

Rutland Record

No. 11 1991

Journal of the Rutland Record Society



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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COVER ILLUSTRATION: Ivan the Terrible. German engraving from the sixteenth century. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Photo B.N.*

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EDITORIAL

Rutland Regained?

BRYAN WAITES

To-day we worship the concept of Rutland but the true Rutland none of us know, disappeared over one hundred years ago. The administrative axe which fell in April, 1974, was merely the last act in a larger process.

Canal and railway mania was the first major intrusion into the regional wholeness. In 1803 the Oakham - Melton Canal, later, in 1848, the Leicester-Peterborough Railway, began the process of regional erosion. In building materials, the Red Revolution of brick replaced stone and Welsh slates began the decline of thatch and Collyweston roofs. Both Oakham and Uppingham show how far this revolution went.

The onset of the motor car continued this impact which began to be felt after the 1950s, not only in terms of road widening and alterations, but in greater road traffic. All this was accompanied by the proliferation of poles and pylons in the countryside as telephones and electricity became commonplace.

Even more significant was the decimation of a generation of people by World War I. George Phillips in his *Rutland and the Great War* shows the full impact of this on a small rural community: 'of the men of Rutland who went to war 14% were killed or died of wounds.'

Between the Wars the maintenance of large estates became difficult and in 1925 the sale of Normanton Park by Lord Ancaster resulted in the break-up of Rutland's heart. For centuries the great aristocratic estates of Burley, Exton and Normanton occupied the centre of the county and kept at bay all-conquering change. Now, with the sale of Normanton, the twentieth century was able to flood into Rutland without challenge. The county became much more vulnerable. As Nigel Duckers and Huw Davies have shown in *A Place in the Country* (1990), a social revolution has occurred.

World War II helped to increase the pace of change in Rutland with the establishment of RAF airfields which still play an integral role to-day. Together with the rise of our public schools, they encouraged the development of a cosmopolitan, alien population.

But it was from the late 1960s onward that the greatest environmental and social revolution happened. The intrusion of commuters, the consequent increase in housing, road network, road traffic and services; the local government changes and loss of county status; the creation of Rutland Water and its magnetic attraction for tourists, all within twenty years, means that we have, in effect, a new Rutland with new landscapes and new people.

Can we ever regain the lost Rutland? Do we wish to do so? Everything changes and we must surely look towards the creation of a relevant Rutland - relevant to us here now. But the nostalgia will remain and we must always be sure 'to hold fast to that which is good.'

It does not help to look at an atlas and find Rutland is not marked. We see, more and more, how good it would be, once again, to have full control over our affairs, but we do not have this, nor any sign that it will ever come again. But we still have our historic county boundary which, luckily, coincides with the District boundary. We still have the road signs to prove it. We have a District Council Planning Department which is very conscious of the need to conserve the best in Rutland. We defend our postal address and organisations still continue to use 'Rutland' in their titles. We now have national support from campaigns like 'Save our Shires' and from the *Association of British Counties*. We have the knowledge and confidence to see that miracles can happen - the East Riding of Yorkshire seems set to rise again.

Above all we have a unanimous patriotism in our people and a strong love of our region to sustain us. We must all work hard to keep the spirit of Rutland alive and in material ways also to keep it going. We must take care of our environment and we must each one feel that responsibility personally.

Rutland Record Society has a special responsibility. We have to do all we can to preserve the records of Rutland. We have to encourage a public interest in them and to make them available through our publications. We want to encourage more people to participate in all this and, with us, to enjoy and conserve the Rutland environment and its history.

One marvellous thing that could happen is for the great collection of archives at Exton (presently being classified by Leicestershire Record Office) to be assembled with the Finch archives of Burley (at Leicester Record Office) and the Ancaster archives of Normanton (at Lincoln Record Office) in Rutland to form a collection of national importance. Once again, we might say that Rutland had been regained because its three aristocratic estates would be unified and re-assembled. This is the kind of event which could be of great significance for the restoration of Rutland's heart. The concept of Rutland will live in the hearts and minds of people but it will have a sure foundation if it can be given such an historical basis.

Contributors

Prince Yuri Galitzine was a founder of the Rutland Record Society and is the Chairman. He is the author of *The Domesday Book in Rutland*.

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Burial in a Rutland churchyard is perhaps the strongest claim to association with the ancient county that any person may have since the relationship continues into perpetuity. For this reason Rutland is proud to shelter the remains of Anthony Jenkinson, Tudor Merchant Adventurer, Seaman and Diplomat, who opened up England's early trade with Russia and Persia. Sadly the exact location of his grave in Teigh churchyard is no longer known.

Anthony Jenkinson, a Leicestershire man, was one of England's most eminent merchant voyagers of Tudor times whose travels to Russia in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I opened up contact with Central Asia and gave the Muscovy Company a virtual monopoly of European trade with Russia. Referring to Jenkinson's exploits the chronicler proudly boasted: 'Which of the Kings of this land before Her Majestie had their banners ever seen in the Caspian Sea? Which of them ever dealt with the Emperor of Persia, as Her Majestie hath done and obtained for her merchants large and loving privileges?'

In Tudor times, life in Market Harborough, where Jenkinson was born, must have seemed very restricted particularly as he was a member of a close knit family who never travelled far. His parents, William and Elizabeth Jenkinson, were one of only seventy-two families who lived in the town. William was a country gentleman who owned considerable property and estate and who was also an astute businessman. Gifted with foresight, he realised that travellers must be housed and fed, their horses stabled and foddered, so he wisely acquired several local inns which seem to have proved a good investment. We know at least two of them *The Bell* which fronted the Square and another called *The White Hart*.

William had four sons, William, Anthony, Christopher, and Thomas. Anthony was born in about 1530 in the family house overlooking what is now called 'The Square'. An old sketch made in about 1820 is preserved in the Harborough Public Library which shows the Jenkinson's home. It is likely that Master Anthony grew up here in an environment where many travellers passed. Perhaps some of them were voyagers returning home from the sea, so it may well have been from them that he got a burning desire to travel. We know little of his childhood except some anecdotes that he left, one of which was that he was 'a scholar at Oxford'. Most students were hardly out of childhood. Bacon entered the University at twelve, Essex at ten, and Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, at only eight years of age.

His early apprenticeship as a merchant/voyager

At the age of sixteen in 1546 he left home and started on his travels. A detailed account of these apprentice years has not come down to us but much can be gathered from 'The Briefe Rehearsal' of his travels at this time which was included in the epic chronicles of that era compiled by Richard Hakluyt. The digest appears to have been written by



Fig. 1. *Teigh church* (B. & E. Nicholls, Oakham)

Jenkinson himself:—

'First I passed into Flanders, and travelled through the base countries, and from thence through Germanie, passing over the Alpes I travelled into Italie, and from thence made my journey through Piemont into France, throughout all of which realm I have thoroughly journied.

I have also travelled through the kingdomes of Spaine and Portingal, I have sailed through the Levant seas every way, & have bene in all the chiefe Islands within the same seas, as Rhodes, Malta, Sicilia, Cyprus, Candie, and divers others. I have been in many parts of Grecia, Morea, Achaia, and where the olde citie of Corinth stode.

I have travelled through a great part of Turkie, Syria, and divers other countries in Asia Minor.

I have passed over the mountains of Libanus to Damasco, and travelled through Samaria, Galile, Philistine, or Palestine, unto Jerusalem, and so through all the Holy Land.

I have been in divers places of Africa, as Algiers, Cola, Bona, Tripolis, the gollet within the gulfes of Tunis.'

He had a prolonged stay in France during 1547–48 and indeed it was while he was on the Continent, probably in Paris, that Henry VIII died. This prompted Master Jenkinson, then aged about eighteen, to address an eclogue entitled 'Elpina' to the 'Prince of Great Hope', the future Edward VI. It seems that Jenkinson was something of a poet in his younger days and it is likely that on his return he presented the eclogue personally to the young king. The poem took the form of a Pilot of a ship answering the King, which shows how his thoughts were wrapped up in the sea.

Conditions on the journeys that he made at this time must have been very tough. Roads were nothing more than cart-tracks and the dangers of the sea

took heavy toll of human lives. However, this apprenticeship was soon to pay off. In 1553, the same year in which 'the Prince of Great Hope', King Edward VI, died, Jenkinson achieved the first great distinction of his brilliant career. He won for the Company of Merchant Adventurers, for whom he was working, the highly coveted privilege to trade with Turkey. He was fortunate in being at Aleppo when the Sultan, Suliman the Magnificent, was passing through with 300,000 men and 200,000 camels to war against the Persians. Jenkinson was already able to exert his personality on the Sultan, who then was at the zenith of his power. A contemporary described his mission as 'more like an Ambassadeure sente from anye Prince or Emperoure than from a companye of marchant men'.

Trade with Turkey was important as it represented an enormous market stretching from the Middle East to Hungary. So this great personal triumph soon brought him to the notice of the City of London. In 1555, he was admitted to the Mercers' Company and from now on his qualities stood out. He was no ordinary seaman. He seems to have had an extraordinary business mind, a broadness of view, a spirit of adventure and disregard for risk, a heart of steel, and an iron temperament. Added to this he was cool, restrained, and with a gift for clear cut observation, as his later reports demonstrate.

The First Voyage to Russia

It is therefore not surprising that in 1557 Anthony Jenkinson was appointed Captain-General (Admiral) of the Muscovy Company, with a contract to serve for four years at a salary of £40 per annum as agent. Jenkinson was aged about twenty-seven and had been sailing and travelling for about eleven years.

It was the tragic deaths of both Sir Hugh Willoughby, the Captain-General, and Richard Chancellor, the Pilot Captain, that led to Jenkinson's appointment. In 1553 Willoughby had decided

to winter on an island in the Arctic Circle where he and his crew were frozen to death. Two years later, Chancellor sailed again and reached Russia. He returned in 1556 bringing with him the first Ambassador from the Court of Russia, Osep Grigorievitch Nepeia. Disaster struck as the little fleet hit a storm off the coast of Scotland and in the shipwreck Chancellor was lost but fortunately the Russian Ambassador was saved.

It took only a few months to plan and re-equip another expedition, as Nepeia was anxious to return. On 12th May, 1557, he and Jenkinson boarded the ship *Noble Primrose* and set off accompanied by three ships — the *Trinitie*, the *Anne* and the *John Evangelist*.

A charming record by Jenkinson of this voyage remains and begins to show his immense attention to detail and his ability to express himself. He describes how his sailors slept on the open deck at night wrapped only in canvas as blankets. Their pay was 2 1/4d. per day. The only alarm was when three of the ships went aground shortly after departure.

The fleet arrived safely on 14th July at the Monastery of St. Nicholas on the White Sea in the estuary of the Dvina, having sailed 'seven hundred leagues'. St. Nicholas preceded Archangel, not yet built, as the port of entry from England to Russia. No sooner arrived than the Ambassador, Osep Nepeia set off immediately for Moscow accompanied by Dr. Standish, an English physician sent by Queen Elizabeth to attend upon the Czar. Jenkinson himself delayed a few days at St. Nicholas supervising the unloading of his ships and their reloading with goods for England. They sailed on 1st August and then Jenkinson set off South. He reached Kholmogorie a small town about 50 miles up the Dvina river on 3rd August and left again on the 15th to ascend the Dvina in a small boat.

Jenkinson had deliberately delayed his journey as he wanted to study the way in which the Russians made their flat-bottomed boats, how they traded, how they went about their affairs and how they

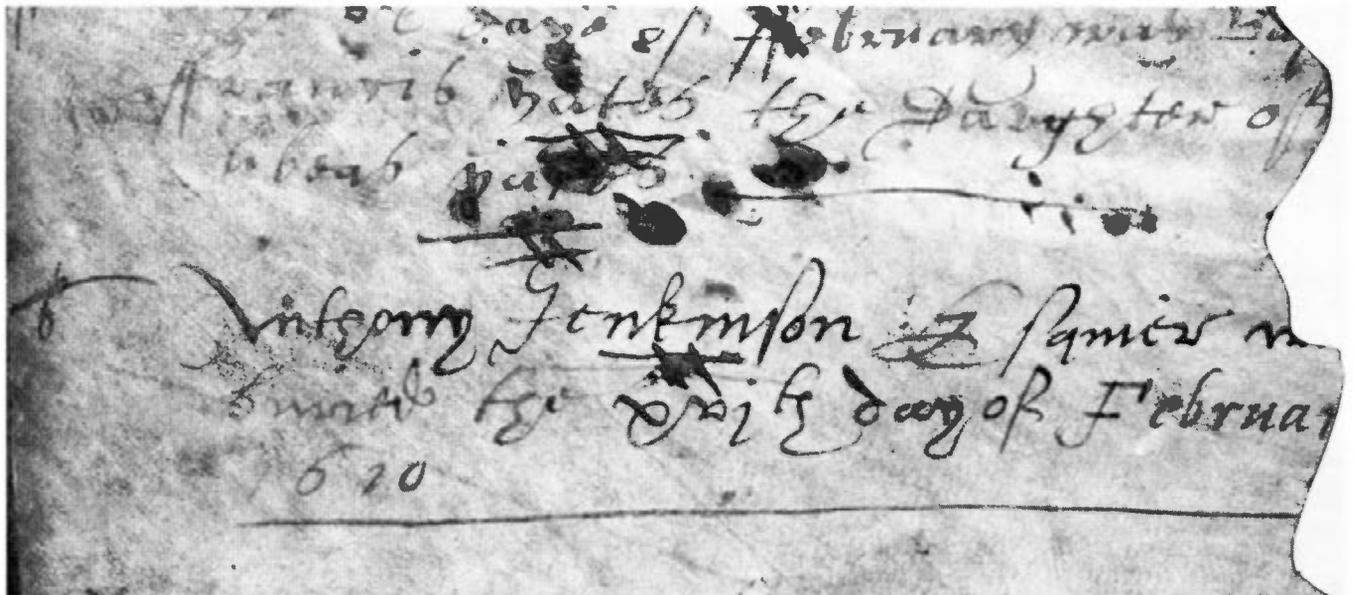


Fig. 2. Entry in Teigh church register giving the date of burial of Anthony Jenkinson xvith day of Februar 1610 (B. & E. Nicholls, Oakham)



Fig. 3. Anthony Jenkinson at the age of about 35 a miniature by Nicholas Hillyarde (1588) (By kind permission of the Victoria & Albert Museum. Crown Copyright)

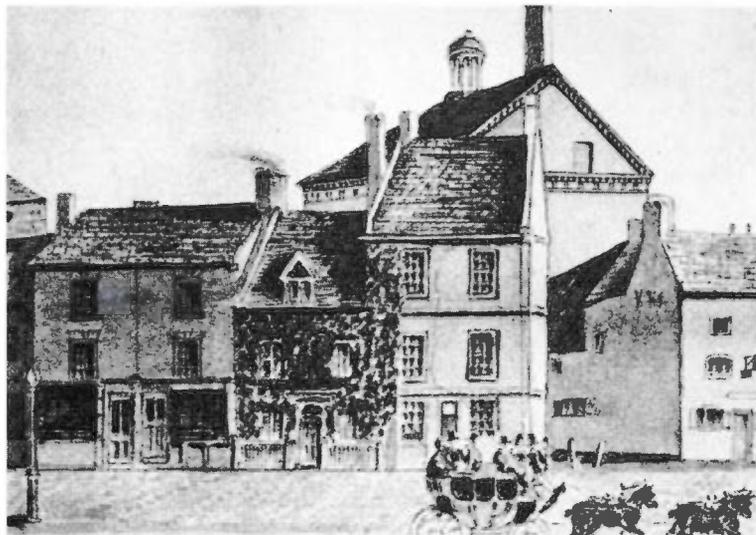


Fig. 4. The home of the Jenkinson family in Market Harborough. A sketch made about 1820 – the house at the corner of the lane has been identified as the 16th century home of Anthony Jenkinson's parents (by courtesy of the Harborough Museum)

lived. He stopped again at Vologda about 450 miles further South on the Dvina. It was a major centre of the salt trade and chief entrepot of the North. Jenkinson arrived here on 20th September and made it his base until 3rd December. During this trip along the Dvina, he travelled mainly by boat spending the night on the river bank. Jenkinson in his letters leaves a comment on the ruggedness of conditions: 'and he that will travell those ways must carrie with him an hatchet, a tinder boxe, and a kettle to make fire and seethe the meat, when he hath it; for there is small succour in these parts, unless it be townes'.

The final stage of his journey was made by sledge, and when he completed the last 130 miles to Moscow, where he arrived on 6th December, Jenkinson knew more about Northern Russia than any other Englishman and most Russians. Three days after his arrival, he was summoned to the Kremlin, where he handed over his letters to the Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Prikaz (Ministry). Some talk was exchanged while the letters were translated and then Master Jenkinson was told that he 'was welcome'.

On Christmas Day he was received by the Czar, Ivan IV — known by later historians as 'The Terrible' (which is a mistranslation of the Russian 'Grozny' — really meaning 'awe-inspiring'). The Czar took an immediate liking for Jenkinson and was impressed by his wit and knowledge. He soon proved himself so thoroughly 'the right man in the right place' that once the Sovereign got to know this particular Englishman, he refused to have any other about him.

The main objective given to Jenkinson by the Muscovy Company was to seek a monopoly of Russia's trade with the West, but he wisely decided that it would not be advisable to hurry the Czar into giving any further concessions to the English than they had already. Jenkinson had learnt that in Moscow the best results were often obtained, as in other

Eastern countries, by simulating indifference or a lack of interest in the matter of time. Hastening slowly he spent four pleasant months enjoying banquets, parades and tours in and around Moscow and then set out in April, 1558, for Bokhara. Here he planned to join one of the caravans that left now and again for the distant, romantic land of Cathay, as China was then called.

This plan would be fulfilling Jenkinson's secret ambition, namely to reach China, as Russia was for him only a temporary halting place on a much longer journey. Jenkinson's project so pleased the Czar that he not only gave him permission to travel through the territory of Astrakhan which the Czar had recently conquered, but he gave orders to all the chiefs of towns along the Volga to give him assistance, and also gave him letters of recommendation to the sovereigns of the territories on either side of the Caspian Sea.

Taking with him samples of English cloth — enough to load a thousand camels which he hoped to hire from the Turcomans — Jenkinson set off by boat down the Moskva and Oka rivers to Nijni Novgorod on the Volga. To keep him company he had with him two of his fellow countrymen and a Tartar guide/interpreter. On reaching the Volga on 11th May, the party met up with a Russian official going to take up his appointment as Governor of the newly acquired territory of Astrakhan. The Governor had '500 great boates under his conduct', some laden with victuals, soldiers and munitions, and others with merchandise. This was fortunate because on the 2,400 mile journey down the Volga the countryside was devastated, ravaged with famine and plague. As they neared Astrakhan in the middle of July, after nearly three months' travel, they found the conditions in the city were even worse than on the steppes. The streets were blocked with heaps of dead. By some miracle, the travellers who then spent three weeks in the city, escaped the plague and



Fig. 5. Map of the Travels of Anthony Jenkinson 1562 dedicated to Sir Henry Sydney (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

were able to continue on their way on 6th August having found little outlet for trade there with the 'beggarly merchants' who came to Astrakhan. So, after purchasing a boat, into which they loaded their goods, they set sail for the Caspian Sea accompanied by a number of Tartars and Persian merchants. On arrival, they hoisted the St. George's Cross, the first English flag to fly on that sea.

Coasting along the Northern shore they reached a place near Iaic where they landed, a party going ashore to explore, leaving Jenkinson 'sore sicke' with five Tartars to guard him. Suddenly a strange boat appeared carrying thirty Tartar bandits looking to kill all Russes or other Christians that they could find. Happily Jenkinson was well out of sight and one of his Tartars was a Holy Man who swore by their holy prophets that there were no infidels on board and so, as Jenkinson writes, 'I with all my companie and goods were saved'. On the return of the others they quickly moved on.

A little while after, storms drove the ship ashore and they found themselves among some Turcomans whose promises of protection were of doubtful value. Indeed, they were continually subjected to thievery by their 'protectors'. In the end Jenkinson reached

an agreement with them through which a thousand camels were purchased to carry the goods of the English and Tartar merchants. Next, their caravan was set upon by the agents of the prince through whose territory they were passing and their goods were plundered.

This aroused Jenkinson's fighting spirit. Even though he had letters to all the Tartar chieftains, he was far from the protection of the Czar, so he 'straightway ridde unto the same prince' protesting vigorously against the treatment that he had received. He demanded a passport for free travel. The surprised ruler was impressed, as this foreign merchant from a land of which he had never heard, spoke with spirit and authority. He asked Jenkinson various questions to which the latter shrewdly replied 'as unto me seemed best'. The upshot of the affair was that he was well entertained, and then provided with a horse and the passport that he demanded. The caravan travelled on for twenty days through the desert lands that lie beyond the Caspian on the way to the East. Happily they were not subjected to any more attacks from robber bands that abounded the area and the caravan went on in safety except for the real danger that they might

exhaust their supplies. Their water was all but gone when they reached the Khanate of Khiva, where new provisions could be obtained.

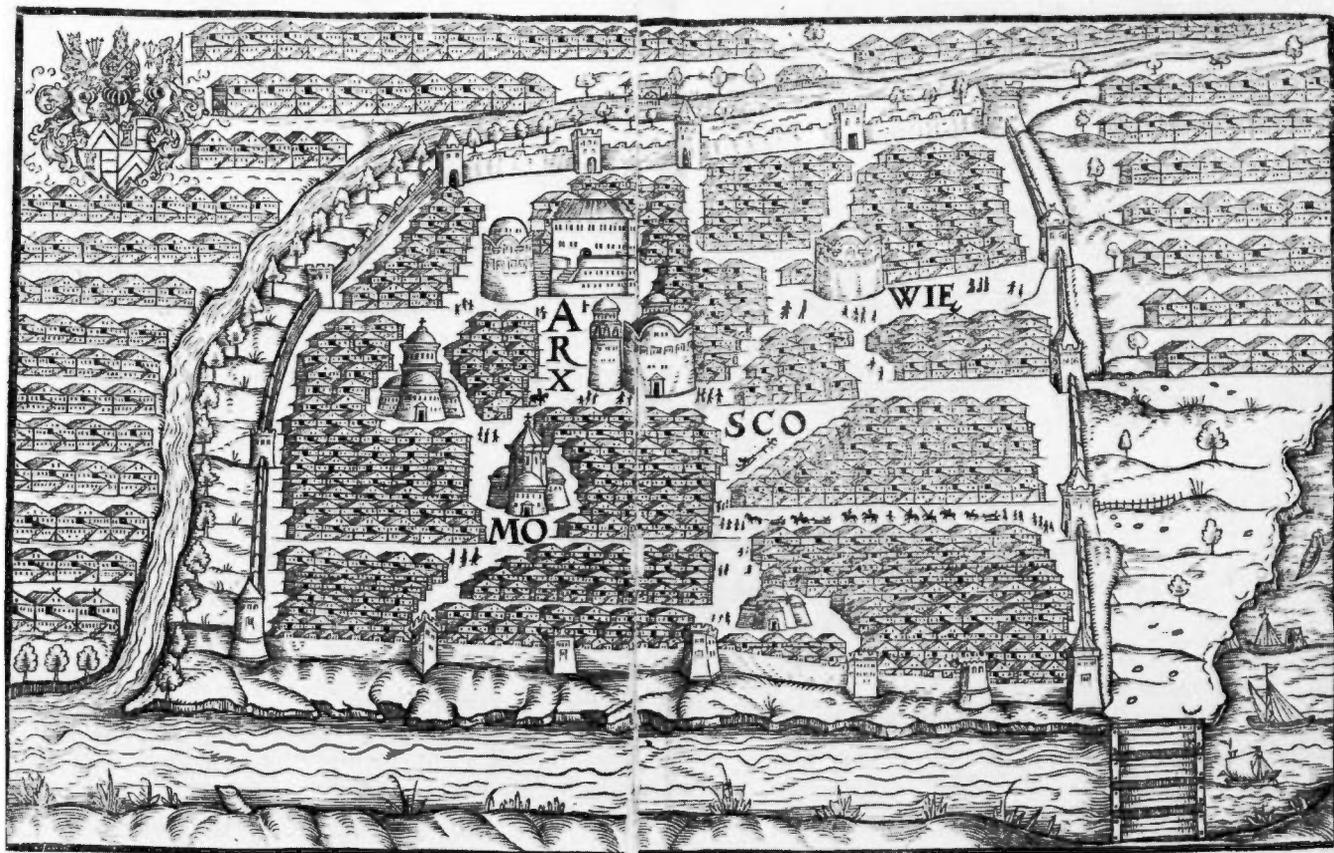
Further on the caravan had its narrowest escape. Four Tartar spies were found one night in the camp and from them it was learned that a robber band was lying in wait to attack the caravan. Jenkinson immediately sought out the local Sultan and demanded protection. A guard was provided, but it turned out that the Sultan's soldiers and the robbers were in league. They did not have long to wait before the caravan was attacked, before which Jenkinson had taken the initiative to draw up the caravan into a hollow square with camels and men protected as far as possible by piles of goods and supplies. The bandits swept by on their wild Tartar ponies discharging thick flights of arrows into the beleaguered camp. But Jenkinson and his two English companions had even more deadly weapons with their arquebuses which saved the day. After a truce the bandits withdrew and the travellers hurried on. They reached their destination, Bokhara, on 23rd December five months after the launch of their boat at Astrakhan. No Englishman had ever been in Bokhara before or even penetrated so far into Central Asia.

