

# Rutland Record

No.16 (1996)

Journal of the Rutland Local History  
& Record Society



# Rutland Local History & 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. In May 1993, the Rutland Field Research Group for Archaeology and History, founded in 1971, also amalgamated with the Society.

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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The Society welcomes new members, and hopes to encourage them to participate in the Society's activities at all levels, and to submit the results of their researches, where appropriate, for publication by the Society.

The address of the Society is c/o Rutland County Museum,  
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*Editor of this issue:* T H McK Clough

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*COVER ILLUSTRATION: The stables in South Street, Oakham, in 1993 (David Carlin)*

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## Editorial: Caring about Local History

With the publication of another issue of *Rutland Record*, it seems appropriate to take stock of the various Rutland bodies which show a continuing interest in local history, and whose activities and achievements can be seen each year in the reports which they kindly provide for publication in our journal. Besides the reports of our own Society and of our host, the Rutland County Museum, there are those of the Leicestershire Record Office and of record offices in neighbouring counties which for one reason or another have an interest in Rutland. The archaeological work of our own Society complements that of the full-time archaeologists in the Leicestershire Museums, Arts & Records Service and of the newly restructured Archaeological Unit for the county. The Rutland Historic Churches Preservation Trust has become a regular contributor, and from time to time other organisations also submit reports of their work. Taken together, these accounts of work done provide us with a valuable catalogue of achievements and indicate the richness of historical and archive material available for students of Rutland's history.

This Society is thus not alone in caring about Rutland, but to some extent plays a co-ordinating role by bringing these reports together. However, we may be proud that the *Rutland Record* has continued year by year to achieve a high standard not just of presentation but of content, and reflects the results of members' and other students' activities and researches in archaeology, genealogy and local history. *Rutland Record* 15, has earned an accolade from colleagues in neighbouring counties. As the *East Midlands Historian* 5 (1995), 71, puts it, "how this publication appears so regularly and promptly no doubt remains a mystery to other editors!"

We have indeed been fortunate in the past in receiving the editorial help needed to maintain such a reputation, but more help is urgently needed in this area. *Rutland Record* plays a key role in putting on record the details of the lengthy history of the ancient County of Rutland, whose independence seems certain to be restored in the near future. With this in mind, this perhaps is the year to tap further sources of local knowledge and enthusiasm, and to urge those actively interested to volunteer their services.

When the Rutland Record Society was formed in 1979, its founders saw the possibility of gaining a spread of members so that each of the county's 52 parishes might be represented in the membership. Now there are indeed members in many parishes, as well as subscribers further afield whose families have Rutland links. However, some parishes - even some of the larger ones - have comparatively few subscribing members or none at all. Some villages, such as Morcott, could boast of having their own local history groups, and such groups can be inspired by different origins: interest in local families, in the history of the church or of local houses and land, or in local archaeology. Where they are active, these groups are capable of adding fascinating dimensions to local history researches which are under way. In the case of Uppingham, a small working group has assembled a marvellous series of archive reports on properties in the town, and we hope to bring at least some of these to a wider audience in future publications of this Society.

The reversion to County status for Rutland may act as a further spur to interest in local history, but it may also bring its own problems. Since it has been linked with Leicestershire, Rutland has had the benefit of the help of the county-wide Museums, Arts & Records Service, especially in the field of archives. Here the service has been of a very high standard, which we think a Rutland council could never match because of the costs involved in achieving the statutory requirements for archives. Similarly, the authority will have to provide for access to specialist knowledge and expertise in archaeology and in monitoring listed building development, as well as in other environmental subject areas which are available through the museums service. This Society is therefore most anxious to retain a continuing relationship with a viable Leicestershire - or Leicestershire and Rutland - Museums, Arts & Records Service. To that end, we repeat the *caveat* expressed by the anonymous writer of the Editorial in *Rutland Record* 15.

*Yuri Galitzine*

## Contributors to this issue

**E Trevor Bell** trained as a biologist, and has a PhD from Edinburgh University. He has worked in both university and industry.

**T H McK Clough** is Keeper of the Rutland County Museum and has written many archaeological, numismatic and other papers.

**Jane Cowgill** is an archaeologist in Lincolnshire specialising in the history of metalworking.

**Pamela Drinkall** worked in museum education, with special interests in history and ancient Egypt.

**Trevor Hickman** is an retired lecturer and printer, and

has recently published a new book on Stilton cheese.

**Elaine Jones** is a free-lance archaeologist and chairs the Society's archaeological sub-committee.

**Penny Robinson** works in Wanganui, New Zealand, and was associated with the restoration of the Rutland Hotel there.

**Bryan Waites** is a historical geographer and writer, Honorary Member of the Society, and former Editor of the *Rutland Record*.

**Barbara Walters** is an overseas member of the Society with family interests in Rutland.

# A Romano-British Iron Smelting Site in the parish of Ridlington, Rutland

JANE COWGILL & ELAINE JONES

*A Romano-British iron smelting site, consisting of a spread of slag, pottery, brick fragments and possible furnace remains, was found on a hill in the parish of Ridlington in Rutland. The furnace may be similar to those found at Laxton, Northamptonshire.*

*Iron slag scatters, indicating past industrial activities, are to be found in the fields of Rutland, yet they are seldom recorded, resulting in a gap in our knowledge of the past.*

*The archive report and finds are retained by Leicestershire Museums under their accession number A47.1994.*

## Geological and Historical Background

A concentration of iron slag on a hillside at Ridlington at National Grid reference SK 82800105 was first noted by Clive Jones in 1992. A further visit in 1994 with Jane Cowgill, a specialist in ancient metallurgy, confirmed the find as probably being the ploughed-out remains of a Romano-British iron smelting site (Fig. 1).

The site is on private farmland and lies just below the brow of a hill facing south-west at about 145 m above sea level. The geology consists of Upper Lias Clay which overlies the Marlstone Rock Bed outcropping on the lower hill slopes. In the valley, beneath the Marlstone, are the Middle Lias Clays and Sands. Ridlington village is about 3 km to the north-east, and lies on Northampton Sand ironstone, where iron ore deposits have been found (IGS Sheets 156 and 157; Judd 1875, 109).

Today, much of this clay land has been turned over to arable farming, but forest cover predominated in the medieval period.

Evidence of woodland comes from the Domesday survey of 1086, which records that Ridlington then had woodland, with pasture in places, amounting to 2 leagues by 8 furlongs wide (Thorn 1980, 293d). In the early 12th century, the royal Forest of Rutland was created, covering the greater part of Rutland together with a narrow strip of eastern Leicestershire (Cantor 1980). By the 15th century, this forest had shrunk, and was known as Leighfield Forest. Remnants of Leighfield are still to be found in the hedgerows and woodlands at Priors Coppice on the border of Leighfield and Brooke parishes, and at Allextion, Launde and Owston (Marsland 1989).

As yet, no other evidence of Roman occupation in the vicinity of this site has been found and no nearby villa sites are known to the authors. The Roman



Fig. 1. Map of Rutland, showing sites mentioned in the text.

town of Medbourne and other settlements along the Gartree Road and the Welland valley lie some 10 km to the south. To the west lie sites at Lowesby and Skeffington. Roman settlements to the east appear to predominate close to Ermine Street, as at Great Casterton, Thistleton and Empingham (Liddle 1982). These sites are noted in the Leicestershire Museums' archaeological sites and monuments record.

Archaeological evidence from Ridlington comes from the crop marks shown on aerial photographs (Pickering & Hartley 1985) and from field-walking, which together indicate prehistoric and Iron Age settlement. There is a probable Iron Age hill fort within Ridlington village itself (Liddle 1982). Less than 2 km to the east of the site runs the ancient "Red Way", along the top of the scarp on Wardley Hill.

With the present state of knowledge, this Romano-British iron smelting site thus seems to stand alone, many miles from the nearest known Roman town or villa.

## Results

Jane Cowgill, who is researching slags in the east Midlands, describes the results of her visit in March 1994 as follows:

The slag is spread over an area about 80 m in diameter. The densest part of the scatter covers an area

some 30 m in diameter, but this has been extended by ploughing. Within this area, there appears to be evidence of furnaces, because blocks of fired and unfired clay have been brought to the surface during recent ploughing.

During two hours of field-walking, two members of the team concentrated on collecting ceramic dating evidence, while the writer took a 20 litre sample of the slag and vitrified material. Evidence for occupation on, or close to, the site proved scarce.

Twenty-four small abraded sherds of pottery were found, all probably Roman, with just one suggesting a 3rd century date, and a 2nd to 4th century date

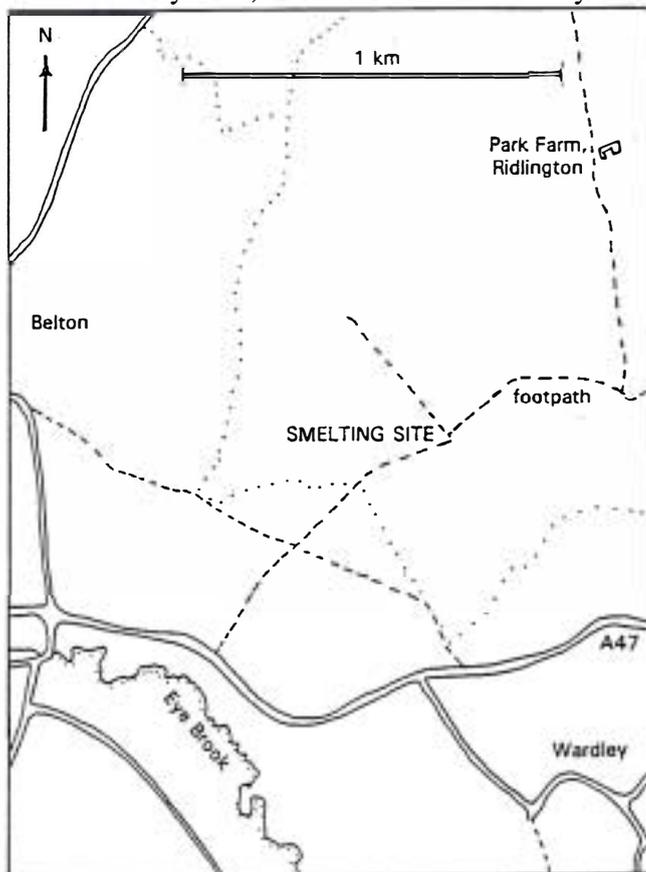


Fig. 2. The location of the smelting site.

range being given for the rest. The quality and status of the pottery has been termed average for a Roman settlement of this period (MJ Darling, *in litt.*).

A fragment of a possible quernstone was also found. Clive Jones has identified the rock as a grey-brown well-cemented fairly coarse-grained gritstone. It is composed essentially of sharp equigranular quartz grains with very subordinate white feldspar cemented in a fine pink-brown ferruginous matrix. It almost certainly originates from the Namurian (Millstone Grit) formation of the Carboniferous of northern England.

About a dozen struck flints were also recovered from the area, of which six had been burnt. They include one small leaf-shaped arrowhead and two scrapers. The flints are consistent with a Neolithic date, and are incidental to the present discussion.

The scatter of slag consisted of large quantities of dense black tap slag, many of the fragments having flowed surfaces. There were also numerous light, more bubbly, pieces of tap slag with charcoal inclusions. Fragments of burnt clay which were scattered amongst the slag proved difficult to collect because they were badly weathered.

An intriguing find consists of approximately 25 pieces of brick about 40 mm thick. The fabric has been tempered with coarse organic material and has usually been reduce-fired. There is also a large number of vitrified "brick" fragments, some of which have a coating of, or blend into, tap slag. The odd nature of these bricks suggests that they may be related to the iron smelting.

If the bricks are indeed related, it is possible to postulate that at Ridlington we have an example of the elusive Northamptonshire type of furnace (Jackson & Tylecote 1988). The type site, at Laxton, is only some 15 km south-east of Ridlington. However, there are noticeable differences, so this theory has to be treated with caution. Laxton is dated to the 1st to early 2nd centuries, whereas the slight pottery evidence from Ridlington suggests that this site was occupied later than this. Also, there is no evidence here for the thumb impressions or mortice and tenon joints described on the Laxton bricks.

## Discussion

One of the authors has written that until recently the study of slags from archaeological sites was somewhat unfashionable (Cowgill 1994). It was seldom something that was considered seriously, with the result that slags were not often collected during field-walking, and often only scantily sampled on excavations. This resulted in the loss of a considerable amount of knowledge concerning our industrial past.

The majority of slags encountered are the residues of iron working, simply because the process always produced huge quantities of the material. There are fundamentally two types of iron slag: *tap slag*, which is the result of smelting, or converting the ore to iron within the furnace; and *smithing slag*, which is the waste from working the iron.

Evidence for smelting should be prevalent in the east Midlands because of the abundance of iron deposits suitable for exploitation. It is thought that the type of ore most commonly exploited in the past was bog ore which formed in valley bottoms and on the edge of the fens from iron that had leached out of deposits higher up on the hillsides. These have a particularly high iron content and, because they were quite often limited in extent, many have been worked out. Dumps of Roman and medieval slags were often exploited in the post-medieval period because they contain very high iron levels.

It is often forgotten that slags are broadly dateable

because their form and structure depend on the technology that produced them. In brief, although iron furnaces do vary in size, to simplify matters one may say that from the Iron Age to the medieval period those with an internal diameter of 30-40 cm are the most usual.

The technology of tapping slag was not known during the Iron Age, so it built up within the furnace walls until the hole for the bellows was blocked, constricting the air flow and stopping the smelting process. Roman and medieval furnaces were both tapped, allowing the hot slag to flow out of the furnace at intervals as it built up and enabling more iron to be made within the furnace. The flow patterns of the Ridlington tap slag are consistent with this practice, and morphologically it appears to be Roman in date. The Saxons, on the other hand, may have had moveable furnaces which they placed above pits, allowing the slag to drain down and fill the pits. This method produces the most distinctive smelting slag. It occurs as bucket-sized blocks, and it is usually found in field boundaries or built into walls because these blocks are hard enough and large enough to break a plough share.

The iron which comes out of the furnace is called the *bloom*. This looks like a large lump of slag, and it does indeed contain a large quantity of slag. The next stage is the smithing of the bloom to remove most of the slag, after which the iron is called a *billet*. The final stage is the shaping and further refining of the billet to produce a *bar*, which can then be sold on for the manufacture of iron objects - a long bar proving that the iron is workable and therefore of good quality.

The iron industry required access to quantities of ore, clay and charcoal to be able to function. Geological evidence informs us that here both the ore and good quality clays were available for exploitation locally by the smelters themselves. The question of the fuel supply is a more complicated matter. Charcoal, not wood, must be used, and experimental archaeology suggests that the charcoal is needed in larger rather than smaller pieces. It is not known whether smelters made their own charcoal or employed the services of charcoal-burners, nor how much woodland management was imposed or involved. Without efficient woodland management, the area would rapidly have become deforested.

Finally, having made the iron and formed it into bars, the smelters needed to transport it to markets for sale to blacksmiths. Almost nothing is known about methods of distribution, and a deeper understanding of the system of minor Roman roads is needed. In the case of Ridlington, the alternatives

would seem to be focused markets at, for example, Medbourne, Leicester, and the Ermine Street towns, or direct sales to local smiths.

## Conclusion

The Ridlington site has thus produced evidence of iron smelting which may be dated, on the basis of associated pottery and the form of the slag, to the Roman period. A quantity of "industrial" bricks, many of them vitrified or attacked by slag, are likely to be associated with the iron smelting furnaces which must have existed on the site.

The site is unlikely to be an isolated one, and so a whole network of questions emerges from this humble evidence of the ploughed-out remains of a seemingly insignificant scatter of slag. One of the authors has identified another slag scatter near Quaker Spinney, which lies to the east of the site, and John Judd, writing in the latter part of the 19th century, pointed out that "there is evidence in abundant furnace cinders that the ironstones in this neighbourhood were formerly smelted." At present, these questions cannot be answered, but seeking slags is never boring - and can be most intriguing.

## Acknowledgements

The authors are grateful to Mr J Steffen for permission to investigate the site, to Maggie Darling for her comments on the pottery, and to Clive Jones for his petrological identification of the quernstone.

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# The Excavation of a Saxon *Grubenhau* and other features at South Street, Oakham, Rutland

ELAINE JONES

In January and February 1994 the Rutland Local History and Record Society conducted a salvage excavation and observation on a development at South Street in Oakham, Rutland (SK 85910869). Part of a *Grubenhau* or "pit-hut" with early Saxon pottery, possibly of the 5th-6th century AD, was found. A complex of pits and a trench containing redeposited early medieval, Saxo-Norman Stamford ware, and earlier pottery, ran east-west across the site. A cess pit containing an 11th century AD Stamford ware cooking pot and organic matter lay beneath an old stable block. Part of a very large ditch, possibly an early town ditch, was found running parallel to South Street. Several pits cut into the limestone bedrock were barren of finds and therefore judged to be natural features. The *Grubenhau* is the first archaeological evidence of early Saxon settlement in Oakham. A full archive report and the finds are retained by Leicestershire Museums under their accession number A10.1994.



Fig. 1. Oakham in Rutland.

## Introduction

In January 1994 the construction of ten new dwellings and the conversion of a thatched stone barn began on about half an acre of land in South Street, Oakham (Figs. 1 and 2; Jones 1995, 241).

The site lies on the ferruginous limestone of the Jurassic Marlstone Rock Bed which here is between 40 and 120 cm thick and overlies the Middle Lias Silt and Silty clay (IGS Sheet 157).

No previous archaeological work had been done on this site or in the south-west central area of Oakham, but work on the eastern part of the town has indicated medieval activity at Bull Lane (Jones 1995), Crown Street (id.), and Mill Street (Catchpole 1994). Saxo-Norman Stamford ware of the 11th century AD was found to the south of 22 High Street (Jones 1994). The earliest extant building in the town is the Great Hall of Oakham Castle, dating from about 1180; a possible earlier motte lies in the SE corner of the castle grounds (Clough 1981, 5f.). An excavation of the castle moat in 1953-54 produced Stamford ware, St Neot's ware, and two sherds of Roman pottery, as well as medieval and post-medieval material (Gathercole 1958).

In sum, although there is evidence of activity in Oakham before the Norman Conquest of AD 1066, virtually nothing is known of the early settlement structure of the town.

Domesday Book (Thorn 1980, 293d) records that:

In Oakham, with 5 outliers, Church jurisdiction, Queen Edith had 4 carucates of land taxable. Land for 16 ploughs.

The King has 2 ploughs at the hall; however, another 4 ploughs possible.

138 villagers and 19 smallholders who have 37 ploughs.

Meadow 80 acres.

A priest and a church to which 4 bovates of this land belong; woodland pasture 1 league long and ½ league wide.

Value before 1066 £40.

There also Leofnoth had 1 carucate of land taxable.

Fulchere Malsor has 5 oxen in a plough and meadow, 6 acres.

[Value] before 1066 and now, 20s.

The whole manor, with the outliers, 3 leagues long and 1 league and 8 furlongs wide.

The place name *Ocheham*, for which the earliest documentary source is Domesday, has been translated as the *ham* (village or homestead) of *Occa*. Studies indicate that the Old English *-ham* place names date from about AD 400-700 (Bourn 1981; Cox 1987). This suggests an early Saxon origin for the town, but until now there has been no archaeological evidence to substantiate this theory. The only other evidence appears to be a late Saxon coin hoard dated to about AD 980, found in 1749 (Clough et al 1975, 84).

