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 & 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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Enquiries relating to the Society’s activities, such as membership, editorial matters, historic buildings, archaeology, or programme of events, should be addressed to the appropriate Officer of the Society.
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, Catmose Street, Oakham, Rutland, LE145 6HW, telephone Oakham (01572 758440)

website: http://www.rutnet.co.uk/rlhrs
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**Cover Illustration:**  
Boys from Uppingham School outside a cottage at Borth, Cardiganshire, in 1876  
(photograph: Uppingham School archives)
Editorial - Catching up with the Past

This Editorial must begin with an apology to subscribers for the late appearance of this issue. It has always been the intention of the Society to publish the Rutland Record annually, and this has generally been achieved except for one year in the early days of the Society when financial constraints meant that one issue covered two years. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the publication schedule has fallen very much behind over the last couple of years, and the Editor would like to thank members for their patience and understanding. However, in the interval, the Society has been able to bring to the light of day a major research report, Time in Rutland, its most ambitious publication so far and one supported by a substantial grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund’s Millennium Awards scheme. It has been very favourably received. It is now intended to catch up with the publication schedule by bringing out the next two or three issues at closer intervals; there will also be an index of nos 11-20 which will be circulated to members as part of their subscription entitlement. As well as the annual journal, there are also several occasional papers waiting in the wings, and it is intended that this year will see good progress with these.

Besides the substantive articles in each issue, the Society also includes regular reports of work undertaken by other organisations in Rutland as well as its own work. We believe that this is an important function, putting on record a wide range of activities which contribute to our understanding of the county’s history, and is well illustrated by the reports in this issue. Inevitably, these will be rather out of phase in the next couple of issues, but this will be rectified as the programme stabilises. We also hope to return to the practice of including bibliographical updates and reviews of Rutland publications in each edition.

In a wider context, a number of changes are taking place which will affect historical study in Rutland. The Society is reviewing its activities and functions; the Rutland County Museum has successfully applied to the Heritage Lottery Fund for a grant to make its services more accessible, for example by providing a new study room, and its Curator of long standing has now retired, to be replaced by a Service Manager supported by a revised staff structure; a local branch of the Leicestershire & Rutland Family History Society has been established.

The rapid spread and development of digitisation techniques and internet access, including the Society’s own site, is already revolutionising the way in which our research is carried out. However, it is important not to lose sight of the importance of the written word as a means of presenting research into our history and archaeology. No matter how convenient and effective a tool the digital archive or surrogate copy may be, it is not necessarily a sure substitute for ink on paper – or indeed parchment or vellum. We know that these materials will last for centuries; we cannot yet know how long the digital substitutes will survive. We cannot keep everything: our archivists are very well aware of the need to be representative, but selective, in what is retained from the past. But what is the future, not just of the past, but of the present? Increasingly, there is no modern paper archive: does that mean that there will soon be no modern history? That we cannot predict with any certainty at all.

Notes on Contributors

Michaela Freemanová studied musicology at Charles University, Prague (PhD 1973). Between 1975-1987 she worked in the Czech Music Museum (Department of the National Museum, Prague), in 1992-1993 she was the music curator of Prague Castle, and today she works for the Czech Academy of Science. With her husband, David Freeman, she organised numerous courses in making and playing copies of historical music instruments and four international Early Music Festivals (1991-1994). Her research interests are music and music life of the 17th-early 19th centuries. With the musicologist Eva Mikanová she prepared an article on Antonín Kammel for Early Music (‘My honourable Lord and Father’, to be published in 2003) and is preparing a full edition of Kammel’s correspondence.

Sue Howlett, currently Honorary Secretary of RLHRS, gained Leicester University’s MA degree in Historical Studies in 1992. Having taught English for many years in further and secondary education, she now works in adult education as part-time tutor of literature and local history.

Nigel Richardson was Second Master at Uppingham School, and taught history there from 1971-1989. He has been Headmaster of the Perse School, Cambridge, since 1994.
Rutland Record 19 contained an article entitled ‘A Country Wife: Anne Barker of Hambleton (1646-47)’ (Howlett 1999). The domestic life of Anne and Abel Barker, vividly recounted in her letters, was cut tragically short by her death eighteen months after marriage. Abel Barker, High Sheriff of Rutland, and a rising man under both Commonwealth and Restoration governments, found himself with a motherless infant heir to provide for. In this sequel to that article, the less literate letters of his second wife are supplemented by Abel Barker’s detailed record-keeping (all contained in the Barker MSS at the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, DE 730). Together these tell a story of social advancement, marital chidings, local gossip, sick children, estate management, and the building and furnishing of the grand new house at Lyndon.

As an eligible widower, the upwardly mobile Abel Barker made no haste to fill the gap left by the death of his lamented wife Anne in 1647. England was in turmoil, although the execution of King Charles I leaves no record among the letters so meticulously copied into Abel Barker’s letter book (DE 730/4). Often addressed to fellow members of Rutland’s Parliamentarian County Committee, these chart concerns with taxes and rents, land deals and local intrigues. Influential acquaintances and relatives on both sides of the political divide were carefully cultivated.

On a more personal note, he informed his mother-in-law, Lady Frances Burton, in December 1654: ‘I cannot find in myself any inclination to alter (as yet) my present condition.’ Yet seven months later he had two prospective brides in view. A few days before the rejection of his hand by Rebekah Parsett of London, Abel also wrote to Geoffrey Palmer Esquire on 21st July 1655 regarding Mary Noel:

Sir, I am very sensible that being most obliged unto you of all others, I have not been so happy as to make any acknowledgement answerable: the consideration of this hath caused me to reflect upon your relations, and to place my affections upon your niece my neighbour. I hold it my duty to intimate so much unto you, as the author of that happiness I propose to myseltherein...

(DE 730/4/224)

Mary Noel of Whitwell was an astute choice. When the political climate changed, her family connections brought valuable benefits to the aspiring local dignitary. Geoffrey Palmer was to become Charles II’s Attorney General; his sister had married Alexander Noel, youngest brother of the first Viscount Campden (Wright 1684, 109).

The financial transaction was a crucial aspect of marriage. Abel Barker, negotiating this time for himself, modestly requested the sum of £1,500 as his new wife’s jointure, the same sum as that so painstakingly obtained by his mother from Sir Thomas Burton nine years earlier. No letters appeared to have passed between the engaged couple, although the unsettling legal changes caused the male participants some anxiety. In 1653 the Republican Parliament’s new Marriage Law decreed that civil marriage was required in a magistrate’s presence, without which a church ceremony alone was invalid. Among Abel Barker’s papers, this civil marriage certificate survives (fig. 1). It records that on 6th September 1655, two days after the burial of his first father-in-law, Abel and his bride: ‘came before me Evers Armyne Esquire one of the Justices of peace for the county aforesaid at Ketton in the said county and were then and there married according to the form of the statute in that behalf provided...’ (DE 730/1/43).

For the new bride and her young stepson in the substantial farmhouse at Hambleton (now known as the Old Hall, fig. 2), life must have been relatively comfortable. Abel Barker was a man of cultivated tastes, having recently requested a London relative to ‘buy me a book called Pembroke’s Arcadia lately reprinted with the life of Sir Philip Sidney the author’ (HMC 1876, 394). Such treasured possessions, or clothes and household linen, may have been kept in
Memoranda that the sixth day of September in the year of our Lord
amongst the amount used to England in thousand five hundred fifty
and find Abel Barker of Hambleton in the County of Rutland esquire and
Mary Noel, the daughter of Alexander Noel of Whiston in the said
County, were married before me, J. B. Anstis, esquire one of the
clerks of the peace for the County aforesaid at Ketton in the said Country
and were there and then married according to the form of the
statute in that behalf provided. And that the said Alexander Noel,
Andrew Noel, Thomas Barker gent. and John Milham of
Dukinfield witnessed were present at the solemnization of the said marriage.
In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal to this Day and
year above written.

Fig. 1. The civil marriage certificate of Abel Barker and Mary Noel, 6th September 1655
(by courtesy of ROLLER. DE 730/1/43)

Fig. 2. The Old Hall, Hambleton (photograph: author)
the wooden wall-cupboard in the principal bed­
chamber, which still today records in its carved
design the year of Abel’s marriage to his first wife:
1646. All luxury goods and most clothes had to be
ordered from London, where they might be purchased
by a reliable agent or friend, and sent to Hambleton,
often by the Uppingham or Harringworth carrier. On
25th May 1656 Abel Barker ordered 30 bottles of
various wines to be sent from London, for which he
paid 44 shillings, as well as £3 8s for a boy’s suit
(HMC 1876, 395).

The renewed blessings of marriage did not keep
Abel Barker permanently at Hambleton. His expan­
ding estate of owned and rented lands, with the
thriving sheep and wool business, were managed in
his frequent absences by his brother Thomas or
neighbour and agent, John Musson. The majority of
letters which Abel later copied into his letterbook
were written at Hambleton, but his wife’s letters
confirm a record of frequent visits to London and the
accommodation at which he could be found. In
autumn 1656 Abel may have attended the Court of
Chancery, where in one of several lawsuits he
challenged the terms of Sir Thomas Burton’s will.
Always sharp in financial affairs, he no doubt wished
to improve the prospects of his son, Burton’s grand­
son, although the letterbook does not record details of
the legal outcome.

Mary Barker’s original letters were kept among
her husband’s papers, rather than surviving only in
copies as those of his first wife. Her handwriting is
looped and flowing, cursive in contrast to her pre­
decessor’s clear italic hand, but the spelling is more
erratic and often requires phonetic interpretation. For
example ‘an nower’ (fig. 3) must mean an hour,
while in the letter below ‘suckess in your beseness’
indicates appropriate wifely concern. Paper was a
precious commodity, and Mary’s letters normally fill
a single sheet, with frequent additions and after­
thoughts compressed into the margin. Mary’s first
extant letter, addressed to her husband ‘at Mr Bras­
ington in Clement’s Churchyard’ [London], is dated
10th May 1656. Its contents imply that pregnancy
had quickly followed the wedding.
[For reasons of clarity all extracts from original
letters have been modernised in their spelling and
punctuation.]

Dear Heart

I hope you got safe and well to London, and by this
time are ready to return to her who mourns for
your absence. Hambleton is a sad place without
your dear company. I trust to God you will stay no
longer than needs you must. My daily prayers are
to God for your health and safe return to me. It is
out of the earnest desire I have to manifest my dear
affection to you that makes me trouble thee with
this. God send you good success in your business. I
remain, your faithful loving wife,
Mary Barker

[PS along side of page] Remember to buy me some
sherry of amber. I pray you buy me a laced pinner
and coif of the new fashion for myself: and I would
have a satin mantle for my child to christen it in, let
it be either blue or red satin which[ever] you can
best get and laced with a broad silver lace and
lined with sarsnet. You might buy it cheaper than I
can get anybody [to] do it for me, if you have time.
If not, stay not to do it, and I will send afterwards
to somebody.

[PPS at bottom of page] I received your letter after
I had written this which hath rejoiced my heart to
hear you are well. All our friends are well and
present their service to you.

(DE 730/1/45)

The fashionable ‘pinner and coif’ requested by Mary
were a close fitting cap with two long flaps, one on
each side, pinned on and hanging down. The Shorter
Oxford English Dictionary (1989) records the ap­
pearance of ‘pinner’ in 1652, four years before this
letter. Her expected child’s cloak was to be lined with
sarsnet, the ‘thin soft textile with slight sheen’ which
Anne Barker had purchased a decade earlier for new
bedhangings at Hambleton (Howlett 1999, 379).

A brief letter sent in October 1656 indicates
Mary’s happiness in her marriage. After the greeting
‘Dearest Heart’ she exults: ‘It joys my heart to see
how well I am beloved of you...’ (DE 730/1/46A). By
May of 1658 Abel was once again in London, with
his brother Thomas, and staying at the Rose in
Smithfield. Back in Hambleton, Mary, now the
mother of a younger Mary, was troubled by a minor
domestic problem:

... I pray you, buy me a bell to ring up the maids to
me out of the kitchen for I cannot make them hear
[1] never so loud. I will trouble you with no
more for fear of hindering your return...

Mary [Mary] presents you with her duty by, dear
Heart, your truly loving wife Mary Barker.

(DE 730/1/72A)

The end of the 1650s, and with them Cromwell’s
Protectorate, brought anxious times in Rutland. Abel
Barker’s links with Parliamentarians were well
known, although his extended correspondence with the regicide Colonel Thomas Waite had used a discreet code of initials rather than names. However, there is no evidence of Abel ever having borne arms against the king. His growing wealth and local status, reinforced by newly acquired connections with the Royalist Noels, secured his continued respect. Early in 1660 Abel Barker was serving as Treasurer for Rutland, being requested by a local magistrate to pay 20 shillings to an Oakham carpenter, Thomas Crampe, suffering from leprosy (HMC 1876, 403). With the Restoration imminent Abel took care to confirm his political reliability. The preserved copy of a ‘Loyal Address’ to Charles II, in Abel’s handwriting and signed with the names or marks of 51 Rutland villagers, suggests that he was working hard to demonstrate his allegiance to the Stuart dynasty. With elections to a new Parliament and the fiery Royalist, the second Viscount Campden, installed as the first Lord Lieutenant of Rutland (as distinct from Leicestershire and Rutland), Abel had to act quickly to deny rumoured accusations of disloyalty:

For Captain Sherard

Sir, I perceive by your letters to my Lord Campden that you question the integrity of my intentions, in performing the agreement made before his lordship... For a gentleman in his own country and before the chief person there, to be accused with breach of promise, labouring for voices and subtle designs, is a heavy charge: wherein although I doubt not but time the tryer of truth will soon chart my innocence, yet I shall not I hope seem offensive to you, in requesting you will please to produce that letter of information you received last Tuesday, or acquaint me with the author and contents thereof...

Hambleton, 16 March 60 [1661, New Style]

(DE 730/4/283)

Ten days later Abel was nervously reassuring his father-in-law that he fully supported Lord Campden’s son in the elections to the Cavalier Parliament. It was crucial to maintain the good will of the Noels and Sherards, dominant families under the new dispensation: in 1661 Edward Noel, later to be Earl of Gainsborough, achieved the desired election as Knight of the Shire together with Philip Sherard (Wright 1684, Additions xvi). But by August of that year Abel felt secure in his reputation and financial prospects. Looking around for a good investment, he heard that the desirable manor of neighbouring Lyndon might be on the market:

For Mr Wray a Scrivener between the Two Temple Gates.

Sir, When I was last in London you was pleased to let me know, Mr Audley intended to part with his land in Lyndon, and that you should understand his resolution therein this vacation. You have now had the opportunity to do the same, and if you shall do me the favour to acquaint me therein, you will oblige... yours etc

A. B. Hambleton 12 August 1661

(DE 730/4/286)

While Abel was protecting and enhancing his interests within the county community, Mary now found herself the harassed mother of three young daughters, Mary and the twins Thomasin and Elizabeth. Her letter of 26th May 1661, addressed to Abel ‘at the Dog and Ball in Fleet Street near the New Pageant’ contains a postscript longer than the letter itself:

My Dearest Heart,

I am very glad to hear of your safe arrival to town. I hope the journey with the good company you had up, hath put by that distemper you was troubled withal! a little before you went. I am in a sad condition for my poor children who are all so troubled with the chin cough [whooping cough] that I am afraid it will kill them. There is many die on it, in this town some, and abroad that we hear of I am fain to have a candle stand by me to go in to them when the fit comes, for it will stop their wind which frights me so I know not what to do.

We are all in great danger of the smallpox, more now than ever, for Ealse Neckealls [Elsie Nicolls?] hath it. She was almost well before they came out, so that we did not fear any such thing, but all my servants went which troubles me, for I fear some of them may have it, and then you may think what danger I and my poor children are in.

It is sad weather here, nothing but floods every day or every two days since you went. I can give you no better account of anything here at this time but pray we may be in a better condition by the next, and remain thy truly loving wife

M Barker...

[PS along side of page] Sam did not bring any bales as you writ of; stir as he will about it. I desire to have the children’s stockings and gloves and some skins sent down the next week for I am in great need of them, but for anything else you may let it alone till you come down. My service to my brother Andrew and my brother Barker. I will have one pair of shoes for Thomasin. Since I wrote my letter, the waters being out that the carriers could not
Fig. 3. Letter from Mary Barker to her husband, 22nd June 1673
(by courtesy of ROLLR: DE 730/1/119b)
come, so my letter was here till night, and then Nan Palland came running to me for her mistress. She is very weak and keeps her bed. I went [on] horseback and it was [?]? so that I was like to be drowned, and since I came up she hath sent again to me that [they] are afraid she [might] die tonight. I dare not go from my children all night but I have sent for my sister Colling...

I know not what to do in these troubles now you are away. I doubt your mother will not live another week.

(DE 730/1/53)

Despite Mary’s fears for her mother-in-law’s health, Mrs Elizabeth Barker lived on to appear in the 1665 Hearth Tax records with her home in Hambleton of five hearths, a considerable property although half the size of her son’s home. In answer to Mary’s urgent summons, her next letter of 2nd June 1661 records the arrival at Mrs Barker’s of ‘my sister Colling [Abel’s sister Thomasin Collin of Great Easton]..., my sister Goodman [Abel’s sister Elizabeth] and my brother Greene [the husband of Abel’s sister Mary].’ Clearly the family was anxious about the weak condition and fluctuating strength of the matriarch. Smallpox was still rife in the neighbourhood, but Mary informed her husband with relief that the family remained free of the disease, although:

... My poor children are all sadly troubled with the chin cough. Mall is much the worst. They have such fits that it stops their wind and puts me into such frights and fears that I am not myself... I have my share of troubles in the world and always the worst in your absence...

(DE 730/1/54)

One of these troubles concerned her mother-in-law’s servant, Mall Rit [Wright?] who is described as ‘so cross a creature, I did not know what she might do... your mother would not endure the sight of her.’ The offending Mall arrived with her clothes to stay at Abel’s home, to his wife’s great annoyance: ‘She is a bad creature, but I will let all alone till your return.’

A few weeks later, on 30th June 1661, Abel Barker was again in London although his lodgings this time were ‘the Rose in Smithfield near the pens.’ In this letter Mary reports on family news and enigmatic gossip:

My Dearest Heart

I hope you are safe arrived to town on Saturday night. I desire to know if you reached thither in that day and half. My children I thank God are all so well as you left them. The pox doth increase amongst the children very much. I pray God keep ours from it if it be his will. Here Sam Barker’s wife came on Saturday to me with a great many stories of what the bone-setter should say to her, and other business besides of her husband and Pridmore, but I would not meddle for making any difference with her and her neighbours. All I said was that I was very sorry I gave her that trouble, to be speaking of to her disparagement, for I held her a discrete person or I should not have come to her house in that condition. She tells me she heard out of Derbyshire that my cousin Barker is to be married to one of their country again, he hath a great estate, one Sir John Corston’s son. This is all the news here at present. The little ones present you with their duty by, dear heart, thy truly loving wife M Barker.

(DE 730/1/55)

The wife of Samuel Barker, Abel’s cousin, was a widow from Lancaster, E Wildbore (Wright 1684, Additions 33). Their home at South Luffenham was recorded in 1665 as having seven hearths, one of the two largest in the village. ‘Pridmore’ may be Hugh Pridmore, also of South Luffenham, where his house had just one hearth. The prospective marriage of a Miss Barker with the son of Sir John Corston does not, according to Wright, seem to have taken place.