Jenkinson found Bokhara a town of small earthen houses, but in which there were also many temples

of stone 'sumptuously builded and gilt'. It had previously been subject to Persia, though at this time was independent and continuously at war with the neighbouring kingdom of Samarkand. Jenkinson made an immediate impression on the Khan and was entertained at court 'most greatly'. His real objective remained the seeking out of the route to China, but he found out that no caravans had come out of the Far East for several years because of 'the great warres' that had cut the caravan route. He did however learn how to make the journey if the tribes were at peace. Five months were needed from Bokhara to the capital of the Great Khan. This was valuable information for future merchants to use. Jenkinson had contemplated returning via Persia but here again the route was barred by wars between the Shah and the neighbouring Tartar kingdoms.

Finally, war was to drive Jenkinson out of Bokhara. He left on 8th March accompanied by Embassies to Russia from the Khans of Bokhara and Balke. Ten days later the Khan of Samarkand laid siege to Bokhara, and pillaged it. Jenkinson's party, which now also included twenty-five freed Russian slaves, had joined a caravan of 600 camels headed for the Caspian Sea. This was reached on 23rd April, St. George Day, exactly a year after they had set out

MOSCOVIA, QVATENVS MOENIBVS
 INCLVDITVR, ARX VOCATVR: EXTRA MOENIA INGENS
 lignearum ædium numerus, ciuitas dicitur.



HOC FLVVIO EIVSDEM NOMINIS NAVIGATVR IN
 OCCAM, RHA, ET CASPIVM MARE.

Fig. 6. A 16th century map of Moscow (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

from Moscow.

They found their boat but its sails, cables and anchor had all disappeared. However, with Jenkinson's usual resourcefulness, all were replaced and Astrakhan was reached on 28th May. Here the Czar had arranged one hundred gunners to escort Jenkinson's party back to Moscow. Before leaving Astrakhan Jenkinson made one last attempt to sell the remainder of his cloth, but still there was little or no market for it in that city. In spite of this, in the report that Jenkinson sent back to the Muscovy Company, he says 'although out journey has been so miserable, dangerous and chargeable with losses, charges and expenses' he had been able 'to answer the principal with profit'. Jenkinson, however, had hopes of establishing trade profitable to England in those countries far beyond the Caspian Sea.

Visit to the land of the Great Sophy

When in the summer of 1560 Jenkinson returned to England he was by now rated as the Merchant Company's 'number one' trade ambassador. He received no special honours or monetary award but undoubtedly had been asked to meet the Queen. For, the following year he was charged by her to take personal letters to the Czar and also to the 'Great Sophy' as the Shah of Persia was known. These letters are recorded in the chronicles of Richard Hakluyt and are masterpieces of royal and feminine diplomacy.

During the short time that Jenkinson was at home before leaving on his next voyage, he fell head over heels in love. His sweetheart was Agnes Beck, the eldest daughter of a widow from Lilleshall in Warwickshire. What we know about this romance is like many other Elizabethan idylls left to us recorded in poetry. In this case it was a pastoral by 'Shepherd Tonie' which was included in an Elizabethan anthology published in 1600 (*England's Helicon*). What Jenkinson did not know was that even before he reached Vologda, Agnes died giving birth to a daughter.

Meantime, Jenkinson's second voyage took him to even greater exploits of courage and diplomacy. The details of this voyage are not so well documented, but we know that he sailed on 14th May, 1561, in the *Swallow*, reaching St. Nicholas on the White Sea on 14th July, and was in Vologda on 8th August, arriving in Moscow on 20th August. Here he met a setback. His arrival was ill-timed because the Czar was preparing to marry a Moslem Princess of Circassia and so would receive no foreigners. When the marriage ceremonies were over, Jenkinson sent word to the Kremlin, but for the first time was not invited to court. He became dispirited and decided to return to London, but at the last minute his old friend, Osep Nepeia, the Russian Ambassador who had sailed with him on the first voyage, unexpectedly intervened. Within three days the matter was cleared up and on 15th March Jenkinson dined once more in the Emperor's presence in company with the Ambassador of Persia, the latter accompanying Jenkinson when he set off South on 27th April.

This time, on arrival at Astrakhan, the party was provided with an escort of fifty gunners and two armed brigantines, so the travellers were not molested when they crossed the Caspian Sea. They did, however, encounter a violent storm which lasted for seven days and almost spelt disaster. Early in August, they called at Derbent and on 6th August reached Shabran, in the Kingdom of Shrivan, the nearest point on the Caspian to Persia. Here Abdullah Khan, the King, sent camels and horses to bring them to his capital. On arrival Jenkinson was feted and then sent with a pass of safe-conduct over the mountains to Kazvin, which was at that time the capital of Persia. This was reached on 2nd November.

Jenkinson immediately sent word to the Shah that he carried letters from the Queen of England, but here he received his next rebuff. Again his visit was ill-timed since an Ambassador from the Sultan of Turkey had arrived exactly four days before. Turkey had just concluded a Treaty with the Shah



Fig. 7. A Russian Lodia – a coastal trading ship also used on Russian rivers (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



Fig. 8. The banqueting hall in Tsar Ivan's monastery-palace at Alexandrovskaya where Anthony Jenkinson sat many a feast (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



Fig. 9. A painting of Abd'ullah Khan who saved Jenkinson's life in 1562 (from a manuscript in the Oriental Antiquities Dept. by courtesy of the British Museum)

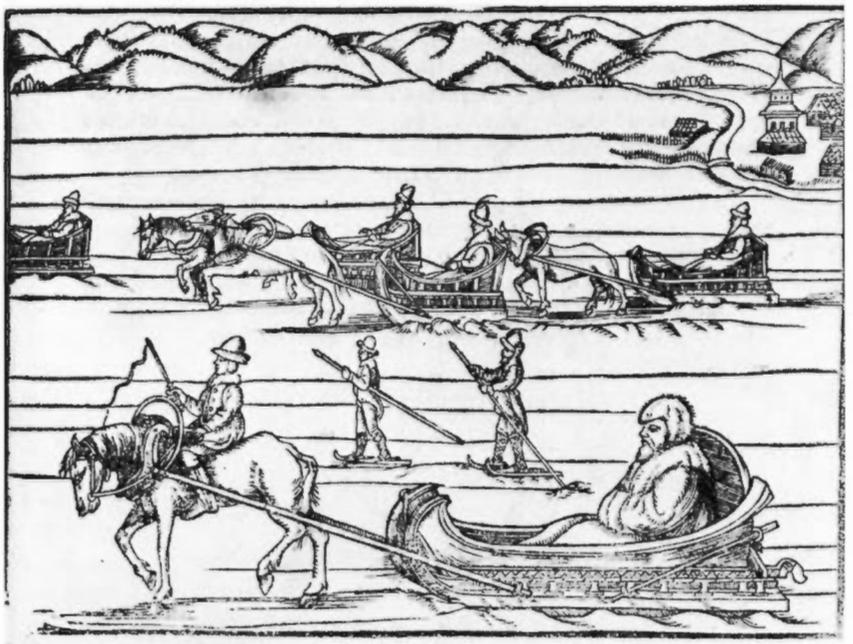


Fig. 10. Winter Travel in 16th century Russia (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

and viewed with hostility any attempt by England to encroach on their commerce, especially when they had just granted rights to Venice for trade through Turkish territory with Persia.

Jenkinson made little headway with the Shah beyond sowing a seed of suspicion that the Venetians were 'in great league with' the Turks, who had always been Persia's natural enemy. He was virtually held prisoner for several months and the Shah was even contemplating his execution. However, fortunately, for Jenkinson, his friend Abdullah Khan heard of his predicament and rescued him, enabling Jenkinson to get back to Shabran by April, 1563. Here he was made welcome and it was arranged that a Shirvan Ambassador should travel with Jenkinson to Moscow.

While he was in Shabran, Jenkinson was contacted by a messenger from the King of Georgia to seek his intervention with the Russian Czar for help against the Persians and the Turks. His advice was for the Georgians to send an envoy of their own to Moscow. At the same time Jenkinson did not miss the opportunity of sending one of his company to Georgia to buy silk and seek trading privileges.

Jenkinson's journey back to Moscow where he arrived on 20th August, was uneventful and he was well received by the Czar. He remained in Russia on the Company's business for nearly a year until 9th July, 1564. On that day Jenkinson set sail for London in 'a goode ship called the Swallow'.

An assignment not fulfilled

It was only on his return that Jenkinson heard of the death of his sweetheart, and of Elizabeth Ann, the child she left him. His daughter had been given the name of Whateley, a town fifteen miles north

east of Coventry where she was born and where her grandmother, the Widow Beck, held land. Jenkinson straightaway sought out the child and made provision for her upbringing and early education. Then, on his return from great adventures, just when Anthony should have been receiving official honours from the Queen, he entered into an episode of his life which was (unfairly) to be held against him in the future. It was a time of intrigue and plotting between England and Scotland in which no one was more involved than James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, who was exiled to the French Court. A rumour went around that he was planning to return to Scotland. As an experienced mariner, Anthony Jenkinson was given the task by the Queen of intercepting and capturing him. Given command of a warship, the *Ayde*, Jenkinson was outwitted by Bothwell who evaded the attempt at capture and reached Scotland.

In all, 1565 was to be a bad year for Jenkinson, he learnt of his sweetheart's death; he found his father ailing and the old man died before the year was out; and then there was the Bothwell assignment which failed.

Immediately on his return from Russia, Jenkinson, still hankering to find another route to China, sought the Queen's permission to try to find the North East Passage — something which was not to be achieved for four hundred years and then only with the help of an ice-breaker! Jenkinson, however, saw more chances of selling English woollen goods in the cold climates of Northern Russia than in Central Asia.

It was while waiting for Royal Assent to his plans that the Bothwell incident occurred, where the failure was held against him and his request to seek the



Fig. 11. *The seal of the Russia Company*

China route was turned down. Instead Jenkinson made a much shorter trip to Russia in 1566. Leaving on 4th May in the good ship called the *Harry of London* he reached the bay of St. Nicholas on 10th July and went on to Moscow where he arrived on 23rd August.

The reason for his return was the incursion of an Italian adventurer who had succeeded in winning Czar Ivan's favour and was threatening to undermine England's trade monopoly. Jenkinson found Russia much changed since his last visit as the Czar had 'used lately great cruelty towards his nobyllyte and gentlemen by putting to death, whyppyng and bannyshynge'. Towards England, however, the Czar still professed the friendliest of feelings. Ivan was delighted to welcome Jenkinson back and the latter was able to gain a very great new charter reaffirming the monopoly of the White Sea trade. Besides the question of reassuring England's trading rights, the Muscovy Company had charged Jenkinson with plenary powers to reorganise the Company's internal affairs in Russia. This he did with great thoroughness before he returned.

Little is known about his return journey except that it is suggested that he may have come overland through Poland and France. By January, 1568, he was certainly in London, for in that month Jenkinson married Judith March (Mershe), daughter of John March (Mershe) a Governor of the Company of Merchant Adventurers. We also know that at this time Anthony had a London house in Aldersgate where he spent much time. Equally he would be a frequent visitor to his family home in Market Harborough and the Mershe's house at Sywell Manor in Northants. In small recognition of his achievements, Jenkinson received in the following year, 1569, a grant of arms in which he appropriately chose as his crest a Sea Horse.

Delicate negotiations

When he came home in 1567, Jenkinson had been entrusted with 'secret matters' by the Czar, not committed to writing. There were sly rumours that the Czar had made an offer for the hand of the Queen. Certainly the letter which he carried, asked for an alliance with England against Poland and that

English shipbuilders and seamen be sent to Russia. The result of Czar Ivan's action was that Elizabeth, in the following year, sent to Moscow the first official English Embassy accredited to the Russian court. It was headed by Thomas Randolph, an experienced diplomat, with forty Englishmen in his company 'of which the one halfe were Gentlemen desirous to see the World'.

The Czar's first reaction to the arrival of this Embassy was bitter disappointment that Jenkinson was not included in its entourage. If Jenkinson had carried a secret message regarding marriage this could make his exclusion seem a deliberate slight. His failure, in effect, to receive a reply enraged the Czar and Randolph was virtually imprisoned in Moscow. Finally, more sober counsels prevailed and the Ambassador was courteously received.

The Czar, however, decided to press his treaty proposals and sent an Ambassador to the English Court, one Andrew Savin. One of his most specific instructions was a request that Elizabeth should send Jenkinson back. When in 1570 Savin returned without Jenkinson, without a treaty, and with a tale of discourteous treatment, the Czar was furious. Without warning he annulled the privileges of the Muscovy Company and seized all their property in Russia.

Meanwhile Jenkinson was somewhere, we do not know where, 'imploied in service upon the seas against the Queen's enemies'. No record survives of where this was, but undoubtedly Elizabeth had deliberately kept him out of the way because of the embarrassing nature of at least one of the requests in the secret correspondence.

Now, Jenkinson had to be found and sent back post haste to Moscow to retrieve the situation. When he landed in Russia on 26th July, 1571, he found the country in a tragic condition. The break in Anglo-Russian relations was a small matter compared with real disaster that had overtaken the Empire. The Krim Tartars had risen in revolt and sacked Moscow itself. Some 30,000 had died of the plague and starvation and another 30,000 perished in the sack of the capital.

Jenkinson did not find his own reception a warm one. On disembarking, the first thing that he learnt was that Ivan was threatening to cut off his head if he dared to come to Moscow. But Jenkinson was not put off. He made his way inland and succeeded in reaching Pereslavl where Ivan was holding court.

For a time the Czar refused to see him, but eventually admitted him to formal audience. In private Ivan aired his grievances and Jenkinson loyally protested that Elizabeth had nothing but the most cordial feeling towards the Czar and at the same time pleaded eloquently for the restoration of the Muscovy Company's trading privileges.

The Czar asked for time to consider Elizabeth's letters and Jenkinson's requests. So, it was two months before he received Jenkinson again, when he found that he was back in favour. Ivan was satisfied with Jenkinson's explanation of England's attitude and promised to restore the former privileges of the

Muscovy Company. 'And if the Queen our sister', Jenkinson reports the Czar as having said, 'had not sent thee, Anthonie, unto us at this present, God knoweth what we should have done to the said merchants'.

On his return to London on 10th September, 1572, Jenkinson was able to report to the Queen the greatest success of his life. Single-handed he had saved Britain's trade with Muscovy.

Now he was ready to retire. He never again travelled very far afield. He helped to promote the voyages of Martin Frobisher to find a route to Cathay by the North West Passage and acted as one of the Commissioners in the negotiations with the King of Denmark over navigation rights beyond Norway. These were the last we hear of his activities as a Merchant Adventurer.

Anne Whateley and Will Shakespeare

From now on Anthony Jenkinson was spending more time in the country especially at the house of his wife's parents, Sywell Manor in Northamptonshire. At the same time he undoubtedly kept in touch with his daughter Anne Whateley. This was made easier when the Mershes alienated their house to the Jenkinsons in 1577. From then on the embellishment and enlargement of the property became Anthony Jenkinson's major interest in life.

Anne Whateley, meantime, was achieving success with her pen. In 1578 at the age of seventeen she published *A Book of Cookrye* which was so successful that it was reissued in 1584, 1587, 1591 and 1594. Among other writings she produced a book of poetry entitled *The Fame of the Faithfull* and also *A Book of Days*. In January, 1579, Anne was presented to the Queen, probably by her father. From early years Anne had inclined to a religious life. This undoubtedly sprang from her days as a pupil in the school for girls, run by nuns, at Hillborough Manor in the parish of Temple Grafton in Warwickshire. To this

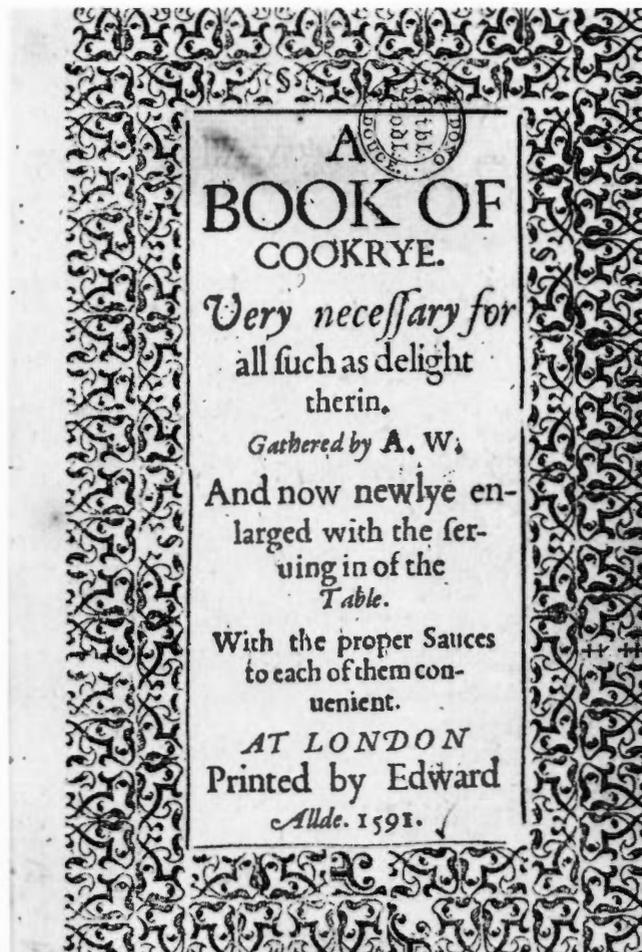


Fig. 12. The title page of 'A Book of Cookrye' 1591 gathered by A.W. (Anne Whateley) (by courtesy of the Bodleian Library)

school Anne returned as a schoolmistress, when something happened with which she had not reckoned — she fell in love. The object of her affections was none other than the playwright William Shakespeare (Shaxpere). He too had once been a schoolmaster, which is perhaps how they met. Then

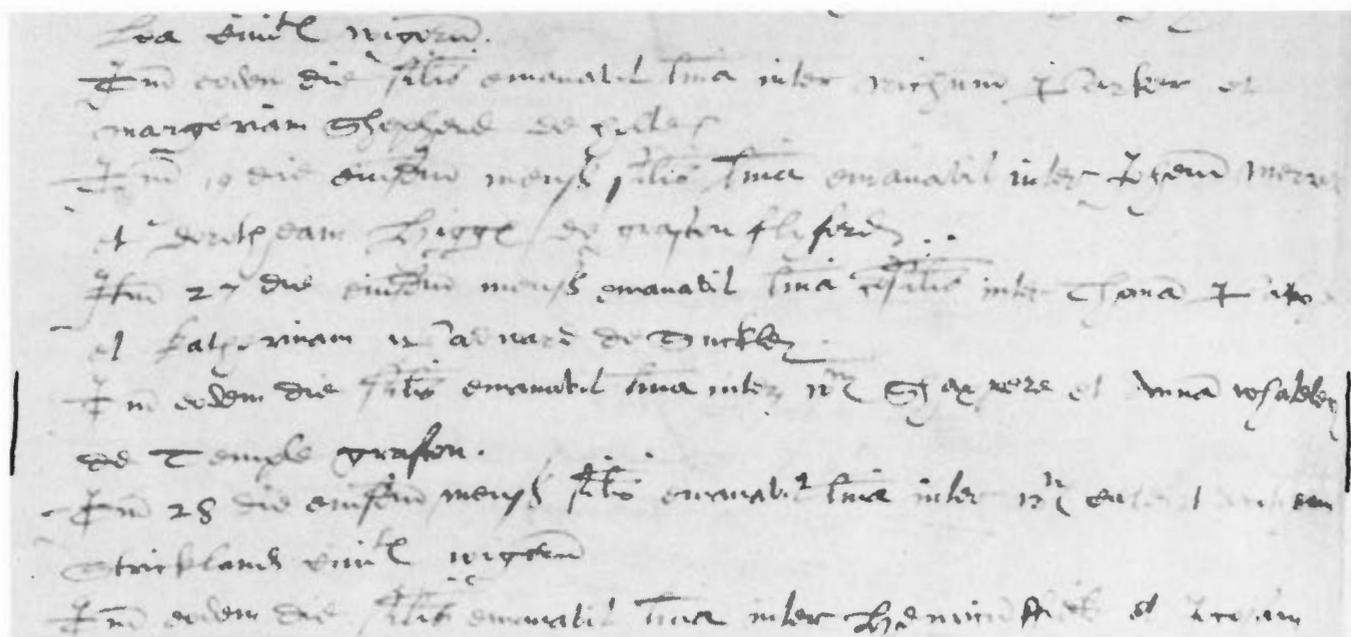


Fig. 13. The entry in the records of Bishop Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester granting a marriage licence to William Shakespeare (by courtesy of the Hereford and Worcester Record Office)

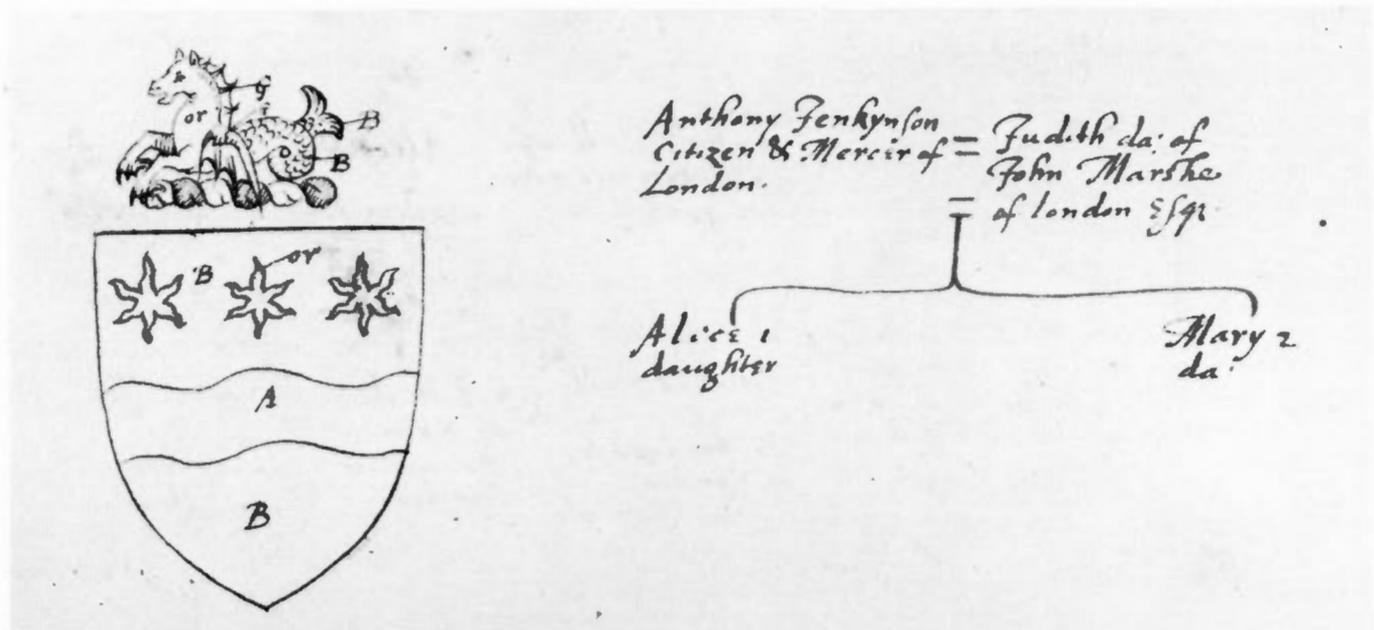


Fig. 14. The arms granted to Anthony Jenkinson in 1567. "The field azure, a fece wave argent in chief; three starres gold upon a helme on a torce argent and azur, a Sea horse, commonly called a Neptunes horse, gold and azur mantelyd guelles doublyd argent, ..." (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

on 28th November, 1582, the Worcester Register of Bishop Whitgift (later Archbishop of Canterbury) records that a licence to marry was granted to William Shakespeare and Anne Whateley of Temple Grafton. Anne was twenty-one and Will was eighteen. The story of their love and what subsequently happened is told in Sonnets dedicated to Mr. W. H. presumably by Anne herself.

