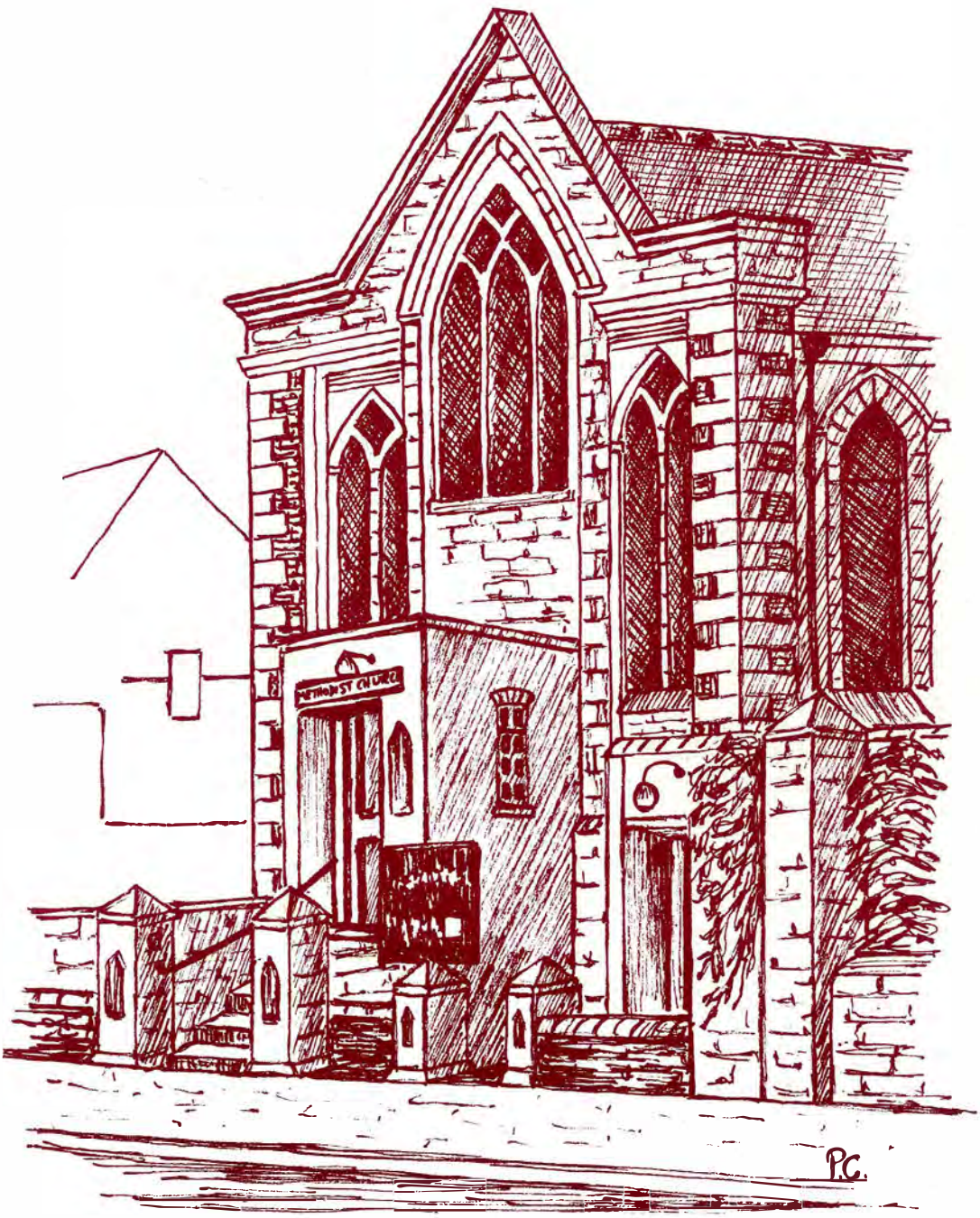
No. 13 1993

Journal of the Rutland Local History
and Record Society

Rutland Record



Oakham Methodist Church in 1992

The Rutland Local History and Record Society

The Society is formed from the union in June 1991 of the Rutland Local History Society, founded in the 1930s, and the Rutland Record Society, founded in 1979.
The Society is a Registered Charity, and its aim is the advancement of the education of the public in all aspects of the history of the ancient county of Rutland and its immediate area.

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EDITORIAL
The Rutland Local History and Record Society

How many times do we look at old photographs of town or village and notice that in amongst the familiar landmarks which we still see around us, some places have vanished or changed almost beyond recognition? Some may have been in a sad state of repair through years of neglect. Others may have been forced to give way to new needs or new tastes.

In Rutland we have seen many such changes and some indeed may have been necessary. Yet often as we look back at what were considered improvements or modernisation in the post-war years we find they may look less attractive with the passage of time. They too look out of date and out of place now.

Perhaps we could be forgiven for believing with a certain amount of complacency (or even smugness?) that that sort of unthinking and insensitive development could not happen any more. We live in an age of pressure groups and conservation societies whose aims are to do with preservation, so the heritage in which we all share should be safe. There are, of course, less voluntary measures designed to keep us on our toes. Local government regulations tell us if we live in a listed building and may not make certain kinds of alteration. They also highlight those particular local features and building techniques or materials which we may otherwise take for granted and therefore not appreciate.

Yet perhaps we do need to be alert. Any town or village is used to seeing its local beauty spots on postcards, whether they are churches, great houses or even battlefields. But these familiar sites are only the tip of the iceberg, so to speak. There are often other features much less well-known which may not be regarded as significant by many local people, or noticed by most visitors. These are the most vulnerable but they are not without significance as part of the whole jig-saw. We can learn from our past, and the increased interest in the tracing of ancestors is an example of popular enthusiasm. It is not only historians who are concerned to build as complete a picture of the past as possible, but the more pieces of the jig-saw that are missing, the more difficult is that task. We should have a care, perhaps, that while maintaining the obvious landmarks which rightly deserve attention we do not overlook the less prominent features of our 'heritage environment'.

The character of an area can easily be changed irrevocably by too many small changes, and often such things are not covered by regulations. Preservation is left to concerned local people. This does not mean that we need to become fossilized, for often restoration work is carried out with sympathy. But items which do not excite great interest may depend on a few people for recognition and survival. An example is the rare mud wall near the library in Oakham which is probably unnoticed by most passers-by. The skill required to restore the wall is almost lost and there is a danger that the wall will be lost too. The tombstone of William Whiston, a national figure, is left insignificantly aside in Lyndon Churchyard. Like a prophet, such small details may be without honour in their own town.

However, it is an encouraging thought that some people are concerned with the landscape around them. Recently the unfortunate surgery carried out on a tree in Northgate, Oakham, did arouse local people to protest at such insensitivity. And through the efforts of a dedicated band of people the bells of Brooke Church rang again for the first time in many years. The roadside hovel near Burley fishponds is being renovated, following encouragement from this Society which maintains its interest in the protection of our historical environment. Members of the Society can help us to do so by drawing our attention to any potential threats.

Contributors

E. Barbara Dean was tutor-librarian at Bishop Grosseteste College, Lincoln, before she retired and came to Oakham. She has written books and articles on the history of Bramall Hall and her native village of Bramall (now part of the metropolitan borough of Stockport), and her work throws up an interesting connection with Rutland, for in 1881 the last Davenport of Bramall became the first Davenport-Handley of Clipsham. She is a vice-chairman of the Rutland Local History and Record Society, and currently secretary of the Oakham Methodist Church Council.

Rodney Lines graduated from Durham University and taught at Spalding Grammar School before becoming tutor-organiser for the W.E.A. in South Lincolnshire in 1970. He has since lectured, written and broadcast on John Clare, and is at present Chairman of the John Clare Society.

Eric Hardy, a Midlander by birth, has been retired for several years after a lifetime spent on the technical side of the rubber industry. His many interests include writing and family history. In pursuit of these he has looked at Rutland closely and out of this his book *A Quest for Rutland* was published in 1984.

Grahame Thom graduated from the Australian National University and lives in Tasmania. He is a Justice of the Peace and was recently made a Fellow of the Heraldry and Genealogy Society of Canberra. He has been carrying out research for 24 years and has had nine books published. For a number of years he has maintained a connection with the Rutland Local History & Record Society.

E. Trevor Bell graduated from Durham and gained a PhD from Edinburgh. He then worked for the Medical Research Council Clinical Endocrinology Research Unit in Edinburgh, and lectured at Manchester University. Subsequently he worked for Pedigree Petfoods in the U.K. and France and, following retirement, his interests are antiques and local history.

Michael Lee lives in Nassington. He is an horologist, campanologist and steward of the Peterborough branch of the Guild of Bell Ringers. His publications include *Henry Penn, Bellfounder*. He has been involved in many renovation works of ancient Church clocks and bells including the recent installation of bells and renovation of the lantern tower at St. Mary's Church, Fotheringhay.

Jenny Clark works part-time as the University Archivist at Loughborough University of Technology. Since 1989 she has also been employed as an Assistant Keeper at the L.R.O. to catalogue the Exton MSS.

The Building of the Methodist Church and School Hall in Northgate, Oakham, 1865–1935

E. BARBARA DEAN

In the mid-nineteenth century there were both Wesleyan Methodist and Primitive Methodist societies in Oakham, and both were eager to build themselves new chapels. In this they showed themselves in accord with the spirit of their age, for the mid to late nineteenth century was a great period of chapel building and rebuilding. Their stories intertwine, though it is with the Wesleyans that we are here chiefly concerned, for theirs was the Northgate Street building of 1865. In the 1850s they had a place of worship in Dean Street, behind the present church in Northgate and nearer to the Church Street end. This chapel was later used by the Primitive Methodists for many years and it is still remembered by old residents of the town. In 1936 it was demolished and a block of houses built on the site. By this time both Wesleyans and Primitives had been absorbed in the new 'Methodist Church' and their congregations united in the refurbished and extended building in Northgate.

The early part of this story of chapel-building comes chiefly from the minute books and other surviving papers of the Oakham Wesleyan Methodist circuit and the Oakham Wesleyan chapel trust. Each Wesleyan chapel had its own legally-constituted trust, and the trustees, who were Wesleyan members usually living in the district, were entirely responsible for the fabric and upkeep of the building. Some, perhaps all, of the trustees might also be 'leaders' in the local chapel, being especially concerned with the work and worship that went on there, but although the functions of trustees and leaders intimately affected each other, the duties and responsibilities were strictly separated. Today the set-up is somewhat different; all Methodist property is legally vested in the Methodist Connexion at headquarters, and a local church council, combining the former functions of both trustees and leaders, act as managing trustees for the Methodist Church on the spot.

In the mid-1850s the Wesleyans, in Dean Street, decided to build a house for their (one) circuit minister and then, if they could afford it, a new chapel, and the finance for these purposes was to be raised by holding a bazaar. This may sound a somewhat mercenary way of raising money for spiritual purposes, but a glance at the account books shows that a 'bazaar' did not consist only of a sale but also involved canvassing for subscriptions from members and interested friends. Direct giving was not neglected, and an appeal from the pulpit was given by an eloquent and famous preacher invited especially for the occasion. The bazaar, held in May 1857, combined with a visit from Dr William Morley Punshon in 1858, was sufficiently successful for the house, 'Wesley Cottage', to be built in 1859 on a site (in Brooke Road) that was 'healthy and agreeable for a genteel residence'. By the 1860s Oakham Wesleyans were beginning to think positively about their new chapel.

At a quarterly meeting of the Oakham Wesleyan circuit in September 1862 the scheme for a new chapel in Oakham was given precedence over what was considered the next most urgent matter – the wiping off of debts incurred on various chapels in the circuit. There was still a sizeable debt on Oakham's Dean Street chapel (built in 1811, extended, with a gallery, in 1837) but that did not prove an obstacle! Debts of many years' standing seem to have been common at the time, and some chapels must have cost vastly more than their contract price when loan interest had been paid. Two Oakham members, Thomas Garton (governor of Oakham gaol according to the 1861 census) and Alfred Fewkes (Oakham's station master) were commissioned to look for a suitable site for the new chapel, and at a meeting in November 1863 they recommended the site in Northgate. It comprised 322 square yards of land next door to the beerhouse (the *Blue Ball*, now the *Three Crowns*) of John Ingram, the vendor, but it was at that time held as copyhold, not freehold, land. The purchase price of £182 12s 0d included one third of the cost of enfranchisement. The meeting agreed to these terms, with the proviso that no bazaar money was to be used for the purchase (this being reserved for the building itself) and that the land was to be speedily enfranchised otherwise their offer would be withdrawn. The meeting constituted itself a management committee for the erection of the new chapel in Oakham, but subsequent minutes show that the real work was done by an inner 'chapel committee' of five members: the Rev Frederick Slight (the circuit minister), Thomas Garton, Alfred Fewkes, John Perkins and David Cooke.

Enfranchisement of the land went according to plan, and at the end of 1863 it became the freehold property of the Wesleyans. By the end of January 1864 the 'chapel committee' was preparing to build the boundary wall on the east side of the plot (against the pub), and they advertised the Dean Street chapel for sale by auction. At this stage they put a reserve of £275 on the chapel, but at some time before the actual auction they reduced this reserve to £250.

The chapel was advertised in the *Stamford Mercury* of 29 January 1864 as a valuable freehold property 'convertible to manufacturing premises or warehouses', 213 square yards in all and with 'a never-failing Well of Water upon the premises'. Early on the day of the auction the committee met to confirm the list of articles excluded from the sale: these consisted of moveable pieces of furniture such as the pulpit and harmonium, chairs, books, stoves and pipes. On 9 February, the day following the auction, they met again to consider the result. Alas! the chapel had not sold. The highest bid was £230 and the building had to be withdrawn from auction. The chapel committee felt very strongly that this

offer ought now to be accepted, but the collective assent of the chapel trustees was needed before a sale could take place. That very day the secretary, John Perkins, sent a letter to every trustee urging approval of a figure of £230 and asking for a reply by return of post. Perhaps, he hinted, they might even be able to get £10 more!

The chapel committee's minutes are now silent for eight months. From this we conclude either that the other trustees did not signify their approval by return of post, or more likely, that the person who made the offer of £230 now withdrew it. For a time the committee was at a standstill, but later in 1864 they discovered that the Primitive Methodists of Oakham might be interested in acquiring the Dean Street chapel for their own use, and they invited a deputation from the 'Prims' to meet them.

The minute book of the Primitive Methodist Connexion (Melton Mowbray circuit) gives an interesting glimpse into the other side of this story. In March 1864 the Primitives' quarterly meeting gave their Oakham society permission to buy a piece of land for a new chapel. They wanted 'the piece in the centre of the town' if possible. The negotiations evidently fell through, for three months later (some five months after the failed Dean Street auction) the Primitives decided 'that a bid of £140 be made for the Wesleyan old chapel at Oakham'. This offer could hardly have found favour with the Oakham Wesleyans, and in July two Primitive 'Brothers' were sent from Melton to Oakham 'to see about taking a place for a chapel' and to make a reasonable bargain if they could do so. Still they had no success, and in September the Primitives resolved that Mr Smith (their minister) 'have liberty to go beyond the bid already given for the old Wesleyan chapel at Oakham, believing these the best steps we can take at present'. At last the way was open for real negotiation between the two bodies, and on 7 October 1864 a deputation from the Oakham Primitives met the Oakham Wesleyans' chapel committee and agreed to buy the Dean Street chapel for £220. They would take possession on 1 January 1865.

Each side had obtained its desire – but at a cost to Methodism as a whole. The Wesleyans had lost money on the transaction and the Primitives paid much more than they could afford, leaving both sets of trustees with a heavy deficit for years to come.

Now the Wesleyans could start thinking actively about their new chapel, and on 11 November 1864 the committee chose as architect Mr James Kerridge of Wisbech and asked him to draw up plans. Meanwhile four of the five committee members travelled, at their own expense, to Whitwick, near Coalville, to see a new chapel in course of erection there. Their next meeting was on Boxing Day, when they approved Mr Kerridge's front plan, but asked him to put a preacher's vestry at the back, with a door leading into the chapel. The time had come when they must vacate their chapel in Dean Street and they agreed temporarily to rent the old Independent chapel off High Street at a cost of 20s per month. This chapel, which still stands near the present 'School House' and now belongs to Oakham School, had been the home of the Congregationalists before they moved to their new building on the opposite side of High Street in 1861.

The architect's drawings arrived near the end of January 1865, but they were not entirely acceptable to the committee. Mr Kerridge was quickly called to Oakham to discuss his scheme, and on 2 February he attended a meeting which listed a large number of amendments to his plans, incorporated in twelve resolutions. These resolutions do not appear to be in any particular order. The first states that 'we have straight seats instead of the circular ones previously arranged' and the third that 'the chapel have 300 sittings, viz: 200 to let and 100 for free sittings'. It was customary for families who regularly attended a place of worship to rent their own pews at a stipulated cost. Name tickets were put on the pews so rented, and visitors had to search for the 'free' seats, or, in well-regulated establishments, a steward would show them to a seat. This habit, which was by no means confined to Methodism, continued well into the twentieth century, but is now, happily, a thing of the past.

The fact that the chapel was designed to seat 300 (even allowing for the fact that some of these would be 'children's seats') is a fair indication that it must have been built with a gallery, although no gallery is mentioned in the records. Today there is no gallery and alterations over the years have reduced the ground floor accommodation to no more than 144. A century and more ago Methodist chapels were first and foremost preaching places, built with the object of accommodating as many people as possible to hear the word of God proclaimed from the pulpit. Only gradually did different methods of worship and mission have their impact on the arrangement of seating and furniture. Today other considerations have become important, and different concepts of outreach have their repercussion on building requirements.

No plan or detailed description of the original building seems now to be in existence, and most of the other resolutions passed by the management committee at its meeting of 2 February require no special comment. However, in view of succeeding developments, the second part of Resolution 10 is significant. It is strangely linked to the first part of the resolution, the whole reading:

> that the chapel and schoolroom be warmed by stoves and pipes put into flues and that we cannot possibly go beyond £550 including everything.

The meeting decided to advertise immediately for tenders, and one such advertisement appeared in the *Stamford Mercury* of 10 February. Plans and specifications could be inspected at Mr Fewkes's, Railway Station, Oakham, tenders were to be sent to the Rev F. Slight, and the committee did not bind themselves to accept the lowest, or indeed any, of the tenders made.

During the latter part of February there was some correspondence with Mr Kerridge, the purport of which is not indicated in the minutes except that 'it has received some uneasy thoughts with regard to the probable amount of extras'. Then came the special meeting on 3 March to open the tenders, and now the committee received a nasty shock. Five firms had tendered and there were eight estimates in all, some firms tendering for a building entirely in brick and some giving the alternative of stonework for the decorative parts. The lowest tender was £800 and the highest (with Ketton stone) £1000! That very day the secretary wrote a letter to their architect saying that the committee members were 'somewhat surprised at the amount sent in as tenders' and they expected to see him next Tuesday. It now appears that Mr Kerridge must have previously intimated that he could have the chapel built himself (presumably by a friend or acquaintance) and the committee were beginning to think seriously that they must accept this offer.

The next meeting was duly held on 8 March when Mr Kerridge said that his nominee would put up the building for £750. Even this sum was far too great, and the committee spent most of their time in reducing the estimate to what they considered a manageable figure. The biggest item to disappear was the preacher's vestry (which had been specially requested at the outset); the Sunday School classrooms also went, and the cost of some materials was cut. Deductions which the committee calculated would save £141 were listed, and they then passed a resolution that the complete work must not exceed £610 and they asked Mr Kerridge to negotiate with Messrs Weaver & Barnes of Melton for this amount. The choice seems strange for, according to the tenders given, this firm had already estimated for the building at £819 2s 0d in brick or £868 14s 0d with some stone. Could this have been the firm which Mr Kerridge expected to put up the chapel for £750? If so it can hardly surprise us that his negotiations were of short duration, for he reported the very next day that Weaver & Barnes refused to undertake the work.

James Kerridge does not appear as an active participant in this story again, and one is inclined to wonder whether the members of the committee felt that his financial calculations had been so wide of the mark that he had let them down. There seems to have been no ill will, and Mr Kerridge's name appears high on the list of subscribers on the opening of the chapel, but from this time on we find the committee conducting their own negotiations. At the end of March and beginning of April they interviewed three people, named in the minutes as Mr Wheatley, Mr Hollis and Mr Goodwin, and they received an offer from Mr Hollis of Cottesmore and Mr Goodwin of Oakham to erect the chapel for £625, but with some alterations of their own. These alterations were firmly rejected by the committee, who insisted that the chapel should be built according to the plan and specifications of 'our architect', and this Hollis and Goodwin finally agreed to do. Although they are often mentioned jointly it does not appear that 'Hollis and Goodwin' were a firm of builders, but two individuals who agreed to divide the work. Mr Hollis received £275 and did the 'woodwork etc', and Mr Goodwin, who did the roof and was probably also responsible for the general fabric of the building, received £350.

At the end of April negotiations were proceeding so well that the committee met to select a silver trowel (price £3 10s 0d) for engraving (at 13s 6d extra) and presentation to 'F. Lycett Esq. of London' when he came to lay the foundation stone. Sir Francis Lycett, as he soon became, was a prosperous man of business who had acquired a fortune in the glove-making trade, and he served as one of the two sheriffs of London and Middlesex during the year 1866–67. The London *City News* (22 September 1866) described him as 'an influential member of the Wesleyan denomination' and the treasurer of the Metropolitan Chapel Building Society, adding that he had 'had the pleasure of laying the foundation stones of twenty chapels in various parts of the country'. His stone-laying ceremony in Oakham was on 10 May 1865 and fully reported in the *Stamford Mercury* two days later. The weather in the afternoon was favourable, but rain fell later. Mr Lycett received his silver trowel and laid the stone, burying a glass bottle containing (among other things) a circuit plan and some coins of the reign in

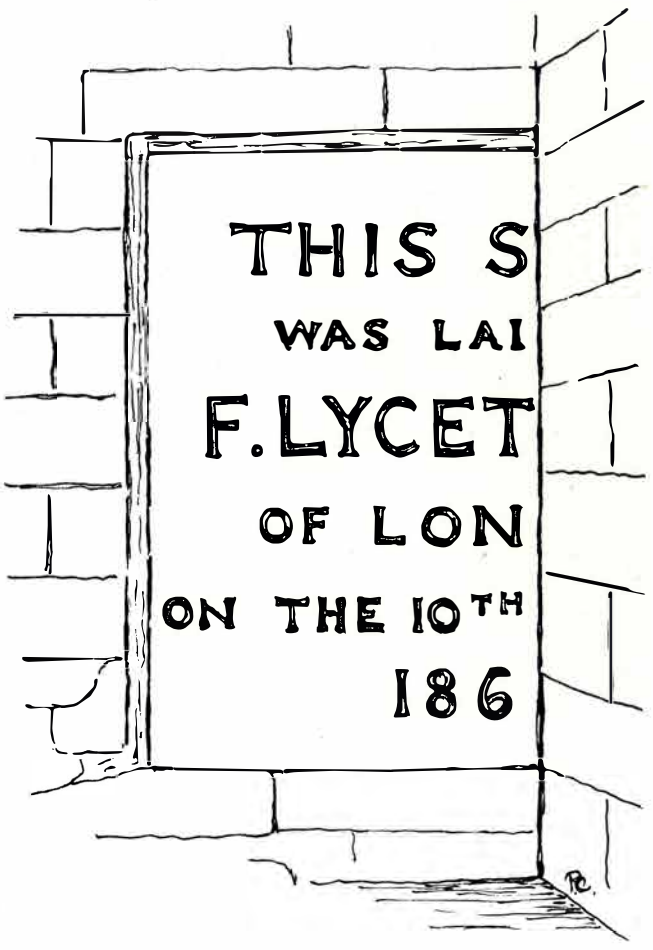


Fig. 1. Foundation stone of the 1865 chapel; partly covered in 1935 by the projection of the hall.

a suitably-provided recess. There were hymns, prayer and reading, with addresses by two visiting preachers and, after tea, an evening meeting in the Oakham Baptist chapel.

The chapel was six months in course of erection, the official opening taking place on Friday 3 November 1865 when three sermons were preached by visiting preachers. The event was recorded in the *Stamford Mercury* a week later, and some description given of the newly-opened chapel. 'The building is 46ft long by 35ft wide; it is built of red and white brick, and the corners are of Staffordshire white brick, in imitation of Ketton stone. The chapel proper is entered by ascending 12 steps'. The *Mercury* did not mention the Victorian gothic facade topped by a false gable-end (higher than the roof-line) and the tall, arched windows (with cathedral glass) to front and sides of the building. Pseudo-gothic was the 'in' style and caused no comment.

'The opening collections [said the *Mercury*] did not come up to the expectations of the committee'. They were, in fact, less than the amount raised at the laying of the foundation stone, as the final accounts show. The committee had been obliged to advertise for loans in order to proceed with the building, and in 1866 loans of £200 and £50 on which interest must be paid were outstanding. They were still outstanding in 1869 when the circuit quarterly meeting resolved on a further effort (with bazaar) in order to secure a permanent increase in income, aiming to raise £200, half of which would go towards paying off the debt on Oakham chapel. The bazaar took place in May 1870, and though the net result was somewhat below the target, the trustees of the new Wesleyan chapel at Oakham duly received their £100. With this money, and an interest-free loan from the Wesleyan Chapel Committee (made on condition that no debts on the chapel were left outstanding) the trustees were able to pay off the loans of £200 and £50. Only the Chapel Committee's loan now remained to be settled at £15 per annum. Instalments were duly paid in 1872, 1873 and 1874, and in 1875, by dint of a further effort the details of which are not recorded, approximately £100 was raised in subscriptions and the chapel debt was finally extinguished.

The next big building phase for which we have records came in 1892 when at last the chapel acquired its preacher's vestry, as well as classrooms for the Sunday School children. A new trust was formed at the end of 1891, over half of the old trustees (including those who had served on the 'chapel committee' of 1865) having died, and the rest

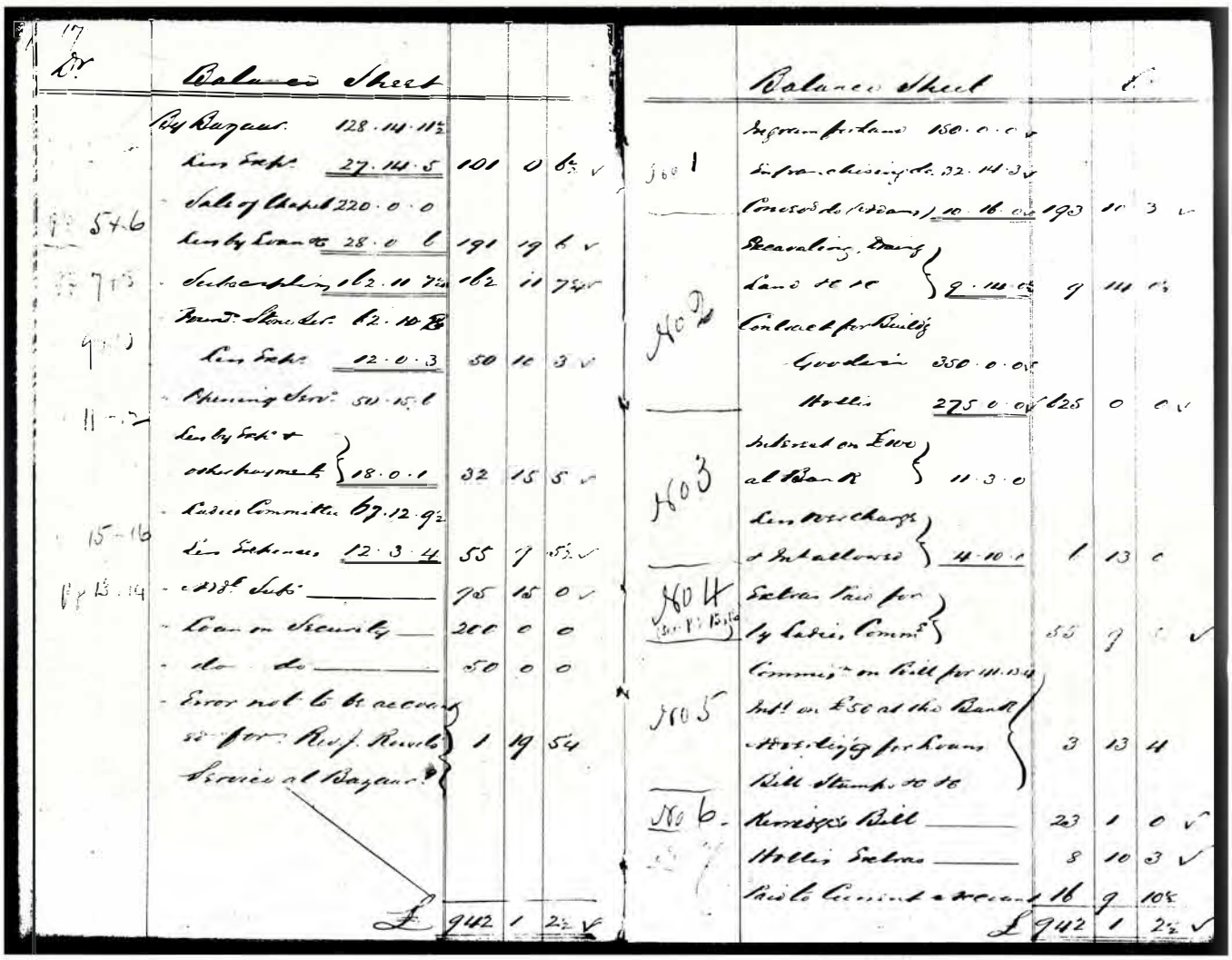


Fig. 2. Chapel Building Accounts, from Midsummer 1863 to Christmas 1866; the summary from the treasurer's book, Oakham Wesleyan Chapel.

wishing to be discharged from their responsibilities. The new trustees held their first meeting on 10 February 1892, putting on record their urgent need for vestries (in the plural) and pledging themselves to work for a circuit scheme to raise £500 (by a bazaar) of which £150 would go to Oakham. Of this amount £60 would be required to pay off a debt which they had incurred on the chapel and £90 would be put towards the new project.

During the spring and summer of 1892 preliminary work proceeded (though its nature is not recorded), and on 15 September the trustees were called together to approve a scheme. They agreed plans for classrooms and vestries, and for purchase of a piece of land on the west side of the chapel on which to build, and they appointed a sub-committee to deal with tenders. This sub-committee consisted of the superintendent minister, the Rev George William Clutterbuck, and two trustees, George Spencer, a currier in Oakham, and Thomas Farmer, a tailor. The settlement of the land purchase was left to Mr Clutterbuck and Mr Spencer.

There is no known plan in existence, but we can see from the building now standing that the vestries (lower and upper) were built to the bottom and side of the chapel. A path down the side of the chapel led to the entrance. From the west side the extension appears like a small cottage. Inside, a corridor behind the chapel housed the stairs, and we know that by 1935 there were toilets on the first floor and a kitchen below. Were these built in 1892? Was the basement area at this time converted into classrooms for the Sunday School children? If not, where were the new classrooms? Certainly by 1935 the area below the chapel was used for the children, but there is no clue as to when the classrooms were first put there.

