and others.

With the arrival of Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham, to Burley in the late 1680s the Burley estate acquired the interests of a high-ranking and illustrious family. As early as 1513 the Finches had been commended for service to the Crown. Among his direct ancestry Daniel boasted Sir Thomas Finch (d. 1563) and Sir Thomas Moyle, both Kentish landowners filling various public offices for their county and connected by the marriage of Sir Thomas Finch to Moyle's daughter Katherine. Sir Heneage Finch (d. 1631), their grandson, was appointed Speaker of the House of Commons in 1626. His eldest son, also Heneage (1621-1682), became Solicitor General in 1660, Lord Keeper of the Seals, 1673, Lord Chancellor, 1674, and in 1681 he was created Earl of Nottingham. John, his younger brother (1626-1682), a physician, was sent in 1665 as a minister to the Grand Duke of Tuscany and in 1672 was promoted to be ambassador at Constantinople, where he remained until 1682. Their cousin, also Heneage (died 1689), was son of Thomas, first Earl of Winchilsea. Heneage succeeded to the title of Viscount Maidstone in 1633 and of Earl of Winchilsea in 1639. Upon the Restoration he went on an important embassy to Sultan Mahomet Chan IV and remained as English ambassador at Constantinople for eight years. (The Winchilsea and Nottingham branch united in 1729, when Daniel succeeded his cousin John, 5th Earl of Winchilsea, as 6th Earl).

Daniel Finch continued the family's mantle of high office by his appointment as First Lord of the Admiralty, 1679/80-1684, Secretary of State for War, 1688-1693, and other official duties under Queen Anne and George I. The correspondence of the Finch family which has survived in the collection is voluminous. It falls roughly into six groups (1) early letters of the family in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (2) correspondence of Heneage, Earl of Winchilsea, during his embassy to the Porte between 1660 and 1668 (3) letters and papers of Sir John Finch who followed his cousin as ambassador in Turkey (4) letters and papers of Sir Heneage Finch, afterwards first Earl of Nottingham and his family (5) the correspondence of Daniel Finch during his tenure of the office of Secretary of State, 1688-1693 and (6) series of eighteenth century letters and papers including the correspondence of Lady Pomfret with her daughter Charlotte Finch. Totalling several thousand in number, these letters, journals and notebooks provide a remarkable source for historians. The correspondence of Daniel is particularly important as it includes copies of his letters to the King between 1688-1693, a large



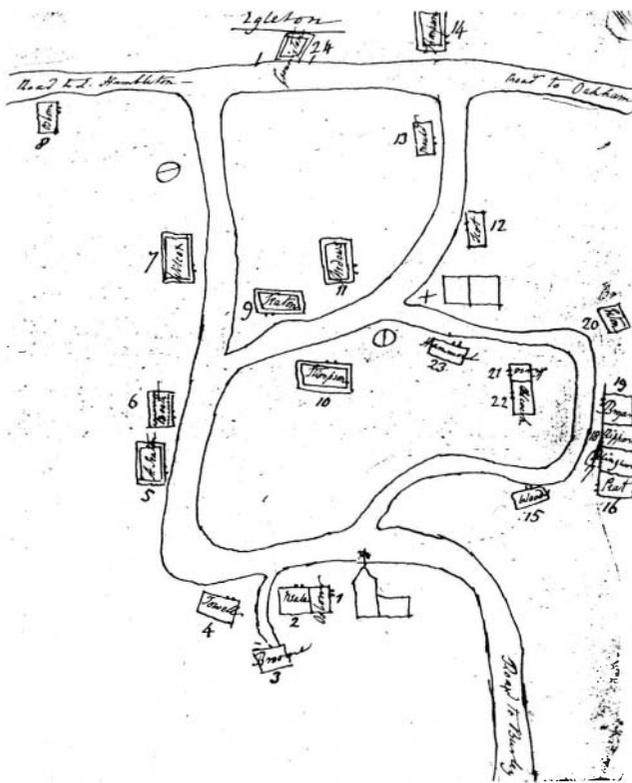


Fig. 4. Plan of houses in Egleton, 1797  
(LRO. DG7/4/27)

And so begins a fascinating series of diaries which continue to 1761; her daughter Charlotte carried the diaries on after Henrietta's death and recorded her days during her time as governess to the children of George III between 1764 and 1767. Correspondence between mother and daughter can also be found in the main series of letters and a large bundle of accounts span the years 1773-1820 and illustrate how Lady Charlotte spent her income.

There is little in the catalogued collection relating to the more recent history of Burley. A large group of records collected in 1989 promises to yield information about the estate in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Undoubtedly many personal letters and papers must have been generated by the family during its history. Given the size of the collection generally, the proportion of personal information is only minor. Glimpses of intimacy can be gleaned from family letters among the mass of official and business correspondence. The inventories of furniture, plate and pictures at Burley imply personal links with their originators and owners - the 'old linen book' (1878-1885) describes Mrs Finch's bedroom linen as

- 'Frilled sheets 6 pair
- Pillowslips frilled 6 pair
- bought in 1878
- Market in Centre in Monogram
- 3 Toilet Cases
- 1 Lace Antimacassar'

What survives among the miscellanea of the collection may also tell us more about the family. Large numbers of medical prescriptions, loose and in book and pamphlet form, were necessary for the well-being of all: literary works and criticisms, including

a famous miscellany of letters and poems connected with the diplomatist and poet Sir Henry Wootton (1568-1639) and religious, legal and parliamentary pamphlets illustrate private and business interests. The family's appetite for overseas travel and knowledge abroad presumably led to the accumulation of foreign maps and plans (there are more of these extant than maps of Rutland) - of Egypt, Arabia, Switzerland, Italy, Malta, the Netherlands and elsewhere - during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Other treasures nearer home include the curious plan of houses in Burley, Egleton, Hambleton and Greetham, drawn up in 1797, and the accompanying lists of inhabitants and comments on their characters. Daniel Finch's 'Directions to Servants' and 'Advice to my Sons' are charming instructions of a domestic nature unexpected from a man whose contributions to the collection is largely official.

As stated at the beginning, this account of the records of Burley and its families can only describe in brief the vast range and variety of documents which have been accumulated over the centuries. The reader is urged, therefore, to consult the catalogues to the collection personally for particular references and for a more detailed overall picture. In time an additional catalogue to the recently received deposit (ref. DE 3443) will also be made available at the Record Office.

#### REFERENCES

- Finch MSS at Leicestershire Record Office, 57 New Walk, Leicester, LE1 7JB. (ref DG7).
- For further information see: *Victoria County History of Rutland*, vol. 2 1935; Pearl Finch's *The History of Burley on the Hill*, 1901; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1889, and the Historic Manuscripts Commission, *Reports on the Manuscripts of [the late] Allan George Finch*, vols I-IV, 1913-1965.

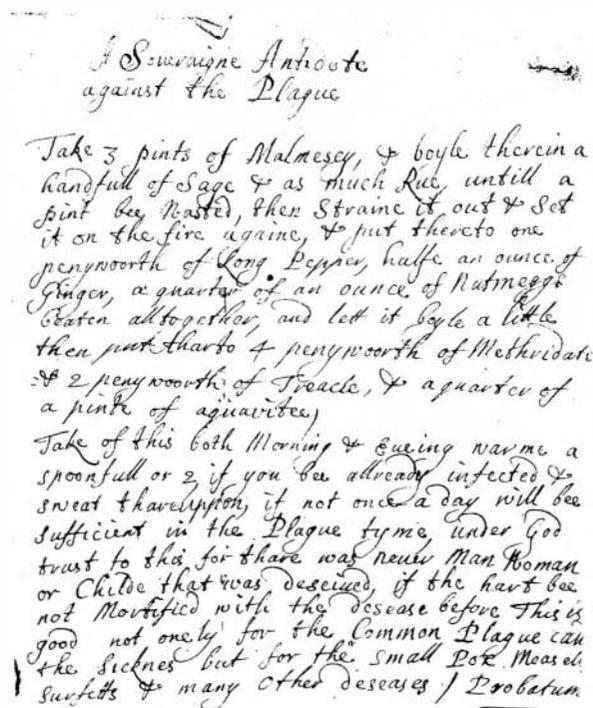


Fig. 5. A Sovereigne Antidote Against The Plague  
(LRO.Misc.2)

# Patrons and Parsons: The Earls of Winchilsea and the Vicars of Burley c 1720-1820

NIGEL ASTON

The patterns of ecclesiastical patronage in eighteenth century England is a subject that has not received adequate attention from scholars. At first this omission is surprising: the number of Anglican clergy per head of the population stood at a record level and the impact of the established Church, (so firmly enmeshed with the state at every level), on national life is not to be underestimated. With a clear majority of livings in the gift of private individuals (53.4 per cent according to one recent estimate)<sup>1</sup>, the Lord Chancellor<sup>2</sup> and the Crown, rather than with the bishops, diversity and clerical individualism were given ample scope. Yet the historian who wishes to review the allocation of manpower within the Church at diocesan level has no choice but to work through widely scattered material<sup>3</sup>; there is no convenient *Crockfords Directory* to guide him through the legions of Georgian clergy<sup>4</sup>.

The starting point for any survey is at the parish level, and a study of those men appointed to the vicarage of Burley on the Hill provides a particularly significant insight into the operation of client-patron ties inside the Church. The advowson had been in the hands of the owners of the Burley estate since the mid-sixteenth century (they were also lay rectors)<sup>5</sup>, and from the early 1690s the estate had belonged to the Finch family<sup>6</sup>. The first duty of the Vicar of Burley in the period under survey was thus less to undertake the customary round of pastoral duties - though they were undertaken without recourse to an underpaid curate as happened in some other Rutland parishes<sup>7</sup> - than to act as chaplain to the man who had appointed him, the Earl of Winchilsea of the day. Residence at Burley itself was thus expected of the incumbent. Daniel, the 8th Earl, frowned on pluralism. When another Finch living, Ravenstone in Buckinghamshire, fell vacant in 1764 he insisted that his nominee, the Rev. Robert Chapman, could not take up his offer until he had resigned his existing benefice<sup>8</sup>.

The Finch family took their religious duties seriously. Of Daniel, 2nd Earl of Nottingham (1647-1730), it may be justly said that he was among the foremost lay Anglicans of his day, a Hanoverian Tory quick to detect threats to the supremacy of the established Church from Whig ministers anxious to ease the legal and social disabilities of the dissenters<sup>9</sup>. Churchmen looked to Lord Nottingham to come to the defence of the Church of England and in the hectic party conflict of the 1690s and Queen Anne's reign he was ever ready to respond. He was a close friend of the Queen's favourite prelate and his father's former chaplain, Archbishop John Sharp of

York<sup>10</sup>, engineered the appointment of his younger brother Henry Finch to the Deanery of York in 1702<sup>11</sup>, and disposed of an appreciable amount of patronage inside the Church. This was a lay patron whose support, for any clerical careerist of moderate Tory credentials (the political cause most favoured by early eighteenth century parsons), was likely to make all the difference in his progress up the ecclesiastical *cursus honorum*<sup>12</sup>.