Suddenly, the day after the issue of the Worcester marriage licence, on 29th November, a marriage bond sponsored by one Fulke Spendels, and another, John Richardson, was granted to Will Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway. According to tradition, Shakespeare's bride to be was a servant woman at Hillborough Manor and eight years older than the bridegroom — and that the marriage bond was a last (but successful) attempt to stop the marriage to Anne Whateley as the serving girl was 'in a bit of bother'. The elder Anne seemingly did marry Will Shakespeare although there is no record of the marriage service. We do know however that a daughter was born to Anne Hathaway who was baptised on 26th May, 1583.

Anne Whateley, however, did not surrender her Will without a fight. She turned to her father and with his help submitted the matter to the Courts. It seems that the Court ruled against her, and so in abject misery she was persuaded or reluctantly decided to leave England for Italy.

Happily for us, it was here in Italy that a portrait, claimed to be of Anne, was made and now survives in a gallery in Vicenza. In the following year, 1584, Anthony Jenkinson, unable to bear the thought of his daughter's unhappiness, went himself to Italy to bring her back. It is probable that she went back to the Sisters of Clare at Temple Grafton and from here continued her writing. Was it a co-incidence that Shakespeare published three of his plays — *As You Like It*, *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Henry V* — in

1600 on the anniversary of her birthday, 4th August? In this same year, two poetical anthologies were registered — *Belvedere* on 11th August and *England's Helicon* on 4th August. AB (Anne Whateley also used her mother's name Beck) contributed a prefatory sonnet to *Belvedere* and another sonnet dedicated to the compiler John Bodenham in the other. Will Shakespeare has a contribution in both and Anne contributes more than any other single individual in *England's Helicon*.

Much of the story of Anny Whateley's life is woven into poems that survive and even into some of Shakespeare's plays. For instance, the end of *As You Like It* appears to refer to her as Rosalind speaks the Epilogue and also to foreshadow Anne's demise. From various literary references, it can be concluded that Anne Whateley died in the year 1601.

A Life of Retirement

As the years went by, Anthony Jenkinson settled to the life of a country squire at Sywell Manor. He continued to enlarge the estate. In 1582/83 Queen Elizabeth granted to 'her dear and faithful servant, Anthonie Jenkinson' 200 acres of arable land and 300 acres of pasture in Sywell as well as a licence to build.

The family meanwhile had grown. Several names appear in the local registers. Five daughters survived and something is known of four of them — Alice, Katherine, Mary and Lucy. Seemingly the only son who reached manhood was named Harry.

In 1588, at last, Anthony Jenkinson's book *The Art of English Poesie* was published, helped by his daughter Anne. It was full of anecdotes relating to the events behind our story. In the same year, happily, Nicholas Hillyard painted Anthony Jenkinson's portrait which survives to this day in the *Victoria & Albert Museum*, so at least his likeness is known.

Also in the same year we find Anthony Jenkinson

reaffirming his loyalty to the Crown, when a call is made on the nation for funds to equip the ships that were to fight the Spanish Armada. His contribution, £50, was a goodly sum in those days. His elder brother, William, died in 1599 at Market Harborough. Anthony was beginning to feel his age. The loss of Anne in 1601 affected him greatly and he became afflicted with 'the palsie', so much so that by 1609 he could no longer write. The next year, sensing that his end was nigh, he made his will and in the depths of winter decided to visit his friend Sir Philip Sherard at Stapleford Park.

He did not stay at Stapleford but preferred the quiet of a country rectory in nearby Rutland where his nephew, Zacharie, his brother William's son, had been Rector since July, 1604. Zacharie appears to have been a cultured man who had graduated from St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, and was a Fellow of Brasenose College. He must also have known the Sherard family well as he became Vicar of Stapleford in 1579 and was there until 1594.

Here in the Rectory at Teigh in Rutland, Anthony Jenkinson spent his last months away from his nearest family, immersed in the peace and quiet of the Rutland countryside. It appears to have been a bad winter and Anthony did not survive it. He died on 16th February, 1610, in the Rectory and is buried in Teigh churchyard. No one knows the location of his grave as very few Elizabethan tombstones have survived.

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In the late thirteenth century, Rutland was in the Archdeaconry of Northampton, which constituted a part of the diocese of Lincoln. At that time the Bishop of Lincoln was Oliver Sutton, who was consecrated to that office on 19 May, 1280,¹ and remained in it until his death on 12 November, 1299. Like most of the medieval bishops of Lincoln, he was a first-class and most worthy ecclesiastic, who served his diocese well. In theory he was supposed to visit every part of his diocese once in three years, but in practice this was almost impossible, for in the Middle Ages the diocese of Lincoln was the largest in England, stretching from the Humber to the Thames.

In order to visit every part of this vast diocese, Bishop Sutton used to stay at several palaces and manor houses; one such palace was to be found at Lyddington in Rutland,² and one such manor house was at Ketton in the same county. There from time to time Bishop Sutton stayed while he discharged his episcopal duties.

One duty was to institute his clergy to their benefices. Thus, on 20 May, 1282, at his palace in Lyddington, Bishop Sutton instituted Anselm to the vicarage of Canwick in Lincolnshire vacant by the death of the last parish priest, Hugh, and the patrons of the church were the Prior and Convent of S. Katharine outside Lincoln.³ Later on in that same year Bishop Sutton was staying at Lyddington and there on 30 November, 1282, he instituted Henry of Harby to the vicarage of Kirkby Laythorpe in Lincolnshire owing to the death of the last parish priest, Roger, and the patrons of the church were the Prior and Convent of Sempringham.⁴

On the same day as he instituted Henry of Harby to his benefice, Bishop Sutton also instituted another priest Master William of Bath to the church of

Wyville, Lincs. Actually this was the second time that William had been instituted, for after the first institution he had not obeyed the decrees of the Second Council of Lyons. By these decrees a candidate had to take priest's orders within a year of his institution to a benefice⁵ and William had failed to do this. But the patrons of Wyville church, the Prior and Convent of Farley in Wiltshire, were willing to re-present Master William and so the Bishop again instituted him.⁶

On the same day as he instituted Master William, Bishop Sutton also instituted Henry de Bisseburn to the church of Twywell in Northamptonshire whose patrons were the Abbot and Convent of Thorney, the present priest, Sir Jordan of Withersfield having resigned.⁷

In the following year, 1283, Bishop Sutton reached Lyddington on 7 October and there in his palace he instituted Ralph of Normanville to the church of St. Mary-by-the-Bridge at Stamford vacant by the death of the last parish priest, Master William of Guiseley and the patrons of the church were the Prior and Convent of Durham.⁸

On 7 June, 1284, Bishop Sutton was again in residence at Lyddington and on that day he instituted John of Rothwell to the church of Braybrooke in Northamptonshire vacant by the death of William Marshall.⁹

Not far from Lyddington was Empingham and Bishop Sutton used to stay at the manor house there. He did so on 20 September, 1286, when he instituted Robert of Swayfield to the chapel of Oakham Castle vacant by the death of the last chaplain, William Dixi. The patron of the living was Edmund, Earl of Cornwall who paid the new priest fifty shillings and provided him with a suitable house.¹⁰



South east elevation of Bede House and palace

From 10 July to 12 July, 1287, Bishop Sutton was again at Lyddington and during that time he confirmed the election of John of Houghton, a monk of Daventry, to be Prior of Luffield in Northamptonshire.¹¹

Pluralism was rare in the diocese of Lincoln at this time, but occasionally a priest held more than one benefice. This was the case with Philip of Willoughby who became Dean of Lincoln in 1288 but had an indulgence from Pope Honorius IV which allowed him to hold in plurality with his deanery the living of Cliffe in the diocese of Rochester.¹² The few who received permission to hold in plurality were usually said to have deserved the favour by some such explicit merit as pre-eminence in learning and virtue which distinguished Master John of Creacombe, Archdeacon of the East Riding of Yorkshire, who had a dispensation to hold the church of Burton-on-Trent and Goxhill together with his archdeaconry.¹³ When more than one of a pluralist's livings had cure of souls, provision was made that each church should be properly served.

In the year 1290, it was not until September that Bishop Sutton found himself at Lyddington, and there on 22 September he instituted Ralph de Sicca Villa to the church of Colsterworth in Lincolnshire which was vacant by the death of Master Stephen of Rockland and the resignation of Master William of Burnham who had been presented as Stephen's successor. The patron of Colsterworth church was William of Stoke, a prebendary of Grantham Australis.¹⁴

In 1290, Bishop Sutton found himself involved in a dispute over the Priory of Wilsford in Lincolnshire.¹⁵ The patron of this priory was the Abbot of Bec in France and on the 21 September Walter de Pont Audomar, monk of Bec, appeared before Bishop Sutton at his palace in Lyddington with letters patent from the Abbot of Bec, presenting him to the Priory of Wilsford. But Bishop Sutton objected to the Abbot's letters on two grounds: first of all, they trespassed upon his episcopal rights and secondly the letters were not written in proper form. So, the Bishop replied to the Abbot as follows: 'Greetings to the Abbot of Bec in the hope that for the love of justice he may care for the rights of others as he does for his own'. Then he indicated the correct formula which the Abbot should have used in presenting Walter to the Priory of Wilsford and to make good his point he wrote out for him a model letter of presentation. The Abbot received the Bishop's admonition with good grace and sent back to him a proper letter of presentation, whereupon the Bishop instituted Walter to the Priory of Wilsford at Woburn on 24 January 1291.

During Bishop Sutton's stay at Lyddington in September, 1290, on the 22nd and 23rd he moved to a house in Tinwell and there he dealt with several dispensations from bastards who wished to take holy orders.¹⁶ On 23 September William of Aldwinke applied for such a dispensation as did William Griffin of Aylestone on that same day. On 24 September John of Baldock applied for a dispensation and

on the same day, Walter of North Stoke, the son of a deacon and an unmarried woman, also applied. In all, some 49 bastards applied for dispensations to take holy orders during the last nine years of Sutton's episcopate, which suggests a large number of illegitimate births at this time.¹⁷

Between 31 March and 2 April, 1291, Bishop Sutton was staying once more at his palace in Lyddington. Though he was now over seventy years of age, he still possessed good health and a vigorous constitution and on 29 March, 1291, he instituted William of Willoughby to the church of Pickworth in Rutland whose patron was Roger de Gynney. The vacancy had arisen through the resignation of William de Beggeville.¹⁸ The next day the Bishop instituted Robert of Kirton to the vicarage of Timberland in Lincolnshire vacant by the death of the last parish priest, Henry of Wythorp.¹⁹

On 31 March, 1291, the Bishop performed yet another institution when he instituted Master Le Fleming to the church of West Burton, vacant because of the resignation of Master John Le Fleming who was the patron of the church.²⁰

From time to time Bishop Sutton stayed at his house in Nettleham just outside Lincoln. He was there on 29 May, 1292, when he instituted Geoffrey of Willoughby to the church of Pickworth in Rutland because the present priest, William of Willoughby, had been transferred to the church of Barrowby in Lincolnshire.²¹

The poaching of deer seems to have been fairly rife in Rutland at this time, for while staying at Spaldwick in Huntingdonshire the Bishop wrote a letter on 1 August, 1292, to the Dean of Rutland, telling him to warn and if necessary to excommunicate all poachers who had broken into the Bishop's park at Lyddington.²²

In 1292 Bishop Sutton did not stay at Lyddington until September when he spent a week there from 8 September to 17 September. On 12 September he granted a dispensation to Robert of Liddington, a bastard, so that Robert could proceed to take holy orders.²³ On 13 September Robert of Stamford, canon of Newstead Priory near Stamford, appeared before Bishop Sutton for confirmation of his election as Prior of Newstead as successor to Thomas of Deeping who had resigned. But, as we have seen already, Bishop Sutton always insisted upon the correct procedure in these matters, and this election had been carried out with incorrect procedure. So, the Bishop quashed the election as invalid, but nevertheless instituted Robert to be the Prior of Newstead on his own responsibility.²⁴

While at Lyddington Bishop Sutton heard that the churchyard of Oakham had been polluted by bloodshed. So, on 22 September, he sent a commission to the Abbot of Owston ordering him to reconsecrate the churchyard of Oakham.²⁵

Though Bishop Sutton did not visit Lyddington in 1293, matters relating to the church in Rutland continued to occupy his attention. Thus, while staying at the Old Temple in London, he heard that a group of people had forcibly seized and occupied the church

and manse of Glaston in Rutland, giving out a false report that the rector of Glaston had died. Accordingly, the Bishop ordered the Dean of Rutland to excommunicate all the people concerned in this incident.²⁶

From 1 November to 13 November Bishop Sutton was once more in residence at Lyddington and there he engaged in a great deal of episcopal activity. On 1 November he issued a letter to Philip of Tixover, acolyte, giving him permission to receive holy orders from any English bishop.²⁷ On the same day, the Bishop appointed Master Henry of Nassington to be his official-principal.²⁸ On the next day, 2 November, he issued a commission to the Prior of Launde Abbey to reconcile the church of Welham in Leicestershire desecrated by bloodshed.²⁹ On the same day, he issued an order to the Archdeacon of Northampton, whereby the latter was to protect the parishioners of Ridlington in Rutland from being overcharged for Peter's pence.³⁰

On 30 December, 1294, the Bishop was staying at Louth when he heard that a group of people had broken into and robbed the church of Empingham. So, he ordered the vicar of Empingham to excommunicate in suitable churches throughout Rutland all those concerned in this incident.³¹

Though the years were now telling upon him, nevertheless he continued to perform his episcopal duties throughout 1295. During this time he instituted a number of priests to their benefices. On 9 April he instituted Hugh of Clixby to the vicarage of Stamford All Saints vacant by the death of Gilbert of Careby and the patrons were the Prioress and Convent of S. Michael outside Stamford.³² Then on 13 April, he instituted William, son of Bartholomew of Stamford, to the church of St. Martin at Stamford vacant since Hugh of Clixby had been appointed to the church of All Saints.³³

A little later, on 3 May, 1295, while in residence at Spaldwick, Bishop Sutton sent a mandate to the Archdeacon of Northampton whereby the latter was to ascertain whether the rector of Tickencote in Rutland was too old to manage his affairs and if so to appoint William of Empingham, rector of Little Casterton, as his co-adjutor to help.³⁴ The Archdeacon carried out his mandate and found out that the rector of Tickencote was having difficulty in carrying out his duties. Accordingly, the Archdeacon appointed William of Empingham, rector of Little Casterton in Rutland, as co-adjutor to help Walter rector of Tickencote who was ill.³⁵ Later, on 23 July, 1297, Bishop Sutton was staying once more at Lyddington when he replaced William of Empingham by William of Thorpe as co-adjutor to Walter of Tickencote provided that Walter agreed to the change and that William of Thorpe was a suitable person.³⁶

The residence furthest south at which Bishop Sutton stayed was Theydon Mount in Essex and there on 21 May, 1295, he instituted John of Bayton, clerk in minor orders, to the church of Wing in Rutland, vacant because Roger of Sixhills had been transferred to the church of Nettleham. After being ordained subdeacon, John was duly instituted to Wing

church.³⁷

Another church in Rutland to which a subdeacon was instituted was Morcott. On 24 September, 1295, while staying at Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, Bishop Sutton instituted John de Saint Lys to the church of Morcott vacant by the death of Roger de Beaufy.³⁸

From 23 February to 10 March, 1296, Bishop Sutton stayed at Lyddington and there on 4 March he instituted Richard of Tinwell to the vicarage of Greetham in Rutland, whose patrons were the Prior and Convent of the Holy Sepulchre, Warwick.³⁹ A few days later on 10 March, Robert de Greenburn was instituted to the vicarage of Sutterton in Lincolnshire vacant because the present parish priest, William, had obtained other preferment and the patron of the church was the Abbot and Convent of Crowland.⁴⁰

On 20 March, 1296, Bishop Sutton was staying at Launde Abbey when he issued a mandate to the Dean of Rutland to warn and if necessary excommunicate all persons who had been poaching deer in the Bishop's park at Lyddington.⁴¹

About this time Bishop Sutton and the rest of the English hierarchy became involved in a quarrel with King Edward I. In February, 1296, Pope Boniface VIII issued the bull *Clericis Laicos* in which he forbade the clergy to pay taxes to any lay persons. So, the clergy refused to contribute to an aid of one-fifth granted in Parliament in the autumn of 1296. In 1297, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Winchelsey, stated that the English clergy had to obey the Pope, whereupon the King replied by publishing a sentence of outlawry against those who did not pay the tax. Thus, the English Bishops found themselves in a horrible situation: if they obeyed the Pope, then they would be outlawed and so lose all their lands and goods. Bishop Sutton refused to disobey the Pope and so was threatened with loss of all his lands and goods. But the Bishop was well liked throughout his vast diocese and so many friends came to his rescue so that in the end they persuaded the Sheriff of Lincoln to seize only a small amount of money, leaving the Bishop to enjoy his lands. Eventually, in 1297 the quarrel ended with a general reconciliation between the King and the clergy.⁴²

While this quarrel was going on, Bishop Sutton continued to carry out his episcopal duties. He was at Nettleham when on 7 February, 1298, he sent a letter to the warden of the Friars Minor at Stamford telling him to absolve Agnes Cross of Empingham from a rash vow of fasting on Saturdays on bread and water and to substitute some good work which she could do without making herself ill.⁴³

From 30 April to 8 May the Bishop again stayed at Lyddington and from there on 5 May he issued a grant of twenty days' indulgence to all who should contribute to the repair of the prebendal church of St. Margaret's, Leicester, part of which had unexpectedly fallen down and the resources of the parish were not sufficient to rebuild it without extra help from outside.⁴⁴ On 7 May the Bishop sent a strongly worded letter to the Prior of Kenilworth in Warwick-

shire in which he stated that in his recent visitation of the Priory of Brooke in Rutland, a house dependent upon Kenilworth, he had found the goods of the house wasted and the community so badly afflicted with poverty that they had been forced to beg for food. Consequently, he ordered the Prior of Kenilworth to take immediate steps to improve conditions at Brooke.⁴⁵ Some time later on 21 December, 1298, he instituted Roger Alwold of Rothwell to the church of Syresham in Northamptonshire, vacant by the death of William, the patrons being the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester.⁴⁶

His last visit to Lyddington took place at Christmas, 1298, when between 12 December and 21 February, 1299, he was engaged in a good deal of episcopal business. He was now nearly eighty years of age but his health and vigour remained to a great extent unimpaired. Nevertheless, he was now a tired man and in his last year he enjoyed a nap at mid-day. Yet he still carried out ordinations. Thus, on 14 December he instituted Peter of Tealby to the vicarage of Clee in Lincolnshire, the patrons being the Abbot and Convent of Grimsby.⁴⁷ On 20 December he instituted Richard of Aswardby to the vicarage of Keddington in Lincolnshire, vacant because the last parish priest, John, had moved to Authorpe.⁴⁸ That same day, he also instituted John of Filey to the vicarage of South Cadeby in Lincolnshire vacant by the death of Thomas and the patrons were the Prior and Convent of Sixhills.⁴⁹ On that same day he instituted Robert of Harton to the church of Toft-near-Newton in Lincolnshire vacant because the said Robert had obtained other preferment. So, it looks as if Robert held two benefices.⁵⁰ A little later on 26 December, 1298, Bishop Sutton instituted Richard of Bromsgrove to the church of Thornton-by-Horncastle in Lincolnshire, the vacancy resulting from the death of John of Empingham.⁵¹ On 12 January, 1299, John de Sauvarvilla, monk of Bec, appeared before Bishop Sutton at Lyddington with letters from the Abbot of Bec which presented

the said John to the Priory of Wilford in succession to Walter de Pont Audomar who had resigned. The Bishop accepted the presentation and duly instituted John as prior.⁵²

This was the last institution that Bishop Sutton carried out at Lyddington. Yet throughout 1299 he continued to carry out his episcopal duties. On 8 May, 1299, while staying at Buckden, he sent a letter to the Dean of Rutland to warn and if necessary excommunicate all those who had stolen the tithe-lambs belonging to John, rector of South Luffenham. But this letter was afterwards withdrawn when it was discovered that the lambs had been officially impounded when they were found straying in Sir Peter of Wakerley's corn and that the rector had reclaimed them in the customary way.⁵³

There were signs now, however, that the end of his episcopate was near. On 19 September, for example, he delegated the ordination ceremony to another bishop, John of Llandaff.⁵⁴ On 16 October, he performed his last institution when he instituted Master William of Healing to the church of Stickney in Lincolnshire at the request of the patrons, the Prior and Convent of Spalding.⁵⁵

Within a month Bishop Oliver Sutton was dead, for he died at Nettleham on 12 November, 1299. His body was buried in Lincoln Cathedral on 21 November where those who come to worship 'should tread lightly upon his grave, for there rests the body of a man who gave himself wholly to the service of God and his people.'⁵⁶

Sutton was a fine and worthy bishop. He does not stand quite in the company of the greatest men of the English episcopate, S. Chad, S. Hugh and Robert Grosseteste, 'those most splendid lights of God whose memory is pleasantness and blessing'. Rather he was the type of a good bishop who has contributed so much to the Christian tradition in England, the man who gave up his life to his diocese and did his work steadily, honestly, humanely and with unending patience until he died.⁵⁷

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Introduction

In the introduction to the Rutland section of the Leicestershire and Rutland volume of the *Buildings of England* series, Nikolaus Pevsner quotes W. G. Hoskins' comment that 'Rutland is a small part of England as she used to be before the Industrial Revolution — unspoiled, clean, full of fine buildings, of country smells and sounds, of neatness, order and natural good taste almost everywhere'.¹ Pevsner added that 'there is almost no factory smoke in Rutland', a statement which prompted Elizabeth Williamson in the second edition, published in 1984, to add a footnote to the effect that 'For this reason no essay on industrial archaeology is required'.² The authors would contend that, while Rutland may not have the rich industrial heritage of, for example, West Yorkshire, there are still elements in the landscape which remind us of past industrial activity in the former county.

Pevsner, and Elizabeth Williamson, took a narrow view of the scope of industrial archaeology, which is now recognised as the study of the visual evidence of all human industry since the onset of industrialisation and not just confined to factory production. Much of the present landscape of Rutland evolved within this period, since extensive areas were subject to parliamentary enclosure in the eighteenth century. Considerable effort has been expended on the recording of early modern field patterns,³ but very little on the post-enclosure landscape which is being drastically altered by the removal of hedges for modern farming methods. The attractive villages to which Hoskins refers remained intact largely because influential landowners discouraged industrial activity, particularly by employment in framework knitting, since they felt it could become a financial liability because of increases in the Poor Rate contributions.⁴ Rutland villages were also a considerable distance from centres like Leicester and Loughborough which spun yarn for putting-out to stockings. Much of the long staple wool from Rutland sheep was sent to worsted weaving areas such as East Anglia and West Yorkshire but some was made into cloth during the eighteenth century. By the nineteenth century, however, any cloth industry in Rutland had died out and trade directories refer to fellmongers and wool staplers but not to clothiers or hosiers.

This lack of traditional manufacturing industry in Rutland is reflected in the population statistics. Villages in the neighbouring counties to the west grew dramatically in the nineteenth century as a result of hosiery, boot and shoe manufacture and coal mining, none of which affected Rutland. Leicestershire's population more than trebled between 1801 and 1901, whereas that of Rutland remained static apart from some growth in the two major towns of Oakham and Uppingham. In 1851, the den-

sity of population per acre in Leicestershire was 0.449, which was sparse compared with the major industrialised counties of Britain, but the density in Rutland was only 0.239 per acre. The population of Leicestershire continued to grow until 1981, reflecting the continuing prosperity of its extractive and manufacturing industries, whereas Rutland's population remained static until after 1951.

Industries which did develop in Rutland before the middle of the nineteenth century were largely concerned with either supporting the major occupation of farming or processing its products. These served only a local market because of the county's land-locked situation without navigable rivers. Attempts to construct a connection to the navigable River Welland at Stamford came to nought: even the Oakham Canal, which gave westward access via the navigable River Wreake to the main canal system, lasted only a few years from 1802 to 1848.⁵ The Great North Road passes through the eastern part of the County and formed the main line of communication until railways enabled wider markets to be reached. Their construction provided the means for the expansion of the second major element of Rutland industry, the extraction of building stone, to which was added the quarrying of ironstone, an industry which lasted until the early 1970s.