Speed's 1610 map of Oakham indicates that although South Street had been developed by that date, much remained as gardens or yards. A map of 1787 by Cullingworth and the accompanying "1789 Oakham Survey and how let" state that this particular

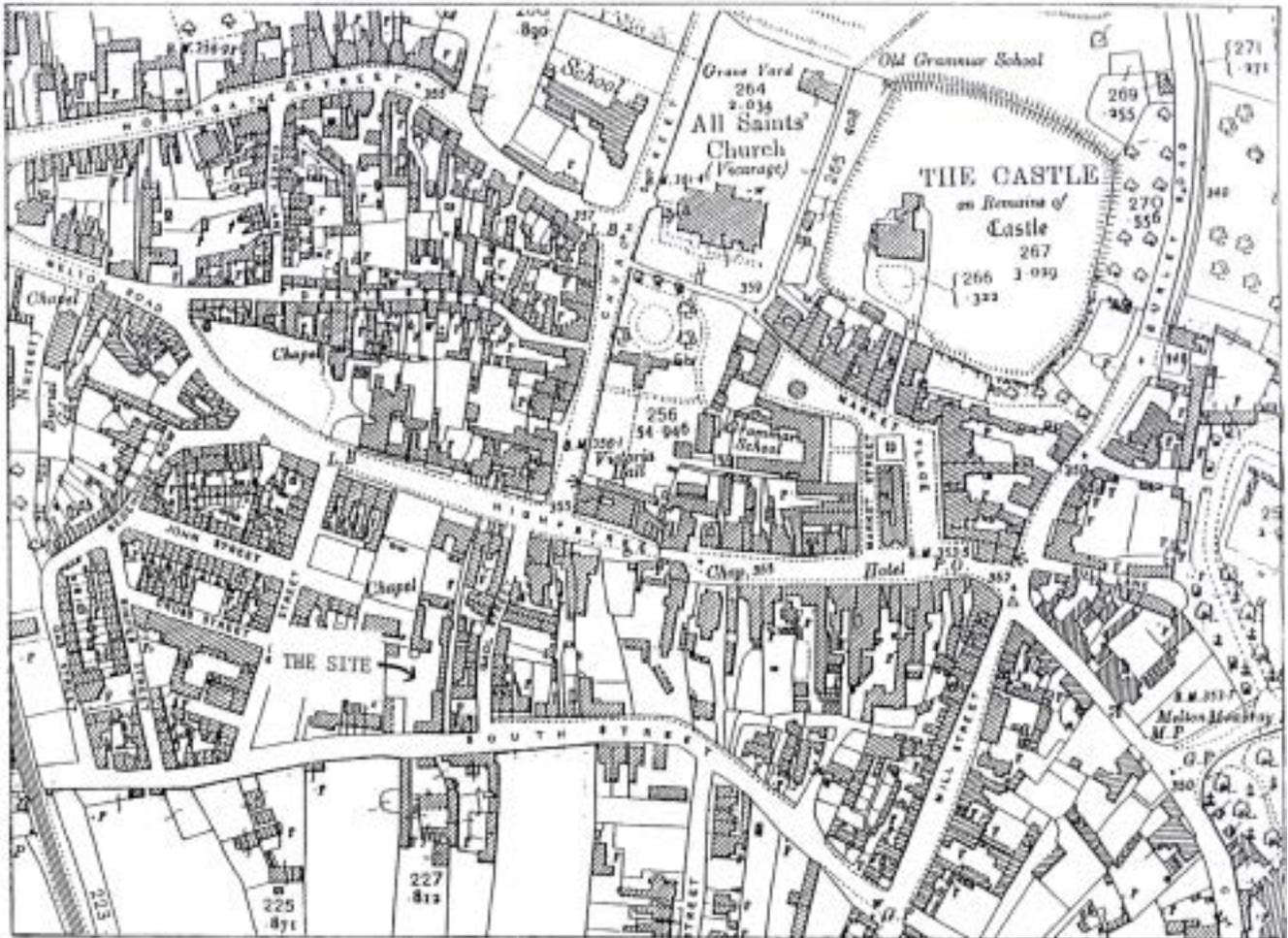


Fig. 2. The historic centre of Oakham, showing the South Street site.  
 Reproduced from the 1904 Ordnance Survey 25" map.

site, number 84, was "an house with the outbuildings yard and rickyard", the tenant being one Maidwell Betts (Leicestershire Record Office DG 7/1/81/1-4, DE 3443).

### Aims and Methods

The aim was to watch and salvage any archaeological information during site levelling and the cutting of construction trenches by the developers.

The western side of the site had been a derelict garden area accommodating an old caravan. This area was now stripped down by the developers so that the whole site was about 107.9 metres OD.

This exposed archaeological features cutting into the natural limestone. These features were cleaned, photographed, and planned, and segments were excavated. Environmental soil samples were taken and dateable finds of pottery recovered.

The remainder of the site lay beneath ground disturbed by the demolished stables and a tarmac drive, and consequently no archaeological evidence could be seen in plan on the surface. However the watch on the cutting of the new construction trenches produced further information from their vertical sections.

Time was of paramount importance because construction had already commenced. Five days were spent on site in January 1994, and with the discovery of the *Grubenhäuser*, the pits and trench, and possible prehistoric features, the writer contacted the Leicestershire Museums Archaeological Unit for professional advice. So impressed were they that additional assistance from the Unit was supplied. This team worked for three days but as development was proceeding they achieved little more. In the event, it was possible for the RLHRS's Archaeological Group to continue working intermittently during construction until 17 February 1994.

### Results

#### *I - A Saxon Grubenhäuser*

A *Grubenhäuser* or Saxon "pit-hut" of the 5th-6th century AD lay partially below the western site wall and 14 m north of South Street (Figs 3 and 4). It had been cut 40 cm deep into the Marlstone Rock Bed and the exposed part measured 2 x 2 m. Its long north and south sides were vertical but the eastern end had rounded corners cut at an angle - rather like the stern of a boat. A small stake hole (*f*) was cut at the eastern end. A large post hole (*e*) had been cut

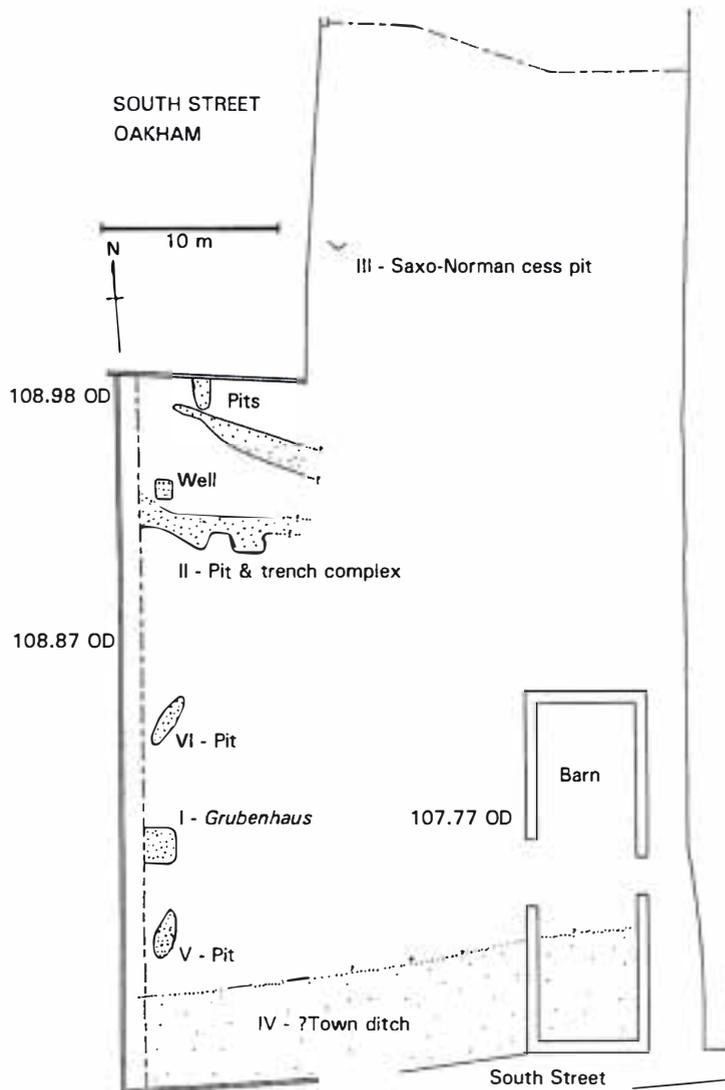
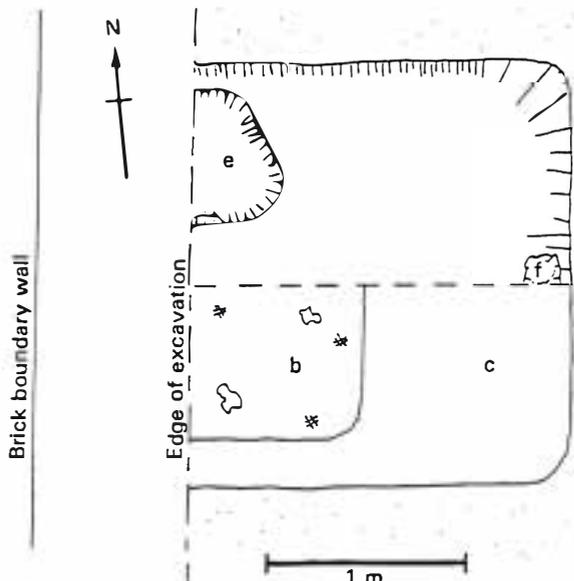


Fig.3. General site plan.

off-centre 20cm further into the bedrock.

Unfortunately the top 20 cm of the *Grubenhau* had been scraped away during site levelling by the contractors and could only be seen in the vertical section. Consequently any surviving evidence of the superstructure was lost. The length of the structure is



not known because it continues beneath the boundary wall (Fig 4).

The "pit-hut" had been filled with a charcoal layer (a). This overlay a burnt pink and yellow clay (b) associated with animal bone, an iron nail, a possible hook made of a copper alloy, and seven fragments of Saxon pottery. This burnt clay may have been a hearth, for similar features were recorded in the "sunken-featured buildings" at the West Stow Anglo-Saxon village (West 1985).

Below this "hearth" was a dark yellowish-brown silt with sand (c) containing 29 Saxon and three Romano-British grey ware sherds, animal bones, and a flint flake core.

A preliminary identification of the pottery by Deborah Sawday is at Appendix A. More work is needed on this early Saxon material but a late 5th-6th century date seems possible. A summary of the bone report by Ian Baxter is at Appendix B, and Patrick Clay has described the flint material in Appendix C. Environmental soil samples were taken and await study.

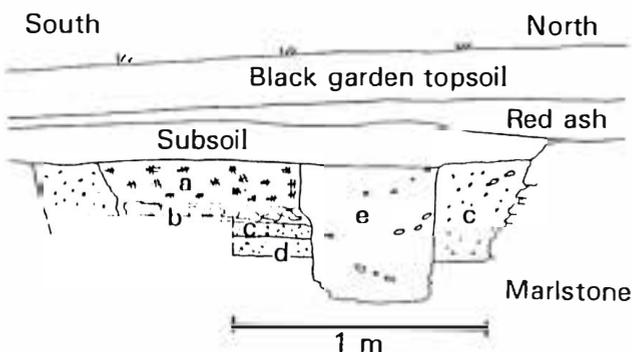
### II - A pit and trench complex

A trench and three pits were found lying east-west across the site 30 m north of South Street (Fig 3). The plan at Fig 6 indicates where segments were dug and vertical sections recorded. A detailed description of these sections is in the archive report.

Much time was spent trying to find the relative dating of these pits to the trench without success. No cuts were seen between the pits and the trench and the whole complex had been backfilled with residual material at about the same time because 12th century pottery was recovered, with earlier pot, from most excavated segments.

The top fill of a brown sandy silt contained fragments of early medieval c.12th century "splashed ware", oolitic Stanion/Lyveden type ware, 12th century Lincoln/Lincolnshire shelly ware, and Saxo-Norman Stamford ware, as well as Saxon and Roman sherds.

Below this was a stony layer overlying more brown sandy silt in which were recovered more fragment of similar material. Just possibly, the bottom



Figs. 4 & 5. Plan and section of the Grubenhau.

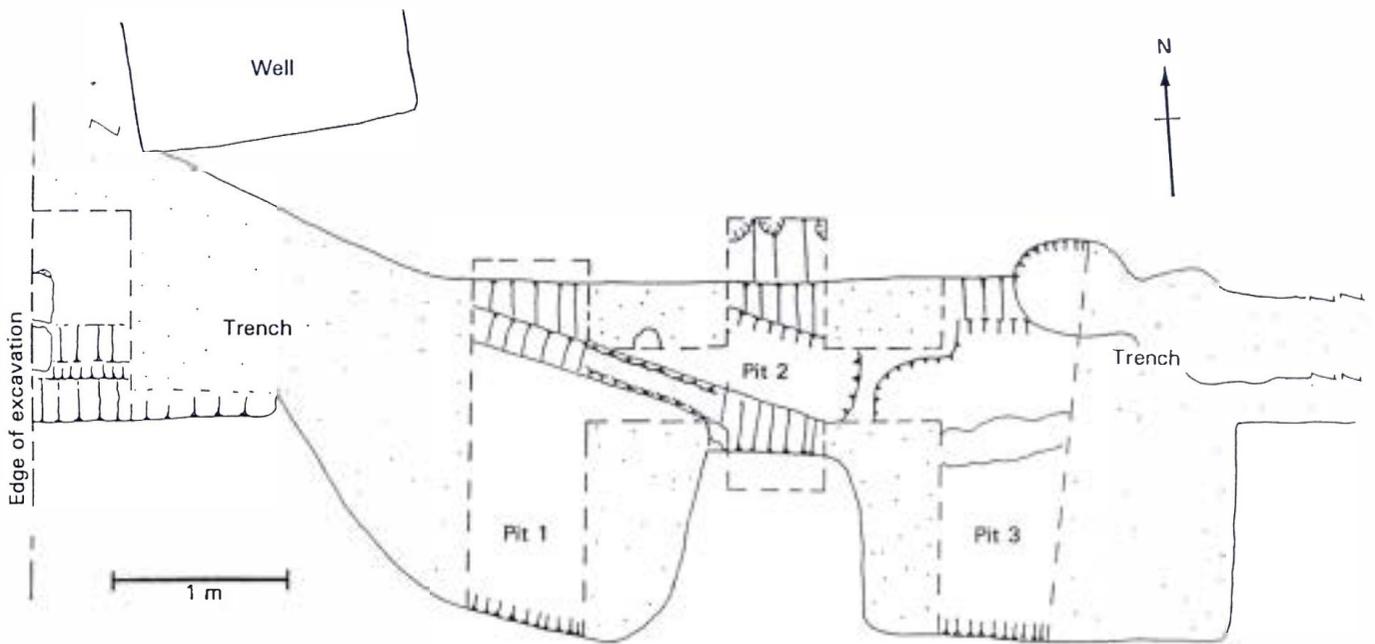


Fig. 6. Plan of the pit and trench complex.

fill from Pit 2, which contained Stamford wares and a fragment of Saxo-Norman Lincoln/Lincolnshire shelly ware, may be the earliest deposit.

In addition to this abraded pottery, animal bones and some worked flints were recovered.

### III - A Saxo-Norman cess pit

The corner of a pit was exposed during the cutting of a construction trench in the northern part of the development (Fig 3).

The vertical section at Fig 7 showed that beneath the rubble of the demolished stables, a pit cut into the limestone had been filled with a lens of burnt clay mottled with charcoal (*a*), beneath which were layers, (*b*) and (*c*), of a wet homogeneous dark greyish-brown organic material. In the bottom of the pit (*d*) were found large unabraded fragments of a nearly whole Stamford ware cooking pot or storage jar dated to the mid to late 11th century (Appendix A). An environmental analysis of the soil samples has yet to be done but the Leicestershire Archaeological Unit specialist has said that this material is probably cess (Angela Monkton, *in litt.*).

On this evidence it appears that the pit was cut no earlier than the 11th century.

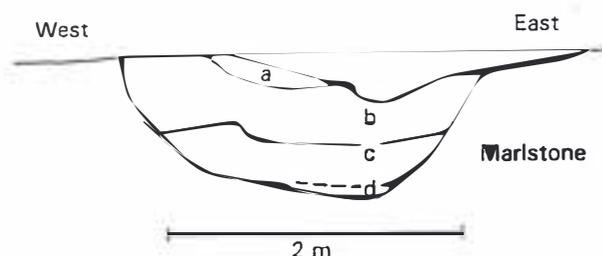


Fig. 7. Section across the cess pit.

### IV - A possible town ditch

A very large ditch was revealed lying east-west parallel to South Street when four construction trenches were cut (Fig 3). Its full extent was not seen and only the northern edge was found. Within the thatched barn, disturbed ground was also noticed at the southern end when internal trenches were cut. This ditch would therefore at least predate the barn.

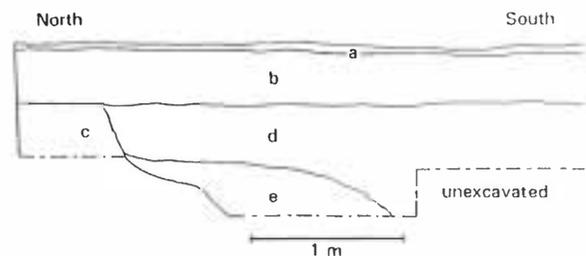


Fig. 8. Section across the possible town ditch.

Here it would have been more than 3 m wide and over 1 m deep.

The vertical section exposed in the construction trench (Fig 8) showed that a thin spread of ash and soil (*a*) and a 35 cm thick layer of stone rubble with red brick fragments (*b*) had sealed the cut of the northern edge of the ditch (*c*). The fill consisted of a well-compacted homogeneous brown clayey silt (*d*) in which one c.5th-6th century Saxon sherd and one possible Saxo-Norman Lincolnshire shelly ware fragment were found. Animal bones and a flint flake, possibly a "piercer", were also recovered.

Beneath this the dark greyish-brown clayey silt containing limestone rubble (*e*) produced one sherd of Romano-British grey ware, two c.5th-6th century Saxon sherds, one of Stamford ware (c.900-1050),

one ?Lincolnshire shelly ware fragment, and one early medieval oxidised sandy ware sherd. More animal bones and one burnt flint were retained.

Unfortunately these few small abraded pot sherds from the fill are insufficient to suggest an approximate date for the cutting of the ditch.

#### *V & VI - Possible prehistoric pits*

Several pits containing a reddish-brown silt cut into the Marlstone Rock Bed. Two of these were partially excavated (Fig. 3). Both had clear regular steeply-sloping sides and were therefore not the result of tree root disturbance. As there were no finds it has to be concluded that they are the result of natural agencies.

However eleven worked flints were found from the other deposits on site. No diagnostic material was found but the flakes may be Late Neolithic or later (Appendix C).

Similar pits were found by Patrick Clay when excavating Late Neolithic features at Burley Road on the edge of Oakham (Clay 1987 & forthcoming). Fieldwalking in the parish by the Rutland Local History and Record Society has produced evidence of substantial Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age flint scatters indicating prehistoric activity and settlement (Haley 1993; Jones 1994).

#### **Conclusions**

The *Grubenhäuser* with its associated pottery, possibly of the late 5th-mid 6th century AD, is significant because it provides the first archaeological evidence for early Saxon occupation in Oakham. It may indicate the location of early Saxon settlement in the town, but more work is needed to confirm this.

The function of this "pit-hut" is not known but the hearth and finds suggest domestic use; no evidence of weaving or other activities was noticed.

Parallels for the Oakham *Grubenhäuser* may be found at the West Stow Anglo-Saxon village excavated by Stanley West (West 1985).

Very little is known about settlements and homesteads of the period in Rutland, although there is ample evidence of early Saxon occupation from the cemeteries (Clough et al 1975, 78ff.). A *Grubenhäuser* was found at Empingham in 1968 (ibid., 80), two more were excavated at Tickencote in 1990 (Sharman & Mackie 1991, 98), and a Saxon dwelling was also excavated in Leicester in 1994 (Finn 1994, 167).

The pits and trench complex is not understood nor is the date of their cutting known. The whole complex appears to have been backfilled with redeposited material in the early medieval period.

The trench could have marked a boundary, as it was still in recent use with 19th-20th century recutting and deposition at the eastern end. This complex continued eastwards across the site where it

was seen in the construction trenches.

One would have liked to suggest that the pits were more *Grubenhäuser* but there was no evidence of this. Similar pits excavated at Stamford were interpreted as stone quarries which had later been back-filled (Mahany et al 1982, 16f.), but here the remaining Marlstone was only about 40 cm thick and these pits continued into the underlying clay. Nor do the pits appear to have been used for rubbish because there were no clearly defined layers of fill and the pot sherds were worn and of many periods.

A cess pit with a waterlogged fill of organic material containing partly mineralised grasses or rushes and a mid-late 11th century Stamford ware cooking pot or storage jar was found beneath the old north-west stable block.

Part of a possible town ditch lay parallel to South Street - its full extent not revealed. The date for the cutting of this ditch was not ascertained but the fill contained a few small abraded sherds of Roman, early Saxon, Saxo-Norman, and early medieval pottery, which indicates an early date.

Additional evidence that this may be an early town ditch comes from other work along a property boundary running east of this development. Part of a ditch containing medieval pottery lies north of Crown Street, another possible ditch segment was found south of 22 High Street, and Speed's 1610 map shows a gateway north of Crown Street.

It is therefore suggested that these four sites may mark an early town ditch along an early "south street" - but more work is required.