Lord Nottingham died in 1730, only a year after succeeding his kinsman in the senior Earldom belonging to the Finch family, that of Winchilsea created in 1611. By the date of his death the immediate threat to the Anglican monopoly in the state was past, as Whig ministers decided that it was better to use the Church as a buttress for the Hanoverian regime rather than drive the Tory die-hards among the lower clergy into the arms of the Jacobites. The career of Daniel, Lord Finch (1689-1769), who became Earl of Winchilsea & Nottingham in 1730, 'the uneasily whig son of the uneasily tory Lord



Fig. 1. Daniel, 3rd Earl of Nottingham and 8th Earl of Winchilsea by A. Ramsay (courtesy of the Earl of Aylesford and the Courtauld Institute)

Nottingham<sup>13</sup>, was typical of prominent Tory families who tried to make their peace with the Whigs after it became evident that the holding of public office was nigh impossible any other way<sup>14</sup>. Winchilsea's political career climaxed in 1742 when one of the leaders of the anti-Walpole Whigs, Lord Carteret, secured him office as First Lord of the Admiralty. He left office with Carteret in 1744 and spent the rest of his life in opposition, apart from a few months at the Admiralty again in 1757 and a year as Lord President of the Council in the Rockingham administration of 1765-66<sup>15</sup>.

The new owner of Burley, forty-two years old in 1730, inherited all his respected father's clerical contacts, but was less disposed to develop and extend them: Winchilsea did not have his father's overriding interest in the Church and, while he respected the obligations arising from previous ties in making his appointments, his first concern was ever to act as the protector of his family interests. As he told his father in 1723<sup>16</sup>:

'For as I always look upon myself as being the eldest, to be the slave of the family, I have hitherto devoted myself to that and am willing to continue the same methods of proceeding'.

The men Lord Winchilsea was looking for in making appointments to the livings in his gift were either moderate Tories or country party Whigs, 'Patriot' critics like himself of 'idol distinctions of party'<sup>17</sup> and the stranglehold on power exercised by Walpole and his City friends. It was such men who held the vicarage of Burley over the next three decades.

It is important to see Burley as just one of a number of posts in Lord Winchilsea's gift within which clergy could be moved around. This was a private network of patronage of impressive proportions within which clerical careers could be made<sup>18</sup>. It also included Oakham and Greetham in Rutland<sup>19</sup>, the rectory of Eastwell in Kent (the estate originally associated with the Winchilsea family) and the rectory of Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire, where the Nottingham side of the Finchs had been Lords of the Manor since the 17th century<sup>20</sup>. Of the nine clergy appointed to the vicarage of Burley between 1725 and 1819 no fewer than four went on to become rectors of Milton Keynes, a step which within the Finch connection clearly amounted to promotion. In George III's reign this pattern broke down as one appointee, the Rev. Dr. Heneage Dering, held the rectory of Milton (or Middleton Keynes as it was alternatively described) from 1761 until his death in 1802 thus blocking the way for his successors at Burley. Estate consolidation and habitual country residence in Rutland during the 18th century under both the 8th and 9th Earls also had the effect of making the Buckinghamshire properties somewhat far flung Finch outposts.

There are two other points in which priests appointed to Burley in the period 1725-61 resembled each other. First, there were strong links with the North of England, especially Westmorland and Lancashire. Thus both Edwards and Drake were pupils of Sedbergh School. Secondly, all five vicars

were Cambridge graduates with no less than four (William Hardy was the exception) having matriculated at St. John's College as undergraduates<sup>21</sup>. Two of the 2nd Earl of Nottingham's six surviving sons were Cambridge men, and it is likely that the advice of the Hon. Henry Finch (1694-1761), a fellow of Christ's on the Finch and Baines foundation, carried some weight with his father and eldest brother in the bestowal of preferment. Another striking point about three of the five is that they did not come from wealthy landed backgrounds<sup>22</sup> (Drake and Dering memorably excepted), as the fact that they were obliged to go to Cambridge as sizars indicates<sup>23</sup>. Their encounter with the Finch family was the most fortunate turn that their careers could take for, unlike Drake and Dering, they lacked the connections to open a route to the higher posts in the Church which could take them beyond the parochial ministry. Within the clerical profession such men were involved in 'a lottery in which the number of blanks were alarmingly high, and the proportion of small prizes still higher'<sup>24</sup>. Appointment as vicar of Burley with its associated chaplaincy duties could provide a major career break, especially as it came with extensive glebe land, extensive tithe rights, a stone dwelling house covered with slate, outhouses, a stable and a barn<sup>25</sup>.

It is paradoxical that the most renowned Tory layman of the early eighteenth century, Daniel, Earl of Nottingham, had to wait over thirty years after acquiring the Burley estate before death gave him the chance of exercising his right to name the vicar. When he purchased Burley, the vicar was Samuel Saunders, nominated by the 2nd Duke of Buckingham as far back as 1680. Saunders lived on until 1725 when he was replaced by Dr. William Edwards (b.1690), a sizar of St. John's College, who though only the son of a currier (similar to a tanner) from Barnard Castle, Co Durham, had pursued a successful academic career. Edwards was a fellow of Christ's College from 1715 to 1726 when he resigned to take up the vicarage of Burley (instituted October 1725)<sup>26</sup>. He was already acting as Lord Nottingham's chaplain at that time and stood so to speak in natural succession to the living<sup>27</sup>. There are strong indications that Edwards saw Burley as a decent springboard for further preferment and indeed within eighteen months he had resigned the vicarage to take up the rectory of Milton Keynes where he died in 1744<sup>28</sup>.

His successor stayed rather longer. Joseph Drake like Edwards had followed the same route from Sedbergh to St John's College where he matriculated in 1714 at the age of seventeen. However in contrast to Edwards, Joseph Drake came from an established clerical background in Yorkshire; his father was Vicar of Sheffield and a Canon of York from 1703 to 1729. After ordination as a deacon in 1719, Drake junior stayed at St John's as Ashton Fellow from 1721 to 1730 but in the meantime was instituted as vicar of Burley (some months *after* he was made a priest by the Bishop of Peterborough) in November 1727. He remained in residence until

1744 when he left to follow Edwards for a second time, on this occasion to the rectory of Milton Keynes. He died there in 1751<sup>29</sup>.

His successor at Burley, John Creyk, lacked the sort of contacts Drake possessed outside the Finch nexus. Creyk was another Yorkshireman. He was born at Marton to a father who classified himself as a gentleman but he could not afford to enter his son at St. John's College as anything but a sizar in 1731. After graduation as a BA in 1734, and taking holy orders as a deacon in 1736 and a priest the following year, Creyk appears to have gone at once into a parish ministry though his appointments before 1742 are not clear. However in that year he was named by Lord Winchilsea to the rectory of Eastwell in Kent. He stayed there only until late 1744 when he came to Holy Cross, Burley, to be nearer his patron but he enjoyed his new benefice for a limited time. Creyk died in his mid-thirties in 1747<sup>30</sup>.

In appointing a new incumbent, Lord Winchilsea did no more than bring to Rutland Creyk's own replacement at Eastwell, the Revd. William Hardy, a young Yorkshireman from a clerical family in Mirfield who lacked the exalted connections of a Joseph Drake. Hardy too had been a sizar on entering Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1738, an indicator of relative poverty, but was taken up by the Finch family immediately after ordination as priest in 1744. He was the only one of the clergymen in this period to hold all three Finch livings in succession stepping from Eastwell to Burley to Milton Keynes in ascending order of value. Hardy lived at Burley from his institution in June 1747 until his 'promotion' to the rectory of Milton Keynes in 1752<sup>31</sup>. Sadly he died on 25 October, aged just 34, before he could take possession of his new prize<sup>32</sup>.

William Hardy's replacement came unmistakably from the clerical elite of mid-Georgian Eng-

land, and while vicar of Burley from 1752 to 1761 conferred a particular lustre on the parish. This was the Revd Heneage Dering (born c1719), again with the same St. John's College education and north country origins. But Dering's father was no ordinary country parson. Finch-Dering contacts had been forged two generations earlier, for Heneage's grandfather, Christopher Dering, was secretary to the 1st Earl of Nottingham when Lord Chancellor in the late 1670s, and his father, another Heneage senior, was the Lord Chancellor's godson. Heneage senior moved naturally enough into the orbit of another Finch protegee. Archbishop Sharp of York, (to whom he acted as Secretary and Chaplain)<sup>33</sup>, then married the prelate's eldest daughter, Anne. Advanced by his father-in-law the Archbishop, Dering senior was a Dean of the collegiate church of Ripon (the northern equivalent of Southwell Minster in the York archdiocese) from 1711 until his death in 1750<sup>34</sup>.

Against that kind of clerical background supplemented by ownership of considerable landed estates in Kent<sup>35</sup>, young Dering could hardly fail to progress within the Church. After taking his degree, he was elected into the Parke Fellowship at Peterhouse in 1742 (he held it until 1749, though it is safe to assume he was a non-resident)<sup>36</sup>, took orders the next year, and in 1744 became vicar of Tadcaster in the West Riding through his father's influence.

Tadcaster was a fair sized town and to move voluntarily from there to Burley in 1752 might be considered a strange move. The most likely explanation is that the death of the Dean in 1750 dried up Dering's principal source of patronage, and he considered it inexpedient to refuse Lord Winchilsea's offer of Burley when it was made. For a Finch and a Dering to come together was just to repeat the pattern of the two previous generations, and Heneage's father and Lord Winchilsea's uncle Edward had after all been friends from childhood<sup>37</sup>. So Dering came not only to be vicar but to be Chaplain to the Earl and tutor to his family. He left for Milton Keynes in 1761 where he died in 1802 having in the meantime been created a Lambeth DD and named a Prebend of Canterbury in 1766<sup>38</sup>.

After Dering's departure, connections with Cambridge and the contemporaries of the 8th Earl and his brother were more tenuous. Lord Winchilsea had five daughters by his marriages but no sons who might follow a clerical career or at least give their friends a push on the path to preferment by recommending them to their father for nomination to Burley. As a result the Earl tended to look no further than the boundaries of Rutland for suitable candidates to his benefice, and all four of the other parsons within the scope of this survey had established local links.