The Rural Economy

Farming in Rutland was dominated by large landowners: in 1873 53% of its area was taken up by landed estates, the largest proportion of any county in England. Celia Fiennes, in 1698, commented on the 'rich country, red land, good corn of all sorts and grass, both fields and enclosures; you see a great way upon their hills, the bottoms full of enclosures, woods and different sorts of manuring and herbage'.⁶ Only one third of the county remained under the open field system in 1794 but several of the larger parishes, including Barrowden and the Luffenhams, were not enclosed until the 1880s. William Pitt, in 1809, in his *General View*, commented on the fact that many of the farmhouses were still situated in the towns and villages,⁷ and it is noticeable that nearly every village still has its Manor Farm. There are certainly fewer isolated farmsteads than in Leicestershire. On some of the estates there were purpose-built agricultural labourers cottages, like the stone and brick ones belonging to the Earl of Winchelsea at Burley (SK 888109) which still survive. In the village of Tinwell (TF 005063) there are several mid-nineteenth century stone-built houses built by the Cecil estate. Little Casterton village (TF 018097), part of the Tolethorpe estate, is also stone-built. The lack of nineteenth century development in Rutland is probably reflected in the scarcity of model farms compared with neighbouring Lincolnshire. There are exceptions, including the splendid Shacklwell Lodge Farm, near Empingham (SK 965078)



Fig. 1. Estate houses of the mid-nineteenth century built by the Marquess of Exeter in Tinwell



Fig. 2. The nineteenth century model farm at Shacklewell Lodge near Empingham

built in the 1870s.

Many of the villages were self-contained units with their own blacksmiths and wheelwrights: the old smithy on The Green at Burley (SK 882107), in use until the 1920s, became famous for being used on 'Cherry Blossom' boot polish advertisements. The forge at Tinwell (TF 005063), part of the Cecil estate, is dated 1848 and has a decorative stone horseshoe around the door. Some of these businesses grew to produce agricultural implements, notably those in villages close to the Great North Road like Knights of Great Casterton and Downes of Ryhall.

There were 42 mills recorded in Rutland in the Domesday survey, many of these on sites now long out of use. These were concentrated along the rivers Gwash, Chater and the Welland. None are still in commercial use: some have been demolished and others converted for residential or similar purposes. There are two attractive, stone-built mills on the River Gwash at Tickencote (SK 989094) and Tolethorpe (TF 022104). The former is now convert-

ed to a dwelling, but retains a timber lucam, or roofed loading door, on the third storey, an internal breast-shot wheel and external drive pulley. The adjacent mill house and farm form an attractive complex. Tolethorpe mill lies empty with its adjacent mill house and has attractive cast iron windows. On the River Chater, there is an elegant three storey Georgian cornmill at Ketton (SK 981042) which ground corn until 1856 and was later used to pump water for the village. The large mill at Tinwell (TF 008062) on the River Welland has been converted into an attractive residential complex. Seaton mill (SK 908977), also on the Welland, in the shade of the Harringworth viaduct, has also been converted to residential use. The double-gabled mill house backs on to the side of the rectangular mill building. To the right of the drive down to the watermill, the brick trestle supports for a former post-type windmill can be seen.

By far the most interesting group of mills in Rutland is at South Luffenham, — a watermill, also on



Fig. 3. The village smithy on the green at Burley



Fig. 4. Tolethorpe Mill showing the tail race



Fig. 5. *The former steam mill and derelict tower mill at South Luffenham*



Fig. 6. *The inlet side of South Luffenham Watermill on the River Chater, taken from the drained mill pond*

the River Chater (SK 945026), a brick tower mill (SK 947026) and a steam mill (SK 947027) beside the Syston to Peterborough Railway. The watermill site was referred to in the Domesday survey and a sequence of mills operated there until 1948, when the leat carrying water to the wheel was damaged and never repaired. The watermill and adjoining mill house have recently been tastefully converted into a restaurant, an interesting coincidence as the mill house once served as the Railway Hotel. The wheel has been made to turn again and some of the machinery retained for ornamental purposes. Before conversion of this listed building, the Leicestershire Industrial History Society carried out a full measured survey.⁸

The existing building and machinery at South Luffenham watermill appear to have been altered several times. The internal breastshot wheel, 16 feet in diameter and of iron construction, is located between the house and the mill. This drove three pairs of stones located on the first floor and was augmented by first a steam engine and later an oil engine housed in a brick extension to the mill. The restaurant conversion in 1989 left the wheel, hurst frame and stone nuts intact, but all the auxiliary drive shafting on the first floor has been removed although the stone vats still remain. The tower mill, dated 1832, had four floors and three pairs of stones and continued in use until after the steam mill was opened in 1892. The latter was constructed for Molesworth and Springthorpe, who were already working the wind and watermills. It was equipped with roller mill machinery made by Robinsons of Rochdale and had a capacity of eight 20 stone sacks per hour. Now no longer used for corn milling, it became first an engineering works and is now a plastics factory employing 110 people.

Rutland once had over thirty windmills, principally tower mills, but there are substantial remains at only four sites. At Ketton (SK 972046) and South Luffenham only the brick shells remain. The tower mill at Whissendine (SK 823142) was recapped in 1962 and most of the machinery survives. The most familiar of the Rutland windmills is undoubtedly Morcott (SK 930001), which is a four storey tower mill complete with sails which was rebuilt above the

second storey in the 1970s as a residence.

Another market for local farm produce was in animal feeds and the Midland Railway erected their large multi-storey provender mill to the north of the Oakham station in 1902 (SK 859099). By 1911 this mill provided feed for some 4100 horses working in their yards and delivering goods: even by 1947 the LMS railway company still had 2200 horses and the Oakham mill was the last of four such depots when it closed in 1954. The mill is now used for warehousing.

Numerous small maltings converted barley into malt both for local breweries and for those further afield. At Market Overton (SK 881161) a stone-built maltings survives at the private wharf beside the Oakham Canal. At Ketton (SK 984041), another maltings complete with kiln remains as part of a range of buildings which once included a gas works and coal offices in an enclosed railway goods yard. This part of Ketton is a distinctive nineteenth century development to the south of the Chater, separate from the mainly seventeenth century houses in the village. The maltings supplied the breweries at Geeston and the Rutland Brewery in Ketton itself, of which few traces now remain.⁹ In Oakham there were at least two breweries. The last of them, in Cross Street, built in 1842, was demolished in 1980 and was recorded by LIHS;¹⁰ this had its own maltings and cooperage and once served a chain of 30 public houses. In Whissendine (SK 830142) are the remains of an early 19th century brewery now converted to residential use. The only working brewery in the county is now Ruddles (formerly Parrys) at Langham (SK 845110) which was established in 1858: there are some traces of the original red brick tower brewery building in the middle of the modern complex and former maltings also remain adjacent.

The products of animal husbandry were also processed locally and several fellmongers and tanneries were established. At Barrowden a fellmongery was established in the seventeenth century and worked until 1885 to produce parchment and glue as well as fleeces and tanned hides. As offshoots of the Leicester industry, several boot and shoe factories were established in Oakham in the late nineteenth century but the industry did not develop in the town.

There are remains of two and three storey factories of West Road (SK 855088).

Transport

An Act of 1793 authorised the extension of the Melton Mowbray Canal along the Eye Valley to Oakham. William Jessop was appointed engineer and the canal was opened in 1802. There were eighteen locks from Melton to Teigh followed by a level section to Oakham. The planned extension of the canal to the navigable River Welland at Stamford included branches to Peterborough and to Boston, giving Rutland direct water access to a seaport. This was surveyed under the direction of Thomas Telford but was never built. The Oakham Canal itself had a relatively short life and suffered from lack of adequate water supply. It was sold to the Midland Railway in 1846 and much of the canal line formed the trackbed of the Syston to Peterborough Railway opened in 1848. Several lengths of the canal remain in water; the remains of locks can still be found and a milepost from Turnover bridge near Burley is now in the Rutland County Museum. At the Oakham terminus (SK 862092) there are some canal workers' cottages and the main terminus warehouse, where the boats loaded and unloaded under cover, is now converted to Oakham School's Queen Elizabeth Theatre. Nearer to Melton is Market Overton wharf (SK 881161), once a private wharf owned by the Bennetts. The attractive stone-built gatehouse leads to a yard enclosed by buildings used to store corn and coal; one also functioned as a maltings. This wharf was built after the opening of the canal and the buildings were converted to other uses in the late nineteenth century.

An extensive system of east-west main line railways passed through Rutland constructed by the Midland and later the London and North Western Railway companies.¹¹ The Syston to Peterborough line served the county town of Oakham, which has a pleasing red and yellow brick station (SK 857090): the other major town of Uppingham did not gain a direct rail connection until 1894 and then only as a branch from Seaton. It has been suggested that the elaborate brick classical station at Manton (SK 884039), which served Uppingham, was built to placate its inhabitants. To the north of Manton station is a tunnel with monumental stone portals (SK 883042). The LNWR Rugby to Peterborough line down the Welland valley, opened in 1850, connected to the Midland line at South Luffenham Junction. LNWR railway architecture is best seen at Seaton station (SP 909979) where the complex is maintained by a private owner. The signal box, goods shed and attractive foot bridge survive. Seaton became a junction with the construction of the branch to Wansford in 1879 which continued down the Welland valley and its importance was further increased with the opening of the extension to Uppingham in 1894. The area north-east of Seaton is a railway landscape of disused embankments, bridges and tunnels.

The Midland system was also extended with the

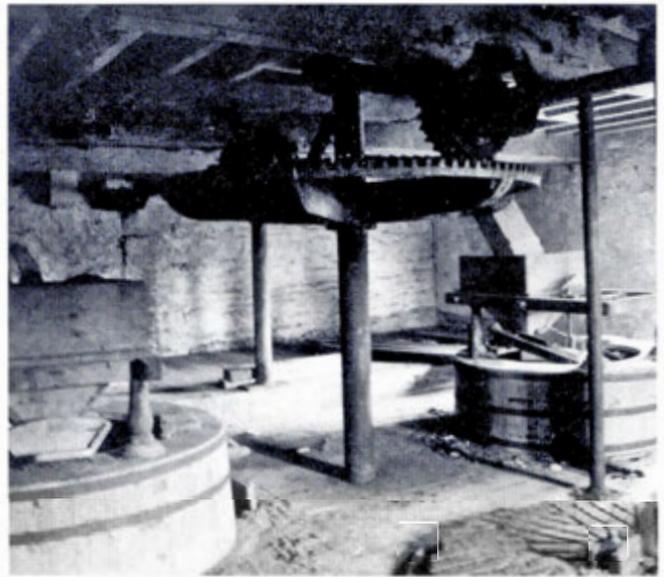


Fig. 7. The stone floor at South Luffenham showing the three sets of stones and central crown wheel

building of the link from Manton to Kettering, part of their strategy to improve rail communication from Nottingham to London. This line, opened in 1880, passes to the east of Seaton station and straddles the Welland valley by the spectacular Harringworth viaduct (SP 9197). This stands 60 feet above the river and its three-quarter mile length is supported on 82 brick arches and used fifteen million blue bricks in its construction. Its polychromatic appearance is due to repair work carried out with red brick. Essendine, in the far east of the county, lay on the Great Northern's East Coast main line, opened in



Fig. 8. The capped tower mill at Whissendine

1852, and became a junction with the Marquess of Exeter's line from Stamford in 1856 and with a line to Bourne in 1860. This network of railways later provided the means for the exploitation of Rutland's ironstone.

Extractive Industries

Rutland lies astride the belt of Jurassic limestone and Liassic ironstone which runs from North Yorkshire down into Oxfordshire. Both of these materials have been used for building stone, the ironstone locally and the limestone serving a much wider market. Freestone from Clipsham and Ketton has been used for both ecclesiastical and secular buildings for the past six centuries. In Greetham (SK 926145) is a stonemason's workshop, decorated with fragments removed from churches under restoration. Quarrying of freestone at Clipsham (SK 979153) continues on a small scale, whilst at Ketton the Starhills freestone pits were closed in the 1930s. Limestone quarrying continues at Ketton, where a large Portland cement making plant (TF 985055), opened in 1928, dominates the landscape. During the nineteenth century, limeburning took place in the villages of Edith Weston, Exton, Greet-ham, Morcott and Pickworth.

The single kiln in the small Pickworth quarry (TF 989138) has gained notoriety from its association with the poet John Clare (1793–1864), who worked at the kiln. In 1989 the Rutland District Council decided to secure the preservation of the site because of the John Clare association and the staff of the Leicestershire Museum of Technology were asked to survey the kiln. They suggested the involvement of LIHS because of the programme of recording and excavation currently being undertaken by the Society on the limeyards at Calke Abbey in South Derbyshire. The kiln was cleared of vegetation and the base and draw arch excavated. It was built into a sloping bank on the east side of the quarry so that a ramp was available for loading the kiln from the top. The kiln itself is an intermittent flare kiln, shaped like an inverted bottle, 3.85m high and

1.84m diameter across the top; the circular base measured 0.91m diameter. This is a small kiln when compared with those elsewhere in the East Midlands. The kiln was built of stone but lined with brick, which was badly burnt and eroded, indicating considerable use. The draw arch is lofty, about 1.85m in height and 2.20m in depth from front to back. It is constructed of stone flags and brick but the most unusual features are the wooden lintels across the arch, three in all. There would not have been excessive heat this far from the kiln, but it is a feature that we have not previously encountered in lime kilns. Substantial draw arches, however, were quite common because of the need to keep burnt lime (quicklime) dry. Of the draw-hole itself, only the base survived. When excavated it was covered by a flat stone flag which sloped outwards, enabling the kiln contents to be raked out over it. This also is a feature not observed elsewhere and probably indicates the kiln's subsequent use as an incinerator, since the kiln above hearth level was full of domestic rubbish, including 19th century bottles and pottery. The draw-hole itself was constructed of moulded bricks laid to create a curved edge, which would have minimised the damage when raking out the kiln.¹²

It was not until the late 19th century that the Liassic ironstone, previously used for building, came to be exploited for its iron ore content on any large scale. Slag deposits indicate that there had been some iron smelting in the Roman period. It had not previously been possible to use this ore for steelmaking because of its phosphoric nature, but the introduction of the Gilchrist-Thomas process in the 1870s enabled East Midlands ores to be used. The Northamptonshire Sand Ironstone of Rutland is the richest of the local ores in iron content but is siliceous and needs the addition of lime as a flux before being charged in a furnace.¹³

The ironstone beds are about 9 feet thick and overlain by three to seven feet of sand or clay. They were quarried by opencasting following the removal of the overburden, which was later replaced and the area returned to farmland. At first, the overburden



Fig. 9. The former Midland Railway provender mill and storage sheds at Oakham



Fig. 10. The former maltings and kiln in the railway goods yard at Ketton



Fig. 11. The wharf buildings on the Oakham Canal at Market Overton



Fig. 12. The former railway station at Manton

was removed by hand and wheeled across planks in hand-barrows away from the working face. The ironstone beds were broken up and loaded into railway wagons by hand, the track being moved sideways as the quarry face advanced. Later, long jib cranes were used to remove the overburden and bucket excavators and other machines were used to get and load the ironstone. The jib cranes were replaced in the early twentieth century by draglines. In 1957 at Exton Park, the giant electric W1400 dragline excavator, built by Ransomes and Rapier, was put into service. The boom was 282 feet long and the bucket capacity 32 tons. After the closure of workings at Exton in 1974, this machine, named *Sundew*, was 'walked' overland to Corby rather than dismantle it for re-erection there. The journey took 56 days at an average speed of one mile per ten hours and the electric power was supplied by a six mile long cable.

The first large-scale workings in Rutland were opened at Cottesmore in 1882, where horses were used until 1912 for transport within the quarry: this was connected by a branch line to the Midland System to Peterborough line. The second quarry was opened at Market Overton in 1906, where machinery for extraction was used from the start. Other quarries were opened from 1914 onwards at Uppingham, Luffenham, Pilton and Wing, Burley, Barrowden and the last at Exton in 1951. The quarries were linked to the main line railways in a network of small mineral lines, incorporating trestle viaducts, bridges and loading inclines of which very few traces remain. Ironstone was shipped out to the Scunthorpe works where it was admixed with the local Frodingham ore: some went to the Sheepbridge, Stanton and Staveley works in Derbyshire and later to the Stewart and Lloyds plant at Corby. After three new quarries were opened during the second World War, ironstone quarrying in Rutland ceased at Exton in 1973. The industry has left numerous traces in the landscape, most noticeably the lowered level of fields compared with the roads and even isolated farmsteads, for example beside the B668 between Burley and Cottesmore. Quarry faces still survive, although some have been obscured by refuse tipping and

reclamation. At Pilton (SK 915028), at the village crossroads, there are remains of railway cuttings and bridges, together with a sinuous quarry face to the south. Near Cottesmore (SK 885136), the Rutland Railway Museum are preserving rolling stock from the ironstone railways.

Bricks were made from the Upper Lias clays with works at Langham, Oakham, Seaton and Uppingham. Near North Luffenham (SK 925029) are the remains of Lord Ancaster's brickworks.

Although Rutland's extractive industries were extensive during the last hundred years, the landscape did not suffer the ravages seen at present in the opencast coal workings in North West Leicestershire. This is due both to the shallow depth of the ironstone beds and the reclamation policy enforced upon the quarry companies.

Public Utilities

The towns of Oakham and Uppingham opened public gas plants in 1840 and 1839 respectively, which was late compared with other towns in the East Midlands and probably due to their distance from coal supplies. Some of the larger villages, particularly those on railways, followed suit, such as Ketton (SK 984041) in 1863. Of the larger country estates, Burley had its own gas plant while that at Exton Hall operated from 1870 to 1914 and also supplied some of the village. Electricity was equally late; not until 1930 had the Gas Company in Oakham commenced generation. Grid supplies were obtained from Peterborough in 1932.

In the twentieth century, Rutland has acquired a new role of major significance in the provision of water for the surrounding region. This began with the construction of the Eye Brook Reservoir (SK 8594) on the border with Leicestershire between 1937 and 1940 to provide water for the new town at Corby.¹⁴ This was dwarfed into insignificance by the scheme to create a 3,500 acre storage lake of 27,300 million gallons by damming the valley of the River Gwash above Empingham to form Rutland Water. The scheme, begun in the 1970s, utilises water pumped from the Rivers Nene and Welland and sup-



Fig. 13. The stonemason's workshops at Greetham, showing re-used ecclesiastical masonry in the building



Fig. 14. Pickworth limekiln, showing the wooden lintels over the draw arch

plies not only the adjacent counties but also Peterborough and Milton Keynes. The earth dam near Empingham is 1200m long. The former church of Normanton (SK 932063), of which only the upper portion is above water level, houses a small museum of the water supply industry operated by the Anglian Water Authority.

Whilst Pevsner is undoubtedly correct that the Rutland scene does not include the dark Satanic mills or smoking chimneys (apart from modern Kettering) normally associated with the landscape of industrialisation, the county is by no means lacking in the archaeology of the industrial period.

The authors are members of the Leicestershire Industrial History Society, whose remit covers Rutland. For information about membership and activities of the Society, please contact Janet Graham, 107 Haddenham Road, Leicester.

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The Fifth Earl of Lonsdale in the Arctic 1888–9

SHEPARD KRECH III

“Sailed from Liverpool on Board “The Republic”. I am told I am going to an Unhabited land . . . I cannot say I feel happy! as when I consider why I am going & without any of those so dear to me, it would be false to pretend that I could be happy. Its no use crying over spilt milk, I am on the seas now & God knows what may be the result of my journey. Sport I hope. Happiness on my return I pray.”¹

With these words, written on 22 February, 1888, Hugh Lowther, fifth Earl of Lonsdale, left England for passage to New York and, beyond, the North American Arctic. This was the first of many entries in a diary he kept over the next fourteen months; the first words either recorded privately in his journal or written for a limited audience in surviving letters to his wife, mother, and the Earl of Worcester. When Lonsdale returned from the Arctic, he deposited over 200 ethnographic artifacts in the British Museum, a not atypical act for a late Victorian aristocrat-sportsman who had travelled to some corner of the globe. Unlike some other, but happily, not all, ethnographic collections from this era, the existence of private papers makes possible a rather exhaustive examination of the process of collecting ethnographic curios.² It is these papers which concern me here, in the hope that readers of the *Rutland Record* will find them of interest as historical documents, for what they reveal both of Lonsdale himself and the North American North in the late nineteenth century.

Lonsdale, of course, came from one of the most famous lineages to devote time to Rutland. His great

grand-father, William, first Earl of Lonsdale (of the second creation), had represented Rutland in Parliament from 1791–1802. Hugh Lowther himself was one of the most visible residents of Rutland in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As a child, he lived at Barley Thorpe Hall, a spacious hunting-box near Oakham, after the death of his grandfather. When newly wed, Hugh and his wife lived at Catmose Cottage, Oakham, but by 1890 they had moved back to Barley Thorpe, which became the focus of their yearly round. All his life, Hugh rode to hounds, and at different times was Master of the Blankney, Quorn, Pytchley, and Cottesmore. After 1927, when Barley Thorpe Hall was sold, Stud House near Oakham became the principal residence for Lord and Lady Lonsdale for the remainder of their lives.³

Why would Lonsdale have gone to the North? He was one of a handful of late nineteenth century travellers to the North American Subarctic and Arctic without ties to the fur trade, missions, government, or searches for the remains of Sir John Franklin that so occupied expeditions mounted from Britain (and the popular imagination) in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. For one in search of adventure or sport, or for the tourist, the Far North was quite unappealing; the cold, insects, rigor of life, and rather unpromising reports of game combined to make it a distant option to more temperate parts of



Fig. 1. Lord & Lady Lonsdale (Lowther Estates)



Fig. 2. Violet Cameron in the 1880s (Theatre Museum, Victoria & Albert Museum)

the world. Nonetheless, a few men (and even fewer women) ventured northward in the late nineteenth century. Like Lonsdale, they encountered and in some instances wrote about, the native 'others' they encountered; and they collected native artifacts. But Lonsdale did not go to the Arctic expressly and solely out of some desire to collect curios for some museum, or to investigate the fate of a team that went in search of Franklin's remains, tales to the contrary notwithstanding.⁴ Rather, the reasons are more to be found in his opening lines in his stated hope for sport, and in the oblique and, on the surface, puzzling reference to 'spilt milk.' In order to understand this, a brief digression into some relevant biographical details is needed.

Born in 1857, Hugh Cecil Lowther, fifth Earl of Lonsdale, was the second son of Henry Lowther, third Earl of Lonsdale.⁵ His formal schooling was minimal, consisting merely of two years at Eton. Because he was not the eldest son, he was not being groomed for the earldom; nor, evidently, was he being prepared for some suitable career or profession. Rather, almost by default, he seemed destined to demonstrate his skill in foxhunting and other sport, to which he took readily and at which he excelled. Lonsdale's adolescence lacked direction for the most part, which was not uncommon for a young man of his time and station, and a private tutor was known best not for providing cerebral stamina but for his pugilistic talents. All attempts to introduce some intellectual rigor to Hugh Lowther's life failed to take hold; a year during his teens when he was sent to Geneva to study French turned into a year with a travelling circus. Moreover, beginning in his late adolescence, he demonstrated extravagant tastes even though on a restricted allowance, as well as an exuberant lifestyle with somewhat loose acquaintances.

In 1876, Henry Lowther, third Earl of Lonsdale, died, and St George, Hugh's elder brother, became fourth Earl. In 1878, Hugh Lowther married Lady Grace Cecilie Gordon, third daughter of the Marquess of Huntley, over her family's objections (because of Hugh's lifestyle and lack of income), but altered and slowed the pace of his life hardly at all. St George wed the same year and in 1881 his wife bore a daughter. But before he could father an heir, St George died suddenly and, in February, 1882, at age 25, Hugh Lowther unexpectedly became fifth Earl of Lonsdale and head of a powerful aristocratic family. His ascension was unexpected as was the length of time he would hold the title, for the next sixty years, until his death in 1944.

By 1882, only six years before he set out for the Arctic, Hugh Lowther had acquired a public reputation for his promotion of boxing and participation in other sport (his name lives on today in the Lonsdale Belts). He was soon dubbed the Yellow Earl, after his predilection for that color, for his livery and much else.