In February 1893 the building was well under way – perhaps even finished – and the trustees heard with concern that their building fund showed a deficit of about £150. It was agreed that this amount must be borrowed. The next trustees' meeting was on 15 September 1893 when a new minister, the Rev Edward D. Webb, had arrived. The total cost of the building had been £241 14s 6d, and the deficit of £150 was obviously very worrying, although the Wesleyan Chapel Committee had promised a loan of £100, repayable over ten years, if the Oakham society could pay off £50 by its own efforts by the following May. This, the trustees felt, was going to be very difficult, and they hoped for a six months' extension. It is against this background of worry and debt that the next development should be seen.

On 26 March 1894 a special meeting of the trustees took place. Mr Spencer and Mr Farmer, who

Fig. 3. 'The Vestries' at the back of the Chapel; built 1892, modified 1935.

had been on the sub-committee for tenders, were both present, as were six other trustees, the minister Mr Webb, and the chairman of the Nottingham & Derby district of the Wesleyan Church, the Rev Joseph Bush. (His presence indicated the seriousness with which the proceedings were regarded.) Mr Webb had received a letter dated 21 February from a London lawyer, H. Turner Waddy, who said he was acting for the Rev G.W. Clutterbuck, the minister who had recently left the circuit. Mr Clutterbuck had consulted Mr Waddy on a County Court summons which had been taken out against him by a Mr Hayes (a builder) of Somerby, who claimed an amount of £2 5s 0d owing for plans he had drawn up on the instructions of Mr Clutterbuck – £1 for plans for the renovation of Tugby chapel and £1 5s 0d for the vestries at Oakham. Mr Waddy, who was evidently a good Wesleyan and a friend of Mr Clutterbuck, wrote that he had himself paid both accounts, plus the amount of 4s in costs, in order 'to avoid the scandal of one of our ministers appearing in a County Court', and also because he thought Mr Hayes was entitled to be paid. He now asked that he should be refunded by the two chapels concerned, because he thought they were legally and morally liable for the cost.

Mr Webb, who also had oversight of the Tugby chapel, had taken this letter to the annual meeting of the Tugby trustees at the end of February. They blamed Mr Clutterbuck for not settling the matter with Mr Hayes before he left the circuit, but they also agreed that they had practically given their minister a free hand in the renovation of their chapel and therefore they would take responsibility and pay Mr Waddy their share of £1 plus 2s of the costs. This was reported to the Oakham trustees, who considered the whole matter carefully. It was the conviction of those present that in instructing Mr Hayes to prepare plans Mr Clutterbuck had acted without their consent, or even knowledge, but they were in a quandary for 'through an accident' the minute book, which should give them the exact record of resolutions passed, was not available at that meeting.

Was all this new to the Oakham trustees, or had they heard something of the dispute earlier? The fact that the minute book was not to hand makes it appear new, but it seems incredible that they could not have had previous applications for payment either from Mr Hayes or from Mr Clutterbuck, and that no-one – not even the minister – had thought of examining the minutes to see what had been decided. An examination of the minute book today indicates that the trustees were probably without a proper secretary at the time, and this might have accounted for the absence of the book 'through an accident'. There is nothing recorded between February and September 1892 (the time when plans were being prepared) and the minutes of the meetings held on 15 September 1892 (when plans were passed) and 22 February 1893 (when the building deficit was considered) were written up – so it would appear – by Mr Clutterbuck himself. The minutes of the meeting on 15 September 1893 (when Mr Clutterbuck had left) are poorly done, in a different hand, and could have been the work of a volunteer on the spot. The next two sets of minutes, including the present meeting when the trustees debated the letter of Mr Waddy, appear to be the work of Mr Webb.

The Oakham trustees finally passed a unanimous resolution which allowed alternatives: if on examination the minute book showed any authorisation given to Mr Clutterbuck, they would pay up; if it did not, they declined responsibility. Mr Webb was to examine the book as soon as possible. The book could not have been far away, for Mr Webb was able to write to Mr Waddy two days later, giving the second of the trustees' alternatives: there was no authorisation in the minute book and therefore they declined responsibility.

The next meeting was on 20 April 1894, the Rev Joseph Bush, chairman of the district, being again present, and also a non-trustee, Mr Proudlove, who took the minutes. Mr Webb had written to the lawyer, H. Turner Waddy, on behalf of both Tugby and Oakham, and Mr Waddy had replied in no uncertain terms. He felt that the Tugby trustees had acted honourably in the matter, but of Oakham he declared, that he had 'formed a very strong opinion of the behaviour of these gentlemen' and he intended to take the matter further even though it would involve expense on both sides. He added that 'my Father agrees with me that I ought not to let the matter rest here, as it is one of Connexional interest', thus indicating that his father was a man of some consequence in the Connexional hierarchy, and thereby elevating Oakham's little debt into a matter of national importance. He asked for the names and addresses of all the trustees who were serving in June 1892 (presumably the date when the debt was contracted) so that legal notice of his interest might be served on them.

'H. Turner Waddy' was almost certainly 'Henry Turner', the second son of Samuel Danks Waddy, Q.C. and M.P. (later Judge Waddy). Henry was a young man of about thirty one in 1894; he was a practising barrister (not a solicitor as the Oakham trustees mistakenly thought), and he shared chambers with his father at 5 Paper Buildings, Temple Street, London. He came from a ministerial family, five of whose members were, or had been, Wesleyan ministers, and his grandfather, the Rev Samuel Waddy, had been President of the Wesleyan Conference in 1859. Henry Turner Waddy was highly connected in church (Wesleyan), state and law.

Mr Webb was wise enough merely to acknowledge Mr Waddy's letter and call a trustees' meeting. The trustees responded to the attack by a further unanimous resolution declaring 'That inasmuch as there is no record in the Minute Book of any authority whatever given to Mr Clutterbuck, to procure Plans from Mr Hayes, & in the opinion of the Trustees no sanction was ever sought. – This meeting resolves to abide by its resolution of March

26th, & absolutely declines to pay for Plans, which were ordered by Mr Clutterbuck, without their authority, their consent, or even their knowledge'. This was hitting back with a vengeance. Neither the presence of the chairman of the district, as well as their own minister, nor the threat of Connexional wrath, could deter them in their course. Further discussion on the wisdom, or otherwise, of letting Mr Waddy have their names, and on the legitimacy of his request, must have followed, and then a further resolution was unanimously passed. This asked the chairman of the district 'to place before the President of the Conference all the circumstances of the case, & ask his counsel'; if the president advised giving the names, then their minister was authorised to do so. Finally the trustees showed their continued confidence in the two men who might have been considered to know more about Mr Clutterbuck's negotiations than anyone else. They appointed Mr Spencer as cashier and accountant to the trust, and Mr Farmer its secretary.

And so the affair ended so far as the trustees' minute book is concerned. How it ended is not stated, but no further mention seems to imply no further trouble. The Oakham chapel debt account 1894–5 (which shows transactions from 26 November and therefore does not cover the full period) shows no payment to Mr H. Turner Waddy, nor does the Oakham circuit trust schedule book (which gives payments under broad headings only). These sources do show that, by the efforts of Oakham members and with help from the Wesleyan Chapel Committee, the outstanding debt of £150 was paid off in two equal instalments in 1895 and 1899. Strangely, the president of the Wesleyan Conference in April 1894, to whom the trustees had resolved to apply for advice, was also the secretary of the Wesleyan Chapel Committee, and he visited Oakham on 26 November that same year in order to give some help. The year of office of the Rev Henry J. Pope had by that time come to an end, but as ex-president he came to Oakham to deliver the usual popular address (or addresses), the collections, plus profits from teas, bringing in £8 0s 8d, and on behalf of the Chapel Committee he attended a trustees' meeting. He proposed a method by which his committee could co-operate with the Oakham trustees in finding the needed money, and his advice was accepted. So far as the minutes of this meeting go, nothing was said about any other matter. Can it be concluded, therefore, that the trustees gained their point, and that the dispute with Mr Waddy and Mr Clutterbuck was settled without further reference to them?

Some kind of refurbishing or redecorating scheme which involved closing the chapel for a short period was adopted in 1913–14, but it could not have included major structural alterations. We pass therefore to 1935 when the school hall was added on the west of the chapel.

At a Uniting Conference in September 1932 the three main branches of the Methodist Church – the Wesleyans, the Primitive Methodists and the United Methodists – had become one. There were now two chapels in Oakham, very close to each other, both belonging to the one Methodist church. The ex-Primitives were probably the livelier congregation, but the ex-Wesleyans had the better and more commodious building. It was not long after union that the two congregations decided to merge. Meetings of the united trustees were held in the Dean Street chapel, and the Northgate chapel is remembered as a rather run-down and neglected building. In October 1933 the trustees decided to sell the Dean Street chapel and put the proceeds towards the renovation of the Northgate premises and the building of a school hall. Initially they hoped to buy more land behind the church in Northgate, but they actually purchased a further strip on the west side from Mrs Burton, a widow living in the late-Victorian house next door. Then they asked a London architect, H. Kelsall Armitage, to prepare plans for the alteration of the chapel and the addition of a hall.

This third phase of building is seemingly better documented than the previous two in that an architect's plan and a bill of quantities survive, but the plan is misleading in that it shows only what might have been. Much of the alteration to the exterior of the chapel, and particularly to the windows, did not take place, and the lowering of the main chapel floor was never done. The porch would be added, as shown, but at a different level, and the entrance to the hall was put on its east side and not its west. Internally, the toilets and kitchen were taken from the corridor behind the chapel and put in the basement, which would have disappeared had the floor level been altered. (Here, says the bill of quantities, was the old schoolroom.) The upper portion of the corridor behind the chapel was now used for an organ chamber (not shown on the plan) and the organ was brought from the Dean Street chapel.

In October 1934 the architect's scheme – presumably that shown on the extant plan – was accepted, and the work was put out to tender. Five tenders were received, and the trustees chose that of J. S. Clark for £1543 14s 10d excluding heating. Mr Clark had already built several bungalows in and around Oakham, but this was his first large public building. During a long career he was responsible for many of the important buildings in Oakham, but unfortunately none of his pre-1939 plans and papers seem to have been kept, otherwise it might have been possible to solve some of the puzzles concerning the building of the Methodist school hall. In particular it would have been interesting to know why the floor of the chapel was not lowered as shown, for this would greatly have simplified access. Was it purely a question of cost, or were there building difficulties? One possible explanation is that the lower floor had been found to be too damp. There were major problems with damp later in the twentieth century, for that part of Oakham forms

a basin into which surrounding areas drain and there are many underground springs.

At the beginning of 1935 a sub-committee went carefully through the costs of the scheme and agreed on reductions of £220. This cost-cutting exercise may account for some of the changes in the plan, though the trustees' minute book is silent on this point, as it is silent on other matters concerning the form of the work. It is interesting to note from the tenders (which show costs for both the school and the chapel) that even if the reduction were made entirely from the cost of the chapel alterations the work done on the chapel (whatever it may have been) would still be far more expensive than the building of the new school. Very considerable alteration must have taken place to the chapel itself; this third phase of building was not devoted primarily to the school. When the deductions had been made the trustees calculated the total cost at £1620, and they decided to ask £200 for the Dean Street property. Early in 1935 the scheme was formally approved by the Methodist Chapel Committee which, unlike its predecessor, the Wesleyan Chapel Committee, required a detailed estimate of the cost and the amounts which it was expected could be raised from various sources before their building consent would be given. It was a condition of consent that the debt left on the chapel at the end of twelve months should be no more than £200.

The stone-laying ceremony for the school hall took place on Easter Monday 1935, but this time there was no great man from London to lay a stone with a silver trowel. Instead, nineteen stones and sixty bricks were laid by various people – young and old – on behalf of various sections of the church and in memory of departed friends. The stone which had been laid in 1865 was destined to be half-covered when the school was up, so that only its left side was visible! There were various speeches, which the *Stamford Mercury* of 26 April reported at length, giving also the names of those who had purchased stones or bricks, but offering no description of the work to be done. The visiting speaker (said the *Mercury*) stressed the necessity to be attentive to the child life in their midst, and, 'referring to the Sunday School which existed beneath the church, he observed that today no-one would dream of putting a school down there for the children, as if they were doomed to the catacombs right away'. There was, as usual, a tea followed by an evening meeting, and here the special preacher stressed that, although there had once been a necessity for divisions, now all divisions in Methodism had gone for ever.

To the date of stone-laying the amount of £250 18s 11d had been raised towards the project. By May the building was well advanced and the trustees were short of money. One of their number offered to lend £500 (at 4%) to tide them over. By September, when the opening was to take place, a number of extras had accumulated, and the trustees were cutting down on new equipment and trying to make do with old. The Dean Street chapel (with cottage) took longer to sell than anticipated, but in January 1936 it sold for £175 to Captain Noel Newton, of Ashwell Grange, who saw the land as an investment for housing.

The new school hall, which had its own external entrance, was built right up to the boundary of the garden next door. The land here rose steeply from the road and excavation was necessary in order to place the hall on street level, its western wall being built against the cut-away bank of Mrs Burton's garden. The interior floor level of the hall was on a height somewhere between the first floor level of the main chapel and the basement level of the rooms beneath. The vestibule was on a lower level than the main chapel and was approached by a flight of five steps from the road. A further five steps each side of the interior led to coat-hanging space and doors to the worship area. If there was ever a gallery in the chapel

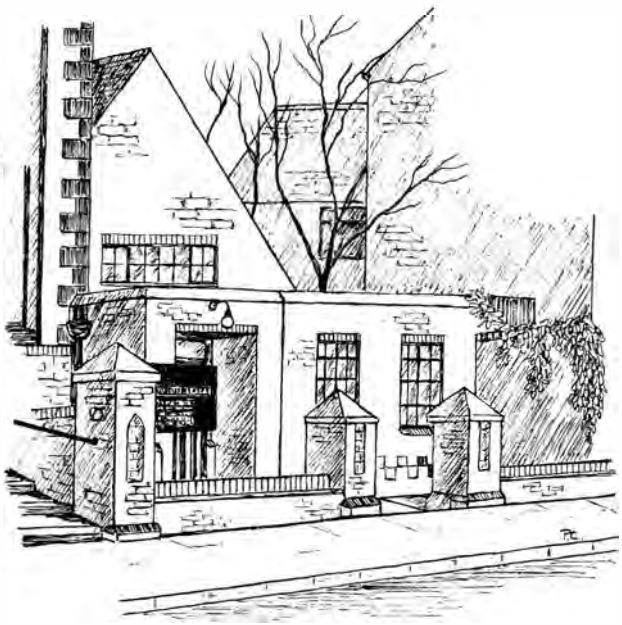


Fig. 4. The school hall; looking west to 44 Northgate. Steps up to the chapel can be seen at the bottom left of the picture.

it must at this time have been removed, and a new, coved ceiling was fixed below the existing roof line.

The official opening of the new hall and the refurbished chapel took place on 12 September 1935, the last service in the Dean Street chapel having been held the previous Sunday evening. The opening ceremony was fully reported, next day in the *Stamford Mercury* – fully reported, that is, as to the speeches, but with no description of the building. The school was opened first by Mrs F. J. Cooper, of Leicester, and then the church by Mrs W. Clement Ball, the wife of the superintendent minister. The chairman of the Birmingham Methodist district was the special visitor for the day; the architect and the builder were both present. The *Mercury* highlighted a phrase from the speech of the Rev Percy Robinson, the minister of the church, who declared to the assembled congregation that 'they looked forward to a shining tomorrow'. At the evening meeting the Baptist minister was present, and he spoke of the 'vastly improved architectural conditions' under which the Methodists would now be working.

His remarks that nonconformists were now waking up to the fact that there was 'holiness in beauty and beauty in holiness' and that they needed a form of service that was not too plain, indicate the great change that must have been apparent in the interior arrangement, and the smartness of the exterior where all the bricks had been carefully cleaned by hand.

A resolution at the trustees' meeting of 21 January 1936 abolished all pew rents in the newly-opened chapel. The trustees were not unanimous, two of their number wishing to retain seat rents under the terms of the old Dean Street chapel, but they were outvoted, and seat rents disappeared, never to return.

The final accounts of 5 June 1936 showed a deficit of £470 8s 5d, though grants of £213 were still expected to be received. Repayment of the loan was allowed over a period of four years, and in February 1937 there was still a debt of £250 on the building. There is no exact record of when this was finally cleared, but in 1940 the Methodist Chapel Committee promised a grant of £25 extra (in addition to £50 previously offered) if an amount of £120 could be raised locally within eighteen months. This the trustees hoped would be accomplished at a Gift Day in May 1941, and as their minute book says no more on the subject we can assume that it was indeed accomplished and the debt paid off.

During the second part of the twentieth century, especially in 1962 and twenty years later in 1982, further internal improvement and modernisation to the worship area was undertaken. The platform furniture and the communion area was entirely renewed, making even more evident the tendency towards seeing 'the holiness of beauty' and a conception of worship no longer dominated by the pulpit, but shared with the communion table and the cross. But the hard, rather narrow wooden pews remained as an obstacle to the flexibility which modern uses demanded, and the different floor levels made the stream-lining of activities within the buildings almost impossible. The steep steps proved a barrier to worship to the growing number of elderly and disabled people in the congregation. In addition, the building itself showed signs of wear and tear.

What was – what is – to be done? By the 1990s Oakham Methodists were faced with all these problems, plus the knowledge that their building had received a bad 'quinquennial', the name given to the five-yearly inspection and report that the Methodist Church requires on all its properties. It seemed as though the Northgate building was coming to the end of its useful life.

The Church Council of today, in their capacity as managing trustees, perceived that they needed a building more adaptable to modern needs, easily accessible and flexible in arrangement. Plans for re-modelling and renovating the existing building have been considered, but they seem to be almost as expensive as building anew and all kinds of extras might come to light when reconstruction was undertaken. Until 1991 there was no land for further expansion, for on all sides the church buildings touched, or almost touched, the boundaries, but in the summer of 1991 the house and garden of 44 Northgate, next door, was purchased for use of the Oakham church by the Melton Mowbray Methodist circuit. This offers the opportunity for a new scheme with a complex of buildings (including a ready-made house for the minister) all on one site. At 1992 prices such a scheme is estimated at £300,000, and this time there is no Dean Street chapel to sell! It is a daunting prospect but, mindful of the continuing needs of mission into the twenty-first century, Oakham Methodists are accepting the challenge, firm in the conviction that God still guides.

Acknowledgements: Minute books and other extant records of the Oakham Wesleyan chapel and circuit and of the Oakham Primitive Methodist chapel (included in the Oakham Branch of the Melton Mowbray Primitive Methodist circuit) are deposited in the Leicestershire Record Office, as are other non-current records of the present Oakham Methodist church. I am grateful for the help of the Rev Gordon Spittlehouse and the Oakham Methodist Church Council in ensuring that I had easy access to all relevant records, and for permission to quote from the minute books and to reproduce the summary of the 1865 building accounts. The pen and ink drawings of Oakham Methodist church and hall as they stand in 1992 are the work of Mrs Pauline Collett, and to her also I extend special thanks.

E.B.D.

Fig. 1. John Clare

1817 started out badly for the young and aspiring poet, John Clare. Not only had he failed in his attempts to get his verse published, but he was short of work in the agricultural depression that followed the end of the Napoleonic wars. Money, too, was desperately needed to keep his parents from eviction since his father was no longer capable of working, being after years working as a thresher, almost completely crippled by that fenland curse, rheumatoid arthritis. Besides, Clare had recently been thwarted in his love for Mary Joyce, childhood sweetheart and daughter of a well-to-do farmer from nearby Glinton. Clearly, his native village had little to offer him at present, and his over-riding need was to find money as soon as possible.

Helpston, where John Clare was born in 1793, lies some seven miles east of Stamford and was then in Northamptonshire, though now in Cambridgeshire. Stamford, situated on the Great North Road, was then a mecca of culture, information, newspapers, politics, and, above all for Clare, books, and it was here that he haunted the bookshops, steeping himself in the giants of English literature while at the same time hoping to interest someone in his poetry. So it was in that direction that he again turned, only this time passing through Stamford on up the Great North Road and over into Rutland, where he and a friend had heard work was to had burning lime at Great Casterton. Lime-burning was a dirty and hazardous job which attracted rough, itinerant and hard-drinking characters – but it paid well, and Clare was desperate.

Here in April, Clare began work for a Mr Wilders,

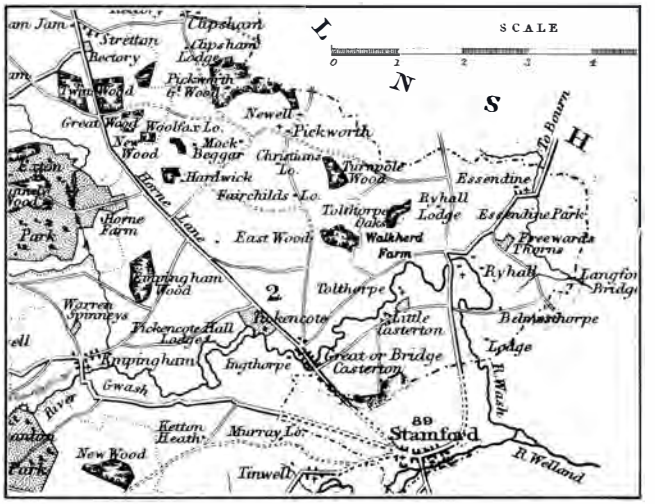


Fig. 2. Part of Rutland familiar to John Clare, from a map of 1819 by J. Archer.

who owned several lime-kilns in the area as well as the *New Inn*, a coaching inn now known as Bridge House, on the corner where the road to Ryhall branches from the old Great North Road. Of the lodging-house, kept by a man and his wife of the name of Cole, no trace remains, but according to Clare 'they took in men of all descriptions the more the merrier for their profits and when they all assembled round the evening fire the motley countenances of many characters looked like an assemblage of robbers in the rude hut dimly and mysteriously lighted by the domestic savings of a farthing taper . . . ' Otherwise Great Casterton remains much as it was in Clare's day, 'a pleasant lively town consisting of a row of houses on each side the turnpike about a furlong long', with the River Gwash running, in Clare's words, 'its crooked course . . till it crossed the turnpike under a modern looking bridge and wound along a sloping meadow . . towards the little village of Tickencoat'.

It was to Tickencote that Clare went on Sundays – his only day off – to have a drink at the little public house called the *Flower Pot*. The building, much altered and no longer an inn, still stands, and is called Flower Pot Cottage. Doubtless for Clare it was

Fig. 3. Flower Pot Cottage, once the *Flower Pot Inn,* at Tickencote which Clare visited on his days off.

welcome relief from the dreadful lodgings, his rough workmates, and the long hours of toil from dawn till dusk, but his visits to Tickencote were to have other consequences that were to lead, as he put it, 'to some of the happiest and unhappiest days my life has met with.' Always a man with an eye for the girls, his attention was caught by the sight of a pretty girl crossing a nearby field on her way home, and it was not long before he had found out who she was and contrived a meeting. Her name was Martha, the eighteen-year-old daughter of William Turner, who farmed six acres at nearby Walkherd (now just Walk) Farm. To Clare she was always to be known as Patty, for it was love at first sight, and soon he was a frequent visitor at the farmhouse, though her parents were none too happy about their daughter's friendship with a lime-burner with little or no prospects – even if he did claim that he was really a poet! Clare's spirits began to revive, and inspired by Patty he recommenced writing poetry.

Another cause of poetic inspiration was to be occasioned by a change of workplace in the autumn of the following year, when he was sent by Wilders to burn lime at the remote hamlet of Pickworth. The strangeness of the place, with a curious pointed arch the only reminder of a former church and traces of other foundations, not to mention the human bones that kept turning up while digging out limestone, caused Clare to name it aptly 'a place of other days.' Not surprisingly, the poetry inspired by the place was different from that addressed to Patty: somehow the combination of the solitariness of the spot, with its brooding sense of antiquity, the unpleasantness of the work, concern about his parents, and above all his sense of frustration in failing to interest anyone in his poems brought out an elegiac strain in Clare. *Elegy on the Ruins of Pickworth* which he said was 'hastily composed and written with a pencil on the spot', was to feature in his first published collection of poems in 1820. The poem reflects only too well Clare's acquaintance with authors of a similar melancholy disposition: Thomas Gray (*Elegy in a Country Churchyard*), Oliver Goldsmith (*The Deserted Village*), and John Cunningham (*An Elegy on a Pile of Ruins*); it also shares similar radical views about wealth and poverty, inequality, and the brevity of life in a society they saw as harsh and unjust:

> A time was once though now the nettle grows
> In triumph oer each heap that swells the ground
> When they in buildings pil'd a village rose
> With here a cot there a garden crownd

Fig. 4. Clare captured the brooding sense of antiquity of these ruins in his 'Elegy on the Ruins of Pickworth'.

And here while grandeur with unequal share
Perhaps maintained its idlenes & pride
Industrys cottage rose contented there
With scarce so much as wants of life supplied . . . .

The ale house here might stand each hamlets boast
And here where elder rich from ruin grows
The tempting sign – but what was once is lost –
Who would be proud of what this world bestows?

How contemplation mourns their lost decay
To view their pride laid level with the ground
To see where labour clears the soil away
What fragments of mortality abound

Theres not a rood ofland demands our toil
Theres not a foot of ground we daily tread
But gains increase from times devouring spoil
But holds some fragment of the human dead . . . .

Like yours awaits for me that common lot
Tis mine to be of every hope bereft
A few more years & I shall be forgot
And not a vestige of my memory left

The ale house referred to above was the *Blue Bell* where Clare doubtless quenched his thirst after the heat and fumes of lime-burning; he may well have stayed there too, since lime-burning demanded constant attention both day and night. No longer an inn, the building still stands as a private residence, slate-roofed where it would have been thatched in Clare's day. The lime-kiln, too, still stands. Restored recently by Rutland District Council, it is a unique witness to an ancient industrial process and a way of life, and a poignant reminder of a phase in John Clare's early life as he struggled towards publication.

The collection of poems was now beginning to take shape, and Clare's return to Great Casterton to work in the garden of the *New Inn* presumably gave him both more time as well as opportunity to visit Stamford in search of a publisher. Clare's discovery by Edward Drury, a Stamford bookseller, and his subsequent publication by Drury's cousin in London, John Taylor, is another story, but prospects were at last looking up. Not that he received universal encouragement: when the Rev Richard Twopenny, vicar of Little Casterton, was asked by Drury for a donation towards Clare's costs, he replied that Clare's poems had 'no merit to be worthy of publication, though I have no objection to assist in raising the poor man a small subscription.' It was a mark of Clare's growing self-confidence that rather than being put down by this, he replied:

Twopenny his wisdom is & Twopenny his fame is,
Twopenny his merit is & Twopenny his name is,
And as Twopence is a trifle I will do without him,
I'll sing in spite of Twopences & not care Twopence about him

Besides, other matters were requiring urgent attention, for towards the end of 1819 Patty had told him that she was 'in a situation that marriage could only remedy.' Clare hesitated at first, for he still remembered Mary back at Glinton, and he seems also to have struck up a relationship with an old flame whom he met again at Stamford Fair. So, in his own words, 'I held out as long as I could and then married her.' The wedding took place on 16th March, 1820, at the church of SS Peter and Paul, Great Casterton. The vicar was the Rev Richard Lewis, and the bride was given away by her uncle, John Turner, as her own parents had disowned her. Clare's sister, Sophia, was the other witness. Afterwards the party crossed the road to the *Crown Inn*, where they had the wedding dinner, paid for by uncle John Turner.

Meanwhile, a disagreement over wages with Wilders at the *New Inn* had finally decided Clare to return to Helpston, and on 16th January 1820, his

Fig. 5. The lime kiln at Pickworth, showing the author and other members of the Clare Society at the ceremony to commemorate the recent restoration. (Photograph: courtesy of Eddie Hudson, Rutland Times)

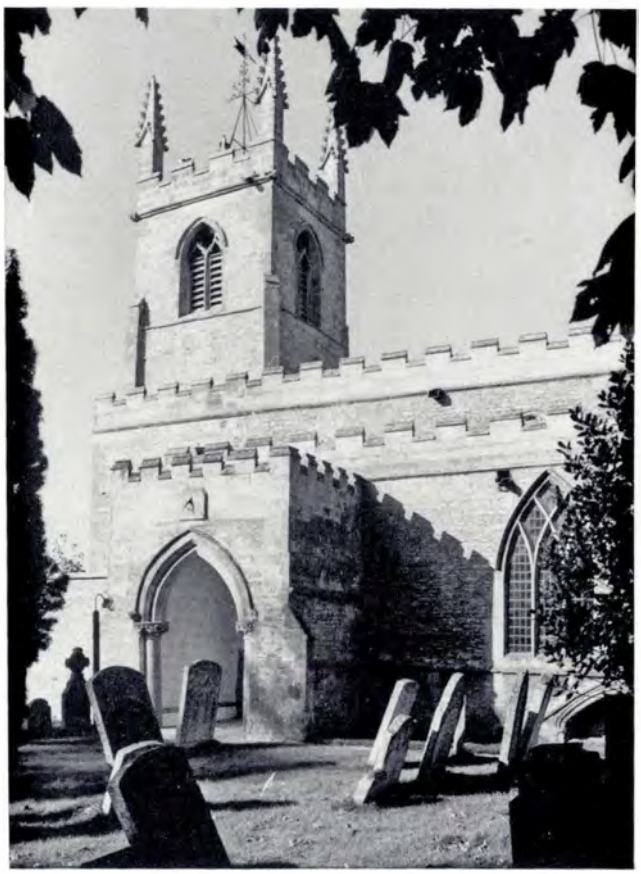


Fig. 6. SS Peter and Paul, Great Casterton, where Clare and Patty were married on 16th March, 1820.

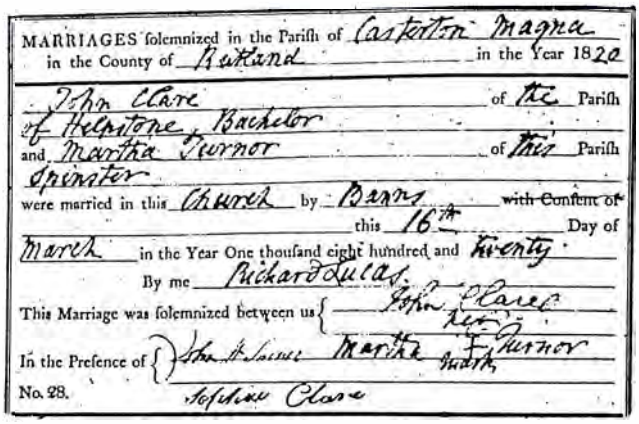

MARRIAGES solemnized in the Parish of Casterton Magna
in the County of Rutland in the Year 1820
John Clare of the Parish
of Helpstone, Bachelor
and Martha Turnor of this Parish
Spinster
were married in this Church by Banns ~~with Consent of~~
this 16th Day of
March in the Year One thousand eight hundred and twenty.
By me Richard Lucas.
This Marriage was solemnized between us { John Clare
Her
In the Presence of { John H. Turnor Martha Turnor
Mark
No. 28. Sophia Clare

Fig. 7. Clare's marriage entry in the parish register.

first volume of poetry, *Poems Descriptive of Rural Life and Scenery*, was published. It was to be several months before Patty could join him, as the tenancy of the cottage adjoining his parents' was not yet vacant, but by the summer she and John had moved in with Ann and Parker Clare and sister Sophia, and on 2nd June their first child, Anna Maria, was born.