From the noisy and probably smelly vicinity of the Smithfield pens, Abel Barker moved his London lodgings within a week to the ‘Flower de Luce [Fleur de Lys] and Crown over against St Clement’s Church door in the Strand’. During this stay in London, the occasion when he probably first heard of the possibility of purchasing land at Lyndon, Abel was able to make use of the new postal service to communicate with his family in Rutland. In 1662 the first Royal Mail was officially launched, with services out of London from a central post office, carried by post horses, post or public coaches, or carriers’ carts. According to Liza Picard (1997, 73), the service could take up to four days, with a charge on delivery of 2d per sheet up to 80 miles and 3d for longer distances. Mary’s reply to this address is dated 5th July 1661:

My dearest Heart.

I received your letters by the post and give you thanks for them. I thank God my children are a great deal better than they was when you went. The chin cough hath left them, but a dry cough it hath left on them all, which troubles me for fear of their lungs. I desire a paper of lozenges for them, and a pair of stockings for Thomasin and a pair of shoes...
for them both, some perfumes for the chambers and
one pair of long white Holland [fine linen] gloves
for myself. These things I desire if you have money,
if not I shall be content. Bell is as raggedy as a
beggar boy, I pray you let him have a suit. I am
sorry I hear nothing of your coming down, I doubt
you will want a shirt very much. I am in haste and
the hot weather makes me write so ill. I am to go
to my father’s to see some friends before they go into
Yorkshire this afternoon. We have not done sheep
cutting yet, John hath spoken to one to learn
[teach? or possibly learn from] the shepherd how to
cut [shear] the sheep. The children present you with
duty by, Dear Heart, thy truly loving wife
M Barker.

(DE 730/1/56)

In October 1661 Abel Barker was at home in Ham-
bleton, receiving news from Mary’s uncle, Geoffrey
Palmer, that Hugh Audley was ready to sell Lyndon
and would demand around £9,400, £500 more than
he had paid for the land. As newly appointed Attor-
ney General to Charles II and recently knighted, Sir
Geoffrey Palmer’s influential position must have of-
fered useful connections which his Rutland relation
would not be slow to exploit. The following letter of
Lyndon suggest the following year, 1662 [New Style,
being before the former start of the year on 25th
March]. Abel was now using the address of Sir Geoff-
rey Palmer’s ‘old chamber in the Temple Church-
yard’, where the following plaintive missive arrived:

My Dearest Heart,

I am glad to hear you have had your health so well,
pray God it may so continue. I did verily believe I
should have heard of your coming down this week,
I think it a long time since I see you. I hope it
is the troublesome business that detains you from me
and my children [and] you will make all things sure
at this [?] I hope, being you take so large a time.

I hope you will satisfy yourself in your stay, that
you have not made more haste than good speed, as
sometimes formerly you have said, which is the
reason I do not desire you to come down to us, as I
have done, for fear of a chiding, I would be loth
to have you angry at your return, as you was at your
departure, for that hath been trouble to me ever
since.

I must desire you, if you cannot come down the
next week, to send me some stuff to make me [a]
gown or let me know if I should send for one to
Hart. Truly this is all [in] pieces, so that I cannot
wear it another week. I was never in so ragged a
condition in all my life. [It] matter not how plain it
is, so I have something to keep me warm. I am in a
threadbare condition more than one. I desire
by all means a printed calico frock for Mal.

It is reported all over the country how that you
was sent for up by the Duke. My brother Alexander
came to me [on] purpose to know if it was so,
because he was so often asked about it. You may
think these things are no small trouble to me, being
they concern one so near to me as you are. I will
not trouble you nor myself any more with the
town’s business, let them do what they will, there is
enough of them with you by this time.

I sent you a letter by Mr Faulker, I hope you
have it. I hope God will give me patience in all
conditions and make me contented with what falls
out. I have this comfort so long as I have children,
though I am deprived of your company. I am not
without while I have them which is all I desire in
your absence, who is your truly loving wife,
M Barker.

[PS] Let us know if Lamples shall be ploughed
before you come home or not. Though I heard not a
word from you about Lyndon, yet I was told there
was but four hundred pound betwixt you and
Audley, Mr Cost said he would write to you if he
knew where you lay, to let you know there was one
of their four[?] would buy Lyndon if you would not,
one that hath many thousand pounds lately fallen to
him. This he said to my man Sam last Friday.
I thought good to let you know this. I hope you will
not forget me, in this business. I shall refer myself
to you. I pray God send you good success in all
your business, for you have many irons in the fire
at once.

(DE 730/1/58)

‘Hart’ was a tailor employed by Mary Barker, as
indicated in her letter of 17th May 1670. ‘Moll’, the
family name for Mary, the Barkers’ eldest daughter,
was then aged six. Her printed calico frock would, in
the seventeenth century, have been of cloth with welf
of Indian cotton and warp of linen (Cunnington et al
1960). ‘The Duke’ who summoned Abel Barker was
probably George Villiers, second Duke of Bucking-
ham, owner of Burley on the Hill and favourite of
Charles II, while ‘Mr Faulker’ may have been one of
the Fawkener family of Uppingham, with whom Abel
Barker had occasionally corresponded. ‘Lamples’
was a field in Hambleton parish, later divided into
Upper and Nether Lampleys. According to Cox
(1994, 187) a field named Lamp Layes was recorded in
1661, with later variant spellings, although it is not
identified on R Sterndale Bennett’s 1943 survey of
Rutland field names.
Presumably Abel Barker had personal reasons for not sharing with his wife news of the progressing plans to purchase Lyndon jointly with his brother Thomas. Mary, however, had concerns of her own. As the daughter of a younger branch of an ennobled family, she must have been keenly aware of the importance of adequate financial provision for her three daughters, since the heir to the estate would obviously be her stepson, Thomas. The following letter, addressed again to her husband at ‘Sir Geoffrey Palmer’s old chamber’, reveal Mary’s fears for future security, amid a profusion of more immediate domestic crises. Although undated, its postscript suggests a date of February 1662:

My Dearest Heart,

I received your letters by the post and return you thanks for the satisfaction you have given me therein. I hear you’re in a manner agreed about Lyndon, and that you’re like to buy it. I wonder I should never hear anything from you of it. I much desire to know [if] it be so. Not that I shall desire anything therein for myself, but desire you to have a care of my children. You know what is best to prefer daughters. If you put all into land, I desire you will take care how they shall be provided for out of that, if God should cut off you and I before they are of age. This is all I desire.

This day hath been so turbulent a wind that it hath done a great deal of hurt abroad, and us more than ever we had. All the rails are blown down in the court on both sides, and the out hovel down to the ground. The wagon is broke a [in] pieces that stood under it. The hay is blown all [out of] the hovel, and the thatch off the outhouses, and a great deal of hurt in the field. It is a great flood, it hath been the saddest weather for a day and a night that ever I knew in my life. I was forced to rise in the morning by day and take up my children and carry them into the kitchen to be dressed. The wind broke the windows and beat in the rain so that we could not stay above. I am not very well so that I cannot write any better.

I desire two frocks for the twins, of printed calico, and one for Mall, for the Spring is coming on and the other will be too hot. They are very necessary for them and cheap, so that I hope you will buy them. Thus in haste I remain your truly loving wife

M Barker.

[PS along side of letter] I draw you for my Valentine and choose you, I forgot to send you word in my last...

(De 730/1/58a)

After long Puritan years of austerity, the marking of Valentine’s Day, with other annual festivals, was revived at the Restoration. In the same year that Mary Barker belatedly selected her husband, Samuel Pepys wrote on February 14th: ‘I did this day purposely shun to be seen at Sir W. Batten’s, because I would not have his daughter to be my Valentine, as she was last year...’ (Pepys, i, 226).

While Mary Barker fretted about her children’s health and Abel with his brother Thomas negotiated for the Lyndon estate, others saw Abel Barker as an influential figure on the Rutland scene. Two letters survive in the Barker archives from Abraham Wright, Vicar of Oakham and father of the historian James Wright (VCH II, 10) who sent gifts of quinces and grapes from the ‘poor old Beadhouse of Oakham’ - the Hospital of St John and St Anne. Hugh Dacie, meanwhile, now appointed Sheriff of Rutland, wrote in 1661 to thank Abel Barker for advice in undertaking the role and for assistance to a mutual friend.

During the 1660s Abel Barker served as Justice of the Peace, and also as one of ‘His Majesty’s Commissioners for the money to be raised by a poll within the county of Rutland’, responsible for levying taxation subsidies in various years. His brother-in-law Andrew Noel was the officer responsible for the 1665 Hearth Tax registers (Bourne & Goode 1991, 45), in which some of those mentioned in the letters are to be found. The Barker correspondence contains many examples of warrants to chief constables of various parishes for the collection of taxes, with schedules of parish assessments and individual payments. Among the surviving letters is one from the Lords of the Treasury dated 1667, demanding of all Rutland’s Commissioners and Justices of the Peace more efficient collection of the Hearth Tax, which not surprisingly had proved unpopular. In the same year the Privy Council wrote to urge stricter enforcement by Rutland’s magistrates of the laws against ‘all persons making, or striving to make, converts to the Roman Catholic faith’ (HMC 1876, 404).

Before Mary Barker’s next letter to her husband was written, a significant change had taken place in the family fortunes. On 19th September 1665, having proved his loyalty and usefulness to the Stuart regime and his growing status in the county community, Abel Barker was created a Baronet, the lowest hereditary order. His coat of arms is described as ‘Party fessewise and nebuly sable and or three martlets countercoloured’ (VCH II, 75). The baronetcy survived only two generations, becoming extinct when Sir Abel Barker’s son Thomas died without issue in 1708 (Burke 1838, 37).
This welcome advancement must have been a considerable spur to Abel Barker and his brother Thomas in building suitable new homes on their recently purchased manor of Lyndon. The new Baronet looked forward to moving his family from the now outmoded farmhouse at Hambleton to the far grander Lyndon Hall, influenced by the impressive Thorpe Hall outside Peterborough, which had been built during the 1650s in the new classical style. The ten-year building programme, frequently delayed as Mary records in her letters, meant that it was not until 1677 that Sir Abel Barker and his Lady Mary were able to take up residence at Lyndon. Abel’s untitled brother, Thomas, probably had to be content with the slightly more modest ‘Top Hall’, completed at Lyndon a few years earlier. For a description of Lyndon Hall and Top Hall, see Pevsner (1984, 484f).

No Barker letters survive from the years 1665-66, which might have cast a personal light on the impact of her wardrobe: Mary was still concerned about the poor state of her wardrobe:

For Sir Abel Barker Baronet at Mr Pawlin’s, a shoemaker in the Strand between the Maypole and St Clement’s Church, London.

My Dearest Heart

I am very glad to hear you have my letters, I was much troubled at it. I would have you to make a black suit, by all means, for you want one [as] yours is quite out. It will serve you at other times as well as now.

I would not, if I could avoid it, meet the body of my uncle, by reason I have nothing handsome to go in at such a time. I believe we shall not be invited. I will do what you will have me, therefore consider what you think best, and let me know, and I will follow your directions.

Will’s sister Betty is extremely ill, some think she will die. It is all for John Bell, he hath quite [thrust?] her off for ever as I hear, he goes three times a week to Sue Sison.

Mr Hull hath been very sick, he is now something better. If he be well this morning, he is set forward with his daughter, who was here to see me last week, and a great deal of company, so that I am quite without wine or sweetmeats. Your brother was here yesterday and my brother [Andrew Noel] and his wife and other company. There is a great deal of talk at Exton of my uncle [Viscount Campden?] as my brother tells me, but I will not commit such things to paper, by [fear?] of miscarrying. Pray buy Mall and I our Indian gowns by all means. I leave to you wholly the putting me in mourning clothes [which] will be very troublesome to me this summer. A plain Farrendine gown and petticoat of the same is mourning with black knots, therefore if you please let my suit of knots be black with a pair of gloves and a [?] which is all at present from her that is your truly loving wife,

M Barker. Hambleton, May 16.

[No year given, but probably 1670]

[PS along side of page] Pray excuse me for the man is in haste and I cannot write well at this time.

(My Dearest Heart)

Mary Barker’s uncle was presumably Sir Geoffrey Palmer, who died in 1670. The John Bell probably referred to was listed in the 1665 Hearth Tax as owning one hearth at Hambleton, although his rejected and preferred ladies cannot be identified! Richard Hull, appointed Rector of Lyndon by Abel and Thomas Barker in 1662, died during 1670. Longden (1940, vii, 115 and 151) admits some confusion between a Richard Hall, Rector of Lyndon, and Richard Hull, Rector of Pilton, who also died in 1670. The Farrendine gown which Mary intended to wear as mourning for her uncle was a cloth of silk and wool. The ‘suit of knots’ to decorate it was a set of ribbon bows applied to a gown or sometimes worn on the head (Cunnington et al 1960). Mary was anxious to know the appropriate and fashionable mourning style of the time, since in a subsequent letter to the same address, dated 17th May 1670, she added further details to the requested purchases. It is interesting that, following Abel’s obvious reluctance to share details of the purchase of Lyndon with his wife, her letters appear solely concerned with domestic and traditionally feminine interests:

My Dearest Heart

My brother [Andrew Noel being sent for up by [?] to wait on the corpse down, I take this opportunity to desire you, to let my gown be a plain black Farrendine gown and petticcoat, not French, but such as I had before, and that my suit of knots may be black satin with a peak, and a pair of sad coloured gloves, and a twisted roll for my head laced with black satin ... which is the fashion for mourning this summer. My Lady Mackworth [of Empingham and Normanton] told me so, the Ladies at Whissendine [the Sherrard family] are so [?] and Miss Mackit told me the like, last Sunday, who came on purpose to let me know that the gentleman her son was apprentice with did work for the young Duchess of Albemarle and two other duchesses, and that he is a very fashionable tailor. His name is Tryder, you know where he lives, not far from Mr
Afram. You may if you please inquire of him, but not make wares of him, this time, for he cannot fit me by that measure, so well as Hart's man can because he hath seen me and hath my measure already. Hart makes my cousin Sherwood's niece Miss Denton's clothes, as well as anybody, and everybody that sees them commends them, and if he will he may do so by mine. We pay as well as anyone, pray give him a charge to do them well.

When I was at Lyndon at the christening, Parson Hull, though he was but in a rotten condition, did vant and talk at a great rate, and bade me send to you to present him again, if he did forget, his old living at Lyndon, and that he might have a clerk, and things handsome in the church, but you must mend their wages[?] he said, for none would do it for that. I was sent for home, as soon as the child was christened, to my Lady Mackworth and other company. Your brother told me last Sunday what he said to Miss Fawkener, and that he talked of him and you to her, and a great deal of simple stuff. I should not have troubled you with this, but that you may know how to carry it to him, if you see him, for I think he is set forward. Robin Closes [Robert Close] was buried yesterday. Nothing more but the presentation of your children's duty to you by her that is, Dear Heart, thy truly loving wife

M Barker

[PS along side of page] Pray buy your goddaughter Miss Pen something, a toy or a bauble that is pretty.

(DE 730/1/73)

Mr Hull's desire for a clerk is explained by the notice of Robert Close's burial in the Lyndon parish register (DE 1938/1), describing him as 'the parish clerk of Lyndon'. This barely decipherable entry appears to be the last in Richard Hull's hand, since the next item reads 'Richard Hull Rector of this parish of Lyndon departed this life October 28th [1670] buried 29th'. The christening performed by the minister, 'in a rotten condition', eludes identification. Mary Barker's urgent concern for suitable mourning clothes for her husband and especially herself was fascinatingly answered by a surviving shopping account. Among Abel's hand-written papers is a list, with prices, of several dozen items 'Bought at London in May [1670]'. Furniture was included, although Lyndon Hall had not been completed at this date. £40 was spent on a bed, including 'sky colour sarsnet' for lining the curtains and a bedstead with sackcloth bottom, cords and curtain rods. Among the 'turned chairs', pincushions and powder boxes, sixpence was spent on a 'close stool' [enclosed chamberpot]. 'For housekeeping' were listed items of wine and 'A box of sweetmeats'. Among the many clothing items purchased were 5½ yards of black Spanish cloth at £1 per yard, crepe for a hatband and 'a walking staff' for Sir Abel, while Lady Mary received 13½ yards of black Farrendine for £5, and Hart was to make her a 'cordrobe' with busk [stiffened corset] and low pocket for £1 5s. Her request for a suit of knots and roll for her hair was met, along with a 'lemon colour printed sarsnet Indian gown', 'whole suit of plain lawn linen with Holland sleeves', shoes and two pairs of 'sad and white gloves'. The eldest daughter, Mary, received a 'cordrobe' made by Hart of 'sad colour' striped Tabby [thick taffetta], a sky-coloured Indian gown and a 'suit of coloured knots with silver'. The twins, Thomasin and Elizabeth, had 'Tiffany linen' suits, sky-coloured knots and two Bibles. Thomas, the son and heir, on this occasion received only a hat with its box and a pair of Holland sleeves and cuffs.

Two interesting items are included on this revealing list: a silver bowl and beaker were bought for Lady Campden and engraved with her arms, while £1 was paid for 'Ellis['] opinion about executor[?]' of Sir G.P. [Geoffrey Palmer]. Even while earnestly meeting his wife and daughters' demands for fashionable items, Sir Abel Barker, as always, was ready to cultivate and improve his own material interests. However, further details of this and other concerns of Sir Abel's later life elude us, since the letterbook containing copies of letters sent by Abel Barker since 1642 ends with a note to his brother in 1665, requesting Thomas to pay the rent for lands in Gunthorpe to the infant William Ducie.

On 8th December 1670 Sir Abel Barker of Hambleton, Baronet, drew up his will. His body was to be buried at Hambleton 'in decent manner but without any funeral solemnity'. In recompense for her marriage jointure, Mary was to receive various closes and meadows including Wingbridge Close and the adjacent Middle Close in the parish of Lyndon. Cox (1994) identifies both these fields: Wingbridge Close was 'in the extreme SW corner of the parish... [where] a small bridge crosses the River Chater into Wing parish'. The widow would receive a share of the jewels, plate and 'household stuff' and a home in Uppingham. Lady Mary Barker would be able to live in style, with her husband's coach and 'two of my
best horses'. The heir, Thomas, was to receive 'my Saddle Mare', most of the lands and household property. His three half-sisters would each receive fifteen hundred pounds at the age of 21 or on their marriage. Until this time, for their maintenance, £20 a year would be increased to £30 at the age of 16. The 'poor of Hambleton' and 'poor of Lyndon' would benefit from a bequest of £5 to each. Abel's brother and executor, Thomas Barker, would inherit lands in Lincolnshire and be granted certain lands in Lyndon for a period of thirty years, after which they would return to his nephew's inheritance.

During the period 1665-75, Sir Abel must have been greatly preoccupied with the planning and building of Lyndon Hall, concerning which only fragmentary accounts survive in the family archives. It appears that his wife continued to be excluded from involvement with the progress of her new home. A letter of June 1672 is more concerned with local gossip and social activities, with the request that: 'Mall desires you to buy her a pair of pendants with wires to go over her ears of the newest fashion'. By June of 1673, Sir Abel must have expressed concern about the slow progress in completing his grand new house at Lyndon. In a month of hostile weather, Mary was unable to reassure him. On 22nd June she wrote (fig. 3) to:

Sir Abel Barker Baronet at Mrs Donathy's house over against the sign of the Black Raven in Old Southampton Buildings:

My Dearest Heart

I was in great perplexity when the carrier came, and had no letter for me. I shall not be well again this day or two. I have received your letter from Mr Green's house an hour after the carrier boy was come. Truly I am in so great a disorder I can hardly write. I am sorry you cannot come down so soon as you intended. Your building goes not on in the least, for it is the saddest weather that ever was known of man for this time of the year. The carpenters have done what they can do within doors. Mr Sturgess tells me, and all the masons was constrained to go away. Suttons stayed the longest, but John said they did more hurt than good.