The Yellow Earl spent ostentatiously and to excess, albeit in theory there were upper limits. Through miscalculation and poor judgement Hugh



Fig. 3. *Lord Lonsdale, San Francisco, 1889* (Lowther Estates)

Lowther had sold to moneylenders, when St George was fourth Earl, what was known as his contingent reversionary interest in the earldom; what chance had he, he may have wondered, to become Earl when his brother had married and soon would probably sire offspring? Why not gamble if one were on a restricted allowance that showed no sign of increase? Hugh Lowther obtained capital for his reversionary interest but lost his investment. He had come under the sway of Moreton Frewen, one of his hunting companions at Melton Mowbray, who was convinced that there was a great deal of money to be made from cattle in Wyoming. Frewen's operations there, visited by Hugh and Grace in 1879, in which Hugh invested, went under with the freeze and plummeting beef prices of 1879–80. (For good reason, Moreton Frewen was afterward known far and wide as Mortal Ruin.) Fortunately, the trustees of Lowther Estates — an arrangement established following the death of the third Earl — got wind of what Hugh had done and immediately re-purchased his interest from the moneylenders, so that when Hugh became fifth Earl, the trustees in theory held

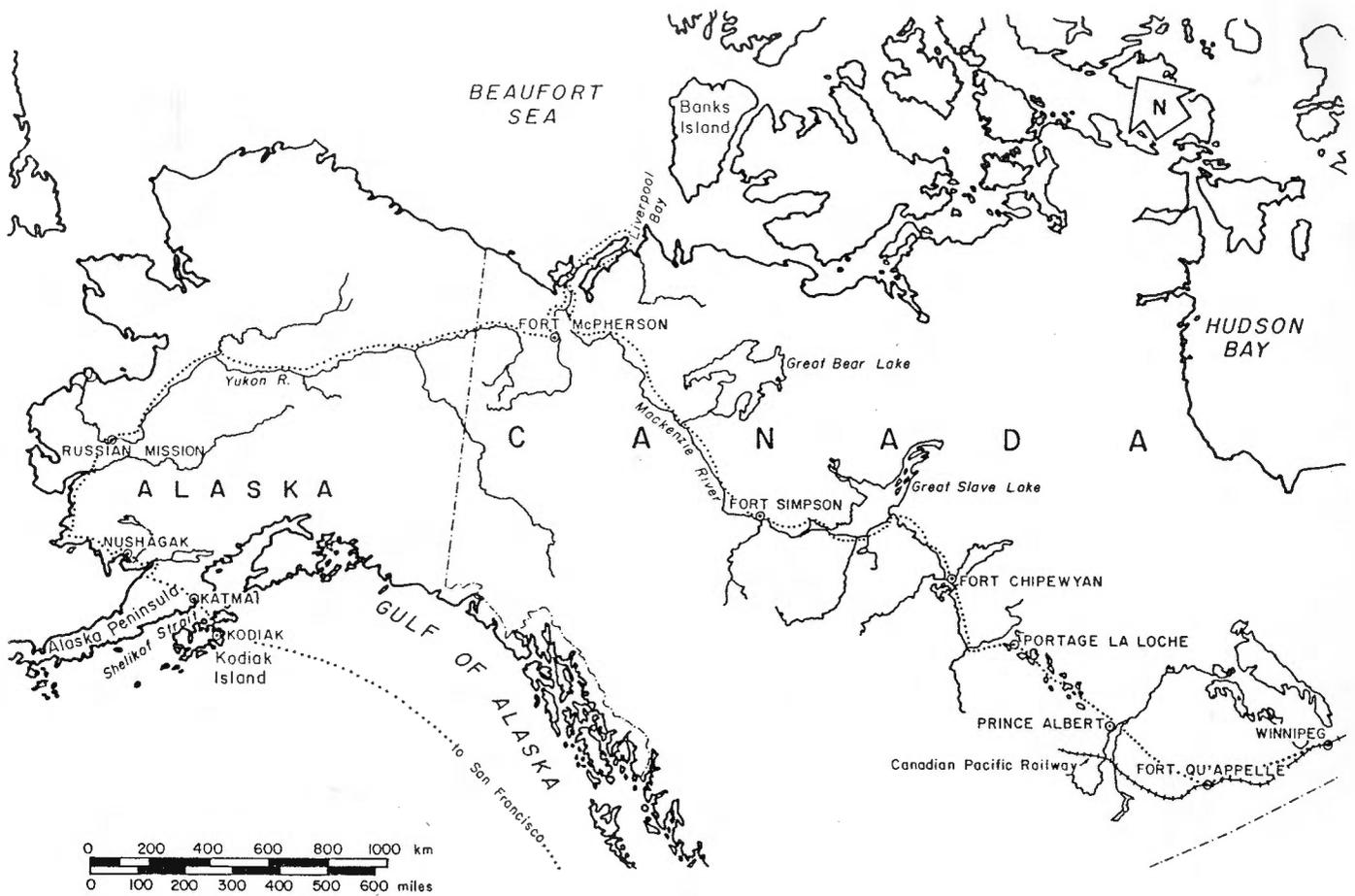


Fig. 4. Map of Lord Lonsdale's route

the purse-strings. In practice, the Yellow Earl could not be reined in, and he spent like there was no tomorrow — on stables, hunters, extravagant liveries, offices and servants, a private orchestra, the major residences at Lowther Castle, Barley Thorpe Hall, and Carleton House Terrace overlooking St. James's Park in London, and much else.

Moreover — here is the 'spilt milk' over which Lonsdale, when he set out from Liverpool for the Arctic, was determined not to cry — like many other men of his time and station, the Yellow Earl kept a mistress. But unlike most others, he was indiscreet. An open affair with Violet Cameron, a theatre personage of modest talent but striking beauty, too often captured the attention of the press on two continents. The headlines in the New York press in the Fall of 1886 were scathing and, the next year, Queen Victoria reputedly suggested that Lonsdale go off for a while to let the scandal die. It was the second time that Lonsdale, through disregard for cultural conventions, reportedly drew a rebuke from Queen Victoria (the first was following an embarrassing spat he and another would-be suitor had over Lily Langtry in Green Park). The tale(s) about Queen Victoria's direct involvement may be apocryphal and perhaps manufactured in order to perversely place Lonsdale in greater intimacy with the Royal family; after all, for moral reflection, the Queen was surely preoccupied with the Prince of Wales's improprieties.

Somehow, the trustees convinced Lonsdale to go

to the Arctic, perhaps there to be useful by collecting specimens for a natural history society (whose identity remains elusive). Lonsdale thought he might 'find some sport'; he hoped especially to shoot a musk-ox. He may also have felt that after a time, he could return cleansed and repentant, begin anew with his wife. In any case, for the times it was not the least bit unusual to go off for a while to let some scandal cool, especially if one were, like Lonsdale, caught in a compromising position.

So in late February, 1888, Lonsdale left England. We pick up the thread of his journey as he departed Liverpool for New York where, not long before, he had found himself in some disgrace because of the commotion surrounding his and Violet Cameron's relationship. From New York, the Yellow Earl went north to Montreal and then headed west, on the Canadian Pacific Railway, to Winnipeg, along the way recording impressions of his experiences.

Diary 22 February 1888 Well! adue to all those so dear! so kind! & so loving! & I only regret that I should have caused any one of them such pain. Goodbye my Mother (that is what I dont like parting with) & you may depend that I will never find a friend a love! . . . Farewell my wife, my home, to all! & one adue God bless you all & when I return may the cloud that has been hanging over our young heads have burst, & blue sky of a welcome greet me on my return . . . I board the Republic at 4.20 and at 4.30 the anchor is weighed and away away — on my journey. I have the Captain's cabin & shall be comfortable . . .

24 February . . . I have been learning the use of the Sextant from Capt Davison who was kind enough to give me my first lesson . . .

26-27 February Sunday was so rough & the ship rolled so it

was utterly impossible . . . This morning however we find a change . . . the most beautiful day — sunny bright day like summer. No one slept last night & several were thrown out of their bunks . . .

1 March 1888 The weather today has been bright but bitterly cold. The ropes were all covered with spray frozen to them which made a very pretty effect . . .

3 March We arrived safely at the White Star dock at 3.30 p.m. today . . . We had a certain amount of trouble with getting guns, cartridges etc. through & they tried to make me pay 25\$ duty on 'Gipsy' which I declined to do & left her to be forwarded to Canada in Bond.⁶ I have been inundated by reporters 'damn them'. On arriving I telegraphed to Grace & Mother advising them of my safe arrival at 8 o'clock . . .

4 March My first day in New York has been somewhat more enjoyable than I expected owing to the expressions of the Press who this time more kindly disposed & some of the papers speak kindly, 'vide the Times' . . . I had a special invitation to the Union League Club & had a charming dinner with Mr. Milliken & met some of his friends whose kindness was most striking. I did not return till 1 A.M. & thought I had only been away an hour or so. I went to lunch at Delmonico's and after to the New Theatre 'The Broadway' . . . Every one talks of Brough⁷ as an old beast & I am very glad they saw him in his true light . . .

6 March . . . I left New York 6.30 by the New York Central & Hudson River Rd. Co. for Montreal where I arrived at 8.45 March 7th . . .

Letter to the Dowager Countess of Lonsdale 8 March 1888

My dearest Pussy Cat.⁸ On my arrival I . . . had a nice wash (very much needed) & breakfast & went out to see Sir Donald Smith the 'Cock Boss' of Montreal managing director of the Canadian Pacific Ry. member of the H of Commons one of the Hudson Bay Committee.⁹ It appears Sir J Rose¹⁰ had written privately to him about me & I found a most charming old man civil kind & courteous offering me to do all he can for me that lay in his power but expressing his belief that there is no big game to be found in the Northern climates says it will be very hard work but that I shall have every assistance . . .

Diary 8 March at 10.30 Sir Donald Smith very kindly called to see me and we had further discussion as to my trip. I then went for a walk and at 4.30 stepped into the drawing room railway car bound for Ottawa, the Journey was a pleasant one & pretty . . . I arrived at Ottawa 8 o'clock p.m. & drove straight to the Russell House Hotel, where I was welcomed by my own ugly face next to that of the crown head of Germany . . . The papers are full of my various doings for the last 15 years want of matter must be their excuse I suppose as I can be of no interest to any one . . .

Letter to Lady Lonsdale 10 March 1888

Sir Donald Smith . . . has exceeded his former kindness and followed me on here to give me all information possible & given me a pass on the railway for myself & luggage (I had just taken my ticket through but said nothing) but my luggage is passed free which is a great saving. He introduced me to Sir George Stephen¹¹ the head of affairs, who has also given me letters etc. to various heads of departments so that I am well provided with all I require. I went to write my name on His Excellency Lansdowne¹² who heard I was there & sent for me. He offered to do anything for me & gave me a letter to Dr. Dawson¹³ the great geographical explorer paid by Government. A very clever man full of information. He tells me I am going into a wild country & shall meet with many adventures, nice & nasty. We shall see! He has given me the best maps & notes & says no one has really crossed the country I am going through except Indians & Hudson Bay people, who never know beyond the track from post to post in which they are. He tells me I am bound to get sport & shall see some beautiful birds. He has asked me to make some notes for him & I hope to be able to do so . . . Lord Lansdowne gave me a pass to the Houses of Parliament, some of the senators & members are . . . very odd . . .

Lonsdale travelled by train to Winnipeg. West of that young city, Lonsdale crossed an important threshold on his trip from civilisation to the wilds.

Off the train at Qu'Appelle Station, he headed north first by horse-drawn sleigh, then by horse-drawn 'jumper', then by dog team, and last by boat. Despite dire warnings, he was determined to succeed: 'I hope I shall have some fun they think it is a dangerous journey & that I cannot do it — But I shall!!'

Lonsdale headed north at a time when the CPR and steamboats were changing long-standing means of transportation and freighting routes. Laborious portages were being rendered obsolete, and important trails and staging-points were shifting west. In the 1880s, Edmonton was becoming an important entry point for the north; in 1891, the arrival of the CPR would make it the most important point. Nevertheless, probably because of the season and Lonsdale's pace, his route north — for one approaching from Winnipeg — was the more traditional one.

Two important events shook the Prairies in the years before Lonsdale's trip. One was the virtual extermination of the buffalo, the other the North-west or Riel Rebellion. Immense herds of bison were depleted steadily during the 1860s and 70s, and by the early 1880s there were none left. Both Indians and Metis suffered greatly, many of the former losing their economic and political base, experiencing famine, and chafing at aborted attempts to turn them into reservation-based agriculturalists. More than before, the lives of Indians and Metis were intertwined, and many Metis described as sullen and suspicious moved west from Red River in the aftermath of the ten-month-long resistance led by Louis Riel (1869–70). In 1884, tensions were high, and the Metis, threatened politically and culturally, once more turned to the charismatic Riel, who returned from exile in Montana to lead the bloody, ill-fated North-West Rebellion. Lonsdale travelled through the region where these events had unfolded three years before, then set off for the boreal forest that stretched almost to the Arctic Ocean.

On the way, he stopped at most of the Hudson's Bay Company trading posts. At Fort Chipewyan, the HBC post on Lake Athabasca, he noted that the winter had been extraordinarily harsh, and that one hundred Indians died of starvation. This was no exaggeration. The winter of 1887–88 was the second of two winters of death, when many Indians in this region died of measles and lack of food. The hare, which had always been important and became more so through lack of choice, failed. In the Mackenzie River District — the HBC district north of Fort Chipewyan — starvation was reported widely, many dogs died, and all lived 'hand to mouth', and some native people attributed the scarcity of fish to the churning propeller of the *Wrigley*, the new HBC steamer. In the winter of 1887–88, hares, lynx and martens were scarce and beavers were found dead in their lodges at several posts. The Anglican Bishop W. C. Bompas estimated that as many as two hundred Indians died in the Athabasca Diocese.

Lonsdale found himself caught up in one of the latest springs in recent memory, and his struggle on one stage of his trip on the Slave River and on Great Slave Lake was nothing short of exhausting. He



Fig. 5. Lord Lonsdale in Alaska. Oil painting by W.H. Hopkins & E. Havell (Lowther Estates)

reached Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie River and boarded the *Wrigley*, which had been launched on its maiden voyage only two years before, with considerable relief.

Diary 21 March 1888 I arrived at Qu Appelle station 12.30. Was met by Mr. McDonald who came to meet me & after lunch we drove out to his castle. Qu Appelle H.B. Co. post 18 miles — the first 8 miles were bare of snow but good sleighing after. On arriving we went to the store & got what we wanted to take us on in the shape of food as we have now a 5 day journey before us for Prince Albert 300 miles. This is a very pretty post & several Indians about. I saw the chief who came in re trading. The town consists of some 20 houses, 2 churches & Hudson Bay Post. I sleep tonight in the Hotel. The luggage was brought on with Porter¹⁴ & Billy the Cook¹⁵ by the sleigh that takes us luggage and all right through to Prince Albert . . .

25 March Feeling all the better for a good nights rest on our palace (for that what is compared with other shanties we passed) we arose at 7, went down onto the Saskatchewan & made holes in the ice & watered the horses. At 8.30 we made a start crossed the river on the sledges & went through a forest of white poplar & red willow tree. We arrived at Willoughby 11.30. This is kept by Mr. & Mrs. Cameron farmer & wife from Glasgow, well to do farmer & very hospitable Scotch people who were delighted to see every one from the old country & overpowering in hospitality (so long as you pay for it). We talked over the affairs of the nation, & at 2.30 left again for Prince Albert¹⁶ where we arrived at 6 o'clock. The country through which we passed is certainly lovely & curious. Arriving at Prince Albert we drove the Chief Factor H. B. Co. Mr. Clarke¹⁷ by name & very nice hospitable, kind, clear headed, man who has lived in this country 38 years & full of anecdotes . . . Had a most excellent diner cooked at the hands of Mrs. Clarke a 1/2 breed¹⁸ but very nice woman, owing to the fact that there are absolutely no servants in the locality. After

this we retired & had a good nights rest . . .

Letter to Lady Lonsdale. 1 April 1888 A lovely morning & a note from a camp bird¹⁹ made us rub our eyes which were by the way very sore the wind & frost having taken all the skin off my face & it was bleeding like a bit of raw beef. I found lip salve & vasoline most comforting in keeping the frost out & the weather on the lake had been so severe . . . We saw some traders who had been carrying 900 lbs of flour to Green Lake for the H. B. Co. to trade with so we hurried on to get the benefit of their camp . . . Here very much to the satisfaction of the others I was sitting on my jumper while the horse was drinking at an ice hole when a fish came up & my horse shied & over went I quite quietly onto the ice, not hurt we all had a good laugh & on again. We travelled hard had to build 3 new jumpers on the way & make harness out of rope & by 11. at night reached Green Lake²⁰ . . .

Letter to the Dowager Countess 2 April 1888 The cold is something awfull Porter & my dog cannot stand it so I am sending them back tomorrow . . . the cold seems to effect his head, and as they are nearly starved out here (the weather haveng been so cold they can neither fish nor hunt,) its perhaps as well we shall get his rations, the dogs are dieng from starvation, & people look bad, I have to keep guard over mine & sleep over it with a pistol, so they wont get Scruggies. The glass registered 65 below zero . . . Here is 60 below & the H. B. Co. officer Mr. Sinclair talks of 70 below, tonight the coldest he has ever known, but I dont believe it. It realy makes no difference how low it is after 25 below or zero when there is no wind, but the least wind is awfull & tonight theres a gale . . .

Diary 10 April This is only a very small post, situated on the La Loche Lake.²¹ Mr. Le Liberty, an old gentleman who says he has been here 30 years, can neither read nor write but his son or someone does all that for him. There is only his home & the store & 3 or 4 small Indian Houses . . . We leave here with our 6 new & 2 old trains. We have now got 5 Indians & their dog trains & 3 H. B. Co. men, one of the son of the H. B. Co.

officer at Methy (or La Loche Portage) Lake, & a more tire-some lazy lot I never saw. We did not go on till 7 AM, during the [night] I slept well in my Cariole, as did Billy. By 10:30 we arrived at Jackfish Lake, where Mr. Le Liberty & Mr. Cowie had paid an Indian on that Lake to supply us with 100 fish & more if possible. This he did & every single fish was a Jack²² all about 3 to 5 lbs. weight . . . I was much interested here to observe the habits of the Chipewyan Indians dirty beastly filthy brutes. We found 18, in a house consisting of 1 room about 7 feet long & covering about 16 by 18 feet at most. In the corner was an Indian Woman about to be confined nobody seemed to care & smoked & talked. The other families live on the island & made tepees the construction of which I observed closely & the builders. Women & children were much surprised when I lent them a hand as all chopping & manual labour is done by the weaker sex amongst the Indians. The dirt of evry kind & description is beyond my power of expressing . . .

22 April Again a day of rest & a lovely day.²³ I cannot help thinking of Worcester²⁴ & the spring hunting, & what a fool I am to be out here . . . An Indian shot the 1st duck 'mallard'²⁵ of the year this morning & we eat it for luncheon. He was rewarded with a pot of sugar. The man who kills the 1st goose is rewarded by a pot of flour & 1/2 pot of sugar — it was very good eating . . .

Letter to Lady Lonsdale 3 May My dearest little bod²⁶ I am afraid nothing has happened to tell you of today, I went out his afternoon & waited till dark to try & get two lovely little silver teal, 'pouch ducks'²⁷ but never got a shot at them I got 4 snipe & a duck. We are now reduced here to salt bacon, & ducks & geese, and dried meat — very beastly & I hope we may soon get away.

4 May Today at 1.30 I was awakened by the noise of distant thunder & the trembling of the house which is 200 yards from the bank of the river & I thought an earthquake was comeng but remembering the river looked out & being a lovely night, I saw that the Athabasca had risen about 20 feet & Ice blocks some tons weight pouring down the river at the rate of 10 miles an hour. So it went on all day sometimes stopping altogether & then raceng away. I wonder how long we shall be now before we leave this hole . . .

5-6 May . . . I was up early this morning & was welcomed on appearing at the door by a bird singing too beautifully, like the finest black bird, exactly like him in color, but with a dark blood red brest & black head. They call it a robin here but that of course is not right — I hope he will go on singing till I go.²⁸ I was bitten by the 1st Mosquito today (Sunday) so I am afraid we shall soon be bothered by them the accounts of them are awfull . . .

Diary 11 July We left the Point de Roche's²⁹ at 7 A.M. . . . The mouth of the McKenzie is really part of the lake with numerous Islands splitting it into about 21 channels. Continue as far as Beaver lake into which a small river called Beaver River runs & which is celebrated for fish & I was informed by Pere le Corre³⁰ that the brother's had already taken out 20,000 fish. Opposite the river is a big Island bearing that name. This is also an exceedingly good fishing place & about the best place & 1st place to find Great Northern divers (loons in this country). The dogs are summered on it by the H. B. Co . . . We reached the Fort³¹ at 8.30 p.m. & were received by Mr. Reed & Mr. Scott Mr. Reeds son in law. They were both exceedingly kind & hospitable & Mr. Reed gave me some beautiful snowshoes & a rat Skin Robe, all killed on the Youcon. The Fort is on a high bank 60 feet above the river. It consists of 3 buildings in the usual form. There are some cattle there & the butter & milk are excellent & rich, but I am told there is little or no grazing beyond the precincts of the fort.

12 July After Breakfast I visited Pere le Corre who had staying with him 2 others. Pere le Krangue of Liard, Pere Seguin of Good Hope.³² I then went on to see the sisters Sister Ward being the Mother superior, a lady of Irish extraction but very nice & kind & told me a good deal about the country. I also asked to see Miss Gaudet as I promised her father to call.³³ After dinner we started down stream (2.30) p.m. . . .

Letter to Lady Lonsdale 14 July 1888 This appears from all

accounts to be the most difficult year to travell in that has ever been but all's well that ends well & up to the present I am all right though the last 4 days we have run it pretty fine & had some close shaves on the lake. I fancy now all my difficulties are over & it comparatively easy travelling till Winter. The Steamer was due here³⁴ on its second trip today & it has not yet been on its first so provisions will be very scarce & I hope I shall be able to get out before winter sets in or soon after as although this 38 days delay has put me very very much behind time yet I hope to travell from here to the Artic sea 1000 in 7 days . . . I shall go out down the Youcon — but shall have to carry everything on our backs 120 miles across the mountains from one river to the other. After that all is down stream again. The Esquimeaux are rather troublesome as they always have been & they have lately killed some prospectors & the geographical survey party.³⁵ But I hope they wont be so unkind to me. I shall go & see what they are like. It appears that several priests have been killed by them³⁶ & no one is really safe unless he shows no signs of being afraid & some one has always to be on sentry . . . Will you open or tell Mr. Taylor³⁷ to all things I send out from here have all the skins cured but nothing else done to them, not made up in any way & the beaver & other not plucked. Have my curiosities packed in one room, & the heads stuffed some times I have to send them direct home as there is no means of getting them out except by Missionaries etc going out. I have sent some things home & some furr, one beautiful musk ox I get which they say is the finest ever shot in the country³⁸ I have also sent home his skin 2 buffalo, & the snow shoes I have been using so far . . .

16 July . . . Yesterday I went to church in the morning & in the evening went to dinner with Mr. Garson the Missionary he is very kind & so was his wife, a daughter of the Inspector of Customs at Charing Cross, London.³⁹ He told me he thought no one would ever make any thing of the Indians they would not & did not want to be taught anything & what with the Jesuits & Roman catholic's it was a continual fight. He is therfor going out this summer . . .

At Fort Simpson, Lonsdale boarded the *Wrigley*. In a matter of days, he travelled down the Mackenzie River to Fort McPherson (also known as Peel River Post), which was on the Peel River, the northernmost tributary of the Mackenzie. Here he remained for more than six weeks, and from here he launched a 12-day long trip northeast to Liverpool Bay in order to visit Mackenzie Eskimos in their summer camp. At each post the Yellow Earl mixed with traders and missionaries, as he did on board the steamer, but at Fort McPherson he seems to have struck up quite an acquaintance with Joseph Hodgson, the HBC trader, who later wrote to Lonsdale, and enclosed one hundred and sixty lines of



Fig. 6. Yupik girls in South-West Alaska c. 1889 (Lowther Estates)

verse, 'in return for the 100 you wrote me'. Hodgson wrote: 'If yours had not been so personal, I would be quite proud to show them around, but an innate modesty compells me to keep them under lock & key'. Lonsdale's lines have not survived, but Hodgson's have, among them these:

An English lord of high degree
Who was my summer guest
Full many a curiosity
Picked up in idle quest
'Mongst other things he chanced to see
(Nay offered 'twas, I ween)
A quill worked coat, and now you'll see
The depth of what was mean
The seller of these mooseskin coats
(For two of them there were)
Was one of those who wear blackcoats
And for our souls do care
Bearing in mind the wise man's words
'Make hay while shines the sun'
And monied men, and English Lords
Not oft afford us fun.
Unblushingly, too what'd'ye think?
One hundred dollars told . . .

Lonsdale's reactions to the missionaries he met were mixed. He thought little of the Roman Catholic Oblate order: 'this sect', he said, 'play upon the superstitions' of the native people, and the priests and their 'craft . . . are about as bad as one can conceive'. With the Anglicans he had closer spiritual ties and national kinship, even though he thought that one catechist was 'cracked', that Bishop Bompas held curious geological ideas and that Archdeacon McDonald preached 'the worse Sermon . . . I ever heard in my life.' Despite his opinions, Lonsdale socialised with Bompas and McDonald and later donated £400 towards the completion of church buildings, no small amount for a diocese whose annual expenditure to maintain ten missions was £2000; Bishop Bompas was elated.