Of Rutland, Clare was to say that he 'left it with regret and rather wished to return, as I liked the town and the fields and solitudes were wild and far better than the fenny flats . . . that I had been used to.' Clare's footsteps can still be retraced in the county he liked so much, and which gave him so

Fig. 8. The *Crown Inn*, Great Casterton.

Fig. 9. Patty's Cottage.

much inspiration and a life-long partner in Patty, for the church and *Crown Inn* are still there, as are Bridge House and Flower Pot cottage, the lime-kiln and the *Blue Bell*. But the saddest sight is Patty's cottage, Walk Farm. Deserted and decaying, surrounded by large, empty fields, it evokes a brief stanza by Clare that contains all the hopes, passion and sadness of his and Patty's story:

On the wild hills of Walkherd
All withered & bare
Had Eden existed
I had though it was there

John Clare

John Clare was born in Helpston, near Peterborough, in 1793, the son of a thresher. After leaving school early he worked variously as ploughboy and pot boy in his native village, followed by work in the gardens of Burghley House. While trying to find a publisher for his poems he became a lime-burner in Rutland in 1817. *Poems Descriptive of Rural Life and Scenery* was published by Taylor and Hessey of London in 1820, the year that he married Martha Turner of Walk Farm, near Great Casterton. Returning to Helpston, *The Village Minstrel* was published in 1821, followed by *The Shepherd's Calendar* in 1827. Temporarily famous and feted by literary society, his popularity waned and in 1832 he moved to a smallholding in nearby Northborough. He began increasingly to suffer attacks of depression until in 1841 he was committed to an asylum in Northampton, where he continued to write poetry until his death in 1864. Clare is buried in Helpston churchyard. In 1989 a plaque commemorating John Clare was placed in Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey.

Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Oakham. A Study of the 1851 Census

E. TREVOR BELL

1851 is remembered by many people because of the Great Exhibition held in the Crystal Palace from 1st May to 11th October. At the opening ceremony Prince Albert, as head of the Commissioners responsible for the Exhibition, described its nature and scope. In her reply Queen Victoria stated, 'I cordially concur with you . . . that this undertaking may conduce to the welfare of my people . . . by encouraging the arts of peace and industry, strengthening the bonds of union among the nations of the earth'.

Asa Briggs[1] in reviewing 1851 pointed out that it was a year of underlying contrasts and frustrations. The country was very prosperous, but there was considerable political uncertainty and religious ferment. Perhaps of much more relevance to the people of Oakham was the good harvest. The year was the beginning of a period of agricultural prosperity. This was important to people in rural areas because despite Britain's leadership in manufacturing over a quarter of the male population worked in agriculture.

Census day in 1851 was Sunday 30th March. The census was conducted by enumerators who left forms for completion by each household. Census returns such as the one in 1851, together with registers of births, deaths and marriages, provide an enormous quantity of historical data. This has enabled many workers to study topics like population history, demography, family structure, migration and employment patterns. One of the most comprehensive accounts is that of Wrigley and Schofield[2] who investigated the population of England from 1546 to 1871.

Much has been written about the history of Oakham and its inhabitants, but at the present time no studies have been published which make use of the body of information available in census returns of the last century. An editorial in the *Rutland Record*[3] of 1981 presented some of the results of a study of the 1871 census for Oakham, but the work was not subsequently published in full.

In the present study of the enumerators' records from the 1851 census for Oakham a wide range of topics has been examined for each of the three enumeration districts. These include household composition, family size, population age profile, number of children and birth interval, male or female employment, birthplace, social class and the Christian names of the Oakham residents. This paper reports data on the structure of the nuclear family and in particular looks at the number of children living at home and their birth interval. Data on the most frequently used Christian names is also included.

Data from the 1851 Census

Oakham was divided into three enumeration districts called Lordshold I and II and Deanshold. These names relate to the ownership of the majority of the property in each district. Figure 1 illustrates a map of Oakham in 1884. The Deanshold enumeration district comprised mainly the area bounded by the south side of Northgate Street, the north side of Melton Road and the west side of Church Street. It included Finkey Street and Dean Street. The rest of the town was in the Lordshold enumeration districts. Judging from the number of households the most densely populated part of the town was the region bounded by the railway line, Northgate Street, Church Street, Goal Street and South Street. Over 1500 people lived in this area, many of them in property which was then quite new, but has largely been demolished comparatively recently.

The enumerators collected data which were written by hand in their record sheets and it is these enumeration records which have been used to obtain the information presented. Figure 2 illustrates a typical enumeration record for two households in Gas Lane. Each household consisted of a married couple and their children. John Ewings was employed as a chandler and had a family of seven children. It is interesting to note that his two daughters, Caroline and Emma, were both aged 5 years, presumably twins. William Palmer, an agricultural worker, also had seven children living at home. Assuming they are all the children of his wife Elizabeth, her first child was born when she was 18 and the last when she was 45 years old.

Each of the three enumeration districts has been evaluated separately, but in this paper the data have been combined to give an overview of Oakham as it was in 1851.

The total population of Oakham was 2816. This represents the sum of all the people recorded by the enumerators as being present at the time of the census, the great majority living in households. However, there were 107 paupers in the workhouse, 25 prisoners in the town goal, 12 scholars at the Grammar School, 10 travellers living with a licensed victualler called John Barnell in the High Street and 25 lodgers at a lodging house run by William Scott in Northgate. These 179 people have been excluded from the present paper. In addition people considered by the enumerators to be absent have not been counted, nor have the four people thought to be living rough, in tents or in sheds.

Far fewer questions were asked than in the census of 1991. In their records (see Figure 2) the enumerators provide details of the Christian name, surname and age of each member of the household. People were also asked to specify who was the head of the household and give the relationship of everyone else to the head, for example, wife, son, daughter, servant, lodger, apprentice. Their marital status, employment and place of birth were also recorded.

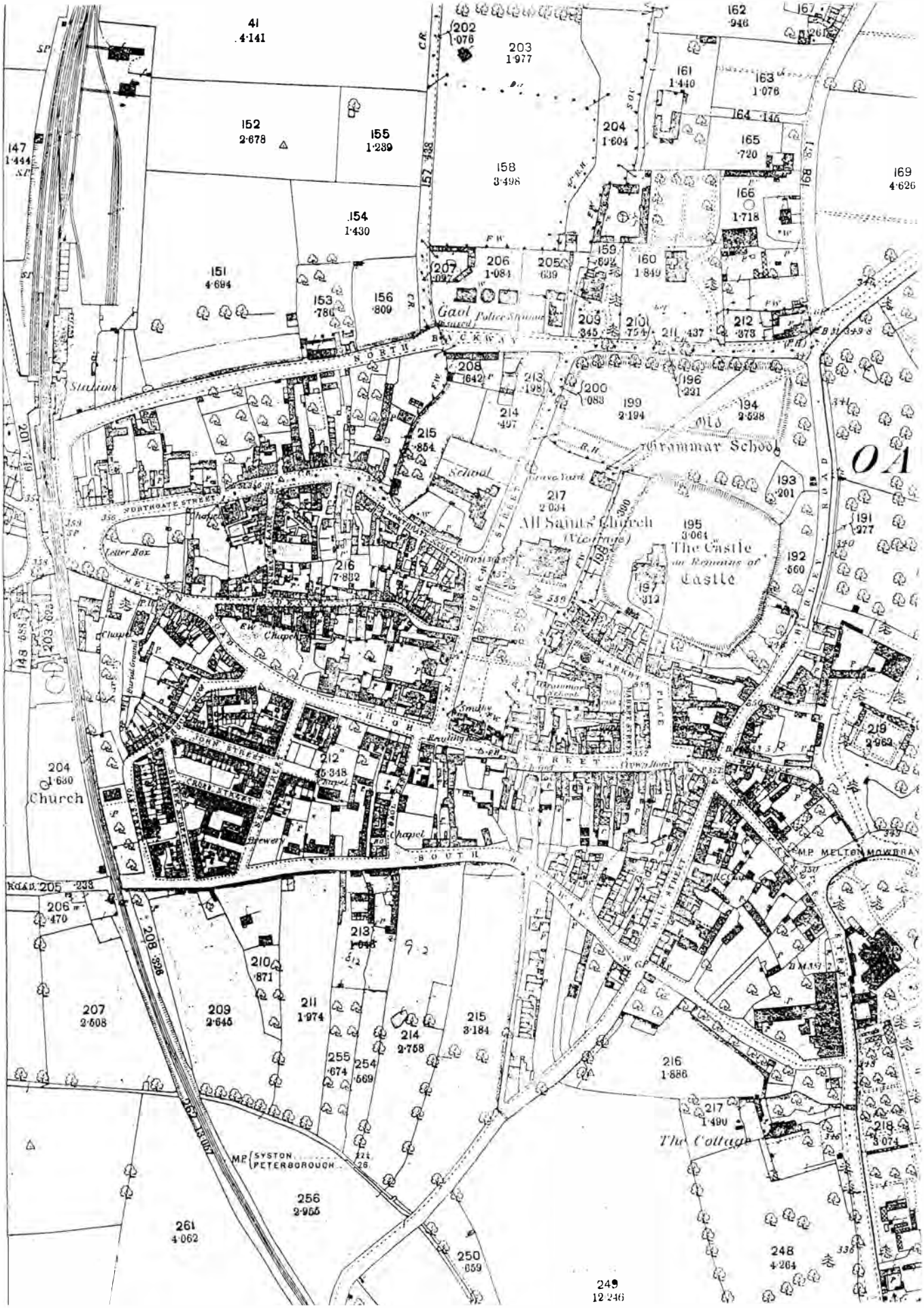


Fig. 1. Part of the 1884 Ordnance Survey map of Rutland showing the town of Oakham.

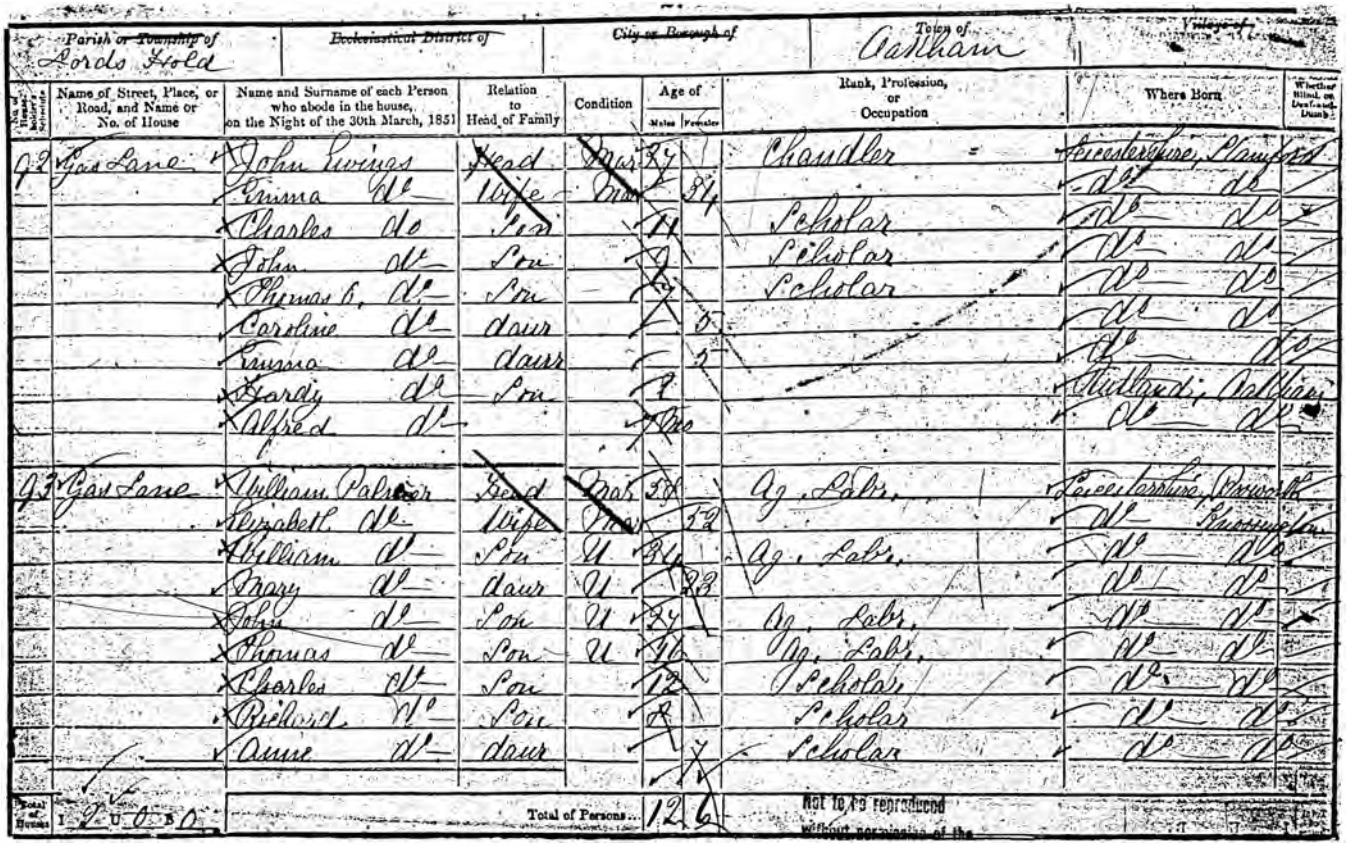


Fig. 2. A typical page from the enumerator's record of the Lordshold district in 1851 for Oakham.

The data for the present study were obtained from a photocopy of the enumeration records purchased from the Leicestershire Record Office. Every entry for the age of an individual was checked by comparing the photocopy with the microfilm of the same information available at the Oakham Library. Where there was any doubt about any other aspect of the data because it was illegible, the photocopy and the microfilm were compared. There are a number of occasions where the checkers' marks on the enumeration record have partly obliterated a word. Where this has happened and it was not possible to be certain of the information by comparison of the photocopy and microfilm it has been excluded.

1 Household Composition

There were a total of 579 households in 1851 Oakham; these contained 2637 people, giving an average household size of 4.55. The majority of the household members were part of the family, being the head (either male or female), wife and children. In all 2058 people fall into this category, giving an average family size of 3.55. The remaining members of the household were other relatives of the head or wife, servants, lodgers, apprentices and visitors. These people represent a total of 579 or an average of one per household.

Considering the 2058 family members in the 579 households: there were 462 male and 111 female heads of household, 573 in all. Not every household had a head present. In five cases the wife was listed, but no male head who was presumably absent. At the vicarage there was no head listed, but the servants were at home. Soldiers and sailors were not recorded in the census, and some houses with a female head may have had an unrecorded husband in the armed forces. Indeed Julia Wright, aged 32, who was the head of a household in Finkey Lane, gave her employment as "wife of soldier". Of the 462 male heads of household 404 had wives living with them. A total of 528 male and 553 female children were living at home. As will be discussed later the children included a number of adults living with their parents as well as younger children. The above data are summarised in Figure 3.

Fig. 3.
Household Composition in 1851 for Oakham.

		No. per Household
No. of Households	579	
Male Head of Household	462)	0.99
Female Head of Household	111)	
Wife	404	0.70
Male Children	528)	1.87
Female Children	553)	
Total Family Population	2058	
Family Size		3.55

2 Family Size

Figure 3 shows that there are on average 3.55 people per family, the average family consisting of 1.69 head and wife where relevant and 1.87 children. The great majority of the children have the same surname as the father, but a few have the wife's surname and are presumably from a previous

Fig. 4.
Family Size and Number of Children per Family in 1851 for Oakham. (Cum = Cumulative)

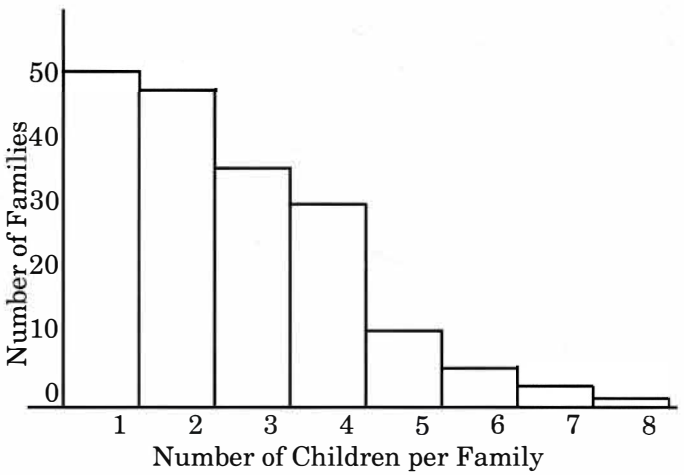
Family Size					No. Children per Family				
No. in Family	No. Families	Cum %	No. People	Cum %	No. of Children per Family	No. Families	Cum %	No. Children	Cum %
1	85	14.7	85	4.1	1	110	27.9	110	10.2
2	137	38.4	274	17.4	2	95	52.0	190	27.8
3	93	54.4	279	31.0	3	76	71.3	228	48.8
4	92	70.4	368	48.9	4	54	85.0	216	63.8
5	68	82.2	340	65.4	5	35	93.9	175	85.0
6	49	90.7	294	79.7	6	12	96.9	72	91.7
7	30	95.8	210	89.9	7	8	99.0	56	96.9
8	12	97.9	96	94.6	8	2	99.5	16	98.3
9	9	99.5	81	98.5	9	2	100.0	18	100.0
10	2	99.7	20	99.5					
11	1	100.0	11	100.0					
Total	578		2058			394		1081	

marriage or are illegitimate. Figure 4 provides data on family size and the number of children in the family. For the purpose of the table the family represents the head, wife if present, and children including step-children.

In considering the number of people in each family it is important to remember that the data relate to those present on census day. No information is provided about the total number of children born to a married couple. Children who have left home, those who have died, and young wives who will have more children will all tend to increase the size of the complete family. Nevertheless a number of points are noteworthy. Only 4.1% of all the people are living alone, while half of all the inhabitants are living in families of four or more people. The number of children per family recorded in the census ranges from one to nine, the average number being 2.7 in the 68% of families which have children living at home.

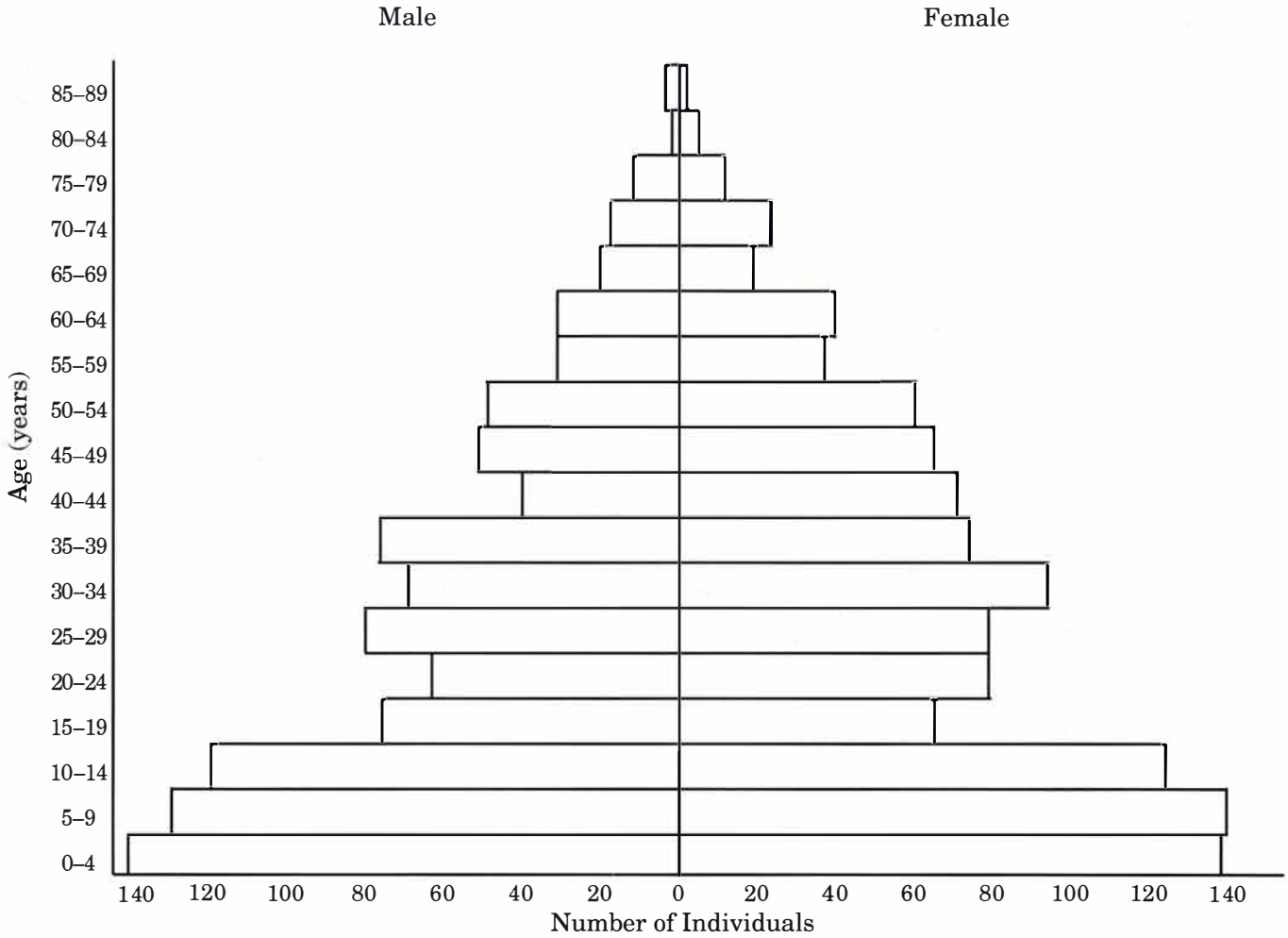
Families in which there are adult children living at home may well have others who have left home to seek work, married or died. In order to obtain a better assessment of the number of children born to a couple, an analysis has been made of all families where the eldest child living at home is 14 years old or less. The age of 14 was chosen because most children of this age and below recorded in the census were living at home even if they were working. Conversely most servants, apprentices and other employees living away from home were aged 15 and above. Figure 5 shows data similar to that for the number of children per family in Figure 4, but is based only on families where the eldest child living at home was aged 14 or below. A comparison of Figures 4 and 5 shows a considerable similarity. The mean number of children per household in families having children is 2.7 and 2.6 respectively. The range in family size is from one to nine children in all families and from one to eight in those with children aged 14 or less. Both Figures contain data on young parents who have not yet completed their families as well as young children from parents whose older children may already have left home, but the proportions will be different. The data in Figure 5 have been presented to illustrate the difficulty of obtaining an accurate estimate of the total number of children per family from census data. Splitting the data in a different manner, for example considering only families with children in the 5 to 19 year age band, appears to provide no more reliable information.

Fig. 5.
Number of children aged 14 and below per family in 1851 for Oakham.



The enumerators' records provide details on the marital status of each individual (see section 4). It should therefore be feasible to identify unmarried women living with their children. In practice this has not always proved possible. For example, in the district Lordshold II the enumerator abbreviated the designations 'widow' and 'unmarried' by 'W' and 'U' respectively. The handwriting is such that for several young women living with their children it is not possible to distinguish whether they are widows or unmarried. In the other two enumeration districts there are a small number of unmarried women living with their children, but because of the difficulties described a quantitative assessment is not possible.

Fig. 6.
Age profile of family members in 1851 for Oakham.



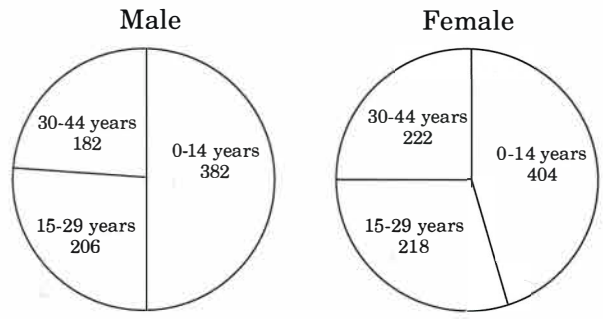
3 Age Profile

The enumeration records provide the age of each inhabitant to the nearest year for everyone over the age of one year. For babies their age is given in months or days. The 2058 family members comprise 990 males and 1068 females, a sex ratio of 1:1.08. This should be compared with the ratio of 1:1.04 for the whole of England and Wales in 1851 quoted by Carr-Saunders *et al.*[4] With the exception of one adult female whose age was illegible Figure 6 shows the age profile in 5-year groups for all family members.

Figure 6 shows a typical pyramidal age profile with a similar proportion of males and females in each 5 year age group. Up to the age of 79 the proportion of men as a percentage of each age group ranged from 40.0 to 52.9. There is no evidence of any major factor such as war or mass migration having affected the number of older adults in any age group. However, there is clear under-representation of both male and female young adults. This is clearly seen if one considers the ages 0-14, 15-29 and 30-44 (Fig 7). The percentage of both males and females in the 15-29 year old group is very similar to that in the 30-44 year old group. However, if there were a linear reduction in the population due to death the 15-29 year old group should have contained half the total of the other two groups. This would be a theoretical population of 282 men and 313 women aged 15–29 years. This is a simplistic view because of factors such as migration, agricultural cycles and family limitation. However, the calculation serves to demonstrate the extent of the reduction in 15–29 year olds recorded in the census and shown in Figure 6. Employment patterns are likely to be one of the major factors influencing the demographic profile. Children leaving home to be female servants and male apprentices will be important contributors. Conversely, most of the servants working in Oakham in 1851 were not born in the town and had come from the surrounding villages.

Only a small proportion of Oakham family members in 1851 were aged 65 and over; this

Fig. 7
Age profile data for various age groups in 1851 for Oakham.



Total 770 844

category comprised 46 men (4.6%) and 54 women (5.1%). The over-80 population was very small, being a total of seven (0.3%). The two oldest people were Mary Mills aged 86, a pauper living in Bedehouse Row and George Bryan, a retired farmer of 88 years living in Deans Lane.

Census records do not provide any information about infant or child mortality. There is, however, no indication of an epidemic during the 1840's which would have produced excessive mortality in the children aged 0 to 9 in 1851 with the possible exception of children aged nine. The number of male and female children aged 0 to 9 is shown in Figure 8.

Fig. 8.
Number of children aged 0-9 in 1851 for Oakham.

Age (years)	No. of Male and Female Children	%
0	65	11.9
1	64	11.7
2	52	9.5
3	49	9.0
4	47	8.6
5	55	10.1
6	58	10.6
7	57	10.5
8	61	11.2
9	37	6.8
Total	545	

For children aged between 0 and 8 years there is no evidence of a reducing population. This does not imply the absence of child mortality because data like the number of women of reproductive age and the number of pregnancies in each year are not available. The relatively small number of children aged nine is noteworthy. There were 241 children 10 to 14, an average of 48 per year. This taken together with the information in Figure 8 suggests that there is an under-representation of nine year olds, but further work would be required to demonstrate its significance. No attempt has been made to look at sex differences in the number of young children because of the small numbers.

Wrigley and Schofield have calculated the dependency ratio for the population of England during the nineteenth century. This ratio relates the proportion of young and old people to those of working age, and in their calculation it is defined as the number of people under 15, plus those 60 and over, per 1000 people aged 15 to 59. For the family members of Oakham in the present study there were 786 children under 15, 168 people aged 60 and over and 1103 aged 15 to 59. This gives a ratio of 865 dependents per 1000 15 to 59 year olds. From their data Wrigley and Schofield computed a ratio of 744 dependents per 1000 people aged 15 to 59 in the year 1851. The same workers calculated the dependency ratio for England for 1846 and 1856 to be 749 in both years. The higher Oakham figure means the working population had to support more dependent relatives. Most of the dependents (82%) are children and it seems reasonable to suppose that the level of child mortality in a rural area would be lower than in the country as a whole, hence the larger number of dependent children.

4 Marital Status

As shown in Figure 3 there were 579 households in Oakham. From these, 6 heads of household were absent, and for a further three the marital status was not recorded. Data are therefore available for 570 households, in which there were 461 male and 109 female heads. Of the 461 men 399 were married and living with their wives. Thus, excluding children, 399 households had two adults in residence while the remaining 171 (30%) had only one. The breakdown of the 171 heads of household living by themselves is: 13 unmarried men and 32 unmarried women, 40 widowers, 63 widows and finally 9 men and 14 women who were stated as married but had no partner living with them. In some cases it seems likely that married women recorded as the head may have had husbands in the armed forces, others could well have been deserted.

Another way of looking at the data described above is to consider the proportion of heads of household who were or had been married. They represent a total of 525 people (92.1%). Of these 422 were currently married, even if living alone, while 103 were widows or widowers. The high proportion of married heads of household overstates the number of adults that could have married. In addition to the heads of household and wives there are a number of children over the age of 14 living with their parents. Some of these are of marriageable age and more work is needed to establish the proportion of adults that actually did marry and have a family.

Fig. 9.
Difference in age between husband and wife in 1851 for Oakham.

	Difference (years)	No. of Couples	%
	More than 15	10	2.5
Husband	11–15	27	6.8
Older (years)	6–10	61	15.3
	1–5	144	36.2
	Same Age	38	9.5
	1–5	95	23.9
Wife	6–10	18	4.5
Older (years)	11–15	2	0.5
	More than 15	3	0.8
	Total	398	

Of the 399 husbands living with their wives the age of both partners is available for 398 couples. This has enabled an analysis of the difference in age between the husband and wife. The range of age difference is very considerable. The extremes are represented by John Walker aged 63 of Deans Lane who was 34 years older than his wife Sarah, and James Osborn a 36 year old brickmaker of Cookes Yard off Northgate Street, who was 18 years younger than his wife Mary, a charwoman. Figure 9 provides more information on this point. Less than half of all couples (42.0%) are within the age range of two years older to two years younger than their partners.

5 Mother's Age at Childbirth

Census records provide no information about the age at marriage or the total family size, but they do contain useful data about the mother's age at childbirth and the interval between the birth of the children living at home In this study data have been collected from families where both parents were recorded by the enumerator. A few families consist of a husband who has obviously had children by more than one wife; where it is reproductively impossible for the present wife to be mother to all the children the family has been excluded. There appear to be three sets of twins and they have each been counted as one birth event as if they were single children. One of the possible sets of twins are Caroline and Emma Ewings aged five who are shown in Figure 2. The others are Emma and William Beaver aged 1, the youngest of a family of seven children living at the back of the Crown Inn, and Edwin and Ruth Halliday aged 10 of Finkey Lane.