Here hath been such a flood in Tween Brooks as was never seen before. All your meadows are flooded everywhere.

I desire to know if Mr Hudson be found, for I am in great want of a gown, and would have those things I sent for all bought, if possible.

All your corn is threshed out, and the old all sold. I would know if you will sell any of that. It rises very much, it was seven groats a strike [measure of grain] of [on] Friday. There is a great many people desire to buy, but I tell them I cannot let them have it so without your order. John washed but half his sheep, the rain beat them out. He must wash them again, he saith. The weather is so uncertain he can do nothing [as] to washing your sheep yet. On Thursday last John Bell called at break [of] day for Sam and two or three more, to help him to
get out all his cattle to save them from drowning, all the dykes meet.

Pray God send you a good journey down, you will find dirt enough. The children present you with their duty by, Dear Heart, thy truly loving wife

M Barker.

(DE 730/1, unnumbered letter)

Abel Barker’s architect was the well-known John Sturges, who had connections with Chatsworth House, Belton House and Milton Park (Mayhew 1999). However the June weather proved unseasonal for building work. The location of the aptly-named flooded ‘Tween Brooks’ can be seen on R Sterndale Bennett’s 1943 survey of Rutland field names (in Rutland County Museum), filling a large triangular area between two converging tributaries of the River Gwash.

Two years later, on 2nd November 1675, we learn that Mary’s stepson, the young heir Thomas, now aged 18, was assuming greater responsibilities on the estate in his father’s absence, while Mary reported on the various activities of employees, several of whom can be identified from the Hearth Tax (Bourne & Goode 1991):

For Sir Abel Barker, Baronet, at Mr Slaughter’s, a Stationer over against Sergeant’s Inn in Chancery Lane.

My Dearest Heart

John Musson hath received your money last Wednesday, and not before. My son did sell ten sheep at 19 shillings a piece to Ned Ward, I have given an account to you. I do not know whether my brother Barker comes to town or not...

My daughters present their duty to you and desire you not to forget the muffe and laced hood for them. We are all mighty ill of the cold. I desire a few oranges and lemons, and the children a roll of gooocolet [chocolate].

Douke hath been down at [?] and they are all here again now. Chapman hath been at home 2 days and Douke did intend to be away a week at Presons[?] and Mrs Garners to thatch, but the snow[?] hath prevented him and they are all threshing today, which is all at present from her that is Dear Heart thy truly loving wife

M Barker

(DE 730/1, unnumbered letter)

John Musson, Abel Barker’s agent over many years, was taxed on two single-hearth houses at Hambleton. However, the single-hearth houses of both Richard Douke and John Chapman were not chargeable in 1665.

Mary’s final letter in this fascinating collection is dated 25th November 1675 and written to Sir Abel who had presumably stayed throughout the month at the same London address.

My Dearest Heart,

I never knew the least word, that my brother Barker intended for London. You may wonder I did not write to you of his coming to town, as you desired in your letters. Truly I was never acquainted with it.

Henry Green hath taken all away as he should. I showed my son your letter of what you desired, and he said he did look to your grounds, and after the shepherds.

I shall be glad to see you, and hope when your business is at an end, you will be for the country again. We all are very much troubled with colds, and most people in the town [village], and other towns everywhere.

My cousin Betty Green saith that muffe are a great deal cheaper in Wallbrook, at Farr’s shops, than in the Exchange, which, with the presentation of your children’s duty, is all from her that is, Dear Heart, thy truly loving wife

M Barker.

(DE 730/1/76)

Henry and Betty Green were probably family members of Abel’s sister Mary, who married a Greene of Rolleston, Leicestershire (Wright 1684, Additions 33). The New Exchange had recently been built in the Strand, with two long double galleries of rich shops, mainly drapers and mercers (Picard 1997, 138), but its prices were perceived to be excessive.

No further letters survive to record the family’s move to Lyndon Hall (fig. 4), which took place around 1677. Perhaps, finally, Mary might have felt confident that they had achieved a desired level of social prominence, so that she and her daughters could move in noble circles fashionably dressed and living in appropriate grandeur. The house was well furnished and protected: in 1677 Sir Abel purchased 24 yards of ‘printed Kidderminster’ for £2, as well as a ‘suit of 12 locks, 12 staples and 2 master keys’ for £3 10s. A small manuscript volume of accounts covering this period shows that Lady Mary received an allowance of £200 per annum for housekeeping, but still spent no more than £50 yearly on clothes for herself and her three daughters. The women’s horizons remained restricted to Rutland, while for Sir Abel and his son a twenty-day trip to London cost £8, covering coach, horses and lodgings.

The completion of Lyndon Hall and his family’s installation in that gem of elegant style marked the
Letters of Mary Barker

An Inventory of all Goods chattels & Credit of Sir Abel Barker Late of London in the County of Suffolk Baronet deceased, proved the 20th day of September 1679, by Toby Hulpeby the eldest Son of Sir Thomas Birkett the younger Gent his eldest son.

Fig. 5. The inventory post mortem of Sir Abel Barker, 30th September 1679 (courtesy of ROLLR: DE 730/1(131)/81)
summit of Abel Barker’s hard won rise to fortune and social prominence. The county confirmed his leading position with the election of Sir Abel Barker and Philip Sherard as the two Knights of the Shire in 1678. Two newsletters dated 1678-9 giving accounts of events in Parliament (DE 730/1/77; HMC 1876, 398) provide evidence that Sir Abel kept in touch with national affairs even while at home in Rutland.

Sadly, Sir Abel’s enjoyment of his imposing new home and brief role on the national stage was short-lived. He died in 1679, aged 61, to be buried on 2nd September ‘according to the Act for burying in woollen’ (Lyndon parish register). His son Thomas, who remained unmarried, inherited the baronetcy, which died with him in 1708. Sir Abel Barker’s replacement as MP for that Parliament was Sir Thomas Mackworth (Wright 1684, Additions xvi).

Lady Mary Barker’s three daughters all married well. The eldest, Mary, married Christopher Dighton and spent her last years at Lyndon where she was buried in 1685. Thomasin’s husband, Colonel Parsons, wrote a letter to her family in December 1697 describing the pomp with which she had been buried in St Margaret’s Church, Westminster. Lady Mary herself disappears from the face of history with Sir Abel Barker’s death. She may have lived on at Lyndon Hall, enjoying the comfort and pleasures which her husband worked so hard to provide, and which on her stepson’s death without issue in 1708 passed to the descendants of Samuel Barker, the cousin from South Luffenham.

A final record of the sum of Sir Abel Barker’s material achievement is provided by the inventory taken on 30th September 1679, shortly after his death, by ‘Toby Hippisley the elder & Tobias Hippisley the younger Gent’ (DE 730/1/131/81; fig. 5). In 1665 ‘Mr Tobias Hippesly’, presumably the father, had possessed a substantial house of seven hearths at Hambleton, second in size only to the Old Hall. At Lyndon Hall, the inventory lists thirteen separate chambers for family members and their servants, as well as many other rooms including Gallery, Great Parlour, Withdrawing Room, Kitchen, Pastry Scullery, Pantry and Brewhouse. There were plate and jewels worth £120, ‘Household stuff at Hambleton’ worth £23, as well as two coaches, many horses, sheep and other farm animals and crops. Sir Abel was owed £330 in unclaimed debts, giving the total value of his ‘Goods, chattels and credits’ as £3,110. It was an impressive record of the rewards of merit, rather than inheritance. From dealing in land and sheep, cultivating those who counted and emulating the Vicar of Bray in those turbulent times, Sir Abel Barker ensured that Lyndon Hall, with its resident families of Barker and Conant, continued to play a significant part in the subsequent history of Rutland.

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‘A certain Mr. Nouelle…’: a Rutland association for the musician Anton Kammel

MICHAELA FREEMANOVÁ

In the first years of his stay in England between 1765-1784, the Bohemian violinist Antonín (Anthony John) Kammel acquired a number of patrons in London high society: the family of the Earl of Gainsborough, namely his daughter Lady Lucy Mann and her husband Horatio Mann, a nephew of Horace Mann (the British Envoy to Florence) played a very important role in his life around the years 1766-1767. During this time, Kammel visited Stamford and Cottesmore, and travelled in the company of a member of the Noel family; he described his impressions in his letters to Bohemia to his employer, Count Waldstein.

In early 1765, the Bohemian musician Anton Kammel (1730-1784) came to England on a non-artistic mission, as an agent trying to sell wood for ship’s masts to the British Admiralty. The trees came from the Bohemian estates of his employer, Count Vincent Ferrerus Waldstein (the owner of the large Mnichovo Hradistě estate in north-east Bohemia, a music lover and an important supporter of the arts). This venture, which also involved Johann Christian Bach, finished disastrously – the trees, badly cut in Hamburg, were, it seems, finally sold for building timber. Nothing, it appears, ever came out of Kammel’s own trading ideas, concerning, for example, sales of Bohemian semi-precious stones to England.

Kammel was born in Běleč, Bohemia, on 21st April 1730. He learned to play the violin under the great composer, violinist and teacher Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770). Soon after his arrival in England, early in the reign of George III, Kammel established himself successfully in London as a sought-after violinist, music teacher and composer, and also appeared in fashionable places like Bath, Blandford, Newbury and Salisbury. In the end, he remained in England up to his death – even if in his letters to Count Waldstein he often expressed a wish to return to Bohemia and live modestly on the Waldstein estates. After changing his address several times, he bought a house in Half-Moon Street, Piccadilly, which he was able to keep even though he lost a great portion of his savings in the 1770s, first through Alexander Fordyce’s banking affair and later in an American land-buying scheme in which Sir William Young was involved.

Kammel’s letters to Count Waldstein, written in a mixture of German, Italian, Latin, Czech, and later also English, are highly interesting documents of England’s musical and social life in the 1760s and 1770s. Introduced to the court by Johann Christian Bach, Kammel never rose to the status of a Royal household musician. One of the obstacles might have been the fact that he was, and remained, a Roman Catholic. Nevertheless, over the years, he acquired a number of high society patrons, some of whom were themselves Catholic. Some of his patrons (‘Milor Malton’, ‘Milor Hamilton’, ‘Miss Chudley’, or the Austrian Ambassador to London, Count Sailern) he seemingly knew through Count Waldstein, who provided him with their addresses and letters of recommendation. Later, as can be seen from his letters and the dedications of his compositions, he acquired powerful supporters for himself. These included George Pitt (Lord Rivers), Lord ‘Thenham’, Sir William Young (mentioned above), the Earl of Aylesford, the Duke of Dorset, the Duke of Devonshire, Earl Spencer, Thomas Anson MP and others. Among the most important supporters of Kammel in the 1760s were members of the Mann family – Horatio Mann (a son of Galfridus [Geoffrey] Mann, the younger brother of the British Envoy to Florence, Sir Horace Mann, Bt) and his wife, Lady Lucy Mann, the third daughter of Baptist Noel, 4th Earl of Gainsborough, who owned the neighbouring Rutland manors of Exton and Cottesmore.

Lady Mann’s musical interest no doubt arose from her artistic upbringing at Exton Hall, the family seat. Her father in particular was a very active and cultured man, and in the 1740s and 1750s there were many occasions when the family indulged in dramatic, literary, theatrical and musical events at Exton. It has recently been pointed out that Handel visited twice in the 1740s, and that amongst the Noel family papers bills for the purchase of sheet music by Handel and Corelli, for example, and for
Music also made him anxious:

The Manns appear in Kammel’s correspondence for the first time in the summer of 1766, in his letter from Bourne Place, a Queen Anne mansion at Bishopsbourne, in Kent, a few miles south-east of Canterbury. The estate is referred to in Leopold Mozart’s travel diaries from 25th-30th July 1765 as follows:

Zu Canterbury die hauptkirch, und von Canterbury sind wir 4 meil auf die country to Mr: Man at Burn plas gegangen, dieses war ein sehr schönes Landgut.

[In Canterbury the main church, and from Canterbury we went four miles to the country, to Mr Man at Burn Plas, this was a very beautiful estate].

Kammel’s letter shows that he was recovering from a three-month illness at the Mann’s:

Bournplase, the 5th of July 1766

Your Excellency, my most gracious Lord and Father!

I received with greatest pleasure your dearest letter here in the country. I stay already the 4th week at a certain Horatio Mann. His uncle is the English Envoy to Florence. This man is very rich, has more than one hundred thousand gulden of yearly income. He likes me very much; and he is my best friend that I have here in England. He is now just 1 year married, his wife is an extraordinary beauty, loves music and puts up with me very well. In brief, all the house gives me all veneration and friendship. [...] For 3 months I felt very miserable. My illness started in early March and lasted almost to early June; it consisted of extraordinary depression, and started by much thinking and anxiety, to which the well-known mast-trees contributed very much. But now, praised and thanked be the Lord, my health is so much better, and I hope to keep in it...

Later in this letter, Kammel described to Count Waldstein his lasting doubts concerning the wood trading, even if he believed that if the Count would come to England he would not recognise in him any more a musician, but an established tradesman. Music also made him anxious:

...I have so much trouble with music and other things, and I must struggle terribly against the other virtuosos; nevertheless, I have done for German and Czech virtuosity so much honour, as nobody else here in England was able to do; the Englishmen say that I am the saviour of all Bohemian and German virtuosi; but, as Giardinelli already won a lot, I can’t beat him, because he also has many good friends, and to tell the truth, he plays very well; I made much money here already through my old violin, [and] also lost a lot of it, as I must pay for everything very dearly...

At the end of his letter he returns to the Manns once again:

...The whole Mann family was publicly toasting the health of Your Excellency. The whole family, Esq Taylor, Mr Sole [and] George Pitt are, unknown to you, sending their best regards. Many times I had to describe [to them] Your Excellency and the whole family estate, together with all benefits, [which] amazed everybody. The woods, the high and low hunting possibilities, the width and length of the estate...

In the autumn of 1766 Kammel’s health improved. He travelled to Ireland (or was it Scotland? – see the date-line of the letter, quoted below), seemingly in the company of a member of the Noel family, whose identity remains unrevealed. Perhaps a Rutland historian can suggest who he was. Kammel was full of optimism and cheerfully looked forward to the future – also because of the prospect of marrying into a rich family.

Edenbourg in Irland [sic], October 20th, 1766

Your Excellency, my most gracious Lord and Father!

Already it is the 8th week, since I, with a certain Mr. Nouelle who is a great lover of Music, am looking at [various] countries. Our trip and our identity, wherever we come, is incognito. I attended here even the greatest assemblies. My name is Sig Marchese Carmellino. In my life I haven’t seen so beautiful women as here in Irland, day after day I am more and more in love. My beauty from London, which I should marry, writes me diligently, so that I would not forget her, she is beautiful and chaste, she is 70 or 80 000 gulden worth, but she does not want to leave England. In the coming winter I shall already persuade her and make her to come with me to Bohemia. Otherwise my health is well and all my plans too. [...] In 7 or 8 days I shall return from here to England, to go with the Cavalier Mann for a woodland snipe [hunting], which I had to promise 2 months ago. Believe me, Y[our] E[xcellency], England is the only place in the world to find freedom [and] money. The generosity and good will of an Englishman could not be described. But, Y[our] E[xcellency] should not imagine that I would like to stay here for good. In the next year, perhaps, I shall have the honour to kiss Your Excellency’s hand, here in London or surely in Mnichovo Hradiste

Music still remained his greatest pleasure:

...Concerning music, I find more and more
beautiful thoughts in my composing, not long ago I composed a whole Pantomime, which begins with a Symphony, followed by 12 Andantes and 12 Allegros including a concluding allegro. I assure Your Excellency that through this Pantomime I amazed everybody, all the Ladies and Lords and Gentlemen say that they haven't heard anything similar in their lives. 52 solos for the Violin, which, to tell the truth, are very beautiful, and 6 for the Viola da gamba, which start in a very decorative way...

The later part of the letter shows that Kammel again wished to sort out the problems around the Waldstein masts. He was still trying hard the following year, but growing tired of people who wanted to make their own profit at the Count's expense. In early 1767 he visited Cottesmore in Rutland and also took part in a public concert in Stamford, probably at the Assembly Rooms — although it has not been possible to establish the exact date of the concert or where it was held:

Cotesmore, January 1767

Monsieur, Your Excellency. My most gracious Lord, Lord and most beloved Father,

...From day to day I am gaining more friends here; and I am doing so well that I cannot describe it enough to Your Excellency. I am missing neither friends nor money, everything goes according to my wishes and pleasure. I am highly esteemed, everybody likes me. I believe that the reason for it is my good upbringing and suitable ways of living...

Lady Lucy Mann, who is a charming Lady, and Mr. Mann, who has the best mind in the world, and is my best friend, are sending their regards to Your Excellency. Their only wish is to meet Your Excellency. Last Saturday I played in Stamford, which is a small town, for example as Jungbuntzlau, 12 solos in a public concert. The clapping was such as I never had in my life; [there was] Mann himself, young and old ladies and Misses, all of them in love, [and] I made them even more loving through my old violin, and [I myself] was the second day very much in love with one young lady...

Mixing with high society had some other advantages:

I list here to Your Excellency, what I have shot this year here in England: 212 quails, 58 hares, 178 snipes, 69 crows, 287 rabbits...

The Manns are not mentioned in Kammel's later correspondence with Count Waldstein. There is, however, one more document to be mentioned. In his first letter from England, written on 29th March 1765, Kammel asked Count Waldstein (together with a request for financial support before he would be able to start trading on the Count's behalf), if he would consent to Kammel's Op. I being dedicated to him:

Write to me, Your Excellency, whether I could dare to dedicate my Trio to my most honourable Lord, or to somebody else. [The printing] would cost approximately 70 Ducats here. But it would make the name of Your Excellency well known in the world, and I feel it my first worldly duty to dedicate it to Your Excellency.

In fact Kammel's first works, issued in 1766 in England by John Welcker, his main publisher then, were Sei Trii, Di Violino e Basso, Composti da Antonio Kammell; dedicati Alla Ilma Sig[29] Lady Lucy Mann. Opera Prima (fig. 1). Only three years later, in 1769, appeared A Second Sett of six SONATAS for two Violins & a Bass Humbly Dedicated To his Excellency Count Vincent of Waldstein BY Antonio Kammell, Opera Terza.

The text of the handwritten dedication of the Six Trios for Violin and Basso Op.1 shows Kammel's deep appreciation for Lady Lucy Mann's support, extremely important for a foreigner who was trying to find his place in London society:

I am very much in love with one young lady...

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Notes

1. Kammel’s letters were discovered by the Czech musicologist Eva Mikanová, in the Waldstein family papers surviving at the Waldstein family stately home in Mnichovo Hradiště (Münchengratz), East Bohemia. Today, they are housed in the Regional State Archives, Prague. The relevant documents concerning Kammel’s stay in Britain were researched by Michaela Freemanová, using contemporary documents and publications (newspapers, directories, memoirs, etc.), as well as the available biographical and music dictionaries and other relevant materials. Her research was considerably helped by a number of mainly British colleagues, institutions and other supporters among which, for the purpose of this article, should especially be mentioned Viscountess Campden (Exton Park, Oakham), T H McK Clough, lately
Curator of the Rutland County Museum (Oakham), and the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland (Wigston Magna). Some earlier research into Kammel’s life had been carried out by Tomislav Volek and Zdeňka Pilková (see n.10).