In many ways, the Yellow Earl's trip to Liverpool Bay both defined Lonsdale, in his own eyes, as an explorer, and as we shall see, brought his downfall.

The Yellow Earl described the Mackenzie Eskimo in terms that stood in contrast to his descriptions of other native people he had met up to that point of his trip. En route, Lonsdale recorded impressions not only of the terrain and settlements but of people of non-native and mixed parentage who were traders and missionaries, and of native people. Despite their ethnocentric and insensitive nature, the Yellow Earl's comments on native people varied, as the people themselves did; moreover, his sentiments are similar to those expressed by other late Victorian travellers. As has already been seen, he had little complimentary to say about Indians he encountered on his way north. 'Dirty beastly filthy brutes' he thought some, who lived in what he described as foul air and filth. 'A funny looking lot' he wrote about others. He later castigated Southwest Alaska Eskimos in similar terms as 'lazy', 'dirty' and shiftless.

But Lonsdale wrote quite differently about Mackenzie Eskimos. Warned by traders and missionaries that these assertive, proud people were 'treacherous,' 'savage,' 'brave murderous brutes', Lonsdale's initial impressions were quite different: 'capital chaps' and 'wild inhabitants' were how he described ones he met.

That the Yellow Earl denigrated some natives but not others can be understood as a projection of his self-image, as a reflection of others' opinions of native people, and as stemming from his recognition that natives did not constitute a monolithic category but had been unequally affected by events of history. Lonsdale most degraded natives who were adversely affected by civilization; who were aware of their status as 'have-nots' and that more powerful white people coveted their land and controlled access to desired resources; who were swayed by nationalistic impulses like the 1885 Riel Rebellion; or who, having agreed to work for Lonsdale, resisted or were unwilling to accept the culturally discordant pace of his travel.

The Mackenzie Eskimo, in contrast, were physically impressive, were strong hunters, and went about in part unclothed. They had yet to be adversely affected by civilization. For Lonsdale, they represented the noble savage, the 'true' primitive on whom civilization had not yet left a visible imprint. Although Lonsdale clearly absorbed the prevailing sentiment of missionaries and traders that these people could be dangerous, he was more open-minded describing them than any other natives. It is no accident that his strongest ethnographic observations are of these people. He probably felt closer affinity with the Mackenzie Eskimo than with other natives not simply because they represented the noble savage, but also because they were aggressive, strong, uncowardly, and principled, which seems to be as he saw himself and wished others to also. Nevertheless, the gulf between him and the Other remained unbridgeable.⁴⁰

Letter to Lady Lonsdale 30 July 1888 . . . From all accounts we shall not return alive, at least that is what they would have us believe because they are such d-d funks that they wont go & see, But personally I have not the very faintest idea of any reason for what is called fear — I have persuaded Mr. Hodgson⁴¹ to come though he has been wavering about it for some days. But has finally decided to come. So we are 3 Englishmen, 8 Indians whom I have to pay like fun to get, & two Huskies⁴² the two who have invited me down . . . The two here came & gave me a net made of sinue, a big Knife, two snares & two Imitation fish (used for fishing) & a few other things which is a great honor as they never make presents, as its a token of Inferiority makeng a present. Mr. Camsell⁴³ stuffed them a good deal I fancy before he left, Amongst other things he told them I was a cousin of the Queen, & had lots of soldiers under command in case of anything happening etc etc. which seems to have Impressed them very much . . . I am very well & in good spirits at the idea of my new adventure which has never been done yet, by anyone. I will have some fun, & bring you some nice things . . .

Letter to Lord Worcester 19 August 1888 . . . Haveing safely returned from the Sea coast & the wild Inhabitants living on its shore, I thought you might like to hear an account of our proceedings since last I wrote to you. I often think how this month last year we were enjoying ourselves on Shap Fells⁴⁴ and I very much miss the grouse 'lets' which next to the hunt-



Fig. 7. Dog Rib Indians at Great Slave Lake unloading canoes c. 1891-1904 (Provincial Archives of Alberta)

ing I enjoy shooting more than anything else. I however kept up the 12th of Aug by shooting 6 brace of Artic grouse, some Rock Ptarmigan & golden plovers, and thought of you while so occupied — . . . we postponed our start till Tuesday July 31st, we were late starting as the boat was not finished owing to the wet of the previous day. However by 11. A.M. all was ready and our things packed in large cases, 'Casetts' of this country, & secured to the bottom of the boat, to prevent the Esquimeaux from stealing our things . . .

Early the next morning⁴⁵ we started for the Huskie Camp which was situated in an inner bay at the Mouth of a small branch of the river. 'Beghule-tesse' Anderson River, round Cape Franklin. We got our Huskie friend to don civilian garb & remove his laberets which they always wear, in the hopes of rendering him beyond the recognition of his friends being anxious to see what they did. This plan answered for no sooner had we rounded the point still some 6 miles off the village, then we saw 4 kiacks advance 75 more⁴⁶ more following in skirmishing order about 300 yards to their rear — I now hoisted a white Ensign & the Union Jack in the rear & forward Hodson Hoisted the H. B. Co. flag. They advanced as did our boat & when within some 200 yards they halted & got their knives, bows & arrows & spears ready. I tried to induce them to approach but without success. They attempted nothing but some got wide & fell in in the rear of the boat which was sailing quickly. Being anxious to give them time I lowered the sail & took to the oars. Each man haveng his gun & revolver loaded at his side in case of attack, but I had given the strictest instructions no one was to fire till after I had done so or gave the word. I now made one Huskie speak to them as he liked. They no sooner recognized his voice than they came reassured, threw away their apparant fear & came racing for the boat. He told them I had come to pay them a friendly visite etc etc. & they were to behave themselves & go off & announce the fact to those in camp. I dont know what else he said but they replaced their knives & arrows & raced off for shore. We were now within 300 yards of shore & by the time we touched the beach about 300 men women & children & 3 times the number of dogs were ready to greet us. I at once jumped ashore (Haveng previously put one pistol in each pocket) & shook hands with all the men near. The chief first & so on & they seemed very glad to see us indeed. The Mosquitos were so bad I asked (through the Interpreter of course) if the Chief would take me to the 'Kashim' or council house. Upon asking this he stared at me & departed, only to return in two minutes in his robes of state & accompanied by his 3 wives in similar array. He then marched off to the Council House & the others all followed after haveng put on their best clothes. The council house

or 'Kashim' as its called is a structure some 35 feet square made of drift wood piled on end & supported by columns of the same inside, covered with about 2 feet of soild grass Willow etc, the enterance is about 3 feet high and 2 feet wide & in it a small fire always burns to keep out Mosquitos. The roof is flat & 6 feet square in the centre is covered by a thin dressed white whale skin for light, & it is translucent if not transparent. Inside a square ledge 3 feet high & 4 wide is made all round the interior edge & upon this the Mrs. (in the plural) chief placed new clean deer skins for us to sit on. In about 5 minutes the room was full & I counted 84 men and there were others I could not count. The chief now began gesticulating wildly & glaring & I learned from the Interpreter he was makeng a speech. In which he said, He hoped all would welcome us, not only from the report of his brother (our pal) but because we were the first white men who had dared come into their camp to all them that all the others had avoided them & only held Intercourse with them on water where they 'the white men' knew they held them (the Esqm.) at a disadvantage. He then said a lot more I could not get the Interpreter to interpret to me, but amongst other things he said they had heard much of the courage of white men, & indeed we must be brave to come into the Kasim but they would try us & see if we were as brave as reputed. The Interpreter now got frightened & left us alone but luckily a half breed (1/2 English 1/2 Indian) knew their language well & stayed, whispered its all right — But they danced about in such a wonderous way & shouted & yelled I was half suspicious & I also noticed some of them had revolvers. But of so small a caliber I did not care a d- for the lot with my two big ones in my pocket & the four others . . . They then came at me like tigers plunging at me with knives stopping within an inch or so of my face & body. I saw this was only nonsense & only sat still laughing at them, which I learned after they thought very odd & brave. This lasted a few minutes & then outside we heard the sound of drums. 4 men walking slowly in singing Yah-ay-ay-i-ay, in the most discordant gregorian chant I ever heard . . . They now held a ball & showed us all their dances, sang their songs, which I was Informed were different but as far as my limited stock of perception went, I could see no early difference in the song's of one word each Ya-ha-i-ay-i-ayi-ay- ad infinitum — except the time and antick danced by the dancers. They told us however the songs as they sang them or more accurately acted them, Songs of the Sea, of Hunting, of Whaling, Shooting, Snowshoeing etc etc. After about 3 hours of this I gave them all presents brought out of the boat to me, Each in accordance with their gifts to me, or their respective rank in the tribe. To some gave tea, others tobacco, files, knives, needles etc brought down from Peels

River Fort. I then told them how pleased I was to see them flattered them all round & asked them to come & have tea & fish with me down, where they themselves had selected for me as camping ground 200 yards up the river above their camp. At this moment we heard 'as if a distant View Hullo, & away they all went calling out Hoo-roo-r-r-roo rolling the R very much — Where upon the chief who was now decked in his winter state suit which I afterwards got — asked me to follow quick & taking us to the beach put us into an Omeack, a big boat propelled by oars, flat bottomed & made of whale hide. He called two young wives & started us off at once. I did not know what was up, but soon learned, for we took the Interpreter, that the look out men (of whom there are always 4 day & night taking it by turn) had sighted whales coming into the shoals. They rowed us out & by now 50 kiacks with one man in each came out with harpoons attached by long lines to big bladders full of air — spears with air bladders attached also & ordinary spears all nicely laid out in front & behind their sitting place. Every man was tied into his ki-ack & a waterproof skin sewn on him & his kiack making him perfectly safe from wet & so much that they turn right over sometime & right themselves by the aid of their paddle. We now reached the outpost men & waited for the remainder. They soon came 84 in all & started off following the senteries forming a semecircle 3 miles wide & advanced behind the whales splashing hooting & calling this curious Hoo-roo-r-r-oo noise. We soon saw they had 11 whales ahead, & as they drove them into shallow water their backs became high out of water. Then the nearer man to each made a sprint & harpooned the one nearest him some turning completely over in the operation & back as quick as lightning into line again then another & another. Then you saw nothing but spouting & the sea (which was very calm) nothing but air Bladders, now in sight, now out, then they would show again & a spear with bladder attached went into them & so on til they had killed ten one only getting out by upsetting the Kiack & getting into deep water with the Harpoon & bladder (he was picked up next day). Now they called like 'Coo-oo-ir' 20 & 24 Omeacks 2 wives in each came rowing out they came in pairs alongside the whale & took out the Harpoons, Spears etc handing them each to the owners whom they knew by the mark on the spear. Every Esquimeaux haveng his family mark on everything he has, they insert a wooden blow pipe & fill the wound with air, tieng the skin tight. This floats the whale high and after attaching him to the stern of the Ome-acks one Kiack attached also on either side, they make a procession home, singing all the way & talking over the hunt. But if other whales are near they do not utter a sylable, as they say they hear very quickly & go back to deep water. By the time we arrived home it was 1 A.M. & all retired to their respective dwellings, skin tents for the most part, tying the whales to poles placed in the bay for that purpose to await the later hours of the day before being skinned & cut up. I thought I would look in at their resting & saw several asleep. I went into about a dozen houses & they welcomed me offering me a bed on deer skin but by sign I made or tried to make them understand I was only come for a minute. In all cases I found the occupants men, women, & children all stark naked. I suppose as they always wear thick furs or skin clothes lined with fur that they are too hot to sleep in, so they wear nothing I now thought I had had a longish day & was walking home. When I espied a man watching me from behind his door with a big knife in his hand. I had not set eyes on his villainous countenance before, & seeing as I thought he meant mischief & knowing when I was by myself & the others asleep, would be the time for any trechery I walked boldly up to his door through it open & walked in. He immediately made one spring at me, & a stab with his knife, only to find himself reclining in the corner of his house, his nose haveng come violantly in the way of my left. I pulled out my revolver & showed it to him sat down lit my pipe & offered him a piece of tobaco, he stamped & talked & made signs for me to go out, I only laughed & his first lesson was evidently enough.

Lonsdale returned to Fort McPherson and waited in vain for the *Wrigley* to return on its second trip, hoping for letters and his guns. In early September

he left this post and walked west over the Cordillera, then travelled by boat down the Yukon River, through Alaska Territory, to Russian Mission. He had hoped to leave the north on a ship from Norton Sound, but he arrived too late and the ships were otherwise occupied. The *Yellow Earl* waited weeks for a hard freeze. Finally, in mid-November, he left Russian Mission and headed southward by dog team. After four weeks he reached Nushagak, on Bristol Bay, which compared to the settlements through which he had passed since Prince Albert was a cosmopolitan community — a bustling summer salmon canning center and a magnet for people during religious holidays (for both Russian Orthodox and Moravian adherents). Lonsdale experienced a raucous Russian Christmas at Nushagak, but left after six weeks when travel conditions finally favoured the final push to Katmai, on the south side of the Alaska Peninsula. Here, increasingly frustrated, he waited for four weeks to cross Shelikof Strait to Kodiak Island, from which he finally left, by boat, for San Francisco.

No matter what the circumstances, for a European without experience in the North to have completed this trip in the time that Lonsdale did, from March 1888 to April 1889, was an accomplishment. The *Yellow Earl* had certain advantages: a manservant, porters, a steamboat on the Mackenzie, and an untaxing pull down the Yukon. But the final part from Russian Mission to Katmai was gruelling; the last stage, across the Alaska Peninsula, took place in unusually deep snow and involved substantial risk through a pass in the shadow of Katmai volcano. In one of the final entries in his journal, Lonsdale wrote that one veteran of the north 'wondered why,' on Katmai Pass, 'we did not all die.'

Letter to Lady Lonsdale 1 October 1888 . . . We arrived here⁴⁷ Friday last, & here we remain until the snow comes & we can travel with dogs, when I intend to try & get out across the Mountains via Koushkikwim, & Nushagak to the coast & thence by canoe over the sea to Kodiak Island where I am in hopes of being able to get a little schooner or boat to take me by sea to Sitka & a steamer from thence to Victoria & home . . . The route I propose taking has to be done by dogs & is described to me as being a terrible journey & no wood to make fires all along the way, but if Indians can do it I dont see why I cannot . . . It seems years since I have seen my little bod. I wonder & wonder every night how & where you are & if you are well, I hope you are & that on my return I shall find you a well & strong bod all the better for your travells abroad. I expect we shall have a good deal to tell each other . . . Here it is nothing but hardship after hardship, each one worse than the other & absolutely no sport at all. But thank God I am very well all the same & hope I shall remain so, I have of course seen some fine sights & some curious things & picked up specimens of all I can to show you. I shall have quite a museum when I get home, clothes from the various Esquimeaux tribes & Indians. Here the dress is like that used in Eastern Siberia & a good many Russian Exiles, & half breeds along the river . . . On the upper part of this river & where we are going the Indians⁴⁸ are very bad just now & talk of trying to kill all white men. But I dont know if they will do it or rather try to. They are completely different from the McKenzie district Indian, & look more like half negro only with sharp features & for the most part bad deceitful faces. But like all Indians they are d-d cowards & will never do anything when you are prepared, they will be most polite & civil at one minute & if they get you off your guard stick you the next. There is a good deal

of ill feeling now because they killed a miner this summer & the miners in a body went after the murderer, caught him & hanged him, that was all right & the Indians think fair, but they stupidly burned all the caches of Indians of a neighbouring tribe who were enemy of the offenders & had nothing in the world to do with the murderer⁴⁹. . . They showed no signs of hostility to me that I was aware of but the people say that know quite well who & what I was & were afraid of me & that is the reason they ran away from the boat lower down. As some of the miners or other Indians had said I should kill them in a minute if there was trouble & as they also knew I had come from the other side they wanted to do me no harm at all. But whether or not to believe it I dont know, they certainly had heard of my coming & several came to see me & the Indians that met me at Rampart House⁵⁰ where they are not much trouble were some of the very ones who stoped the miner at Fort Youcon,⁵¹ but they were very nice to me indeed there & gave me several things, the Chief who they say is an awful brute & threatened several this last month gave me a beautiful knife and belt which he had had handed down for generations & a large string of beads which they look upon as heirlooms & which I have with me. Sanate⁵² is his name & he is the proud possessor of 6 wives, he tried to kill the engineer of the steamer their last trip. They are nasty people to be amongst & one has always to be on the look out they are so well armed as they buy their rifles, pistols, & cartridges from the Malamots or Esquimeaux of Bering Sea who get them smuggled in, 4 Revenue Cutters are employed trying to stop it but without success. They also smuggle a good deal of whisky which is the devil & then they all get frightfully drunk. This⁵³ is a very lonely place only the Russian Priest & his brother a trader, & the engineer of one steamer, so there is not much society as all but the later talk Russian & dont understand but very little English. The house (or shelter) I now have is a log hut belonging to the chief 9 foot wide & 13 long but its warm & as we have washed it well, & I hung some stuff up for blinds & made a table & bedstead to keep out of bugs & fleas. We are comfortable enough & will only be here about 6 weeks. Every one is most kind and obliging & ready to do every thing to make me comfortable. The trader offered me his house but I would not think of taking it for a second as its a very nice & he has a large family, he lent me a chair & a stool & a lamp, so what more can I want. The Indians live in teepees in summer & underground houses in winter like the Esquimeau, but this house is built be the trader in the side of a hill its very low & dark & is entered by two doors one into a tiny passage & that door is only 4 foot high & 2 1/2 wide, but the Inner door is 5 feet by 3, a little stove stands in the corner as they cannot have fireplaces on account of the cold, the logs are all 18 inch thick with moss between not like the ones we saw before . . .

Diary 3 October I was glad to be able to buy a good specimen of Malamort wood in the shape of a pipe in engraved Ivory for which I had to pay \$10. I also got a present of some very nice boots & a Parka. The miner has brought back a young Indian girl bought for a few plugs of tobaco probably, as a winter wife probably to be returned in Spring. Its a way they have in this country but for my part I should only consider them filthy dirty ugly incumberances & would prefer their absence to their presence. Marriage in these parts is an unknown thing, & they buy a wife for a year or winter as the case may be. A considerable quantity of Esquimeau Geese⁵⁴ past today . . .

5 October A good deal of rain but fine in the Evening. Glass rising fast. I was very glad to be able to buy a beautiful Parka for Gracie and hope she will like it, Its Siberian deer & nicely trimmed with wolf & wolverine, the prettiest one I have seen. The would be miner is likely to be a bore as he is trying to persuade the trader to charge ridiculous prices. We shall see!!!!⁵⁵

7 October At 6.30 p.m. went up to supper with the Russian priest who entertained us most hospitably but as he neither understands nor speaks English our conversation was somewhat handicaped, but the deacon speaks well . . .

19 November At last the day has arrived . . . The priest & deacon & two Indians sled accompanied us about 3 miles. They all tell me my dogs are too fat & will never do the journey but I think I know as much as they do about conditioning dogs. Anyhow we will see. We travelled well over the smooth ice for

3 hours & then came to a little drift snow & lump ice. I have to take my wheelers out as the sled ran over them twice & they have made the couples so absurdly short it gives the dogs no room to work. So I am only useng 5 for 7 . . . After lunch I went ahead, put my wheelers in again & the man skated ahead & I soon left all the sleds behind with my 7 fat!! dogs & arrived at the village 1 hour before the rest. The trader says I shall ruin my dogs going like that, but the fact is I made the pace too hot. 35 miles today. Camped at Zabonitiska or Etkornut Village.

20 November . . . We slept (Billy & I) outside but the trader the old miner & men all slept in the Indian underground houses. I am afraid of fleas & lice. We were ready about an hour before light. Breakfast over & every thing packed, & at 7.30 A.M. started . . . I can see they are all very jealous of my dogs . . . Their dogs this side are not broken at all & go & do just & where they like & they say I shall never make mine go as I want 'by word of mouth as in Canada'. After we started we had to run a long way & I got very hot & the cold is very severe & oh how it hurts . . . I could have cried with cold once or twice, everyone is the same. At 12 we stoped for lunch & I gave my dogs 1/2 a Salmon each. At 7.30 p m we had completed 47 miles haveng got into barren ground about 10 miles from the Youcon & travelled all day on glare ice on the lakes & over many portages very hard on dogs . . . The name of the village Charnook.

21 November We left Charnook on the Koocharack River at 6 A.M. The going was good & dogs pretty well. Mine dont blow now & are very well only too fast for the others so I keep them 2nd & let the trader lead & follow the man ahead . . . There was a good deal of snow fell today & its bitterly cold. At 7 p.m. we reached the traders outpost haveng crossed the big lakes of Kizialuck & are now in the shop which has never been used so I shall not get company here. We covered 62 miles today at Nounachock.⁵⁶

22 November We spent owing to the dogs being so tired. My fat ones are not tired how odd!!! The trader now thinks they are the best he has seen & see he cannot compete. His poor leader froze to death in the night & Indians found him today. We get 18 dogs from here. I am taking one so now have 8. The country round here is 4/5 water, & perfectly flat, not a stick on it. They wear duck and loone skin parka's here. I tried to one for Gracie but could not find a new one . . .

Letter to Lady Lonsdale 20 December 1888 . . . My dear dearest little bod. At last we have arrived at the long looked for Nushagak where the most northermost Salmon canneries are. We took 27 days with dogs — four days & 3 halfdays only the weather stopped us, we crossed about 728 miles & some days made 60 & 50 miles, some days only 10 to 15. Of all the beastly flat ugly uninteresting countries Alaska north of Goodnews bay takes the prize from Goodnews bay here the scenery is pretty but the total absance of a stick of wood is rather monotonous. We had some very severe weather but were lucky as regards accidents only 2 dogs froze to death out of the 130 we used . . . I froze my ears slightly by going out of my tent to tie one of the ropes with out ear coverings but nothing to signify & beyond hurting like the devil no harm was done . . .

23 December . . . We are getting very near Xmas & I often think of my dear dear little bod & the 1st Xmas we were not together. It seems absurd writing as you will not get this till April or May. But I dont like being away from every one & not haveing heard a word for 8 months . . . I wonder how & where every one is & where my little body is. Where ever you are I hope your happy & having a better time than I have been haveng travelling through this cold country . . . I have found out the best hunting ground in America, about 300 miles from here you can see 50 & 60 bear a day & deer Walrus, sea lion etc etc. I will tell you where it is when I see you. Nobody seems to know of it but Osborne⁵⁷ who found it out no native lives or goes within 80 miles of it & June July, Aug are the best months (I forgot May which is the best for bear) & I also know where thousands of Walrus & Polar Bear breed & we could easily get at them in a Yacht & I mean to try But not just yet. Well my little body I wonder what sport you have had since we left each other at the Station — I have had a rough very rough time of it & often think how lucky I am to have got through the narrow escapes & storms etc I have but here I am in a warm house &

good health (only a cold) & thank God for it. When I shall get out I dont know . . .

Diary 1 January 1889 Nushagak 1889. A happy new Year to you all at home. The old year of 1888 is now passed. What will the new one bring 'who can tell'. I am sure if last New Years day anyone had told me I should be driving dogs on that day year I should have laughed . . . At 9 o'clock this morning I harnessed my team & away I went to spend the day at 'Carmel' the Moravian Mission⁵⁸ about 3 miles from here. The dogs went well & the road was bad. I had a very pleasant day & from Mr. Kilbuck⁵⁹ the Moravian Missionary from Kushkik-wim⁶⁰ I learned much concerning the natives. He! is a clever intelegent man though a thouroughbred 'Delaware' Indian Educated at schools & passed first out of collage. He told me the Indians are very kind & nice to him and as he speaks the language thoroughly well — the Indians say ('& I should judge from his appearance which is thoroughly Indian') that they are certain he is one of them. His father must have been taken out on field ice (an ordinary occurance) & saved by a ship who educated him & that this man must be his son . . . Mr. Kilbuck is also an officer of the signal service & from him I got corrections as to temperature as he keeps them 2ce daily. He met Belkoff on his return & . . . Belkoff told him many lies & said he had made 1500\$ out of the trip . . .

5 January Today has been quite a busy day, quantities of sleds & people coming in all day. Every white man from the Canneries round brought their 'conquibines' in with traino's & so we had 12 white men from whom I learnt that during the last season about 100,000 cases left this river & about 700,000 fish were caught for that purpose & 300,000 for Salting making a total of a million.⁶¹ The object of their visite is that tomorrow is Russian Xmas day and every body attends the midnight service, more for the sake of seeing their friends & the sight than anything else. All the men employed in the Canneries are old sailors, & I learn from them that there are several small Schooners at Katmai & Kodiak & that if I get there in Feb I shall easily get one to cross. I hope that is so. I shot one of Billy's dogs he was such a quarrelsome nasty tempered brute . . .