Fig. 10.
Age of mother at birth of children in 1851 for Oakham.

Age of Mother (years)	No. of Children	%
18&19	13	1.5
20–24	129	15.3
25–29	229	27.1
30–34	224	26.5
35–39	156	18.5
40–44	80	9.5
45–47	13	1.5
Total	844	

Figure 10 shows the data for 295 mothers who had 844 children, an average of 2.9 children per mother. One striking observation is the very small number of children born to teenage mothers, only 13 children (1.5%), with six born to 18 year olds and seven to 19 year olds. The period of peak reproductive activity is from age 25 to 34 (53.6% of children) while only 13 children (1.5%) were born to women over 44; the oldest mother being 47 at the time of childbirth.

The data in Figure 10 provide information about the age range of childbirth and the time of peak reproductive activity based on all recorded pregnancies.

Further analysis of the census records enables data to be derived on the age of the mother at the birth of the oldest child living at home on census day. In order to minimise the likelihood of older children having left home, only families with children aged 14 or less were considered (see also section 2). Figure 11 presents the age of the mother at the time of birth of the oldest child aged 14 or less for 179 women who fall into this category. The assumption has been made that the oldest child of each of the 179 women represents their first pregnancy. A study of the register of births would be needed to validate this point. The age range of the women at the time of birth of their oldest child living at home on census day is 18 to 45 years. There are only 3 women aged 40 and above, all three were in their 50's in 1851 and it seems possible that the child recorded on census day may not have been their first. Excluding these women, the age range of the remaining 176 was 18 to 37 at the time of birth of what appears likely to be the first child, the median age group being 25 to 29 years.

Fig. 11.
Age of mother at birth of first child from families with children aged 14 and below in 1851 for Oakham.

Age of Mother (years)	No. of Children	%
18&19	8	4.5
20–24	67	37.4
25–29	65	36.3
30–34	25	14.0
35–39	11	6.1
40–44	3	1.7
Total	179	

Considering the 176 women referred to above, the mean age at the birth of the first child was 26.2 years. From the data in Figure 10 the mean age at maternity for all children was 32.5 years. This correlates well with the mean age at maternity of 32 years for all women in England during the period 1800 to 1849 (Wrigley and Schofield). The same authors calculated the mean age at marriage to be 23.4 years, and based on the data in Figure 11 the mean interval between marriage and childbirth would be 2.8 years.

Using the data from the 179 women reported in Figure 11 their mean age at childbirth has been calculated for up to four children. Some of the women had more children, but the numbers are small and the fifth and subsequent children have not been considered. The mean age at childbirth is shown in Figure 12. The assumption is again made that the oldest child living at home is the first born. The overall mean of the mean age at childbirth for the 436 births reported in Figure 12 is 30.0 years.

Fig. 12.
Mean age of mother at birth of child from families with children aged 14 and below in 1851 for Oakham.

Child	No. of Mothers	Mean Age at Childbirth (years)
First	179	26.2
Second	129	28.7
Third	82	31.6
Fourth	46	33.6

This is two years below the figure reported by Wrigley and Schofield and supports the point made in the discussion below that the total family size will have been considerably larger than the average of 2.7 children living at home on census day.

6 Time Interval between Birth of Children

As discussed previously the census provides information about the age of all the children living at home. This enables a calculation to be made of the time interval between the birth of each child. Two groups of mothers were considered. First, women

reported in Figure 12 whose eldest child was aged 14 or below, and second, women with large families. Data are available on 22 families with six or more children where the husband and wife were both present at the time of the census. For the women with children aged 14 and below a total of 96 time intervals between the birth of one child and the next can be studied. Eight of the 22 women with large families only had children aged 14 and below and their four oldest children are included in both groups. Figure 13 shows the overall mean time interval between the birth of one child and the next is 2.6 years. The census enumerators recorded the child's age only to the nearest year so care must be taken not to place undue emphasis on the accuracy of the time interval between successive children. However, the largest family in the study with nine children ranging in age from 3 months to 21 years had a birth interval of 2.6 years which helps support the results in Figure 13.

Fig. 13.
Time interval between the birth of children in 1851 for Oakham.

1 Women with children aged 14 and below

Child	No. of Women	Time Between Children (years)
First to Second	129	2.6
Second to Third	82	2.7
Third to Fourth	46	2.7

2 Women with families of 6 or more children

All Children Aged 14 and Below	96 Birth Intervals	2.4
Overall Mean		2.6

7 Christian Names

For most of the Oakham residents in 1851 the enumerators recorded only one Christian name; where there was a second this was generally an initial. The present survey has therefore relied on the first recorded name. This does not allow for people who have a double Christian name, e.g. Mary Ann. Thus, two households of the Ellingworth family living in Northgate Street have occupants called Mary. In one the teenage daughter is Mary A., and in the other the wife is Mary Ann. Both of these have been recorded as Mary in this study. Most Christian names can be read easily; however in a few cases it has not been possible to be sure of the name and it has been excluded. Some names appear in different forms; Ann, Anne and Annie have been recorded separately, but, for example, Hariet, Harriet and Harriete have been assumed to be different spellings of the same name. Some men's names, such as Davies, Mason, Evans, Healy and Clarke, are illustrations of surnames used as a Christian name. Some of the Christian names used are not common today, particularly women's names such as Mahala, Bithiah, Hephzibar, Pethenia and Lucretia. The great majority of the men and women have Christian names which are still used at present. A total of 1268 men and 1409 women were included in the study and the ten most commonly found names are shown in Figure 14.

Fig. 14.
Most frequently used Christian names in 1851 for Oakham.

	Male		Female	
	Name	Number	Name	Number
1	John	246	Mary	259
2	William	217	Elizabeth	186
3	Thomas	134	Sarah	153
4	George	88	Ann	136
5	Henry	73	Jane	64
6	James	69	Eliza	63
7	Robert	50	Emma	42
8	Joseph	40	Catherine	38
9	Charles	38	Charlotte	29
10	Samuel	35	Ellen	27
Total		990		997
Total in Survey		1269		1403
Top 4 names		54.0%		52.1%
Top 10 names		78.0%		70.8%

More than 100 different names were in use, but John and Mary were the most popular with nearly 1 in 5 of all the residents having one of these names, and 1 in 6 of the men being called William. Families with children aged 14 and under were studied to see if there were any changes in the use of Christian names. However, the most frequently used names among the children were John, William, Mary and Elizabeth. These together accounted for one third of all the children's names.

Some indication of the range of Christian names can be obtained by looking at individual families. White's and Slater's directories for 1846 and 1850 respectively list people involved in a wide range of occupations.

Two of the families which feature are Cunnington and Royce. There are a total of seven entries for each in the two directories. Matthias Royce of High Street is listed as a butcher and also appears as a farmer. In addition there is reference to a Matthew Royce of High Street who was a saddler. Inspection of the census records shows only one Matthew Royce in High Street. He is a 63 year old saddler living with his wife Charlotte. It therefore seems possible that all three entries in the trade directories refer to the same person.

In all there are nine households in which the name Royce is listed and 17 with Cunningtons resident; a total of 24 and 57 people respectively. The census data can amplify the trade directories because there are, for example, two Matthew Royces in the census return. The first is the saddler referred to above and living in High Street, the other a 28 year old cabinet maker living with his parents George and Elizabeth in Northgate Street.

Of the 24 people called Royce, 18 (75%) had Christian names in the top ten list (Fig. 14), the

most common names being Mary and George. The 54 Cunningtons had 39 people (68%) with names in the top ten list, the most common names being Mary and John. The Cunningtons, unlike the Royces, had a number of women with Christian names not usually found today, these include Kezia, Evalina, Betsey, Sapphira, Rebekah and Jemima.

Comparisons with other Studies

It is not the intention of this paper to provide a detailed comparison between Oakham and nearby towns and villages. Nevertheless it seems helpful to include a limited comparison to help validate the data for Oakham. As previously mentioned the census records are divided into the three enumeration districts of Lordshold I and II and Deanshold. All the data presented in this paper have been calculated separately for each district and then combined to give a total for Oakham. Figure 15 shows data on the number of people per household for each of the three enumeration districts. This information should be compared with that in Figure 3 which is a summary of the data for all 579 households. It is clear from Figure 15 that there is considerable similarity between the households in each enumeration district. The number with a male head, a female head and a wife in residence is very similar. The number of children in the Lordshold II households is somewhat larger than in the other enumeration districts.

Fig. 15.
Household composition in 1851 for Oakham.

	Lordshold I	Lordshold II	Deanshold
	No.per Household		
Male Head of Household	0.78	0.82	0.79
Female Head of Household	0.20	0.18	0.21
Wife	0.70	0.71	0.68
Male Children	0.74	1.06	0.91
Female Children	0.83	1.06	0.94
Family Size	3.25	3.83	3.53
Other Residents	1.34	0.83	0.84
Household Size	4.59	4.66	4.37
No. of Households	190	229	160
Total Family Population	618	876	564
Total Household Population	872	1068	699

This is particularly associated with larger families living in the property between Goal Street and the railway line. The information about other residents in the household combines data on servants, apprentices, lodgers and any other relatives of the head of the household or his wife. There are more than twice as many servants living in houses in the Lordshold I enumeration district (0.57 per household) than in the other two districts. Apart from this there is little difference in the number of other residents in the three parts of the town. The household size for Oakham is 4.55 people, while the range for the three districts is from 4.37 to 4.66 people.

Figure 15 shows the limited extent of the variation in family and household size for the three enumeration districts of Oakham. The data have been combined to produce figures for Oakham which can be compared with a detailed study of family structure and employment in Shepshed and Bottesford conducted by Levine[5]. The data in Figure 16 are taken from his publication, and it will be seen that Oakham shows a similar pattern of household composition to the two villages. Shepshed, one of the centres of the framework knitting industry, was very industrialised while Bottesford was primarily an agricultural village. The three places show that almost all households had a head resident on census day and similar numbers of families with a wife in the home. Shepshed has the largest number of children living at home. This is consistent with the high levels of child employment in the home-based knitting industry. Work opportunities in Bottesford were limited: there was for example no framework knitting. This would tend to cause children to leave home to seek employment elsewhere to a greater extent than would apply in the mixed economy of Oakham. The overall household size shows the same pattern as the family size.

Fig. 16.
Household composition in 1851.

	Oakham	Shepshed*	Bottesford*
	No. per Household		
Household Heads	0.99	0.98	0.98
Wife	0.70	0.77	0.73
Children	1.87	2.07	1.70
Family Size	3.55	3.82	3.41
Other Residents	1.00	0.91	0.86
Household Size	4.55	4.73	4.27
No. of Households	579	785	302

*Data from Levine[5]

A comparative study of some aspects of nineteenth century small town society has been reported by Royle[6]. He studied Melton Mowbray, Coalville and Hinckley, and in particular looked at occupational structure and social mobility. Unfortunately none of the data in his paper can be directly compared with the present study. However, Royle points out that the degree of prosperity of the local economy was probably more important than national trends in the mid-nineteenth century. Thus the coal slump of the 1860s and the cotton famine of the same period were important influences on Coalville and Hinckley. Melton Mowbray, on the other hand, was substantially supported by sporting interests which provided prosperity for the inhabitants.

Discussion

A population census does no more than provide a snapshort of family life on one day. This is still the case with the 1991 census, but analysis of the enumerators' records enables a picture to be built up of the average family. This is the purpose of the research reported in the present paper.

By comparison with modern Oakham the town of 1851 was very modest in size and population. It consisted of less than 600 households living in a

relatively small area bounded by the railway line, Northgate, Burley Road, Uppingham Road and South Street. The average nuclear family had 3.5 people, often consisting of two adults and two children, although the range of family size was from one to 11. Because the census provides only data about the number of people present on a particular day no information is available about, for example, the total number of children in a family. Data on miscarriages, stillbirths and child mortality cannot be assessed. Study of the parish registers would enable the total number of children baptised to be recorded, and this would help to complete an important gap in the census information: namely the number of children who no longer lived at home. Nevertheless, it would still not be possible to assess the total number of times a woman became pregnant.

The age profile of family members shows an under-representation of 15 to 24 year olds. This is consistent with the idea that older children will have left Oakham to seek work. Taking this into consideration, together with the likelihood of some children dying young, it becomes probable that the total number of children born to an Oakham family of 1851 would be several more than the 2.7 recorded in the census. Carr-Saunders *et al* report that the average number of live births per married woman in Britain was 5.8 for marriages contracted in the decade 1870–79. There is no reason to believe that Oakham in 1851 would be much different.

A number of workers have studied the time interval between the birth of successive children and the effect of factors such as breast feeding and contraception. Potter[7] suggested that when a mother does not breast feed her baby the mean interval between one childbirth and the next is 18 months. In the event of prolonged lactaction he found the birth interval to increase to a mean of 27 months. There has been much controversy about the contraceptive effect of breast feeding, and it has been suggested by Stopes[8] and others that it does not provide a reliable means of delaying pregnancy. More recently Habicht *et al*[9] have reviewed the subject and concluded that breast feeding appears to be a more efficient contraceptive than was previously thought. Figure 11 summarises the data collected in the present study on the interval between the birth of the children reported in the census. The mean figure of 2.6 years (31 months) is considerably longer than the figure of 27 months reported by Potter for women who breast feed for prolonged periods. In a further study Potter *et al*[10] collected data on some 1400 women in 11 Punjab villages who practised little birth control. They found a mean interval between the birth of children of 33 months. Potter *et al* concluded that, in addition to breast feeding, abortion and stillbirths contributed to the longer birth interval than that of 27 months in the earlier study of Potter. The 31 months reported in Figure 11 is consistent with the concept of a female population breast feeding for long periods as well as a relatively high incidence of pregnancy not resulting in the birth of a live child. Contraceptive techniques were available in the nineteenth century (Trall[11]; Stopes; Finch and Green[12]), but to what extent they were used cannot be judged, and their effect, if any, on the interval between childbirth in the present study should probably be disregarded.

Evidence such as that reported in Figure 12 suggests that Oakham was a typical rural town in respect of its family structure, but much remains to be studied. Detailed investigation of the census returns for a small town does little to increase overall knowledge of the population history of the country or even the county. However, it may well be of use in helping establish a better understanding of the way in which the town has developed over the years. Comparative study of the census returns for different decades will help this process and is one of the many areas in which research could fruitfully be conducted.

Acknowledgments: The assistance of Mrs. P. Drinkall who suggested the research topic and provided help and encouragement throughout is gratefully acknowledged.

The copy of the 1884 Ordnance Survey map showing Oakham was kindly provided by the Leicestershire Record Office.

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Family Annals: The Exton Manuscripts

JENNY CLARK

One of the most exciting acquisitions for the Leicestershire Record Office in the past few years has been the Exton Collection, the family papers of the Noels, Earls of Gainsborough, of Exton Park in Rutland. It had long been assumed that over time the family's papers had been lost, dispersed or destroyed by fires at the Hall in 1810 and 1915. In fact, an extensive array of family and estate records had lain forgotten for many years in dusty chests and rusty tin deed boxes in the stables at Exton. The Leicestershire Record Office was called in to advise on the preservation of these family records and subsequently Lady Campden, on Lord Gainsborough's behalf, agreed to deposit the entire collection on indefinite loan in the Leicestershire Record Office[1]. After fumigation on site in the stables to get rid of any infestations or micro-organisms, the records were moved lock, stock and barrel to Museum premises at Snibston where the documents were cleaned and reboxed before being transferred to the Record Office in Leicester. The size of the collection was daunting. The Exton MSS were, in fact, the largest single family collection that the Leicestershire Record Office had ever received, at that time amounting to about 500 boxes and numerous outsized items like rentals and estate plans. Thanks to subsequent additional deposits from the family, there are now probably nearer 600 boxes. It was clear that special measures would be necessary to make the collection available for public reference within a reasonable time span and the Leicestershire Record Office was fortunate to secure grants from the Pilgrim Trust and, through the Friends of the LRO, from the Leverhulme Foundation to employ an archivist to list the collection. The process is now well underway and this short article is intended to give readers of the *Rutland Record* some idea of the breadth and depth of the Exton collection. While we shall concentrate on Exton itself, at the core of the family's estates, there is nevertheless a wealth of material for other Rutland parishes among the papers too.

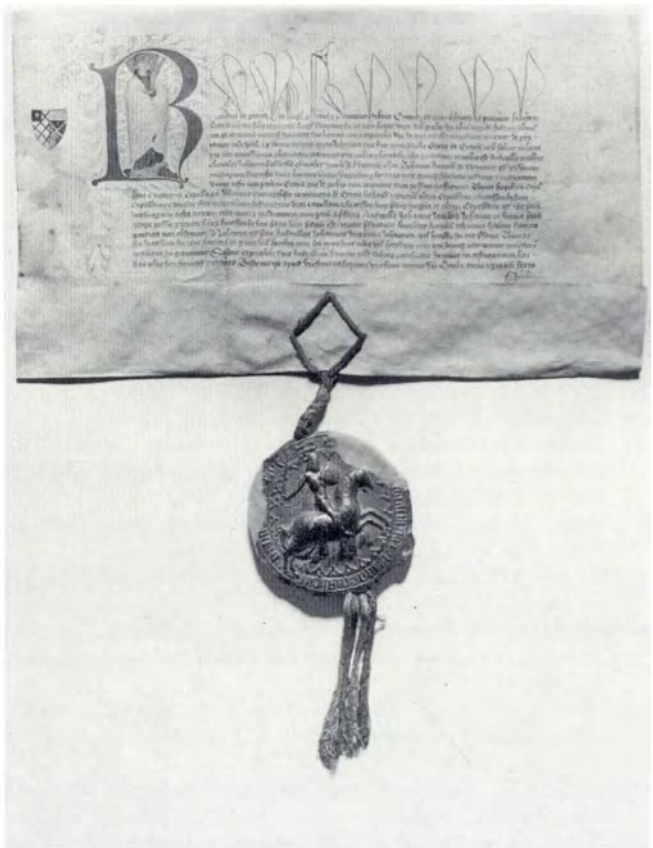

Fig. 1. Licence for Alienation in Mortmain from King Richard II (1382) to provide for a chantry priest in Exton (LRO DE 3214/198/20).

Consider, then, the Exton estate, the big house set in its park and pleasure grounds with its romantic ivy-covered ruin and its gothick summer house on the lake; the church with its monuments to the Haringtons and the Noels; the village with its sturdy cottages around the green. What do the Exton MSS tell us about all this and about relationships between the 'big house' and the village? What kind of records have survived? As we know, family collections can include anything and everything from Letters Patent to laundry lists and the Exton MSS are no exception. But land – and the records of its acquisition, administration and exploitation – is the heart of the matter. For a great county family like the Noels it was the fount of their power, influence and involvement in all aspects of local, and sometimes national affairs. Over the generations the Noels and their forbears by marriage, inheritance and purchase, came to own lands and estates not just in Rutland, Leicestershire and adjoining counties but in Gloucestershire, Kent, London and Ireland as well[2]. By the time the 1873 Return of Owners of Land was drawn up, more than half the county of Rutland was owned by just four families – Heathcote, Finch, Noel and Cecil. The Finches and the Noels had seats in the county just a few miles apart at Burley and Exton but the Noels, with more than 15,000 acres, were the largest landowners of all in Rutland[3]. This territorial dominance was reflected in the fact that with few significant gaps family members provided MPs to represent the county in Parliament from the days of Andrew Noel of Dalby in the mid sixteenth century right up to the retirement of the Hon. G. J. Noel in 1883[4].

Among the hundreds of deeds and evidences of title that have survived among the Exton MSS are a fine series of medieval deeds for Exton itself, recording details of landownership and field names from as early as the thirteenth century. One especially interesting document concerns the partition of the Manor of Exton in 1359 between the sisters Joan Grene and Agnes de Wesenham. Joan and Agnes were two of the four sisters and co-heirs

of the infant Bernard de Brus who had died possessed of the Manor of Exton in 1347. The wardship of the sisters was acquired in 1353 by John de Wesenham, a wealthy merchant, who proceeded to place Joan and her two younger sisters in nunneries and marry Agnes, the eldest sister, to his son Hugh, in order to obtain the whole inheritance. Joan, however, somehow escaped from Nuneaton Priory in 1358, married Nicholas Grene (whose monument can still be seen in Exton church), and commenced litigation with her husband to retrieve her share of the Brus estates. The final settlement, made in 1359, divided the Manor of Exton between them. It is extremely detailed in its instructions, assigning the western part of the manor to Agnes and the eastern to Joan. Joan, for instance, was to have all the barn and 'le Berneyerd', the sheephouse and dovecote, with the whole of the great chamber and the adjoining rooms, the chapel and all the land on the east of the hall, while Agnes got all of the hall with the kitchen, kiln, brewhouse and other rooms. The division of the lands of the manor is carefully and minutely described, giving the names of tenants and fields. Field and strip names include Haukeswellefurlong, Dalewong, Grethamstockyng, le Westlond, Lytelwodedalepece, Todyngleye, Russehput, Burleparkdych, Oxepastur and the Tytheacres[5]. Field and family names occurring in these early Exton deeds can sometimes be followed through later conveyances to help build up a picture of the open field village and its inhabitants. Holdings were consolidated at all levels by the purchase or exchange of strips. By the mid seventeenth century Viscount Campden, the lord of the manor, was enlarging his park by exchanging lands and alloting new areas in lieu of common[6].

On an estate map made in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century the park pale and the ridge and furrow of the village fields can be clearly seen. Woodland, plantations and enclosures are indicated and church, Hall and village houses are drawn in perspective. Deer leap in the park, cattle graze, hounds gambol and tiny figures promenade. Boats (including a galleon in full sail) cruise on the lake in the park. The Hall is set among formal gardens and bounded by a wall and it is interesting to compare the local surveyor's depiction of the house with the engraving in Wright's *History of Rutland*[7]. This house was probably built early in the seventeenth century and was burnt down in 1810. Its remains still stand between the new Hall and the church. In a day book for building labour on the estate there are numerous references to the fire and its consequences. The week beginning Monday 21st May 1810 includes this entry: 'Wednesday morn at 5 o'clock House on fire No. 23 appartments & the staircase & also 4 other appartments Nearly Distroyd'. It may be that goods rescued from the house were stored temporarily in the church, for among later entries for clearing and making safe the fire damage is a record of payment to a man 'siting up to Guard House & Church Blocking up House &

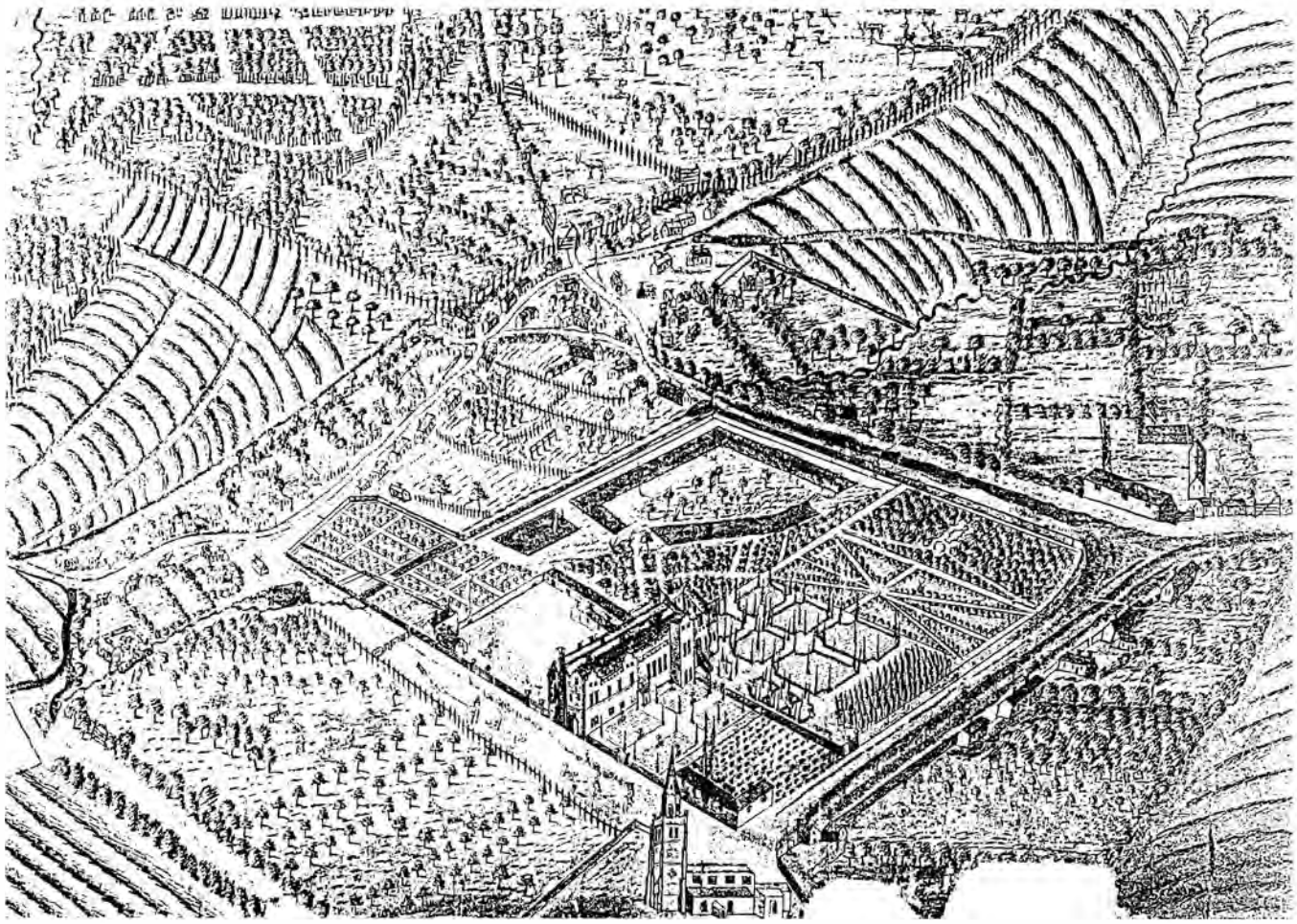

Fig. 2. Exton Hall and village c. 1700, from a plan kept at Exton Park.

Moveing Goods etc.'[8] There are also references to 'Mr Bond' measuring and making a plan of the Hall. This was John Linnell Bond, the architect of the nucleus of the new Hall built in 1811. Bond, in fact, carried out a good deal of work for Sir Gerard Noel Noel including The Hotel at Stamford and alterations at Ketton Hall and at the family house in Cavendish Square in London[9].

Bills for building work like this are found among the estate vouchers preserved in the Exton collection. From about 1750 there is an almost unbroken series of them and the vouchers for 'Exton Repairs' in the late 1780s record in detail the whole process of planning, constructing and decorating the 'Pond House' – the gothick summer house on the lake that came to be known as 'Fort Henry'[10]. The bills identify the hitherto unknown architect as William Legg of Stamford. Legg was a well-known local architect and his work included Vale House in Stamford, the town shambles and the lodges at Burleigh Park as well as the new front of Casewick Hall and the stables at Panton Hall in Lincolnshire[11]. He also worked on the drawing room at Exton Hall and Catmose House in Oakham for the Noels. The vouchers show that Legg first came out to Exton on 12th April 1786 to receive instructions from Lord Gainsborough for a 'gothick building by the pond'. In May he measured the old building (so there must already have been some kind of structure there) and drew up rough plans and in June he produced '3 finished Gothick elevations & a plan of the different floors'. From June to December 1786 Legg made 30 journeys from Stamford to Exton. In 1787 he produced several different designs for Gothick pinnacles, ornaments and pedestals, some of the drawings 'as large as it is executed', and visited the site 35 times. He made 41 journeys in 1788 and by August 1789 was making out the bills for the completed work. The total craftsmen's bills came to £1426 4s 5d on which Legg took a commission of 5%.

The craftsmen Legg employed to build Fort Henry included George Beaver, the principal mason, whom Legg had also used on Panton and Casewick. Beaver's accounts show how parts of the old building and Horn Hall were pulled down and foundations dug for the wings. They record the gothick moulded work, ox-eye windows and astragals. From other bills we know that the stone used came from Clipsham, the bricks from Lord Winchilsea's Burley brickhills, the lime from Greetham and sand for the stucco from Tallington in Lincolnshire. John Tillson, the plasterer, worked on the "gothick groin ceiling" with a circular ceiling ornament, gothick panels, enriched cornices and gothick beads. Decorations included husks, gothick flutes, astragals, a frieze with ruffles and water leaves and moulding with bands, leaves, diamonds and gothick flowers 15 inches in diameter. In October 1789 the disadvantages of a waterside building were apparent when a man was sent to 'get broken bottels & counter larth to prevent rates'. The painter of the finished rooms was Joseph Everard. A 'drab' (yellowish brown) colour was used with white margins, then oil on stucco and finished sea green. The wood panels were green, and green was also used to pick out the husks, the caps of the pilasters, the large flowers and the veins of the water leaves. During 1788 the ground around Fort Henry was levelled and in 1789 iron gates and railings were put up around the summer house by Robert Hunt. It is not known exactly when or why the building came to be called Fort Henry (perhaps after the Earl who built it?) but it had that name in 1806 when Legg returned to Exton to attend "Col. Noel at Fort Henry . . . to receive his instructions for sundry fitments and improvements".

Fig. 3. Fort Henry, Exton Park, October 1991 (Leicestershire Record Office).

Building repairs are not the only items recorded in the estate accounts, of course. The vouchers provide information on the payment of local taxes and rates; on doles and subscriptions; on general estate maintenance ranging from cottages, churches and corn mills in the countryside to shops, stalls and shambles in Uppingham market. They record the purchase of plants and seeds for the gardens of Exton Hall and the stocking of its hothouses, they document tree planting and wood sales. They tell us about hedging, ditching, mowing, manuring and haymaking, about harvest suppers and household expenses. There are vouchers for running a pack of foxhounds and keeping a stable of hunters. We learn from them of the purchase of provisions, wine, books, clothes, paintings and sculptures, as well as the costs of funerals, elections and the Rutland Fencibles.[12]

In a survey of this length it is not possible to look at all of these subjects in detail but one particularly interesting bill is that for the funeral of Baptist, 4th Earl of Gainsborough, who was buried at Exton in 1751.[13] This was the Earl who, according to family legend, had competed with his cousin, the fox-hunting Tom Noel of Walcot, for the affections of the beautiful Elizabeth Chapman, daughter of the park-keeper of Exton, whom he married in 1728.[14] The account of John Preston of London for organising and furnishing the Earl's funeral amounted to more than £300 and shows in detail the lavish ceremonial which accompanied the interment of a wealthy peer of the realm. The Earl of Gainsborough's coffin, decorated in crimson velvet and gilt, lay in state

Fig. 4. Silhouette of Henry, 6th Earl of Gainsborough, annotated after his death in 1798 (LRO DE 3214/298/9).

among candles at the Hall under a canopy of state with his gilt coronet and cap of estate, his banners and trophies – surcoat, helmet, gauntlets, spurs, sword and shield – on display. These trophies were later put up in the church (where some could still be seen until very recently) which, like the Hall, was draped with yards of baize, 'being in Deep Mourning'. A funeral hatchment of the Earl's arms was painted in oil and fixed over the door to the church. The bill also records the scarves, hatbands, hoods and gloves used by the mourners, with different qualities of material used for different ranks – silk for gentlemen and ladies, crepe for the clergy, 'bound' gloves for the ordinary men and women.