2. Alexander Fordyce’s banking speculations led to a crisis in the British financial market in 1772. Sir William Young, 1st Baronet, was the Governor of Dominica in the West Indies, but in 1773 he resigned and returned home. In his papers in the Public Record Office, Kew (shelf-marks C.O.71/4; C.O. 72/1; C.O.72/8; C.O.76/9) there is no record of Kammel having been an owner of land in America.

3. The information on Kammel not being a Royal household musician, as previously thought, was supplied by the Royal Archives, Windsor Castle. None of the period London directories mention Kammel as a Royal musician; he appears as such only in later sources, such as the music dictionaries – for example Gerber’s, Choron’s, Dlabacz’s, Sainsbury’s, Féti’s or Eitter’s.

4. ‘Milor Malton’ was almost certainly Charles Watson-Wentworth, related to the Watson family of Rockingham, Northamptonshire; his mother was Mary, daughter of Daniel Finch, Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, of Burley on the Hill – another Rutland connection; CW-W was created Baron and then Earl of Malton in 1750; as Marquis of Rockingham he became First Lord of the Treasury in 1765-66 (Dictionary of National Biography). ‘Milor Hamilton’ could have been the 7th Duke of Hamilton, who succeeded to the title in 1761 but died in 1769. ‘Miss Chudley’ was probably the scandalous Elizabeth Chudleigh, who married the 3rd Earl of Bristol in 1740 and then, notoriously, engaged in a bigamous marriage with the Duke of Kingston in 1769, being known thereafter as the Duchess of Kingston (Dictionary of National Biography). The Austrian Ambassador, Count Sailern, of Gerber’s, Choron’s, Dlabacz’s, Sainsbury’s, Féti’s or Eitter’s.

5. George Pitt was created Baron Rivers in 1776; he was evidently a musical man, since Horace Walpole mentions him thus in a letter of 20th July 1761: ‘The new Queen is very musical. George Pitt has asked to be her Majesty’s grand harper’ (Letters, ed Paget Toynbee, vol V, 82, cited by G E C[okayne], Complete Peerage). Lord ’Thenham’ has not been identified. Heneage Finch, 3rd Earl of Aylesford, who died in 1777, had strong Rutland family connections: he married his cousin Charlotte Finch, granddaughter of Daniel Finch, 7th Earl of Winchelsea, of Burley-on-the-Hill. The Duke of Dorset may have been Charles, 2nd Duke (1765-69), while the Duke of Devonshire will have been William, 5th Duke (1764-1811). The 1st Viscount Spencer (1761) was created Earl in 1765. Thomas Anson, MP for Lichfield and the elder brother of Admiral Lord George Anson, bequeathed to Kammel ‘an annuity of fifty pounds a year’ for his lifetime (cf. Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Wills and Administrations, Public Record Office, Kew, PROB 10/2611 – the original will).

6. Horatio and Lucy Mann were married on 13th April 1765. Although they were at Bourne Place when Kammel stayed there, the main family seat of the Manns was at Linton, south of Maidstone, Kent. Horatio eventually succeeded to the baronetcy but not until 1786, eight years after Lucy’s death in 1778; see C. O.72/8; C.O. 76/9) the information on the Mann and Noel family relations I owe to T H McK Clough; see also J Clark, Exton and the Noel family, Rutland Record 19 (1999) 382-99, which describes the family papers held in the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland.


8. The Italian violinist Felice Giardini (1716-96) flourished in England from 1750-84 and in the early 1790s.

9 ‘Esq Taylor’ was an unidentified supporter of Kammel, described by him as a baron and a rich landowner. Mr Sole was probably John Cochaime Sole, Esq, a dedicatee of Kammel’s Six trios for two Violins and a Violoncello With a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord, Op. 16, published in London by John Preston in 1780. There is no mention of Kammel giving a concert in Edinburgh in the local 1766 periodicals (thanks for help go to Irene G Danks from the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh), but no ‘Edenbourg’ has been identified in Ireland. Kammel’s marriage plans changed several times; in 1768 he married Ann Edicatt – who was not rich (cf. No. 1392, in: A Register-Book for Marriages in all Parish Churches and Chapels 1760-1768, in the Greater London Record Office, London, and Zdeňka Pilková’s Kammel article in the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, London 1980, vol. 9, 787-8).


11. The Pantomime mentioned by Kammel is probably identical with A third sett of trios or Ballo consisting of two Acts with a short introductory Overture to each Act and a collection of Airs &c. Compos’d by Antonio Kammell, published by John Welcker in 1774 (British Library, g.270.v.(2)).

12. Mladá Boleslav, East Bohemia (near to Mníchovo Hradiště), in Kammel’s time an administrative centre for Boleslav County.

13. Both sets of violin sonatas are to be found in the British Library, Op. 1 under the shelf-mark g.242.(12.), Op. 3 under the shelf-mark g.222.h.(1.). The extract from Kammel’s Op. 1 is published by kind permission of the British Library.
Typhoid broke out in Uppingham School three times during 1875-76. Its Headmaster, Edward Thring, blamed a complacent Town Sanitary Committee; the Committee and its zealous Medical Officer of Health claimed that the School itself was at fault. Both sides appealed to the Local Government Board in London.

Introduction

It was a great honour to be asked to give the Bryan Matthews memorial lecture for 2002. Bryan entered the School as a boy in 1930, and apart from five years away at Oxford he worked devotedly, in it and for it, until his death early in 1987 (Waites 1988, 282).

From Entrance Scholar in 1930 to Librarian and Archivist in his final years, and Acting Headmaster in 1975, his career spanned that period when more and more staff became narrow specialists in just one subject. A true polymath, he bucked that trend and taught no fewer than ten, many to a high level. He pioneered the development of Geography and Geology, and his General Studies courses in Art Appreciation played to packed classrooms. He also ran the Uppingham Association for 42 of those years, creating a bond between the School and its former pupils which is the envy of many of us who now work in schools elsewhere.

That he was a formidable local historian was demonstrated in his book about the School’s first 400 years, By God’s Grace (1984), and in his Book of Rutland (1978). He was a founder member of the Rutland Record Society, its first Honorary Secretary and later Vice-President, and a committee member of the Rutland Historic Churches Preservation Trust.

I myself taught at Uppingham from 1971 to 1989, and there have been many times in compiling this account when I have wished that I could consult him. He was generous with both his time and advice over my researches into the great typhoid outbreak of 1875-77. Browsing in the School library one afternoon in 1975, I came across a little volume entitled Uppingham by the Sea (1878), written by John Skrine (one of Thring’s staff) and describing events of which I was only dimly aware. A centenary was in the offing – of the School’s epic migration to Borth. With a lot of encouragement from both Bryan himself and Geoff Frowde (as well as many cups of tea brewed by Nesta Matthews as we discussed it all around Bryan’s dining table at their house in Lyddington), I spent the best part of a year finding out about it. But (as we shall see) I think it remains perhaps a job only three-quarters done – so far, at least.

I attempt three things here. First I give an account of what we discovered in the 1970s, primarily about the School. The second part is concerned more with work I have done since then on the Town’s role, and why I now think that we produced a rather partial account. Then briefly I suggest some further lines of investigation which still need to be done. I am very conscious of omitting quantities of detail, and that there will be many whose knowledge of Uppingham on the ground is much greater than mine.

Uppingham in the early 1870s

Uppingham in 1875 was a town of 2,600 people, roughly twice its population at the start of the century. A limited sewerage system had been laid along the High Street and North Street in 1858, and there were major additions to the south and west in 1872. About three-quarters of the dwellings still relied on cesspools; few had internal water closets of any sort. Nearly all the inhabitants relied for their water supply on wells serving individual properties.

Like many small towns (and larger cities too), population pressure had made public health arrangements inadequate for the new demands on them, especially in years of exceptional weather. 1875 was a year of very unusual weather: sharp frosts at the beginning and end of the year; dramatic rains (over eight times the normal amount) and flooding in June and October. The town was a sea of mud.

Frosts would have caused cracked drains and pits; mud would have blocked up drain ventilators unless they were regularly inspected and cleared. The School Magazine, describing a football match on 9th October, speaks of ‘the well-known malaria called
the churchyard smell, which must be a perpetual reproach to all anti-cremationists and which has thoroughly pervaded the atmosphere of the valley’ (Uppingham School Magazine, 1875).

In rural Victorian England there were not many planning controls. For example, material from the Lower School cesspits (now the Lodge, on Stockerston Road) was pumped out and used on the celery beds in the garden as fertiliser. The garden drained into the stream, which then flowed on down the valley, becoming polluted successively by further effluent, oozings from the old gas works, ‘the drainings from manure heaps, a cowshed, a pigsty, a stable and other accumulation of filth’, plus cesspit overflow and drainage from the cemetery, before becoming the feeder of ‘the bathing place and swimming pond’ and then ‘passing to the South of Bisbrooke where [says the report writer] I am informed it is used for brewing purposes...’ (Haviland 1876).

There is little in the Stamford Mercury at the start of that year to indicate great drama; the weekly paragraph of news is mostly taken up with news of the Hunt, entertainments and a temperance lecture to come. There were however warnings about drainage deficiencies in a report from a Mr Pidcock in 1872 (Local Government Board papers MH12 – Public Record Office), and reports of scarlet fever in the Town in early 1875 – including contamination of the water supply from a number of wells. This caused a leading scientist of the day, Mr Thudicum, to do some detailed analysis – and Edward Thring, on behalf of the School, to call for improvements (LGB papers MH12). But little was done.

If the Town had changed only slowly, the School had been transformed over the previous twenty-five years, since Edward Thring became its Headmaster in 1853. He turned it from a small country grammar school of less than 30 pupils into a nationally known school with 300 boarders. This had brought in extra permanent inhabitants in the form of staff and, importantly, a big growth in buildings in a short time.

**Typhoid arrives**

Typhoid entered the School for the first time (as far as we know) in June 1875. It seems to have been an isolated case, but one nine-year-old boy in the Lower School, B E Hawke, the son of Lord Hawke, died (school archives). This had been built in 1868 when the Rev R J Hodgkinson left Thring’s staff and set up a prep (or feeder) school. They had had an up-and-down professional relationship over the years: he was beholden to Thring for recommendations to parents to join it, but he was legally beyond Thring’s control – something worth remembering in the light of later criticisms.

With the school’s summer holidays imminent, and probably with a fear that press interest might lead to great parental concern, the School did little over the summer to remedy any defects, hoping that the problem would go away. It seems likely that Dr Thomas Bell, its Medical Officer and a local GP who lived at No 23 in the High Street, took what nowadays would be called an excessively laid-back attitude to it all in the early stages. Even if he was unaware of the exact causes of typhoid fever (which would be likely, given that the key discoveries about its causes were, tantalisingly, still a few years away), he should surely have spotted its symptoms and warned Thring and the Town of the need for urgent action. As it was, he was a somewhat prickly and jealous man, who allowed professional rivalries to obscure the real priority once the later crisis broke.

With the holidays over, the boarding houses prepared for the new term. Mr Chapman, a local plumber who also lived in the High Street, at No 39, was called to the Lower School. There was an obstruction between the trough closets and the cesspits. He lowered a candle into one of the drains and, according to a subsequent report, ‘a tremendous explosion took place, the sewer gases igniting and at the same time burning his whiskers, eyebrows and hair’.

The School later claimed that this account was much exaggerated, but it proved to be the prelude to a full-scale second outbreak which came in September/October. Over 50 cases occurred in five separate houses along High Street West and Stockerston Road. It claimed the lives of Cecil Mullins, the young son of the housemaster of West Deyne (on the corner of High Street West and Spring Back Way), three more in the Lower School and then one in Redgate, right up on the hill to the south on London Road. Very reluctantly, the School had to close again, this time until after Christmas.

By now, rumour was rife – for example, in Caldecott it was alleged that a death there was due to one of the school’s maids being allowed to go home, even after it was known she had contracted the disease. The School protested that the nature of her illness had been far from clear. And much was being made of a boy (whose name we do not know) from Southampton who had arrived in Uppingham to start work at the Lower School, only to hear when he got out of the coach at the Falcon that he was entering a place of death. People said that because he had no money for the return journey, he stayed. The School’s claim that every effort had been made to forewarn the boy of the state of affairs, that he had been offered his fare home but had chosen to stay nonetheless, went largely unheard. The boy was dead within a month.

Rumours had now reached the Town authorities that all was not well – authorities in the shape of the
Sanitary Sub-Committee of the Uppingham Union. Thring himself went to meet the Committee – but only in mid-October, by which time there had been 30 cases, five of which were to prove fatal. The Committee suspected that Thring’s visit to them was only because his hand was being forced by the pressure of events; word was getting out about the second outbreak, even as far away as Liverpool, then a key catchment area. On the other hand, Uppingham being a small place, it is hard to avoid the feeling that they must have heard rumours and could have made contact with him earlier, had they wished. We can only speculate on this important point – but it was crucial in inflaming passions from now on.

The experts move in

Be all that as it may, from this meeting came a plethora of experts’ reports. The Sanitary Committee used its Medical Officer of Health, Dr Alfred Haviland from Northampton, a man whom both Dr Bell and Thring himself came heartily to loathe. The London authorities sent up Mr Rogers Field, one of the top sanitary engineers of his day (besides advising Wellington College on its diphtheria outbreak, he also designed the drains at both Sandringham and Bagshot Park). When the long Uppingham battle was over, Field advised on its new bye-laws (Field 1877, 1878) and then wrote a guide for sanitary authorities nationwide on the legal powers and drainage designs they needed. Both sides also took advice from a top government sanitary inspector, Robert (later Sir Robert) Rawlinson and a Nottingham engineer, Alfred Tarbotton, who was asked to give specific advice on improvements to the houses.

Rawlinson concentrated on the town, of which he was highly critical, especially in a private note to the central government authorities in London. He reported that the School and others had been complaining about sewage disposal and cesspits since at least 1855, alleging that material from leaking cesspits filtered into the subsoil dangerously near the wells of drinking water. Where new sewers had been laid, many were much too close to the surface of the ground, and as the system was still incomplete and had no adequate sewage farm, it could be considered worse than useless.

He said that the Sanitary Committee’s local inspectors had been inactive over the flushing of drains, and that ventilators were blocked up. He regretted the state of the water supply – individual wells for nearly every property – and he recorded repeated requests over the years from the School and others for improvements; Haviland agreed with him on this issue (almost his only concession to the School). Significantly Rawlinson also suggested opposition to improvements from one local landowner, Sir Charles Adderley, and a number of ratepayers on grounds of expense (school archives).

Rogers Field looked at both the School and the Town. He believed that the School had not been exactly over-active in putting its own sanitary house in order. In particular he alleged that even after this second outbreak, some of the masters were less than enthusiastic about spending money on improvements. However, it is important to remember that in those days they owned the boarding houses they lived in, and they may well not have had much money to spare, having only recently built them.

Haviland’s inspection focused very largely on the School and was explosive in nature, sarcastically setting out a case in fifty pages plus appendices (Haviland 1876). The boarding houses had cesspits that had remained unemptied over many years. In the Lower School he found a system of rubber piping to these pits largely rotted away. In many places, pits were unventilated; gases became trapped in pipes and escaped back into the closets and thence into other areas of the boarding houses. Where there were ventilators, they were badly sited – in one case just below the window of the matron’s room. Worst of all, there was a familiar pattern of the underground streams which fed the wells at each house, crossing the path of broken drains and thus setting up classic conditions for cross-infection. He complained bitterly that, after the second outbreak in the autumn began, life at the School had gone on as usual, with boys visiting other infected houses.

But he went even further, alleging that dormitories were overcrowded, and the meals unwholesome, while the system of lessons before breakfast, which caused a 12-14 hour gap between meals overnight, was said to weaken resistance to infection. In an age long before common agreed standards or boarding school inspections, no-one at the School seems to have been prepared for such scathing criticisms about things like the lack of nurses at the sanatorium or of treatment given in specific cases there, or for complaints about overcrowded and poorly ventilated studies. Considering that most of these buildings were of recent construction, the School seems to have had very poor technical advice from its architects.

The conflicts grow

Disease was immensely damaging to its reputation, though. Possibly in an attempt to divert criticism away from the School, Thring accused the Committee of grave neglect. He had long believed that the Committee was smug, and he now believed that it would gloat over him, using his discomfiture as a smoke-screen to hide its own inefficiency for over two decades.
Not surprisingly there were some unedifying slanging matches – Thring hauled at least one committee member through the streets to show him the evidence of broken sewers. There was also an unseemly row between one housemaster and Haviland at the Falcon Hotel over the latter’s demand to be allowed into the houses again to collect more evidence. Thring was accused of telling the boys they would be ‘cowards and deserters’ if they asked their parents to take them home. He replied that he was merely trying to prevent the spread of infection to other parts of the country. It seems to have been extraordinarily bitter.

Meanwhile Thring made a number of key moves. Firstly, there was the decision to make major improvements to the houses – in line with what the reports recommended; it made practical sense and it would seize the moral high ground. Secondly, he decided to appeal over the heads of the Uppingham Sanitary Committee direct to the Local Government Board in London (the government department to which sanitary committees were answerable), urging it to order drainage improvements at the ratepayers’ expense.

Thirdly, convinced that he had to put pressure on the Town to improve its water supply, he promoted a bill in Parliament for a private company to provide mains water – with himself and some trusted allies as its Board of Directors.

All these would take time. But it was another exceptionally wet and muddy winter, and events overtook him. Within three weeks of the pupils returning in January 1876 came a new outbreak in the same houses, and others in the house on the corner of School Lane, as well as in School House within the main school buildings itself. Telegrams rained down on the School from worried parents all over the country, and Thring had little option but to close the School altogether at the beginning of March 1876.

And so the pupils were sent home again – on a day described by Thring as one of ‘wild winds and pitiless snows’. Shortly afterwards he held a housemasters’ meeting, at which the Rev W Campbell of Lorne House asked the famous question: ‘Don’t you think we ought to flit?’ (ie, set up the School elsewhere). The School’s Trustees met to consider the idea and turned it down flat. With only two dissenting voices (those of the two Trustees elected by Thring and the masters) they chose to take a very strict definition of their Charity responsibilities, and recorded that they were responsible for the School at Uppingham, and that if it went anywhere else, they felt no obligation to finance it – other than to continue to pay the masters’ salaries.

It seems that Thring had already sent one or two staff to trawl the coast from mid-Wales northwards in a search for suitable temporary locations for the School. He met them in Chester, along with Mr W T Jacob, one of his two supporters amongst the Trustees (the other was Mr T H Birley), and they all then travelled down through Wales. They looked at hotels in Llandrindod Wells and elsewhere, but settled on the Cambrian Hotel in Borth, Cardiganshire (modern Ceredigion), as the answer to their problems (fig. 1).

**Borth**

In all sorts of ways this was a voyage into the unknown. Only one of Thring’s fellow travellers seems to have known the area at all. Never can his reserves of idealism, optimism and energy have been more called upon, for the potential difficulties (and risks) were immense.