Possible prehistoric pits similar to those found at the Burley Road, Oakham, site were excavated but in the absence of finds they are considered to be natural features. However worked flint material was found amongst later deposits.

Contrary to expectations, no later medieval and very little early post-medieval material was found. It is possible that this evidence was lost with the development of the outbuildings, yard and rickyard recorded by Cullingworth in 1787.

To sum up, this salvage excavation and watch on half an acre of redevelopment in the south-west central area of Oakham has produced archaeological evidence of the earliest settlement yet to be found in the town, namely:

- an early Saxon *Grubenhäuser* dated by the pottery to, possibly, the late 5th-mid 6th century AD;
- a trench and pit complex cut before the early medieval period;
- an 11th century cess pit;
- and a possible early town ditch.

#### **Acknowledgements**

The Rutland Local History and Record Society would like to thank the developers, Minster General Housing Association Ltd. and their contractors Peter

Wilmot Associates for kindly permitting this salvage and watch during their construction work.

The writer acknowledges the assistance of colleagues from the Society, namely David Carlin, Sue Davidson and Jenny Mallet, and is grateful to David Carlin for permission to reproduce his sketches of the site (Figs. 9 and 10).

Richard Buckley, Patrick Clay and Deborah Sawday from the Leicestershire Museums Archaeological Unit visited the site and confirmed the *Grubenhause* and made preliminary identifications on site and offered professional assistance and advice.

The Leicestershire Museums Archaeological Unit specialists have also provided invaluable assistance on the identification of finds. Deborah Sawday identified the pottery, Ian Baxter the bones, and Patrick Clay the flint material.

## Appendix A - The Pottery

DEBORAH SAWDAY

### The Fabrics

The following fabrics were identified:

- Saxon*: Not classified, but ?late 5th/6th century  
*ST1*: Stamford Ware 1, Saxo-Norman, 1150-1250  
*ST2*: Stamford Ware 2, Saxo-Norman, 1050-1200  
*ST3*: Stamford Ware 3, Saxo-Norman, 900-1050  
*?LI*: Lincoln/Lincolnshire shelly wares, 875-1100  
*LI/calcite*: Calcite gritted, probably Lincoln/Lincolnshire Saxo-Norman shelly wares  
*Shelly*: Some fragments of early medieval shelly ware, possibly Lincolnshire  
*Oolitic*: Very similar to Lyveden/Stanton type ware, LY1 (c.1200+), but could be from another, possibly earlier, kiln source  
*SP*: Splashed ware, looking very like Leicester SP3, but probably local early medieval  
*OS*: Oxidised sandy ware, again probably local, ?early medieval  
*EA*: Post-medieval (c.1500+) earthenwares, &c.  
 The Stamford form numbers are quoted from Kilmurry's typology (Kilmurry 1980).

### The Dating

*The Grubenhause*: No work has yet been done on the fabrics; a late 5th/mid 6th century date seems possible.

*The ?Town Ditch*: Very little pottery - 1 Roman, 2 Saxon and 2 Saxo-Norman sherds.

*The Trench and Pit Complex*: Roman and Saxon pottery, Saxo-Norman, ?Lincoln/Lincolnshire shelly and Stamford wares, early medieval splashed and shelly wares, the two latter appearing in four contexts and dating from the 12th century. Stamford ware I (fabric B/C) is generally dated to the 12th century. Some contexts may be earlier, but most seem to contain some 12th century material.

*The Cess Pit*: Stamford ware cooking pot or storage jar, dated to the mid/late 11th century.

## Appendix B - The Animal Bones

IAN L BAXTER

A total of 576 fragments of animal bone from the early Saxon *Grubenhause* and 11th-12th century features was examined. Cattle bones are most frequent in the Saxon features, followed by pig and sheep/goat. The quantities involved are too small to warrant detailed statistical treatment. Small rodents and anuran amphibians and fish were found in the early medieval features. Horse remains occurred at low frequency in both Saxon and early medieval deposits. Dog, cat and domestic fowl were found only in the early medieval features. A cat skeleton from recent deposits represents the burial of a pet.

### Species representation

#### From the *Grubenhause*

- Horse (*Equus caballus*)  
 Cattle (*Bos* f. domestic)  
 Sheep/goat (*Ovis/Capra* f. domestic)  
 Pig (*Sus* f. domestic)  
 Wood mouse (*Apodemus* sp.)  
 Mouse/Vole  
 Frog (*Rana temporaria*)  
 Frog/Toad

#### From the 11th-12th century features

- Horse (*Equus caballus*)  
 Cattle (*Bos* f. domestic)  
 Sheep/Goat (*Ovis/Capra* f. domestic)  
 Pig (*Sus* f. domestic)  
 Dog (*Canis domesticus*)  
 Cat (*Felis catus*)  
 Fowl (*Gallus* f. domestic)  
 Frog (*Rana temporaria*)  
 Toad (*Bufo bufo*)  
 Frog/Toad

Species	Grubenhause	11th/12th century
Horse	2	3
Cattle	17	15
Sheep/goat	6	17
Pig	8	13
Dog	0	2
Cat	0	1
Fowl	0	1
Wood mouse	1	0
Mouse/vole	1	0
Frog	1	1
Toad	0	1
Frog/Toad	1	9
Fish	0	9
Large mammal	40	15
Medium mammal	28	6
Small mammal	1	0
Indeterminate	169	208
Total	275	301

Table 1. Number of bone fragments per taxon.

## Appendix C - The Flint

PATRICK CLAY

The flints have been divided into parent material (cores), waste (flakes and irregular debitage) and tools (retouched items). Unworked items have been discarded but listed.

### Raw material

Most of the flint is fine-grained light grey medium quality material with occasional pale cream surfaces and some orange mottling. The latter colouration is from the surrounding material, the orange caused by iron staining. Cortex survives on many of the items.

### Technology

Only eleven of the items could be identified as having been worked. All were of flake technology except one blade core and a tiny notched bladelet. Only one other core, a flake core, was present. No other tools were located except a doubtful piercer on a flake.

### Dating

No diagnostic material was recovered. The blade core *may* suggest Mesolithic-Neolithic activity although it could be later. All the flakes and the flake core may be of Later Neolithic or later date.

### Contexts

#### Grubenhaus

- 3 natural fragments: 2 flakes
- 1 flake core (3 platforms)

#### The pits & trench complex

- 7 natural (discarded)
- 6 flakes
- 1 notched bladelet

#### A town ditch

- 1 burnt flint
- 1 flake - possible piercer

#### Unstratified

- 1 blade core (2 platforms)

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Fig. 9. The South Street stables, 1993 (David Carlin).

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Fig. 10. The South Street barn, 1993 (David Carlin).

# The Pawletts of Market Overton and Wymondham, Stilton Cheese Makers

TREVOR HICKMAN

*The author has lived in Wymondham in east Leicestershire for more than 60 years. He has been brought up with the tradition that the Old Manor House in this village is the home of Stilton cheese, and here examines the historical background to this tradition. This article is adapted in part from the author's History of Stilton Cheese, published by Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, Stroud, 1995, by kind permission of the publishers.*

Not until Charles Colling and Robert Bakewell began breeding experiments in the 18th century, assisted by changes in methods of feeding cattle introduced by Lord (Turnip) Townsend (1674-1738), did improved milk yields from cows allow the mass production of cheese. Until the early 1700s, it was very much a seasonal commodity made from spare milk, but cheese production was expanded throughout the country in the early 18th century. This led to the wider availability and marketing of cheeses.

Undoubtedly the blue-veined cheese we now recognise as Stilton was developed because of increased demand. Most probably this arose as a result of the development of road links throughout the country following the road-reforming decrees of the reign of Charles II and the toll-road Acts of the 18th century. The most important such highway was the Great North Road, on which Stilton had been a staging post for centuries, supporting many generations of travellers as a stop-over point on their journeys. Cheese as a food would long have been available in this small town. With the development of the coaching trade, not only was cheese carried on journeys to be eaten as required, it was also traded for retail and consumption in towns and cities that were the eventual destinations of the travellers.

The first recorded reference to a cheese called Stilton is found in 1722 in William Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*, letter V, and this was repeated extensively in *The Country Housewife and Lady's Director, in the Management of a House, and Delights and Profits of a Farm*. The latter work was compiled by Professor Richard Bradley of the University of Cambridge, and ran to many editions. Stilton cheese is referred to on p 76 of the 1728 edition, with a note that it had been made for some years. The author also comments on a sample that he purchased from the Master of the Blue Bell Inn at Stilton, who supplied his customers with full cheeses to order when in season. It is obvious from this reference that it was a seasonal trade and had not reached the importance it did in later years. During the early part of the 18th century, the famous horseman Cooper Thornhill was in charge of the Bell, and

it was he who established this speciality cheese as an all-the-year-round rather than a seasonal commodity. Thus the "cheese of Stilton" was developed, taking its name from the place where it had been bought.

No doubt a blue-veined cream cheese had previously been on offer with many other types of cheese in the various hostelrys in Stilton. Some would have been made locally from ewes' milk. Stilton cheese, however, is unique; it has its own distinctive taste and quality when it has reached maturity. Initially, the cheese would have been produced in all shapes and sizes, not unlike some of the European and Mediterranean varieties still available today. Some form of standard became necessary because of the quantities required to maintain the supply. It is possible that such standards were introduced in the early years of the 18th century by Mrs Frances Pawlett of Wymondham, who was, as will become clear, a cheese maker of high repute. Contemporary researchers, who perhaps questioned her on the subject, credited her with being the "inventor" of this cheese, giving rise to a myth that has been perpetuated for more than 200 years since William Marshall's two-volume work *Rural Economy of the Midlands Counties* was published in 1790. However, it was not Frances Pawlett who introduced it to Stilton - she was in her infancy when *Itinerarium Curiosum* was first published, and it is clear from that reference that a cheese called "Stilton" existed before she began her long career as a supreme dairy-woman and cheese maker.

Frances Pawlett was born at Sproxton, Leicestershire, in 1720, the second daughter of Richard and Dorothy Pick. Her mother, *née* Thorne, had been born in Edmondthorpe, Leicestershire, and there baptised on 12th April 1689. Richard Pick died in 1752 and Dorothy in 1763, and both are buried in Wymondham churchyard.

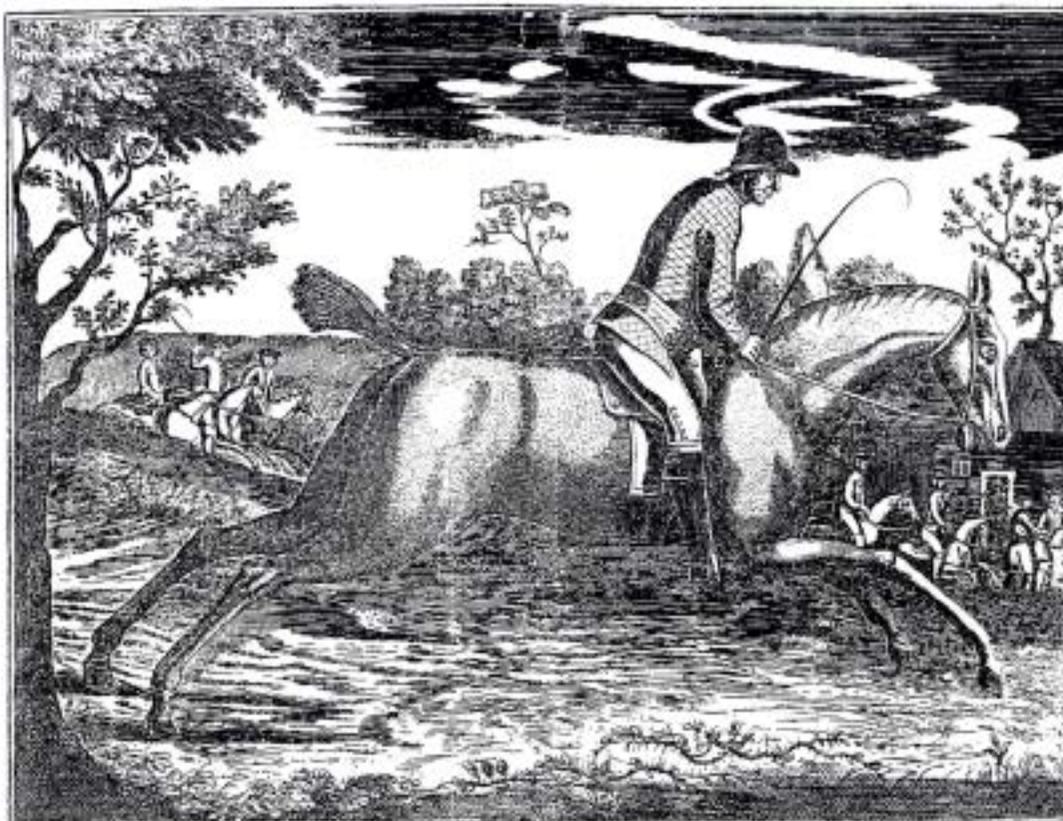
Frances married twice. Her first husband was William Andrews, whom she married at Buckminster on 31st January 1739. They had one child, Richard. William Andrews died in 1741, and on 31st October 1742 Frances married William Pawlett, a bachelor of Market Overton, Rutland, in South Witham church, Lincolnshire. They had no children. William was the son of William Pawlett of Market Overton and Mary Adcock of Hambleton, Rutland, and was born in 1712.

It is fairly certain that Frances and William Andrews set up home in Wymondham in the farmhouse on Edmondthorpe Road (at that time it was called Thorne Lane), which is now the Hunters' Arms public house. This had been occupied by

Frances's great-grandfather, Henry Thorne. On her second marriage, Frances and her new husband continued to live in the farmhouse on Thorne Lane. They never owned any farmland, all their fields being rented and at one time amounting to approximately 169 acres: good pasture, ideal for rearing fine milking cows.

The family farmed the adjacent land, and Frances made a cream cheese with which she established a reputation as a fine dairywoman. No doubt, as many historians have stated, she was taught the art of cheese making by her mother - she was certainly

William Pawlett's business acumen, led to their setting up the first cheese marketing co-operative supplying the town of Stilton. Only top quality cheese made by Frances and other manufacturers was delivered to the Bell and Angel Inns there. William was shrewd in business, and soon after his marriage with Frances - had he seen this as an ideal commercial partnership? - he entered into a trading agreement with Cooper Thornhill at the Bell. It may be that he had already had contact with Thornhill in the latter's capacity as a corn buyer, and no doubt both men were aware of the potential of cheese sales



*Fig. 1. A contemporary engraving of Cooper Thornhill's remarkable feat of horsemanship.*

involved in the manufacture of Stilton at an early age, and certainly a blue-veined cream cheese made from cows' milk will have been produced by farmers at Wymondham as soon as pastures had been enclosed within the open-field system by the Berkeleys in the 16th century. It seems that it was Frances who standardised the shape and weight of the blue-veined cheese which bears the Stilton name. In so doing she developed the procedure of hand crumbling and packing the curd so that the blue mould formed quicker, and piercing the maturing cheese with large needles to speed the growth of the mould. She called the best of the resulting cheese, which had been made to various recipes by different people in Wymondham for generations, her "Stilton cheese".

What is not certain, and can only be surmised, is whether Frances Pawlett considered herself the inventor of modern Stilton cheese. However, it seems clear that Frances's skill, combined with

into London and northwards along the Great North Road, which ran only a few miles to the east of Wymondham and Market Overton. The Pawletts had utilised this road in their successful partnership with Thornhill, and already by 1743 they were selling him large quantities of cheese for retailing at the two inns, transporting it along this highway.

The Pawletts will not have had exclusive rights to the market, and many other wholesalers from Leicestershire and Rutland, especially from Braunston and Leighfield parishes, will have supplied cheese, connecting the many cheese-making dairies with this outlet. However, quality and quantity were both required, a goal no single dairy could achieve. It was Frances Pawlett who set the standard, acted as middleman, and selected only the best of other dairies' cheese for onward transmission to Stilton by the waggon load. There, for more than forty years, the Pawletts' cheese was on sale.

The business arrangement with Cooper Thornhill continued until his death in 1759 at the age of 54. This famous innkeeper was born at Leake, near Boston in Lincolnshire, possibly in the year 1705, and was baptised there on 16th April 1710. The son of Joseph and Frances Thornhill, he married his first wife, Mary, in 1730 and purchased the Bell Inn the same year. They had a number of children together, and Mary died in 1752. In 1754 he married Orme Bailey in Stilton parish church, but had no children by her. Thornhill was an opportunist, recognising the uniqueness of Stilton cheese and fostering the industry by conveying waggon loads to his connections in London. He traded not only in cheese but also in corn, as the east of England representative for the bankers Coutts & Co, dealing throughout the east Midlands, Lincolnshire and East Anglia. Coutts considered him to be "one of the most considerable corn factors in England." He purchased the Angel Inn on 30th January 1743 for £850, thus monopolising the cheese trade in the town.

Thornhill was a leading sportsman, and on 29th April 1745 he took up a wager of 500 guineas to ride 200 miles in less than 15 hours. He duly rode on horseback from Stilton to the King's Arms, Shoreditch, in London, returned to Stilton and then back to Shoreditch - a non-stop journey of 213 miles which took him 12 hours 15 minutes, involving nineteen horses. A broadsheet poem entitled *The Stilton Hero: O Tempora! O Mores!* was published to commemorate this extraordinary feat.

After Thornhill's death, the Bell was run by A B Clark, who passed the business on to his son-in-law, Henry Thornton. In 1776, John Pitts purchased the inn, selling it on 14th June 1796 by auction. Part of the advertisement reads: "There is also a very considerable Cheese trade attached to the Inn." It was purchased by John Gibbs, who sold it in 1814 to Mrs Scarborough of Buckden, who made her son landlord. These owners and landlords enjoyed a period of prosperity made possible only through the energies of Cooper Thornhill and the skills of Frances Pawlett.

William Pawlett, having made a profitable marriage, was successful in business and became involved in civic affairs. He served as the village constable for the parish of Wymondham on more than one occasion. He died on 7th October 1787 at the age of 75. Frances continued to run the farm and cheese business for another ten years until 1797, when she gave up most of the farmland to a Mr Parke and vacated the farmhouse to live in a nearby cottage. She witnessed the arrival of the stage coach era in the 1780s and the start of the consequent big boom in the Stilton cheese trade. In June 1806, at the age of 86, she went to live at Little Dalby with her brother's daughter, Frances Pick.

This remarkable woman had developed the Stilton cheese industry with her husband, forming what

may have been the first co-operative, collecting fine cheese from many farmers in the area and acting as the wholesale supplier to the Bell Inn and possibly other retail outlets in Stilton. More than forty years of trading had made her a very wealthy woman, and when she went to live at Little Dalby she wrote her own will, in which her skill as a shrewd business-woman is very apparent. She died on Christmas Eve 1808 and was buried beside William Pawlett on 28th December. The double Swithland slate headstone over the joint graves in Wymondham churchyard carried two short epitaphs: for William - "a peaceable just man"; for Frances - "Remember to Die", not a very charitable inscription. Her family were obviously unhappy that they could not get their hands on her money until she was dead, by which time she had outlived her son and most of her close relatives. Susanna Needham, her grand-daughter, became the sole beneficiary of her will.

### Sources

Many sources were consulted whilst preparing *The History of Stilton Cheese*. For the Pawlett family, these included important sets of documents, deeds and leases relating to the Hunter's Arms and The Banks, Wymondham, in private ownership, and Frances Pawlett's will, probate returns and other documents at the Leicestershire Record Office; for Cooper Thornhill, records were consulted at the Bell, Stilton, at Lincolnshire Archives, the Huntingdon Record Office and the Bodleian Library, and also W Forbes, *Memoirs of a Banking House* (1860).

### Postscript

There survives in the Rutland County Museum (accession no H51.1977.6) a letter which Mrs Fanny Hassan of Oakham wrote to *Country Life* in 1911 on the subject of Stilton cheese, with the aim of debunking an attribution of its origins to "Mrs Stilton, a supposed housekeeper for many years at Belvoir Castle, & afterwards to George the Fourth &c". This she described as "a monstrosly silly fiction", although there was in fact such a person making Stilton at Belvoir in about 1800! She wrote:

One Cooper Thornhill who was well known as a great rider & sportsman & who kept the Bell Inn Stilton,... used to be supplied with these Cheeses by a *Mrs Paulet* of Whymondham ... he used to sell the Cheese at ... 2/6 a lb to his Sporting friends who called at his house on their travels - hence they received their name from the *place* of sale.... Mrs Stilton, with all her gauzy stateliness is sacrificed to the truth of history, & thus spared the horror of going down to posterity all rough & dumpy in the form of a Stilton cheese.