The first of them, Dering's immediate successor, the Revd. Thomas Ball, M.A., did not last long. Instituted in July 1762 he resigned the living the following year<sup>39</sup>. The reasons for this abrupt departure are not immediately clear. At the time of his appointment, Ball had been vicar of Whissendine since 1753 and it may have been his refusal to resign

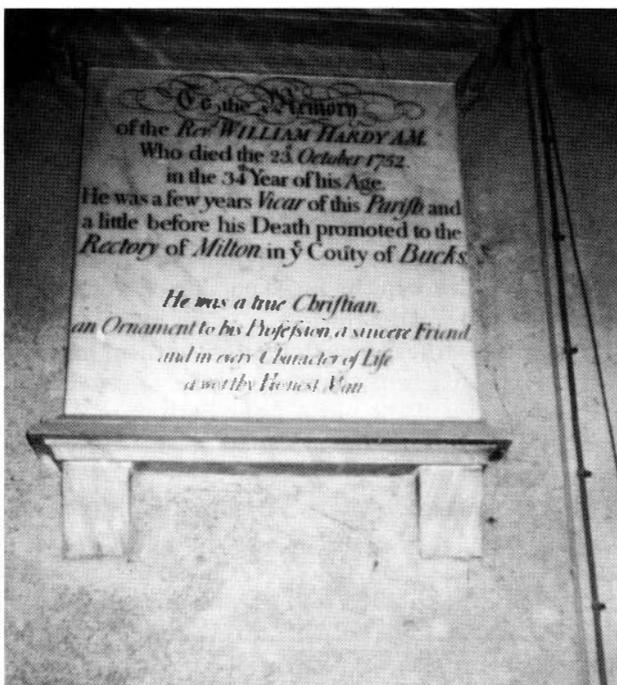


Fig. 2. Tablet to Rev. William Hardy in Burley church



Fig. 3. *Burley Vicarage*

the latter living following his appointment to Burley (Lord Winchilsea, as we have seen, expected vicars of Burley to reside in person so that they could act effectively as family chaplain and did not encourage the holding of benefices in plurality) that furnishes the clue to his resignation. Ball was in effect asked to choose between conflicting claims of loyalty: either obedience to the wishes of Lord Winchilsea or putting first the interest of his original patron, Philip 3rd Earl of Harborough, who had preferred him to Whissendine originally<sup>40</sup>. In the event, Ball decided that Lord Harborough had the first claim on his loyalties, and he remained at Whissendine until 1771<sup>41</sup>.

In complete contrast to his few months as vicar, the next incumbent remained for thirty-eight years! This was the Revd. John Lowth, B.A., who became vicar on 29 March 1762. He is not to be confused with his father, another John Lowth, who was Rector of Edith Weston from 1735 to 1753 and was then appointed by Lord Winchilsea to the rectory of Milton Keynes where he died in 1761<sup>42</sup>. The nomination of his son amounted to a recognition by the Earl of his father's services. It made good sense to transfer Dering to Buckinghamshire and bring Lowth junior in at Burley. Lowth was a young man (b.1735) whose associations largely lay with Rutland. He was born in Edith Weston and had been educated at Oakham School before admittance as a sizar at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1755. After graduation in 1759 and ordination, Lowth was on the look out for a living and Burley fell vacant at the opportune moment. He lacked the connections to make looking elsewhere for promotion a valuable exercise and stayed there for the rest of his life. The only evidence we have of him performing any other clerical function is a short spell in 1774 when he acted as curate of Langham<sup>43</sup>.

It was during Lowth's incumbency that relations between the parson and the big house worsened

appreciably, so that it would be no exaggeration to say there was virtually open warfare within the parish with Winchilsea and three of his largest tenant farmers, William Gilson Jnr., Robert Hinton, and John Russe, refusing to admit John Lowth's claims to tithes. The vicar in turn was ready to sacrifice parochial harmony in order to vindicate tithe rights for himself and his successors. The Burley dispute was typical of those affecting numerous English parishes in the late eighteenth century<sup>44</sup>.

'between the clergy and the laity, tithes have been the cause of incurable enmity and endless disputes. Satan himself could not have devised a greater source of mischief in the Christian world than the payment of tithes. . . . It is. . . a great hardship on a respectable conscientious clergyman, to be placed in a situation in which he must either quarrel with his parishioners, or greatly injure his own family'.

The matter came before the courts in the mid-1780s, and there followed a long and immensely costly legal dispute which dragged on for five years before a final settlement was reached in the form of a Private Act of Parliament.

The bone of contention was tithe<sup>45</sup>. Until 1780 Lowth had received a composition in money instead of the tithes due to him, but that autumn, at the same time as there was an agreement on corn rents<sup>46</sup>, he had given notice that he wished in future to receive his tithes directly. With agricultural prices rising steadily, Lowth like other parish priests wanted to realise the full market value of his tenth<sup>47</sup>; not surprisingly, his plan to resume tithe in kind encountered opposition from the farmers who saw a reduction in profit margins as the inevitable consequence. Winchilsea ignored Lowth's stipulation that composition agreements were to end, leaving the vicar little choice after several years of tension and worsening relations except in the autumn of 1784, to file a Bill of Complaint in the Court of Exchequer against the Earl and three of his tenant farmers. He alleged that for the previous four years Lord Winchilsea had cut timber on the estate without granting him as vicar any tithe on the produce; the same was true, Lowth alleged, of hay, sheep, cattle, poultry, and vegetables. He requested the court to uphold his legal right to receive tithes rather than a composition arrangement and to order Winchilsea to return the large portion of glebe lands he had rented until 1780<sup>48</sup>.

Winchilsea in response flatly denied that the vicar had a prescriptive entitlement to tithes in kind or, in the Alstoe area of the parish, either tithe in kind or payment in lieu of tithe of hay or wood. Behind this contention is evident the annoyance felt by Winchilsea like other landowners that the parson was trying to cash-in on the extra estate yields without any investment of his own<sup>49</sup>. Nevertheless, the Earl judged it expedient to take his stand on tradition: he argued that within the parish there were two distinct districts (Burley and Alstoe), and that by virtue of royal grants in Henry VIII's reign, he as Lord of the Manor and lay rector and his tenants in

Alstoe were discharged from payment of tithe there<sup>50</sup>.

It took a further four years of examining witnesses and taking their depositions before the case was ready to come before the Court of Exchequer; proceedings lasted another six months but at an early stage the Chief Baron of the Exchequer having heard the arguments of counsel insisted that the issue was not one which could be finally settled by the court and he urged the parties to accept mediation<sup>51</sup>. Eventually, agreement was reached between Lowth and Winchilsea on 21 March 1789 for the abolition of all tithes and the substitution of an annual payment of £130 in two half-yearly payments, with Lord Winchilsea making an initial back payment of £1,040 to cover the period in dispute from 1780. Lowth or his successors were accorded the right from 1801 to apply to magistrates meeting in the Rutland Quarter Session to adjust the payment should corn prices fluctuate. Settlement was also reached on the vexed question of glebe lands<sup>52</sup>. The whole was approved by the Bishop of Peterborough and was given statutory form later in 1789<sup>53</sup>.

Lowth's death in 1800 gave George, 9th Earl of Winchilsea (1752-1826) his first opportunity after succeeding his uncle to the tithe in 1769 of nominating a vicar of Burley. His experience of conflict with Lowth may have induced him to play for safety by appointing a distant kinsman to the living in the person of Revd. Henry Finch, M.A. who remained until his death in 1819<sup>54</sup>. Before arrival at Burley, Finch had been vicar of Greetham since 1789, and was clearly the sort of priest whom his patron knew and trusted<sup>55</sup>. In Henry Finch's first years at Burley rebuilding of the vicarage was under way; he made it clear to the Bishop of Peterborough in 1801 that he would come into residence as soon as the vicarage house was ready<sup>56</sup>. Finch's successor in 1819 was also an appointee of the 9th Earl, the Revd. John Applewhaite Jones<sup>57</sup>. Little is known about Jones's



Fig. 4. *Burley church pre-restoration c 1793* (Leicestershire Museums)



Fig. 5. *Burley church, the nave c 1950* (English Life Publications Ltd.)

background, but it seems probable that he was another Rutland man.

The arrival of John Jones gave Winchilsea the opportunity to draw up plans with William Frimadge of Leicester for a major rebuilding of Holy Cross church. For £450 Frimadge would heat the building and put in new pews, as well as raising the floor of the church, altering the vestry and tower arch, and opening up the chancel<sup>58</sup>. In 1796 a new east window had been inserted at the same time as box pews were fitted<sup>59</sup>, so the projected reconstruction of 1819-20 can be regarded as the second stage of giving Burley a suitably imposing estate church for the first time in its history. The line drawings which have survived for this projected reconstruction in a pre-Victorian Gothic style of considerable antiquarian exactitude show how much the Earl and his architect were influenced by neighbouring Rutland churches. The west end of Holy Cross was to be fitted with a triple decker pulpit obviously modelled on Teigh, though here it was to be placed on the level in front of the tower arch rather than above it. The new east window in the chancel included a round Norman-style arch very reminiscent of Tickencote<sup>60</sup>.

In the event a full scale rebuilding of Burley had to wait another half century, which exactly coincided with Jones's period as vicar. As soon as could decently be done after his death in 1869, the architect J. L. Pearson was called in to advise on what was to be virtually a new church<sup>61</sup>. Jones's patron, the 9th Earl, died in 1826, and Burley, passing to his natural son, George Finch, ceased to be the principal seat of the Earls of Winchilsea. In the fifty years of John Jones's incumbency the Church of England was to change out of all recognition and to find church-state relations much altered. Through all the upheavals and the controversies of Victorian Anglicanism, George Finch and his successors would continue to exercise their rights of presentation to this and other family benefices, but the prestige of the title of vicar of Burley, derived from the duties of the title holder as chaplain to one of the principal families of comital rank in the kingdom, would never be quite the same again.