First there was the nature of the village itself. Borth was far less economically developed than Uppingham; earlier in the century it had been described in Nicholson’s *Cambrian Traveller’s Guide* (1840) as ‘a miserable fishing village’. Although the arrival of the Cambrian Railway a decade earlier had made it much more accessible it was not yet sharing the new-found activity of Aberystwyth to any great degree. It was well-known for its shrimps – ‘the fishing being carried out by sailors’ wives and widows and superannuated sailors’ in about twenty small boats (Jenkins & Jones 1876, 155). Cargoes of coal came up the coast from time to time.

A two-mile straggling coastal strip with mountains behind (fig.2), it has Aberystwyth a few miles to the south, and the huge expanse of the Dovey estuary just to the north. In 1876 it boasted (besides its railway station), a nearly-completed church, a number of cottages along its single main street, and one large hotel – not actually in use, and whose purpose in being built remains a mystery. Maybe the very simplicity of the place was what attracted Thring; it was described in the *Welsh Gazette* in 1908 by ‘An Old Schoolboy’ as ‘a village, laid on a ridge of sand and shingle. A peculiarity ... is its long street. If the buildings on each side of it were bigger it would be the finest looking street in the world. It is said that it was made straight so that the people at one end could see what people at the other end were up to, and so that one policeman can keep an eye on them all at the same time’.

Secondly – and ironically – Borth’s sanitary arrangements seem very unlikely to have been as advanced as Uppingham’s. It was on the Irish Sea coast and thus – Thring probably guessed – rudely healthy. He was probably unaware of the very high incidence of tuberculosis which dogged the area well into the twentieth century (partly because houses were damp and few had damp courses). Jenkins and Jones’ *Cardiganshire County History* (1998, 435)
Fig. 1. The Cambrian Hotel, Borth, with the wooden assembly hall built at the rear
(photograph: Uppingham School Archives)

Fig. 2. A general view of Borth at the time of the school's occupation, with the Cambrian Hotel
at the distant end of the village (photograph: Uppingham School archives)
records that: ‘Cardiganshire had an unenviable reputation for high infant mortality, deaths of mothers in childbirth, rotten teeth, hearing defects, blindness, imbecility and madness ... Until the 1960s, services such as piped water, mains sewerage services and electricity supply remained wholly inadequate’.

Whether or not he knew any of this, Dr Bell either declined to leave his other Uppingham patients to come with them or was not invited to do so. Thring recruited a former pupil, Dr Christopher Childs, to be Medical Officer at Borth. This, very predictably, led to a stream of questioning and suspicious memoranda from Bell over the next few months, but Thring was right in doing this; the 1871 Borth census lists amongst its inhabitants one nurse but no doctor (the nearest, and the hospital, were in Aberystwyth).

We also know from the Aberystwyth Observer that for much of the year 1876-77, a fierce debate was going on within the Aberystwyth town council about the need for a better water supply and the best means of obtaining it; increasing population was putting pressure on local facilities here as well as back in Rutland. In Borth itself a spirited meeting took place at the house of one Captain Delahoye on 15th August 1876 to demand a better water supply.

There were demands for at least two more taps to be provided from the main pump, and for the Cambrian Railway Company to restore a supply which it had allegedly disrupted when the railway itself was built – and there was much talk about inconvenience and foul smells during summer. Not surprisingly, for in Borth as elsewhere the local ratepayers were very resistant to paying for improvements themselves, they expected the Railway Company to do it. It does seem as if the presence of the School had focused sudden local attention on all these issues – both through the original circumstances which brought about its removal to Borth and the pressure which its presence was now to put on water supplies there.

Thirdly, there must have been a formidable language difficulty. Borth was deep in the heart of Welsh-speaking Wales. Even allowing for the passing of time, the fact that comparatively few records and artefacts seem to have remained in the area after the School left it suggests that the cross-over of School and locals was comparatively limited. The School brought its own ‘servants’ with the masters.

But the School’s presence aroused a good deal of local curiosity. Thring and Skrine recorded (with frankness, but in a style which would surely be seen as deeply patronising nowadays) that: ‘at a football match ... at Bow Street, we heard the unintelligible cries of the Welsh rustic children’ and ‘the village boys, fired by the novel example [of athletics] scrambled down the street, in corduroys, in a footrace, jerking their awkward little limbs over a roadside ditch. Our boys looked on as men look at monkeys, half-amused, half-indignant at the antics, which imitated humanity so abominably’ (Skrine 1878, 52). Thring recorded that: ‘Some of our party tasted the painful pleasures of the poor in the scant and naked simplicity of cottage lodgings’ (Borth Primary School leaflet, Ceredigion Archives).

A fourth problem lay in formidable limitations in local services. No school was known ever to have taken itself off to a single place, although Rugby School had once been dispersed to houses all over the Lake District during a scarlet fever outbreak. There was no knowing how far or how quickly such a move would force the hand of either the Town or the London authorities. Meanwhile the presence of a school community of this size demanded a range of goods and services, but Borth had few.

Again, the census of 1871 is revealing. In Borth itself (as opposed to the string of villages and houses stretching up the valley and classified as Morfa Borth) there were listed 142 people in 36 family households. Fifty-one of them were under 21, but only 26 were aged 15 to 40; even then it seems that a good deal of youthful migration took place. Slater’s Business Directory for 1876 lists a post office (whose postmaster, the ubiquitous Abraham L Lewis fulfilled many other roles), a variety of shop-keepers and two hotels – but there appear to have been no painters, plumbers, glaziers, tailors, clockmakers or solicitors – to name just a few. The census lists two hotels, four public houses and 36 lodging houses, of which we know that the School took over 27.

Above all, would the parents actually support the masters by sending their sons off to a place they had probably never heard of?

Preparing the way

All through March and early April 1876 the School property was packed up. On 16th March the Cambrian Hotel was leased for £1 a head per week, which included board, bed and laundry, but not washing. But it could only accommodate 150 boys plus a few staff – and the School had 300 pupils. The rest of the School and teachers had to be found lodgings with the local residents through the length and breadth of the village. On 27th March, an advance guard of staff arrived to set up the extra accommodation and facilities needed for teaching. Thus, from the plan’s first inception to the first signs of the impending invasion, barely three weeks had elapsed.

Around the same time a chartered goods train of eighteen trucks arrived at Borth, carrying 300 bedsteads, the Headmaster and a certain number of staff and matrons. Thring directed the work like a military
operation (indeed, although ordained, he was reckoned to have many of the qualities of a good military commander) – with bedsteads and tons of bedding, tables, chairs and bookshelves distributed around 27 separate houses. Wary locals described the whole thing in the early days as an ‘invasion’ (according to the Cambrian News), until trust was established. Some local labour was also employed despite the language difficulties.

All other equipment was procured locally. A large amount of plastering and cleaning was done, a washroom of thirty basins constructed, and yards of trestle tables erected in the corridors and larger rooms of the Cambrian Hotel, so that the whole School could eat at one sitting. Plans were made for a large wooden building, eighty feet by twenty, to be constructed at the rear of the hotel (fig. 1), so that the whole School could meet for assembly. Provision was also made for a sick room, the old stables became the school carpentry shop, and the coach house was turned into a gymnasium.

**Term begins**

On 4th April 1876, when the School arrived by train, everything was as ready as it could be. The Masters (fig. 3) were waiting on the platform (fig. 4), ready to direct the boys to their lodgings. Over 290 actually turned up, and Thring was heartened that so few out of the full complement of 300 were unwilling to share in his great adventure.

And so they all settled into a routine. As Borth had no bell, three flags were raised at strategic points to call the school to Prayers in the morning: two of these hung until very recently in the Old School Room and are now in the Uppingham School Archives for safe keeping – one of Thring’s *Borth Lyrics* (1881) was devoted to them. Prayers were held in the School Room behind the hotel, lessons in any room large enough to seat twenty, and meals in the draughty corridors of the Cambrian Hotel. Standards of accommodation varied. Some found cosy fireside lodgings but others cramped top floors (fig. 5). Nearly everyone shared a room as it was impossible to provide single studies. A correspondent of the *Uppingham School Magazine* (Summer 1876) suggested that tradition could be restored in this respect by bringing 200 bathing machines from Llandudno, each having been suitably furnished, and lining them up on the sea front. The only facility found to be seriously lacking was that of a library.

Borth lies inside a bay. Its single street runs right along the sea front behind the pebbly beach (fig. 2). Behind the town there is a low-lying and rather uninteresting marsh. However, at either end of the bay steep peaks rise up and two rivers, the Dovey and the Lery, run from them into the sea. A whole range of features was thus at hand to interest those keen on wildlife, the sea, geology, hill walking and angling.

Swimming presented no problems, and runners found new interests in the steep hill courses round about – although there were one or two dramas when boys got lost. Expeditions were organised to visit the great peaks nearby, using the ever-helpful Cambrian Railway which had become the School’s artery to the outside world. Thring himself was especially enthusiastic about the cleansing nature of the sea air, and was all for long, bracing hikes. The boys were
Fig. 4. Borth railway station, where the school arrived on 4th April 1876, and where the masters completed their voting papers for Uppingham’s local elections (photograph: Uppingham School archives)

Fig. 5. A group of boys outside one of the cottages in which they studied (photograph: Uppingham School archives)
advised to be careful about snakes whenever they crossed the river.

Some very keen amateur archaeologists began digging on the beach, but an attempt at starting an aquarium proved ill-fated. The School also made efforts to integrate itself into the local community. The 1st XI played cricket against local sides; the choir sang at the first service in the newly-completed church – to which the School later donated a fine East window – and gave two concerts in Aberystwyth, as well as singing Bach’s Christmas Oratorio at the formal inauguration of the wooden School Room (although the event took place as late as August, well over four months after it was first used). A large number of the School turned out to follow the local hounds.

For more organised sport (cricket, rugby and athletics), they relied on some rather rough land offered by the Bishop of St. Davids (fig. 6) and a better strip from a local landowner and generous benefactor of good causes, Sir Pryse Pryse, whose support was later recognised by Thring on the dedicatory page of Borth Lyrics (Thring 1881). But this was several miles away at Gogerddan, which meant an afternoon train trip down the line to Bow Street – as mentioned in ‘The Colony’, one of Thring’s lyrics (Appendix 1). One item which Thring had refused to leave behind in Uppingham had been the large roller from the Upper (one of the school playing fields) and the Committee of Games ordered teams of fags to put it to good use. The fine for avoiding this highly important activity was 2d.

According to the author of South Wales Squires (Vaughan 1926), cricket was more or less unknown in that part of Wales, and the notably eccentric Sir Pryse Pryse (who would have remembered it from his Eton days) supported it with enthusiasm – to the extent of walking through nearby Bow Street on one occasion in full whites: ‘The sudden appearance of a man clad all in white proved an alarming spectacle for the villagers, for everyone jumped to the conclusion that the baronet was taking a stroll in puris naturalibus. There was a general stampede into the houses; blinds were hastily pulled down and the doors were locked – “Indeed,” (said an excited villager afterwards) “if it had been anybody but Sir Pryse Pryse we would have killed him for coming out like that without his clothes!”’

Keeping up the pressure back at home

Despite having left the scene of all his problems, Thring had to remain involved in what was going on back in Uppingham. His main eyes and ears there during this year was Dr Thomas Bell. Difficult personality or not, Dr Bell’s immense letter-writing activities have provided us with very valuable evidence. Thring needed him there, because he was determined not to let his absence from Uppingham relax the pressure. Over the next few months there were to be questions in Parliament, repeated letters and articles in the national and regional press (from both sides in the dispute, some written anonymously) – and in The Lancet and the British Medical Journal. Within a few days of his arrival in Borth a
dispute broke out over whether the absent masters would have the right to vote in Uppingham’s annual local elections. In the end the voting papers were collected from each boarding house, taken down to Borth by train, filled in on the platform while the messenger waited, and then sent straight back; they arrived in Uppingham with 15 minutes to spare.

There had been no intention to spend more than one term away, but it soon became clear that this would not be enough. No return could be contemplated until both mains water and sewerage had been sorted out. As the driving force and major shareholder in the new water company, Thring had to get regular news of disputes over where the new water supply should go – until Parliament finally passed the necessary bill in July. He strongly suspected that the Committee was quite happy to play for time, to see him run up huge debts and even to force him to bring the School on a humiliating return to Uppingham before his main aims had been achieved.

A ceaseless correspondence was kept up with local Rutland landowners and other townpeople to keep pressure on the London authorities to speed up approvals in principle, designs and appropriate loan facilities and interest rates. He made a great deal of moral capital out of the sudden and belated exposure of the poor state of the cesspits in the Uppingham Union workhouse (now Constables, on the Leicester Road). He was no doubt helped by the fact that shopkeepers and other ratepayers had begun to get restive as trade declined. Elsewhere at much the same time (notably in Armley, Leeds) there were examples of ratepayers lining up to oppose expensive improvements proposed by a Medical Officer of Health and a local Committee – but not in Uppingham, so the decision to take the School away was probably vindicated, for it forced the issue.

Even so, work on the water supply began only in September, and the planned 30th November finishing date proved hopelessly optimistic. Eventually it resulted in the water tower which dominated the landscape of that part of the town near the current Sports Centre on Stockerston Road until its removal in the 1990s.

Two more terms, and the Return

On 15th September the School convened in Borth for a second term – boarding up windows against the gales, suffering a ten-day outbreak of scarlet fever, and lighting fires to keep people warm – wherever fires could be lit. A third term began on 9th January 1877 – incredibly with only one premature withdrawal of a pupil since the whole venture began; indeed, a few boys actually joined the School for the first time as term started. On the night of 29th January the little community survived gales, floods and flying debris hurled over the sea wall; elderly folk and animals had to be taken to safety (although a flock of 150 sheep were drowned), and the School did its bit in helping with all the clearing up. The descriptions of the storms are graphic; even local people claimed never to have seen anything like it (stated the Aberystwyth Observer). The master in charge of the Borth National School wrote in the logbook that ‘never such an event occurred in the memory of any men living in the village’ (Ceredigion Archives).

But by April 1877 enough was judged to have been done back in Uppingham to make it safe to return. The water supply had been set up, and we have to assume that significant sewerage and drainage improvements had been made. On the last day nearly all the inhabitants of Borth turned out to say farewell. Songs were sung in front of the Cambrian Hotel and ‘hearty cheers exchanged’ (reported the Cambrian News). A delegation from the town gave speeches praising the School’s behaviour and expressed gratitude for the help rendered during the flood. Thring replied, praising the good which had come out of the stay and the friendship offered by the people of Borth. The boys cannot have been wholly glad to go back; a number claimed that Borth was ‘the best place that they had ever visited’. Even allowing for the fact that all through the year the School was keen to present an upbeat image to the outside world (and to be well thought-of locally) and

Fig. 7. Welcome Home decorations in Uppingham High Street, May 1877 (Uppingham School archives)
fed regular items of this sort to both local and national newspapers, there is probably some truth in the claim.

On 4th May 1877 banners, garlands and ‘Welcome Home’ arches adorned Uppingham High Street (fig. 7) and nearly the whole populace turned out to welcome the School home. The Seaton bus was commandeered and towed up the High Street and back again at the head of a procession, with boys hanging precariously all over it. A band played and there was much cheering. On 8th May addresses were exchanged between the leaders of Town and School. One result was the Uppingham Mutual Improvement Society, to provide lectures and other entertainments for both Town and School. Another was the publication of a set of more or less bucolic poems, Borth Lyrics (Thring 1881), later set to music by Paul David (Novello nd), commemorating and celebrating the best of the exodus – but making only the most oblique reference to its cause.

Analysis

Bryan Matthews, Geoff Frowde and I worked on all this to produce a special magazine in 1976. The story proved rather more than I had bargained for, and eventually took me to all over the country. It led in 1977 to a historical booklet (Uppingham School Archives), several newspaper articles and a (not very good!) documentary play, which we eventually took on a tour of schools in the United States.

A first period of research into these events threw up a number of questions. Was it just a quaint Victorian saga, or did it have greater significance? It was clear that relationships between School and Town had never been wholly easy in Thring’s time – partly because of the School’s changing status and expansion and also because the School’s charitable status exempted it from some rate payments – on the Chapel, School House and the Schoolroom behind the Church. Against this, however, (as Fr Cormac Rigby, the leading authority on Thring, has recently pointed out to me) we have to offset the substantial rates paid by each housemaster in respect of the boarding houses which they owned.

Thring and his masters also had a great deal of money riding on the successful outcome of this crisis. By 1875 he had been in post for nearly a quarter of a century, building the School up dramatically. He had persuaded others to join him in building houses at their own expense and taking the profits; thus they all had plenty to lose – materially and in terms of their life’s work – if the venture failed. Kelly’s Directory for 1876 states that ‘the cost of the buildings raised in late years exceeds £40,000 [roughly £1.6m at today’s prices] but with the exception of the schoolroom and the chapel, the property belongs to private individuals’.

So the pressures on Thring must therefore have been immense. The School’s governing body of Trustees was distinctly detached about the whole episode; some of them had long been wary of what they saw as his extravagance over the new school central buildings (as opposed to houses) which he expected them to finance. They declined to finance an independent report into the causes of the disease in 1875, and left the masters to pay the costs themselves. When Thring went to them in March 1876 and asked for financial backing for the move to Borth, they hid behind their perceived responsibilities to the Charity Commissioners and declared that they were Trustees only of the School at Uppingham. They disputed sums disbursed at Borth.

Thring and his assistant staff also risked very large sums of capital in redecorating the Cambrian Hotel and financing transport and extra equipment; some, maybe Thring himself, gave up the equivalent of a whole year’s income – we cannot be sure. We know that a group of parents, led by Captain Stanley Withington of Liverpool, wrote to The Times and to all parents in May 1876 announcing a fund to which they could contribute to defray the costs. Only a full eighteen months after the Return did the Trustees get special permission from the Charity Commissioners to raise tuition fees, and then repaid a total of £3,275 to the masters – just over half to Thring himself and grants down to £8 to others (these figures too need multiplying by about 40 to calculate today’s values, so Thring received the equivalent of about £70,000 himself). We have to assume that he was greatly out of pocket. No wonder he fought so hard.

Knowledge about typhoid

During our researches, we also found out a little about contemporary knowledge of typhoid itself – another area which Bryan worked on for us. Typhoid in the 1870s was still a well-known killer; The Times, reporting on the Uppingham outbreak, stated that 150,000 people a year in Britain caught it, and it was only 15 years since Prince Albert had died of it – one of 5,000 such victims each year. It seems likely that its distressing and protracted symptoms and progression contributed much to inflaming passions and tempers. The key discoveries in microbiology and bacteriology were still a few years away, and reliable treatment emerged only in the 1940s. It is understandable that Haviland and his fellow-doctors seemed at times to be conscious that they were looking through a glass darkly – but a glass which would soon become clear – as they struggled to ask themselves the right questions, and went off on false
trails involving noxious gases outside windows and investigation of water samples for the wrong things.

**Public Health and government reform**

First there is the background - in the form of the dramatic change in death rates from typhoid and other diseases which came over England in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Starting with Edwin Chadwick’s great investigation of fifty English towns with high mortality rates in 1840s, and spurred on by individual episodes like the Great Stink in London during the unusually hot summer of 1858, momentous improvements started to take place in sewer design and water supply.

These changes took time to have an effect, and they came to the cities before the countryside: death rates from typhoid climbed sharply in the 1860s and 1870s, as the substantial new housing stock built a century earlier began to become outdated. In the 1880s and 1890s, however, the importance of good public and private health became much more firmly rooted in the public imagination. Thring would possibly have been aware of these changes even in the mid-1870s. Had typhoid come to Uppingham even a decade later, the town would surely have been better prepared - both practically and intellectually.