This particular Earl, Baptist the fourth Earl, was much interested in music and the arts and among his vouchers there are also bills for family portraits by Arthur Pond, etchings by Joseph Goupy and busts by Louis F. Roubiliac and Peter Scheemakers. There is also a bill for sheet music purchased from 'Mr Smith Mr Handel's wrighter', signed by Christopher Smith (Johann Christoph Schmidt), Handel's amanuensis.[15] It is known that Handel once stayed with the Noels at Exton but as yet no additional information on this event has come to light.

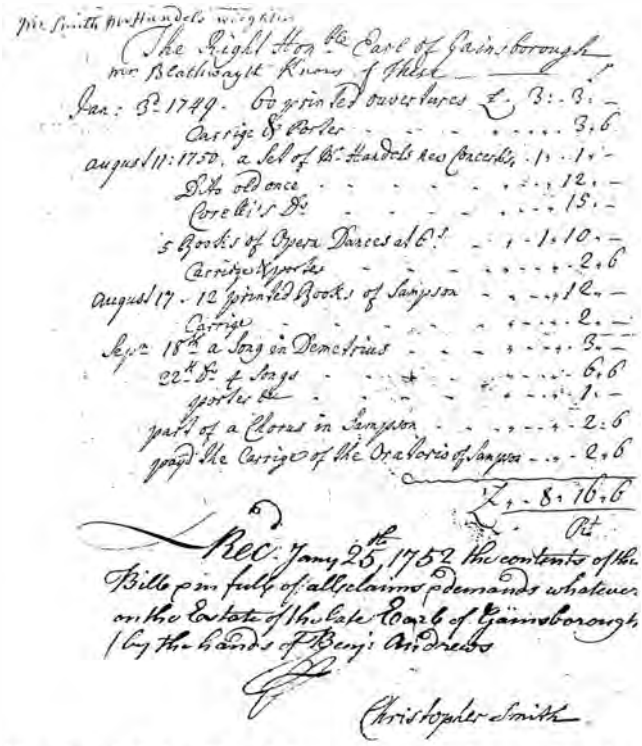

Fig. 5. Bill for Handel's music purchased by the Earl of Gainsborough in 1750 (LRO DE 3214/67/3).

But it is not just the family or the rich and famous who have left their mark among the Exton MSS. The records have much to tell us of the tenants, servants, retainers and agents of the Noels. The influence of

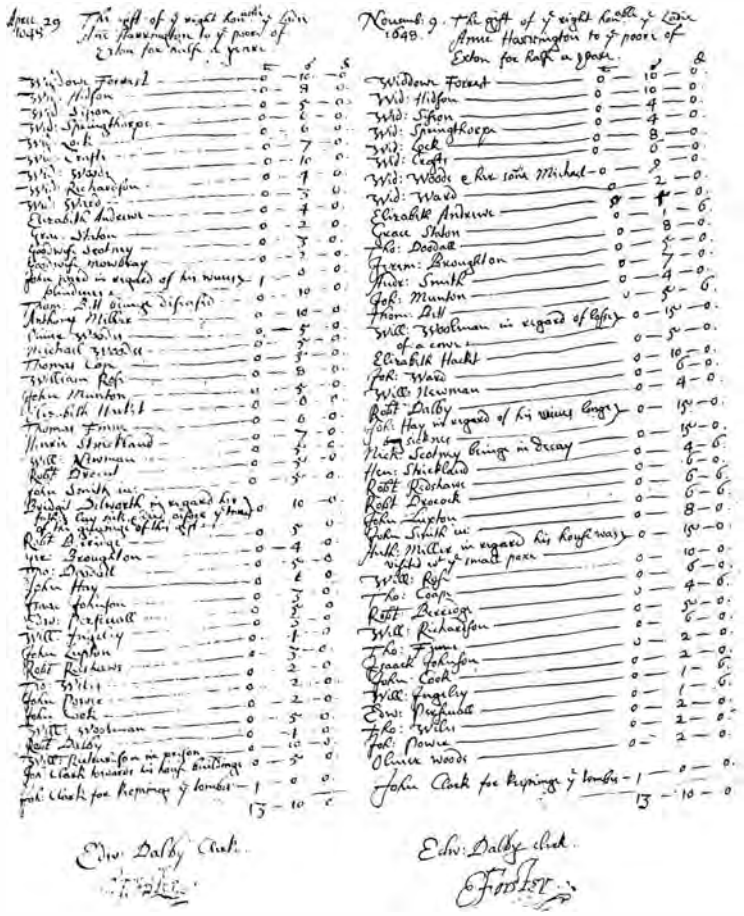

Fig. 6. Lady Anne Harington's Charity Account Book for Exton, 1648 (LRO DE 3214/80).

the estate was all-embracing and the intimate connection between Hall and village is well-documented.[16] Village people worked directly for the Earl on the land and in and around the Hall. Servants' wages and farm labour books list names, occupations and types of work with rates of pay. In 1804, for instance Luke Hibbitt was paid £20 4s 0d a year as a butler at Exton Hall; Mrs Cornwall, the housekeeper received £31 10s 0d, the cook twelve guineas and the housemaids £7 apiece.[17] Village tradesmen and craftsmen supplied the estate with goods and services. The village poor received doles through charities like that endowed by Lady Anne Harington in 1616, or were encouraged to save with coal and clothing clubs administered through the estate.[18] The Earl built cottages to house the village poor: two were erected 'at the town end next Cottesmore' in 1789, three more there in 1790 and six 'poor houses' were built in Butts Yard in 1792.[19] Village children attended the parish schools, including the Catholic school set up by the family in Exton after the conversion of the then Earl of Gainsborough to Catholicism in 1850.[20] Villagers partook of their landlord's hospitality at tenants' dinners and harvest suppers like that laid on in 1788 for twenty-four men and twelve women and turned out to play cricket on the ground in Exton

WILLIAMS, formerly of the Theatres Royal London, Dublin, & Edinburgh — takes leave to addreſs the Ladies & Gentlemen Inhabiting EXTON and its VICINITY, to acquaint them that under the honor of Colonel NOEL's Permiſſion, and the Sufferage of the Magiſtracy, he preſumes to ſubmit a ſeleƈtion of DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENTS to their approbation which ſhall be renderd as worthy of that ſupport he hopes to recieve from a liberal Public, as the nature of a ſmall Company of Traveling Comedians & local Situation will admit,

Theatre, (near the School Houſe) Exton.

Fitted up in the moſt Commodious manner poſſible

On Wednesday Evening June 16th. 1802 will be preſented a favorite New Play (Never Acted Here), calld

LOVER'S VOWS.

Baron Wildenhaim, Mr. NEWBOLT
Frederick, Mr. GEORGE.
Count Caſſel, Mr WHITWORTH.
Anhalt, Mr THOMAS.
Cottager Mr. HILLYARD
And Verdun (the thyming Butler) Mr. WILLIAMS.

Amelia.. Miſs RICHARDSON
Cottagers wife Mrs HILLYARD.
Country Girl. Miſs HILLYARD
And Agatha Friberg, Mrs WILLIAMS

End of the Play A *Comic* Song.
To which will be added a Farce calld

WAYS and MEANS;
Or, a ſhort Method of Getting a Wife.

Sir David Dunder Mr WILLIAMS
Random, Mr GEORGE.
Scruple, Mr WHITWORTH.
Paul Peery, Mr. HILLYARD
Servant, Mr. NEWBOLT
And Tiptoe Mr THOMAS.

Lady Dunder Mrs HILLYARD.
Harriet, Miſs RICHARDSON
And Kitty Mrs WILLIAMS.

☞ Doors to be open'd at half paſt Six, and to begin Punctually at Seven o' Clock.
☞ BOXES 3s — PIT. 2s. — GALLERY 1s
Tickets to be had of Mr WILLIAMS, at Mr HIBBITTS.

Fig. 7. Poster for a play performed by Mr Williams' travelling company at Exton in 1802 (LRO DE 3214/351/1).

Park.[21] The score sheet for a match played between Exton and Oakham on Sir Gerard Noel's ground in 1815 records a less than glorious outcome for the village team which was demolished by Oakham's demon bowlers Brown and Towell, losing the match by 58 runs! A generation later, though, village enthusiasm for cricket was undiminished and the account book of the Exton Park Cricket Club for 1883 lists purchases of new equipment, the rolling of the pitch and the cost of dinners for umpires and scorers.[22]

At the centre of all this, at the heart of the administration of the estate and the furtherance of the family's interests, was their land agent.[23] For nearly forty years, until his death in 1861, the Noel's land agent was Richard Westbrook Baker of Cottesmore, a renowned agricultural innovator and local philanthropist.[24] Baker was the founder of the Rutland ploughing meeting and inventor of the Rutland plough and was well known as a breeder of champion shorthorn cattle – his bull book for 1837–9, preserved among the Exton estate papers, lists and gives a physical description of all the cows covered by bulls like 'Roderick Random' and 'Sultan'.[25] Baker was also a prime mover in the foundation of the Rutland Agricultural Society and the Rutland General Friendly Institution and many papers reflecting his interest and involvement in these societies are to be found among the Exton MSS.[26] Another of Baker's schemes, the Small Allotment System, was started on Sir Gerard Noel Noel's estates in Rutland in 1830. Small plots of land of about one and a half to three roods were let out to labourers at a modest rent under a fixed rotation of cropping. Prizes were awarded annually. The rules of the system included a stipulation of church attendance at least once on Sundays and automatic suspension for habitual drunkards or frequenters of public houses. Among the papers relating to the Small Allotment scheme is a fine volume of coloured plans of allotments in Exton, Cottesmore, Barrow, Ridlington, Whitwell and Uppingham (c. 1830–40), with a handwritten account of the progress of the scheme. This is a copy of the volume presented by Baker to the Royal Agricultural Society.[27] The correspondence between Baker and Sir Gerard Noel and later his son, the first Earl of Gainsborough of the second creation, between Baker and the family's solicitors and between Baker and the tenantry, illustrates well the many duties and skills of the land agent. Baker's commitment to the family is clear: like many agents on the great estates he 'identified closely with the cherished objects of [his] employers – with family continuity, family honour and family influence'.[28] Fundamental to this was the maintenance of the Noels' political standing in the county and Baker was an active electoral agent on their behalf, especially during the elections of the 1840s. Correspondence, election bills and papers relating to voter registration for this period have survived in abundance. The election banners furnished for the Hon. C. G. Noel's campaign in 1841 celebrated 'Noel the tried friend of the County of

Rutland', 'Noel and True Patriotism', and 'Public Good before Private Interest', as well as exhorting 'God Speed the Plough' and wishing 'The Farmer satisfied, the Labourer happy'.[29]

This intimate connection between agriculture and politics in the period is well illustrated in correspondence and papers preserved among the Exton MSS. A land agent like Richard Westbrook Baker, with his concern with rents, yields and improvements and his experience of dealing with the tenantry, was well placed to turn this knowledge to the family's political advantage. In addition, Baker's active interest in agricultural improvement and innovation, which we have already noted, served the Noels well. Baker was active in the cause of agricultural protection even before he became Sir Gerard Noel's agent and was in touch with the General Agricultural Committee. As an overseer of the poor he had had first hand experience of the distress caused by unemployment among farm labourers.[30] Opinions in Exton on the causes of rural unemployment differed little from elsewhere in England. In 1822 Edward Herring of Exton wrote to Sir Gerard Noel opining that 'if the Threshing Machines were done away with, the Labourers would be more and better employd'.[31] While Rutland avoided any outbreak of agitation during the great rising of agricultural labourers in 1830, it was not immune to scares and rumours. The Rector of Whitwell wrote to Sir Gerard Noel in December 1830 about the situation in and around Exton: 'We are all under great and serious alarm for the corn stacks etc which still continue to be fired if not in our County *yet*, still very near us, – last night a fire was seen from Exton in the direction of the Greetham Inn, and your Village Cavalry and Infantry were assembled in a very short time ready to give assistance, but it proved distant from us, but where is not yet known. I cannot sufficiently admire the readiness with which more than 20 mounted Constables & a very large force of others have enrolled themselves, and under the management of Mr Baker the *rural yeomanry* of Exton present a most efficient appearance . . . ' Fears of what might happen in Rutland sprang not just from a general apprehension of the spread of unrest in the country but from the outbreak of incendiarism in neighbouring Lincolnshire. Between mid-November and mid-December seventeen fires were reported there.[32]

A lighter side of life is often revealed in the family's letters to each other. While virtually no family correspondence has survived before the late eighteenth century, there is plenty to read thereafter. On 29th February 1792 Lady Elizabeth Noel wrote to her nephew Gerard Noel Edwards (later Sir Gerard Noel Noel) reporting an earthquake which had been felt in Exton a few days previously. It had been a 'loud tremulous noise' and 'quite a shock', lasting for about a minute. It had apparently been felt at Peterborough, Newark, Goadby, Pickwell, Brooke, Oakham and Ketton. Sir Gerard's numerous offspring (he had eighteen children) wrote frequently to their parents. In 1797 Horace wrote to his father from school at Wallingford with news of his swimming lessons, keeping rabbits and how his brother Henry was about to 'go in partnership with Serle in a squirrel'. Only a couple of years later this same Henry Robert Noel of the squirrel partnership was serving as a 'youngster' aboard HMS *Crescent*, conducting a convoy to the West Indies. The lad writes home describing life on board, the ceremony of crossing the line and taking a Spanish prize after a battle at sea. Sadly Henry died of fever in Curacao only a few months later at the age of sixteen. Sir Gerard always had plenty of advice for his young sons, too. In 1791, mindful of family honour, he wrote to his eldest son Charles about a forthcoming cricket match in Burley Park: 'mind and behave boldly and civilly to Lord Winchilsea if he speaks to you, and speak a good deal to him if he will listen to you'.[33]

Family honour and influence also played a part in Sir Gerard Noel's relationship with Thomas Blore, the antiquarian and historian of Rutland. Blore was a Derbyshire lawyer, born in Ashbourne, who later lived at Manton and Stamford, where he was for a short time the editor of Drakard's *Stamford News*.[34] He was involved with Joshua Jepson Oddy and Sir Gerard Noel in the promotion of the proposed Stamford Junction Navigation in 1809–10 and acted as chairman of Oddy's election committee in the 1809 contest at Stamford. The Exton MSS include some testy correspondence between Sir Gerard and Thomas Blore concerning his conduct during the campaign.[35] However, before this hiccough in their relationship Sir Gerard had afforded Blore every assistance in his research on the history of Rutland by giving him the run of the family archives at Exton Hall. The partial result of this research, Blore's *History and Antiquities of Rutland* was published in 1811 and dedicated to Sir Gerard Noel. What happened to Blore's notes for the unpublished portion of his history has long been a mystery. Some of his papers found their way to the British Library but many more must have existed. A clue appeared in a letter from the Rev. Messing Rudkin to Col. Noel in 1891 in which he refers to Blore's history and comments: 'as for the MSS in Lord Gainsborough's possession, it requires some one in County with knowledge, time and love of the work to finish it'.[36] And indeed many of Blore's notes are scattered among the Exton papers. Bundles of painstaking pedigrees of local families with notes compiled by Blore from local, national and private records have been found. An especially attractive piece of Blore's work is a series of transcripts of medieval deeds relating to Exton which he found among the family archives (and these deeds are still there today).[37] The pages are beautifully written and illustrated by delicate watercolours of the seals by Blore's son Edward. Edward Blore was a distinguished artist and architect, designing the exterior of Abbotsford for Sir Walter Scott, supervising the completion of the Houses of Parliament, and planning the government buildings of Sydney, New South Wales.

He was employed as special architect by both William IV and Queen Victoria.[38] Had the whole work written by the father and illustrated by the son ever been completed it would indeed have been a fine contribution to the history of Rutland.

It is inevitable that much interesting material has had to be excluded in a short article like this. The interests and activities of the family outside Exton, in the wider world of the county and beyond, have hardly been touched upon. The material is there, though. For now, it is hoped that this somewhat breathless excursion into Exton's past may give readers some taste of what a rich and important source the Exton MSS are proving for all aspects of the history of Rutland.

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JOHN BANTON
Poet of Teigh

ERIC HARDY

A traveller entering Rutland from the north may first arrive at the village of Teigh. It is a quiet place set back from the road and is centred around the Church of Holy Trinity. No one would think that it had seen high drama when in 1326 the notorious and turbulent priest Sir Richard de Foleville met there a violent end, or that one of its sons, Anthony Jenkinson, had been a great merchant adventurer, who had dined with Ivan the Terrible.

Apart from that, Teigh has had an uneventful history, but it can also boast a poet, John Banton, who lived there from about 1780 until his death in 1848. It was the period which Arthur Bryant has described as "the Age of Excellence", but although he published work which was certainly widely read in the Rutland area, and which could be bought at booksellers in London and elsewhere, he does not seem to have received the recognition one might have expected.

But there is an entry in the Victoria County History of Rutland which has ensured that at least he will not be forgotten. It reads:

> "John Banton, a poet who was buried in 1848 in Teigh churchyard, was the son of a labourer of Teigh. He was schoolmaster there for many years, and his verse indicates the possession of a vivid imagination and an excellent knowledge of the classics."

In the book *19th Century Minor Poets* which was edited by W. H. Auden, one finds the comment that

> "Nearly all the 19th century poets were members of the middle or upper class, the majority members of professional families. Of 80 considered, only one, Clare, was a farm labourer. Most of them lived in the country and nearly all of them had had a classical education, that is to say, they spent most of their time at School and University in the study of Latin and Greek, and a great many hours in the composition of Latin verse."

So from that standpoint, Banton's start in life was not the best, and in fact he felt it necessary to draw attention to it in the preface to his second work, *Excursions of Fancy*, which was published in Stamford in 1824. In it he wrote

> "The favourable manner in which the author's first production *The Village Wreath* was received encouraged him to offer to the notice of the public another small volume, aided by the benevolent exertions of some highly respectable individuals, his application for support has been successful and he is now enabled to submit the following pages to the public. Of their merits or demerits it becomes him not to speak but perhaps he may be allowed to inform those who are strangers to him that he is the son of a day labourer and received an education suitable to that condition at a village school, where he was never taught a grammatical lesson. These poems were chiefly written after the labours of the day were ended."

If this was not a sufficient handicap for a man with ambitions to be a schoolmaster and a poet, he lived in an era in which great and famous poets were in abundance. Almost within the same lifespan one can point to George Crabbe, William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Barnes, Robert Burns, Sir Walter Scott, Percy Shelley, John Keats, Lord Byron and John Clare.

Curiously, Banton was for a time a near neighbour of Clare, who worked as a gardener and farmworker at Pickworth, and who was struggling in the same way to improve his lot. So in one Rutland village Banton was working his way up from humble beginnings to become the village schoolmaster, and was writing poetry in his spare time, and in another Clare was working at his various occupations and scribbling away at his poetry on any paper he could come by.

Both had the same problem of getting their work published, and much of this was done by small printers, who would not proceed until an adequate number of subscribers had been obtained. In order to promote this, a prospectus, or '*Address to the Public*' advising on and advertising the work to be published, would be printed at the author's expense and displayed in appropriate places. Thereafter the progress of the venture would depend on the rate at which customers subscribed.

To a large extent this would be dependent on the degree of local interest and of the patronage of locally influential people that could be obtained. In his book *Excursions of Fancy*, Banton included a dedication to 'The Gentleman of the University of Cambridge in grateful acknowledgement of their support', as well as a list of 187 Rutland subscribers which included many of the notable families of the County, and so he was evidently not without support.

To a large extent people depended on cheap publications for self education. These came as pamphlets or chapbooks generally to be had for a few pence from door-selling hawkers, or from book stalls at fairs and markets. The variety of subjects obtainable was surprisingly wide, examples being Bunyan's '*Pilgrims Progress*', Milton's '*Paradise Lost*', Fenning's '*Arithmetic*' Walton's '*Angler*', Ward's '*Algebra*', Lee's '*Botany*', Culpepper's '*Herbal*' and many more of a similar nature.

It cannot be doubted that Banton took full advantage of them, immersing himself in the classics and Greek mythology, his knowledge of this being reflected in some of his poems.

A lot of poetry could be bought in this way too, and about this his fellow poet Clare was not happy, observing that there were 'poets and poets', some being no more than ballad mongers, unloading their wares on a public unable to discriminate between good and bad.

With such sentiments Banton would no doubt have agreed. A few miles away at Teigh he would have been busy at the village school where he was

THE AUTHORS HOUSE AT TEIGH.

John Banton's cottage at Teigh.

for so long the schoolmaster, having educated himself to that capability. Such schools in those days were small and generally supported by endowments or local provision. Some came under the National System, others were run by the Church of England. His was a private school, where pupils would pay something like 2d or 4d per week, and the master's income might be between £5 and £10 per year, varying from place to place. The teaching would be fairly rudimentary and confined mainly to the three 'Rs', reading, writing and arithmetic, and Church catechism. Education was not then, as now, compulsory, and attendance depended a great deal on circumstances.

Despite encouragement from their parents to 'learn their letters' and better themselves, pupils no doubt found their studies tedious since these involved much repetitive reading and copying from the Scriptures, with corporal punishment at hand if they were not diligent. Perhaps Banton, while coping with the daily routine of teaching pupils who were not very keen to learn, and as he set them even more passages from the Bible to write out, found poetry a release, turning over in his mind other poets' work and seeking to draw inspiration for his own poetical ambitions.

His first publication was *The Village Wreath* and this was evidently a success. Unfortunately, I have not been able to trace a copy, neither the British Library nor the Bodleian possessing one. It was published, as were his later works, by a Stamford printer, but the library there does not have a copy, and other enquiries have drawn blank.

It was natural that Banton, in common with his fellow poets, should draw on local affairs for inspiration, as well as on each other's work. Thus we have Crabbe, who as chaplain to the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle was a near neighbour, writing *The Village* and *The Parish Register*, while Clare, also not far away, wrote a piece called *The Parish*.

Banton's second publication was *Excursions of Fancy* which he described as a collection of 'Pastoral, Descriptive and other Poems'. It was published in Stamford in 1824 and contained 27 poems. It had as frontispiece a sketch of his cottage in Teigh. It was stated to be sold by 'Rooe, and Adams' in Stamford, Mr. G. F. Widnal of Edgeware Road, London, Boughton and Son of Cambridge, Tibbutts of Leicester, Day at Melton, and Snoden at Oakham.

His poems cover many themes, but as with most poets, they are predominantly to do with girls, tragedies, nature and epics, with a dash of mythology thrown in. His prosaic life as a schoolmaster probably gave him little inspiration and he seems to have drawn his ideas from other poets of the time.

While others wrote largely about people or places and what happened around them, except in a few instances Banton does not give us much of a glimpse of his life and times. Indeed he seems to have been unduly preoccupied with death, and a number of his poems are about girls who met mysterious and uncomfortably tragic ends. Yet of course they all mirror events which did happen from time to time in village life. He lived during fairly stirring times, but only in his third volume did he find inspiration from them, and his last volume was entirely concerned with religious themes.

One thing he did have in common with Clare was his use of punctuation. Both of them sprinkled commas and semi-colons all over the place, and even dispensed with them altogether when they felt like it.

For his third work Banton tried something else. He described it as a dramatic poem, *The Sulliot Chief, or the Test of Patriotism*. It is in fact a full length play with five acts, fifteen scenes, and a cast of twelve. A copy of this has survived, having at some time been presented to the British Library, bound together with some other tracts, not of a very inspiring nature.

In his foreword, Banton describes it thus: *'The Sulliot Chief* is founded on an attempt made by the notorious Ali Pasha to subjugate the Sulliots, an independent tribe of modern Greeks, an account of which may be found in the New Monthly Magazine.'

He goes on to give some background information about the Sulliots for the benefit of readers of the poem. The tribe lived in a beautiful and fertile plain of about six leagues to the west of the Mountain of Sulli, in four villages, retreating in time of danger to the Mountain which was considered impregnable, the highest summit of which, called Tripa, was said to be able to offer refuge for ten thousand men.

Although the war with the Turks would have been widely reported over a long period, one cannot escape the fact that Lord Byron had played a prominent part in the whole Sulliot affair, and it is highly probable that Banton derived his inspiration from his study of Byron and may have thought about

using it for some time, the New Monthly Magazine providing the final stimulus. Whether *The Sulliot Chief* was ever performed is doubtful, but it is well put together and presented, and looks quite interesting from that point of view.

Concerning Banton's connections with other poets, it is interesting to note that Robert Burns is reputed to have visited Teigh, and there is reason to believe that through this, there was some correspondence with another Scottish poet, James Hogg.

Thirteen years elapsed before Banton published his final work in 1847. This was called *Gleanings in Carmel*, and was basically a religious commentary, leavened, if that is the right word, with verses on the same theme. It is a rather sombre book but, at that time, such books were commonplace. He was obviously deeply engrossed in the Bible, and much of his verse consisted of paraphrases of passages from it. For him, it had become the first priority.

In his conclusion to *Gleanings from Carmel*, he wrote:

> "Without me ye can do nothing" were the words of Him who is truth itself. Paul may plant, and Apollo may water, but except God give the increase, they labour in vain. Lord I beseech thee, send down thy blessings, upon these humble efforts, and should any be edified, to thy name be the praise.

As to John Banton's poetry, a small selection is appended, though it is perhaps too little on which to make a judgement. However, I would like to think that this one time village schoolmaster cum poet from the little village of Teigh in County Rutland will be remembered.

John Banton died in 1848 at Teigh and was buried in the churchyard there. He was 55.

Winter

Now Winter reigns, and from his cloudy store
Has clothed nature with a flowing dress
Of purest white, by Gelus studded o'er
With dazzling crystals – from his dark recess
Midst icy mountains drear and comfortless.
Grim Boreas comes, wild howling o'er the heath,
His savage powers the eddying flakes confess,
Whirled in huge heaps by his tumultuous breath
While tender flocks beneath, oft meet untimely
death.

Sometimes perchance the faithful dog will lead
By his keen scent his master to the place
Where overwhelmed with snow the woolly breed
Lie gasping, pent up in a narrow space.
Ye trusty guardians of the bleating race
Your charge will now the utmost care demand
Let cribs of hay the barren prospect grace
And let the well filled troughs in order stand
And scatter turnips round with kind and liberal
hand.

The chattering field-fare and the mottled thrush
The scarlet hip suck from its parent briar
Or for its fruit explore the hawthorn bush
With fluttering wing and looks of keen desire.
Fierce hunger doth the cautious rooks inspire
With boldness, round the treasured ricks they crowd
Tugging forth golden ears, nor will retire
Until the farmer raise his voice aloud
Or send the thundering death rol'd in a sulphurous
cloud.

The sportsman now attended by his dog
Will seek the mallard on the ready shore
Or chase the speckled woodcock from the bog
Or for the darting snipe the brook explore.
The skilful skater glides from shore to shore
Of lake or river bound in icy banks;
The hounds pursue the crafty fox no more,
Close in his stall the pampered hunter stands
Nor leaps the fence, nor bounds across the
furrow'd land.

But see thick clouds with water overcharg'd
Hang low, and now from each a torrent pours;
The babbling brooks to rivers are enlarged;
The river overflows its wonted shores
And like the mighty ocean foams and roars
Flooding the meadows far on either side;
Swift down the current roll the mingled stores
Of ice and snow, the lofty arch and wide
Is choak'd, and from its base torn by the raging
tide.

Oh thou whose pow'r the raging floods obey;
Whose voice can check the fury of the wind;
Who canst the rigour of the frost allay
And all the elements in fetters bind,
Grant me midst WINTERS dreary scenes to find
A snug retreat, and brightly sparkling fire
Where the fresh flow'rs of fancy may be turn'd
Into a wreath, and my dejected lyre
Again may sound the notes which hope and joy
inspire.

The Wandering Girl

The hills and the valleys in splendour appear
And the note of the cuckoo enlivens the year,
The blackbirds sweet music resounds thro the grove
Intermix'd with the plaints of the murmuring dove
But sprung with its beauties unnotic'd returns
By her, who her folly and misery mourns
The tear of repentance thou cheeks shall impearl
Till death ends the woes of the Wandering Girl.

I was once alive to the beauties of Spring
And could listen with rapture to hear the birds sing
The lambs in the valley that frolic and play
I beheld, and was cheerful and careless as they
And happy and cheerful I still might have been,
But fateful imprudence has clouded the scene
I gave ear to the vows of a dissolute earl
Who seduced from her parents the Wandering Girl.

But soon his professions were o'er,
I was ruined, neglected, then turn'd out of doors,

Like the prodigal back to my father I sped
But alas, both my father and mother were dead.
Now sadly I wander o'er mountain and moor
And beg for my food at the cottagers door
Who oft heave a sigh when they see the salt pearl
Trickle down the pale cheek of the Wandering Girl.

Ere long will the scene of my misery close
And beneath the green turf my frail body repose,
No friends will be near me, their loss to bewail
Nor tell of my ruin, the piteous tale
But cleans'd by repentance, my soul shall arise
Obtaining through mercy, a seat in the skies
No more shall keen sorrow these eyelids impearl
But smiles light the face of the Wandering Girl.

The Poet's Dream

The treasure, which through me they gain
They waste with Bachus's blistering train
In revelry and noise
They laugh and sing, carouse and drink
Nor ever on the future think
'Til want mars all their joys.

But thou has nobler ends in view
Therefore the road to fame pursue
And mock the sordid train
Let they first case thy business be
Give but thou leisure hours to me
Thou shall not give in vain.

Then with a sweet and smiling look
A Chaplet in her hand she took
Of evergreens entwin'd;
View this, and laugh at wealth she cries
Persist – and thou shall gain the prize,
And this thy brow shall bind.

She ceas'd and vanished from my sight
Soon I awoke, the source of light
Had not vouchsaf'd to beam
With Orient splendour o'er the land,
When up I got, took pen in hand
And wrote the POET'S DREAM.

Charlotte

Where is Charlotte the girl I adore
Of all village beauties the Queen!
She is gone, and these eyes shall behold
her no more.
Tripping gracefully o'er the green

Where is the bright beam of her eye
'Tis extinguished by beauty's dire foe
Ah no! 'tis transformed to a star in the sky
And enlightens these regions below.

Where now is the roseate bloom
Of those cheeks which I view'd with delight
Alas, 'tis a prey in the comfortless tomb
To the wandering reptiles of night.

Where now is the musical voice
That enchanted each listening ear
It has ceas'd – it is mute – in the grave –
non rejoice
For the empire of silence is there.