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1. D. R. Hirschberg, 'The Government and Church Patronage in England, 1660-1760', *Journal of British Studies*, 20 (1980) pp. 109-40, at p. 111. Hirschberg calculates that the percentage of benefices held by private individuals in the Peterborough diocese c1742 - 68.4 per cent - was the highest of any diocese in England and Wales. Linda Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party 1714-60*, (Cambridge, 1982), p. 107, estimates that 5,700 benefices belonged to private patrons in the 1730s.
2. 1,050 livings according to Geoffrey Holmes, *Augustan England: Professions, State and Society 1680-1730*, (London, 1982), p. 101.
3. Students of Clergy in the Diocese of Peterborough are, however, luckier than most, with H. I. Longden's remarkable compendium *Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy from 1500*, (15 vols., Northampton 1938-43), as the starting point for research.
4. Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedrals of England*, (3 vols., London, 1742), is a complete and invaluable account of all parishes, chapels, and advowson holders, but there is no annual survey. Peers presented to 1,200 of the 9,800 churches listed by Willis. John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century, The Peerage of eighteenth-century England*, (Cambridge, 1984), p. 63. There is an excellent account of what Professor Cannon calls the 'great network of ecclesiastical patronage belonging to the Hanoverian peerage' at *ibid.*, pp. 61-70.
5. *Rutland Magazine*, 5, p. 104; Leics. RO. (hereafter LRO) Finch MS. DG. 7/4/21 Note (of 18th century date) of grant of rectory and church of Burley to Sir Thomas Gresham and George Gresham, 15 May 1551. Vicarage, glebe and tithe were worth £70 p.a. in 1650.
6. The purchase of Burley was completed in 1694. H. J. Habakkuk, 'Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham: His house and Estate', in ed. J. H. Plumb, *Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G. O. Trevelyan*, (London, 1955), pp. 139-78, at p. 146.
7. Readers who still think of the 18th Anglican Church as somnolent and complacent at parish level should read J. C. D. Clark, *Revolution & Rebellion: State and Society in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 109-10, and works cited in notes 53 and 54.
8. Oliver Ratcliffe, *History and Antiquities of the Newport Pagnell Hundreds*, (Olney, 1900), p. 94.
9. Henry Horowitz, *Revolution Politics: The Career of Daniel Finch, Second Earl of Nottingham, 1647-1730*, (Cambridge, 1968), *passim*.
10. For John Sharp and the Finchs see A. Tindal Hart, *The Life & Times of John Sharp, Archbishop of York*, (London, 1949), pp. 53-58, and *ibid.*, *Ebor: The Archbishops of York*, (York, 1986), pp. 134-38.
11. Hon. Henry Finch, the 6th and youngest son of Lord Chancellor Nottingham, Rector of Winwick (Lancs.), then Dean of York, d. 1727. Horowitz, *Revolution Politics*, pp. 150-182; Tindal Hart, *John Sharp*, p. 139. Geoffrey Holmes, *Augustan England*, notes p.90 that Henry Finch was the only Dean of York between 1617 and 1747 *not* to be a Doctor of Divinity. The 4th son of the Lord Chancellor also took holy orders. This was the Hon. Edward Finch, Rector of Wigan, Pearl Finch, *History of Burley-on-the-Hill*, (2 vols., London, 1901), I. 156-58; Horowitz, *Revolution Politics*, p. 222, Edward succeeded brother Henry as prebendary of Wetwang, the best prebend in York Minster, in 1704. Tindal Hart, *John Sharp*, p. 139, and in 1711 he became Canon of the second Prebend at Canterbury. John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857, III, Canterbury, Rochester & Winchester Dioceses*, (compiled Joyce M. Horn), (London, 1974), p. 20. For Edward Finch's musical interests and details of his sacred compositions see B. L'Anson, *History of the Finch family*, (London, 1933), p. 52. He died in 1738. *Gentleman's Magazine.*, (1738), VIII. 109.
12. Cf. Horowitz, *Revolution Politics*, pp. 266-67.
13. Colley *In Defiance of Oligarchy.*, p.206.
14. J. H. Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England 1675-1725*, (London 1967), *passim*.
15. Before succeeding to the title, he was Gentleman of the Bedchamber to George, Prince of Wales, 1714-16; a Lord of the Treasury, 1715-16; and Comptroller of the King's Household, 1725-30.
16. Quoted in Finch, *History of Burley*, I.277. The 8th Earl's influence on church appointments was never discounted by others, particularly while his brother was Dean of York. Thus see Lady Mary Wentworth's letter to him of 30 Nov. 1717, requesting his intervention with the Archbishop of York in favour of her candidate for a vacant prebend. L.R.O., Finch MS., DG7 Box 4951 (25).
17. Winchilsea to Lord Bruce, 9 October 1733, Wiltshire RO., Savernake MSS. (unsorted), cited Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy*, p. 217.
18. At the time of Browne Willis's survey, c1740, the total of livings in the gift of Daniel, Earl of Winchilsea was 11 (the merger of the two earldoms in 1729 had boosted the number); this fell slightly over the course of our survey. In 1818 it amounted to 8. The junior branch of the Finch family, the Aylesfords, had caught up and also held 8. Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, pp.64, 67-68.
19. John Bacon, *Liber Regis vel thesaurus rerum Ecclesiasticarum*, (London, 1786), pp.841, 843. Bacon's survey is based substantially on John Ecton, *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum*, (London, ed. 1742); *Victoria County History, Rutland*, (2 vols., London, 1908, 1935), II. 24, 138. Oakham and Greatham involved rather less proximity to the Finch family and incumbents were not called to act on as personal chaplains as was the case at Burley.
20. Milton Keynes was acquired by the 2nd Earl of Nottingham in 1677, and the advowson descended with the manor. V. C. H. Bucks, IV. 403-5. The Finchs also presented to the vicarage of Ravenstone, another family manor - the original one in the county. *Ibid.*, IV. 444; cf. Ratcliffe, *History of Newport Pagnell.*, pp. 90-91. One vicar of Ravenstone, the Rev. Barton Burton, a cleric with Methodist sympathies, died in Rutland in 1764, probably at Burley. *Ibid.*, p.94.
21. There were closed scholarships from Sedbergh to St. John's College, Cambridge. Holmes, *Augustan England*, p.108.
22. For the slow growth in popularity of a church career for the sons of the landed elite during the 18th century see Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880*, (Oxford 1984) pp.229-30, who cites the statistic that only 6-7% of Leicester clergy were sons of esquires or above in the first half of the 18th century. This is taken from J. H. Pruett, *The Parish Clergy under the later Stuarts: the Leicestershire experience*, (Urbana, 1978), p.35. Cf., however, Holmes, *Augustan England*, pp.87-88.
23. A sizar was technically a poor undergraduate in receipt of a college allowance to enable him to study. J. A. Simpson & E. S. C. Weiner, *Complete Oxford English Dictionary*, (2nd ed., Oxford, 1989), XV.578.
24. Norman Sykes, *Church and State in England in the 18th century*, (Cambridge, 1934), quoted in Holmes, *Augustan England*, p.95.
25. Northamptonshire Record Office (hereafter NRO), Peterborough Diocesan Records, X.624-627, Burley Terrier for 1726. There are later ones for 1730, 1733, 1736, 1739, 1744, 1749, and 1820. L. R. O., MF 494, 14 glebe terriers 1634-1820.
26. The Finch Family had strong links with Christ's College. The 8th Earl of Winchilsea's great uncle, the diplomat Sir John Finch, had founded two college fellowships in his will. A. Malloch, *Finch and Baines, a 17th century friendship*, (Cambridge, 1917), p.78. In 1720 Edwards was Praelector, Junior Dean, Catechist and Bunting Preacher at Christ's. John Peile, *Christ's College*, (London, 1900), p.224; *Ibid.*, *Biographical Register of Christ's College 1505-1905*, (2 vols., Cambridge, 1913), II.169. I am grateful for the assistance of Mr. Henry G. Button, Hon. Archivist of Christ's College.
27. See his letter dated 11 Dec. 1725, cited Finch, *History of Burley*, I.246-47.
28. Longden, *Northants and Rutland Clergy*, II.205-7. Edward was also appointed a Prebendary of Lincoln in 1739. eds. John Venn and J. H. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I, From Earliest Times to 1751*, (4 vols., Cambridge, 1922-27), II.90.
29. *Ibid.*, II.139, and biographical sheet held in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge. (I am grateful for the assistance of the sub-librarian, Mr. Malcolm B. Pratt). The statement in both Venn and Longden that Drake was a Prebendary of Southwell is incorrect. He was one of 4 leasees of Oxtou Prima Prebend at Southwell, 1747-51, as was his wife, Elizabeth a daughter of John Andrew(s) of Southwell. It was in fact his son-in-law, the Rev. William Becher, who held a stall in the Minster. For elucidation of this point I am grateful for the help extended to me by Mr. R.

M. Beaumont, recently retired after 40 years as Librarian & Archivist of Southwell Cathedral, and Mr. Adrian Henstock, Principal Archivist, Nottinghamshire Archives Office & Southwell Diocesan Record Office.

30. Longden, *Northants and Rutland Clergy*, I.297.
31. *Rutland Magazine*, V.133.
32. Longden, *Northants and Rutland Clergy*, II.145; Ratcliffe, *History of Newport Pagnell*, p.337.
33. Tindal Hart, *John Sharp*, pp.15, 141,294-95,323.
34. *Dictionary of National Biography*, V.396-97. His 'Autobiographical Memoranda' are in *Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies of the 17th and 18th centuries*, Surtees Society, LXV. (1879), pp.333-50.
35. E. Hasted, *The Historical & Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, (Canterbury, 4 vols., 1778-99), III.180,214; IV.617.
36. *Peterhouse Admission Book*, p.280. I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. Roger Lovatt, Fellow & Archivist of the College.
37. Dering, 'Autobiographical Memoranda', p.349.
38. Longden, *Northants and Rutland Clergy*, II.67; Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, II Canterbury, etc.* His stall at Canterbury was probably owing to Lord Winchilsea's influence during his last year in government as Lord President.
39. N. R. O., Peterborough Diocesan Records, ML. 732 (Institutions), p.114.
40. Bacon, *Liber Regis*, p.844.
41. Longden, *Northants and Rutland Clergy*, I.171.
42. *Ibid.*, III.55.
43. His career is summarised in J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part II*, (4 vols., Cambridge, 1752-1900), II. 222; see also *Gentleman's Magazine*, (1800), II.803.
44. 'Quaesitor' in the *Monthly Magazine*, (1798), p.112.
45. For 18th century tithe disputes see generally Eric J. Evans, 'Some Reasons for the Growth of English Rural Anti-Clericalism c. 1750-c. 1830'. *Past & Present*, 66 (1975), pp.84-109, esp. at pp.86-90, and W. R. Ward, 'The Tithe Question in England in the Early XIXth century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 16 (1965), pp.65-81.
46. See L.R.O., DE1922/22, Extract from Corn Rent Agreement, 1780.
47. 'Previous to the last thirty years the Clergy, whether from moderation, indolence or ignorance of the values of their benefices were contented with an in-adequate share of their dues; since that period they have been more attentive and better informed and have therefore made a considerable

- progress in augmenting their composition for tithes'. [Anon.], *Observations on a General Commutation of Tithes for Land or a Corn Rent*, (London, 1782), p.5.
48. Lowth's suit bill complaint is set out in L.R.O., Finch MS. DG7/1/62, pp.1-4.
  49. Evans, 'English Rural Anti-Clericalism', p.87.
  50. L.R.O., Finch MS. DG7/1/62, pp.4-10.
  51. L.R.O., Finch MS. DG7/1/61 'Heads of what CB say's after Counsel were heard'. Notes by Lord Winchilsea's barrister, 7 Nov. 1788.
  52. The arrangement undoubtedly increased the financial value of the benefice to the vicar as the price of agricultural produce rose sharply during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. In 1830-31 the vicar secured £350 gross - £160 from letting of glebe land, and £190 from corn rents, *Articles of Enquiry 1832, Ecclesiastical Revenues Commission Office*, (Burley-on-the-Hill). My thanks to the Records Officer, Church Commissioners, for this information.
  53. L.R.O., Finch MS. DG7/1/62, pp.10-15. 'An Act for Establishing, confirming, and carrying into Execution, certain Articles of Agreement between the Reverend John Lowth, Vicar of the Parish of Burley on the Hill, in the County of Rutland, and the Right Honourable George Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, and thereby settling all Disputes and Differences which have arisen in consequence of a Claim of Tithes made by the said Vicar'. In fact the title was slightly optimistic: the question of the Vicar's liability for payment of Poor Rates after settlement remained to be decided and afforded further work for the lawyers. See the opinion of counsel on this question in DG7/1/62.
  54. N. R. O., Peterborough Diocesan Records (Institutions), ML 733, p.184.
  55. Longden, *Northants and Rutland Clergy*, II.33. The presumption is that Henry Finch was a kinsman of Winchilsea's though there is no record of him in Anson, *Finch Family*.
  56. N. R. O., X.650/4, *Returns to the Bishop of Peterborough's queries as to Residence on his Visitation*, (1801).
  57. N. R. O. Peterborough Diocesan Records (Institutions), ML 733, p.264.
  58. L.R.O., DE2756/27. Bill of Work on Burley Church.
  59. Gillian Dickinson et al., *Rutland Churches Before Restoration*, (London, 1983), p.35.
  60. L. R. O., Finch MS. DG7/4/30, 'Sketch for warming and pewing Burley Church and chancel'.
  61. Dickinson, *Rutland Churches Before Restoration*, p.35.

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Local reference collections and fiches of Rutland parish registers available for consultation by arrangement. Please contact the Keeper for information, telephone Oakham (0572) 723654.