Mrs Hassan also referred to Cooper Thornhill's feat of riding, and said finally that Mrs Paulet (sic) was her great great grandmother. The letter was not published.

# Employment in nineteenth-century Oakham: a study of the 1851 census

E TREVOR BELL

with PAMELA DRINKALL

*The statistical data for this paper were produced by ETB, as was much of their interpretation; additional commentary has been provided by PD.*

## Oakham in the mid 19th Century

In 1851 Oakham was, as it had been for centuries, the principal market town in Rutland, the largest settlement, and the seat of the county administration. The town had been growing since the beginning of the century, the population having almost doubled from 1620 in 1801 to 3031 in 1851. This rate of growth, at 87%, was considerably more rapid than that of Rutland as a whole, whose population increased by only 41% over the same period. Trade directories of the 1840s and 1850s give a glimpse of Oakham at this time of rapid change and "improvement".

Oakham within the last few years is much improved in its appearance, and one-third of the town may be said to be new buildings. The thatched and sloping roofed houses are fast giving place to more modern ones, with slated roofs.... The town, which is clean and healthy, is well lighted with gas, and was paved or slabbed with Yorkshire stone a few years since... (Kelly 1855, 145-7).

Slates and bricks for new buildings, coal for the gasworks, York stone for paving, all arrived in Oakham via the improved transport systems developed during the first half of the century. The completion of the Melton and Oakham canal in 1803 had provided a link with Leicester and the towns of the Trent valley. Just prior to the census in 1851 Oakham was connected to the rapidly growing railway network when, in 1846, the Syston and Peterborough railway was opened, though this was at the expense of the canal.

While noting that "Oakham is ... undistinguished by any particular manufacture or extensive trade" (Slater 1850, 9-12), the trade directories give a picture of Oakham as a lively centre for local business. "A good trade is done in coal, corn and malt" (Kelly 1855, 145-7). The market for corn and cattle, founded in 1831 (Clough 1981), was held on Mondays and that for foodstuffs on Saturdays. In addition there were six annual fairs, not counting the May fair "for pleasure". In Oakham you could buy books or china, a hat or a watch. You could have a haircut or consult a solicitor. There were doctors, chemists and vets. On market days, shops like Royce's saddlery, or Furley's drapery in the Market Place, became bank branches for the convenience of traders and customers, and there were at least a

dozen hostelrys for refreshment when business was over. The directories list the carriers to and from the villages, giving an indication of the catchment area of the market (Fig. 1; White 1846, 648-59).

Although there were no manufacturing industries in Oakham, there were, as in most market towns, corn and malt mills for the processing of local produce, and two breweries.

The patent steam brewery of Messrs. Crowson, situate in Cross Street, is an excellent range of building, extending the whole length of the street, and the fittings and plant are considered to be unequalled in the county (Kelly 1855, 145-7).

As the county town, Oakham was the seat of the Court of Quarter Sessions (the predecessor of the county council) and of the assizes. The county gaol, enclosed by a boundary wall twenty-two feet high, stood in Station Road, not far from Oakham Castle, then sometimes referred to as the Shire Hall. Listed in the directories are such men as William Ades, solicitor, county treasurer and clerk of the peace, John Adcock, sheriff's officer, and Edward Clark, relieving officer (White 1946, 648-59). To the ancient county institutions, the courts and the gaol, had recently been added the Union Workhouse on the Ashwell Road, completed in 1838 to house the poor of the 30 parishes in the Poor Law Union. A county constabulary had also recently been established, under a chief constable.

Directories can only hint at another aspect of Oakham's economic and social life - hunting. In the season the opening of the hunting boxes in and around the town brought an influx of visiting gentry, their grooms and servants to enhance the trade of the local shopkeepers and swell the local population.

## Data from the 1851 Census

Victorian trade directories were intended to show the principal businesses and the more substantial inhabitants of a locality, and as such they are valuable sources of information. However they did not aim to present a complete picture of occupational structure. We can learn little from them, for instance, of the labourers and apprentices, or of the women and children who, as we know from other sources, formed an important part of the working population. For information of this kind we must turn to the returns of the census enumerators.

The census data were collected on forms left with each household; because many people were illiterate the enumerators often helped with their completion. A range of questions was asked, but for this paper

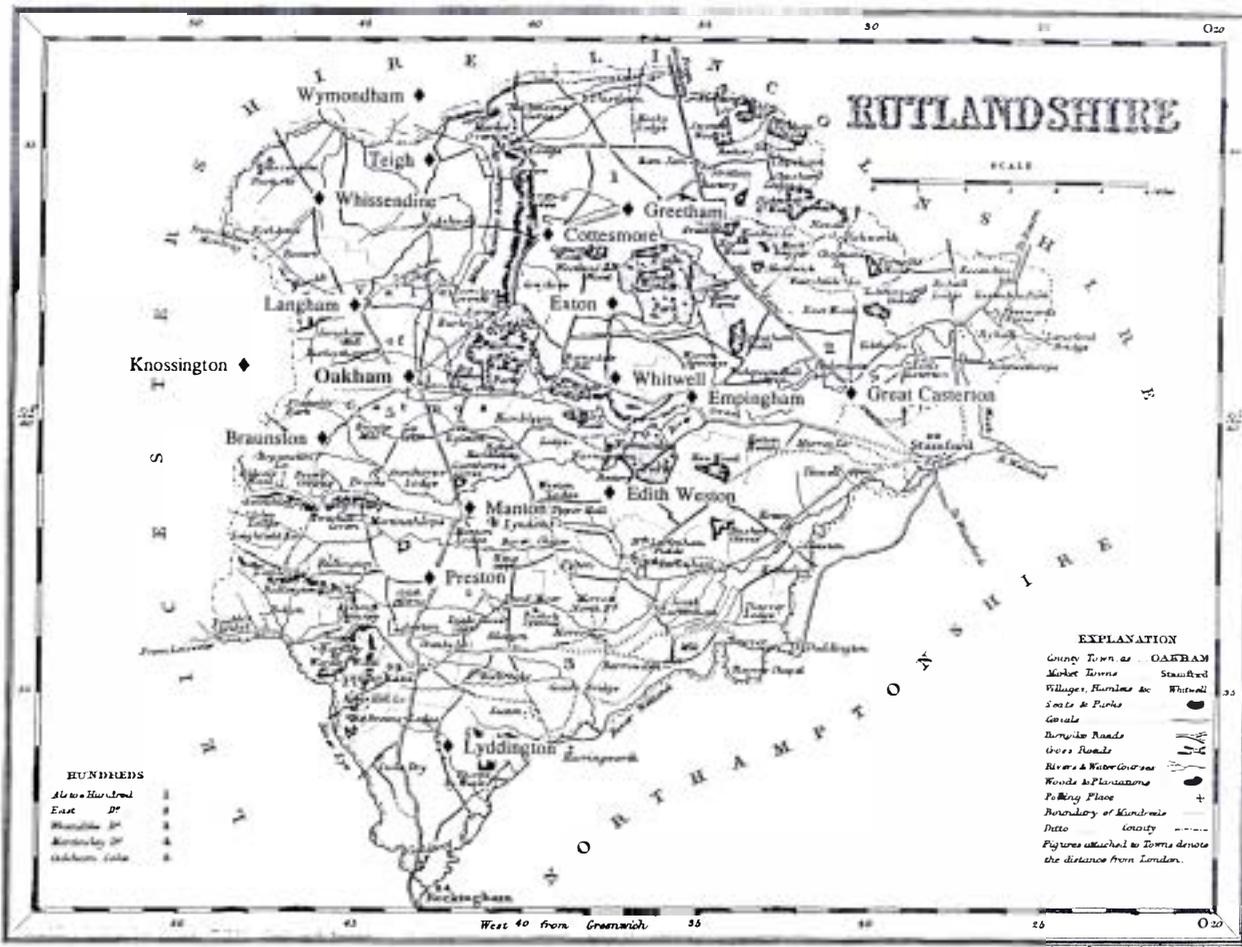


Fig. 1. The catchment area of Oakham market, derived from Kelly's Directory, 1846.

40.

Parish or Township of <i>Lord's Hold</i>		Ecclesiastical District of		City or Town of		Town of <i>Oakham</i>		Ward of	
No. of House	Name of Street, Place, or Road, and Name or No. of House	Name and Surname of each Person who abode in the house, on the Night of the 30th March, 1851		Relation to Head of Family	Condition	Age at Year Ending	Rank, Profession, or Occupation	Where Born	
		Male	Female					County	Town
127	Back Street	Joseph Gordon	Head	Mar	48	Fishmonger	Northampton	Northampton	
		Anna	Wife	Mar	48		Bedford	Bedford	
		James Denton	Grandson		12	Assistant to Grandfather	Rutland	Oakham	
		William	Grandson		10	Chisney's Servant			
128	Mill Street	Rather Pawlett	Head	W	87	Nurse	Northampton	Oakham	
		David	Son	W	26	Ag. Laborer			
129	Mill Street	Elizabeth Pawlett	Head	W	74	Nurse	Northampton	Wig	
		John	Son	W	35	Ag. Laborer		Northampton	
		William	Grandson		16	Ag. Laborer			
130	Back Gate Road	James Denton	Head	Mar	22	Sail, State Survey	Northampton	Wig	
		Ann	Wife	Mar	25		Northampton	Wig	
		Lidia	Daughter	W	11				
		Charlotte	Daughter	W	9				
		Isaac	Son	W	7				
Total of Houses		Total of Persons		86					

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

the two most relevant are those concerned with the rank, profession or occupation, and the birthplace of each member of the household (Bell 1992). Oakham town, together with two outlying farms, had a population of 2816 in 1851, and information was collected about everyone, men, women and children - 1851 was the first year in which the census authorities attempted to collect information on the work of women and children (Registrar-General 1854). This has resulted in a considerable body of data on employment, and also allows population movement to be studied.

A full and detailed analysis of this material is beyond the scope of this paper. Its main aim is to provide a summary of the data on employment, including that of women and children, contained in the 1851 census return. Occupations have been classified, some analysis has been made of the principal employments of men and women, and a comparison has been drawn between the census and directories as sources of information on occupations.

Figure 2 is an example of an enumerator's record. The page has been chosen to illustrate the range of occupations, but of particular note are the two children aged 13 and 10 both recorded as working.

The replies to the question about rank, profession or occupation fall into three main categories. For most men an occupation is given, children may be recorded as scholars, but for many people, particularly young children and wives, no information is provided.

Population of Oakham, excluding Barleythorpe, Gunthorpe, &c	2816
Excluded from the study:	
Paupers in the workhouse	107
Prisoners in the gaol	25
Illegible occupation entries	3
	<b>2681</b>
Plus occupations where more than one is recorded	44
Total occupations analysed	<b>2725</b>

Fig. 3. Occupation data included in the study.

### The Classification of Occupations

When the national census data were published during the 1850s, occupations were classified in 17 categories, ranging from "Persons engaged in the general or local government of the country" (headed by Her Majesty the Queen) through, for example, "Persons engaged in art and mechanic productions" (with 17 sub-categories, including music, ships, and building), and "Persons working and dealing in matter derived from the vegetable kingdom" (who included brewers, carpenters and cotton weavers), to "Persons supported by the community, and of no specified occupation" (Registrar-General 1854). Since then,

a number of other classification systems for census occupational data have been proposed, of which the best known is probably the Booth-Armstrong coding (Armstrong 1972). However, this is a complex system, and for this study a simpler scheme has been used in order to highlight the main categories of employment in the town, as illustrated in Figures 4 and 7.

Everyone associated with the work of a group has been included in it. Thus, for example, all farmers, graziers, cottagers, gardeners, drovers and agricultural labourers have been put into the "agriculture" category, and journeymen, apprentices and labourers have been assigned to their relevant trade groups. The "professional" group includes doctors, school-teachers, clergy and, for the purposes of this paper, police. The "manual" category contains people who did not state any specific area of activity. The servants represent those people living at home with the occupation "servant" as well as those living in other people's homes.

### Male Employment

Figure 4 presents a classification of the occupations listed for males, both adults and boys. Figure 4a shows the jobs of the 822 men and boys who were recorded as working; Figure 4b shows annuitants and pensioners, 200 scholars and 250, mainly young children, with no stated occupation; Figure 4c classifies the various shops, inns and trades. Percentages relate to the whole male population of 1302 people studied.

#### *Farming: the principal male employment*

Most men and boys in Oakham (30%) worked in the various shops and crafts which served the catchment area of the town. However it may seem surprising today that, although Oakham was undoubtedly a town, the largest single working group consisted of farmers and agricultural labourers, 279 men and boys. In 1851 England's population was still predominantly rural, with more people living and working in the countryside than in towns. This was the last census year in which this was so. The census emphasises that Oakham was essentially a rural settlement.

The town was surrounded by fields which had remained unenclosed until the 1830s, and the census shows that none of the farmers and smallholders had yet moved out of town to build farmhouses on their enclosed land. Eight of the landholders lived in Northgate Street, while William Shuttlewood, the largest farmer with 276 acres, lived in Church Street.

Twenty-five people (five of them women) are variously described as farmers, occupiers of land, graziers, and cottagers. Landholders were asked to state how many acres they farmed, and 19 of them

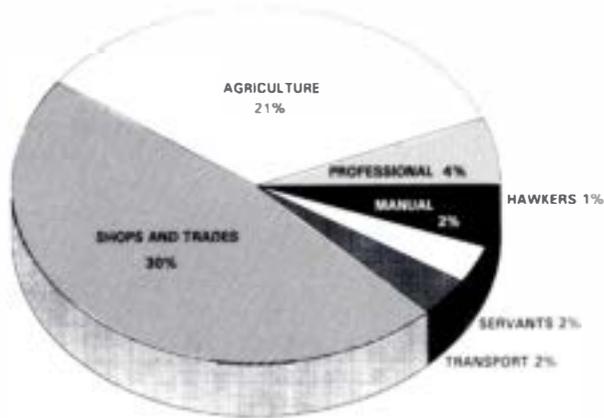


Fig. 4a. Male occupations in Oakham, 1851. 822 people are represented. Percentages relate to the total male population of 1302.

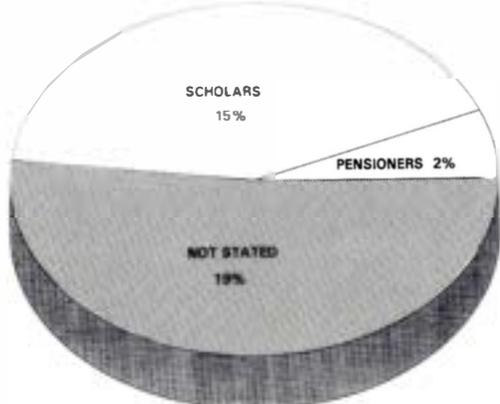


Fig. 4b. Males not working, 1851. 480 people are represented.

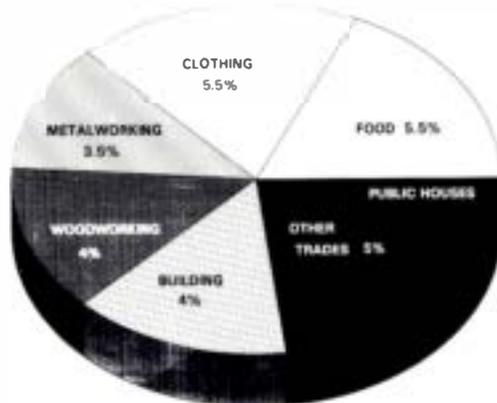


Fig. 4c. Shops and trades in Oakham, 1851. 389 males are represented.

did so. Nine of the farmers held 100 acres or more, with five having over 200 acres. At the other end of the scale was James Brown, who also called himself a farmer, with 8 acres.

Farmers were also supposed to record how many men and boys they employed, but only 11 of the 25 did this. Three of them employed six permanent farm workers, the rest mostly one or two. George Royce, who farmed 267 acres, recorded that he had taken on five extra boys for that day (since census day was a Sunday in March, it would be interesting to know why). The number of employees recorded

in this way (51) does not approach the number of men and boys (233) described as agricultural labourers in the census return. Most of them would be casual labourers, paid by the hour or the day, and not necessarily always employed on the same farm.

#### Woodworkers: census and directories compared

The directories published by White (1846), Slater (1850) and Kelly (1855) all provide lists of tradesmen, and in total there are 20 people listed in at least one of these directories as being woodworkers, together with one timber merchant. All but one of the 21 entries can be related to people in the 1851 census return. The missing person is James Deakin, a basket maker of High Street. He is listed in White's directory of 1846 and it is possible that he had left Oakham before the 1851 census. A further three people listed in the directories were present on census day, but their occupation is not precisely the same in both records. For example, William Cunningham of Northgate Street is listed in White as a joiner, but is described in the census return as a builder which implies a wider range of skills than woodwork alone. The remaining 17 entries in the directories can be correlated exactly with people in the census return. However, examination of the census data shows that there were many more woodworkers than those described in the directories.

Occupation	Listed in a Directory	Listed in the Census
Carpenter	3	17
Journeyman	1	3
Apprentice	-	1
Joiner	1	3
Journeyman	1	1
Cabinet maker	3	9
Journeyman	-	2
Apprentice	-	1
Cooper	3	3
Apprentice	-	1
Turner	1	3
Basket maker	2	2
Sawyer	1	5
Wedge boy	-	1
Timber merchant	1	1
Totals	17	53

Fig. 5. Woodworkers in Oakham, 1851

Figure 5 lists the occupations of the 17 people who are in both the census return and the directories, and in the right hand column gives the total number of people having a particular occupation and present in Oakham on census day in 1851. Thus, there are three carpenters in the directories, but a total of 17, including these three, were resident in Oakham in 1851. In all, 53 people were described in the census return

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Trade</i>	<i>Wife</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Street</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>
T Ayscough	32	J	31	1 child	Finkey Lane	Oakham
J Bell	33	Jm C	33	-	Deans Lane	Foston, Lincs
E Cooper	31	Jm J*	32	4 children, 1 servant	Mill Street	Burley
T Cooper	37	C	37	2 children	Mill Street	Burley
J Coulam	20	C	-	Lives with parents (R Coulam)	John Street	Louth, Lincs
R Coulam	58	C*	56	3 children	John Street	Louth, Lincs
J Cunnington	46	C	34	2 children	Rotten Row	Oakham
T Cunnington	43	C	37	Teacher, 1 child, 1 servant	New Street	Oakham
W Hardlow	28	C	-	Lives with parents	Deans Lane	Oakham
J Hewitt	24	C	-	Lives with parents	Gaol Lane	Oakham
W Inman	60	C*	60	1 child	Simper Street	Ashwell
G Johnson	49	C	-	Lives in lodging house	Finkey Lane	Nottingham
J Lewin	54	C	41	2 children	Northgate	Oakham
R Martin	49	C	-	Lives in lodging house	Northgate	Oakham
W Musson	54	C	53	5 children	Deans Lane	Stoke, Notts
J Myers	35	C	32	4 children	John Street	Oakham
J Myers	68	Jm C*	62	2 children	Deans Lane	Oakham
W Myers	19	Ap C	-	Lives with parents (J Myers)	Deans Lane	Oakham
W Peel	41	Jm C	39	7 children	Overton Road	Oakham
W Peniston	30	C	-	Lodger in private house	Finkey Lane	Oakham
J Scott	59	J*	57	Bonnet maker	New Street	Barleythorpe
J Smith	29	C*	37	1 child	John Street	Oakham
G Till	37	J	36	4 children	Northgate	Melton Mowbray
A Trotter	45	C	-	-	Crown Lane	Syston, Leics
F Whitehead	27	C	35	Dressmaker	Gas Lane	Empingham

\* = Listed in a Directory; C = Carpenter; J = Joiner; Jm = Journeyman; Ap - Apprentice

*Fig. 6. Carpenters and joiners in Oakham, 1851.*

as having an occupation related to wood and its use. It is interesting to note that all of the basket makers and coopers were listed in the directories, but only one third or fewer of the carpenters, joiners and cabinet makers. This, no doubt, indicates that the basket makers were all self-employed, whereas many of the carpenters would work for other people.

The street names listed in Figure 6 are where the carpenters and joiners were resident on census day. Most of them lived in the manor of Oakham Deanshold in the densely populated area of the town between Church Street and Gaol Street to the east and the railway line to the west. The 25 heads of household are typical of all male heads of household, in that over two-thirds of them were born in Oakham or in a village within five miles of the town. Only seven were born outside Rutland.