Secondly, there are the dramatic changes in national and local government through the Public Health Acts of 1872 and 1875, and secondary legislation such as the Infectious Diseases Notification Act of 1879. In just a few years which exactly span the Borth affair in 1876-77, central government gave local authorities the power to appoint Boards of Health in cities or sanitary committees in towns. It compelled them to remove nuisances, and to provide adequate water, sewerage and drainage and to remove slums. And it set up a network of Medical Officers of Health. We should also note a common perception held at the time about Medical Officers of Health in general - that they posed a threat to the old idea that ‘An Englishman’s home is his castle’. This would certainly go a long way towards explaining Thring’s extraordinary hostility to Haviland and to two local clergymen, the Rev Barnard Smith of Glaston and the Rev William Wales, as explained below.

All these changes were to be supervised by the Local Government Board - another largely new creation. The speed and recent nature of all this is very significant - but the changes were not quite fully developed: Haviland believed that Thring was on the very edge of the law in not notifying the second typhoid outbreak to the authorities; a decade later he would have been in breach of it.

**Local and national government in practice**

The Uppingham Poor Law Union which ran the Sanitary Committee was dominated by two clergymen, the Rev Barnard Smith of Glaston and the Rev William Wales, Rector of Uppingham and a local landowner. They worked closely with Dr Haviland and with the Local Government Board.

The Uppingham Union oversaw no fewer than 35 parishes as well as the workhouse on the Leicester Road. The Sanitary Committee was one of several sub-committees. Its Minutes have, alas, failed to surface (so far, at least), but we have at least four other sources relevant to all this: Barnard Smith’s own detailed account of the events leading up to Haviland’s report, the minute book of the Union itself, its dealings with the Local Government Board, and the annual reports of the Medical Officer of Health to that Board.

The evidence suggests first that Barnard Smith in particular must have been dreadfully over-worked, as all this new government legislation and expectation bore down on him. Besides all his parish and charity duties in Glaston (Thomson 1999) he was on every sub-committee of the Union – a practice which his successor as Chairman ended less than a week after Smith’s death.

The evidence also suggests, that the Guardians (committee members) of the Union really did strive to do the right thing. Their smallpox vaccinations (a big issue of the time) were well up to the average each year. They accounted scrupulously for workhouse expenditure. They consulted the Local Government Board very meticulously through their clerk over a whole variety of issues, from payment of workhouse officials to the sum they should contribute to Haviland’s salary when he was first appointed. They set up new sub-committees very promptly in response to changing national legislation. They had spent nearly £3,000 on improvements in 15 years, and more were intended in the future. Although anonymous letters to The Times (presumably encouraged by the School) depicted Uppingham as a ‘plague-stricken city’, it seems to have been no more unhealthy than many other places at the time.

And the Committee did put pressure on the Local Government Board to grant them accelerated powers (or bye-laws) to enforce better building regulations and to organise sanitary improvements over several years before 1875, and also to borrow money or raise rates to pay for them. Whether this obsession with bye-laws (and whether their preoccupation with the claim that they should be given the status of an urban Sanitary Authority rather than a rural one) were justified is hard to say; there are certainly suggestions in the Local Government Board papers that they had quite enough powers already to do what was necessary, and the comings and goings on this issue took nearly five years after the passing of
the Public Health Act of 1872 – until, in fact, the
typhoid crisis overtook them.

At central government level, the Local Government
Board was still a fledgling organisation in
1875. Treasury control kept it short of money, and
its work was far from glamorous. It did not rate
highly in prestige terms where civil service recruit-
ment was concerned; not surprisingly it came over
the next few years to have a reputation for slowness
and grinding bureaucracy. If its dealings with
Uppingham in this period are anything to go by, the
reputation seems deserved; it seems to have pro-
ceeded with extreme caution, to have worried away
about whether the plans for the new railway would
cut across the route of the proposed new water
supply, and to have done very little to put pressure
on its allied agency, the Public Works Loan Board,
to speed up the necessary finance.

On the other hand the Local Government Board
was regularly bombarded with memos – and the
occasional visit – from both Thring and the Sanitary
Committee. Between 1870 and 1877 there are nearly
200 references to business between the Board and
one side in this dispute or the other – and that is
before its overburdened civil servants started on the
activities of rest of the country.

In making this defence of the Town authorities I
should say Cormac Rigby is not convinced. He was
kind enough recently to discuss all this with me
recently; he castigates the Town both for its lack of
urgency and lack of action, both before the first
outbreak, and during the winter of 1875-76.

Personalities

What of the personalities involved? I have men-
tioned already the mixture of complacency and prick-
liness which typified Dr Bell, the School Doctor.
The personalities of the main antagonists provide an
added dimension, for one of the main reasons why
this dispute became so remarkably bitter must surely
lie in the inability of anyone to compromise.

The Rev Edward Thring

We have already seen Thring’s forceful, messianic,
even bullying characteristics – born surely of
desperation – and we identified them back in 1975-
76. He was in post from 1853 until he died in 1887,
and he was without doubt one of the great figures of
Victorian education, second perhaps only to the
famous Dr Thomas Arnold of Rugby in fame. Despit-
the fact that he was an original thinker with a
distinctive educational philosophy, a man of quite
exceptional energy and the man who put Uppingham
School very much on the national map as one of the
moving figures in the foundation of the Head-
masters’ Conference in 1869, no major book has
ever been written about him, although several
volumes of his diaries and letters were published in
the years following his death (Parkin 1898) and
others have also written about him (eg Rawnsley
1926, Hoyland 1946).

Cormac Rigby wrote his Oxford DPhil thesis on
Thring in the 1960s, and this has provided a great
deal of valuable background (Rigby 1968). He recog-
nises that the typhoid episode was the greatest drama
of Thring’s career – a turning point after which came
Thring’s last decade, which he described as ‘the
years of maturity’. Thring believed passionately in
all-round education at a time when many schools
were classically narrow: drawing, painting, modern
languages, natural science, music, gymnastics, car-
pentry all came within his orbit, and he wrote at
length on the skills needed to be a good teacher at a
time when others gave it little thought. He believed
that boys needed personal space, hence his desire for
individual studies and partitioned dormitories; he rail-
ed against state interference, central inspection and
payment by exam results. He believed that schools
must not cater simply for an intellectual élite.

Thring was a great man: but he was also not a
man to let others get in his way. There is plenty of
evidence that he did not suffer fools gladly. When
under pressure he did not mince words; his diary out-
pourings are littered with such phrases as ‘these jacks-
in-office’ and ‘local tyranny’. His annotated copy of
Haviland’s report is still held by the School –
scrawled on with words like ‘irrelevant’, ‘rambling’
and ‘tautological’. He was highly strung, admitting to
nervous indigestion as he returned to Uppingham
each year from the summer holidays. When times
were difficult he tended to withdraw into periods of
self-righteousness which his opponents found hard
to tolerate and impossible to understand.

Like many people with inner demons to conquer,
Thring had an outwardly very strong sense of self-
destiny. He likened the School’s time at Borth to the
exile which the Israelites underwent in the Old Test-
ament, and each year after the Return he preached
about God’s deliverance at the annual Borth Com-
memoration Service on St Barnabas’ Day, 11th June.
He was a tortuous sermoniser in a way that many
found irritating, perhaps patronising – even in an age
of highly articulated ideals.

He was also a man with powerful friends, whom
he was not afraid to use to bring pressure to bear on
others. He was well placed to keep up this pressure,
and his literary outpourings included two major
articles in The Times, describing the great Welsh
adventure. He had published plenty of other books,
and he moved in national circles amid the
educational debates of the day. Charismatic, but not
wholly attractive, perhaps....
The Rev Barnard Smith
Barnard Smith was a former 28th Wrangler (not 4th, pace Longden 1938-52, as Thomson (1999) points out) and a successful Senior Bursar and Classical Lecturer of Peterhouse, Cambridge, who had accepted the plum living of Glaston, where he was instituted on 26th January 1861, shortly before his marriage that October (Longden 1938-52). He was a man of means – he built the very fine Rectory there. He too did not suffer fools gladly, and he was not a man to cross lightly – but he also inspired great affection and loyalty in his supporters both in Glaston and in Uppingham, not least for his formidable work rate, although by 1875-76 he had had to be persuaded to stay on as Chairman of the Union for the following year. It seems that he had had enough.

He ran his parish very efficiently, and its charities scrupulously. He probably had a very tidy mind. He wrote a pamphlet on the importance of correct procedures in matters of ecclesiastical dilapidations, and the style of his mathematical textbooks (e.g. Arithmetic for Schools) is laconic and businesslike. One suspects that Thring (with his florid style and big-picture mentality, but less patience for the detail) would not have been at home with a Bursar of any sort. It is not surprising that they did not get on – but it is hard to read exactly what Thring meant when, on hearing in Borth in January 1877 of the supremely ironical news of Barnard Smith’s own death from typhoid, he remarked: ‘Poor fellow, it is fearful to be taken suddenly away while in the midst of doing such wrong.’

The Rev Chancellor William Wales
William Wales, the Rector of Uppingham, appears to have played the role of able lieutenant. He was a key figure on the Uppingham Poor Law Union, and Chairman of the Nuisances Committee, responsible for street clearance. Like Barnard Smith, he had held his living for a long time – since December 1858, nearly 20 years (Longden 1938-52). He was near retirement – a Rector supported by two curates, and also a man of means and of land. He appears to have been rather imperious, and another cleric with a strong sense of public duty.

His secondary role as Chancellor of the Peterborough Diocese suggests another tidy, legalistic mindset and strong sense of procedural appropriateness – and probably shared interests and friendship with Barnard Smith. Wales had done remarkable, successful work over a long period in his earlier (and probably much more fashionable) living at All Saints, Northampton, from 1833-59. He had strong interests in the SPCK, Sunday Schools and educational matters generally; it is unlikely that he would have wholly approved of what Thring had done to Uppingham’s former country grammar school, even though he sat on its governing body. He seems to have given Thring a challenging time in that role – including threatening him at the time of the decision to go to Borth that ‘the Trustees will stop it all’. He also refused to have the bells of the Church rung during the celebrations to mark the School’s return.

There is a suggestion in his obituary article in the Northampton Herald (1879) that he had moved to Uppingham because of ill health – possibly brought on by sustained opposition in Northampton. He too had strong supporters, but also vociferous enemies, in part because of his vigorous collection of the Church Rates – to the extent that his enemies drew cartoons of him and nicknamed him ‘Billy Wales, the black slug’.

Dr Alfred Haviland
Contrary to my expectation, Haviland was not merely an officious local doctor with the imposing title of Medical Officer of Health. His obituaries in The Lancet and the British Medical Journal show him to have been a true Victorian polymath – surgeon, author and founder of the science of medical mapping; he wrote a number of learned works on patterns of disease in various parts of the country, as well as a pamphlet on the medical dangers of hurry and excitement when travelling by train.

But he too was a man never afraid to court controversy. He stated categorically that Uppingham had been a much healthier-than-average place before 1875, although there is at least some evidence to the contrary. There are suggestions that he exceeded his legal powers in some of the visits to houses during his investigations in the autumn of 1875. He embroiled himself in a dispute with Rogers Field over engineering arguments as to where the new water works should be sited. He described the whole episode on one occasion as ‘this tedious dispute’.

This tendency to confront seems to have been in character with his activities elsewhere. The Northampton Herald in 1903 speaks of ‘his great independence of spirit’. It also describes how he and his Health Authority got embroiled in an extraordinary dispute over the printing costs of his annual reports – which they thought were far too long, and to which he retorted by having them printed on cheap newspaper. Furthermore, when Northampton was allowed to extend itself to the south side of the River Nene, he wrote that ‘Northampton has placed its dead where the living ought to be housed and the living where the dead ought to be buried.’ Not an easy man: small wonder that he and Thring fell out so quickly.

Unanswered questions
Some questions still remain. To what extent did the
inhabitants of the Town stand to lose from the School's temporary absence? How large a direct employer was the School? If Borth residents talked about the School's move as an 'invasion', those of Uppingham must surely have seen it as a 'desertion'. Can more be discovered about changing attitudes amongst the ratepayers to the cost of reform as the crisis developed and the School left the town? Trade directories need to be compared with census information for 1871 and 1881, for an examination of the 1851 census return in Uppingham undertaken recently (Uppingham Local History Study Group 2001) shows that there were disputes back in the 1840s between the various Town agencies about how much to spend on sanitary improvements. We need to discover how many shopkeepers there were and how many people employed by the School.

Can more be discovered about how far improvements had really gone by April 1877 – especially in sewerage? More work needs also to be done on the local power structures in a rural community, and on Thring's ability to lobby and persuade them. Some of the evidence is there in his letters, albeit in extract form. How much did the School's networks and the town ones actually overlap? The Rev William Wales was both a school Trustee and a Sanitary Committee leading light; he was one of the masters' sternest critics, and yet he was also a longstanding friend of senior housemaster William Earle. The Rev R J Hodgkinson, who ran the Lower School for Thring, preached regularly in Wales’s parish church. Are there others in this saga with similarly divided loyalties? In these, as in many other ways, this description represents work still in progress.

Is it significant?

Meanwhile, it is possible to see these events in one of two contradictory ways. In terms of the history of disease, they probably represented little out of the ordinary in nineteenth century rural England. There is no special mention of Uppingham in any of the annual reports of the national Medical Officer of Health to the Local Government Board during the 1870s, even though typhoid outbreaks in Croydon and Ascot led to special appendices in those reports. So we have to conclude that the Uppingham outbreak was seen by the authorities as not untypical.

But we are also left with an extraordinary tale – both about Victorian education and about evolving medical knowledge and local government – as well as a collection of unusually powerful personalities. As Thring himself claimed: 'That year at Borth stands alone in the history of schools: the School died and is alive again.' Whether Barnard Smith, buried in a less elaborate grave in a different churchyard less than two miles away from Thring, would see it in quite the same way must be a matter for conjecture.

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Appendix 1 – The Colony, from *Borth Lyrics* (Thring 1881)

East and west, and north and south,
As if we were shot from a cannon’s mouth,
Hurrah, Hurrah! here we all are.
Never was heard in peace or war,
The first in the world are we,
Never, oh, never, was heard before,
Since a ball was a ball,
And a wall a wall,
And a boy to play was free,
That a school as old as an old oak tree,
Fast by the roots, was flung up in the air,
Up in the air without thought or care,
And pitched on its feet by the sea, the sea,
Pitched on its feet by the sea.

Ere the old school walls were dumb
With the silence of despair,
“March boys, march! the end has come!”
Rang the watchword proud and clear.
We our standard rallied around,
Thrice a hundred faithful found.

Playgrounds – leagues on leagues of shore;
Class-rooms – all the sea-king’s caves;
We are touched by Ariel’s power,
Free of air, and earth, and waves.
We are elves of Ariel’s range,
Nought but suffers a sea change.

Ah! the wand has laid its spell
Over cricket-fields and trees;
Presto! – woods, and mountains, shells,
Rocks, and sea-anemones;
Thrice turn round and shut your eyes,
Open to a fresh surprise.

Open on the level sward
Slid Gogerddan’s* hills between,
When Gogerddan’s genial lord
Looked upon the starry green,
Lady-bright with summer stars,
Heard the schoolboys’ loud hurrah.

Lo! the panting cricket train
Up the valley slowly creeps,
Lo! a boyish hurricane
E’en over Cader Idris sweeps.
Never in the good Greenwood
Lived more gaily Robin Hood.

Little bits of fairy world,
Fairy streamlets, dropping rills,
And the Lery softly curled
In amongst the dreaming hills:
Never in the good Greenwood
Lived more gaily Robin Hood.

East and west, and north and south,
As if we were shot from a cannon’s mouth,
Hurrah, Hurrah! here we all are.
Never was heard in peace or war,
The first in the world are we,
Since a ball was a ball,
And a wall a wall,
And a boy to play was free,
That a school as old as an old oak tree,
Fast by the roots, was flung up in the air,
Up in the air without thought or care,
And pitched on its feet by the sea, the sea,
Pitched on its feet by the sea.

* Gogerddan: the seat of Sir Pryse Pryse, Bart
Rutland History and Archaeology in 2000

Edited by T H McK CLOUGH

The following abbreviations are used in this section:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>APS</td>
<td>Archaeological Project Services</td>
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<td>LMARS</td>
<td>Leicestershire Museums, Arts &amp; Records Service</td>
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<td>ULAS</td>
<td>University of Leicester Archaeological Services</td>
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I - Archaeological Fieldwork during 2000

Short reports, arranged in alphabetical order by parish, submitted by APS, RLHRS Archaeological Group, ULAS, and others.

**Ayston, Parliament Field (SK 8600)**

An end-of-blade scraper which could date as far back as the late Upper Palaeolithic/early Mesolithic (fig. 1) was found on the ploughsoil with nearly 300 other worked flints of the late Mesolithic, Neolithic and Early Bronze Age during a fieldwalking survey by the RLHRS Archaeological Group in November 2000. The end-scaper and some of the flints have been seen by Lynden Cooper of ULAS and Roger Jacobi of the British Museum.

Late Upper Palaeolithic flint material was found four miles to the W on the Leicestershire-Rutland border by ULAS (RR 17 (1997), 322). The Glastonbury Upper Palaeolithic site lies two miles to the E.

Abundant tap slag was also recovered and, noted by Jane Cowgill as being pre-1500 in date, indicates iron smelting in the vicinity (RLHRS R35; SMR 80SE.BS, BT).

*Elaine Jones, RLHRS*

**Caldecott (SP 8694)**

Great Easton Archaeological Fieldwork Group recorded a late Iron Age and Roman site SW of the villa previously reported (*TLAHS 74* (2000), 256-7). Pottery included samian, colour-coated ware, Northamptonshire hard grogged ware, and grey ware. The Group also recovered a large assemblage of early medieval pottery derived from the Deserted Medieval Village of Snelston, but from outside the area of the Scheduled Ancient Monument. This is dominated by Stanton-Lyveden wares with a small component of Stamford wares and other fabrics (SMR 89SE.AE, AA).

*Richard Pollard, LMARS*

**Edith Weston, Church Lane (SK 92700535)**

A watching brief was undertaken by C Moulis of APS during development adjacent to the 12th century St Mary’s church in the medieval centre of Edith Weston. Two large pits, probably quarries for the extraction of stone, were revealed. Both were medieval in date and had been backfilled with material containing animal bone and ceramics of the period, including the substantial remains of a 12th-14th century cooking pot made in kilns in the Stanton-Lyveden area, some 15 miles to the S in Northamptonshire. Foundations and a floor of a large limestone and brick structure of post-medieval date were also revealed. A second limestone and brick wall and associated stone slab floor is probably another building. A circular well, lined with limestone, was also exposed. These features probably represent the remains of Edith Weston hall and associated structures, buildings of probable medieval origin that were demolished in 1957 (RCM A15.2000).

*Tobin Rayner, APS*

**Empingham, 11 Church Street (SK 949085)**

An archaeological watching brief was undertaken by ULAS on behalf of Mr T Ellison, during groundworks for a new dwelling on land at 11 Church Street, Empingham. The site lies within the historic core of a village of archaeological significance, and observations recorded a multiple inhumation burial, probably of Roman date. The burials were lifted because they were threatened by the development. In addition a linear feature, possibly an infilled boundary ditch or soakaway, was recorded (RCM A4.2000).