The main door on the north front opens on to the FRONT HALL which was originally hung with tapestries of *Hero and Leander* made at Mortlake. However, these were burnt when in 1908 a disastrous fire completely gutted several rooms, destroying original decorations which dated from the building of the present house at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. The paintings now on the walls of the Hall are copies of the tapestries. The marble statue in the centre of the room represents *The Kiss of Victory*. The four armchairs are of the William and Mary period and they belong to the set made together with the State Bed (to be seen in a bedroom on the first floor); they are covered in their original Genoese velvet, though this is now badly worn and much of the colouring has faded. The pewter salvers and tankards bear the coat of arms of the Finch family, Earls of Nottingham and of Winchilsea, the historic owners of Burley on the Hill. The picture over the door to the left of the entrance is of Isabella of Spain.

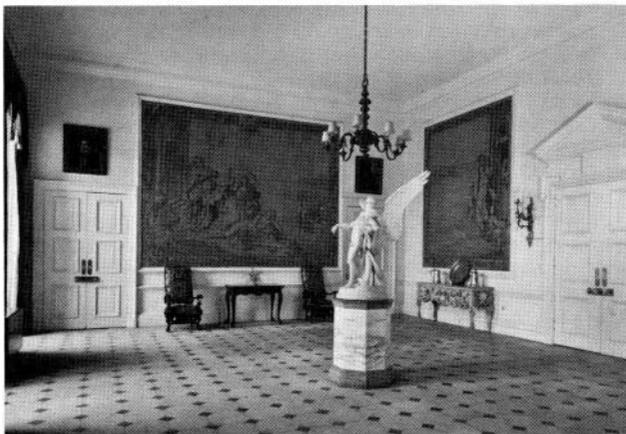


Fig. 1. 'The Kiss of Victory' statue, Front Hall (English Life)



Fig. 2. The Music Room (English Life)

The MUSIC ROOM was one of those damaged by the fire. The main objects of interest are the spinet,

the set of Adam chairs and the blue Wedgwood wall sconces, which are also Adam. The picture on the right of the fireplace is a view of Loch Lomond by John Knok and opposite the fireplace is a modern painting of the south front of the house by Felix Kelly.

The oak-panelled SMOKING ROOM was restored after the fire, and the ceiling is a plaster copy of the original by Wren. The set of four sporting prints are originals and have the keys hanging under them naming the persons depicted. On the centre panel of the wall to the left of the fireplace is a small picture of Arthur Thatcher, the famous Cottesmore huntsman, with his favourite horse and hounds, each painted by a different artist. The small picture to the right of the fireplace is of Mr. Evan Hanbury, who was Master of the Cottesmore Hounds at that time. The hunting horns on the mantelpiece belonged to famous Masters and Huntsman of Leicestershire.



Fig. 3. The Smoking Room (English Life)

On the facing wall of the CORRIDOR, beyond the Smoking Room, is a woodcut of the house and court showing the north walls and lodges which were pulled down in 1796. The visitor then passes through the Serving Room before entering the Adam Dining Room. In the china cabinet on the left of the passage is a set of Crown Derby china made for the Winchilsea family, each plate being hand-painted with a different flower. Here also are one of



Fig. 4. *Vista through the State Rooms* (English Life)

the original glasses with the Nottingham coat of arms, a Meissen tea-set, various small coffee-cups of original design, four of which have different views of Burley on the Hill painted on them, and a cup and saucer decorated with a design of finches in punning reference to the family name: these are part of a set in use at Burley.

The ADAM DINING ROOM with its beautiful ceiling and fireplace both by the master, was restored to its original state and colouring after the fire. Immediately on the left of the entrance door is a portrait by Riley of Judge Jeffreys who was notorious for his conduct of the Bloody Assize after Monmouth's Rebellion in 1685. Somewhat surprisingly, there are only two known pictures of Jeffreys: the other one is in the National Portrait Gallery. His great-granddaughter, Lady Charlotte Fermor,



Fig. 5. *The Adam Dining Room* (English Life)

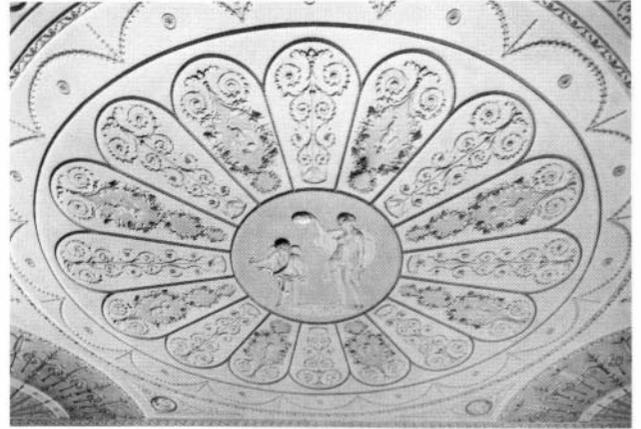


Fig. 6. *Section of Dining Room ceiling* (English Life)

second daughter of Thomas, Earl of Pomfret, in 1746 married Thomas Finch, and this accounts for the Riley portrait being at Burley.

The next portrait, of King Charles II, is also by Riley. Among the papers at Burley is a letter from the King written to Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham, who was a Privy Councillor during his reign.

Another portrait is of George Finch, 9th Earl of Winchilsea and 4th Earl of Nottingham, at the age of 19, painted in 1771 by Nathaniel Dance. The Earl, who succeeded to the title in 1769 at the age of 17, was an undergraduate at Christ Church, Oxford, and in the portrait he wears the picturesque gown of that day, with the gold tassel of his college on his cap. In 1804 he became Groom of the Stole to George III, and in 1822 accompanied George IV on his tour through Scotland.

The quaint little picture of a child, painted by Cornelius Jansen, is of Lady Margaret Sackville, who became Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery. She was the eldest daughter and co-heir of Richard, 3rd Earl of Dorset, and his wife, Lady Anne Clifford, sole daughter and heiress of George, Earl of Cumberland, and his wife, who was the Baroness of Clifford and Vesey in her own right. Lady Margaret Sackville married John, 2nd Earl of Thanet, in 1629 and had six sons and three daughters. Her daughter, Cecile, married Viscount Hatton and was therefore the mother of Anne, second wife of the 2nd Earl of Nottingham.

The portrait of Elizabeth, 1st Countess of Winchilsea, is by Marc Gheeraerds. She was the widow of Sir Moyle Finch, and was created Viscountess Maidstone in 1623, and Countess of Winchilsea in 1628, in consideration of the public services of her late father, Sir Thomas Heneage, who had been Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen Elizabeth.

The portrait of Frances, Countess of Winchilsea and Nottingham, is by Vanderbanck. Daughter of the Earl of Denbigh, she became the wife of Daniel, Lord Finch, 8th Earl of Winchilsea and 3rd Earl of Nottingham.

These are the few remaining portraits of the original Winchilsea family.

On the table are silver plates with the Winchilsea

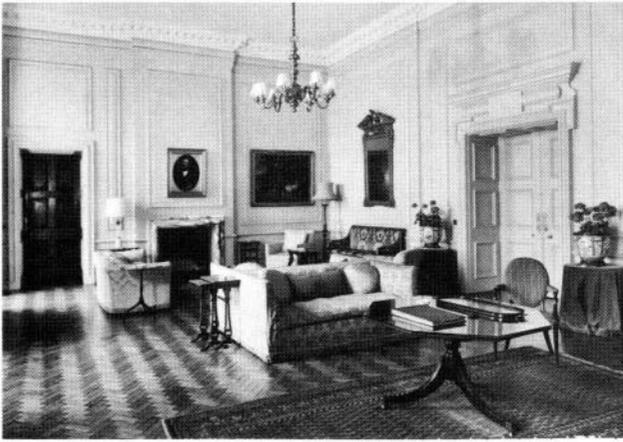


Fig. 7. *The Saloon* (English Life)

coat of arms; the cutlery, which has the Finch family crest showing Pegasus, the flying horse, is of a later date. The candelabra are of the time of George III, as are the gold fruit bowls and the gold pepper pots. The gold cup in the centre of the table was won by the present owner's father in 1908 at Croxton Park races.

Though the SALOON has none of its original Regency decorations, it is a most pleasant room. The gilt mirrors are fine examples from the time of George II. The picture over the fireplace is of Mr. George Henry Finch, M.P., first elected in 1867 and the representative of the County of Rutland for thirty-four years. His daughter married Colonel Evan Hanbury, grandfather of the present owner of Burley on the Hill. The pair of pictures on either side of the mirrors are by Houndecoeter. The pair of gilt sofas are Italian and the urns on either side of the door Chinese.

Visitors now enter the original rooms that were untouched by the fire of 1908. The SMALL DRAWING ROOM is Regency, and has circular gilded decorations on the ceiling and a beautiful Georgian chandelier. The fireplace by Adam, was put in at a later date. The two gold and white settees and the pair of armchairs are Regency, as is the set of six small chairs. The picture on the left as one enters the room, of Lady Emily Peel (wife of Sir Robert Peel), is unusual in that it was painted by Landseer,

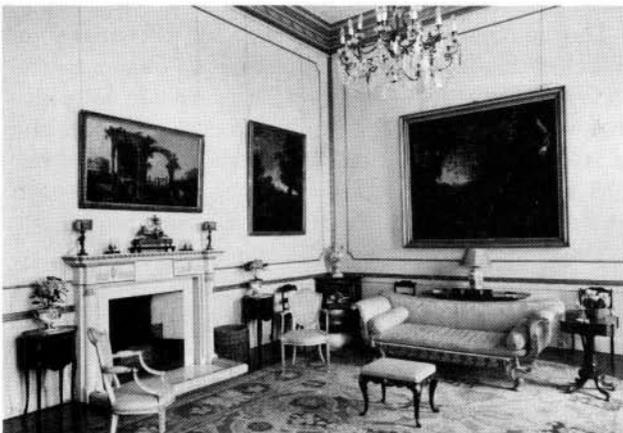


Fig. 8. *The Small Drawing Room* (English Life)

who generally only painted landscapes. The pair of pictures on either side of the fireplace are by Robert, and the one over the fireplace is by Guardi. The portrait between the windows is of Mrs. Hanbury's grandmother.

The ceiling of the BOOK ROOM has an unusual Queen Anne shell design and is of earlier date than the Regency bookcases. The chandelier is Regency, and the fireplace is Adam. The picture over the fireplace, by Boltby, shows the Earl of Winchilsea's horses with Burley in the background. The small pictures of horses above the bookcases are of the pre-war hunters of Colonel Hanbury and include *Away*, which ran in the Grand National. Between the windows is a portrait of Colonel Evan Hanbury,



Fig. 9. *The Bookroom* (English Life)

presented by subscribers of the Cottesmore Hunt on his retirement, after being Master from 1900 to 1907.

The visitor passes through a concealed door in the bookcase into the East Passage. The set of six chairs here are Stuart and hanging on the wall are manuscripts of the time of Charles II. The adjoining stairs are much older than the present house and were probably part of the earlier house that belonged to the Duke of Buckingham.

Beyond the East Passage is the oak-panelled Hall. The set of three mirrors and the pair of doges' chairs here are Italian. The mauve and gold coloured vase in the window is Wedgwood.