### Employers

The census enumerators were asked to collect information about the number of people who considered themselves "masters" in their trades, and the number of men they employed. In Oakham, 20 people stated that they employed other men. David Royce, the auctioneer and upholsterer, recorded that he employed eight men, making him the largest trade employer, although Colonel Clifton with 11 servants

at Catmose actually had more staff. Edward Barlow, a mason, had six employees. All the other six people with five or more employees were farmers.

In this respect, Oakham was not so different from the rest of England and Wales. Nationally, only 10% of businesses had more than eight employees (Registrar-General 1854).

Crowson's patent steam brewery, which might be thought from the directory description to be a large employer, does not show at all in the census. John Crowson, its proprietor, appears as a farmer (of 200 acres) and an innkeeper living in High Street - he owned the Crown. The six employees attributed to him are almost certainly farm labourers. A younger John Crowson, presumably his son, was a brewer in Cross Street. A total of six Oakham residents gave their occupation as brewer or maltster, but they cannot be assigned to a particular brewery.

A total of 42 apprentices and 27 journeymen is listed in the census. Many of them were living with a master tradesman, but there is little evidence of large households of people involved in the same trade. One of the few examples is Charles Scott, a 37-year old tailor in Mill Street. His household consisted of his wife, eight children aged from 4 months to 12 years, a servant, two apprentices aged 14 and 17 and two journeymen aged 19 and 20 years. This household of 15 people was one of the largest in the town.

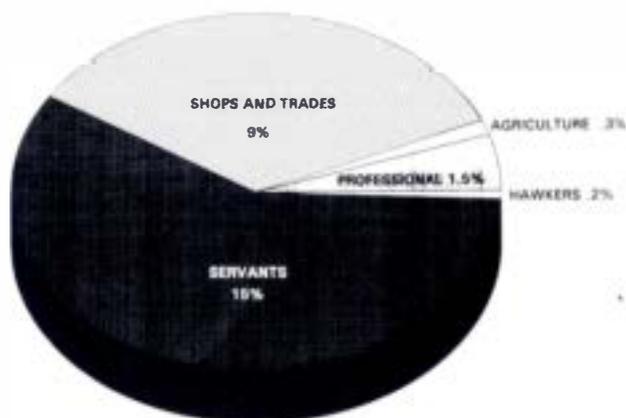


Fig. 7a. Female occupations in Oakham, 1851. 375 people are represented. Percentages relate to the total female population of 1423.

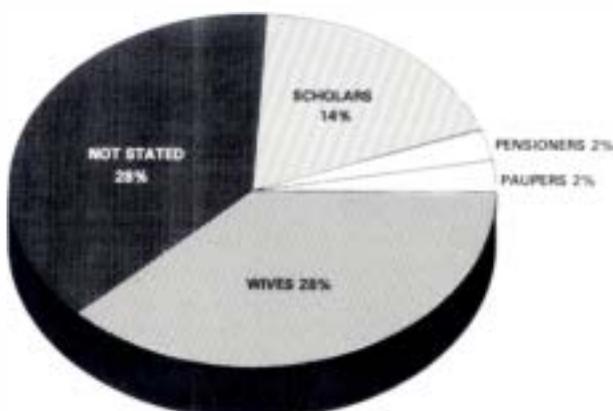


Fig. 7b. Females not working, 1851.

### Female employment

Figure 7a shows clearly that a much smaller proportion of women than men had recorded occupations and that the range of work open to them was smaller. The percentages shown relate to the total number of women and girls included in the study. Women seldom worked after marriage; of the 404 wives of heads of household only 30 (7.4%) were recorded as having any occupation. A few of these working wives shared their husbands' jobs, such as the matron of the workhouse and the matron of the gaol, or Sarah Hart, a boot and shoe binder whose husband was a boot and shoe maker. However most of them were married to lowly-paid men such as agricultural labourers, and eked out the family income by knitting, dressmaking or charring.

The majority of working women were servants living in someone else's home or unmarried women, both heads of household and daughters living at home, working in the clothing trade. Many of these were dressmakers (45), knitters (17), milliners (11) and bonnet and straw bonnet makers (6 and 7 respectively).

#### *Servants: the principle female employment*

After agricultural workers, servants were the next largest group of people employed in Oakham, and

most of them were female. They were a very heterogeneous group and comprised servants living in other people's homes, as well as those living in their own or a relative's home. This latter group includes young girls doing domestic duties at home, older women acting as housekeepers for relatives, washer-women, as well as people who probably went out to work on a daily basis for an employer.

This section concentrates on those people whose relationship to the head of the household is stated to be that of servant, and who were thus not related to the family in whose home they were living and working. A total of 22 men and 157 women fall into this category. The great majority were general servants, but as may be expected their job titles were more specific in households employing several servants. Of the 579 households in Oakham 113 (19.5%) had a living-in servant. Most homes with a servant had only one (79 households), but 14 households had three or more servants.

One household in Uppingham Road, which can be identified as Catmose House, employed more than twice as many servants as anyone else in Oakham. This was occupied by the Clifton family. Colonel Clifton himself was absent on census day, but his 28 year old wife, Eleanor, was at home with their son Thomas aged 6 and their 11 servants. These comprised a butler, footman, coachman and groom, all male, and seven female servants: lady's maid, house servant, kitchen maid, school room maid, two house maids and a housekeeper. The housekeeper, aged 50, was much the oldest of all Clifton's servants. The butler was 30, the groom 31, and the others ranged in age from 19 to 29 years.

The age range of all 157 female servants is shown in Figure 8. Half of all the people employed were under 20 years old. The oldest servants were Elizabeth Hays, aged 67, who worked for Sarah Mason (74), a retired grocer living in the Market Place, and Rhoda Needham (69), who worked for Ambrose and Ann Swindall at their home in the High Street.

Age	Number	%
10-14	10	6.4
15-19	70	44.6
20-24	40	25.5
25-29	20	12.7
30-34	5	3.2
35-39	3	1.9
40-44	0	0
45-49	4	2.5
50-54	1	0.6
55-59	2	1.3
60-64	0	0
65-69	2	1.3
Total	157	100.0

Fig. 8. Age range of female servants in Oakham, 1851.

Bell (1992) drew attention to the relatively small number of 15 to 29 year old family members living at home in the 1851 census return. He suggested that one factor which could have influenced this was the movement of people from Oakham in search of work. However servants in this age range form one group of young people who were coming into the town to work.

The birthplaces of servants living in their employers' homes show quite a different pattern from those of other groups in this study. Only 20% of them were born in Oakham and 38% in a nearby village. This last figure compares with 43% of heads of household and 81% of children who were born in Oakham, and clearly demonstrates a movement from the village to the town to seek employment. The Cliftons with their 11 servants provide an example, at the upper end of the social spectrum, of people moving around the country. Mrs Clifton and her son were both born in London. Of the servants, nine were born more than 20 miles from Oakham and the remaining two in Somerby, Leicestershire (the butler), and Empingham, Rutland (the kitchen maid).

### Employment of Children

Such legislation as existed in 1851 about the employment of children was concerned with textile mills and coal mines, and so did not apply to young

people in towns like Oakham. Nor was schooling compulsory. In spite of this only 7% of Oakham children had a recorded occupation.

A total of 438 male and 467 female children aged 14 or below were living in Oakham in 1851, 905 altogether. Of these, 596 were in the age group 5 to 14 years and 47 of them are listed in the census return as having an occupation. The range of occupations is very wide and is shown in Figure 10, together with the number working in each category.

Only one child under 9 years old had a job. This was 7 year old Henry Hill who worked on his father's 220 acre farm at Flitteris Park. He had four brothers aged 11, 13, 24 and 26, all living at home and working on the farm.

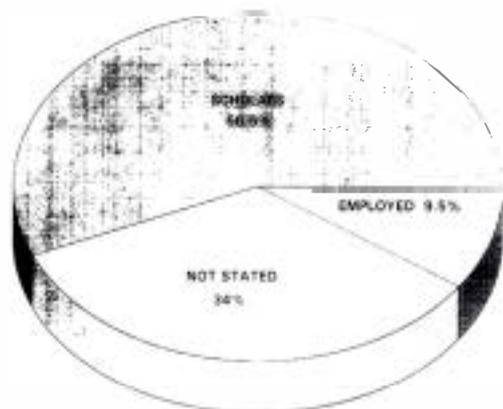


Fig. 9a. Boys at work and at school, 1851.

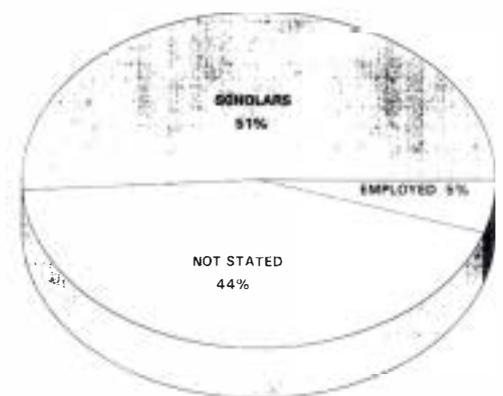


Fig. 9b. Girls at work and at school, 1851.

#### Boys aged 7 to 14 years

Occupation	Number working
Agricultural labourer	9
Errand boy	8
Labourer	1
Chimney sweep	2
Assistant to fishmonger	1
Tailor and apprentice tailor	3
Apprentice chemist	1
Butcher	1
Milk boy	1
Shop boy	1
Assistant to gardener	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>

#### Girls aged 10 to 14 years

Servant	12
Domestic duties	3
Knitter	1
Errand girl	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>

Fig. 10. Employment of children in Oakham, 1851.

Considering only the 10 to 14 year old group, 29 of the 141 boys (20.5%) and 17 of the 155 girls (11.0%) had an occupation. These percentages are similar to those recorded in a much larger sample in Oxfordshire by Horn (1977-8) who reported that 26.6% of boys and 11.7% of girls were working in 1851.

Joseph Easton, a fishmonger of Back Street, had two grandsons living with him, one an assistant to his grandfather, the other William Bentham, a 10-year old chimney sweep. The youngest working girls were all servants. For example, Ellen Towell, aged 10, was a general servant to an agricultural labourer aged 62 and his 69 year old wife. There was no-one else in the household. Were they kind to her, one wonders, or was she an overworked skivvy who slept under the kitchen table?

## Schoolchildren

Far more children were said to be at school than at work - 54% of the age range 4 to 14 (Figs 9a and 9b). Care must be taken not to accept these categories too literally. Barnard (1952, 114) reported a study carried out in 1833 into elementary educational facilities. It concluded that for every ten children of school age, four went to no school at all, three to Sunday School only, two to inefficient dame schools or private day schools and only one received a satisfactory education. Slater (1858) provides a list of academies and schools in his directory. In addition to the Grammar School and the National School (formerly in what is now the car park next to Oakham church hall), there are eight people listed as running schools in 1850.

There were more girls than boys in this age range, and as Figure 9b shows, girls were slightly less likely to be at school, and much less likely to be working than boys. Many older girls will have been kept at home to care for younger children.

## The Growth of Oakham

There appears to be nothing particular about Oakham to encourage migration of people to the town. There was no manufacturing industry to employ either men or women, only work common to all rural towns like market trades, services and agriculture. Nevertheless Oakham grew steadily throughout the nineteenth century, unlike most of the surrounding villages.

Population change is a complex process in which changes in birth and death rates may be combined with both immigration and emigration. Edwin Chadwick, the Victorian sanitary reformer, estimated that in 1842 the average life expectancy of the inhabitants of Rutland (based on a study of Egleton, Hambleton and Braunston) was approximately double that of the population of Manchester (Flinn 1965, 223). However, differences in life expectancy alone cannot explain the demographic changes of the nineteenth century, since Manchester and other industrial cities with high death rates grew enormously during the nineteenth century, while the population of Rutland as a whole fell during the second half of the 19th century. Rutland was used as a case study by John Saville (1957) in his work on rural depopulation in England and Wales. Indeed, Chadwick himself observed that "some allowance must perhaps be made for the very high average age in Rutlandshire, from the circumstance that many of the children or young people migrate from thence to manufacturing neighbourhoods for employment...".

In the absence of manufacturing industry we might expect a significant proportion of the children born to Oakham residents to leave the town to seek employment, and the under-representation of the 15 to 29 year old age group in the male and female

demographic profile for the nuclear family in 1851 supports this point.

On the other hand, 28% of the heads of household, wives, children and servants (613 people) were born more than five miles from the town, and of these 280 were born more than 20 miles away. The 613 people who had moved from outside the circle of villages within easy reach of Oakham must have made a positive decision to do so. Some, such as Colonel Clifton's servants, will have come with their employers. In 35 families, both husband and wife came from over 20 miles away. In other words, neither spouse had moved to Oakham to marry. An analysis of the occupations of the husbands of these families shows that they were predominantly professional men or shopkeepers - 2 doctors, 2 schoolmasters, a solicitor, a chemist, a grocer, a draper, the workhouse master, the relieving officer.... There were also 3 railway workers. All of them will have come to take advantage of the opportunities which Oakham offered as a market town and administrative centre.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to come to any conclusions about the reasons for Oakham's growth, but, because the population of Rutland as a whole was so small during the nineteenth century, it would be feasible to use successive censuses to analyse population movements in some depth.

## Discussion

Higgs (1989, 78) considers that "the occupational information recorded in the nineteenth-century censuses is of fundamental importance for reconstructing Victorian society. In an age before censuses of production, or detailed sociological investigations, this is the most comprehensive source for the detailed statistical investigation of economic and social structure."

Directories show Oakham's principal shopkeepers and craftsmen, but they cannot reveal, as the census does, the working structure of these trades, nor do they notice the housewives, schoolchildren, servants, itinerant hawkers, quack doctors, child chimney sweeps, and the multitude of others who made up Victorian Oakham's society.

However there are difficulties in interpreting the occupational data in the census, many of which were recognised at the time the census was taken, because they were inherent in the way the information was collected. People gave their own descriptions of their occupations, with the result that "several of the names are vague and of doubtful interpretation" (Registrar-General 1854). One of the biggest problems people had, particularly lowly-paid and casual workers, was to decide what their true occupation was, at a time when our modern concept of full-time employment was only just developing. Available work changed with the seasons and unskilled labourers could turn their hands to many tasks.

The instructions to enumerators of the 1851 census state that "a person following more than one distinct trade may insert his occupations in the order of their importance". Some men with dual occupations chose to record both - James Bullivant is both a chemist and a dentist in Kelly's directory and in the census. John Craven, tallow chandler and dealer in British wines also appears thus in both sources. However John Haddon, hairdresser in the census, was also a fishing net maker according to Kelly. How many other such fascinating juxtapositions are lost to us?

Nevertheless, Higgs (1989, 78) in his review of the census returns for 1801 to 1901 suggests that the paid employment of men appears to be fairly accurately recorded. He further suggests that the information from the street directories generally agrees with that found in the census. This is the case in the present study, where all but one of the woodworkers in the three directories could be identified in the census return.

However, Higgs draws attention to the problems of assessing the work done by women. The census return for Oakham illustrates this very well. Only one-third of the adult women had an occupation recorded, while all of the adult males had an occupation listed, even if it was only to state that they were pensioners. The enumerators' instructions stated that "the occupations of women who are regularly employed from home, or at home, in any but domestic duties, are to be distinctly recorded". The interpretation of purely domestic duties was evidently a wide one. The work of a grocer's wife in the shop, for example, seems almost always to have been regarded as "domestic" by husbands and enumerators - we may wonder how many married women filled in their own sections of the form.

But even paid, non-domestic work is often invisible in the census. Agriculture in Oakham was clearly important since 21% of the men worked on the land. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that many women and children worked part-time for the local farmers helping with, for example, hay making, gleaning after the harvest and potato picking (Horn 1974, 114), but this is not recorded, partly because, as Higgs points out, the censuses were deliberately taken during the spring to avoid the busiest times in the agricultural year.

Kelly's 1855 directory comments that "the female part of the population [is] largely engaged in the knitting of fancy hosiery etc." However only 17 knitters appear in the census, hardly a "large" number. Was Kelly exaggerating, or, as is more likely, have many of the knitters gone unrecorded in the census because the work was done at home and thus appeared "domestic"? Of course many women truly did nothing but domestic work, and there is some evidence that fewer Oakham women worked than in some areas of Leicestershire. For instance,

in Shepshed, where there was a domestic knitting industry, 24.5% of wives are recorded as working, and 16% in agricultural Bottesford.

All of the above considerations apply equally to the work of children. However, these defects of the census returns, particularly relating to the occupations of women and children, should not be allowed to detract from the data for men. There is so much information that most of it cannot be analysed in a paper such as this. The information presented on woodworkers and servants in 1851 for Oakham illustrates the depth of the data available in the census return. Other work areas would repay detailed study, for example farmers and agricultural labourers because of their importance in the rural community. In addition comparison of the census return with data on births, deaths and marriages will provide a better understanding of the migration of the population of Victorian Oakham.

### Acknowledgements

Permission to reproduce page 40 of the enumerator's record for Oakham Lordshold was given by the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. This material, HO107/2092, is Crown Copyright.

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# The Rutland Hotel, Wanganui, New Zealand

T H McK CLOUGH  
and PENNY ROBINSON

*This article has been adapted by THMcKC from an original text by PR which was based on historical notes prepared by P Robinson Associates Ltd of Wanganui for Mr Bruce Dickson and Mr Bob Williams to coincide with the restoration of the Rutland Hotel in 1994.*

The Rutland Hotel was built in 1849. It took its name from the stockade overlooking the little settlement of Wanganui which had been erected by a detachment of the 58th (Rutlandshire) Regiment two years earlier, during hostilities with the native Maori inhabitants of the area. Over the succeeding century and a half, the hotel has seen many vicissitudes of fortune, suffering fire and earthquake alike, but now it has been successfully restored as part of a general improvement scheme in this historic part of Wanganui, which is now a city of some 40,000 people.

## The military background

The mid 1840s saw several years of conflict between the Maoris in North Island, New Zealand, and the forces of the British Crown. The regiment involved more than any other was the 58th (Rutlandshire)

became so much part, and a respected part, of the New Zealand scene that by the time the regiment was posted elsewhere over a thousand time-served men had elected to spend the rest of their lives there. The records they left, as well as official accounts of the campaign, have provided ample evidence for the history of the first war with the Maoris to be fully written (Barthorp 1979).

Wanganui was a long established and thriving Maori centre, concentrated around the lower reaches of the Whanganui River, when the first white settlers arrived in the area in the late 1830s. In 1840, the New Zealand Company encouraged the establishment of a settlement here, some 120 miles up the west coast from Wellington, because there was so much pressure from new arrivals around Wellington itself, and by 1846 there were already some 200 settlers. Although some of the Maoris were friendly, others were not and relationships were strained. The settlers felt insecure, and at the end of the year Governor George Grey decided to establish a military post in Wanganui. Accordingly, Captain Joseph Henry Laye was ordered to move his Company of the 58th Regiment to Wanganui.



*Fig. 1. Nineteenth century Wanganui, showing the Rutland Stockade on Pukenu hill (left of centre).*

Regiment, whose soldiers were sent out from Britain in groups on convict escort duty to New South Wales. When hostilities flared in New Zealand in 1845, they were the nearest available reinforcements and were forthwith transferred to New Zealand. They remained there until 1858, and indeed the 58th

His force, consisting of officers and 160 rank and file, with a small detachment of Royal Artillery with two 12-pounder guns, set sail on *HMS Calliope*. They were accompanied by Lieut T B Collinson, Royal Engineers, and carried with them £500 in money, and provisions for two months.

On landing on 12th December 1846, Laye selected a site for a blockhouse and stockade on the top of Pukenuamu, a sandy hill (the name means Sand-fly Hill) overlooking the village and the estuary of the Whanganui River. The position was well chosen, the high ground (now known as Queen's Park) commanding every other site about the village. The fort which Laye built, assisted by Collinson, was the first, and perhaps the largest, of its kind to be constructed in New Zealand and proved to be of strategic importance in the next few years (Fig. 1).

It appears that at first there were difficulties in securing timber to build the blockhouse, as most of the suitable timber was on the opposite side of the river and in the possession of unsympathetic tribes. However, those tribes finally supplied the timber, cutting and towing large rafts of it from about 10 miles up-river to sell to the garrison.

By April 1847 the fort was complete. It consisted of a stockade 8 ft high made of stout timbers, all sharpened at the top, and equipped with loopholes for the firearms. This enclosure measured 60 yards by 30, and within it there were two blockhouses. The larger would accommodate 60 men and was an L-shaped building, and the smaller, at the opposite end of the stockade, would hold 20 men. The upper floor of each blockhouse projected some 3 ft over the lower, and the floor of the overhang could be raised so that anyone attacking the lower storey could be engaged from above. Both floors were lit by long, narrow windows which could also serve as loopholes. Laye proudly named it the Rutland Stockade, after his regiment; the Maoris called it, disparagingly, *Te Whare Waakataata* - "The Peep-House".

