

# *Rutland Record 28*

*Journal of the Rutland Local History & Record Society*



# Rutland Local History & Record Society

The Society is formed from the union in June 1991 of the Rutland Local History Society, founded in the 1930s, and the Rutland Record Society, founded in 1979. In May 1993, the Rutland Field Research Group for Archaeology & History, founded in 1971, also amalgamated with the Society.

The Society is a Registered Charity, and its aim is the advancement of the education of the public in all aspects of the history of the ancient County of Rutland and its immediate area.

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

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# Rutland Record 28

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*No 28 (for 2008)*

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*Front cover illustration: South Luffenham Hall, by Alan Oliver (by kind permission of the artist)*

*Back cover illustration: A late fifteenth century 'Nutt' or coconut cup  
(by kind permission of the Master & Fellows of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge)*

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## Editorial : Anniversary Matters

People like to celebrate anniversaries, and we are quite good at finding events and occasions to celebrate. Some are cultural markers commemorating the births or deaths of, say, renowned composers, or historical remembrances of events that changed or influenced the course of history such as the Gunpowder Plot or the abolition of slavery. Often they are local in importance, and many are simply personal – wedding anniversaries, for example. And it is surprising how often these anniversaries seem to come around.

However, we are also quite good at forgetting them, or at least at remembering them too late, as many a disgraced husband will testify (this is not a confession...). So perhaps this is the moment for a reminder that 2009 sees three anniversaries important in the cultural history of Rutland. Fifty years ago, in 1959, the Friends of the Rutland County Museum were founded, to county-wide acclaim and support from all levels of the community, with the purpose of setting up a museum for the county and supporting it once established. After much effort, this was achieved: a building – the Riding School of the Rutland Fencible Cavalry as it once had been – was given for use as a museum, and collections came flooding in. In May 1969, forty years ago, the new Rutland County Museum was opened by HRH Princess Alice, Duchess of Gloucester, who later honoured the museum by accepting invitations to its tenth and twentieth anniversaries. Not many years later, the Friends were able to offer their congratulations to Her Royal Highness on the occasion of her one hundredth birthday – they will be only half way there in 2009. Now, they are Friends of Oakham Castle too.

Even closer to home, as far as *Rutland Record* is concerned, the Rutland Record Society, main precursor to today's Local History & Record Society, was founded in 1979: thirty years ago. Rutland therefore has three success stories – and they are all success stories – to celebrate in the coming year, all focused on the Rutland County Museum. As this Editorial goes to press, a programme of events is being planned for 2009 and announcements are expected as the year progresses. We hope that these will concentrate the minds of Rutlanders on their museum – a place of record and of evidence for the county's long history.

Like all museums, Rutland County Museum should be a place where scholarship and education meet enjoyment and entertainment. This is achieved through the acquisition, documentation, conservation and presentation, in all manner of ways, of its collections and associated information. This is what the museum has been doing for forty years, in a way consistent with the standards and ever more demanding codes of practice of the museum profession, and well supported by hard-won grants from the Heritage Lottery Fund and other bodies, not to mention its Friends. Over the past year, however, fears have been aroused that at least some aspects of the museum and its professional work have been put at risk as a result of changing policies and financial pressures within its governing body, Rutland County Council. To some extent, through the influence of the Friends of the Museum and of this Society, those fears have now been allayed. However, as together we celebrate these three anniversaries, it behoves us all to do so with an eye to the future security and development of the Rutland County Museum and its collections, and not just to the past. We learn much from the past about the present and about our likely future. That is why the anniversary matters.

### Notes on Contributors

**J D Bennett** is a frequent contributor to local history periodicals and is also the author of *Rutland in Print: a Bibliography of England's Smallest County* (*Rutland Record* 26 (2006)).

**Cynthia Brown** is the author of several publications on the history of Leicester and Northamptonshire, and a tutor in social history for the Institute of Lifelong Learning at the University of Leicester.

**Tim Clough** is the Society's Honorary Editor, and was Curator of the Rutland County Museum from 1974 to 2002. He has a degree in prehistoric archaeology, and has written and edited many works on local history, archaeology and numismatics.

**Pat Grundy** is the researcher at the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland. She has been there for eighteen years, during which time she has earned a BA (Hons) with the Open University and an MA in English Local History at Leicester. Her work is not confined to genealogy although that is the major part of it. She is also a WEA tutor.