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A Turret Clock at St. Mary's, Edith Weston

MICHAEL LEE

In September 1991 I made my first visit to St. Mary's Church, Edith Weston, to start some renovation work on the church bells and bellframe. As I walked towards the south porch and looked up to the bell chamber, I could see where for a number of days my labour was required. The church clock was correct: 9.20 a.m. The old dial was marked for one hand, each hour being divided into four spaces, but this clock had two hands, indicating that an early dial was being used for a more recent clock.

On this warm September morning the sun was breaking through the mist as I lifted the door latch. The first visit to any Church for me means a chance for a good look around. In the cool of this fine building the light from old and new stained glass cast shadows through unusual pews, surrounded by white memorials of history. This first look must be quick as my partner for the renovation would arrive at any moment. Near the base of the tower to the right hung a picture frame with four black and white photographs of an old church clock. What I was looking at seemed for a moment to be untrue. I recognised this clock as made by John Watts of Stamford. For some years I have been working on a group of turret clocks made by a man who marked his work 'I.W.' followed by a date. Was it really possible that this was made by the same man or his family? The text between the photographs did not confirm my thoughts. It stated that this was a Commonwealth clock of 1658. The earliest clock that I had worked on had been installed in Empingham Church, and was marked 'I.W. 1686'. This find could put a new generation of turret clock-makers into my investigations of 'Who was I.W?' The other part of the text on the photographs noted that the clock had been renovated and was on loan to Rutland County Museum. I was tempted to leave and go to Oakham, but my partner arrived and we set to the work in hand.

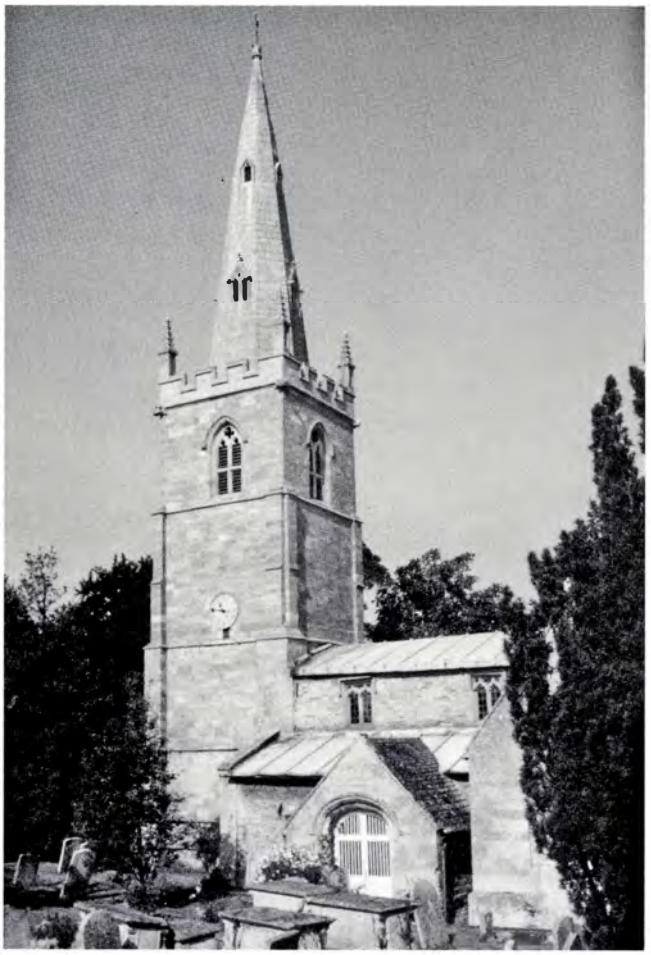

Fig. 1. Saint Mary's Church, Edith Weston.

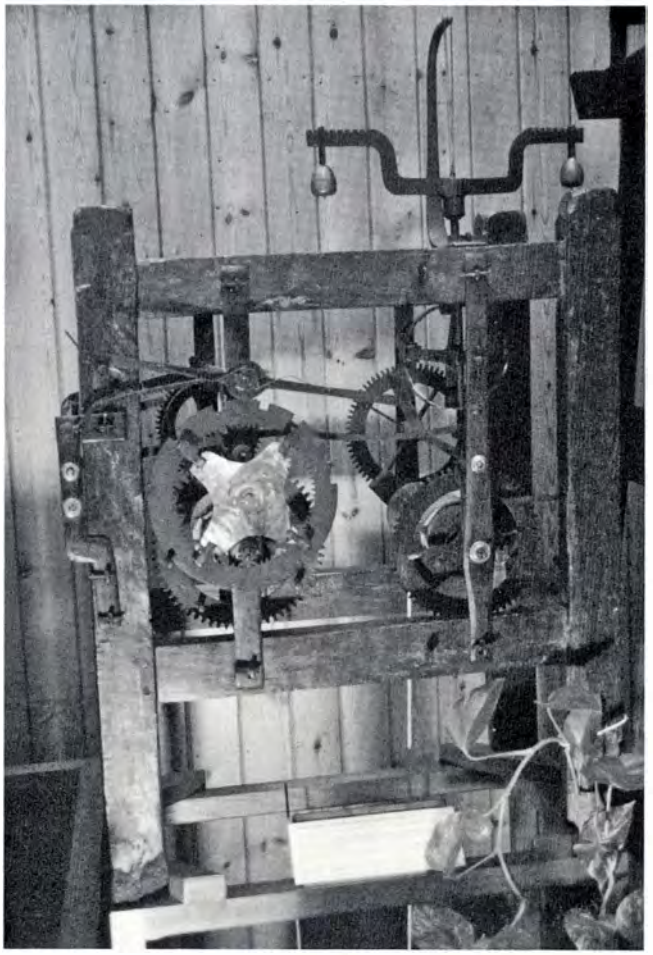

Fig. 2. The Commonwealth Clock.

Lunchtime was the chance to make the break and drive the few miles to Oakham. At the museum the Edith Weston church clock was wound and working. The wooden frame and movement were nearly identical to the 17th and 18th century turret clocks of John Watts that are known to be in existence.

I spent the whole of the evening reading through a document given to me at the museum. It explained details of how the clock was found and its subsequent renovation twenty-five years ago. The find was made by a group of horologists from the Nottingham branch of the British Horological Institute. The following extracts are from this article, entitled 'Restoration of a

"Commonwealth" Clock' (*British Horological Journal* **109**, January 1967), in which A. A. Hatherley describes how the Antiquarian Group of the Nottingham Branch restored an old turret clock in their spare time.

> The old dial on the face of the tower clearly announced that at least one clock prior to the present one had formerly regulated the life in the village, which prompted enquiries as to whether any remains of an earlier discarded movement were still in existence. The immediate and unexpected response was to be shown, at the west end of the Church behind a bench, a timber frame supporting a few wheels and standing over two stone weights and an assortment of metal objects – the obvious dissolution of a very old turret clock. According to the rector, the Rev C. D. Payne, it was known as the 'Commonwealth' clock, but no one knew how it got the name. For the Antiquarian Group to be committed to the restoration of the relic was then perhaps too easy a progression, in the light of experience, but the offer was made and gladly accepted by the church authorities.
>
> It was observed that on the watch side, the second wheel, escape wheel and hour wheel were made of brass, whereas all other parts (except the single hand) were of wrought iron. On the hour wheel was inscribed 'Rd. Hackett Harringworth 1775'. By carefully noting the form, material and workmanship of that part of the clock we accepted as being original, and examining the scars left by alterations, we were led to the belief that the movement was of an age to have been designed with a verge and foliot escapement and that it had actually been so constructed. Mr Hackett, it was deduced, had converted it to anchor escapement in 1775. As the church records revealed that the dial (with hour markings only) was not provided until 1778, there was also an indication, strengthened by the absence of evidence of original dial work on the movement itself, that the sole function of the clock had been to strike the hours on a bell.
>
> We were accordingly drawn to agreement on the original style of the clock, but only after much consideration and discussion over a long period of time.
>
> Action could now begin. The components were distributed amongst the members of the Group for preliminary cleaning prior to deciding on the exact form the restoration should take. There was some excitement when this led to the discovery of the date 1658 marked on the inner face of the annulus of each main wheel. The two date marks, found only after the removal of dirt and corrosion, were unanimously assessed as genuine. It was felt that here was solid justification of the Edith Weston tradition regarding the local name for the clock, for Cromwell's Commonwealth, it will be recalled, covered the period 1649 to 1660.

I had doubts about the dating of this clock as it looked so similar to the others found in the last ten years, all of which I had worked on. The only differing parts were the stone weights. These had been rough hewn, not like the weights on the Apethorpe or Clipsham clocks which are well shaped. The top rail had no initials or date, and this clock was the only one not to have a pendulum. To give some idea of the dates and markings of the others, they are as follows:

Empingham:	IW 1686 – now on display in Stamford Museum
Clipsham:	IW 1688 – standing on the church floor on display
Nassington:	IW 1695 – standing on the church floor on display
Apethorpe:	IW 1704 – still installed and working as the church clock
Peterborough Cathedral:	1686 (according to Cathedral records) – standing on the floor of the north transept, part of a large display of a number of early Cathedral clocks.

It therefore seemed that the Edith Weston clock of circa 1658 might prove to be of great interest. I obtained permission to dismantle it and look for these dates on the wheels.

It is surprising that any of these turret clocks has survived. Only the Apethorpe clock remains in its original working position. It is wound every day, and keeps good time. A clock tends to work well while its keeper understands its working parts and is willing to organise any replacement required. At the turn of the 19th century, the Victorians found any excuse for removal and renewal. Many of Watts's clocks had served for over two hundred years, and a new age of what may be called steam clocks had arrived. I have heard many stories about ancient clocks which had at one time been in a church and had been removed because they were no longer of any importance.

The following account is taken from an essay, *Memories of a villager* by Lucy Adela Lock of the Manor Farm, Yarwell, Northamptonshire. Mrs Lock wrote this article in 1957, aged 83. It deals with her memories of a number of villages on the Willowbrook. This extract is taken from the King's Cliffe section:

Fig. 3. Saint Mary's and All Saints' Church, Nassington, clock as found. Some of the working parts were missing. These included the pendulum and bob. The weights, two final gear wheels,and the dial were known to have been used as a garden table at the vicarage.

There was a famous clock in the church tower in 1692. It was somewhat primitive in style with a rough wooden frame and a great stone weight. Still, it served as a parish timekeeper for over two hundred years when it was replaced by a modern one. The ancient clock was taken to London and placed in the window of a shop in Theobald's Road. It ought to be in a museum, but I have not been able to find out what became of it.

The Church mentioned was All Saints, King's Cliffe, in Northamptonshire. The firm which removed the clock was A. & T. Rowley, Clockmakers, of Theobald's Road, London. The removal took place in 1887. Mrs Lock mentions 1692 and this date must have been marked on the clock frame. I deduce from this that it was made by John Watts and would have been marked 'I.W. 1692'. If this is correct then he provided clocks for three villages in a line all on the Willowbrook: Nassington 1695, Apethorpe 1704, Kings Cliffe 1692. Good salesmanship!

The sound of church bells was usually a signal for an imminent event. In monastic buildings where canonical time was the main requirement, a mechanical device was used to measure the hours and the time of Mass. The keeper of the clock would have been responsible for striking the bell. It is thought that a mechanical device for the automatic striking of a bell was not used until the middle of the fourteenth century. These improved clocks would have been of substantial size. They would have required a high platform as a base to stand on, and a void downwards for the weights to fall through for the motive power which was very similar to a later development: the longcase or grandfather clock, which did the same thing on a small scale. In the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the measurement of sidereal time was to progress, and there was a need for a timepiece capable of accurate measurement of the hours, and to sound out a signal at each hour. This requirement led to the development of what we know today as the turret clock. Most turret clocks required two main mechanical working sections. These were the 'going train' of gears to measure and keep the time, and the 'striking train' of gears to enable a bell to be struck to signal the time of day or night. In many of these early clocks the foliot was used as the time-beating measurement for the time-keeping train of gears.

In 1641 Galileo knew that the foliot had a friction problem and was not an ideal form of beat measurement control. He was working to improve this problem knowing that the foliot could not be relied upon to keep a time-keeper accurate to as little as plus or minus five minutes a day. Galileo had used a pendulum to count beats of time during astronomical observations, an assistant counting the beats when instructed. Galileo and his son Vincenzo realised that the pendulum was nearly friction-free and worked to adapt a method of giving the pendulum continuous motion in a clock mechanism. It is thought that their reward was the first clock known to have used a pendulum and a simple form of escapement.

This application was to cause a revolution in the field of clock making. The pendulum was to timekeeping as the development of colour transmission has been to television. Not only was the quality improved but so also was the sales potential. The Dutch engineer Christian Hugens developed it to a stage where it could be used commercially, and he sold the rights to Samuel Coster of The Hague who put a patent on it for twenty years. A number of adaptations were made over the years for the use of the short pendulum, but it was not until 1671 that William Clement made a clock for King's College, Cambridge, with the anchor recoil escapement that could be used with a long pendulum. Fifteen years later John Watts of Stamford installed a turret clock with a seconds pendulum at Empingham.

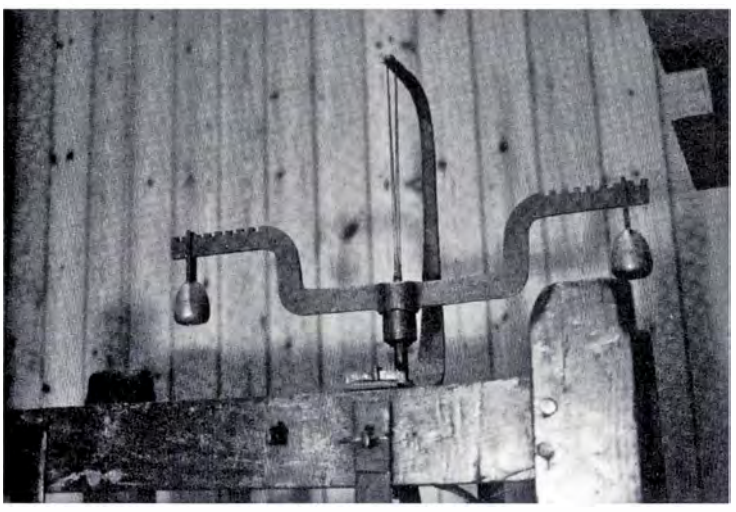

Fig. 4. The foliot as used in the Edith Weston clock. The beat is measured by the action oscillating backwards and forwards in the horizontal plane.

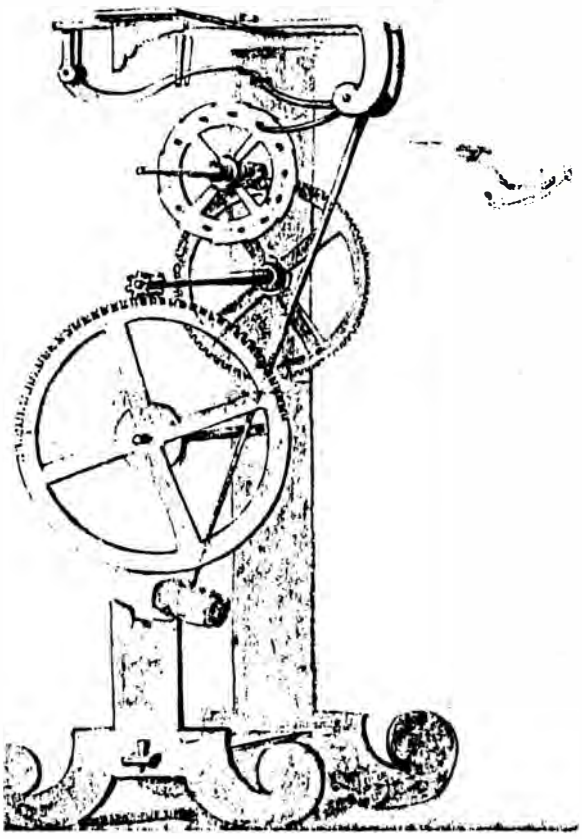

Fig. 5. Vincenzo Galileo's own drawing, made in 1641, of his father's pendulum clock and escapement.

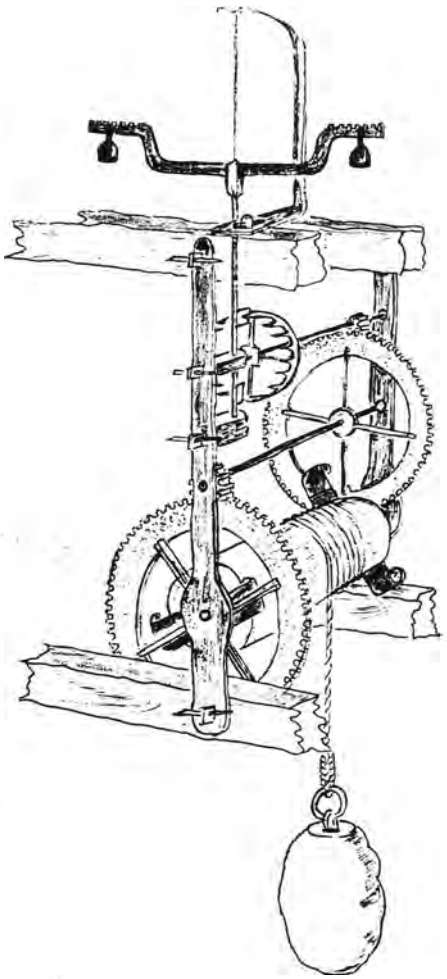

Fig. 6. The Edith Weston clock with foliot, the method used before the invention of the pendulum.

As this is one of the earliest clocks known to have been made by I.W. it would be of great interest to discover when and where the pendulum was first used by this clockmaker. Was it at Edith Weston that the final use was made, of the foliot and was Galileo's invention used first at Empingham, helping to keep good time in Rutland?

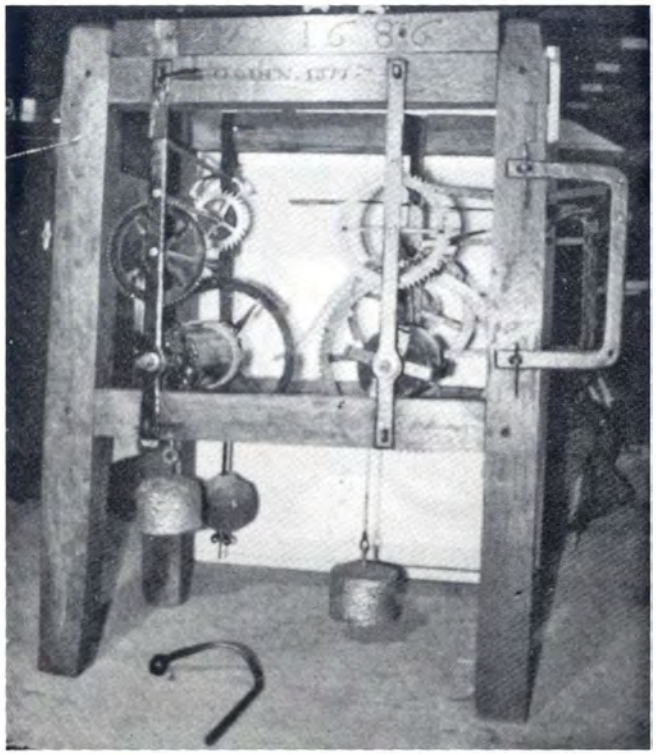

Fig. 7. The Empingham Church clock during renovation. Only the top rail of the original wooden frame survives, still clearly marked 'I.W. 1686'. On the new frame the date 1877 indicates the date of a major overhaul.

Many clockmakers used these new developments, and many parish churches purchased a clock. John Watts' production was to increase, and many wooden-framed turret clocks will have stood on the floor of the Stamford workshop. Most of these wooden frames are of a standard design, and all are made of oak.

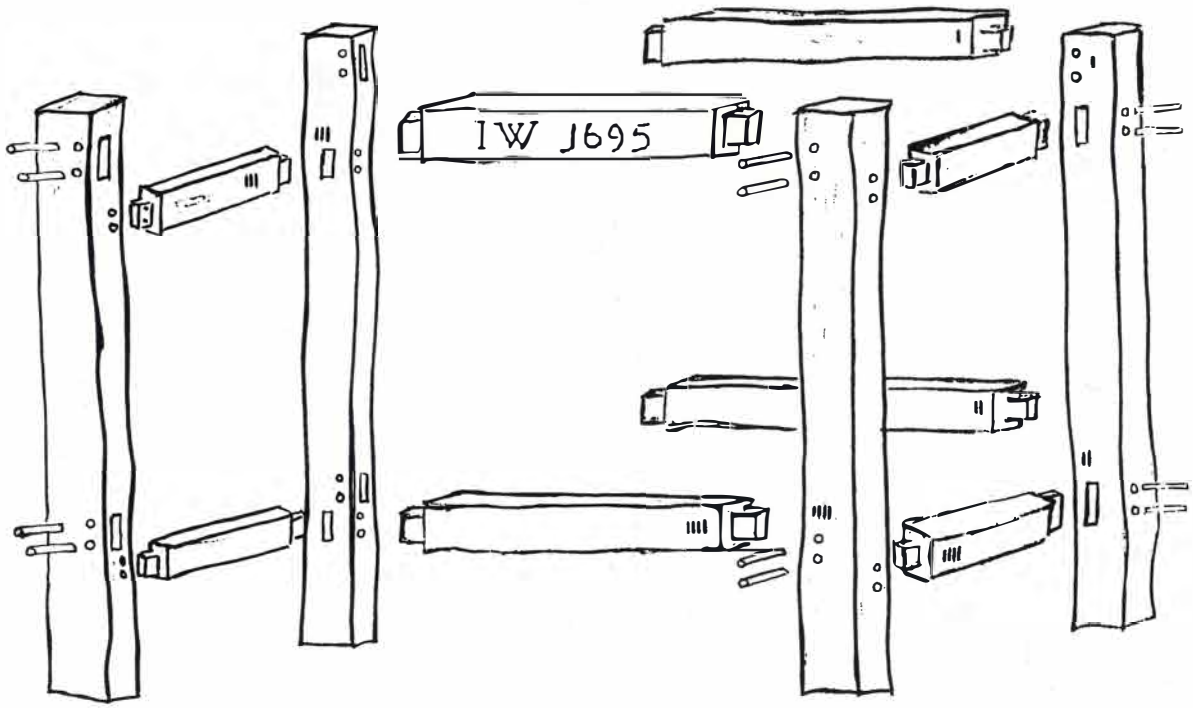

Fig. 8. The standard wooden clock frame.

On completion in the workshop, they were loosely assembled, and the joints were punch-marked, and dowel pins fitted loosely. Most of the metal parts are of wrought iron and were made on the forge. All components had to withstand the conditions found in a church tower. Many openings let in rain and wind; birds nested on many ledges causing dirt and droppings to fall on working parts. The photograph of the Empingham clock shows the substantial size of all the components – some of the wheels are in excess of 12 inches in diameter and 1/2 inch thick. The pendulum bob can be seen on the bottom right and to the rear. The regulation or final adjustment nut can be seen under the lead bob about 6 inches from the floor. The total length of the pendulum is 39.1 inches (approx one metre). This gives some idea of the height of the clock. The time-keeping train is on the left-hand side, the striking train to the right, held in position between upright pivot bars. Both of the weights giving power are made of lead and can be seen hanging below. The original weights were missing. Most of the original parts made in the workshop were standard. Templates were kept for the forging of blank metal rings, and the gear teeth were cut out on the bench.

At least two turret clocks would have stood completed on the workshop floor as final adjustments took some time. The time-keeping side would need regulating by using the master workshop clock, which would be called a regulator. A fine longcase clock stands in the Mayor's parlour in Stamford Town Hall. The dial is marked "John Watts Stamford", and may have been similar to his regulator. When all the work was complete the clock would be dismantled and packed ready for the transportation to its place of installation.

Is the Edith Weston clock date of 1658 true? The purpose of dismantling the clock was to look for the dates that were mentioned by the Nottingham horologists in their survey of 1965. The survey also said that there was no evidence of original dial work on the movement itself, and that the sole function of the clock had been to strike the hours on a bell.

I inspected all the old metal wheels in great detail and was disappointed to find that none of the many rough marks looked like a date. The stone weights look different from those of the other clocks, and the total dimensions of the wooden frame are slightly less. When handling the parts I was convinced that they were made by John Watts. The Empingham clock is signed and dated 1686, but Edith Weston is not signed or dated. The difference between the dates may have been twenty-eight years. It is possible that the John Watts of the 1680s continued in the trade in succession to an earlier clockmaker, perhaps his father, as all the other clocks found date between 1686 and 1704.

It is my opinion that the clock did have provision for a single hand, and a dial would have been fitted. Amongst the parts retained with the clock in Rutland County Museum are the wheels and other parts not used by the team of renovators.

These include two large wheels and the escape wheel, all made of brass by Richard Hackett of Harringworth in 1775. There is also a large wheel made of wrought iron from the original clock, though not used in the renovation. Perhaps it was the final wheel to the one hand of the clock.

The existing dial on the tower had been cut from stone and neatly let into the existing stone work. Evidence of two others pre-dating this fine dial can be seen at the same position. Around the outside of the present dial a clear ring can be seen, looking very much like a circle of stonework surrounding the stone dial. On close inspection this ring is clearly a

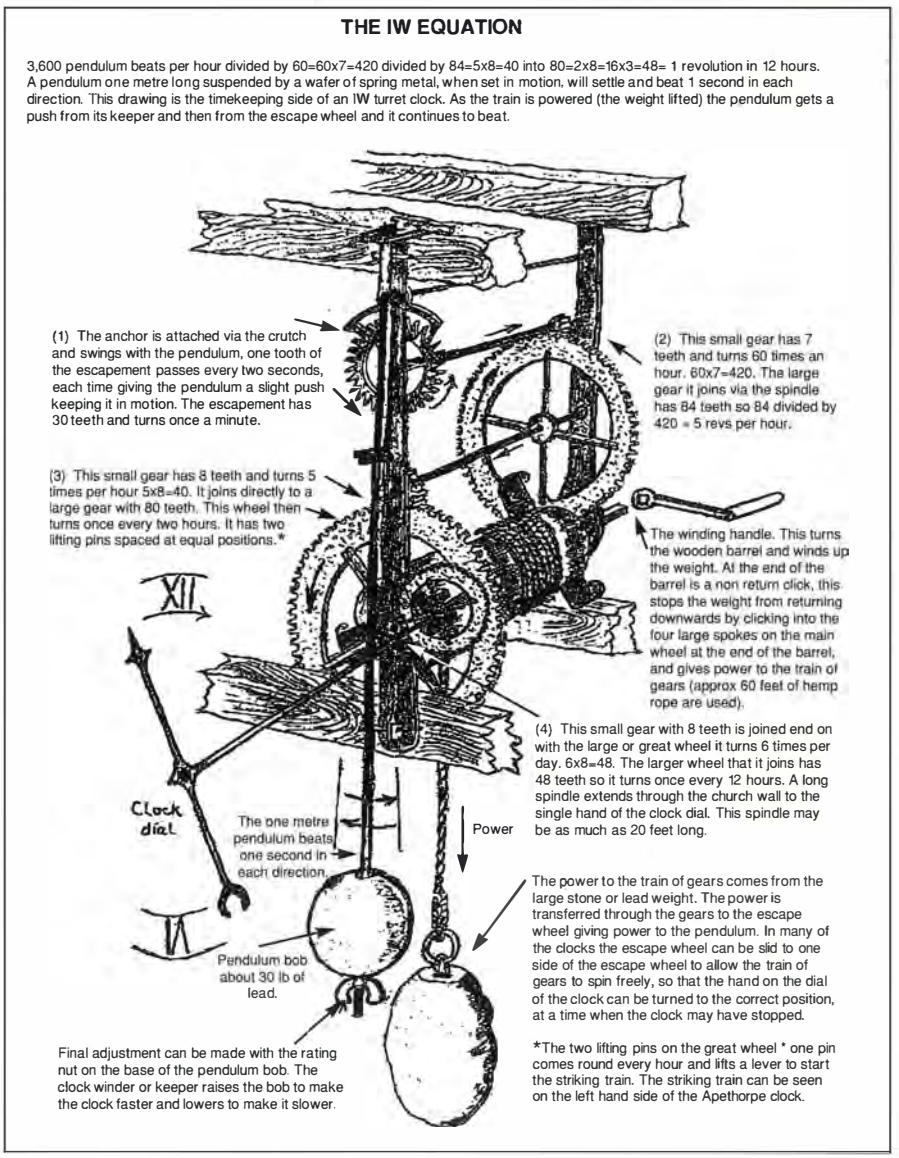

Fig. 9. The equation.

painted circle; it may have been a dial painted directly onto the stone. Beneath both of these dials can be seen a squared glass window. This window would have been completely obscured when the original dial was put into position. Under the window a section of stone has been replaced (see Fig. 10). This stonework would have been cut out to make a seat for a square wooden type of dial as at Apethorpe (see Fig. 11). The method of using an existing hole through the wall of a church was used by John Watts at St. Leonard's Church, Apethorpe and Nassington, Northants.

Fig. 10. The Edith Weston dial.

Fig. 11. The Apethorpe dial.

Very few church towers were built with clocks in mind but many were adapted and used for this purpose. To knock a hole through a church wall sometimes over four feet thick would be quite a task. A large tapering hole is cut from the inside, tapered so that the person cutting it can reach to cut the small hole for the spindle of the clock hand to pass through. At times this method must have caused structural problems. It was an easy task if the person who installed the clock had the chance or permission to use one of these ready made outlets.

The renovation of the Edith Weston clock by the Nottingham horologists is to a high standard of workmanship. It involved the removal of the

Fig. 12. A hole through the wall for the long rod for the one hand of the church clock at Elton, Cambridgeshire.

pendulum fitted by Richard Hackett, and the fitting of a foliot. The eight horologists concerned had a wealth of experience between them, but possibly if they had seen the five other clocks made by John Watts incorporating the pendulum, the renovation might have taken a different pattern. However, the display of the Edith Weston church clock with early foliot gives the public some idea of time-keeping before Galileo.

An early turret clock would not be complete without a bell to strike the hours. This is usually the largest bell in the church tower, and St. Mary's, Edith Weston, has a ring of six bells, the tenor weighing seven and a half hundredweight. It was cast by Henry Penn of Peterborough in 1723.

The hammer used for the striking of the hours is substantial and weights about 40 lb. In two hundred and sixty eight years the bell has been struck about fifteen million times. The bell has been turned once to give a new striking position. Two indentations can be clearly seen in the bronze of the soundbow (the bottom rim). Henry Penn first worked in the bellfoundry of Henry Bagley of Ecton, Northants. The blacksmith in the same foundry was a Thomas Franklin, uncle to Benjamin Franklin, the famous American statesman. Both Bagley and Franklin died in 1702, leaving Penn to carry on in his own right. Penn's first known bell is at All Saints'

Fig. 13. The inscription band of the tenor clock bell at Edith Weston.

Church, Holcot, Northamptonshire. The inscription reads 'HENRY PENN MADE ME IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1703'.

Henry Penn moved his tools and equipment to Peterborough in about the year 1706, and worked in over one hundred churches, casting as many as three hundred bells before his death in 1729. The largest bell he cast hangs in Peterborough Cathedral and weighs one and a half tons. It is known as 'The City Bell', and is also used in conjunction with the clock.