The GRAND STAIRS, of the William and Mary



Fig. 10. *The Staircase Hall* (English Life)

period, are of English red oak with a very simple oak balustrade. The painting on the walls was the work of Gerrard Lanscroun, a native of Flanders, who came over to England and assisted Verrio and Laguerre. It represents the history of Perseus and Andromeda, the Gorgon Medusa being depicted, as well as Pegasus, which was one of the Nottingham crests. The ceiling has Mars riding in the sun and Juno driving her chariot of swans. At two of the corners is the Nottingham coat of arms, supported by two female figures, and at the two remaining corners is the cipher D.N., with a coronet and the same supporters.

The BALLROOM was originally painted in the same style as the walls of the Grand Staircase, but unfortunately it was completely destroyed by the fire in 1908. Still however a room of fine proportions, 60 feet long and 40 feet broad, it is half the height of the house and the entire breadth, and commands a wonderful view to both north and south. On a clear day Rockingham Castle and the chimneys of the ironstone works at Corby in Northamptonshire can be seen to the south.

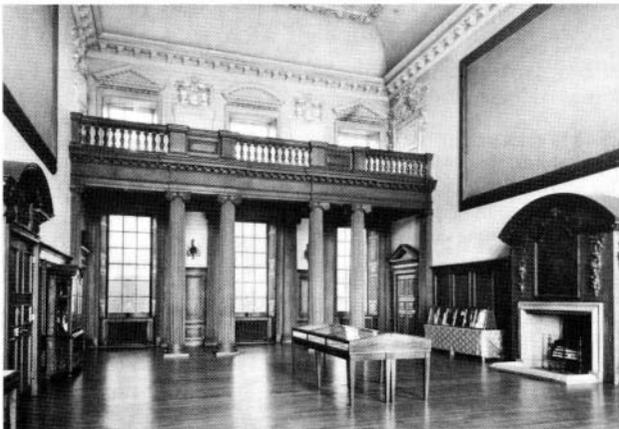


Fig. 11. *The Ballroom* (English Life)

The oak for the panelling was grown on the estate and the carvings were done by estate employees. The manuscripts in this room were kept until recently by the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

The collection of dolls depicts the rulers of England and their consorts from William and Mary to our present Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip. They are all dressed to the smallest detail in the clothes of their period.

The State Bed with its original Genoese velvet hangings, now in the STATE BEDROOM was made in 1693 when Queen Mary, wife of William of Orange, stood godmother to the Lady Charlotte Finch, daughter of Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham. The queen stayed with the Nottinghams for the occasion, probably at Kensington House (now Kensington Palace), which in those days was their suburban residence. The house was sold by the Earl's grandson to William III and the beds were moved to Burley on the Hill, together with the chairs and two matching stools of the same covering as the bed which are also here. The beautiful walnut cabinet and the inlay table and chest of drawers are



Fig. 12. *The State Bedroom* (English Life)

of the same period.

In 1814 the Prince Regent stayed at Burley. The only information however respecting his visit is that he was to have occupied the State Room but objected to sleeping in the State Bed.

The paintings on the walls of rural subjects are copies of notable Dutch or Flemish tapestries originally here, designed by Teniers. The tapestries themselves were sold and have gone to America.

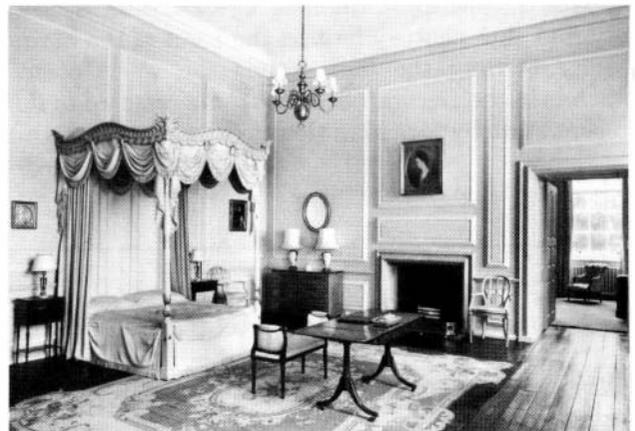


Fig. 13. *The Adam Bedroom* (English Life)

The bed and furniture in the ADAM BEDROOM are all by Adam, and the dark mahogany chest of drawers is a particularly fine piece. Immediately on the left of the entrance door is a small oil painting by Zoffany, of George, Prince of Wales and Frederick, Duke of York, children of George III, to whom Lady Charlotte Finch was governess. The large picture, of which this is the original sketch, is at Windsor. The two small oval mirrors are Irish ones of the Regency period. Over the fireplace is a picture of Miss Charlotte Finch, sister of George Finch, 9th Earl of Winchelsea and 4th Earl of Nottingham.

The small Ante-Room or BOUDOIR furnished in Victorian style, has black lacquer furniture and a very fine black marble table with a beautiful coloured flower design. The picture over the fireplace is by Wheatley, and those on the walls are reproductions of the *Cries of London* by the same artist.

Finally the visitor descends the oak stairs leading to the panelled OAK HALL, on the west, and the



Fig. 14. *The Tearoom* (English Life)

Tea Room which before the fire was the Long Library. A passage (not open to visitors) from a door at the end of this room leads to the Church and is still used by the family. From the Oak Hall visitors may walk along the Great Terrace to the gardens.

The parish church of the Holy Cross in Burley is a 13th century church which was restored by Pearson in 1870, at the instance of Mr. G. H. Finch, in memory of his wife, Eglantine.

Inside the entrance, the first object of interest is a very fine 15th century font on the right of the main door. Adjoining the font stands the west tower, which is in the Decorated style. It was restored to its present state by Mr. Alan George Finch in 1913. On

the floor in front of the tower are two recumbent effigies in alabaster, one of which has been mutilated, possibly in Cromwellian times. The persons whom these figures represent are not known but it is likely that they date from before the Battle of Agincourt. The north arcade is Transitional Norman work and the south arcade Early English. To the right of the choir there is a fine monument to the memory of Lady Charlotte Finch who died in 1796. This is the work of Chantrey (of 'Chantrey Bequest' fame) and in its execution the statue bears a striking resemblance to this sculptor's *Sleeping Children* in Lichfield Cathedral. The sanctuary has remarkable dignity for such a small building and the fine reredos behind the altar well repays inspection.

Burley Church has been hallowed by the lives, the prayers and the witness of local men and women for centuries and the fragrance alike of their memory and their influence still lingers in the precincts of Holy Cross. Even the most unthinking person cannot fail to be impressed by the peace and serenity which permeate the building. Every visitor will surely wish that this ancient and lovely church may long continue to be what it has been for so many generations: 'The house of God and the gate of Heaven'.

There is an account of the house and grounds in 1923 written by Christopher Hussey in *Country Life*, 10 and 17 February, 1923. The above extracts from the Burley Guide are unaltered except for the omission of plate numbers.

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# Rutland Records

## RUTLAND RECORDS IN THE LEICESTERSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

### New Accessions 1 April 1988 – 31 March 1989

- DE 3324 Ashwell school managers minute book, 1904-62  
DE 3349 Rutland County Council records  
DE 3358 Langham parish records, 1884-1973  
DE 3369 Records of Thomas Nutt of Ketton, 1856-96  
DE 3393 Uppingham County Court Book, 1887-1900  
DE 3417 Langham Village Institute, 1891-1956  
DE 3443 Finch (addn), 17th-20th centuries  
DE 3444 Cottesmore & Burley school records, 1880-1979  
DE 3447 Morcott parish records, 1855-70  
DE 3455 Copy plans of railway buildings, c.1979  
DE 3460 Ordnance Survey maps, 1904-52  
DE 3461 Horseshoe Players Drama Group, Oakham, 1964-75  
DE 3468 Ridlington parish records, 1559-1970

The most interesting Rutland accession for the period is the additional Finch material (DE 3443/DG 7) which consists of c.100 volumes and ten boxes of account books, correspondence, maps etc relating to the Burley and Buckinghamshire estates, 17th-20th centuries. It is not

yet fully catalogued and any enquiries should be addressed to Adam Goodwin. One item of particular interest is a map of Oakham of 1787, for which we already had a book of reference; there are plans to reproduce it for sale.

We were very fortunate to secure a grant of nearly £13,000 from the Leverhulme Trust to catalogue and type the Exton MSS. Gary Collins left to take up a permanent post but we have been fortunate to secure the services, on a part-time basis, of Jenny Clark, a very experienced archivist.

A very early title deed (c.1100) for Ridlington will be displayed in the exhibition 'Looking after your treasures'. Many items from the Exton MSS have needed conservation and so far 195 estate papers, three account books and 32 maps and plans have been treated. Five volumes from the Finch MSS were also restored and rebound.

Our major project has been the exhibition to celebrate 300 years of religious nonconformity, 'Damnable Barn-goers', whose title comes from a parish register of Blaston near Market Harborough. It was assembled by Janette Shepherd and can be seen in Oakham from 18 October to 18 November 1989; an accompanying publication, *The Descent of Dissent*, edited by Gwenith Jones, is reviewed elsewhere.

Plans for a new building now centre on a converted school in Wigston, just south of Leicester, but it is still not certain that we will move there because of the problems of vehicular access. However the position should be clear very soon.

Kathryn Thompson  
County Archivist

## Museum & Project Reports

Edited by T. H. McK. Clough

### RUTLAND COUNTY MUSEUM

Since the opening of the Volunteer Soldier gallery in May 1988, there have been several developments of interest to local historians in the museum's anniversary year. Public research facilities at the Rutland County Museum have been upgraded, and microfiches of Rutland parish registers have now been made available through the Leicestershire Record Office. These have already been used by a number of family history enquirers, on the reader presented in part by the Society and its members. They can be consulted during normal weekday opening hours, and it is advisable to make an appointment to do so (telephone Oakham 723654).

A new bookcase has been provided for the museum's small reference collection of Rutland books and photocopies of local source material. The collection of historic photographs is being sorted into reference folders, arranged by parish and this is being amplified as further copy prints become available. Details of many of these photographs are also incorporated into the museum's computerised accession records, which makes retrieval of the relevant information much easier. Acquisition since the last report in *Rutland Record* 9 have included the following:

- H74.1987 Conveyance, farm at Ketton, 1873 (LRO DE 3369)  
H4.1988 Daybook of Robert, John and Thomas Nutt, Ketton, quarrymen (LRO DE 3369)  
H6.1988 Bound book of indentures, Uppingham Gas Light & Coke Co (LRO DE 3280)

- H10.1988 New Zealand Medal, Capt Hardy, 58th (Rutlandshire) Regiment  
H16.1988 Minute Book of Ashwell School (LRO DE 3324)  
H38.1988 Uppingham County Court book 1887-1900 (LRO DE 3393)  
H43.1988 Photographs of Manton  
H7. 1989 Village of Langham information binder and W.I. 1965 scrapbook  
H23.1989 Valuation and copy tenancy agreement, farm at Whitwell, 1900 (LRO M 1427)

Where appropriate, Leicestershire Record Office accession numbers are shown. Finally, in May 1989 the museum was honoured to receive a private visit from HRH Princess Alice, Duchess of Gloucester, who opened the museum in 1969 and was greatly interested to see the many developments which have taken place since then.