*Wayne Jarvis, ULAS*
Empingham, Main Street (SK 951087)

Development in the medieval core of Empingham was monitored by APS on behalf of Landbilt Ltd. Previous investigations in the area had revealed medieval enclosures defined by gullies and postholes at the site, while just to the E stone foundations of a medieval building had been identified. A group of postholes and an intermittent ditch, aligned E-W, parallel with Main Street, were identified in the SW corner of the site. Other ditches, also aligned either parallel or at right angles to the modern highway, were revealed elsewhere across the area, and a calf burial was identified. These remains were all undated but were sealed by subsoils containing 18th-19th century artefacts, together with moderately abundant, redeposited medieval (11th-14th century) pottery. A moderate quantity of iron-smelting slag, probably medieval or earlier in date, was also recovered and may imply metal production in the vicinity. Two recent ditches, aligned N-S, one of large size and probably a former field boundary, were also revealed, and there were also a few prehistoric flints (RCM A17.2000).

Tobin Rayner, APS

Glaston, Grange Farm (SK 896005)

Following the discovery of medieval features during a previous evaluation (TLAHS 73 (1999), 119) further excavation was undertaken by ULAS in advance of proposed redevelopment. An unexpected discovery of an early Upper Palaeolithic site was made towards the end of the scheduled excavation, with important faunal and archaeological remains. As the discovery was clearly of rational significance a second stage of excavation was undertaken with financial support from English Heritage and specialist support from the British Museum and the Natural History Museum (Cooper 2001, Thomas and Jacobi 2001). A fuller report on the results of this excavation will be published in a future volume of TLAHS. The site attracted wide publicity, and many visitors attended special open days (fig. 3).

The first stage of excavation, following on from an evaluation in 1998 (RR 20 (2000), 450), produced archaeological evidence of activities on the site during the later prehistoric and early medieval periods.

Later prehistoric remains

Excluding those thought to be Palaeolithic, some 100 worked flints were recovered from the site. There is a strong late Mesolithic flint component of perhaps up to 65 pieces with an evident bladelet technology and/or patinated appearance. There are several diagnostic pieces such as a microlith of micro-tranchet form, a truncated bladelet and two burins on truncations. The discarded tools from the assemblage hint at the activities that may have been undertaken on the site, particularly the microlith, which may point to toolkit maintenance, and the burins, which are suggestive of bone, wood or antler working. Given the upland location of the site it might be suggested that the site was used during the later Mesolithic as a temporary field station.

A small pit was also revealed which contained the broken remains of at least two later prehistoric pottery vessels. Due to the relatively undiagnostic nature of the sherds a general Bronze Age-Iron Age date was suggested. One sherd, however, displayed characteristics of the Deverel-Rimbury tradition, perhaps hinting at a more general Bronze Age date for the assemblage. This would tie in with earlier finds of Bronze Age cremations during sand quarrying nearby in the 1940s (Powell 1950). A small background scatter of flints, including a Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age strike- a-light, was also recovered.

Medieval remains

As suggested from the results of the evaluation, the majority of the archaeological remains represented early medieval life in Glaston. No continuation of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery recorded during the 1940s' quarrying (Leeds & Barber 1950) was revealed, although a small group of human bone retrieved from a 12th century pit may represent remains from a disturbed burial. Activity during the medieval period began in the 10th-11th centuries when a series of linear ditches combined to demarcate a squared area of land. It is likely that this area represents the northern end of a common feature within medieval villages known as a ‘toft’. The toft was an enclosed farmyard within which both the domestic dwelling and farm buildings would have been located, and various associated activities undertaken. Additional ditches to the W and N of the enclosed area suggested extra enclosures on the outside of the toft. Successive recutting of the ditches and analysis of the range of pottery finds from within suggested that the toft was in active use until the late 13th century. Within the toft area a small scatter of pits and postholes suggested low level activities, a conclusion that was also supported by the general lack of finds in any great quantity. There was a marked fall-off in activities within the exposed part of the toft as the centuries progressed, and it seems likely that life may have focused on the suggested domestic area to the S, nearest the current A47 road. Following the redundan- cy of the toft boundary a mixed soil layer, containing quantities of refuse, further indicated a period of abandon- ment on the site.

A phase of quarrying in the early 14th century was indicated by several large pits on the eastern edge of the site, adjacent to the current Wing Road. A timber structure situated within the quarried area appeared to respect the edges of the quarry pits and may have been related to this phase of activity. A single ditch was the only evidence of further medieval activity, dating to the later 14th or early 15th century. Further quarrying during the 17th century onwards had left its mark on the site and several large pits had disturbed the medieval and earlier remains. At some point between 1841 and 1886 (based on the available cartographic evidence) a walled boundary was introduced to the site.
which, interestingly, accurately reflected the earlier soft boundary, suggesting that the original enclosed area still held importance.

Archive: LMARS GLA2000; finds to be retained by
the former landowner, Captain R E J Boyle.


Lynden Cooper & John Thomas, ULAS

Geological observations

The writer visited the site on 2nd June 2000 and was asked by Lynden Cooper to comment on the geological conditions present. He was shown around the excavation by Simon Calcot, consultant geologist to English Heritage, who had been commissioned to investigate fully the superficial deposits which carry the archaeological material.

As noted above, these archaeological layers have yielded palaeontological and anthropogenic material, the former including bones of woolly rhinoceros, horse and wolverine and the tooth of a bison, and the latter including flint implements, notably a leaf point tool and a core. The age is put tentatively at around 30,000 years bp (before the present), placing the level well within the Devensian cold period. The bedrock, which has been well cleaned, comprises soft yellow sand with large irregularly scattered rafts of hard layered sandy limestone or calcareous sandstone (called ‘loggers’, but incorrectly so in the proper meaning of the term) of Middle Jurassic age. To the N and W of the site lies an extensive deep hollow, the remains of a sand quarry. The British Geological Survey’s 1:50,000 Geological Map of the area (Stamford sheet 157) shows the Glaston ridge extending eastwards from Uppingham, to be capped mainly by ferruginous sandstones of the Middle Jurassic Northampton Sand (NS) formation, with the conformably underlying Upper Lias (UL) clay forming the adjacent valley flanks and bottoms. Around Glaston, along the ridge top, faulting is shown to have brought down higher Middle Jurassic strata including the sands (and in places clays) of the Lower Estuarine Series (LES, now lithostratigraphically renamed the Grantham Formation), and the actual site in the centre of the village is shown to be floored by the conformably overlying Lower Lincolnshire Limestone (LLL).

Recent investigations (unpublished) at Ketton Quarry, six miles NE of Glaston, by members of the Stamford & District Geological Society have disclosed a complex system of camber-induced trough faulting in the Middle Jurassic bedrock, the site occupying a similar position along the top of a prominent E-W inter-

fluve between the Welland valley to the S and the Gwash valley to the N. This faulting has been attributed to extensional stresses in the bedrock caused by the cambering of competent strata on the valley flanks and the squeezing out of the underlying Liassic clays. Such processes would have been particularly operative under periglacial conditions. These conditions seem to occur (but have not been recognised as such) along many of the E-W ridges which characterise central and southern Rutland, where the Geological Map shows faulted inliers of higher Middle Jurassic strata round hilltop settlements such as Manton, Wing and Seaton as well as at Glaston.

The writer’s interpretation of the bedrock geology at the Glaston site is therefore as shown in the accompanying diagrammatic section (fig. 4). The main floor of the excavation is formed of downfaulted clean brown-yellow (and, when dry, running) sands of the LES. The stratigraphic level at the top of the excavation is at, or very close to, the geological boundary between the LES and the conformably overlying LLL with relict blocks or rafts (the so-called doggers) of the basal LLL resting on the sands. These rafts or mini-outliers are formed of hard banded and close-bedded sandy and silty limestone characteristic of the Collwyton slate facies found in the basal part of the LLL in this part of Rutland. The rafts may be in true stratigraphic position or more likely may have sunk slightly into the soft underlying sands as a result of periglacial repositioning. Small faults and thrusts detectable in cleaned sections of the LES sands are consistent with the above-described processes responsible for the down-faulted inlier. The breaking up of the basal beds of the LLL into disconnected rafts could also be attributed to this mechanism.

With regard to the superficial geology the writer agrees with Simon Calcot that the thin mantle of superficial deposits yielding the archaeological material is very locally reworked LES sand. The deposits have so far been found on the NW side of the excavation. Their reworking can almost certainly be ascribed to cryogenic processes as cryoturbation structures occur commonly in the revealed sections. This origin is consistent with the periglacial conditions obtaining at this time in the Devensian cold period.

Clive R Jones, RLHRS

Gunthorpe, deserted medieval village
(SK 873056)

Finds from the fieldwalking survey previously reported (RR 20 (2000), 449) have now been tentatively identified and therefore help to demarcate the earthworks of the deserted village described by R F Hartley (1983, 21). The pottery ranges from early, middle and late Stamford wares followed by Stanion/Lyveden ware of 12th-13th century date, giving a habitation date of c.900-1400 AD. Late medieval and post-medieval material was scarce. The 60 sherds of Romano-British
Fig. 1. Early flint end-scraper from Ayston (scale 1:2; drawing: Elaine Jones)

Fig. 2. Neolithic polished stone axe from Tinwell (scale 1:2; drawing: Elaine Jones)

Fig. 3. Visitors touring the Glaston Palaeolithic site at an open day (photograph: Elaine Jones)

Fig. 4. Diagrammatic N-S section of bedrock geology across the Glaston ridge (Clive Jones)
LLL (black) = Lower Lincolnshire Limestone (Collyweston Slate Facies)
LES (white) = Lower Estuarine Series (now Grantham Formation)
NS (dotted) = Northampton Sand Formation
UL (dashed) = Upper Lias Clays
pottery present suggest an earlier Roman settlement. Nearly 200 pieces of Neolithic/Bronze Age flint, including fourteen “scrapers”, were also retained (RLHRS R18).


Elaine Jones, RLHRS

Ketton, Geeston, R Welland bank (SK 98900422)
In response to a proposal to create a lake alongside the R Welland, APS carried out a programme of field survey and evaluation. Adjacent to the site are earthworks of the shrunken medieval settlement, and ridge and furrow crosses the investigation area. Earthwork survey recorded this ridge and furrow and the edges of some of the probable settlement closes. Subsequently, four evaluation trenches were excavated. Three of these were located on the river floodplain and revealed only natural alluvial deposits. The fourth trench, positioned at the edge of the ridge and furrow earthworks, revealed two pits or postholes and a N-S gully. The latter is aligned approximately at right-angles to the ridge and furrow which is oriented E-W. All three features are probably of Late Saxon-medieval date but also contained Romano-British pottery. A single fragment of Early Saxon pottery and a small quantity of medieval or earlier iron-smelting slag were also recovered. However, in spite of the location of the site adjacent to the river it was judged that the proposed lake would not impinge on any archaeological deposits (RCM A8.2000).

Steve Malone, APS

Ketton, Grange Top Quarry (SK 966052 (centre))

Quarry watching brief
A programme of observation and recording begun earlier by Northamptonshire Archaeology on behalf of Castle Cement Ltd continued throughout 2000. The stripped area progressed to the S, exposing a continuation of the previously observed drove, aligned NE-SW, and on its western side its junction with a further drove, aligned NW-SE, was recovered. The system of drove ways was clearly modified during the life of the settlement with a small cemetery placed in a close defined in the NE-SW example (TLAHS 74 (2000), 257-8). This route opened out into the fields at its southern end, with only the eastern side defined by recut ditches. The other drove produced evidence for one side having been defined by a line of mature trees, the large root boles surviving.

Detailed examination of a single T-shaped malting oven took place. This example had a small oven on one side of its stoke hole. Samples for analysis were taken from a number of points within the flues to see if particle size might provide an indication of the location of former flues/chimneys. Around the oven detailed hand cleaning produced occasional post-holes but no coherent building plan was recovered.

Archaeological evidence for occupation appears to be dissipating as the soil strip moves slowly southwards, confirming the results of the air photographs, geophysical survey and trial trenching.

Quarry extension, evaluation
A number of areas previously unavailable for study were subject to fieldwalking, geophysical surveys and a programme of selective trial excavation. Although small quantities of worked flint and Roman and medieval pottery were recovered, no new sites were located during fieldwalking. The geophysical reconnaissance survey similarly did not locate any previously unknown archaeological features.

The combination of detailed geophysical survey and trial excavation confirmed the presence of archaeological features previously known from aerial photographs. Other than an example of pillow mounds in one field, most of the remains appear to represent Iron Age or Roman field systems, though one ring ditch could either be settlement related, or possibly a round barrow. There was no evidence for Second World War or later defences associated with North Luffenham airbase, as had previously been suggested from the aerial photographic evidence.

(RCM A25.1998)

Ian Meadows & Mark Holmes, Northamptonshire Archaeology

Ketton, St Mary (SK 981043)
APS maintained a watching brief on behalf of V Couzens Ltd during the installation of a drain through the 12th century church and churchyard. Saxon stone-work has previously been found in the church, and a priest is mentioned in Domesday Book. A former graveyard soil, apparently of medieval date, was revealed and contained an undated burial. A single fragment of redeposited Late Saxon pottery was recovered from this burial. An undated stone culvert was also identified within the medieval graveyard soil. Deposits and features associated with documented mid-19th century restoration of the church occurred extensively (RCM A16.2000).

Paul Cope-Faulkner, Northamptonshire Archaeology

Oakham, Ashwell Road (SK 8609)
Worked flints and Roman, medieval and post-medieval pottery were found during building development (RLHRS R33).

Sue Davidson, RLHRS

Oakham, Cattle Market, South Street (SK 8550860)
In advance of groundworks for a proposed retail development on the site of the redundant cattle market
on South St, Oakham, an initial archaeological mitigation strategy was implemented with a view to excavating any archaeological deposits which would be disturbed within the footprint of the proposed development. Since disturbance of potential archaeological deposits was likely to come from the proposed 33 stanchions to support the main frame of the building, these were excavated using archaeological principles. The main frontage of the proposed building (along South St) was also subjected to a controlled archaeological strip and additional evaluation. Substantial remains of 19th century yard activity were discovered and recorded in the NW of the development area, and a possible cellar and undated pit were revealed in association with the ruined building in the NE of the area. All archaeological work was undertaken by ULAS in November 2000 (added to RCM A12.1998).

Simon Chapman, ULAS

Oakham, 3 Choir Close (SK 861088)
An archaeological inspection of eight auger samples was undertaken by ULAS on behalf of Smithers Purslow & Company on 23rd June 2000. Pottery dating from the 10th/11th centuries was retrieved (RCM A11.2000).

Sally Warren, ULAS

Oakham, Stamford Road (SK 869086)
Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit were commissioned by John Samuels Archaeological Consultants on behalf of David Wilson Estates to undertake a programme of trial trenching and excavation on land off Stamford Road, following a desk based assessment, a geophysical survey, and a programme of trial trenching and excavation.

Excavation revealed a series of Iron Age/Roman-British enclosures and associated features situated along the southern bank of a stream that marked the northern extent of the site. Archaeological deposits survived largely at the bottom of the valley slope where they were protected from later truncation by ploughing by a build-up of colluvium/alluvium. Further up the hill slope only the most substantial features survived.

The remains of an eaves-drip gully, a pit and several small sections of linear features dated to the Early-Middle Iron Age. A series of substantial ditches and associated gullies and pits suggested a settlement focus in the NW corner of the field, dating to the Late Iron Age. A smaller, contemporary enclosure dating to the first century BC had been cut through the Late Iron Age ditch sequence. This ditch was subsequently recut sometime towards the end of the first century/early second century AD. Post-Roman and modern features were also found, including medieval ridge and furrow.

The evidence suggests that flash floods occurred periodically during occupation of the site, necessitating the recutting of eaves-drip gullies and other more shallow features, as well as substantial ditches.

Patrick Clay, ULAS

Ridlington, St Mary Magdalen & St Andrew (SK 847027)
Replacement of the pew support platform within the church during August 2000 and January 2001 required archaeological recording. A rammed earth floor, probably a mix of lime, sand, earth and mud, was exposed when the overlying rotten pew supports were removed. This floor sealed and protected any early archaeological evidence; its date is not known, but it could have been laid in the late 17th century because it partially covered a brick vault, and it is certainly earlier than the 1860 renovations because it abutted a robber/foundation trench of an earlier N aisle wall. “Lumps and bumps” protruding through the floor indicated a possible earlier N wall to the nave.

On top of this earth floor, reused old timbers had been laid as part of the pew platform support. Amongst these, Elizabeth Bryan noted a 15th-17th century moulded ceiling beam and two window shutter beams from a big window in a substantial house which were pre-17th century and therefore medieval or late medieval. These timbers were rotten and not retained (RLHRS R32, R36).

Elaine Jones, RLHRS

Ridlington (SK 8302)
Yet another iron slag concentration, on land N of Holygate Road and W of the earthworks of the Scheduled Ancient Monument, was reported to Robert Ovens by Michael Gray of Ridlington. The date is not known as no associated dating evidence such as pottery was to be seen (RLHRS R24; see also RR 20 (2000), 449).

Elaine Jones, RLHRS

Thorpe by Water (SP 9096)
The site of the Roman pottery reported in RR 20 (2000), 449, was fieldwalked by RLHRS in November 1999. More than 100 Romano-British potsherds were collected. Metal objects and six bronze coins were found by the East Leicestershire Detector Group led by Steve Houghton. The earliest coin was possibly AD 238-70, while two were of Constantine I (AD 307-37). These finds may point to a previously unrecorded Roman settlement overlooking the River Welland floodplain which may be part of a planned Roman landscape as other sites have been recorded, for example, at Drayton, Turtle Bridge, Tixover, Caldecott and Ketton (RIHRS R22).

Elaine Jones, RLHRS

Tinwell

Coin hoard
A hoard of some 2,600 late 3rd century Roman coins originally buried in a pot was found during a metal-detectors’ field day in a field on high ground near Ketton quarry, between the valleys of the Gwash and the Welland. The site was then examined by Rutland County Museum staff who recovered a few additional
coins and potsherds, and identified the base of the pit in which it had been buried. The hoard and its pot were later acquired by the Museum following a Treasure Inquest (RCM A47.2001).

The RLHRS Archaeological Group was invited to conduct a fieldwalking survey of the area to ascertain whether or not there was any additional evidence of a Roman presence to shed light on the origins of the coin deposit.

The immediate site of the hoard had no previous archaeological record, although just to the S aerial photographs showed very faint cropmarks which, with hindsight, may have included Iron Age enclosures. This situation, with enclosures on high ground with fine views, can be compared with the Iron Age settlement discovered four miles to the S at Tixover (RR 13 (1993), 144).

Romano-British settlements are common in the general area, for example at Empingham and Great Casterton on the R Gwash, and Ketton (including the quarry area) and Tixover on the R Welland. Ermine Street (the Great North Road, or A1) runs about a mile away to the E of the site.

During fieldwalking, a concentration of Roman pottery associated with fragments of clay brick and tile and burnt stone was found across the NE part of the field. Late Iron Age pottery has also been identified (Richard Pollard, LMARS, pers. comm.), adding credence to the possibility of Iron Age enclosures S of this site.