Great Casterton Church has five of Penn's bells, dated 1718; four of them bear his name, the fifth having the names of the Churchwardens. A treble bell has recently been added, and the bells have been re-hung to form a ring of six.

Penn also hung bells at the following churches in Rutland, inscribed and marked as indicated.

All Saints, Tinwell	THOMAS JOHNSON GEORGE ALLIN JOHN SISSEN HENRY GOODLAD CHURCH WARDENS HENRY PENN MADE ME 1708 One bell of four.
All Saints, Braunston	W RAWLINGS T BRYON WARDENS 1710 One bell of four.
Saint Mary the Virgin, Ketton.	MOSES : SISSON : CH : W : HENRY : PENN : FVSORE : 1713 One bell of six.
All Saints, Oakham.	FRANCIS CLEEVE : WILL. MAIDWELL : CHURCHWARDENS. HENRY PENN MADE ME 1723 Some coins around rim. One bell of eight.
Saint Peter & Saint Paul, Pilton.	One bell of two in a bell cote. No inscription.

I feel quite sure that John Watts and Henry Penn met at some time on their journeys, but the chances of their ever hearing about Galileo must be remote. One of the main topics of conversation would have been prices charged for the work that they were doing for the Church, and how difficult it was to collect money on completion. It took Henry Penn five years to complete the ring of ten bells that he cast for Peterborough Cathedral between 1709–1714. He had underestimated the value of the bronze in the old bells removed. It was part of his contract to take in this metal. Penn finished up owing the Dean and Chapter £15 19s 11$^{3}/_{4}$d. The Cathedral records also show the following account in 1687:

'The Clock. January 31.

Rec:d of Mr Standish ye Sume of Seven Pounds for repairing and turning ye Clock into a Pendulum, and to have 20s more if approved of by Mr Patrick or Mr Turner.

Rec: by me. John Watts'

Acknowledgements: Rev R.J.M. Blackall, vicar of St Mary's, Edith Weston, for his kind permission to survey the bells and clock chamber and to write this acticle about the ancient clock belonging to the church.
The British Horological Institute, Horological Journal 109, January 1967: "Restoration of a Commonwealth clock" by A.A. Hatherley.
The Dean and Chapter of Peterborough Cathedral for the use of the General Audit accounts 1600-1700.
Mrs. A. Sardeson of Yarwell, Northamptonshire, for the use of her mother's article "Memories of a villager".
The drawing in Fig 5 is reproduced with the kind permission of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Firenze.

Rutland Convicts Transported to Australia

GRAHAME THOM

Having undertaken family history research for many years I recently decided to see if I could find some convicts who had come from Rutland. Before giving the results I would like to provide some brief background information about the convict system.

Background

For many years before 1788 transportation was accepted as an important element in British colonial policy. From 1788 to 1868 just over 163,000 convicts were sent to the Australian colonies by the British government. It was a cheap means of removing criminals. Administrators believed that transportation would deter potential law-breakers and provide convicts with the chance of a new life in a different environment. And in the colonies it would boost economic progress by providing a much needed cheap labour force. But transportation did not totally achieve the desired result, especially in the UK, where the thought of transportation did not seem to deter the criminals. In fact it has been said that some people got themselves convicted in order to be transported. Reports coming from the colonies said that even for convicts, life was better there than in England and Ireland, from where most transportation occurred. Some convicts became wealthy and were accepted into colonial society.

What of the offences? Compared with today, punishment appears to have been extremely harsh. In addition to the hundreds of crimes punishable by death, a person could be transported for what would seem today to be minor crimes: petty larceny, theft under one shilling, stealing fish from a pond or river, stealing a letter and many more. Most were convicted for minor crimes of larceny and received sentences of seven or fourteen years 'transportation beyond the seas'. For serious crimes the sentence was life.

During the 80 years of transportation to the Australian colonies convicts were sent to:–

New South Wales	1788 – 1840 & 1849	84000
Tasmania	1803 & 1812 – 1853	67000
Melbourne	1844 – 1849	2000
Brisbane	1849 – 1850	500
Western Australia	1850 – 1868	9600
		163100

About 3000 convicts died during the voyage. No female convicts were sent to Melbourne, Brisbane and Western Australia. About 25,000 of the convicts sent to New South Wales and Tasmania were females, a ratio of one female to five males.

There has been much learned debate as to the exact number transported and the above figures should be treated as approximate. It should not be assumed that if a convict came to Sydney then that person stayed there while a convict. They could receive a ticket of leave which enabled them to move to another district, a conditional pardon which enabled them to move anywhere in Australia and an absolute pardon (an exception) which meant they were free to return home. Also some convicts were moved to other colonies. For example, many who landed in Sydney spent time at Norfolk Island, and about 700 convicts and dependents were transferred in 1807/8 and 1813/4 from Norfolk Island to Tasmania, or Van Diemen's Land as it was then named. Only the colony of South Australia was not directly involved with transportation, although some convicts moved there overland from New South Wales.

One wonders how many convicts were natives of Rutland. As the administrators in the Colonial Office, the Home Office, and in the colonies were good public servants, excellent records about the convicts themselves are still extant. These records can be found in the Public Record Offices in the U.K. and Ireland, and the State Archives Offices in Australia. Also because of the high interest in family history, authorities are creating indexes and publishing books and guides in order to make it easier for the general public to research their ancestors. In fact it has become fashionable to say that you have a convict ancestor. Some Australians have over ten in their family tree.

The information content of convict records varies from very little, especially in the early days, and for Irish convicts, to more information than you would find for a free arrival. It is possible to establish the native place and even the city or town for many convicts. One of the most difficult details to find is the names of the parents of a convict. Such details were of no interest to the administrators.

One of the most informative records about a convict is what is called the convict indent. Because convicts were considered to be no better than cargo, an indent of all convicts was drawn up for each ship, and most of these indents survived and can be examined. In the early days of transportation the indents gave little information but by 1830, the content could be termed extensive, and included the native place. As the NSW records from 1831 to 1840 are printed and on microfiche it was an easy task to scan the lists for natives of Rutland.

Convicts of Rutland

During 1831 to 1840 at least four convicts nominated Rutland as their native place. It should be appreciated that there may be more as sometimes the space was blank, and it is likely that some convicts gave false information. After all, they were convicts.

However, if four is assumed to be correct then it is possible by extrapolation to form some idea of how many came from Rutland out of the 160,000 convicts who arrived. From 1831 to 1840 31,485 convicts were sent to NSW. Based on these figures, then over

the 80 years of transportation about 21 convicts may have come from Rutland. Being such a small number a statistician would probably say this figure is highly suspect. As more indexes are created, one day we may have a more accurate idea.

Using 21 out of 160,000 we can gain some idea of how this figure compares with an overall average based on the population of Rutland. In 1831 the population of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland was just over 20 million, and the population of Rutland was 19,385. On a ratio basis, and all things being equal, about 120 convicts should have been natives of Rutland. However, we know a higher ratio of convicts came from Ireland and the high population centres of England, such as London, Birmingham and Liverpool. It would seem that as Rutland was a rural county without any industry, these factors were the main reasons why few were 'transported beyond the seas' from Rutland.

Convict Indents

Now let us look at the known four from Rutland. I will start by simply listing the information from their convict indents.

The ship *Pyramus* sailed on 10 November 1831 from Woolwich and landed 147 female convicts in Sydney on 5 March 1831, including Sarah Hodgkin. I might mention here that there is a need to realise that many spelling variations occurred as many convicts could not read and write.

NSW Archives Office Convict Indents X634, fiche 702

Sarah Hodgkin, number 104–32, age 18 years, reads, Protestant, single, native of Rutland, trade or calling – all work; offence – stealing money; tried at the Rutland Quarter Sessions on 30 June 1831 and sentenced for 7 years; one former conviction 12 months; height 4' 9.25", fair sallow complexion, light brown hair, light eyes; remarks – scar near left eyebrow; no recording of ticket of leave or pardons.

The ship *Heber* sailed on 16 March 1837 from Dublin and landed 217 males in Sydney on 12 July 1837, including John Wallis.

NSW Archives Office Convict Indents X640, fiche 728

John Wallis, number 37–1327, aged 23 years, reads, Protestant, single, native of Rutland, labourer and soldier; offence – striking a sergeant; court martial at the Royal Barracks, Dublin on 5 September 1836 and sentenced for 14 years; two former convictions 7 months and 14 days; height 5' 9.25", dark, ruddy and freckled complexion, brown hair, brown eyes; remarks – eyebrows meeting, small scar centre of upper lip, IW (tattoo) inside lower right arm; no recording of ticket of leave or pardons.

The ship *Earl Grey* sailed on 8 August 1838 from Portsmouth and landed 288 males in Sydney on 21 November 1838, including James Bailey.

NSW Archives Office Convicts Indents X641, fiche 734

James Bailey, number 28-2100, aged 31 years, reads and writes, Protestant, married with 2 boys, native of Rutland, butcher; offence – stealing sheep; tried at Leicester Quarter Sessions on 1 January 1838 and sentenced for 15 years; no former convictions; height 5' 3", fair ruddy complexion, brown hair and bald, grey eyes; remarks – scar over left eyebrow, three small moles on right side of neck, two small moles on right arm, and two others on the left arm, scar on ball of thumb of left hand, scald on inside right leg; no recording of ticket of leave or pardons.

The ship *Barrosa* sailed on 3 August 1839 from Sheerness and landed 334 males in Sydney on 8 December 1839, including George Rose.

NSW Archives Office Convict Indents X642, fiche 739

George Rose, number 39–1405, aged 31 years, reads and writes, Protestant, married, no children, native of Rutland, shoemaker; offence – receiving stolen money; tried at Lincoln Assize on 9 March 1839 and sentenced for 14 years; no former convictions; height 5' 6.25", ruddy and freckled complexion, brown hair, brown eyes; remarks – lower front teeth irregular, diagonal scar on right side of forehead, small mole on back of neck, breast hairy; no recording of ticket of leave or pardons.

The reason for such detailed physical descriptions is that it would make identification easier, especially if there was doubt about the name of an escaped convict who had been caught.

No significant events occurred during these four voyages. Another most interesting set of records is the surgeon's journals relating to the voyages and many of these are available on microfilm as part of the Australian Joint Copying Project – Admiralty Office Class 101 refers. Of our four Rutland convicts only one is mentioned in these journals.

The surgeon on the *Pyramus*, James Rutherford, said in his general report that the convicts embarked had come from 40 different prisons in England and Wales. When one considers how easy it is now to access the water supply even on a modern ship, Rutherford reported in 1831 that the weekly water allowance for washing for eight prisoners was eight gallons. On this voyage Sarah Hodgkin was the second convict to report sick on 27 September 1831. Rutherford recorded that Sarah had been suffering from 'retention of urine' on and off for about 18 months. Sixteen days later Sarah's condition had been successfully treated and she rejoined her fellow prisoners.

It is interesting that it appears three of our Rutland convicts served their sentences for the full term as they appeared not to have received tickets of leave or pardons (the exception was James Bailey). If they had, then checking these records usually reveals additional information about their location in the colony.

Life in Rutland

Now let us look at what may be discovered about a convict's life before transportation. Here we will look at James Bailey and George Rose and I have to thank Peter Lane of Uppingham for carrying out some research in Rutland.

First I looked at the International Genealogical Index of the Church of Latter-Day Saints for the baptism of James Bailey in Rutland. This world-wide index has millions of baptisms and marriages and is available on microfiche at many locations. I found that a James Bailey had married Ann Knight on 7 July 1831 at Great Casterton and that a James

Bailey had been baptised at Great Casterton on 15 October 1808, father Robert and mother Mary. These entries looked promising, but more evidence, including checking the parish registers, was needed in order to confirm they were correct.

Usually the second step in researching for the origins of a convict in England is to search for a newspaper report of the trial. Some most interesting reports were found in two newspapers, the *Leicester Chronicle* (or *Commercial and Agricultural Advertiser*), and the *Leicestershire Mercury*. I will not quote both in full but will use interesting details from each.

The *Leicester Chronicle*

Saturday, 6th January 1838, Vol. 28, No. 1416, page 1.

The County Sessions – The Trial of Prisoners
Tuesday, Jan 2 – Before Mr Packer & other magistrates

The Court having been opened, the following gentlemen
Mr James Elverson Esq. of Bushby, Foreman
Mr Thomas Wood of Melton Mowbray
Mr William Clarke, Melton Mowbray
Mr Thomas Baguley, Harby
Mr William Wild, Scraptoft
Mr John Woodford, Dibworth Harcourt
Mr William Blower, Rotherby
Mr Charles Needham, Queniborough
Mr William Knight, Syston
Mr Robert Parr, Syston
Mr Thomas Shaw, Ashby-de-la-Zouch
Mr William Daulby, Longhborough
Mr James Martin, Whetstone
Mr James Allen, Whetstone
Mr Richard Bassett, Cosby
Mr William Woodburn, Broughton Astley
Mr Joseph Pratt, Croft
Mr Thomas Wilkinson, Earl Shilton
composed the Grand Jury.

The Chairman briefly addressed the jury, and they then proceeded to their duties; and when they had returned two or three true bills, the trials commenced. The calendar was much lighter than that of the last sessions.

It is interesting to read of the literary skills of the accused:–

Can read and write well – 3 males
Can read and write imperfectly – 10 males and
2 females, including James Bailey, aged 29 years
Can read well – 5 males
Can read imperfectly – 8 males
Can neither read nor write – 6 males and 1 female.

The following report of the trial of James Bailey is extracted from the *Leicestershire Mercury* of Saturday 6 January 1838, Vol. 3, No. 79, page 1.

Leicestershire Epiphany Sessions

On Tuesday morning C. W. Packs Esq. M.P. (Chairman), W. Heyrick Esq. (Deputy Chairman) and a Bench of Magistrates proceeded to try prisoners.

James Bailey, 22 (sic), butcher of Great Casterton, Rutland, was charged with stealing a wether sheep, the property of Richard Watchorn, of Edmonthorpe, on the 3rd ult. Mr Burnaby appeared for the prosecution, and Mr Hildyard for the defence, the prosecutor deposed that on Saturday the 2nd ult., he had fifteen sheep in a pen feeding on turnips, and that the following morning a wether was missing. Noticing the print of wheels close to the pen, he and a neighbour (Joseph Needham) traced the marks towards Casterton (a village 13 miles from Edmonthorpe), a slight frost the previous night enabling them to do so with tolerable minuteness. On arriving near Casterton they found that the vehicle, instead of going through the toll-gate (which would have been the direct way to Casterton), had turned down a lane leading to the village. Francis Pollard and William Dyer, gamekeeper, at Edmonthorpe, having seen the prisoner with a horse and cart, close to the prosecutor's field, about five o'clock on Saturday evening, the prosecutor and Mr Needham (after tracing the cart towards Casterton), went to the prisoner's house, where they found some joints of mutton and a sheep's paunch containing portions of turnips, which were undigested. They also examined the shoes on the prisoner's horse (which were produced in court) and ascertained that they corresponded precisely with the marks on the road. Ann Sharp (a girl of 13), employed by the prisoner as housemaid, said that on Saturday the 3rd ult., the prisoner left his house in the afternoon with his horse and cart, at which time there was no meat in his shop, and the following morning a sheep was hanging there, one of the legs of which she took to the prisoner's father. William Read (Inspector of Police at Stamford) searched the prisoner's premises, and found the joints of mutton already alluded to, the prisoner, when apprehended, stating that he sold the skin to Mr Gill's man at Barrowden, but it did not appear on the trial that any inquiries had been made after it. Mr. Hildyard addressed the Jury at great length for the prisoner, (who presented a most respectable appearance), remarking that it behoved them to be very careful in considering the evidence in the present case, it being only very lately that such a serious offence as sheep stealing was tried by a Quarter Sessions Jury, and expressing his opinion that, though the punishment that attached to the offence had been diminished, it was still too heavy a crime to be entrusted to them. He then proceeded to point out various points in the prisoner's favour, such as the skin not being produced, no one being able to swear that the joints of meat were a portion of the sheep stolen from the prosecutor, there being a public road within six yards of the pen where the prosecutor's sheep were kept, etc.; and with respect to his going round to Casterton, instead of passing through the toll-gate, he said that, as it was almost a proverb that a farmer would go round seven miles to avoid a penny toll, it was by no means strange that his client should go a mile out of his way for a similar purpose. Having commented on the fact of the sheep being hung up in his shop without the slightest concealment, and stated that the prisoner being in the habit of feeding sheep (on turnips) on land occupied by him, it was exceedingly probable that the sheep was his own property; he called five or six respectable witnesses, who gave the prisoner a most excellent character. The Chairman having summed up, the Jury returned a verdict of Guilty, when Mr Hildyard took an objection to the indictment on account of it running "against the peace of our Sovereign Lady the Queen", instead of "against the statute made and provided", stating that though the Chairman was still at liberty to imprison his client, he could not sentence him to fifteen years' transportation, the punishment appointment to the crime of sheep stealing. Mr Burnaby, remarking that he was not prepared for the objection, requested the Chairman to postpone the sentence till the adjourned Sessions, which he agreed to do. (Had the Chairman passed sentence of transportation a pardon would have been granted on the application of Mr Hildyard.)

In view of the fact that James Bailey lived at Great Casterton, a search was made of the parish registers, on microfiche at the Leicestershire Record Office.

Robert Bailey (or Bayley), blacksmith, married by licence Mary Watts, both of Great Casterton, on 3 April 1806. Robert and Mary had at least four children, with James being the first baptised on 15 October 1808 and followed by Frances in 1809, Peter in 1814 and John in 1817.

James Bailey, butcher, married Ann Knight, both of Great Casterton, on 7 July 1831. They had three children prior to James being arrested; Edward was baptised in 1834, Alfred in 1835 and John Thomas in 1837. It is recalled that the convict indent stated James was married with two sons. This confirms another link to the indent as it is reasonable to assume one of their sons had died prior to James sailing to Sydney.

James' sister Frances married William Kettle at Great Casterton in 1831, and brother Peter, a blacksmith, married Mary Ann Barlow in 1841 and they had at least three daughters and one son. So it can be expected that there are cousins in England and Australia descended from this Bailey family of Rutland.

I looked at the International Genealogical Index also for the baptism of George Rose in Rutland. George had been baptised at North Luffenham on 31 January 1808, the son of Francis Rose and Mary Day. This fits in with George Rose, convict, being aged 31 years in 1839.

Now to check for a newspaper report of the trial. The following was on page 3 of the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury* of Friday 8 March 1839, Vol. 144 No. 7492 –

The Crown Calendar for the Lincolnshire Assizes

Before Lord Denham and Mr Justice Bosanquet opening Saturday 9 March 1839.

Thomas Towell aged 21 for stealing from Mr John Back on the turnpike between Newark and Leadenham a note of the Bank of England for 40 pounds and a bank post bill for 50 pounds, on the 6th December: George Rose aged 30 for receiving the same at Stamford, on the same day, knowing it to have been stolen.

Then on Friday 15 March 1839 – Vol. 144, No. 7493 – the newspaper reported as follows.

Receiving Stolen Money at Stamford

The indictment charging Thomas Towell with having stolen from the person of Mr James Back, on the 6th day of December, a note of the Bank of England for 40 pounds and a bank book bill for 50 pounds, was thrown out by the Grand Jury; who however returned a true bill against George Rose for receiving the same knowing them to have been stolen. Mr Hildyard for the prosecution, explained the particulars of the evidence to the Jury at considerable length. He reminded them that it was the knowledge of the property's being stolen that constituted the crime in this case; and the only way to discover the prisoner's guilt or innocence was to watch the line of conduct pursued, with a view to ascertain the motives prompting such conduct from the time of the robbery till the attempt to dispose of the notes. The bill of indictment against Towell, the suspected stealer, was lost in the Grand Jury from a doubt whether the robbery was committed in Lincolnshire or Nottinghamshire, arising from the circumstances of Mr Back being an entire stranger in this part of the country. Mr Back was a commercial traveller in the wine and spirit trade from the London house of Back & Co in Red Cross Street and being at Newark on the afternoon of the 5th December, he received the above bills at the Bank of Gregory and Co; he started for Sleaford in his gig, having about 1600 pounds with him; and when he had proceeded from 4 to 7 miles on his road he was stopped by five men, who held him back in his gig while they robbed him of about 200 pounds, of which the two notes taken at Newark formed a part. On the 6th December, the prisoner Rose, who kept the *Old Salutation* public-house at Stamford, took a Bank of England note for 40 pounds to the bank at Eaton and Co at Stamford and obtained seven 5 pound notes and five sovereigns in change. On the 7th, in consequence of suspicions being entertained that some men who had slept at the prisoner's house were concerned in the robbery, Wm Reed, the chief constable of Stamford, searched his premises; and particularly the beds in which the men had slept; he found nothing however, but told Rose that they were in search of them, and directed him to give information should any such notes come into his hands. Rose said he would: adding, that it was not likely that persons having such notes in their possession would come to his house. On the 20th December, Rose took a 50 pound Bank of England note to Mr Rowe, confectioner, requesting him to change it. Rowe, on seeing the note, suspected something: but told him he had not sufficient cash in the house to change it that night, but if he would call on the morrow he would do so for him; he however, took the note up to the bank of Eaton and Co, and having shown it to Mr Michelson, one of the partners, they went together to the Chief Constable (Reed). Reed went to Rose's house immediately, and asked him where he had got it: he said at first that he had given in change for it a 10 pound note and the rest in gold; but on Reed saying that this must be false, he said he had found it in one of the beds which the men had slept in that had been suspected of the robbery; but he could not assign a reason for his not having informed Reed of it. Reed took him into custody, when before the Magistrates, Rose stated that Towell had commissioned him to get the 40 pound note changed on the 7th of December, and had given him two sovereigns for doing so; that he had also given him the 50 pound note for the same purpose, and was to come to Stamford in a fortnight for the change; and that at that time he gave him the note, he heard him say that "it was a good thing they had turned the head of the b . . . . 's horse back to Newark". This Mr Back stated was actually done. Mr Wildman addressed the jury for the prisoner to considerable length, and drew their attention to the necessity of the prisoner, knowing that the notes had been stolen previously to the receipt of them, and he contended that neither this nor the identity of the notes stolen had been proved by the evidence produced. Mr. T. P. Bloodworth, farmer, of South Luffenham, Mr Banks, farmer of Great Casterton, and Mr Joseph Elliott, farmer of North Luffenham, bore testimony as to the previous good character borne by Rose. The Judge in summing up, alluded to the statement of the prisoner's having received 2 pounds for changing a note, and to his being aware of the circumstance of the head of Mr Back's horse being turned back to Newark by the thieves, as strong evidence of his having possessed a guilty knowledge at the time he received the notes. The Jury deliberated for ten minutes, and found the prisoner guilty. He was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation.

From the above it is reasonable to assume that Rose had a link to the North Luffenham area because of the residences of the witnesses. The parish registers of North Luffenham reveal that George was the son of Francis and Mary Rose, formerly Day, and having been born on 27 January 1808 was baptised on 31 January.

The registers state that Francis Rose of Somerby, Leicestershire and Mary Day of North Luffenham married after banns, on 28 March 1796. In addition to George, this couple had a number of children baptised at North Luffenham – William in 1797, Thomas in 1799, Francis in 1802, Mary in 1804, Mary in 1806, and James in 1809. Mary Rose, aged 74 years, was buried in North Luffenham on 17 February 1848 and Francis, aged 79 years, on 2 September 1854. What could not be established is the marriage of George Rose. One wonders if his wife followed him to Sydney.

Life in Australia

What of their life in Australia? In 1841 the population of New South Wales, which then covered the present States of NSW, Queensland and Victoria, was just over 130,000 including 27,000 convicts. The number of convicts then declined as transportation to NSW had ceased in 1840. Also the 1840s saw a decline in population growth as the 1841–43 depression affected immigration.

My research of the lives of the four Rutland convicts in Australia has confirmed it is easier to work from the present to the past. I have not been able to find anything about John Wallis and George Rose, one reason being that there are a number of people at that time with the same name. Also, I do not know what happened to Sarah following her marriage in 1834. Sarah Hodgkin married Robert Marshall who had arrived free, at St John's, Parramatta, NSW, on 29 July 1834 following banns. Sarah signed the church register with her mark and the marriage, as required for convicts, proceeded after obtaining the consent of the Governor.

Luckily I was able to contact descendants of James Bailey; Jan Hurcum, of Wagga Wagga, NSW, has been researching her family's past for many years, and provided information for the following.

After arriving in 1838, nothing is known of James Bailey's movements for the first ten years. Then on 24 March 1848 James was granted a conditional pardon and as a result was a free man with the only restriction being that he must remain in Australia.

By 1848 James had arrived in Tamworth and had taken up his trade as a butcher. This NSW north western town with a present population of around 30,000 grew out of a small settlement established on land granted to the Australian Agricultural Company in 1833. This Company had been formed in London in 1824 to raise fine woolled sheep on a million acres of land in NSW. It is possible that prior to 1848 James had worked for the Company.

In 1850 the settlement was proclaimed as the town of Tamworth, named after the home of the British statesman Sir Robert Peel. James purchased by auction a town allotment in Peel Street, being one of the first people to buy a block in 1850. His house was the first erected on the subdivision, with son John Thomas helping his father erect their house.

More than likely, with the granting of a conditional pardon in 1848, James decided to arrange for his wife Ann and son John Thomas to join him from Rutland. According to their death certificates both arrived in Australia in about 1849. It is assumed that the other two sons, Edward and Alfred died prior to 1849 in England as there is no evidence of either being in Australia.

In May 1851 James and Ann's daughter Agnes was born in Tamworth and by the late 1850s the family had moved further east in Peel Street and James was still butchering. The *Tamworth Examiner* reported in 1860 that James Bailey was on the committee responsible for the construction of a bridge at Nemingha.

Convict and pioneer of Tamworth, James Bailey died on 7 June 1866 in Tamworth and his estate was valued at 1450 pounds, a considerable sum at that time. His wife Ann died at Tamworth on 4 January 1873 and both are buried in the same grave in the Tamworth cemetery.

John Thomas Bailey was a butcher, labourer and farmer who lived and held land at various locations around Tamworth. He married Mary Ann Miller in 1858 and they had eleven children. After Mary Ann's death in 1888, John married Edith Alice Jones in 1889 and they had four children. John was prominent in local affairs, being on the school board and the church council. At the time of his death in 1920 John lived in a house in Griffin Avenue, Tamworth, which he named 'Casterton'.

Agnes Bailey married Alexander Dobson Allerton in 1873 and they had four children. Alexander was a draper in Sydney and died in 1884. Agnes died in 1929, and both are buried in the world's largest cemetery, Rookwood, in Sydney, NSW.

Descendants of James and Ann still live in Tamworth and others in Brisbane, Sydney, Newcastle, Wollongong, Canberra, Melbourne and other locations. About 300 descendants attended a family reunion at Raymond Terrace, NSW, in October 1987 and it is hoped to organised another reunion in Tamworth in the near future.

Concluding remarks

The majority of convicts sent to Australia settled down to live what could be classed as 'normal' lives and James Bailey is one such convict. Very few returned to their homelands.

It is significant that my research has been able to establish the names of the parents of two of our Rutland convicts. The main reason for this is the small size of the population of the County of Rutland. It would be almost impossible if the only piece of information about the native place for James Bailey was London. This situation is all too common and is the main reason why so many researchers cannot establish the names of their convicts' parents.

As there is a possibility that descendants of the Bailey families still live in Rutland, I would be interested in making contact with them.

Members may find the following publications of interest in reading further about convicts in Australia.

Australian Joint Copying Handbooks, Volumes 1–8, particularly Volume 3, Home Office, Canberra, NLA, 1974 and 1986.

Bateson, Charles, *The Convict Ships 1787–1868*, Sydney, Faber, 1974

Cox, Jane, and Padfield, Timothy, *Tracing your Ancestors in the Public Record Office*, London, HMSO, 1988

Hawkins, David T., *Bound for Australia*, Sydney, LAH, 1988

Robson, L. L., *The Convict Settlers of Australia*, Carlton, Victoria, MUP, 1970

Shaw, A.G.L., *Convicts and the Colonies*, London, Reed, 1966

Vine Hall, Nick, *Tracing your family history in Australia*, Sydney, Rigby, 1985.

LEICESTERSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

New accessions of Rutland material, April 1991 - March 1992

DE 3821 Manton manor court rolls, 1767-1934
DE 3854 Empingham enclosure award, 1795, and Normanton enclosure award and map, 1799
DE 3855 Teigh parish registers, 1572-1985
DE 3857 (PP 538) Photograph of officers of Rutland Volunteers, 1918
DE 3858 Miscellaneous documents and photographs, 1798-1930's (purchased)
DE 3875 (PP 541) Photographs of proclamation of King Edward VII at Oakham Castle, 1901
DE 3887 Exton, miscellaneous parish papers, 19th century
DE 3918 Ridlington National School log book, 1894-1928
DE 3950 Lyddington enclosure map, 1804
DE 3957 Burley on the Hill, miscellaneous estate bills and vouchers, 1907
DE 3960 Langham, faculty for taking down part of the church, 1801
DE 3985 Oakham water supply and drainage plans, including Oakham School, late 19th century
DE 4066 Belmesthorpe Grange, sale particulars, 1992

Notable among this year's accessions are the enclosure records for Empingham, Normanton and Lyddington. For Empingham, previously, we had the map but no award, and for Lyddington the award but no map. For Normanton we had neither. The Manton court rolls are contained in three indexed volumes. The Teigh parish registers contain some additional material, including an account of the new font designed and sculpted by the then Rector in 1845. The photograph of the officers and non-commissioned officers of 'A' Company of the 1st Battalion, Rutland Volunteer Regiment, was taken outside the Drill Hall, Oakham, on 29 December 1918. DE 3854 represents various lots purchased at auction in Oakham. Included in it are a list of orders for Harvert Ale from the Langham Brewery, 1862, notes and rhymes on the Oakham election of 1885, and three photographs of Uppingham School masters and scholars, c.1888–1894.

Jenny Clark's article on the Exton MSS appears elsewhere in this issue of the *Rutland Record*.

On the staff front this has been a much quieter year than last, the only significant change being the promotion of Robin Jenkins from Senior Assistant Keeper of Archives to Keeper of Archives.

As predicted in last year's report, preparations for the Record Office's removal to new premises overshadowed our work increasingly as the year progressed. Excellent progress was made over the winter on re-boxing and packaging large parts of the collection for safe transit. A good start was made also on a completely new survey and computer-based location index of the Office's holdings. Since we intend to re-organise the storage of the collections entirely during transfer, this will be an essential tool. Inevitably some routine work and cataloguing had to be put aside, although it proved possible to keep abreast of most of the smaller accessions. Packaging also rendered much of the art-stored material temporarily inaccessible, unfortunately for longer than was foreseen since the builders proved unable to meet their projected completion date. However, at the time of writing we are looking forward to beginning the removal shortly, and to welcoming members of the Society to the new Record Office in October.