Soon after the completion of the stockade, there was an unfortunate incident in which Midshipman Crozier, from a gunboat anchored in the river, accidentally discharged his firearm. The shot wounded a young Maori chief in the cheek. He was not seriously hurt, but the affair led to a group of the Maoris taking *utu*, or revenge, through an attack on the home of John Alexander Gilfillan, an outlying farm called Matawara. Gilfillan's wife and three of his children were murdered. The culprits were soon caught and court-martialled, and all but one were hanged. Inevitably, hostilities escalated over the next few weeks, women and children were evacuated from the settlement, and homes and buildings around the town were either reinforced and barricaded or even demolished. Laye wisely requested reinforcements from Wellington, and on 3rd May Captain Jonas Padley Hardy arrived with a further detachment of two junior officers, three sergeants and 100 men. A fortnight later, on 19th May, the village was attacked by the Maoris from Churton's Creek, near where the old cemetery is today, but they were checked by rifle fire from settlers on top of Cook's Gardens Hill. Skirmishes continued all day but the battle was indecisive and the stockade remained

intact. The 58th suffered no casualties, but Laye reported to Wellington that the Maoris had lost Chief Maketu and another chief killed and ten wounded.

Shortly after this battle, Governor Grey visited Wanganui with a contingent of the 65th (2nd Yorkshire North Riding) Regiment. The town defences were strengthened, and eventually a final battle with the Maori leader Te Mamaku's forces took place on



Fig. 2. Captain Hardy, 58th Regiment, from the Gilfillan sketchbook (Hocken Library).

19th July through St John's Wood, along a ridge leading away from the Rutland Stockade. The battle was again indecisive, and casualties relatively light, the 58th and the 65th each losing one man killed, and a dozen men were wounded. Two days later, after a stalemate, Te Mamaku agreed to retire and the fighting was over. Peace was formally concluded with the Maoris in February 1848, and there was no further trouble locally, even during the second uprising of the Maoris in the 1860s.

In October 1847, Laye's company returned to Wellington, and thence to Auckland where they rejoined the rest of the regiment. Hardy's company arrived in Auckland in June 1848. The regiment received a proper tribute from Governor Grey for their actions, and the 58th ultimately added "New Zealand" to their battle honours. Campaign medals for the war against the Maoris were issued, and the New Zealand Medal awarded to Captain Hardy was acquired by the Rutland County Museum in 1988, with the aid of its Friends and the purchase grant fund of the Victoria & Albert Museum. A sketch of Captain Hardy by J A Gilfillan (Fig. 2) survives in

the Hocken Library at the University of Otago. Eventually, the regimental colours, which had been replaced in 1860, were laid up in the Auckland War Memorial and Museum, where they remain.

The stockade itself remained in being for 40 years. In 1887, it was sold by the local council for £37 10sh 0d. Not everyone was happy to see it pulled down - it had served as a wonderful place for

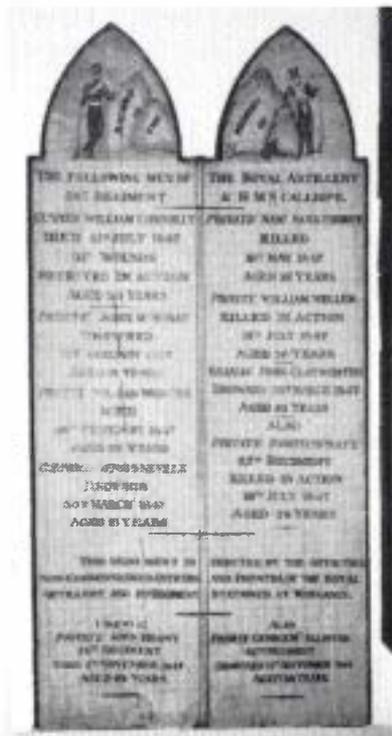


Fig. 3. Memorial to men of the 58th (Rutlandshire) Regiment, 1847, in Wanganui Regional Museum.

children to play! Today, it would no doubt have been valued as a monument of historical importance, and indeed it is featured in the displays of the Wanganui Regional Museum. There is also preserved there a memorial to the men of the garrison who lost their lives in 1847, whether in action or, almost as costly, by accidental drowning (Fig. 3).

### The Rutland Hotel

Within a short time after the end of hostilities, life in Wanganui returned to normal. A soldier by the name of Sgt William Spears Russell bought some land on the corner of Ridgway Street and Victoria Avenue, and in 1849 had an hotel built. Visitors to the new Rutland Hotel, so named in honour of the regiment that built the stockade and defended the settlement, then had but primitive roads to reach its "plain two storeyed wooden building with a balcony, surrounded by loose, black sand."

The hotel was a place of resort for the officers of the garrison, and "all the young sports and sparks used to assemble there", but after only a year Russell sold the business to a German, Johann Maximilian

Goethe, a grandson of the famous poet. Although he was himself a Count, the new owner came to be called John Gotty, and preferred to be known familiarly as John G. He is described as one of the most colourful hotel proprietors, and established himself in that trade on his arrival in New Zealand when he was in his early 20s. During a walking tour of North Island ten years later, it is said that on the shores of Lake Taupo he met a young Maori poetess, Puhi-Wahine, whom he married in 1846. Puhi-Wahine was highly respected, and is said to have moved comfortably between the two cultures, capable of being both a lady of fashion and, when amongst the Whanganui River people, a true Maori. Their two sons were educated in England.

Gotty was succeeded as proprietor by James Speed in 1857, and then in turn by William and George Speed. By 1862, the Rutland Hotel was being described as "easily the finest hotel between Wellington and New Plymouth" (Fig. 4). The English historian and surveyor George Fred Allen described Wanganui in that year as sparsely settled, and the roads as still being very poor (Allen 1924). The lower part of Victoria Avenue was not metalled until some time later when money and labour could be found to fill the pumice and sand gully it had become. Nevertheless, there was a good trade. On 1st February 1866, a grand raffle "To take place at the Rutland Hotel on Friday, 18th February, 1866" was announced. Two chestnut ponies, a double set of harness and an American buggy, value £200, made the prize, and tickets were £1 5sh 0d each. On 1st September, an advertisement in the local newspaper announced that "a sandwich and a pint of Colonial beer can be had for sixpence from the taproom bar from 12 o'clock to half past one."

In 1868, when Mr P A Chevannes senior was proprietor, fire hit the Rutland Hotel for the first time. It was Christmas Day, and the congregation of the adjacent Anglican Church were at communion. George Allen notes that "The congregation was on their knees ... when I saw through the east window clouds of smoke passing between the church and the



Fig. 4. Chevannes Rutland Family Hotel, which was destroyed by fire in 1868.

Rutland Hotel. Mr John Perham and I were the church wardens. I ... tapped him on the shoulder and, together, we walked up the chancel, and I whispered to Mr Nicholls, the celebrant, "There's a fire on the Rutland premises. Serve the men first. Perham and I will send them up." We went quietly down the nave and whispered to the men, and when necessary, the women. The men, about 40, went quietly up to the altar rails where Mr Nicholls and the Rev Arthur Twogood, distributed to them, and they went quietly out of the church."

Mr Allen was secretary of the Volunteer Fire Brigade and therefore knew where the wells and cisterns were. Captain Robinson was on the spot



*Fig. 5. The rebuilt Rutland Hotel in its heyday in the late 19th century.*

with a dozen firemen, who were doing their best to confine the fire to the American bowling saloon, a new building in Ridgway Street, next but one to the Rutland Hotel. The new Assembly Rooms were in between. The wind was blowing "a half-gale" from the saloon towards the hotel. As there was no public water supply, Capt Robinson had sent Lieut Henderson and others to organise a double line of bucket passers between the river and the fire. Others were working on a pump and had collected buckets from "everywhere near". The wind "blew seawards until the fire had destroyed the Assembly Rooms and attacked the hotel. It might have escaped as it had been built with plaster walls but flames fell on it. When the hotel was well alight the wind shifted and blew towards the river side of Ridgway Street. A shingle roof on the cottage which had been the Bank of New South Wales and was now the Military Hospital started to smoke."

Patients were evacuated, and Mr Allen threw pails of water over the shingles. But it wasn't enough, the fire caught and he gave up. Four cottages in that street burned down, while people carried trays of watches and jewellery from Robinson's the jewellers, clothes from Harding's, bottles from Gower's,

and sundries from all three. Mr Allen says some funny things happened, including the Choral Society's harmonium being lowered out of the window on a rope, and then being dropped from two or three feet. Another "gentleman was so excited he threw a jug and basin out of a window and carried a feather mattress downstairs." The fire finally burned out by about 3 pm.

Within 12 months a new and larger Rutland Hotel rose from the ashes of the old one, and "continued to provide a high standard of service and accommodation." The hotel catered for tourists, local residents and business people. Stables occupied part of the yard, travellers changed horses here, and rested overnight. Occasionally there was drama, as when in the late 1860s there were rumours of a gold rush in the Ohie Stream at Waitotara. No gold was found after the first sprinkle, and an angry crowd gathered at the Rutland Hotel to deal with the young man presumed to have "salted" the site. The post-master, Mr McDonogh, who was himself an old digger, calmed the crowd and they were persuaded to disperse quietly.

In 1880, fire hit the hotel again. First, in May, there was a minor kitchen fire, and then on 4th September 1880 another major fire started upstairs, flames leaped skywards and appeared to engulf the whole building. It took several hours to put out. "It was impossible to save the interior of the building, and soon the best hotel on the west coast of the North Island was a ruin," according to one newspaper report. The alarm had been given by a young man, W R Tuck, who later owned the Provincial Hotel. The historian Athol Kirk says that the kitchen and a number of bedrooms were destroyed.

Kirk (1991) notes that in 1904 the then proprietor, Mr F C Faber, decided to rebuild the hotel. The architect A Atkins produced a design for a three-storey hotel with a dome on the corner section, to complement the tower of the new Post Office on the opposite corner. By leasing land from the Church of England and the Oddfellows Lodge, the building could be enlarged and more bedrooms provided. The new buildings, which were in brick, contained 70 rooms. On the ground floor, six large shops and 17 offices were built, and these were rapidly let, one of them becoming a Government Life Insurance office. While the building was being erected, the New Zealand coat of arms in relief was fixed to the frontage above this office. Russell and Bignell were the builders.

Mr Faber had the misfortune of coping with a nuisance fire in 1910. Just after midnight on 22nd January, there was an explosion in a jeweller's shop owned by Joseph Davis and Martin Hayes. By the time the Fire Brigade arrived, the shop was completely burned out. Guests had to evacuate their rooms, but apart from smoke damage the hotel was not badly hit. The fire was treated as suspicious, but initial investigations suggested that it had been caused by an accumulation of coal gas. However, a



Fig. 6. The newly restored Rutland Hotel building in 1994.

fortnight later, gas officials looking for a leak in the Coffee Palace boarding house found several suitcases full of jewellery in the attic. The police were informed, and found that the jewellery matched the descriptions in the insurance claim. Hence Davis and Hayes were charged with wilfully setting fire to the shop with intent to defraud, were found guilty and sentenced to seven years in prison.

The Murchison earthquake of 1929 and the Napier earthquake of 1931 resulted in the original brickwork being strengthened to withstand further quakes. Little untoward happened until 1946, when first there was an armed robbery and the licensee, Mr H E Edmonds, was forced to open the safe. On 30th December in the same year, another fire started in a first floor bedroom, guests were evacuated, including a sleeping child rescued by Mr Edmonds, and the hotel was again severely damaged. The third floor and turret were destroyed and not replaced.

A high point came twenty years later, when Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, visited Wanganui. The dining room was specially decorated for the occasion, and on 27th April 1966 the Mayor, Mr Reg Andrews, and the Town Clerk, received the Queen Mother as she arrived by car at the hotel. Some five years later, the accommodation was renovated, hot and cold water was installed to each room, and the Rutland became a 5-star hotel.

In 1975, the hotel was sold by the proprietors,

George Ross Glennie and Gordon Francis Glennie, to New Zealand Breweries. In 1983, there was yet another fire, and in 1986 the hotel closed for the last time, the fixtures and fittings being sold at auction. The premises changed ownership several times, and eventually, in 1993, was bought by Mr Bruce Dickson and Mr Bob Williams, thus returning into local hands. By this time, the buildings were in poor condition and considered by some to be beyond restoration. However, following the

unsympathetic demolition of one of Wanganui's classified buildings, there was increasing pressure to conserve the historic areas of towns such as this by means of a "Main Street" programme (Mills 1993). This was established, and the consequent restoration of the Rutland Hotel has since formed a vital component in the revitalisation of the area. It has now been successfully restored and re-opened as commercial and retail premises, including a small English-style bar. Careful restoration and reconstruction have now returned elegance and interest to one of Wanganui's major street corners (Fig. 6). Once one of the best-known hotels in New Zealand, and

with its origins firmly in the turbulent early years of the settlement of Wanganui, the Rutland now lives on to commemorate the name of the 58th Regiment and, by association, its eponymous English county.

#### Acknowledgements

Penny Robinson acknowledges the assistance given to her in her researches by the staff of the Wanganui Regional Museum and the Wanganui Library. The Editor is grateful to her and to Messrs Bruce Dickson and Bob Williams for enabling this article to be included in the *Rutland Record*. Thanks are due to the Wanganui Regional Museum, the Wanganui District Library, and the Hocken Library, Dunedin, for permission to reproduce the illustrations.

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## Shorter Notes

### The Rutland Militia and Marching Guineas Bryan Waites

A friend of the writer, Tom Jackson of Silloth, Carlisle, is taking a fresh look at history by studying the income tax paid by personalities such as Nelson and Wilberforce. In the course of his work, he has come across the tax payments made in 1799/1800 by three leading Rutland men, George Finch, 9th Earl of Winchelsea, of Burley on the Hill, Sir William Lowther of Cottesmore, and the Rev Nathaniel North of Little Casterton, who was vicar of Bisbrooke from 1771-1814 (Longden 1941, vol X, 99). Incidentally, his searches in the tax boxes of the Public Record Office have also revealed two documents endorsed "1803 Militia Marching Guineas Rutlandshire £144.18.0" (reference E182/752/PT2).

Militia companies were entitled by Act of Parliament to a guinea (£1 1sh 0d) per man, known as the "marching guinea", payable upon the embodiment of their regiment to pay for clothing and other articles. The Rutland Militia documents are dated 20th May and 5th September 1803, and refer respectively to Capt N Brown's company, which had 70 private militia men, and Capt Gilbert Affleck's company of 68 men. The sums involved are thus £73 10sh 0d and £71 8sh 0d. The names of the men will be of considerable interest to local historians.

Other records of the Rutland Militia show that the regiment was first embodied in 1759 and served on several occasions in the late 18th century (Markham 1924, 176f; RLHS 1978, 78f). Following another embodiment in 1793, they were stationed in various parts of the country more or less continuously throughout the Napoleonic Wars until May 1815. In 1801 they were in Lynn in

Norfolk, and appear to have returned to Oakham shortly afterwards. On 18th May 1803, they were ordered to march from Oakham to Bristol, following a specified route. The marching guineas list of 20th May evidently refers particularly to this movement. Further orders on 1st and 19th July required additional detachments from Oakham and Uppingham to march to Bristol to join the rest of the corps. The second list, although dated some weeks later, perhaps refers to these detachments. The Rutland Militia would seem to have consisted at this time of the two companies referred to, commanded by Capt Brown and Capt Affleck. The Captain Commandant, Michael Pierrepont, resided at Ryhall, where he bought the old manor house and its estate in 1800 (*VCH Rutland*, II, 271); by August 1808 he had attained the rank of Major, and he later became Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant.

It appears that the surgeons who examined the recruits were paid ten shillings per day, and receipts have turned up from two of them, Thomas Cooke of Northampton and Bryan Beetham of Peterborough.

The marching guineas lists are transcribed here by kind permission of the Public Record Office, and I am grateful to Tim Clough for supplying additional information about the Rutland Militia.

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#### County of Rutland May 20th 1803

I do hereby certify that the several Private Militia Men hereunder named, belonging to and now serving in my Company of the Rutland Militia, whereby they are severally become intitled to one Guinea each as Marching from the County by virtue of the Act of Parliament

M. Pierrepont Capt'n Comdr

Nos	Names	Nos	Names	Nos	Names	Nos	Names
1	Wm Atkins	19	Fenton	37	Wm Martin 1st	54	Robt Rowell
2	Richd Atter	20	Thos Green	38	Wm Martin 2nd	55	Wm Robinson 1st
3	Robt Brown	21	Wm Gamble	39	Jonhn Monk	56	Wm Robinson 2nd
4	Job Brown	22	Ginge	40	Wm Martin 3rd	57	Edwd Racelous
5	Thos Brown	23	Richd Iliff	41	Wm Main	58	Wm Sharp
6	Wm Burrows	24	Job Johnson	42	Edwd Makins	59	Jams Smeaton 1st
7	Jno Buthay	25	Heny Johnson	43	Jams Marlow	60	Jams Smeaton 2nd
8	Peter Berridge	26	Thos Jarvice	44	Jno Morris	61	Heny Slater
9	Wm Bludworth	27	Heny Harrison	45	Jno Martin	62	Wm Sprigs
10	Benjn Browett	28	Jno Halford	46	Benjn Oliver	63	Thos Smith
11	Josh Burton	29	Jno Kendall	47	Parker	64	Mathw Smart
12	Geo Bell	30	Jams Kendall	48	Jno Popple	65	Robt Searson
13	Geo Coe	31	Jams Kettle	49	Wm Popple	66	Saml Tompkin
14	Curtice	32	Wm Love	50	Thos Panter	67	Robt Tyers
15	Edwd Exton	33	Letherland	51	Geo Palmer	68	Saml Waterfield
16	Jams Fellows	34	Jams Martin	52	Jno Preston	69	Robt Weatley
17	Jno Fellows	35	Edwd Muggleton	53	Robt Rudkin	70	Jno Wells
18	Thos Fluid	36	Jno Muggleton				

And I do hereby acknowledge to have received of Edwd Boodle Esqr Receiver General of the Land Tax for the County of Rutland *by payment of Chris Smyth Esqr* [inserted] the Sum of Seventy three Pounds Ten Shillings, being the Sum of one Guinea for every of the aforesaid Militia Men.

N Brown Capt & Adj't Off'r Commanding

[annotated in another hand]

Sent p Post 14th July 1803 to C: Smyth Esqr at Northampton by T Prestage, Agent to the Rutland Militia.

[annotated at the foot]

Clementson [and other obscure writing]

Received Sept'r 5th 1803 of the Receiver General of the Land Tax for the County of Rutland by the Payment of Christopher Smith Esqr the sum of Seventy one pounds & Eight Shillings being one Guinea each for the use of every Private Militia Man belonging to my Company in the Rutland Militia ordered into Actual Service & hereunto Named viz

1	Wm Chawner	18	Thos Coe	35	Wm Martin	52	Thos Rhodes
2	Richd Rodwell	19	Saml Calwell	36	Wm Martin	53	Richd Richards
3	Jno Staples	20	Robt Curtiss	37	Geoe Martin	54	Saml Sporton
4	Wm Almond	21	Matth Daniel	38	Jerrad Martin	55	Saml Sporton
5	Edwd Aswin	22	Thos Freestone	39	Wm Mattocks	56	Jno Smith
6	Wm Arden	23	Geoe Green	40	Josh Marston	57	Jno Suffolk
7	Wm Adcock	24	Job Goode	41	Jno Marshall	58	Robt Skidmore
8	Benjn Astwell	25	Jno Grocock	42	Wm Mills	59	Josh Tilly
9	Geoe Bateman	26	Saml Hargrave	43	Wm Palmer	60	Jno Turk
10	Jno Blower	27	Zach Hollidge	44	Wm Payne	61	Jno Valentine
11	Heny Bradshaw	28	Wm Haynes	45	Benjn Peach	62	Jno Weewall
12	Ol Bell	29	Thos Hubbard	46	Richd Pridmore	63	Jno Weede
13	Thos Buckby	30	Thos Jesson	47	Wm Phillips	64	Wm Weston
14	Jno Bales	31	Geoe Keatly	48	Wm Page	65	Robt Weldon
15	Thos Champion	32	Nathl Kirk	49	Wm Pope	66	Saml Woodcock
16	Isaac Coulson	33	Geoe Kendle	50	Barnaby Plant	67	Thos Wood
17	Jno Cooper	34	Wm Linton	51	Jno Pl  am [illegible]	68	Jno Hargrave

I say receiv'd by me Gilbr Affleck Captain Rutland Militia

[annotated in another hand]

London 8 Sepr 1803 sent p post to Chrr Smith Esqe at Northampton by me J Prestage, Agent to the Rutland Militia

[No 68, Jno Hargrave, appears to be a later addition by the original writer]

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## Footnotes on Crime

### T H McK Clough

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In 1989, the Rutland County Museum acquired a little pocket book into which some unknown person had pasted or copied a selection of accounts of heinous crimes, disasters at sea, and other exciting events (accession no. H38.1989). The compiler appears to have had a morbid interest in hangings and the crimes which led to them. Most took place in the 1860s. Some of the entries relate to Rutland, and are reproduced here, although the sources are not recorded. A number of others refer to events which took place in or near Stamford and are very probably taken from the *Stamford Mercury*, although dates, where given, are not always precise. Others may like to investigate these incidents further!