8 January . . . The Priest here & deacon are worse than its possible to conceive. Last night they were both fighting drunk & were separated with difficulty — & I am told that there is not a woman or young girl in the country that the Priest has not seduced. I could add tons of facts regarding these dignataries but not being a moralist I pass on leaving these remarks to show how religion is instilled into the natives . . .

24 January . . . Some days ago Mr. C⁶² sent a train up to the upper station (on this river?) owing to the reported death of his trader. The traino returned saying the man was still alive but that the Indians are dying fast of an epedemic & only 1 woman is left at that village. The trader is very ill & at the village 60 miles above that the trader is dead & many other Indians. It appears to be a sort of 'neumoniam' or very violent cold accompanied by blood⁶³ . . .

Letter to Lady Lonsdale . . . 2 February Another lovely day greeted us at sunrise & by 7.30 I got all the sleds under way.⁶⁴ Our journey now lay across a big lake surrounded by mountains glaciers etc. & the scenery was lovely. The ice on the lake was thin but cross it we must so on we went. Paul broke through once with his dogs but stopped his sled when I had made a detour to avoid a bad place. Where it was very thin I ran ahead where it was good I sat on my sled & the later was the position most of the way . . . At 2.15 we had done 38 1/2 miles & the most lovely travelling I have had all the way since I left England. Sharp peaks of mountains & glacier's riseng abruptly some 2 & 3000 feet high sometimes perpendicularly out of the lake. Cliffs of wild ragged rocks 80 feet high with here & there a spruce protrudes out of the rock, as much as to say it was put there for ornament as it could be no use out of reach. Then the whole being fringed on the lower parts by Spruce Alder White Birch made a pretty picture, with Golden Eagles hovering about & baldheaded vultures on the rocky points gave it a strange weird but lovely appearance & lastly the end of the lake which was dotted with rocky redstone islands backed by a volcano & some glaciers made it worth comeng to see — It was now 2.15 & we found a good camping place, so I stoped to take

some Photographs of the views, & as the sleds did not come in till 4 & travelling after sun down would be madness, I decided to wait in this lovely spot . . .

Diary 8 February Leaving camp about 5 o'clock (we can make long days now we are ending the journey) we again began, climbing up the mountains, up & down rolling tundra, here & there covered with spruce, cotton wood, & alder patches. The road was again hard hard work no riding on sleds now, walking on snow shoes, lifting pulling and pushing, axing for bridges etc all day long. Welcome is camping hour at night I can assure you. The Sevenoskies⁶⁵ are lazy slow brutes who have never heard the word hurry — which makes it harder work for me always breaking the road with my sled in front . . .

9 February A repetition of yesterday was the order of the day . . .

10 February I had all the men up & breakfast over by 3 o'clock A.M. at 3.30 Paul came in to say that the stormy day prevented our starting today as no Indians had or would cross the mountains & dangerous ground, except in fine clear weather. It was snowing a little but did not look to me much like dificult beyond ordinary mountain fog so my reply was 'Put the dogs in & tell the 1st Indian who attempts to run away (a trick they have when they get you into difficulties) that I will drop him like that dog yesterday. Thats all for haveng no food for dogs or man. I am going to cross the mountains today!! go, & tell them'. Paul looked sad being d-d coward but said nothing. The dog refered to was the dog who had bitten me. He being a wild Savage Indian dog no one could catch & was always fighting. After he bit me he ran off. I took Pauls rifle & put a bullet right through his head much to the astonishment of the Indians who never fire at more than 50 or 60 paces & this dog was about 180 yard's. Paul came back saying all was ready but the men nervous. Down with the tent, in with my dogs & off we went at 4.30 A.M. We now travelled for 3 or 4 miles along the bank of a creek into the pass which is about from 20 feet to 20 yards wide the little creek frozen hard now falling through in snow. Each side the high stony mountains about 2,000 feet high on either side & a head a top about 10,000 feet high & a volcano, up up this we went till we passed between the big mountain & right under the edge of the volcano. This we reached by 11.15. We went over a little lake now covered deep in snow & out of which the little brooklet rose up which we ascended & crossing it another made its exit. We began to descend but the storm was terrible, gale very strong we could hardly stand, snowing, drifting & feezing hard. I could not see the man in front of me at all at times & he was only 4 or 5 paces ahead. I had taken the precaution to make the guide walk a head of me. We stopped a little for the other sleds & when they came in sight we moved on, it was down down down. I could see nothing on account of the storm & the cold was intence. N.E. wind but lucky to our backs. Thus we travelled for a time, but I noticed our guide getting nervous & continually changing his course in a nervous way. I stopped and asked what was the matter through Paul — & the man told him we were close to the bad place he thought. All right go on & then we shall be there instead of near so on he reluctantly went. As we decended, luckily the mist rose & drift stopped for about 3 minutes & now we saw 3 glacier cannons about 60 yards wide & from 80 to 100 feet deep. We were however lucky in getting over all right & the road is difficult at this point as the course of these curious cracks with water runing in the bottom is curious, but realy beyond this one place, & the severe weather there are no more dangers as they represented Meerly hard work & steep walking — We were very cold, eyes ears & all full of drift snow & our faces touched with frost so we hurry up or rather down & leaving the valley come to a bank nearly perpendicular which looks into the valley of Katmai. I sat on my snow shoes & down I slid like on a toboggin took the dogs out & down came the sleds & men some getting awfull falls in the snow & Billy & his sled turning over but no one hurt. Dogs all down & harnessed again & off we went into the bush to camp & wait for the other sleds having completed a long hard bitter days walking at 3.30 about 25 miles . . .

12 February A lovely morning but every one the worse for the cold & freezing two dogs never to pull anymore. We harnessed & away & three hours down the picturesque valley bounded by

gigantic cliffs & mountain landed us at the little village of Katmai, the end of our dog travelling thank God safe & sound & none the worse . . . We cam 19 miles today in 3 hours including a stoppage for Paul to take a photo of the sleds — we landed here at 12 — & dog driving is over . . .

'A FEAT!' declared the headline of a front-page, three-column story on Lonsdale in 23 April, 1889, evening edition of the San Francisco *Daily Reporter*. Other headlines pronounced: 'One of the Greatest on Record . . . A Wonderful Series of Adventures . . . The Explorer Reaches 75 Degrees North . . . Amid Great Privations . . . Savage and Gigantic Esquimaux Discovered'. After the nine-day voyage from Kodiak Lonsdale cabled Alfred Taylor, his secretary, that he arrived in San Francisco 'safe and well at two this morning let others know send valet brevort house new york by tomorrow mail white star return ticket . . .' He also wanted cigars for the journey and a credit letter.⁶⁶

The press were hot on Lonsdale's trail. Neither he nor his transgressions had been forgotten while he was in the North. One could read, for example, in the Saint James *Gazette* in September, 1888, that 'the noble lord, having abandoned the pursuit of stage management, had set out in search of the North Pole.' Reports — the paper's political persuasion or reporter's nationality seemed not to matter — combined scepticism, reproof and grudging admiration: in one, Lonsdale was said to be 'a man of great personal courage; and good living has not spoiled his fine physique'. But in another the question, 'Where is Lonsdale?', was posed: 'is he, as some people imagine, sitting cosily before a warm fire, cigar in mouth, laughing over the fuss that is being made about him?' The rumour that Lonsdale was en route to the North Pole was rife; Eskimos were said to call him 'the man who walks fast' which, the *Yorkshire Post* thought, was 'a better way of spending time than the weariness of lounging about the green-rooms of London theatres'. Some papers, like the *New York Daily Tribune*, regarded the 'appurtenances' of the 'English tourist' stereotypically: 'a monocle, numerous rugs, walking-sticks and umbrellas, one very large bath-tub for . . . morning ablutions, and one very small pail for the water'. By these, Lonsdale was doomed: 'When last seen he was departing northward from Winnipeg, clad in a tweed suit as highly checkered as his own career, loud enough, in fact, to be heard a mile away without the aid of a microphone.'

Because of Lonsdale's propensity to exaggerate and the slant of the press, his experiences soon became doubly distorted. On 6 April, 1889, the *New York Herald* picked up a story from the *Philadelphia Inquirer* on the 'Erratic Earl', the source of which was a Moravian missionary at Carmel. Lonsdale was said to have arrived there after battling through 'terrible blizzards', temperatures as low as -70 degrees F., and days when he mused over two hundred miles. These were stock exaggerations, but the comment that followed, later repeated, brought out the authoritative doubters: Lonsdale was said to have 'arrived at Nushagak Mission . . . after a long and tedious journey of four thousand miles overland

from Banks Land, in latitude 75 degrees north'. Banks Island was north of Liverpool Bay, and the Yellow Earl never quashed his claim that he reached it. Not only did he repeat the tale but he went even further, claiming in one account to have reached the edge of Melville Island. One reporter asked Lonsdale for details on 'what Pullen, Rae, Parry, McClure and other hardy explorers strove in vain to accomplish'. Whereas one admirer regarded him as 'the Stanley of the American north,' Arctic explorers were sceptical, and Lonsdale exposed raw nerves in the elite club of Arctic explorers and in Royal Geographical Society circles with the Banks Island claim. Sadly, it was an exaggeration. In fact, Lonsdale was contradicted by his diary and letters. Perhaps he forgot that these existed; if he did, it certainly exposes his naivety and lack of cunning in his bid for explorer's fame.

In June 1889, Lonsdale arrived back in England after passage on the *Celtic* with 'two tons of Arctic curiosities' including musk-ox skins and heads and four of his dogs. He returned to a reception at Penrith and 'appeared to be in excellent health'; Lady Lonsdale, however, who had joined up with him for the return from America, was 'pale and fagged by her long journey'. The Yellow Earl soon took his attention away from the Arctic. Within weeks he had plunged with intensity into the familiar seasonal round-hunting from Barley Thorpe during the winter, which became the focus of his existence, the London season, Newmarket racing, Cowes week, shooting and entertaining at Lowther, etc.

Scepticism about Lonsdale's claims continued, in both press and explorer circles. It may come as no surprise that one member of the press likened the Yellow Earl's tales to 'one of Mr Haggard's wilder fights in *Cleopatra*,' which was H Rider Haggard's most recent book. Indeed, if Lonsdale had sought an image in which to figure himself in that great Victorian adventure-novelist's works, none might have suited him better than Allan Quartermain, who struggled through *King Solomon's Mines* only two years before Lonsdale set off for the north.

Given these difficulties, one can understand why Lonsdale's idea to publish a book on the Arctic was derailed, despite intense interest of London publishing houses, which were reported to be 'in strong competition with each other' and to have sent him 'splendid offers'. The lie about Banks Island sealed the Yellow Earl's fate, and so he could not publish a detailed account. In retrospect it is fortunate that he did not, because it would certainly have been of dubious accuracy and he might then have destroyed the incriminating truths in his diary and letters — manuscript material preserved to this day, which provides valuable insight not only into one of the most famous residents of Rutland, but into historical processes in one corner of the globe in late Victorian times. And so, his memories of his trip became embodied in the curiosities placed on a wall, in a rack, or in a case, and undoubtedly pointed out as evidence of the most daring, and in a way the grandest, of his tours.



Fig. 8. *Gathering at Lowther Castle, 1889, with people in Arctic clothing. Lonsdale at rear, second from right (Lowther Estates)*

REFERENCES

1. This and all further quotations from Lord Lonsdale's diary and letters are from Fifth Earl of Lonsdale, *Diary, Letters and Miscellaneous Papers*. MS Estate Office, Lowther, Penrith, Cumbria; thanks to Lowther Estates for permission to conduct research in and quote from the papers. See also Shepard Krech III, *A Victorian Earl in the Arctic: The Travels and Collections of the fifth Earl of Lonsdale 1888-9* (London, 1989), passim, on which this essay is based. Excerpts are from the original manuscripts, not from versions prepared by a copyist following Lonsdale's return, which were 'corrected' and sanitized in various ways. No changes have been made in Lonsdale's grammar, spelling, or punctuation, all of which are often inconsistent and irregular. The recording of dates has been systematised.
2. For which, see Krech, *Victorian Earl*.
3. Lionel Dawson, *Lonsdale: The Authorized Biography of Hugh Lowther, Fifth Earl of Lonsdale* (London, 1946), Douglas Sutherland, *The Yellow Earl: The Life of Hugh Lowther, 5th Earl of Lonsdale 1857-1944* (London, 1965), John V. Becket, 'Hugh Cecil Lowther, fifth Earl of Lonsdale 1857-1944', pp. 9-21 in Krech, *Victorian Earl*.
4. Compare Dawson, *Lonsdale*, p.60, where it is stated (incorrectly) that Lonsdale went to investigate the fate of one of the parties that went in search of the remains of Franklin.
5. The biographical details in this section have been compiled from Beckett, 'Hugh Cecil Lowther', Dawson, *Lonsdale*, and Sutherland, *The Yellow Earl*.
6. Gipsy was Lonsdale's dog, which remained with him until 3 April. (For extensive references to much of the material that appears here in footnotes, see Krech, *Victorian Earl*.)
7. Lionel Brough, a matinee idol of the day and the one who quite probably introduced Lonsdale to Violet Cameron.
8. Lonsdale's mother was known affectionately to everyone, her children included, as Pussy.
9. Donald A. Smith, born in Elginshire in 1820, rose through the ranks of the Hudson's Bay Company, becoming governor and leading the HBC from 1889 to 1914, and was created Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal.
10. Sir John Rose was a diplomat, lawyer, politician, and active financier in Montreal and London, where he moved in 1869.
11. George Stephen was president of the Bank of Montreal and an industrialist.
12. H. C. K. Petty-Fitzmaurice, 5th Marquis of Lansdowne, Governor General of Canada.
13. George M. Dawson, who surveyed, in 1887, Yukon Territory rivers for the Geological Survey of Canada.
14. Porter was Lonsdale's valet, who accompanied him from England, but who went back from Green Lake on 3 April.
15. Billy McEwan, perhaps a one-time employee of the HBC, who remained with Lonsdale as cook and manservant until the end of his trip.
16. In 1862, Scottish and English half-breeds from what became Manitoba began farming in the Prince Albert district; four years later, a Presbyterian mission was established for the 3000 people that settled there. Bypassed by the CPR, however, Prince Albert was becoming something of a backwater by 1888.
17. Lawrence Clarke, chief factor of the HBC, had been intimately involved in the events of the North West Rebellion.
18. From circa 1775 to 1925, English-speakers often used the label half-breed for people of mixed ancestry — Indian and European. Other prevalent terms were Metis and bois brule, which were reserved principally for those of French ancestry; half-breed was used more for those of Scottish, English, or Irish ancestry. Today, the term preferred by most people of mixed ancestry is Metis.
19. The camp bird, or camp robber, is the grey (Canada) jay, *Perisoreus canadensis*.
20. Green Lake, an important storehouse and station for the north, was also looted during a raid that was part of the Riel Rebellion in 1885.
21. Portage le Loche or Methye Portage (the loche or burbot [methye,Fr.] is Lota lota) is the watershed between the Arctic Ocean and Hudson Bay drainages.
22. Pike, *Esox lucius*.
23. Lonsdale is waiting at Fort McMurray, at the confluence of the Athabasca and Clearwater rivers, for the spring break-up of ice so that he can be on his way farther north. He had just returned from an aborted and unsuccessful brief

- hunting trip with a Cree Indian.
24. Worcester is H. A. W. RitzRoy Somerset, Earl of Worcester and in 1899, 9th Duke of Beaufort.
 25. *Anas platyrhynchos*.
 26. Bod is the term of endearment that Lonsdale used for his wife, Lady Lonsdale; he signs off most of his letters to her with Nickers, perhaps a play on Knickers.
 27. Puzzling; perhaps the wood duck, *Aix sponsa*, or the cinnamon teal, *Querquedula cyanoptera*, for which one common vernacular name was silver teal.
 28. This bird was not, as Lonsdale recognized, the European robin, *Erithacus rubecula*; however, it was the American robin, *Turdus migratorius*, which does indeed sing like its congener, *T. merula*, the blackbird.
 29. At this point, Lonsdale has reached the mouth of the Mackenzie River; his struggle through the ice has been exhausting.
 30. Father Lecorre, a Breton, was in charge of the Oblate mission at Fort Providence.
 31. Fort Providence.
 32. Father Noel de Krangue was the resident priest of the Fort Liard mission, on the Liard River, from 1871–93; and Father Seguin was the Oblate missionary at Fort Good Hope.
 33. Gaudet, who was at Fort Resolution for the winter, sent his daughter to Fort Providence, where she could learn from the Sisters of Charity or Grey Nuns (Soeurs Grises).
 34. Lonsdale was now at Fort Simpson, at the confluence of the Liard and Mackenzie rivers. This post was named after Governor George Simpson of the HBC and had been operating continuously since 1821. For more than 60 years, it had been the regional headquarters of the HBC and for decades the centre of the Anglican diocese.
 35. A false rumour.
 36. Again, an incorrect report.
 37. Alfred Taylor was Lord Lonsdale's personal secretary.
 38. Lonsdale leaves open the possibility that it was he who shot the musk-ox, which he did not; it had been given to him. In 1937, Lonsdale submitted to Berlin's International Hunt Exhibition a musk-ox head he said he shot north of Great Bear lake (which he had not done). It won a first prize.
 39. William John Garton joined the Church Missionary Society as a catechist in 1881. He was posted at several missions, including, in 1887, Fort Simpson, but by 1888, he wanted to leave the North.
 40. For a greatly expanded version of the comments in the preceding paragraphs, see *Victorian Earl* pp. 22–27; see also George Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York and London, 1987).
 41. Joseph Hodgson had been with the HBC for at least six years and probably was a schoolteacher for the Anglicans before that.
 42. A common vernacular name for Eskimos in this region and elsewhere beginning in the 19th century.
 43. Julian Stewart Camsell, an Englishman, who had been in the employ of the HBC since 1859 and who was, in 1888, Chief Factor of the HBC's Mackenzie River District.
 44. In Shap, the parish where the river Lowther rose, were the fells where Lonsdale shot grouse.
 45. Lonsdale was now in Liverpool Bay.
 46. This seems to be an exaggeration; in his Diary, Lonsdale states that there were 30 more, and in a letter to Lady Lonsdale, the number is 50. Fortunately, with separate versions of many events on the trip, one can understand the ways in which Lonsdale re-presented himself in letters and how he often embellished events — distortions of temperature, distances travelled, his own influence, birds and animals shot; and over-dramatizations — perhaps from an almost irrepressible tendency to improve the record.
 47. Russian Mission, or Ikogmiut, which had a population of 140 — all but 16 Creoles were Yupik-speaking Eskimos — in 1890
 48. Eskimos of Southwest Alaska were called Indians by many whites in the 19th century.
 49. Here Lonsdale refers to an incident that took place in 1888 on the Koyukuk River, where a young Koyukon Indian, fearing the consequences of not obeying an older, powerful, Koyukon's command, killed a prospector; the young man was indeed hanged by a posse.
 50. A HBC post on the Porcupine River down which Lonsdale descended to the Yukon.
 51. Located at the confluence of the Porcupine and Yukon Rivers.
 52. 'Shahnyaati', the last of the great 19th century chiefs of the Kutchin, possessor, as others noted, of considerable strength, bravery, and authority.
 53. Russian Mission was the headquarters for the Russian Orthodox Church, active in this region since the 1840s. At the heart of the Creole population were two brothers: Zachary Belkhov, the Orthodox priest, and A. Belkhov, the trader.
 54. Probably the emperor goose, *Chen canagica*: throughout the trip, Lonsdale was interested in birds, although game birds attracted far more attention than others.
 55. In fact, Belkhov grossly overcharged Lonsdale, and he signed the bill 'under protest.'
 56. Uglovia, or Sabotniska, Kayigyalik Lake, and Nunachuk are all identifiable places between Russian Mission and the Kuskokwim River; Lonsdale gives sufficient information to identify with high certainty his route between Russian Mission and Katmai.
 57. A hunter named Henry Osborne.
 58. In 1886, the Moravian Church established a school and mission called Carmel near Nushagak.
 59. John Henry Kilbuck, of Delaware Indian extraction, arrived in Alaska in 1885 as one of the first Moravian missionaries.
 60. Kuskokwim River.
 61. Lonsdale's figures are quite accurate here.
 62. John W. Clark, agent for the Alaska Commercial Company at Nuskagak from ca. 1880 to 1897.
 63. This disease seemed to be pneumonia; epidemics in this region were frequent and caused a precipitous decline of population.
 64. Lonsdale is now en route on the final leg of the journey, from Nushagak to Katmai.
 65. Yupik-speaking Eskimos from Savonoski on the Alaska Peninsula.
 66. This section follows closely the discussion in *Victorian Earl*, pp.90–92.

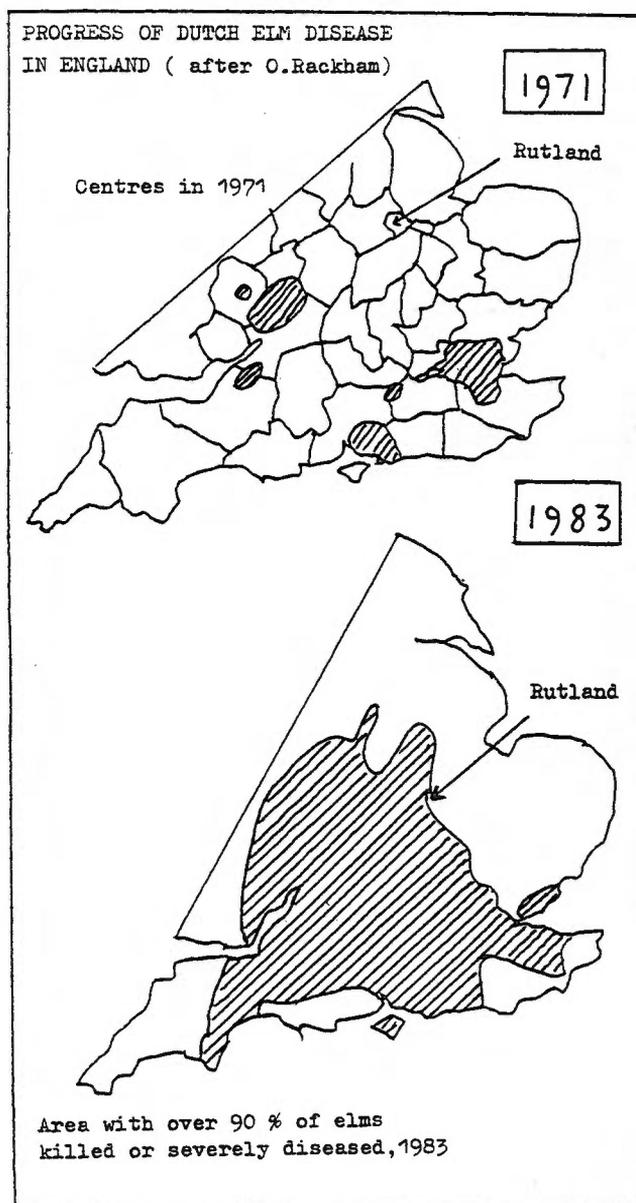
It is by now common knowledge that the outbreak of Dutch elm disease which hit southern Britain in the early 1970's was the result of the importation of timber from North America infected with a new and exceptionally virulent strain of the fungal parasite which is responsible. The disease was detected in Leicestershire in 1972, but the Leicestershire Flora Committee continued to plot the distribution of elms in the county for several years after that and it was not until the end of the decade that the casualty rate became really disastrous. At the same time it was observed that the Rutland elms were disappearing at about the same rate.

However, more and more people are coming to realise that Dutch elm disease (DED) has left significant numbers of elms alive in the countryside and that it is possible to hope that in years to come the Elm in its profusion of varieties and forms will once again make a major contribution to the beauty of the landscape. It may be of interest therefore to give an account of just where and of what kinds are the elms now surviving in Rutland.

It has to be accepted of course that there are very few mature trees left and that the great majority of elm now alive in our District takes the form of trimmed elm hedges. These can be seen in virtually every parish, and the discerning eye can distinguish at least five distinct varieties when they are in full leaf after midsummer and are beginning their 'Lam-mastide' growth, when the new leaves produced are conspicuous by their extra large size. It is perhaps hard for the uninitiated to accept that it is in these well established elm hedges and the new suckers that they generate that the best hope for the future of the elm resides, and that elm trees now mature or maturing are unlikely to play a significant part in the future of their species. The main reason why mature and maturing elm trees are important to us at the present time is that for the precise identification of the multitude of varieties that have developed among European elms since the ice-age it is necessary to examine the fruits and the bark and foliage of mature specimens. When only immature and sucker growth are available, a specimen can at best be assigned to a more or less broad group of varieties or 'clones'.