Carl Harrison, County Archivist

LINCOLNSHIRE ARCHIVES

The year 1991–92 should prove to be a memorable one in the history of the office, as it combined a major staff restructuring with a move to new premises and a successful appeal to raise £220,000 for the purchase of the Brownlow Manuscripts, an important estate and family archive. Readers are finding the new search room and its facilities a great improvement on the arrangements in the old Gaol in Lincoln Castle, even if the surroundings are not quite so attractive.

The Brownlow MSS are the family archives of Lord Brownlow, formerly of Belton House near Grantham, and his ancestors, who included the Earls Brownlow and Earls of Bridgewater. It is one of the finest collections of its type in the county, and the office had been negotiating for its deposit for some years, to no avail. The successful appeal, which was organised by Archives Administration Manager, Christopher Johnson, and given generous support by the local press, is justly regarded as a triumph by Lincolnshire County Council (who contributed a substantial sum) and Archives staff alike.

The hard work has now begun on the detailed cataloguing that such a collection requires, and it will inevitably be some time before it can be made available to the public. According to the schedule of the collection which was made in the 1850's there is material relating to the Brownlow estates in Rutland, and although this has not yet been identified, it is hoped that more details will be available for a future edition of *Rutland Record*. No other accessions relating to Rutland were received this year.

The address of Lincolnshire Archives is now St Rumbold Street, Lincoln, LN2 5AB; telephone: 0522 525158 (searchroom) or 526204 (other).

Dr G A Knight, Archives Manager

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

The most noteworthy event for the Record Office in this last year was its removal to a new home at Wootton Hall Park. The move was the culmination of a process of planning which had taken two years, and there was more than a certain amount of satisfaction when it all went more or less smoothly.

The Record Office is now in a specially constructed building which meets the British Standard for the preservation for records, and also allows better and more spacious accommodation for both staff and public. There is a separate classroom, which enables us to deal more easily with school and other parties during office hours, and a searchroom which will be able to seat seventy-five people (we only hope this does not happen too often: staff seem to be rushed off their feet).

The storage area, which should allow for at least another fifteen years accrual of records, maintains a temperature of 59°F and a relative humidity as the building, a mass construction, has to dry out. However, they have been within 5%. The repository is also constructed for four-hour fire protection and has a sophisticated fire detection system. The same detection system operates throughout the office as does the security system.

We can be grateful for all the care and attention which is now placed on the preservation of the records of Northamptonshire, the Soke of Peterborough, Rutland, and other odd 'counties' that we cover in our records. The building has been constructed to last for one hundred years, and I hope those who want to use the records in one hundred years' time will benefit from the care that is now being given to those records. The care of records is a great trust upon us.

Opening hours:

Monday – Wednesday	9.00 – 4.45
Thursday	9.00 – 8.45
Friday	9.00 – 4.15
Two Saturdays a month only	9.00 – 12.15

(First and third Saturday in each month except where this precedes a Monday Bank or other holiday, when the office will open the next Saturday)

Thursday evenings and Saturday mornings:
Please note original documents can only be examined on Thursday evenings and Saturday mornings if they have been ordered in advance. Documents to be studied on Thursday evening should be requested, in writing, in person or by telephone by 3.00 pm on the Thursday they are required. Requests for documents for a Saturday should be made by 2.00 pm on the Friday. Census microfilms, transcripts, etc., do not need to be ordered in advance.

The address of the Northamptonshire Record Office is now: Wootton Hall Park, NN4 9BQ; telephone: 0604 762129; fax: 0604 767562.

Miss R Watson, County Archivist

RUTLAND LOCAL HISTORY & RECORD SOCIETY

The aspiration for union between the Rutland Record Society and the Rutland Local History Society, noted in *Rutland Record* 12, was fulfilled at a series of extraordinary general meetings held in the Rutland County Museum on June 6th 1991. The former Society dissolved itself and, the latter having previously amended its constitution to form the Rutland Local History & Record Society, the inaugural meeting of the new Society took place. Members elected a committee composed of council and committee members from both the old Societies, and the RLH&RS inherits both Societies' assets and aims.

Since then events characteristic of the old societies have been held under the aegis of the RLH&RS. First there was an Open Day at Exton on 14th September which included a visit to the deserted site of the medieval village of Horn guided by Fred Hartley of the Leicestershire Museums field survey team, a visit to Exton church, and an opportunity to view material from the Record Office on display in the village hall and to hear Mrs Jenny Clark speak on the Exton papers at present being examined in the Leicestershire Record Office. Over seventy members of the Society and their guests attended on the first day while on the second day, Sunday, an even larger number of Exton people visited the exhibition which remained on display in the village hall. In November the Autumn Reception was held in the Museum, providing an opportunity for members to meet one another and to listen to Rodney Lines's account of the early life of the poet John Clare as he struggled to get his work into print. The lime kiln at which John Clare worked for a time at Pickworth has recently been cleared of undergrowth, restored, and made accessible to visitors.

Rutland Record 12 was published in November. The editorial interregnum following Brian Waites's editorship, during which the affairs of the *Record* have been in the hands of the editorial committee led by Tim Clough, came to an end with the acceptance of the editorship by Mrs Cathy Firmin, and she was formally elected to the post at the AGM held on 7th May 1992.

A programme of events has been arranged for 1992, the village to be visited this year being Ketton, and it is hoped that documents from both the Leicestershire Record Office and Lincolnshire Archives relating to Ketton (at one time part of the diocese of Lincoln) will be on view.

THE GEORGE PHILLIPS AWARD

The award was made possible by a generous donation from Mr Patrick Coyne to the then Rutland Local History Society in memory of his grandfather George Phillips. The intention is to encourage building development which is in keeping with the

traditions of Rutland. The Rutland District Council has set up a panel, on which the Society is represented, which chooses each year the building completed during the previous year considered to have made the most significant contribution to conserving the built environment of Rutland. This building receives the George Phillips award and a plaque fixed to the building indicating the award. Consideration is being given to awarding certificates of merit to worthy runners up. The following awards have so far been made:

1980 Conversion of stables, Church Street, Ketton
1981 Conversion of agricultural buildings at Camphill Court, Casterton
1982 The new Rectory, Uppingham
1983 St John & St Anne's Hospital, Oakham
1984 Doctor's surgery, Empingham
1986 Stable block conversion, Burley-on-the-Hill
1987 Conversion of stables to hotel, Normanton
1989 Extension and alteration to Pagent House, Lyddington
1990 Dwelling house in the grounds of Ayston Hall

No award was made in 1985, 1988 or 1991.

John Crossley, Honorary Secretary

UPPINGHAM LOCAL HISTORY GROUP

During the 1970's and first part of the 1980's, the Group worked to prepare summaries of the court rolls of the two Uppingham Manors. Some of the results of their researchers appeared in *Uppingham in Rutland* (In Rutland Series, no 7, Spiegl Press, 1982).

Publication of their work on the thirteen volumes of the Preston with Uppingham Court Rolls commenced in 1988, the latest (No 5) appearing this year. The material has formed a basis for a number of studies about individual properties in the town.

Copies of the Group's research publications are deposited at both the Rutland County Museum and the Leicestershire Record Office. They cover:

Preston with Uppingham Court Rolls (PUCR)

1 Introduction, Indenture Tripartite of 1656 and Uppingham Hearth Tax Return of 1664
2 The Latin Volume 1658–1684
3 The British Library Roll 1735–1736
4 Volume A 1737–1767
5 Volume B 1769–1789

Individual Properties Series (ULHG)

3 Uppingham School Bookshop, Parts 1 & 2
4 James Smith's Messuage – Reeves Yard
5 The Lake Isle Town House Hotel and Restaurant
19 The Congregational Church
20 Meadhurst

Miscellaneous Studies Series

Godfrey's Terrier 1619, Belton-in-Rutland

An Uppingham Marriage Settlement

Work is in hand on the White Hart Inn, on No 8 High Street East, on Nos 5 High Street East and 12 Orange Street, and on the next volume of the Court Rolls. The Group would be pleased to hear from anyone interested in the history of the town of Uppingham and in particular from anyone having documentary or oral material.

P N Lane

RUTLAND COUNTY MUSEUM

Perhaps the most notable event on the local history calendar during 1991 was the auction sale in May of a prominent private collection of Rutland books and ephemora. It was encouraging to see the extent to which the museum already possessed much of what was offered, but there were gaps which it was possible to fill. The museum acquired a number of books and photographs, as well as a selection of commemorative china by W H Goss and others bearing the Oakham or Uppingham crests (acc nos H30–32.1991). Other material from this sale was acquired for the Leicestershire Record Office and Local History Library collections.

Fiches of indexes prepared by the Leicestershire Family History Society have been added to the reference material available for consultation.

T H McK Clough, Keeper

RUTLAND HISTORIC CHURCHES PRESERVATION TRUST

The churches of Rutland are a precious heritage, maintaining in their fabric links with their communities and with Christian worshippers for over a thousand years. They grace each town and village with their beauty and uniqueness. Still, for the most part, medieval, stone-built and abounding in a variety of fascinating detail, they continue to be a source of great inspiration to many. The chapels, likewise, with their particular presence are contributory to the Christian historical character of Rutland.

The Rutland Historic Churches Preservation Trust, a Registered Charity, was formed in 1954. Contributions to the Trust from Rutlanders and well wishers over the years have enabled grants and loans to be made from its funds to many churches: essential repairs have thus been put in hand quickly before further damage takes place, and help given with the enormous sums which need to be raised, often by very small communities, to maintain their irreplaceable and yet vulnerable buildings.

At 10.00 am on Saturday 7th September 1991 – a lovely summer day – the Bishop of Peterborough launched the third sponsored Bicycle Ride from Oakham. Over 250 cyclists and walkers, many in family groups, journeyed between Rutland's 72 open churches and chapels until 6.00 pm, enjoying the welcome at each. Many exceeded their previous personal achievements, and the record for the most places of worship visited on the day rose to 58.

A total of £14,000 was raised by sponsorship, an increase of 25% over the Ride in 1989. Tea-towels with photographs of Rutland Churches were sold, and many donations from individuals and organisations were received during the year.

Nine churches applied for help with vital repairs to roofs and stonework in 1991 and the Trust offered grants totalling £24,750 and a loan of £500 towards these needs. A total of £32,500 in grants, with loans of £2,000, promised previously, was actually paid to Rutland's churches. Early in 1992 one church and two chapels asked for help and were promised a total of £7,000. Through the generosity of its supporters, the Trust hopes to continue to help all those parishioners who work so hard to ensure that these irreplaceable buildings remain to delight and inspire.

Mrs L I Worrall, Honorary Secretary

LEICESTERSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT

Archaeological excavations along the Anglian Water pipeline at Tixover

The routing of Anglian Water's relief pipeline in its first phase from Wing to Duddington during the spring of 1991 necessitated the investigation of known cropmark sites prior to pipe laying. This work was undertaken between March and June by the Leicestershire Archaeological Unit, who were fully financed and assisted in their work where necessary by Anglian Water.

Provision of a watching brief during the cutting of the pipe trench was also made possible, as a direct result of which further archaeological sites have come to light.

The excavations concentrated on three sites. The *first* (SK 968012/SK 970012; acc no A14.1991) consisted of two sets of 'double ditches' some 150 m apart lying on high ground to the west of the Welland. One set abutted upon an accompanying enclosure ditch. The excavation has demonstrated these substantial features to date from the late Iron Age, perhaps to the last two centuries BC. Each set would have formed an impressive and perhaps defensible boundary with deep rock cut ditches and probably a bank consisting of the excavated material between them. It is argued that the two sets of ditches are not contemporary with one another and are separated by a time lapse which reflects change in the socio-political system.

The double ditches probably belonged to systems of territorial division that were extensive in both space and time. This project has significantly increased our knowledge of them.

The enclosure abutting upon one of the sets of ditches occupies a partial spur in a relatively defensible position. It was clearly settled, perhaps by a family grouping. The material assemblage excavated from the ditch infillings included few of the items in the way of finer pottery and metalwork that have been found on contemporary, wealthier, sites to the south and east. The ditch that surrounded the settlement has given us information relating to the subsistence patterns of the time – the animals kept and slaughtered, the crops grown – and our knowledge of local environmental conditions in the later prehistoric period will be enhanced.

The *second* site investigated comprised a ring ditch (SK 977009; acc no A27.1991), situated to the east of the Iron Age site and on the lower lying gravels of the Welland. It is of an earlier period, probably the early part of the second millenium B.C., and belongs to the Early Bronze Age. The ditch is all that survives of what was once a burial mound or round barrow.

Archaeological investigation revealed two phases of use. In the first, a continuous ditch was excavated around a primary burial in a shallow pit, of which only the very lowest levels survived. In the second, the ditch was comprehensively re-excavated discontinuously, after it had all but totally filled in. At this stage a pottery vessel was placed between the terminals of the new ditch. This deposition probably accompanied other funerary rites, of which no archaeological evidence survived. It is thought that the cemetery of which this barrow was but one element may also have had a symbolic role in territorial definition.

The *third* site (SK980008; acc no A29.1991) comprised large pits dating to the 12th Century AD and some other extensive grounds workings. Their function is not fully understood, but they perhaps served as quarries for the limestone and underlying ironstone into which they were cut. In the vicinity of these pits is a known crop-marked pit alignment. Two square pits and two circular pits were also located, that possibly relate to the cropmark.

Matthew Beamish

A salvage excavation at Edith Weston (SK 922056)

In September 1991 the discovery of human bones on the shore of Rutland Water at the Rutland Sailing Club, just to the west of Edith Weston, was reported to the Rutland County Museum. Subsequently a small salvage excavation was carried out by the Leicestershire Archaeological Unit and the finds were deposited with Leicestershire Museums (acc no A64.1991). Two adult inhumations were identified, both on an east-west orientation. They were of Roman origin and had a probably second century date. A small area around these burials were examined and a scatter of Roman pottery together with a few small features was identified. Sufficient evidence was collected to suggest these were more than just isolated burials, and were is a strong possibility that a settlement existed in the immediate vicinity.

John Lucas

Excavations at Hall Close, Empingham (SK 947083)

In December 1991 and January 1992, archaeological excavations were undertaken adjacent to the

standing earthwork site of Hall Close, Empingham, in advance of the bypassing and replacing of a high pressure water main. The excavations were carried out by the Leicestershire Archaeological Unit. The work was financed by Anglian Water Services Ltd. In an initial three week period the excavations evaluated the areas threatened by the development; consequently, and with the full co-operation of the developers, further work was undertaken to investigate and record a sample of the deposits prior to destruction.

In summary, within the development area, several phases of activity could be identified; these included fishpond earthwork construction in the medieval period, followed by bank protection measures in the post-medieval period.

In parts of the site the large scale groundworks known to have taken place in the 1970s were identified within the archaeological record. As a consequence of this activity a large part of the threatened area was demonstrated to have been protected rather than destroyed by that activity.

The archaeological work undertaken, apart from identifying activities hitherto unknown, has also identified where archaeological deposits have the potential of surviving.

Matthew Beamish

An archaeological evaluation in Ryhall Road, Great Casterton (TF 001091)

In August 1991 a short evaluation was carried out to investigate the survival of archaeological deposits in anticipation of a small housing development in Healey's Yard, Great Casterton. It was carried out by the Leicestershire Archaeological Unit and was directed by Matthew Beamish. It was financed by Mr Gary Healey, who donated the finds to the Leicestershire Museums (acc no A67.1991). The site lay in the north-east quarter of the Roman town, immediately to the west of the surviving defensive earthwork. Three small boxes were excavated in an area that lay just to the south of the projected town wall. A total area of 7 sq m was examined. Archaeological levels were destroyed by a modern disturbance in one box but in the other two they survived as cut features, cutting the natural Jurassic calcareous limestone at a depth of 0.6 m below the modern ground level. Two courses of a wall, constructed using limestone and sandstone blocks, were discovered. Of probable Roman date, it was orientated west-north-west to east-south-east. A possible construction trench was identified to the north of it. Part of a circular feature, resembling a pit, was also located. This was also of probable Roman date.

John Lucas

A watching brief between Wing and Duddington

In the summer of 1991, Anglian Water installed a pipeline from Duddington in Northamptonshire westwards to Wing in Rutland. Leicestershire Archaeological Unit conducted a watching brief along this 30 m wide transect across south-eastern Rutland, which was some 6 miles (10 km) long.

There was no evidence of settlement on the clay and limestone uplands of South Luffenham Heath and Morcott parish. This contrasted with the south and east facing hill slopes overlooking the Welland and Chater valleys where occupation and settlement sites were found.

In Tixover parish, on the eastern slope of the Welland valley, were found a flint scatter, evidence of Neolithic/Bronze Age activity near the excavated ring ditch lying on an ancient gravel terrace; a pit containing some Saxon pottery along with shallow linear gullies; and quantities of iron slag and medieval quarry pits. Further west up the hill-slope a Romano-British settlement site was indicated by pottery and some building fragments. The Iron Age rectangular enclosure described above lay on the hill-top prominence a mile from the Welland river as it bends northwards at Duddington and flows on to Stamford. A second Romano-British settlement site was found at South Luffenham on a south facing hill slope overlooking a tributary of the river Chater.

Finds and records are deposited with Leicestershire Museums (A14.1991, A27–29.1991, A41–42.1991).

Elaine Jones

Other sites

Whissendine (SK 8112): Ian Fraser reports the discovery of a substantial Roman villa site producing much pottery, tesserae, tile (roof and box flue), and several coins, brooches and other metal objects. Several discrete buildings were apparent.

Whitwell (SK 9208): Trevor Young reports the discovery of a scatter of Roman coins, a disc brooch and pottery, suggesting an occupation site.

RUTLAND FIELD RESEARCH GROUP FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

Field Survey Activities

Beaumont Chase: The new Uppingham golf course site has yielded a few flints at SK 847001.

Brooke: At Brooke Priory Jenny Naylor maintained a watching brief on site clearance for the installation of new portable classrooms in April 1991. A three foot thick layer of black soil over the Marlstone Rock Bed was observed. No early structural evidence was noticed, but some post medieval pottery and glass was recovered.

Empingham: The new Hardwick golf course site has been under the watching-brief of Sqn Ldr and Mrs Adams, but nothing of archaeological interest has been found.

Oakham Field-walking Survey: The RFRG has continued to survey fields within Oakham parish (Rutland Record 12 (1992) 90). The fields north and south of Woodland View at SK 870092 and SK 870089 have been completed. The flint scatters, both 'blade' and 'flake' technologies, continue southwards,

although the density of finds has now decreased. Only a few pieces of Roman pottery were retrieved and these appear of little significance. But this negative evidence helps to delineate the scatter found earlier. Some Saxon pottery has now been recovered – the first to be found on this survey. Medieval, post-medieval and modern pottery was also retrieved.

The RFRG would like to thank the Leicestershire Archaeological Unit for specialist help in describing the finds. The finds are now retained in the Leicestershire Archaeological Unit – accession nos A13.1991 and A127.1991.

Ridlington: A slag spread was found on a hill top in the parish at SK 847001, and a flint scatter was found near Lee's Barn ruins at SK 847023. All these finds have been deposited with the Leicestershire Archaeological Survey at the Jewry Wall Museum, Leicester.

Tixover: In 1991 the Leicestershire Archaeological Unit excavated archaeological sites in advance of the new Anglian Water pipeline. Group members were invited to volunteer, and some benefitted from this opportunity to gain practical experience working with the professional team supervised by Matthew Beamish. The RFRG is grateful for this opportunity to participate.

The RFRG has recently decided to try and keep one eye on the planning applications submitted to the Rutland District Council for sites which might be of archaeological interest. This is in addition to, and does not replace the Leicestershire Archaeological Survey's specialist service. Indeed any information we find is forwarded to the Leicestershire Archaeological Survey for further appropriate action.

Elaine L Jones, Project Officer

Excavation Work

Due to the reduction in available excavators, work on the Whitwell medieval building complex has been limited to fortnightly activity. However, despite the forecast last year that little further productive work would be found, several interesting and important features have been exposed. In the central area of the site a 'quadrant' stone wall was exposed in the south west corner of a larger room. This wall, of up to six course of limestone and a radius of 2 m, was built up to but not joined into the robbed southern house wall and the western wall across the building. The area within the quadrant was excavated to a depth of 60 cm, and at this level was half covered by a large slab of limestone. It is thought that this represents a large waste water sump with large drain proceeding eastwards below floor level. Following the drawing and photographing of this feature the wall stone arc inside the building was examined by removal. At foundation level a paved floor of vertical limestone blocks was discovered and it was decided to investigate the area that it might extend over. A 2.5 m wide strip commencing at the robbed area of the south wall and parallel to the cross wall was cleared across the width of the building. The area was mainly paved with vertical limestone but also included a sequence of very large slabs presumed to be drain covers running from the 'quadrant' sump easterly and then northerly across the site. The largest slab was over 2 m in length and 0.5 m wide with one square end and one pointed end rather like a grave cover. The ground underneath appears to be hollow and no doubt is a major site drain. Whether this supported another cross wall is uncertain and no other wall stone remains above it. However, removal of a double layer of stone which supported the eastern edge of the paved floor has produced another stone lined drain about 10cm wide at a higher level, which could have been used to drain the 'passage' across the building. After completion of the drawing of this area in detail the large slabs will be lifted and the drain investigated. The northern end of the drain appears to have been 'robbed' out along with most of the north wall of the whole building, and it is assumed that the large drain proceeded downhill (eastwards) under the north wall. Evidence of this is a partly paved area in the north-east corner of the site under a much later short wall. Some clearance of stones and floor material in the adjacent room to the west of the cross wall has produced indications of a hearth with charcoal, a lead fragment, and a bronze object as well as Stamford and possibly Bourne ware potsherds.

Other Activities

The Annual General Meeting was held at the Rutland County Museum on 10th October 1991 and was followed by an excellent slide talk by Mr R Johnson, mainly about Sicilian orchids but also including several Greek temples.

The Summer Picnic was held in the Rutland County Museum following a tour of Oakham Castle earthworks and other buildings of historical interest in the town, led by Mr T Clough. The Annual Dinner was held at the Nag's Head Hotel at Saltby, and was thoroughly enjoyed by all.

Following last year's work on site clearance at the Pickworth lime kiln, John Clare's workplace, the Chairman and Mrs Adams attended the official opening in May this year and the Group received appreciation for their work on the project from the Chairman of the John Clare Society and the Chairman of the Rutland Tourism Advisory Committee.

It is with great regret that we record the loss of one of our great stalwarts in excavation and field walking, Miss Elsie Green of Cottesmore. We shall all miss her cheerful help in all our activities and our sincere sympathy goes to her sister Evelyn. The Group was represented at the funeral by the Chairman, Mrs Adams, Mr Clive Jones and Miss Jenny Naylor.

The Chairman and Vice Chairman continue to serve on the Leicestershire Archaeological Advisory Committee and our project leader, Mrs E Jones, serves on the committee of CBA Group 14.

A W Adams, Chairman

Obituary

Professor W. G. Hoskins

Professor William George Hoskins, who died on 11th January, 1992, aged 83 years, will be remembered as the outstanding pioneer of English landscape history this century. His revolutionary achievements have been discussed elsewhere*, but what did he mean to us in Rutland?

From the 1930s he loved and visited the area, living for some time at Stamford. He wrote of 'returning from longer expeditions in microscopic Rutland' when he lived in Leicester. He, more than anyone, created the image of Rutland and a sense of special identity.

His pleasure in the area derived from many aspects. As a 'church crawler' he 'could hardly have a better feast in such a small compass'. But the recipe was for 'not more than three in a morning' and this would provide 'sufficient enjoyment'. Tixover churchyard was his favourite, where he could doze by the quiet waters of the Welland. He compared Rutland to a French *pays* with its characteristic ethos and delighted in a 'roadside picnic in the French style', going into detail in his *Shell Guide to Rutland* (1963) about keeping the wine cool.

He wrote of 'a sense of space almost everywhere, and curiously, too, a sense of its own particular identity'. Although, at the time, Rutland was fighting for its independence 'against the urban theorists who seem to dominate the world of planning to-day', he spoke for everyone and for all time. Indeed, the remarkable thing is that he sensed the environmental revolution to come in the 1970s which is now reaching a crescendo. He saw Rutland and also Local History within that context.

Not surprisingly, he could see that 'rather than being exterminated in favour of a larger unit with no historic meaning, it should be set aside at once as England's first *Human Conservancy* . . . Only the human being is not protected against incessant noise, speed and all the other acids of modernity. Rutland is still largely untouched . . . still a picture of a human, peaceful, slow-moving, pre-industrial England, with seemly villages, handsome churches, great arable fields, and barns. One would like to think that one day soon at each entrance to this little county, beside a glancing willow-fringed stream, there will stand a notice saying *'Human Conservancy*: *Abandon the Rat-Race at This Point'*. What magnificent sentiments and how memorably expressed!

Because he was concerned with the here and now as well as the dim and distant past he could express the general feeling of the people in an area. Through the landscape he could distil the past into the present. His local history was history in action and the past lived in the present. Consequently he could see and comment on threats to the environment such as those 'hideous poles and wires of the Electricity Board'. When he noted that 'A commonplace ditch may be the thousand-year-old boundary of a royal manor' he was echoing the words of the German geographer Ratzel in 1896, 'A people expresses itself through its landscape, just as it does through its towns and houses. As generations succeed each other, so this expression changes as time goes on'.

Hoskins appreciated the therapeutic effects of Rutland: 'One week of this treatment in Rutland sends one back ready to fight politicians and jacks-in-office with one hand tied behind one's back'.

Professor Hoskins was an Honorary Member of the Rutland Record Society, and in the early days came to talk to the Society at Uppingham School. He corresponded with the Editor at that time conveying his delight at the 'launching of the Society, but I fear I cannot undertake even a short introductory article . . . I am snowed under with work in spite of my resolution to retire completely from writing and television last year (1978) . . . I am sorry about this refusal, but all good things come to an end; and I am just about exhausted. I am hoping that a few months rest will set me up again. In the meantime, all my good wishes for the new journal. And many thanks for the brochure on Rutland Water – I am delighted to have it'. In a letter in 1981 he writes, 'Many thanks indeed for the 1522 Survey – I'm delighted to see it in print and also the copy of *Rutland Record.* I'm sorry to be so slow about it all, but I have had a stroke a few months ago and am still recovering . . . but I read the 1522 Survey with much pleasure and interest'.

Professor Hoskins leaves 'warm memories of a *bon viveur* enjoying good food, good wine and witty conversation. His students treasure the very positive encouragement he gave, to men and women in equal measure. His books will always preserve the record of a colourful and genial personality with a seeing eye and flowing pen'. His BBC TV programmes *Landscapes of England* (1976–78) gave him national renown but to me the inspiration of first reading the introduction to *The Making of the English Landscape* in 1955 still stirs the Soul with its eternal message:

> 'The English landscape itself, to those who know how to read it aright, is the richest historical record we possess. There are discoveries to be made in it for which no written documents exist, or have ever existed. To write its history requires a combination of documentary research and of fieldwork, of laborious scrambling on foot wherever the trail may lead. The result is a new kind of history . . . .'

Bryan Waites

*Recent full obituaries include those in the *Times*, 15th January; the *Independent*, *Daily Telegraph* and *Guardian*, all 14th January. Obituaries also appeared in the *Leicester Mercury* and *Rutland Times*.

Rutland Record Society: Publications

Rutland Record 1 (1980) *£1.00 post free*
The Emergence of Rutland; Medieval Hunting Grounds of Rutland; Rutland Field Names; Illiteracy in 19th century Rutland.

Rutland Record 2 (1981) *£1.00 post free*
Archdeacon Robert Johnson; Thomas Barker of Lyndon Hall and his weather observations; Rutland Agricultural Society; Rutland Farms in 1871.

Rutland Record 3 (1982/3) *out of print*
Cropmarks in the Rutland Landscape; Rutland's Place in the History of Cricket; Ironstone in Rutland; Oakham School 140 years ago.

Rutland Record 4 (1984) *out of print*
The Sharmans of Greetham; Churches of Rutland; Belton-in-Rutland; Portrait of a Village; 19th century Greetham; Thomas Crapper and Manholes.

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

Rutland Record 6 (1986) *£1.50*
Transitional Architecture in Rutland; Family of Rutland Stonemasons; The Restoration of Exton Church.

Rutland Record 7 (1987) *£1.50*
Major Place-Names of Rutland; The Making of the Rutland Domesday; Lords and Peasants in Medieval Rutland; Shakespeare in Rutland; A Medical Trade Token of Oakham.

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

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

Rutland Record 10 (1990) *£3.00 (members £2.00)*
Tenth Anniversary Issue devoted to the history of Burley on the Hill.

Rutland Record 11 (1991) *£3.00 (members £2.00)*
Rutland, Russia and Shakespeare; Industrial Archaeology in Rutland; Lord Lonsdale in the Arctic.

Rutland Record 12 (1992) *£3.50 (members £2.50)*
Medieval Deer Parks; Preston Parish Records; Edward Thring at Uppingham School; Jeremiah Whittaker; Joseph Matkin (1853-1927); Cinemas in Rutland.

Rutland Record Series

1 Tudor Rutland: The County Community under Henry VIII. *reduced to £2.00*
Edited by Julian Cornwall (1980). A hardback book of 134 pages with a scholarly introduction, map, glossary and index. The Military Survey of 1522 and the Lay Subsidy of 1524 give a unique cross-section of the people of Rutland in the 16th century.

2 The Weather Journals of a Rutland Squire edited by John Kington. *£9.90 (members £8.00)*
Thomas Barker of Lyndon Hall, brother-in-law of Gilbert White, kept weather, farming and countryside records for over sixty years in the 18th century. Scholarly introduction, commentaries, maps, illustrations, glossary, index.

Occasional Publications Series

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

5 The Oakham Survey 1305 edited by Allen Chinnery (1989) *£4.50 (members £3.50)*
A medieval survey in great detail of an English market town revealing population, occupations, topography, customs and personal as well as placename evidence.

6 The Rutland Hearth Tax 1665 *£4.50 (members £3.50)*
edited and introduced by Jill Bourne & Amanda Goode (1991)

Post and Packing: *Rutland Record, Domesday Book in Rutland, Oakham Survey, Rutland Hearth Tax* - 1 copy 60p; 2 copies 80p; 3 copies £1.20; 4 copies £2.00. *Tudor Rutland and Weather Journals* £2.00 each. Orders to Rutland County Museum, Catmos Street, Oakham, Rutland LE15 6HW. Tel. (0572) 723654. Please contact the Museum for details of special offers available.

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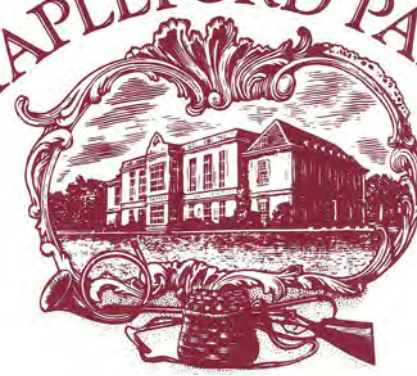

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