#### *An Execution (handwritten entry):*

5th March 1824, Rutland Assizes  
March 5th Patrick Duffy, Hawker, Sentenced to be

hanged for Committing a rape on Elizabeth Robinson between Casterton and Tickencote. he was Executed at Oakham on the 29th, Duffy was upwards of 70, and his victim between 50 and 60.

#### *An Execution (handwritten entry):*

20th March 1826

Jacob Bozolander A[ge]d. 57, Executed at Oakham for Rape and highway robbery in the parish of Barrowden. His victim was Mary Waters, A[ged], 21, in the service of Mr E. Porter, Empingham.

#### *A Fatal Accident (newspaper cutting):*

1st October 1863

An accident occurred at Ryhall on Wednesday last to a man named Wm. Mann, a horsebreaker, which unfortunately proved fatal. It appears that while riding a young horse on the road between Ryhall and Essendine the animal became restive, and he was thrown to the ground, receiving concussion of the brain. Medical aid from Stamford was obtained, but the poor fellow never rallied, and he expired on Thursday morning.

*Lost at Sea (handwritten entry):*

11th January 1866

On Thursday the 11th Jany 1866, lost at Sea in the Steamship, London, in the Bay of Biscay. Cornelius John Morley, leading fireman, Brother of Mr George Morley, of Ryhall, and Mr Lewis Morley, of Skillington, in the 35th year of his Age, he had been one voyage to Australia, in the same vessel. During the American war he was engaged in running the Blockade, about 200 lives went down with her.

*An Archaeological Discovery (handwritten entry):*

5th February 1866

A Roman sepulchre, lined with pendle, containing the skeleton of a young man, found in a field near Great Casterton toll-bar, near the head had been placed a glass lachrymatory, which contained the tears of the surviving relatives.

*"Saving the Bacon" (newspaper cutting, undated):*

On Sunday last a man presented himself at the Tally-ho public house, Ryhall, near Stamford, stating that he was a drover, and required accommodation for a quantity of stock that would shortly arrive. He received a hearty welcome, and a very substantial dinner was placed before him, of which he partook heartily, admitting that the viands were excellent. After his repast he adjourned to another room, under the pretext of "having a doze in the

old arm chair." Whilst the landlord, however, was giving his grunterns their midday meal, and the landlady was making preparations to proceed to her Sabbath toilet, the fellow disappeared; and on looking at the bacon hanging in the kitchen it was seen that a part of a fitch had been recently cut off. It then occurred to the family that a thief had been in the house, and inquiry was made of some neighbours respecting the "drover:" in consequence of information received Mrs Fenn. went in pursuit of him, in the direction of Stamford. She overtook him near the Ryhall toll-bar, when she put herself into a fighting attitude, dealing on his person some heavy blows with her fists, as Tom Sayers or any other pugilist would have done: she then seized him by the collar, and turning his face towards the Tally-ho charged him with having robbed the house of her bacon. A bulky pocket had already proved his guilt, and he was led captive by the Amazon to her home, where he was received by several villagers in a manner that could not have been at all pleasing to his feelings. Amongst other insults he was compelled to submit to was the receiving of a bucketfull of cold water down his back. In consideration of the punishment he had already received, he was not handed over to the police, but was allowed to depart on paying for his dinner and the 6 lbs. of bacon he had stolen. The name of the man has since been ascertained: he came to Ryhall from Castle Bytham, and had latterly been employed in peeling bark at Holywell.

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## Rutland in Saskatchewan, Canada

Barbara Walters

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History in Central Saskatchewan only stretches back to the day before yesterday, and settlers only began to homestead the district that was to become Rutland in the early years of this century. This is the area where the endless plains of the south begin to disappear into gently rolling hills. It is about miles (360 km) north of the US border. The hamlet developed just east of the small town of Senlac, and north-west of the bigger centre of Unity.

In 1908, a man called J R Brown took out the first homestead where the hamlet was later to be situated. He named the place after the county in England that he came from, but nothing else is know about him. In 1909, the railroad was built through the area, and this was to become the lifeline of Rutland. Through the years, the train was the chief method of communication with neighbouring villages and towns, especially in the winter. Roads were merely dirt trails in the early years, impassable in wet weather or snow. The train brought all necessities, groceries, mail, orders from the big city, fruit, and everything else from timber to car tyres. All farm produce, such as grain, cattle, sheep and pigs, was transported out of the community by the railroad. In the winter there was heavy passenger traffic: a trip to the city could be completed in one day, for the "mixed" trains, carrying both goods and passengers, ran a return trip that was amazingly convenient. Even the minister came by

train from the neighbouring town to hold services in the community hall cum church.

The population of Rutland never topped 70, but through the years it supported a community hall, stores, a blacksmith, a bulk fuel agency, a school, three grain elevators, and even a livery stable in the horse power years. There was a wood yard, a pool room and barber shop, a farm machinery agency, and even a boarding house. An ever-present recreation facility in the winter months was a skating rink. Of course all of these businesses were probably not present all of the time, but the centre was typical of a prairie village which needed to have these services within the limited reach of the local farmers. Progress brought inevitable change, and the last "mixed" train ran in 1960. The school closed in 1965, and the Post Office in 1970. In 1976, the grain elevators, the last functioning businesses in Rutland, ceased to operate.

Nowadays, you can still find Rutland. There are a couple of road signs to point the way. There is a newly renovated community hall which also serves as a church, the school stands lonely in its yard, and commemorative plaques give the dates of its operation. At least one grain elevator is still in use, but on a new site ten miles to the south of its birthplace, where it provides grain storage for a local farmer. Like so many places on the prairies, Rutland's life was short, but very useful. When, in the summer of 1978, a "Homecoming" event was held, 500 people attended, making it obvious that although this Rutland may be virtually gone, it will never be forgotten.



*Fig. 1. The gently rolling farmland of NW Saskatchewan, where Rutland is situated, taken from the road through the hamlet, looking NW.*



*Fig. 2. The rejuvenated community hall, now used locally for church services and community gatherings - the only "active" building remaining.*



*Fig. 4. The one remaining store building, now in a farmyard.*



*Fig. 3. The old school and schoolyard.*



*Fig. 5. One of the grain elevators, now moved 10 miles from its original site.*

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## LEICESTERSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT

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### *Great Casterton: Ryhall Road Farm (TF 002091)*

An archaeological watching brief was carried out by the LAU in September 1993 during the construction of a garage and some loose boxes by Mr & Mrs J W Bennet. The site was investigated because of its position within the known Roman town. Below the topsoil, at a relatively shallow depth of 400 mm below the modern ground surface, a wall of unmortared limestone blocks with a N-S orientation was observed. A dense scatter of stones was observed to the E of the wall, whereas to the W there was a much thinner scatter. Both Roman and medieval pottery were recovered. The shallow and restricted nature of the modern building work ensured that the remains identified, although only superficially examined, were preserved intact (finds and archive: Leicestershire Museums A266.1993).

*Susan Ripper*

### *Great Casterton: Bridge Farm, Ryhall Road (TF 001091)*

The building of a bungalow at the farm required that all sub-surface work was archaeologically monitored and all archaeological levels exposed were excavated and recorded. The work was carried out by the LAU between April and June 1995 and funded by the developer, M & E Electrical Services. The site is within the area of the small Roman town upon which most of Great Casterton is built, and lies on the line of the town defences.

Many of the archaeological levels identified reflect those noted in the controlled section through the ramparts carried out in 1950, 200 m to the E (Corder 1951). No deposits relating to the rampart were located, but a mass of stone was found very close to the line of the town wall, and this is very likely to be rubble from the robbing of that wall. Elsewhere, the modern truncation of Roman levels had removed all traces of the substantial wall and rampart which made up the town's defences. Consistently though, pre-defensive structures survived, but these consisted entirely of an extensive clayey silt layer cut by a number of pits. No evidence of any other type of occupation was identified, but this does parallel very closely the findings from the 1950 excavation.

The only significant dating evidence, the Roman pottery, was recovered from the levels below the defences, and this indicated a date in the early or possibly the middle of the 2nd century AD. The defences have been dated approximately to the late 2nd or early 3rd century, and so the finds recovered here do fit into the accepted dating sequence. Otherwise, the finds recovered are typical of small Roman rubbish deposits of this period (finds and archive: Leicestershire Museums A31.1995).

### *Reference*

Corder, P, *The Roman Town and Villa at Great Casterton, Rutland* (Nottingham 1951)

*Sally Warren*

### *Oakham: Church Hall, Church Street (SK 861089)*

A limited one-day evaluation was undertaken on 27th April 1995 by the LAU at the site of the Church Hall, funded by the Parochial Church Council. The site lies W of the parish church of All Saints, towards the northern edge of medieval Oakham and within the medieval manor of Oakham Deanshold.

To the rear of the site, an L-shaped trench, measuring 22.0 x 1.6 m, was machine excavated and the natural was encountered at a depth of 1.5 m. A single shallow pit cutting this was sealed by a layer of yellowish-brown clay up to 0.35 m thick. This layer contained five features: a possible linear ditch, running N-S, and, on the same orientation, a stone wall footing; a possible post-hole, found close to the wall; and at the E end of the trench, a small patch of scorched clay and a small pit. All these features were sealed by two post-medieval spreads of light brown clay with a combined thickness of 0.3 m. Sealing these layers was a deposit of more modern garden soil 0.5 m thick. In a second small trench, measuring 1.5 x 0.75 m, excavated close to the street frontage, natural ground was located at 1.02 m below the modern ground level. No definite archaeological features were identified, but thick layers of buried garden soil were present.

There is some archaeological potential on this site, although the features are quite scattered and in some places quite absent. Although only two sherds of Roman pottery were recovered, given both their large size and the brief nature of this evaluation, then there is definite potential for finding more evidence of Roman occupation in the vicinity. This is enhanced by the discovery in 1989 of a small quantity of other Roman material nearby in Cutts Close (Sawday 1991). It is difficult to date any of the features, but given the residual medieval pottery, then there is also a medieval potential.

Of interest is the post-medieval overburden sealing this site. It is much thicker than any usual field soil deposit or any accumulation expected in a simple levelling of the site. It is very difficult to explain this deposit, but it has left the surviving archaeological levels at a deeper level than is usually found in the Oakham area, and hence any surviving deposits could be better preserved than usual. It has to be remembered in this context that this part of Church Street is a late insertion into the original manorial complex, and dates from the 1830s. This may have a bearing on the nature of the deposits which now survive (finds and archive: Leicestershire Museums A30.1995).

### *Reference*

Sawday, D, Leicestershire Archaeological Unit, *Rutland Record* 11 (1991) 44.

*Tim Higgins*

### *Oakham: 36-38 Northgate (SK 858087)*

A small housing development was proposed at this site, within the area of medieval Oakham. An evaluation commissioned by Mr A K Weir was carried out by the LAU in April 1995.

Three trenches were excavated by machine to sample an area of 32 sq m. Modern levels were removed to expose either archaeological levels or, at a depth of 0.27 m, the natural ground. The archaeological deposits were all to some degree truncated by modern building disturbance. The earliest archaeological evidence was indicated by possible Iron Age/Romano-British pottery sherds found in a buried layer of garden soil of probable 14th century date. Although residual, these few sherds could suggest Roman or Iron Age activity in the area. Besides the garden soil, a light scattering of medieval features was found, including a small pit which contained a sherd of 14th/15th century date and a post-hole which also contained a sherd of similar date. Other features found in association with these could be of a similar medieval date. These consisted of a gully, two spreads, a post-hole and a stone spread. These were all sealed by post-medieval features and modern topsoil.

This thin spread of features suggests either that the site is peripheral to areas of medieval activity or that such activity left only a slight imprint on underlying levels and the evidence for it has mainly been removed by modern activities. This conclusion was reinforced by the finding of similar evidence during a watching brief on the building work, carried out by Simon Cox for the LAU (finds and archive: Leicestershire Museums A29.1995).

*Tim Higgins*

*South Luffenham: St Mary the Virgin (SK 941019)*

A watching brief was carried out by the LAU in July 1994 during the excavation of drainage trenches around the church tower. Although no earlier archaeological levels were revealed, the nature of the foundations of the tower was examined. Below the chamfered plinth were layers of roughly faced stone to a depth of 0.35 m, where the foundations became broader but were still of similar construction.

*James Meek*

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**LEICESTERSHIRE  
RECORD OFFICE**

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By contrast with the hectic months after the opening of the new Record Office, 1994 was a period of consolidation. Not that we were significantly less busy, in fact the year's total (14,503 reader visits) was very much in the same range as the first year's, confirming Leicestershire Record Office as one of the half dozen most heavily used archive services in the country.

Items of Rutland interest added to the collections are noted below. In the Searchrooms, the finding aids were augmented by the acquisition of a microfiche index to the 1881 census of Leicestershire and Rutland, which soon proved invaluable to family historians. As part of the Record Office's busy "outreach" programme, a touring exhibition was prepared to commemorate the centenary of Parish Councils, and shown at no less than 44 venues. In addition assistance was given to a local exhibition by Caldecott Parish Council, and the Office's resources were drawn upon once more for the display mounted for the RLHRS's visit to Market Overton.

The Record Office's Genealogical Research Service extended its activities with a programme of training workshops for family historians. The first workshops for beginners in family history were held towards the end of 1994, and were so successful that they soon became a monthly event with each one oversubscribed.

The Office's three conservators work continuously to repair and make usable documents damaged by a variety of causes. Among the archives treated were the first Lyddington parish register, 1569-1725, a series of Poor Law settlement certificates and removal orders from Glaston, 1669-1851, and the 1787 Oakham manorial surveys from the Finch MSS. The last were repaired to make them safe for use by a group working on them at the Rutland County Museum, with a view to publication by the RLHRS.

The Friends of the Record Office, in addition to providing practical and financial support, enjoy a programme of activities of various kinds. A highlight of 1994 was a visit to Exton on a glorious Saturday in June. From the parish church where the Friends admired the remarkable assembly of funerary monuments, the party moved via the ruined Old Hall to a tour of the stables and the Roman Catholic chapel of the "new" hall, guided by Lady Campden. A picnic tea beside the lake at Fort Henry proved an ideal end to a delightful afternoon.

Jenny Clark continued to catalogue the Exton MSS until the end of 1994, when funding from the County Council and the Leverhulme Trust finally expired. Unfortunately it proved impossible for her to complete the work, and the remainder of the cataloguing, and rearrangement of the documents and typing of the catalogue will be completed in-house.

The Local Government Review continued to cast an air of uncertainty over the Record Office, as over all the Leicestershire Museums, Arts & Records Service, of which it forms a part. The one heartening element was the wide acknowledgement that, regardless of which local authority structure was preferred, the present unified archives and museums service would remain the best option.

*Select archive accessions received in 1994:*

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| DE 4444 | Melton Mowbray Methodist Circuit records, including Uppingham church minutes, 1935-1968, and documents re the closure and sale of various churches including Lyddington, 1967-1970 |
| DE 4569 | Rutland Rural Community Council: records including Rutland Home Guard, prisoner-of-war liaison, minutes and accounts, 1930s-1940s  |
| DE 4599 | Commercial photographic views of various places including Oakham, 1940s-1960s  |
| DE 4621 | Rutland Commission of the Peace, 1837  |
| DE 4643 | Rutland Education records: log books, 1863-1971, admission registers, 1872-1971, Education Committee records, 1903-1946, managers' minutes, plans, inventories, etc., 1885-1969    |
| DE 4661 | Bill of quantities for new school, Caldecott, 1877   |
| DE 4663 | Map of Stocken Lordship, Stretton, by J Wing, 1702   |

*Carl Harrison, County Archivist*

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## LINCOLNSHIRE ARCHIVES

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This last year, 1994-95, has been a very busy one, with over 10,000 reader visits to the Search Room. This trend looks set to continue due to the arrival of our latest acquisition in May: Lincolnshire Archives now holds microfiche copies of the General Register Office (St. Catherine's House) Indexes to births, marriages and deaths 1837-1983. The indexes have been very kindly donated to us by the Lincolnshire Family History Society and are proving to be very useful to researchers.

Staff were pleased to welcome members of the Rutland Local History and Record Society to Lincolnshire Archives on Saturday 17th June 1995 (Fig.1). We hope that the visit, including a display of Rutland documents



Fig.1. Members of the RLHRS at Lincolnshire Archives in June 1995 (Lincolnshire Archives).

and a tour of the building, was both informative and entertaining. This was just one of a continuous series of group visits and special events which are organised throughout the year. Particularly popular have been a series of talks designed to help the beginner in family history. For the first time, we shall be holding a Local and Family History Fair in September 1995, as part of a special weekend of Heritage Open Days in Lincolnshire.

Deposits of documents relating to the Rutland area have been rather scarce this year. Of interest may be the papers of Miss M Dobbing, who was a teacher at Stamford High School for Girls. Her diary contains accounts of life at the school during the Second World War and details of trips around the local area.

*Michelle Barnes, Archivist (Reader Services)*

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## RUTLAND COUNTY MUSEUM

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The museum continues to attract students and researchers, especially those interested in family history and in historic buildings which they have purchased. The former usually generally depart somewhat the richer in information; the latter are more difficult to help because the museum does not have detailed sources about individual buildings. Sometimes old photographs may help, and we continue to acquire or copy them where we can. We are also keen to add to our collection of property sale catalogues.

The Friends of the Museum continued to support the museum's activities, especially with very generous financial aid towards the completion and opening of No 2 Catmos Street and the Colonel Noel Suite in May 1995. They also expressed very firmly their view that the museum should continue to be part of a county-wide Leicestershire Museums, Arts & Records Service, and that this service should not be broken up in the event of Rutland becoming a unitary authority. The outcome is still awaited.

Probably the most intriguing item among the additions to the collections listed below is the little Kelly button (Fig.2). This depicts a stage coach or a loaded carrier's waggon, and the implication is that Kelly was an Oakham carrier. To date, however, we have found no reference to such a man. Any suggestions will be gratefully received.

### *Selected acquisitions:*

- H8.1994 Programme of the opening of Oakham Central School, 1938
- H9.1994 Photographs of Essendine
- H13.1994 Postcards of Oakham, Greatham and Somerby
- H14.1994 Apprenticeship indenture of H H Gilbey, 1905
- H21.1994 Printed descriptions of Ayston, Little Casterton and Manton churches
- H26.1994 Livery button with the name of Kelly, Oakham
- H27.1994 Photograph of Uppingham National School, with pupils
- H35.1994 Log book and notes on Scout camp, 1937
- H36.1994 Calendar for 1907, advertising Tom Munday, butcher, Langham
- H39.1994 The *Rutland Churchman*, vols 1-19, incomplete
- H43.1994 Photograph of reunion dinner at Uppingham after the Great War
- H53.1994 Calendar for 1897, Glaston village store
- H58.1994 Rutland County Council bye election address from Lord Lonsdale, 1906
- H60.1994 The *Illustrated*, 1 Nov 1947, with Rutland feature  
*T H McK Clough, Keeper*

Fig.2. Kelly's livery button (Leicestershire Museums)



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## RUTLAND HISTORIC CHURCHES PRESERVATION TRUST

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When the Rutland Historic Churches Preservation Trust was formed in 1954, a formidable back-log of repairs had tended to build up in churches, due to the Second World War. Many who cared about Rutland's heritage gave donations to enable the Trust to build up its funds. Churches were then offered grants and interest-free loans to enable work to start before further deterioration set in.