T. H. McK. Clough  
Keeper, Rutland County Museum

### RUTLAND LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

The Society's AGM was held on 25th February 1989 and the Constitution was amended to comply with the requirements of the Charity Commissioners. The Society was subsequently registered as a charity. A booklet written by Miss Mary Brooks and Mrs Pam Drinkall, and illustrated with drawings by a third member of the Society, Mr David Carlin, intended for visitors to Oakham, was published in

June with the title *A Walk through Oakham*. Mrs Drinkall's study group on the history of Oakham continued to meet during the early part of the year. Visits took place to the Ironbridge museum on Sunday 24th April, and to Taylor's Bell Foundry on the evening of 27th October. A walk round Stamford, led by a local guide, took place on the evening of 16th June. The Society's annual reception was held in the museum on 1st December, preceded by a talk by Mr. K. F. Day on 'Bells in our Lives'. Membership of the Society at the end of the year stood at 66.

*J. Crossley*  
*Hon. Secretary*

## **RUTLAND FIELD RESEARCH GROUP FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY**

### **Excavation work**

Group members have continued to excavate at the medieval building site at Whitwell. The main part of the work has been the removal of a deep layer of soil, rubble and building stone from the eastern lower end of the building. Artifacts include early to late medieval pot sherds and a large quantity of tile fragments. Pieces of Collyweston slate, several with nail holes, have appeared, along with thicker glazed tile fragments of a later type. Some animal bone and teeth have been collected as well as groups of snail shells. No further building structure has come to light but more may appear lower down when all the 'quarry' rubbish has been removed.

### **Fieldwork**

Some minor building developments have been examined but nothing of any significance has appeared. Cleaning and listing of artifacts from the Burley Road fields is being completed. Fieldwork during late 1989 and 1990 will concentrate on the route of the proposed oil pipe line across Rutland. This project involves about fourteen miles of fields from the boundary near Castle Bytham across to Tixover and Wakerley Woods, which will be examined by members of the Group and Leicestershire Museums field archaeology staff. Sites already indentified by aerial photography will be closely watched to prevent damage where possible or to permit rescue excavation work if necessary.

During periods of low water levels several stretches of the northern shore line of Rutland Water were searched by group members. An extensive collection of pot sherds was obtained, ranging from the Roman period to late Medieval, and several high quality flint artifacts were also found.

### **Associated Activities**

The Chairman and Vice-Chairman continue to represent Rutland's interest at the Leicestershire Archaeological Advisory Committee meetings, and members attend CBA Headquarters and Group 14 meetings. The latest visit of interest was to Lincoln Castle where members and friends studied the work of Lincoln City Archaeology Unit who are excavating and restoring the Norman and Medieval structures of the West gate.

### **Social Activities**

The Annual Dinner was held at the Blue Ball at Braunston; members thoroughly enjoyed the meal and a very successful raffle of seasonal prizes. The Summer Picnic was held at Melton Mowbray, when a very interesting tour of St Mary's Church, conducted by the Rev. P. Hunt was followed by a convivial supper at the Carnegie Museum (by kind permission of Miss J. Legget, Keeper of Leicestershire History) arranged by Mrs. M. and Mr. P. Ecob. The Chairman and Mrs Adams with several other members attended the 20th Anniversary gathering at Rutland County Museum.

### **Meetings**

The Annual General Meeting for 1988 was held in the Rutland County Museum and was followed by a fascinating talk with slides by Dr. C. Jones of Uppingham on the geology of the tropical parts of the world. Committee meetings have been held regularly and several work sessions on artifacts completed in the Museum as well as rationalising of Group documents.

### **Membership and Finance**

A few members have been added to the list and a new advertising campaign poster prepared by Miss J. Naylor and kindly reproduced by Mr. T. Hickman. Our financial position remains sound and is competently maintained by the Treasurer, Mr. P. Ecob. We express our thanks to our Vice-Chairman, Mr. T. H. McK. Clough and the Leicestershire Museums Service for their continued support and our use of museum facilities. We have noted with regret that Mr. D. Tew has suffered a serious illness and we hope that he will be able to take a continued interest in our work during his convalescence.

*A. W. Adams*  
*Chairman*

## **WORKERS EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, OAKHAM AND UPPINGHAM**

The two Rutland branches (Oakham and Uppingham) of the WEA have enjoyed success in offering a wide range of adult education classes. Of the eighteen successful courses half were of interest to local and family historians. These included *Cathedrals and Abbeys, Who Were My Ancestors, Great Churches of the Middle Ages, Gardens of Historic Houses, and The Making of Rutland Water* - all at Oakham. Students at Uppingham enjoyed *Church Furnishings and Fittings, People of Rutland, Local Geology and the Landscape, and Walking for Pleasure*.

The most notable recent outcome of a course provided by the WEA and the University of Leicester Adult Education Department is the publication by the Rutland Record Society in 1989 of *The Oakham Survey of 1305*. We congratulate both tutor and students and hope that other student groups may follow their lead in recovering the history of Rutland. The WEA is happy to work with local history societies by offering courses to provide the necessary skills for members to pursue further research and then put their findings into print. For more information, contact Douglas Clinton, telephone Melton Mowbray 66816.

*D. J. Clinton*  
*Tutor Organiser*

# Book Review

## **Gilbert White and his records: A Scientific Biography** Paul G. M. Foster

Christopher Helm, London, 1988, 143 × 222 mm  
pp. xvi + 240, 8 b/w illustrations ISBN 0-7470-1003  
hardback £19.95 net

With celebrations taking place at Selborne, Hampshire in 1989 to mark the bicentenary of the publication of *The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne*, the appearance of *Gilbert White and his Records - a scientific biography* by Paul Foster could not be more timely.

In this meticulously researched and annotated study of extant documents, the stages by which a modest country parson of eighteenth-century England developed into one of the most well-known amateur naturalists of all time, are revealed in fascinating detail.

The significance of the early gardening records to the later scientific writings is highlighted, with the idea that it was in the garden at 'Wakes' that Gilbert White first came to recognise his metier as a naturalist. Dr. Foster suggests that the essential catalyst in this process was a desire to obtain a better understanding of the natural calendar - in those days success in husbandry was believed to be closely linked with a knowledge of phenology. Other factors at work such as the tuition by correspondence with his brother, John, at Gibraltar, in natural history, and the contacts made with Thomas Pennant, Daines Barrington, Sir Joseph Banks and other eminent scientists of the period, are also discussed.

Paul Foster enters a more controversial area when he claims that a comparison of White's working notes with the letters published in 'Selborne', brings to light inconsistencies which appear to indicate that the book should be regarded as a literary rather than a scientific record. However, the existence of the so-called 'false letters' has long been accepted as a means by which Gilbert White distilled a wide variety of unsorted source material, scattered amongst a vast array of original manuscripts, into an ordered form suitable for publication using the epistolary style favoured by many authors at the time. In this way, the book was superbly crafted into a unique work of 'fine, carefully written prose . . . a masterpiece of condensation' which can be read and appreciated on many levels.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, historians of both Rutland and the weather will be pleased to see that Paul Foster gives proper recognition to the important role played by Thomas Barker of Lyndon Hall in providing his brother-in-law, Gilbert White, with expert advice and guidance on weather observing and the study of climate.<sup>2</sup>

John Kington

### References

1 Fisher, James (Ed): *The Natural History of Selborne - by Gilbert White*, The Cresset Press, London, 1960.

2 Kington, John (Ed): *The Weather Journals of a Rutland Squire - Thomas Barker of Lyndon Hall*, Rutland Record Society, Oakham, 1988.

John Kington is Visiting Fellow in the Climatic Research Unit at the University of East Anglia, Norwich.

## **The Descent of Dissent: a guide to the Nonconformist Records at the Leicestershire Record Office** Edited by Gwenith Jones, 1989. 75 pp, ill., bibliogr. £3.50 plus £1 p&p. ISBN 0-85022-260-5. Leicestershire Museums Publication No 102. Leicestershire Museums Arts & Records Services.

No study of English local history could be complete without taking some account of nonconformist traditions and influences and this guide will provide an excellent starting point for students in this area. Moreover, it will form a splendid basis for extended studies in other parts of the country and in the methodology required.

There is a great deal for Rutland, from the *Baptist Minute Books* of Barrowden (1710-1934) and the Congregationalist traditions of Robert Browne of Toilethorpe Hall, to the considerable Quaker records for Oakham and Somerby dating from 1670 and 1657 respectively. These include records of suffering, title deeds, wills, agreements, correspondence, papers, minutes, details of burials and accounts.

Reference to Roman Catholics includes Bernard Elliott's article on 'Catholicism in Rutland'. *Rutland Record No 9*, 1989, and notes the importance of the Digby family of Stoke Dry and the conversion of the 2nd Earl of Gainsborough of Exton, but there are, unfortunately, few original Catholic records held at Leicestershire Record Office.

An excellent list of sources, addresses, etc. is of great help and we must all be eternally grateful to have the freedom to enquire further into nonconformity for if it had been left to Simon de Montfort's attitude to the Jews he expelled from Leicester in 1230 'until the end of the world' we should still be living a life of secrecy and subterfuge.

Bryan Waites

## **Joseph Matkin and the voyage of the Challenger: a request.**

For an edition of the letters of Joseph Matkin (1853-1927) written during the oceanographic expedition of *H.M.S. Challenger*, I would appreciate hearing from anyone having information about him and/or his family. Joseph Matkin, who lived in Oakham until 1914, was the second son of Charles and Sarah Craxford Matkin, original owners of the printing and stationery store on High Street. Please write to Professor P.F. Rehbock, History Dept., University of Hawaii, 2530 Dole Street, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, USA.

# Rutland Bibliography

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

**ACROSS THE WELLAND.** Times and Seasons recorded by the people of two villages. Barrowden/Wakerley Parish Magazine: £2.50, 1988. Selections from the Barrowden and Wakerley Parish Magazine which include sections on Village Lives Yesterday and Today. The parish has the distinction of being divided by a county boundary, the River Welland. Barrowden is in Rutland and Wakerley is in Northamptonshire.

**BARKER** Thomas The Weather Journals of a Rutland Squire. Thomas Barker of Lyndon Hall. (1722-1809) Edited by John Kington. Rutland Record Series Vol 2. Rutland Record Society: £15.00, 1988. These sixty years of daily recorded weather observations are now helping meteorologists to reconstruct 18th-century weather patterns and to investigate climatic change.

**BROOKS** Mary and **DRINKALL** Pamela. A walk through Oakham. Rutland Local History Society: £0.99, 1988. This booklet guides the reader on a walk through Oakham detailing the towns' history and places of interest along the way. The suggested walks should take about ¾ hour with longer to be allowed if visiting the castle and museum.

**CHURCHES OF RUTLAND.** Compiled by Revd. Canon J. Prophet and A. R. Traylen. 'In Rutland Series' Vol 11. Spiegl Press: £6.00, 1988. The intention of this guide is to highlight some of the smaller early features of the churches which might be of interest to the visitor, rather than the actual construction. The guide is arranged alphabetically by village and is illustrated by photographs, sketches and church plans.