The ploughsoil in this field varies from brown rubbly limestone patches to wet dark grey clayey soils. These contrasts may reflect the underlying geology, which can be seen exposed in the N face of Ketton quarry where the Boulder Clay overlies faulted Middle Jurassic strata. Details are given in Dr Clive Jones’s notes in the site archive report, and will be included in a fuller report on the coin hoard and the site which will be published in due course (RLHRS R30).

Elaine Jones, RLHRS

Polished stone axe

In addition to the Roman material, a complete small Neolithic polished stone axe or rubber was found during the fieldwalking (fig. 2). It is well finished, with its butt and sides smoothed but not faceted. It is unusual in that the cutting edge has been rounded off rather than sharpened, implying that it was used for some purpose other than cutting. Relatively few of the thousands of stone and flint axes known exhibit this characteristic. Its dimensions are: length 99mm; thickness 23mm; width of cutting edge 47mm; weight 150gm (RCM A27.2001).

The axe has been thin-sectioned for petrographic analysis by Dr R A Ixer of the University of Birmingham (implement petrology no. RUT 11). Dr Ixer describes the rock as follows: ‘An epidotised crystal-lithic tuff with a faint planar fabric. Small plagioclase laths are common, whereas equant, untwinned, zoned feldspar crystals are rare. Rock clasts include very fine-grained “ryholite”, with some comprising feldspar-chlorite or feldspar-epidote intergrowths.’ The rock, which is a banded volcanic tuff from the Borrowdale Volcanic Series and displays soft sedimentary faulting, is assigned to the petrological Group VI, which has an origin in the Langdale area of the Lake District.

The axe is one of a small number of such implements from the same prolific source, probably dating from the 3rd millennium BC, which have been discovered in Rutland, mostly as stray finds. Others are known from Great Casterton, Market Overton, Oakham (two finds), Pickworth and Ridlington (Clough & Cummins 1988, 47, 199, 201; RCM records). Only the Great Casterton axe is recorded as having had any archaeological associations: it was found in 1905 about 5m deep in a fissure in a stone quarry with human remains – a full account was published at the time (Rutland Magazine III (1907-08), 13-21).

Very little worked flint of the period was recovered during the fieldwalking, and so it is difficult to interpret this find archaeologically, despite the existence of the nearby Great Casterton and Pickworth finds.


Tim Clough, RLHRS

Uppingham, The Beeches (SK 869003)

A geophysical survey was carried out by ULAS at land east of the Beeches (site D), Uppingham, on behalf of Stoneleigh Planning Partnership. Although no definite archaeological anomalies were detected, the location of a former pump, a dump of iron and brick, and possible geological faulting were identified.

Adrian Butler, ULAS

Uppingham, Firs Avenue (SK 862003)

A programme of archaeological work including fieldwalking, geophysical survey and trial trenching, was carried out by ULAS on land west of Firs Avenue, Uppingham (SK 862003). The desk-based assessment had identified several prehistoric sites in the immediate vicinity including finds of Mesolithic and Neolithic flint. The fieldwalking survey recovered over 300 flints from the Mesolithic through to the Bronze Age. These included two fragments of plano-convex knives, often associated with Bronze Age burials.

Topsoil magnetic susceptibility and magnetometer surveys were carried out by ULAS over land W of Firs Avenue proposed for residential development. High levels of magnetic susceptibility were recorded over part of the site, indicating possible archaeological activity. This was confirmed by the magnetometer survey, which revealed a large number of pit and ditch type anomalies including enclosures, two probable pit alignments and a possible pit circle.
An archaeological evaluation by trial trenching followed fieldwalking and geophysical survey; nine trenches were positioned to target possible features identified in these surveys. Positive results were obtained from all nine of the trenches, mostly confirming the presence of archaeological features previously suggested by geophysical anomalies. However, several features were identified which had not been detected by geophysics. Primarily they were pits (including a possible Iron Age pit alignment) and ditches, many of which contained flint flakes and tools and some pottery fragments. The presence of a thin layer of alluvium was also identified in the south of the development area, which appears to have masked and preserved underlying archaeological features (RCM A9.2000).

Adrian Butler, Simon Chapman & Vicki Priest, ULAS

Uppingham, The Middle playing field (SP 865993)

Removal of the turf and ground preparation for a new all-weather pitch for Uppingham School exposed the outline of pits filled with brown soil cut into the red Northampton Sand ironstone rubble bedrock. The topsoil scrape contained a small quantity of iron slag, Romano-British pottery, and some worked flints.

Elaine Jones, RLHRS

Uppingham, The Thring Centre, Uppingham School (SP 86529977)

In April 2000 archaeological trial trenching was carried out on land off High Street West, Uppingham, by ULAS. Six trenches were excavated, revealing a number of post-medieval and modern features, which have been interpreted as garden activity, corresponding with former use of the land. The work was commissioned by Uppingham School, in advance of a planning application for a new languages building on the land (RCM A7.2000).

Jennifer Browning, ULAS

Whissendine, Stapleford Road (SK 825145)

An archaeological evaluation was carried out on land off Stapleford Road, Whissendine, in July 2000. ULAS were commissioned by Birch Homes to undertake the work. The site is located in the historic settlement core of Whissendine. Earthworks representing ridge and furrow agriculture and a possible hollow way were present in the western part of the area. Seven trenches were excavated across the site, with three targeting the potential medieval street frontage. A number of archaeological features were revealed, consisting of ditches, gullies, pits and postholes. The medieval activity particularly concentrated around the street frontage, in the form of well-dated ditches and gullies. Less discrete activity, in the form of ditches, pits and postholes, was present towards the west of the area and was less well dated (RCM A12 2000).

Jennifer Browning, ULAS

Wing, Field 4500, Station Road/Preston Road (SK 885028)

Archaeological control and supervision of groundworks was undertaken by ULAS for Nick Parsons/ Creative Landscapes and Mr and Mrs Bews, prior to the excavation of a wildlife pond at Station Road/ Preston Road, Wing, Rutland (SK 885028). No significant archaeological deposits or finds were identified during machining. A single flint blade was found in the topsoil at the north end of the trench (RCM A2.2000).

Wayne Jarvis, ULAS

Negative watching briefs carried out in Rutland in 2000

Braunston: Meadowsweet Farm (SK 819072), Michael Derrick and Sally Warren, ULAS
Cottesmore: Former bus depot (adjacent to 27 Main Street) (SK 902136), Sophie Clarke & Wayne Jarvis, ULAS
Geeston: High Street (TF 986041), Sally Warren, ULAS
Great Casterton: Strawson’s Farmyard (TF 003095), Michael Derrick and Sally Warren, ULAS
Leighfield: Leighfield Lodge, gazebo (SK 828041), Elaine Jones, RLHRS for LMARS

Ridlington: Manton Lane (SK 856031), RLHRS for LMARS
Seaton: 2 Church Lane (SK 905981), Wayne Jarvis, ULAS
Stretton: Hawthorne Farm, (SK 949159), Vicki Priest, ULAS
Tixover: Tixover Grange (SK 979018), Northamptonshire Archaeology
Wing: 2 Church Street (SK 894031), Elaine Jones, RLHRS for LMARS
II - Other Reports for 2000

Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland

The following Rutland accessions were recorded in 2000:

**Parish Council Records**
- DE 5818 Seaton, councilliors' declarations, 1895-1979; overseer's receipts and payments book, 1887-1908; highway accounts, 1890-93; rating records, 1895-1950; allotment rent books, 1907-74; payments books, c.1895-1908, &c.

**Parish Records**
- DE 5706 Brooke, faculty for redecoration, 1999.
- DE 5707 Lyddington, churchwardens' accounts, 1911-12.
- DE 5899 Market Overton, accounts, 1936-88; PCC Minutes, 1935-76.
- DE 5708 Thistleton, coronation celebrations, accounts, 1937.
- DE 5866 Uppingham, PCC papers, 1960-98; file on church history, c.1930.

**Other Churches**
- DE 5728 Uppingham, Methodist Chapel, photographs and notices, c.1900-65.

**Charity Records**
- DE 5816 Oakham, Hospital of St John & St Anne: financial papers, 1789-1820; Minutes and accounts, 1779-1944; survey of Oakham and Barleymoor, pre-1811; correspondence and business papers, 18th/19th century; photographs and plans, 20th century; transcripts and translations of medieval documents, 1990s.

**Antiquarian Notes, &c**
- DE 5744 & DE 5771 Notes by F H Cheetham on churches and historic buildings for Victoria County History of Rutland (volume II), 1930-31.

Robin P Jenkins, Keeper of Archives

Rutland County Museum

The museum continued to acquire objects of local interest and provenance through the year. These ranged from archaeological finds, some of which are mentioned in the archaeological reports above, to 20th century ephemera. Particularly worthy of note in the list given here are perhaps the half-gill dry measure and the collection of material from Marshalls of Uppingham.

The measure is one of a set of Rutland county standard dry measures ranging from half-gill to bushel dated 1825, of which the remainder were already in the museum collections. A quarter gill measure was added to the set in 1879. The half-gill failed the verification test in 1925 and was replaced by a new one. It was lost sight of until the donor found it in about 1950 in a workshop in London’s east end, where it formed a handy grease pot! Eventually, he enquired of the museum what it was, and this led to its acquisition. It is thus happily reunited with its fellows, and joins the comprehensive set of Rutland standards weights and measures in the museum, which are backed up by various indentures of verification and other weights and measures archive material.

The museum obtained an extensive range of material, including a good set of tinsmith’s tools, from Marshalls, Uppingham’s premier ironmongery and hardware store, many years ago. The opportunity to acquire further material from the family was therefore very welcome. This includes not only tools and equipment but also a range of manufacturers’ posters and point-of-sale material.

The Friends of the Museum purchased the 58th (Rutlandshire) Regiment items to augment the small amount of material relating to the county’s eponymous regiment. This part of the collections is managed so as not to conflict with the interests of the 48th (Northamptonshire) Regiment’s museum in Northampton – the 58th was absorbed into the 48th more than a century ago.
Looking ahead, the museum continued to work on its plans for future development with a view to submitting an application for grant aid to the Heritage Lottery Fund. Its aims are to improve access, both physical and intellectual, to its collections, and to develop its activities so as to serve the needs of its users better, and to broaden its user base. That there is a demand is well illustrated by the ever-varying range of enquiries received, whether in person or, increasingly, by e-mail from around the world.

Selection of acquisitions received during 2000
H20.2000 Linocut of the George Hotel, Oakham, c.1946
H29.2000 Pocket book of Caroline Croden, Ridlington Lodge, with farm accounts, 1850s-60s
H36.2000 Map of Rutland drawn from memory, and Triennial Festival prize certificate for it, 1924
H53.2000 The Bulletin and Scots Pictorial, 27th March 1954, account of railway accident at Oakham
H58.2000 Stoneware jar, Robert Draper, late W Compton, Uppingham
H59.2000 Rutland standard half-gill measure, 1825
H60.2000 58th (Rutlandshire) Regiment major's shako, 1869-78 pattern; other ranks' shako plate, 1855-61
H62.2000 Tools and equipment from Marshalls, ironmongers, Uppingham
H63.2000 Manufacturers' advertising material from the same source

Tim Clough, Curator

Rutland Historic Churches Preservation Trust

The Trust’s biennial Sponsored Cycle Ride took place on 11th September 1999 and attracted 200 walkers and riders, despite the hills and the heatwave. The highest number of churches visited was 57, by Salvador Valiente, winner of the Davenport Cup, and 50 or more churches were visited by five others of all ages. They and other representative participants – a rider who ran several miles to fetch another bicycle when his was stolen while he visited a church, a blind walker who has supported the Trust for many years, and an 80-year-old who rode to 31 churches – attended a presentation hosted by Col T C S Haywood, President.

The ride could not take place without the support of many stewards and providers of refreshments. This time it raised £13,518, of which, as always, half was returned to the churches. Since the Rides began in 1987, they have raised a total of £90,898. Throughout, the Ride Administrator has been Alan Southern, to whom a tremendous debt of gratitude is owed. He will be succeeded by Richard Adams, himself a Davenport Cup winner.

The Trust is most grateful to all its supporters, personal donations or those given in memoriam, and particularly wishes to acknowledge two generous legacies received during 1999-2000.

Applications for help were received from St Andrew, Hambleton, for spire repairs; St Peter & St Paul, Langham, for nave limewashing; All Saints, Oakham, for repairs including roof leadwork; Oakham Congregational Church for restoration of a historic mud wall; and St Peter & St Paul, Exton, for survey and repair of the monument. A total of £17,000 was promised and £9,985 actually spent, some relating to grants offered earlier. Several more churches indicated their need for future help with large-scale repairs, and the Trust hopes that all those who care for Rutland’s churches and chapels will continue to seek its assistance as soon as problems arise.

The Trust has been saddened by the deaths during the year of Mrs Wyn Avison, former Honorary Secretary, the Rt Rev Bill Westwood, former Vice-President, and the Ven Barnard Fernyhough, lately Archdeacon of Oakham. Their enthusiasm and example will continue to be an inspiration.

Linda Worrall, Honorary Secretary

Rutland Local History & Record Society

The Society was greatly saddened by the death of its Chairman, John Field, on 2nd July 2000. An obituary was included in Rutland Record 20 (2000), 414. He was succeeded as Acting Chairman by Professor Alan Rogers, Vice-Chairman.

The year also saw the resignation of the Society’s Honorary Secretary, Philip Rayner, to whom we are grateful for the hard work he put into helping the Society. Sue Howlett agreed to serve as Acting Secretary until the Annual General Meeting, and thanks are due to her for all she has done to ensure that the work of the Society has grown over this year.

Before John Field died, he indicated an intention to start a wide-ranging review of the activities and structures of the Society, its relationships and roles. The Executive Committee began this process by holding an away-day to look at the constitution; this was hosted at Holywell Hall by the President, Prince Yuri Galitzine.
A membership drive began with new publicity material for which Robert Ovens and others were responsible. Informal discussions took place with the Friends of the Rutland County Museum, and there have also been discussions with the museum about the services provided to the Society. Without the museum’s help and support in terms of accommodation and expertise it would be hard to run the Society.

The Society has supported the museum’s bid to the Heritage Lottery Fund for assistance in developing the building, and looks forward to the day when a local studies room can house the local history collections, including those of the Society, and make them more easily available. In this respect, the President has generously donated a wide range of books and papers on local history to the Society. These have been listed, and it is hoped to house these more adequately and make them accessible. We are very grateful to Prince Galitzine for this and all his support to the Society. Our other holdings will also be listed.

The Society wishes to record its thanks to Carl Harrison and the staff of the Record Office at Wigston for the help they continue to give. Their concern to help make the local history records which they hold on behalf of Rutland available to those from this area who need to consult them is most welcome.

The annual activities of the Society have continued—an outing to Uppingham, a social evening, a series of public lectures shared with the Friends of the Museum, and the Bryan Matthews Lecture. The Society also considered whether other meetings should be held outside Oakham and invited members’ suggestions.

The Society was able to assist with the County Council’s Millennium History Project, led by Vikki Pearson. This established a number of historical plaques around the county, created a series of walks and cycle routes with accompanying leaflets, held local history workshops, and ran a most successful local history fair.

On the publications side, Rutland Record 20 was published in February 2001, and work is in hand for an Index of RR 11-20. However, the major research activity of the year has been the survey of Time in Rutland which Robert Ovens and Sheila Sleath have been conducting and which will be published in the Society’s Research Report series. Several exhibitions of material from this project have been held in various places, and a major grant towards the costs of publication has been offered by the Heritage Lottery Fund’s Awards for All programme.

Without this voluntary help, the work of the Society could not go ahead, and the same is true of its sub-groups, which continue to thrive. The Archaeology Group, whose report appears below, has been convened by Elaine Jones; she now retires from this role, which she has fulfilled for many years, and the Society thanks her in particular for her contribution.

The Heritage and Environmental Group expresses the views of the Society on planning applications which impinge on the historic built environment. The Society also plays a large part in the George Phillips Award for new or adapted buildings whose design enhances the historic environment. Peter Lane, David Carlin, Carol Cartwright and Elizabeth Bryan have helped with this. Substantial financial assistance was provided by the Society to preserve some domestic wall paintings at Preston which were thought worthy of conservation. More assistance is needed in this area, and members are invited to offer help where they can to ensure that the voice of local historians continues to be heard.

Alan Rogers, Chairman

Archaeology Group

The Group continued an active programme of fieldwalking during the year, with very useful results as can be seen from the archaeological reports above. These could not have been achieved without the efforts of the team, David Carlin, Sue Davidson, Hilary Eyre, Clive Jones, Jenny MacConnell, Jenny Naylor and Robert Ovens. Specialist identifications, reports and advice were received from Elizabeth Bryan, Tim Clough (RCM), Lynden Cooper (ULAS), Steve Houghton and the East Leicestershire Detector Group, Roger Jacobi (British Museum), Clive Jones, and Richard Pollard (LMARS); these were much appreciated. Finally, the Group would like to thank all those farmers and landowners who have kindly let the Group enjoy their beautiful places. Fieldwalking continued through the winter of 2000-01 on the shores of Eyebrook Reservoir, at the invitation of Roger Marshall of the Corby Water Company, and the results will be included in a future report.

Other activities and events included a pottery identification workshop on finds from the fieldwalking survey of Martinthorpe deserted medieval village in October, led by Elaine Jones, Robert Ovens and Sheila Sleath, and an exhibition on known archaeological sites in Uppingham parish prepared for the annual “village visit”. Finally, the Group’s Christmas dinner, arranged again by Maureen Dodds, was held at the Blue Ball, Braunston.

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

**Rutland Record Series**


3. **Stained Glass in Rutland Churches**, by Paul Sharpling (1997). Complete survey and gazetteer; introduction; lists of glaziers, subjects, dedicatees, donors, heraldry (now £10.00, members £8.00)

4. **Time in Rutland: a history and gazetteer of the bells, scratch dials, sundials and clocks of Rutland**, by Robert Ovens & Sheila Sleath (2002) (£24.00, members £20.00)

**Occasional Publications**


4. **The History of Gilson's Hospital, Marcott**, by David Parkin (1995). The charity, its almshouse, trustees, beneficiaries, and farm at Scredington, Lincs; foundation deed, Gilson's will (£3.50, members £2.50)

5. **Lyndon, Rutland**, by Charles Mayhew (1999). Guide to the village and church (£2.50, members £2.00)

6. **The History of the Hospital of St John the Evangelist & St Anne in Okeham**, by David Parkin (2000). The 600-year old charity: history, chapel, trustees and beneficiaries (£3.50, members £2.50)

7. **The 1712 Land Tax for Rutland, with Poll Book for 1710** - in preparation, for publication 2003

**Postage and packing**

Rutland Record, Index, Occasional Publications: 75p each; Stained Glass: £1.50; Tudor Rutland, Weather Journals: £2.00 each; Time in Rutland: £5.00. Maximum on any one UK order except Time in Rutland: £3.00; overseas charged at cost - please enquire for details: payment in sterling only

All orders for publications, with payment in sterling including postage as shown above, and trade enquiries should be sent to: The Honorary Editor, RLHRS, c/o Rutland County Museum, Catmose Street, Oakham, Rutland, LE15 6HW, England. Membership enquiries should be sent to the Honorary Membership Secretary at the same address.
The First Lady of Lyndon: The Letters of Mary Barker (1655-79)

‘A certain Mr. Nouelle...’: A Rutland Association for the Musician Anton Kammel

Uppingham by the Sea: Typhoid and the Excursion to Borth, 1875-77

Rutland History and Archaeology in 2000