The largest leaved varieties to be found in the Rutland hedges are those most closely allied to the Nurserymen's Dutch Elm and Huntingdon Elm. The former produces coarsely toothed leaves nearly as broad as they are long with the base of the blade unequal on either side of the midrib, while the latter's leaves are relatively longer, and broadest towards the apex, while at the base they are much more unequal. More rarely in a trimmed hedge, an elm with leaves as large as these but with very short leaf stalks overlapped and hidden by a lobe of the long side of the blade may be found, and this may perhaps be a specimen of the true Wych Elm.

English Elm is a more frequent hedgerow constituent than any of these. Its 'Lammas' leaves are similar in shape to those of the Dutch Elm group, but usually only two-thirds the size. They show up in August because they are a conspicuous bright green in contrast to the dark dull colour of those produced earlier in the year. English Elm and Wych Elm foliage remains rough to the touch throughout the season. That of other varieties becomes more or less smooth. The largest mileage of elm hedge in Rutland is composed of varieties of Smooth-leaved Elm. The leaves of these tend to be smaller and relatively narrower than those of English Elm, though they tend to vary in these respects, and even those that are rough or hairy when they first unfold tend to become smooth quite soon. There are many varieties, and it is certain that those in Rutland do not all belong to the same one, but they cannot be certainly distinguished from one another from immature and sucker specimens. Elm hedges are still sufficiently



frequent, widespread and vigorously growing for a full citation of their localities to be impracticable in an article of this kind.

Surviving trees are another matter altogether. Since 1986, I have noted and continued to observe the following:-

BARROWDEN SK945008 Lone tree aged 80+ in hedgerow of layby on A47 west of Barrowden — South Luffenham crossroads. It is a Small-leaved elm (*Ulmus minor*) of a variety formerly common in the East Midlands, and has been little affected by DED. Suckers in hedges on either side are associated with it.

SOUTH LUFFENHAM SK938017 A small group of tall slender trees on both sides of a field track southwest of the village; they are visible from the A6121 looking north from about 250 yards to the southwest of the 'Halfway House'. They are specimens of a rather rare species — Plot's Elm (*Ulmus plotii*) which forms suckers only sparingly and are thus not a frequent feature of hedges where the adult tree is absent.

PILTON SK915027 A well grown, single tree in the roadside hedgerow a few yards south of the bridge over the mineral railway cutting on the Morcott road; it is a Hybrid Wych Elm of the Huntingdon Elm group, though differing in some features from the Nurserymen's variety; in the nearby railway cutting are several different varieties of elm suckers, but some were almost generated by this tree.

EMPINGHAM, BUNKERS HILL SK951079 A lone tree with few suckers, of a variety similar to that at Pilton but younger, in the hedge on the east side of the road to Ketton.

MARKET OVERTON SK886164 Two very fine trees remain in the centre of the village 200 yards east of the churchyard gate; I was told by a local resident that they had been injected against DED; they are Wych Elm Hybrids of a variety closer to Huntingdon Elm than to Dutch Elm and may well be of the type formerly widespread in the hedges of the parish and still abundant there as suckers.

TEIGH SK870160 One tree heavily infested with ivy and badly damaged by DED surviving still in 1989 in spite of the drought; it is a Small-leaved Elm (*Ulmus minor*) of one of the clones common in the east Midlands though differing from that at Barrowden. A similar tree on the opposite side of the road succumbed finally to DED two or three years ago and was felled; suckers generated by both remain in the hedgerows. Three-quarters of a mile

away, opposite Market Overton Wharf during the winter of 1988 a group of about a dozen young healthy trees of the same variety were felled for no very obvious reason. They too have left sucker survivors.

BURLEY ON THE HILL SK877107 A single tree remaining in a long more or less uniform elm hedge by the Langham road; it is a Small-leaved Elm similar to that at Barrowden.

BELMESTHORPE TF055106 A single hedgerow tree surviving from a group which have left suckers now being allowed to grow up into a small shelter-belt; as in several other similar situations, these juveniles are tending to succumb to DED when they reach a height of 15-20 feet. They appear to be a local variety of Small-leaved Elm.

RYHALL TF030101 Two half grown trees in a hedgerow on the north side of the road to Little Casterton, with associated suckers; Small-leaved Elm.

GUNTHORPE SK869056 Two magnificent elms of a variety unfamiliar to me stand in front of Gunthorpe Hall where they are carefully preserved and looked after; if they have ever suckered these no doubt will have been trimmed away, but like so many Nurserymen's varieties planted for amenity, they may very well have been the result of grafting of the desired variety onto Wych Elm stock; true Wych Elm forms no suckers.

TICKENCOTE SK988098 One large tree here and three younger ones at 992096 remain of a group of a hundred or more elms of several different varieties probably first planted in the eighteenth century and allowed to proliferate subsequently and mingle with those already there. The surviving trees are Small-leaved Elms of one of the East Midland clones; some of those that have been lost were believed by the late Dr. R. Melville of Kew to have been exceedingly rare hybrids if not actually unique.

Apart from these well grown trees, there are several populations of developing juveniles which are by no means certain to succumb to DED. The most vulnerable appear to be those of English Elm (*Ulmus procera*) at Thistleton SK903184 and Barnsdale SK906091; this species has proved more susceptible to DED in southern Britain than any other, and more prone to reinfection when its suckers are allowed to grow up. Perhaps with a better chance are populations of Small-leaved Elm at Ketton by the A6121 at SK976039-41 and at Gunthorpe by the A6003 at SK872063-4. There is a mixture of juveniles in several woods, including Empingham New Wood SK956063 and the group of small woods by the

A47 between Barrowden and Tixover SK975010, but young elm in woodland seems to be more vulnerable to reinfection than that in hedgerows, and this is perhaps why professional foresters seem to be more pessimistic about the future of elm in Britain than I am.

In conclusion, I have to confess that I have no idea how many elms there were in Rutland before the onset of DED. I have tried to make it clear than I see little significance in the actual numbers of trees now surviving. To me the important thing is the presence of miles of vigorously growing elm hedges which seem set to survive indefinitely so long as they are laid from time to time, and trimmed periodically and not too harshly in between times. As a matter of interest though I have kept an eye on the elms in neighbouring counties, and have noted that there are far more mature elms surviving in and around the villages of Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire and East Northamptonshire than in any county west of the River Nene.

All the mature and maturing elms on which I have reported here have flowered during March 1990. The accompanying photographs are of the winter silhouettes of such trees coming into flower.

The survival of elms in Rutland is highly significant since it also forms part of the history of the landscape in terms of historical ecology. What the vegetation cover was, what it is, and what it may be in the future, are the concern of all historians.

REFERENCES

The classification and naming of elms has been a matter of controversy for well over a hundred years and with the destruction of the vast majority of mature living specimens in the areas where the controversy has been most acute means that there can be no satisfactory solution to the technical problems involved for many years to come. Neither the popular books on the identification of British wild plants nor the more technical Floras are of much help, and none so far published face up to the problem of naming elms from immature material. The problems are set out in the most readable and comprehensive form in *Elm* by R. H. Richens, Cambridge, 1983, though his solution of the problems of classification and naming has not met with anything like universal acceptance. *The History of the Countryside* by Oliver Rackham, Dent, 1986, gives an understanding account of the place elms occupy in our environment, and has some useful drawings of different kinds of elm leaves. The accounts of elms in my *Flora of Rutland*, 1972, and Primavesi & Evans *Flora of Leicestershire*, 1988, are accurate as far as the information on distribution of elms in the two counties before DED is concerned, though the naming and classification needs updating. *Trees and Shrubs Hardy in the British Isles*, W. J. Bean, 5th Edition, 1982, contains accurate accounts of the elm species native of other parts of the world, which have from time to time been successfully introduced here, but its classification of British elms is the 'practical' one used by nurserymen, rather than the one most acceptable to modern botanists. From this it can be seen that books on elms are written mainly for specialists, and that non-specialists can hardly be blamed for shying away from the topic.

Oliver Rackham's book contains maps showing the spread of DED in the 1970s and 1980s. Since submitting this article several mature elm trees have died probably due to persistent drought conditions rather than disease. The tree at Belmesthorpe was blown down in a March gales, 1990. The tree at Tickencote was felled recently. Three additional elms have survived at Clipsham SK986156; Hambleton churchyard SK 900076 and near Burley Fishponds SK885086



Fig. 2. Market Overton, January 1990. Hybrid Wych Elm (Huntingdon Elm group). *Ulmus hollandica* (group *Vegetanae*)



Fig. 3. Barrowden, January 1990. *Ulmus minor* (Midlands form)

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Rutland Records

RUTLAND RECORDS IN THE LEICESTERSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

New Accessions 1 April 1989–31 March 1990

- DE 3474 Oakham National (from 1955 Church of England Primary) School Minute Books, 1903–1974.
- DE 3477 Barrowden, Tixover, South Luffenham and Exton title deeds, c.1250–1814.
- DE 3483 Accounts for probate of will of Henry Mason of Barrowden, 1881.
- DE 3495 Draft minute books, Uppingham Water Company, 1876–1889, 1905–1941.
- DE 3506 Company records of Thornton's, plumbers, of Oakham.
- DE 3507 Wing National School records, 1903–1948.
- DE 3513 Account book of Rt. Hon. Anne, Lady Harington's dole to poor of Hambleton, 1616–1888, 1989.
- DE 3549 Marriage settlement re land at Market Overton and Frisby on the Wreake, 1773.
- DE 3583 Ashwell Surveyors' of the Highways Account Book, 1840–1844.
- DE 3584 Market Overton Enclosure Map and Award, 1807.
- DE 3590 South Luffenham parish church records, 1893–1981.
- DE 3599 Deeds and other papers of the Wingfield, Tryon and associated families re their Rutland estates, 1710–1963.
- DE 3605 Records of Leicestershire and Rutland Free Church Federation, 1938–1967.
- DE 3619 Photograph of brickmakers at Uppingham, c.1900.

During the past year a wide variety of records relating to Rutland have been deposited at the Record Office. One of the items received was the photograph of workmen at the brickmakers John Thomas Hipwell at Uppingham c.1900 shown here. The donor was able to identify the young boy in the photograph, but we would be grateful to hear from anyone who knows the names of any of the men, or can give us any further information.



Brickmakers at Uppingham c. 1900 (Leicestershire Museums)

Robin Jenkins, formerly one of the Assistant Keepers at the Record Office was appointed Senior Assistant Keeper early in 1990. This new post involves particular responsibility for the development of the Record Office's photographic collections, and Robin would be glad to hear from anyone who has any historical photographs of Rutland.

The Royce manuscripts donated by W. Scott Murray to the Rutland Record Society were listed by Record Office staff in May 1989 by kind permission of Prince Y. Galitzine. A report on the content and condition of the collection was presented to the Rutland Record Society, and it is hoped that items from the collection will be selected for permanent retention at the Record Office in the near future.

A number of Record Office exhibitions have been displayed at Rutland County Museum during the past year. In May a selection of the sixty-three early title deeds for Barrowden, Tixover, South Luffenham and Exton c.1250–1814 (DE 3477) purchased by the Record Office in April were placed on display. The Record Office's major exhibition 'Damnable Barngoers', which commemorated three hundred years of religious nonconformity in Leicestershire and Rutland, was shown at Rutland County Museum from 18 October to 18 November. A large display of original and facsimile documents dating from 1477 and relating to Stapleford, Saxby and Teigh was launched at the Meeting of the Rutland Record Society at Stapleford Hall on 7 October, and was subsequently shown at Rutland County Museum from 5 December, 1989 to 13 January, 1990.

The Friends of the Leicestershire Record Office spent an enjoyable evening on 6 March, 1990 viewing films of the activities of the Leicestershire Yeomanry during the 1930s, which were taken by members of the Gore-Browne family of Glaston House. It is hoped that copies of these films can be acquired by the Record Office in the near future and that it will be possible to arrange a showing of them at Rutland County Museum. Plans to transfer the Record Office to a converted school in Wigston are still proceeding, and it is hoped that the move will take place during 1992.

Gwenith Jones

Assistant Keeper of Archives

EXTON MSS

In the past year steady progress has been made on the huge task of listing the Exton MSS, with the result that about a third of the whole collection has now been listed. It has become increasingly

evident how significant an addition it is to the holdings of the L.R.O., both in local and national terms. In the local context it provides an invaluable cache of source material for all aspects of the history of Rutland.

Many interesting items have come to light in the course of this year's work, including a fine series of deeds for North Luffenham (c.13-c.17) and other early deeds for Ridlington, Exton, Manton and Brooke. A 1610 survey of Lord Harington's lands in Rutland contains many details of tenants, rents, land use and land values. There are some fine early seventeenth century estate maps for Exton, Whitwell, Ridlington and Langham and eighteenth century maps for Ridlington and Cottesmore accompanied by detailed survey books. Nineteenth century estate material includes many papers relating to the activities of R. W. Baker, the Earl of Gainsborough's land agent, who was much involved in the Rutland Agricultural Society and the Rutland General Friendly Institution.

Documents of political and religious significance have also been listed. There is a file of chantry certificates for Manton, Oakham, Whitwell, Barrowden, Clipsham, Exton, Burley & Egleton (1549); some examinations concerning witchcraft in Uppingham (1587) and papers relating to Rutland recusants (1592). One of the most significant finds, however, has been the papers of Thomas Blore the antiquary and historian of Rutland. These include extensive notes which must have been made from the unpublished portion of his *History & Antiquities of Rutland*.

The listing of the Exton MSS continues to be an exciting and rewarding project and much interesting Rutland material has already come to light. The size of the collection, though, means that it may well be several years before the task is completed and the MSS are available for public reference.

Jenny Clark
Assistant Keeper (Exton MSS)

Museum & Project Reports

RUTLAND COUNTY MUSEUM

The following are amongst recent acquisitions by the museum which may be of interest to members:

- H28.1989 Circular letter to inhabitants of Langham from the Rev. G. Holditch Mason, 5th August 1880
- H38.1989 Scrapbook of violent crimes and punishment, including Rutland incidents
- H40.1989 Scrapbook of Rutland interest relating to the Great War 1914-18 compiled by W. M. Phillips
- H45.1989 Highway account book, Ashwell, 1840-44 (LRO DE 3583)
- H54.1989 Rutland Musical Competitions certificates and photographs, Bisbrooke School, 1907
- H1.1990 Photographs, Little Casterton
- H5.1990 Recipe booklet in aid of Rutland Memorial Cottage Hospital
- H9.1990 Church plate from Holy Cross, Burley on the Hill

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

RUTLAND LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

The Society's programme for 1989 included visits to the Framework Knitters Museum at Ruddington and the Thorney Heritage Centre, both institutions which have been created by the efforts of members of a community who have got together to preserve some aspect of their history which they valued. We mourned the loss of our friend and Chairman since 1985, Derycke Harris, who died in July, 1989, and the Autumn Reception held in the Museum on 21st November saw the closing of the fund set up to commemorate Dr. Harris and his many years of regular voluntary work in the Museum and on behalf of the Society. Mr David Parsons gave a most interesting talk about St. Peter's Church, Brooke, and an exhibition of drawings of Rutland churches by Canon John Prophet was opened.

The Society's AGM was held on 22nd February, 1990 under the Chairmanship of Miss Joanna Spencer, and the Committee's pro-

posal to work towards closer association with the Rutland Record Society was overwhelmingly approved.

J. Crossley
Honorary Secretary

RUTLAND FIELD RESEARCH GROUP FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

Excavation Work

Group members have continued to work on the medieval building complex at Whitwell. This mainly entailed the removal of a deep layer of 'quarrying' rubble and building debris from the lower eastern end of the site, some of it about a metre deep. Artifacts included early to late medieval potsherds and a large quantity of tile fragments. Pieces of Collyweston slate, several with nail holes, appeared along with thicker glazed tiles perhaps of later date. Some animal bones and teeth have been collected as well as groups of snail shells. What appears to be a late wall addition or replacement in the north east corner of the building had been built on an area of large limestone slabs. As in other areas, these may cover another stone-lined drain (damp proof course?). Under the rubble clearance another well-built drain was covered by large slabs up to 80 cm x 60 cm in size. No artifacts were found in this drain or near the north east wall. One metre sections were cut through the south east and east walls and both were found to have deep stone foundations. Very few artifacts were found that might date the construction. It was generally agreed that apart from some minor areas very little further useful work remains to be done. When drawings are completed we anticipate that back-filling of the site will be carried out.

Field Work

Some minor building developments were examined but nothing of significance appeared. Cleaning and listing of artifacts from the fields adjacent to Burley Road, Oakham, has been completed and these will now undergo expert examination. The latest period of field walking has produced some Roman artifacts near to Dog Kennel Spinney, Oakham, and work should continue after harvest. Walks along the Rutland Water shore line during low water produced many potsherds of medieval date and some good flint material from the perimeter of the Hambleton peninsula.

The archaeological work associated with the Petrofina pipeline through Rutland was contracted to the Trust for Wessex Archaeology, but some excavation work was done by the Leicestershire unit and reports are awaited. Plans are to be formulated for a detailed survey of the Ketton area but this work may be delayed should it prove necessary to investigate routes for the proposed Oakham bypass.

Other activities

The Chairman and Vice-Chairman continue to represent the Group's interests at the Leicestershire Archaeological Advisory Committee and several members have attended further meetings of C.B.A. Group 14. A very interesting day was spent at Lincoln after a tour of the excavations at the Castle west gate, and a reports meeting was attended at Kelham Hall, Newark.

Representations were made to the District Planning Authority regarding the Rutland Water Plan and possible archaeological implications. The Group's attitude to a proposed new car park at Oakham Castle was also addressed to Rutland District Council.

The Chairman and Vice-Chairman with members of the Leicestershire Museums Service acted as lecturers at a one day WEA course on Rutland Medieval Villages held at the Rutland County Museum, which included a visit to Alstoe Mount, in the original centre of the Alstoe Hundred.

Social activities continue to receive excellent support. The picnic held at the Carnegie Museum, Melton Mowbray, followed a guided tour of the town church given by the Rev. P. Hunt. The Group is indebted to Mrs. P. Ecob and Miss. J. Legget (Keeper of Leicestershire History) for making the arrangements. The 1989 Annual Dinner was held at the Hunter's Arms, Wymondham. The Chairman and Mrs. Adams with several other members attended the 20th Anniversary of the Rutland County Museum. At the Group's Annual General Meeting held on 12th October 1989 an excellent lecture was given by Mr. David Windell on the Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval sites at West Cotton, near Raunds,

Northants. The Group's financial position remains sound and we have been pleased to receive additional members. After another satisfactory year the Group look forward to busy years ahead, and in 1990-91 will be celebrating its 20th anniversary year.

A. W. Adams
Chairman

LEICESTERSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT

In July and August, 1989, trial excavations were carried out in Cutts Close, adjoining Oakham Castle, to assess the likely impact of a new sewage pipe and a proposed extension to the Burley Road car park. The work was carried out with Scheduled Monument Consent, and funded by Anglian Water, Leicestershire County Council and Rutland District Council. Nine small trenches were excavated, by hand or by machine. Full plans and records are in the site archive held by the Leicestershire Museums, Arts and Records Service (A31.1989).

Cutts Close, on the north side of the inner bailey, is believed to have contained a garden and a fishpond in medieval times. These features are referred to in contemporary documents. However, in the absence of archaeological evidence, the origins of the various earthworks remain uncertain. They may retain traces of a Saxon burh, but

have been partly remodelled in comparatively recent times.

The small scale of the excavations precludes the drawing of any sweeping conclusions with regard to the origins of the earthworks. Further, three of the trenches had to be abandoned when they filled with sewage-contaminated water.

However, pottery from the layers forming the body of the bank running parallel with Church Street at the present west perimeter of Cutts Close reinforces the suggestion that this bank was extensively remodelled in the 19th century, perhaps when the northern part of Church Street was formed in about 1836. The pottery from this area included Saxon and Saxo-Norman (Stamford ware) sherds as well as glazed/medieval ridge tile and pottery in Stanion/Lyveden ware.

The evidence from two trenches cut into the smaller earthwork immediately south of the play area is inconclusive, but may point to a pre-medieval origin. Finds included Roman and hand-made Iron Age pottery, and Roman tile. The depth of the easternmost trenches was restricted to investigate only such deposits as were liable to be disturbed by car park construction. Only modern material was found here. Further evidence may come to light during 1990 when additional excavations will take place due to the re-routing of the main sewer through the eastern part of Cutts Close.

Deborah Sawday

Rutland Bibliography

CHRISTINE HILL

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

A PLACE IN THE COUNTRY by Nigel Duckers and Huw Davies. Michael Joseph Ltd. £17.99, 1990. A controversial look at Rutland life during the past hundred years.

A VICTORIAN EARL IN THE ARCTIC — the travels and collections of the fifth Earl of Lonsdale 1888-89 by Shepard Krech III, with a biographical introduction by J. V. Beckett. British Museum Publication. £19.95, 1989. Profusely illustrated to show Lord Lonsdale's artifacts collected from his journey in the Canadian North and Alaska, together with diaries and letters written by him.

BURLEY ON THE HILL — Report on the evolution of the Park at Burley on the Hill, Rutland, c.1086-1884. Also the Wilderness Garden at Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland, and Recommendations Regarding the Proposed Conversion to Hotel Use. Commissioned by Vemak (Jersey) Ltd. and compiled by Mary O'Hagan and others of Arcturus Research and Design Ltd. 3 volumes. Not for sale, 1989. Very full and comprehensive research illustrated by both black and white and colour with the main objective of discovering how history and development might be made compatible on this site.

BUILDINGS OF ENGLAND: Lincolnshire by Nicholas Pevsner and John Harris. 2nd edition revised by Nicholas Antram. Penguin Books. £20.00, 1989. Comprehensive revision of authoritative book.

CHURCHES AND HISTORIC BUILDINGS OF RUTLAND — where to go and what to see. Rutland District Council Tourism Advisory Committee. £0.25, 1990. A fold-out brochure describing seven suggested trails around Rutland and featuring places of historical interest. Contains, with brief notes, a gazeteer of towns and villages, sections on churches, historic buildings, gardens and famous people.

HATCHMENTS IN BRITAIN: Cheshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire edited by Peter Summers & John E. Titerton. Phillimore. £11.95, 1988. There is a section on Rutland.

HOPEWELL, Jeffery Shire County Guide 29 Leicestershire and Rutland Shire Publications Ltd £2.95, 1989. The Shire County guides present a concise and comprehensive survey of each county, its geography, history, architecture and tourist attractions. The guide contains a gazeteer of towns and villages, and other sections include churches, historic buildings and gardens, and famous people.

THE LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND VILLAGE BOOK compiled by the Leicestershire Rutland Federation of Women's Institutes. Countryside Books and the LRFWI, Leicester £5.95, 1989. This book has been written by over 180 individual Leicestershire and Rutland Women's Institutes. Each contribution attempts to create a unique picture by describing history, anecdotes and events of each village.

THE RUTLAND HEARTH TAX 1665 edited by Jill Bourne and Amanda Goode for the Rutland Record Society. £4.50, 1990. A scholarly introduction precedes a full transcription of the document. There are illustrations and an index.

THORNTON, Philip. The Vanishing Chater. The Author. £1.50, 1989 The Chater is one of Rutland's main watercourses and is situated between the Gwash and Eye. This booklet describes its course and the history of the river and the places through which it passes. The title refers to the fact that the river's flow has been greatly decreased by modern drainage methods and the building of Rutland Water.

TRAYLEN, Tony Dialect Customs and Derivations in Rutland. A dictionary of Rutland Words Vol 12 in the 'Rutland' series. Spiegl Press £5.00, 1990. Partially a dictionary of local adages and words and partially an illustrated account of past and present Rutland customs and traditional events.

WILLIAMSON, Lindsay. Green Shires, Spiegl Press, £3.75, 1988. An account of a year's travels made by the author around Rutland, Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire and Lincolnshire. It is not intended as a comprehensive guide book but as an introduction to the area.

JOURNALS

JOHN CLARE. SOCIETY JOURNAL, NO 8, 1989. The official Journal of the John Clare Society.

LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND HERITAGE, NO 3, Summer 1989; NO 4, Autumn 1989; NO 5, Winter 1989/90 and NO 6, Spring 1990.

THE LEICESTERSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY TRANSACTIONS VOL LXIII, 1989.

THE LEICESTERSHIRE HISTORIAN, VOL 3, NO 7, 1989. The annual magazine of the Leicestershire Local History Council.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST & PRESENT: The Journal of the Northamptonshire Record Society, VOL VIII NO 1, 1989-90.

RUTLAND RECORD: Journal of the Rutland Record Society, NO 10, 1990.

Tenth Anniversary issue
This issue concentrates on various aspects of the history of the great house of Burley on the Hill which has recently been sold and has passed out of the Finch-Hanbury family.



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