**CURL**, James Stevens, 'Uppingham, Rutland' in Leicestershire & Rutland Heritage No. 2 Spring 1989. An ongoing series about Rutland towns and villages. See also No. 1.

**GOD'S** Country people: The Church's response to rural issues. Report of a Conference held at Launde Abbey, Leicestershire, March 1988. Diocese of Leicester Board for Social Responsibility: £2.00, 1988.

**GRAHAM** Rigby. Rigby Graham at the Goldmark Gallery, Uppingham. Goldmark, Uppingham: £10.00, 1987. The illustrated catalogue of the forty-third one-man exhibition of the work of an artist who has lived in Leicester for many years. It includes brief essays and notes contributed by his world-wide admirers.

**A GUIDE TO LEICESTERSHIRE** Leicestershire County Council/British Publishing Co. Ltd: £0.99, 1989. The official County guide to Leicestershire containing a wide-range of information for residents and visitors. It includes sections on Leicestershire facts and figures, history and leisure activities.

**HENRY** David. Wind and Watermills of Rutland. 'In Rutland' series Vol. 10. Spiegl Press: £4.50, 1988. This work is based on research originally done by the author for The Duke of Edinburgh's award. The information is arranged alphabetically by village and include notes on Millers, Journeymen, Apprentices etc. and map references where known. It is illustrated by photographs and by sketches recreated from old photographs and plans.

**H.M. PRISON ASHWELL.** Report by H.M. Inspector of Prisons. Home Office: £1.10, 1986. One of a series of reports about the conditions, facilities and regime within prison service establishments in England and Wales.

**HOPEWELL**, Jeffrey, Shire County Guide to Leicestershire & Rutland. Shire Publications: £2.95, 1989.

**LEINSTER - MACKAY**, Donald. The educational world of Edward Thring. A Centenary Study. This volume was published to mark the centenary of the death of Edward Thring. It attempts to take fresh stock of the former headmaster of Uppingham School who made a great impact on nineteenth century English education.

**OAKHAM SURVEY 1305:** A translation with commentaries by the Oakham Survey Research Group. Rutland Record Society: £4.50, 1989. A detailed medieval survey of Oakham and locality which reveals population, occupations, topography, customs, and personal as well as place-name evidence.

**REGISTER** Of Parks and Gardens of Special historic interest in England. Part 26. Leicestershire. English Heritage: £3.00, 1987. Compiled by the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England to draw attention to important historic gardens and parks as an essential part of the nation's heritage. Included are the gardens at Burley on the Hill, Exton Park and Stapleford Hall.

**RUTLAND:** A Visitor's Guide. Rutland Tourism Advisory Committee: £1.25, 1989. A comprehensive visitor's guide to Rutland detailing places of interest accommodation, activities and local facilities.

**SCHEDULE** of Ancient Monuments. County List of Scheduled Monuments. Leicestershire. English Heritage: £2.50, 1987.

**SMITH** Stanley B. Far to go. The Encore Press, Leicester: £6.95, 1988. The autobiography of the minister at Oakham Congregational Church from 1976-80.

**SWABY**, Revd. Canon J. E. A history of Empingham. AD 500- D 1900. The author: £4.00, 1988. The author describes this work as a preliminary survey with even more material awaiting anyone who has the time and energy for the research.

**TONKS**, Eric, The ironstone quarries of the Midlands. History, Operation and Railways. Part I Introduction. Runpast Publishing: £12.95, 1988. An outline of the history, development and effects of the ironstone industry. The introductory volume is designed to be used in conjunction with regional volumes in which quarries of specific areas are described in detail. The volume which will cover Rutland and Lincolnshire is yet to be published.

**WAITES**, Bryan, 'Heritage and Rutland Water' in Leicestershire & Rutland Heritage No. 2 Spring 1989.

## JOURNALS

**THE BIRDS OF LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND.** Report for 1987. The annual report of the Leicestershire and Rutland Ornithological Society.

**EAST MIDLANDS BIBLIOGRAPHY**, 1984, VOL 22, NO 2. A list of current publications relevant to the historical counties of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Northamptonshire and the former Soke of Peterborough. Published by the East Midlands Branch of the Library Association.

**THE EAST MIDLAND GEOGRAPHER**, VOL 11, PART I, June 1988

**JOHN CLARE SOCIETY JOURNAL**, NO 7, 1988, The official Journal of the John Clare Society.

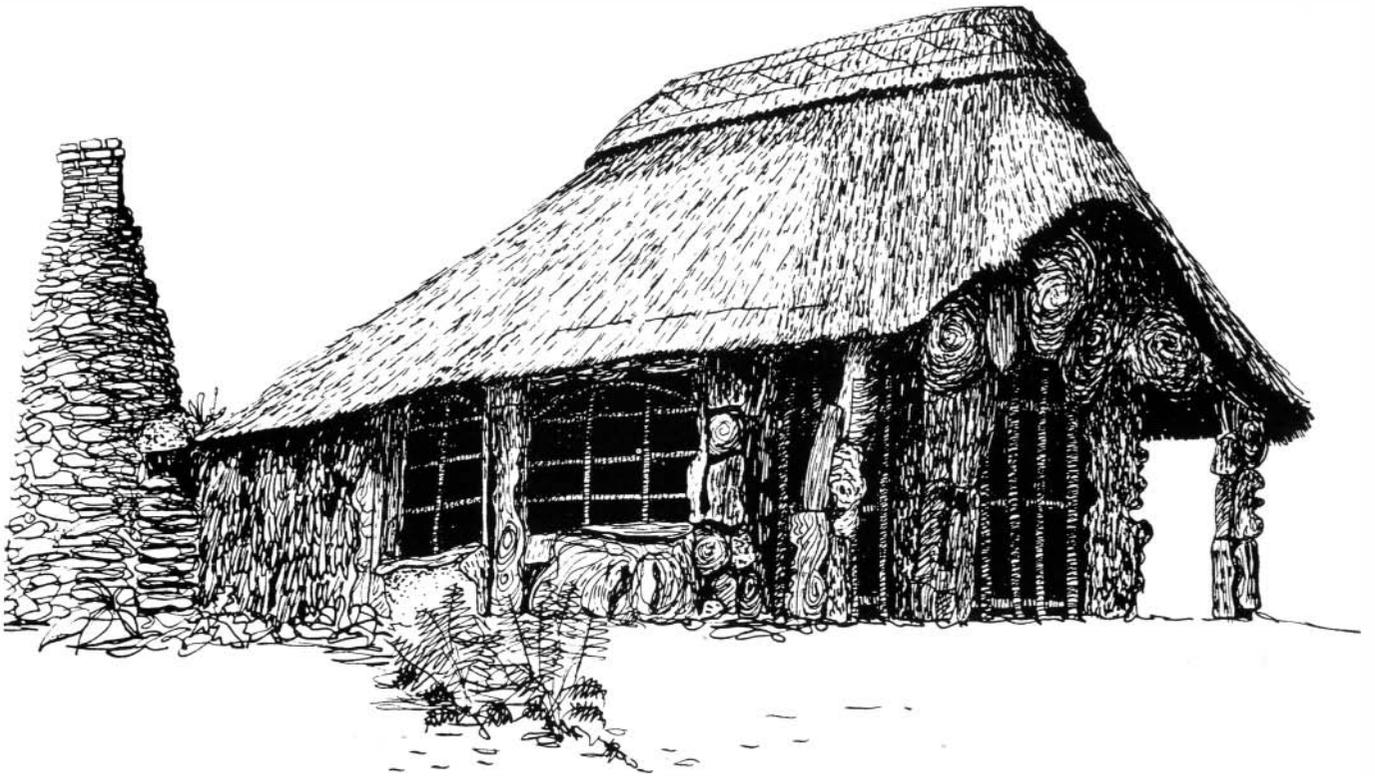
**LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND HERITAGE**, NO 1, Winter 1988/89; NO. 2, Spring 1989; NO 3 Summer, 1989.

**THE LEICESTERSHIRE HISTORIAN**, VOL. 3, NO. 6, 1988. Published by the Leicester Local History Council.

**LEICESTERSHIRE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY SOCIETY BULLETIN** NO. 11, 1988.

**NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST AND PRESENT:** The Journal of the Northamptonshire Record Society, VOL VII, NO 6, 1988-89.

**RUTLAND RECORD:** Journal of the Rutland Record Society, NO 9, 1989.



The Sanctuary of the Hermit Finch, Burley on the Hill



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# 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)  
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- 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 10 (1990)** £3.00 (members £2.00)  
Tenth Anniversary Issue devoted to the history of Burley on the Hill.
- 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) [out of print] £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) 723654. Please contact Museum for details of special offers available.



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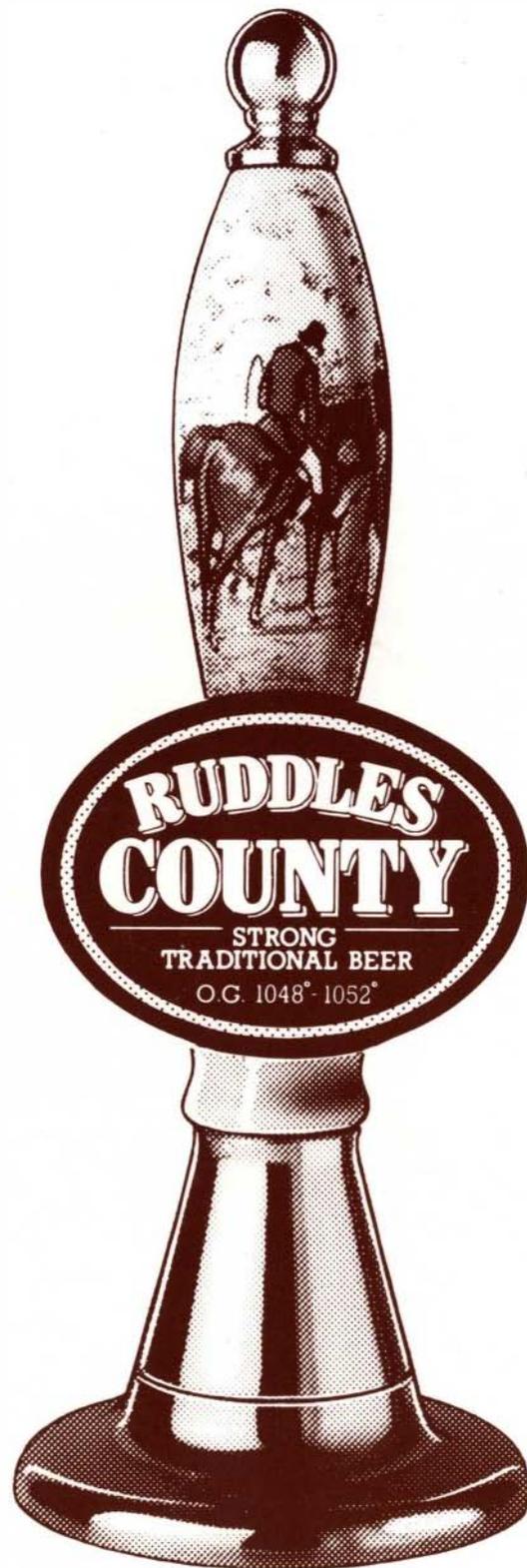


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