Forty years later, the Trust finds its help still in great demand. During the year ended April 1995, nine Rutland churches and chapels applied for assistance with repairs. Stonework was crumbling in the tower of St Mary the

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## RUTLAND LOCAL HISTORY & RECORD SOCIETY

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Virgin, South Luffenham, and wooden lintels in the west window of the south aisle were collapsing after beetle attack; roofs at St Nicholas, Pilton, and St Nicholas, Thistleton, required new slates and the roof of Oakham Congregational Chapel had begun to leak; windows at All Saints, Oakham, were in need of rebuilding; and the boundary wall at St Mary's, Edith Weston, was slipping. Repointing and repair of stonework was necessary at the Methodist Chapel at Ketton; and the lath and plaster ceiling in the Methodist Chapel at Empingham was beginning to fall. In the Chapel of St John, Hospital of St John and St Anne, Oakham, there was movement around an internal corbel and reinforcement of the wall was essential. The Chapel (Fig.3) formed part of the foundation of the Hospital by Royal Licence in 1399 to provide two



Fig.3. The Chapel of the Hospital of St John & St Anne, Oakham (Brian Nicholls).

Chaplains and almshouse accommodation for twelve poor men "in Okeham"; after the railway cut across the site around 1845 the chapel fell into disuse but since 1983 it has become a vital part of the new development of 28 warden controlled flats.

The Trust promised help towards all these repairs, pledging grants totalling over £27,000. All the grants were claimed within twelve months of award, as each church and chapel had been able to carry out the necessary work. The Trust recognises that this represents a great commitment by all those who are maintaining Rutland's beautiful and ancient church buildings.

The President, Col T C S Haywood, was host to the 40th Annual General Meeting in April 1995, when, with Sir David Davenport-Handley in the Chair and in the presence of the Vice-President, the Lord Bishop of Peterborough, Trustees heard of two further churches in urgent need of help and that two more were also about to make applications. Enquiries concerning repairs are welcomed from all Christian denominations in Rutland; the Secretary can be contacted on 01572 747302.

The Trust continues to depend upon donations for its work, and carefully invests capital to maximise income so that realistic grants can be made and the future safeguarded as far as possible. Sponsored Cycle Rides held in September in "odd" years help to give funds a much needed boost, and also provide opportunities for visits to churches and chapels which might not normally be open.

Linda Worrall, Honorary Secretary

With our President resident in France and our Chairman over the border in Lincolnshire the Society is fast approaching multi-national status! Also on the personal side, the key post of Editor still remains vacant - though fortunately Tim Clough took *Rutland Record* 15 under his wing. Otherwise on the editorial side David Parkin's account of the Gilson Charity is the only additional publication now appearing in 1995, although study of the Oakham 1787 map and field books has also continued.

Under the leadership of Mrs Elaine Jones the archaeological group continues to flourish actively, and its work is reported on separately below.

At our Annual General Meeting on 18th May 1995 the Bryan Matthews lecture was given by Professor J Painter of Northern State University in South Dakota. Professor Painter has a close interest in Rutland since his great-uncle Ben Painter was a prominent farmer in the county, living at Cow Close Farm, Burley, where his family held the tenancy for a hundred years, and being for many years secretary of the Rutland Agricultural Society. Professor Painter chose the subject of contemporary Sioux religion for his address.

Lincoln was the destination of the annual summer outing which was led by Miss Joanna Spencer and Miss Barbara Dean. A full programme included a guided tour of the upper town and visits to the Cathedral and its library and to Lincolnshire Archives, where a special display had been arranged for our visit.

The village visit arranged for 1995 was to Lyddington. This will be the last occasion on which this very worthwhile event in the Society's calendar will be organised by Mrs Pam Drinkall. We are very grateful for the effort she has put into the organisation of the last five visits.

The Society's Historic Environment Committee, under the leadership of Mrs Betty Finch, continues to monitor building developments, and in June the Society responded to the Rutland District Council's invitation to make its views known on the draft plan for development in the area. In a carefully considered paper, measures were put forward which would reduce the impact of development and conserve the character of Rutland.

The level of subscription has been held at that of the previous year and our financial position remains strong.

John Crossley, Honorary Secretary

### Archaeological Sub-Committee

Fieldwork has continued throughout the year as follows:

#### Ashwell: Home Farm, Water Lane (SK 86751350)

Part of a stone-lined and stone-capped drain below c30 cm of topsoil was seen at the N end of the gardens of the listed c17th century Home Farm. No dating evidence was found. Construction work by the porch on the E side of the house revealed a cobbled surface and post-medieval pottery. We thank Mr and Mrs Dunn for their interest in the archaeology of their home.

#### Barrowden: Exeter Arms (SK 94650010)

Graham Worrall kept a watch on site levelling behind the pub. About 30 cm of topsoil was removed, and this revealed in

section the possible foundations and rubble of a demolished building. Unstratified pot sherds were late post-medieval and no early deposits were noticed.

#### *Egleton (SK 870081)*

In our field walking survey of November 1992, a probable Early Bronze Age domestic site was found. Of 455 worked flints, 20% were tools or retouched pieces. This scatter is associated with a triple ditch and a possible Bronze Age ring ditch shown on aerial photographs. Possible Mesolithic flints were also found.

Saxon activity is indicated by 10 pot sherds associated with some Roman pottery and a small quantity of undated iron slag. Saxo-Norman Stamford ware, medieval and post-medieval sherds may indicate early and continuous manuring of this arable field (finds and archive: Leicestershire Museums A101.1992).

#### *Greetham quarry*

Sqn Ldr Adams reports that a long outstanding extension to the quarry has taken place E and N of the original quarry boundary. The new owners gave permission to explore the area, but only at weekends when large machinery was inoperative. This consisted of alternate areas of clearance of overburden (top soil and rubble) and long baulks of overburden 3 m high and some 3 m wide at the top. The boundary baulk and the interior baulks were also searched. A considerable quantity of flint was evident and some items were collected for further examination. Two fragments of a (Bronze Age?) quern were collected and a quantity of blackened pebbles observed near the corner of the site. The remainder of the field should be field-walked in the near future.

#### *Lyddington (SP 876968)*

The first evidence of Late Iron Age/early Roman activity in Lyddington was found during clearance for a dwelling between Church Lane and Windmill Way. One 1st/early 2nd century AD grog-tempered vessel and unstratified sherds of Late Iron Age/early Roman pottery were found. Flints, Stamford ware, medieval, and late post-medieval sherds were also recovered (finds and archive: Leicestershire Museums A8.1995).

#### *Oakham parish*

The 1994-95 field-walking survey continued on land W of the Uppingham Road at Grange Farm, where six fields were completed. The flint material from the whole survey to date has now been identified by Patrick Clay and archive reports are in preparation. Some of the flints are probably Mesolithic, indicating the presence of early hunter-gatherers around Oakham perhaps about 6000 BC. Most of the material appears to be Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age, suggesting early farming settlements in the vicinity, perhaps c3000 BC.

Patrick Clay is including our information in his PhD thesis on prehistoric settlement patterns - proof of the value of this work.

#### *Oakham: Cold Overton Road (SK 85400895)*

A watching brief on pasture land developed for the new Oakham Doctors' Surgery to the rear of 25-33 Cold Overton Road showed no archaeological features disturbing the natural deposits. Similarly, little archaeological evidence was found during a watch at the Rutland Memorial Hospital in 1993. This negative evidence suggests that there was no early settlement in this area of Oakham, but Roman material was found nearby in 1966 (finds and archive: Leicestershire Museums A155.1994).

*Uppingham: Meadowsweet Nursery, South View (SK 86769956)*  
Saxo-Norman Stamford ware pot sherds associated with iron

slag were recovered from a ironstone rubble layer, 80 cm thick, lying beneath 85 cm of post-medieval deposits in a vertical section cut during building work at the nursery (finds and archive: Leicestershire Museums A23.1995).

#### *Whitwell (SK 924086)*

Sqn Ldr Adams, director of the excavation, reports some further investigation of the main E-W wall of the medieval building near site peg 10M(E) 05M(N). The lowest part of the three-layer wall shows that the original foundation was quite substantial and was some 20 cm further S than the final third layer. It consisted of limestone laid on the basic blue Lias clay. No artefacts were recovered which could have dated this level and it is assumed to be of 13th century origin. Due to other commitments work this year has been rather limited but drawing and photography of the section is now completed.

#### *Acknowledgements*

The Society acknowledges with thanks the help and cooperation operation of the developers and landowners who have permitted access for the recording of the information above. Mr Needham of Grange Farm and Lt Col Weir have allowed our field-walking survey to continue on their farm land.

The Leicestershire Museums archaeological specialists, namely Patrick Clay, Richard Pollard and Deborah Sawday have provided invaluable help in finds identification.

I would also like to thank RLHRS volunteers for their help and support, namely - Fred and Olive Adams, Bob Burchnell, David Carlin, Sue Davidson, Maureen Dodds, Bax English, Jenny Mallett, Jenny Naylor, Malcolm Roberts, Graham and Linda Worrall.

#### *Other archaeological activities*

Sue Davidson has continued to represent the Society on the Council for British Archaeology East Midlands Committee. David Carlin lectured on "Airfield Archaeology in the East Midlands" at the Defence of Britain Project day school organised by CBA East Midlands at Harlaxton in September 1995. Sqn Ldr Adams has continued to serve on the Leicestershire Archaeological Advisory Committee. Elaine Jones attended the Council for Independent Archaeology Congress in Sheffield in April 1995 on "Archaeological Societies and Research".

The future of archaeology in Rutland continues to be a matter for concern. Rutland's forthcoming achievement of unitary status will bring changes. The Rutland Local Plan Consultative Draft recognises the importance of archaeological sites as a material consideration in the planning process. Let us therefore trust that the future will result in improvements in the retrieval of Rutland's archaeology.

However, many developments and farming practices are not subject to controls and it is in this province that volunteers are needed to retrieve and record. More volunteers equal more information - so please join us!

Finally, on a lighter note, the post-Christmas Dinner was enjoyed at the Old Brewery Inn, Somerby. The annual summer picnic started with a tour of Wakerley church and the remains of the 17th century house and gardens, led by Graham Worrall. This was followed by an excellent supper prepared by the good ladies and right well organised by Maureen Dodds and Graham Worrall.

*Elaine Jones*  
*Chairman, Archaeological Sub-Committee*

## Reviews

*Leicestershire and Rutland Woodlands: Past and Present.* By Anthony Squires and Michael Jeeves. Kairos Press, Newtown Linford, Leicestershire, 1994. Paper, 160 pp, ills, maps, app, bib, gaz, index. ISBN 1 871344 03 4. £9.95 including postage.

The study of historical ecology has grown greatly during the last decade. The publications of Oliver Rackham have done much to encourage this. Additionally, the rapid disappearance of woods, hedges, wetlands and other such features of our natural environment has rendered this study even more necessary.

Consequently, the publication of this splendid volume on Leicestershire and Rutland's woodlands is timely and will be a good starting point for everyone with a deep interest and concern for natural conservation.

The preface draws attention to the vital role of woodland in pre-industrial times, the continuity of sites and the vast changes faced at the present time. Though the authors aim the book at the everyday reader, they have, nevertheless, given a sound and comprehensive list of sources, plus details of access to woods, a national vegetation classification and names of plants mentioned in the text.

The contents range over a chronological survey of woodlands in the area with particular attention to Leicester Forest, Leighfield Forest and Charnwood Forest. There are chapters on Woodland Wildlife, Classifying Woodlands, Modern Woodland Management, Evaluating Woodlands, and the Future. Most interesting and valuable case studies of six woodlands are included, and these are excellently illustrated by clear maps and diagrams. Indeed, the maps and diagrams throughout the book are an outstanding feature.

One would have wished for maps to illustrate the physical background of relief, geology and soils in the regions considered. Quite often the excellent maps and diagrams are not referred to in the text - much more could have been gleaned from an integrated use of figures and text. There is little or no reference to exotic and solitary trees in the area such as the Edith Weston Domesday Oak, the ancient Cedar Tree at Normanton Park, and the unique arboreal groupings in the grounds of Catmose, Oakham, now subdivided between Rutland District Council Offices and Rutland Farm Park. Consideration of churchyard yews would have also provided a rewarding study. More is needed on the impact of fox-hunting on the landscape too. Regarding sources, it is regrettable that no use appears to have been made of the *Land of Britain* Land Use Survey Reports, edited by L Dudley Stamp, which produced an accurate statement both in maps and text for Leicestershire and Rutland during the 1930s. This was a very good point at which to measure the state of woodlands before and after to assess the extent of change.

This excellent book is not just for the armchair reader but has a great deal of value for the reader who will take it in his hand to the sites which are so admirably explained.

Bryan Waites

*English Inn and Tavern Names.* By Barrie Cox. Nottingham: Centre for English Name Studies, University of Nottingham, 1994. Paper, 116 pp. £5.00 including postage.

This book surveys and explains, in just over 100 pages, many of the names of English inns and taverns. Probably the first work to apply serious methods of name-study to this body of material, it will be found to be as entertaining as (and considerably more informative than) essays basing interpretations on vague popular conjecture and implausible translations of alleged corruptions of foreign phrases. The range is wide both historically (13th century to 1993) and geographically, in considering public-house designations in many parts of England. The names selected have been mostly drawn from the county volumes published by the English Place-Name Society, but to these have been added some unpublished collections relating to individual localities, such as Leicester and Cambridge.

The discussion of the names will hold the attention of any reader from the outset. In the first chapter, rather unexcitingly called "Historical Perspectives", the author explains, briefly but clearly, the connections between the names, their painted or carved signs (described but not illustrated), and political, religious and social developments. The earliest recorded English inn-names were heraldic in origin, and many of the armorial names of today had recognisable counterparts in the Middle Ages. The subsequent introduction of religious, and later of political, themes produced a repertoire of names still familiar to modern readers. In explaining these themes, the author indicates the great diversity of topics alluded to in names often taken to be commonplace and superficial.

In later centuries, references were made to local crafts, industries and topographical and other features, including the gruesome *The Struggler*, in the vicinity of the gallows at Lincoln. The progress of canal, road and rail transport led to the use of names referring to these developments, alongside those commemorating famous people and great events, which have never fallen out of favour. Competition for the custom of leisured and mechanised road-users has more recently added purely pictorial, rather than allusive or symbolic themes, and the author notes that "an attempt to attract through "olde-worlde" charm may well lie behind ... countrified coyness" and a "striving for precious effect" in many contemporary examples.

The occupations and preoccupations of Rutland are well reflected in the names of its inns, fully listed in a separate chapter. Agricultural and hunting names therefore occur in appropriate numbers, as well as allusions to the important landowners (usually in armorial form), together with a sprinkling of references to successive royal families. Two maps illustrate the possible part played by local fashion in the choice of certain names. The first map shows the distribution of some heraldic names. *The Blue Ball*, perhaps a local version of *The Blue Bell*, is confined to the west of the county, and *The Swan* is found only in the extreme south. Map 2 shows the locations of names (such as *The Exeter Arms*) referring to

the largest landowners. The coming of the railways to the county added a significant number of names, the continued existence of which, after the disappearance of the lines, supplies useful and accessible evidence to local historians. The author's concluding reflections include some regretful comments on recent name-changes.

There are three interesting appendices. The first two list chronologically the names recorded from the years 1350-1599 and 1600-1935 respectively. The third discusses the names of inns and taverns recorded by Pepys in his diary. The author remarks that the inclusion of this material with the data from the English Place-Name Society volumes and unpublished collections "illustrates ... the different ranges of source material which need to be tapped if we are to reach a clear view of the development of inn and tavern names". Readers are rightly encouraged to follow the author's example and explore in every possible way the hostelry names available to them. Local history will then take on an additional meaning, as well as a new dimension.

*John Field*

*Heraldry in Rutland Churches.* By D M E Armitage, illustrated by S Brewin. East Midlands Heraldry Society, 1994. Paper, 48 pp, index. No ISBN. £3.00.

This booklet summarises royal, Diocesan and personal arms displayed in the parish churches of Rutland. Windows, monuments, tombs, plaques, hatchments, banners and memorials are all included, and are described in standard heraldic vocabulary. The most complex examples, as at Exton, necessarily have extended entries, enumerating the families represented where these have been identified (at Ashwell, for *Dawne* read *Dawney*). There is, however, no discussion of the material, nor any indication of the date or individual commemorated, and this rather detracts from the usefulness of the work. The booklet ends with indexes of arms blazoned and arms illustrated. The drawings are adequate and the overall presentation is simple, the text being reproduced from a dot-matrix print-out. Overall, a convenient point of reference, and one which shows how many families have had an interest in Rutland over the centuries.

*TH McK Clough*

*Lincolnshire People.* Compiled by John R Ketteringham. The King's England Press, Barnsley, 1995. Cloth, 128 pp, ills, index. ISBN 1 872438 12 1. £14.95.

There is a great temptation to compare this publication with our own *Who was Who in Rutland: Rutland Record 8* (1988), but I will resist the temptation and leave readers to make their own assessment.

*Lincolnshire People* is an alphabetical list of short biographies of people of all types and times, who were

either born in Lincolnshire or in some other way connected with the county, and who have made themselves famous (or notorious) on the national scene. Of the 109 entries six are of living people, thus allowing Lady Thatcher and Steve Race to be included, and six are of women, including here Anne Askew, the martyr, and Jean Ingelow, the poetess. There are 42 illustrations in black and white, some of them full-page, and six further colour portraits on the dust jacket. As the compilation is the choice and work of one person the entries show a uniformity of style and order which leads one to look for, and find quickly, the main details of birth, parentage, education and career of the subject, though in the case of the outstanding and well-documented personages such as John Wesley and Lord Tennyson the biography can be no more than a digest. In the case of lesser known characters, such as John Twigg (a practical joker and eccentric), the information will be, to many readers, entirely new and the author has allowed himself some latitude. In approximately half of the biographies a book or an article (very occasionally two) has been recommended for "Further Reading".

There is a full Contents list which, of course, duplicates the order of the main entries, but this does enable the reader to see at a glance the different types of people who have been included. In close proximity are Bolingbroke, Henry of (King of England), Bolle, John (Soldier) and Boole, George (Mathematician). However, the inclusion of all these names once again in the index seems a little superfluous, though there is the advantage, in a small minority of cases, of having reference to further information outside the main article. It seems a pity that a note of illustrations could not also have been added here in order to make this index entry more meaningful. Other index entries include names of publications and (it would seem) all other names of people and places mentioned in the text.

Information concerning the illustrations seem to have gone awry. There is no complete list and acknowledgements are in two different places which sometimes (but not always) duplicate each other. On balance 19 illustrations remain unaccounted for, and therefore without a source so far as the reader is concerned.

The book is dedicated to the memory of Terence Leach, who worked so hard and so long in the cause of Lincolnshire history, and whose portrait forms the frontispiece.

*Barbara Dean*

*Also received for review in a future issue:*

*The Place-Names of Rutland.* By Barrie Cox. English Place-Name Society, Nottingham, volume 67-69 for 1989-90/1991-2 (1994). lxxxvi + 483 pp, maps. ISBN 0 904889 17 3. £72.00.

## Editor's Note:

The annual *Rutland Bibliography* section has been held over for a future issue.

# RUTLAND LOCAL HISTORY & RECORD SOCIETY

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The Society's publications, with their main contents, are currently available as follows:

**Index of Rutland Record 1-10**, compiled by John Field (1994) (£2.50, members £2.00)

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Emergence of Rutland; Medieval hunting grounds; Rutland field names; Illiteracy in 19th century Rutland

**Rutland Record 2** (£1.00 post free)

Archdeacon Johnson; Thomas Barker's weather records; Rutland Agricultural Society; Rutland farms in 1871

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Cropmarks; History of cricket; Ironstone in Rutland; Oakham School 100 years ago

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Sharmans of Greetham; Churches of Rutland; Belton-in-Rutland; 19th century Greetham; Thomas Crapper

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Who was Who in Rutland

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Oakham Methodist Church; John Clare; Oakham 1851 Census; John Banton; Edith Weston clock; Convicts

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Thomas Barker's fascinating 18th century weather, farming and countryside records, with introduction

## **Occasional Publications**

**1. Domesday Book in Rutland: the dramatis personae**, by Prince Yuri Galitzine (1986)(*out of print*)

**2. The Oakham Survey 1305**, edited by Allen Chinnery (1988)

Medieval survey revealing population, occupations, topography, customs, and personal/place-name evidence (£4.50, members £3.50)

**3. The Rutland Hearth Tax 1665**, edited by Jill Bourn & Amanda Goode (1991)

Population and payment information, with introduction (£4.50, members £3.50)

**4. The History of Gilson's Hospital, Morcott**, by David Parkin (1995)

History of the charity, its almshouse and beneficiaries, and its farm at Screddington, Lincolnshire; foundation deed, Gilson's will, lists of trustees and beneficiaries (£3.50, members £3.00)

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## **Orders and membership enquiries**

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