**Brian Palmer** is a graduate of Southampton University. He is a

retired geography teacher, having taught at King's School and the Regional College in Peterborough. He has also taught in New Zealand and tutored for the Open University. He received an MA in English Local History from the University of Leicester in 1997.

**Alan Rogers** is an adult educator who has taught local history to adults for more than fifty years. He is an Honorary Professorial Fellow of the School of History at the University of Nottingham (where he established the Centre for Local History) and Visiting Professor at the University of East Anglia. His general studies of local history, especially *Approaches to Local History* (1977) and *Group Projects in Local History* (1977), established his reputation in terms of local history theory and practice. His work on Lincolnshire is extensive; his connections with Rutland include acting as academic adviser to the RLHRS. He has been engaged on a study of Stamford in the fifteenth century and in particular William Browne, merchant of the Calais Staple, for a number of years.

The contents of *Rutland Record* reflect the views of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Society or its Editor.

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# Some Kinship Wills of the late Fifteenth Century from Stamford, Rutland and the Surrounding Area

ALAN ROGERS

*This paper prints for the first time some late fifteenth and early sixteenth century wills from various sources covering five generations of the families of Browne (of Stamford and of Tolethorpe, Rutland), Stokes (of Warmington and Easton on the Hill) and Elmes (of Lilford and Stamford) who were closely related to each other. These wills throw light on the inter-relationship between three prominent families of the area. They reveal a great deal about the*

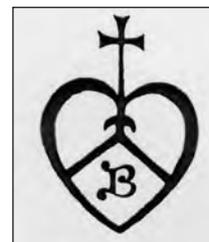
*standard of living of the wealthy urban merchant and country gentry classes of the period. They show the importance of drawing on documents relating not just to one family but to other kinship members. They will be of value not only to local and family historians but to archaeologists, architectural and art historians, church historians, and especially social historians.*

Wills are very important documents for the historian. They throw light on many different aspects of the period, and they are very frequently the only direct means by which we can access the minds and words of the people we are trying to explore. And they often survive in enough numbers to make something very productive of the possible links between them – particularly if taken on a kinship basis.

Printed here is a collection of eight wills from the late fifteenth century. They relate in their core to the Browne family (see Rogers 2005) of Stamford and Rutland (Little Casterton including Tolethorpe (fig. 4); Wolfhouse manor in Greetham parish), several of whom became JPs and sheriffs of this county. But the important point here is that in order to make sense of what is happening, this group cannot be confined to the family of the Brownes. The two brothers, John and William Browne, members of the wealthy wool firm of Stamford, formed what can be seen as a kinship consortium with two other local families. First, both brothers married into the family of Stokes of Warmington (Northamptonshire), and these two families worked closely together. Then William Browne's branch married into the family of Elmes of Henley on Thames (Oxfordshire), and one branch of that family moved up to Lilford (Northamptonshire) and Stamford (Rylands & Bannerman 1922; Metcalfe 1887). The way this group worked together, with William Browne as the focus, may be seen from the purchase by William Browne of Stamford, merchant, of the manors of Lilford and of Oakington (Cambridgeshire) from the beleaguered Welles family in the 1470s; his feoffees were John Browne his brother, Sir William Stokes



*Fig. 1. The arms of the Browne family found in the glass of Browne's Hospital and used by later generations (above); but neither William nor his brother John Browne used these arms during their lifetime. They only used their merchant's mark (right).*



knight, Thomas Stokes clerk (two brothers of William's wife Margaret), John Elmes (William's son-in-law), and William Est, a local clerk (*Rot Parl* vi 145). This is only one of many such transactions using all members of this group of local families.

The Rutland connections of this kinship group are clear. The younger branch of the Browne family became very important in Rutland from about 1499 when Christopher the son of John Browne bought the manor of Tolethorpe and property in the surrounding villages, especially Little Casterton.<sup>1</sup> But before this, both branches of the family were

<sup>1</sup> *VCH Rutland* ii 237-8 says the purchase was in 1503 but this was the consolidation of the manor. The first purchase I have been able to find was in 1499, and a second purchase was in 1501 (TNA CP 25/1/192/11/5, 7). But the Brownes had had close links with the Burton family of Tolethorpe since at least the late fourteenth century: see Peck 1727, 11:66-67; see also Wright 1684, 128-33; Cox 1720, iv 530-33; Blore 1811, 93.

purchasing estates in Rutland. John Browne acquired property in Bredecroft, a small manor in the parish of Tinwell on the margins of Stamford (it is odd that the *VCH* for Rutland does not include this intriguing manor, about which not enough is known; see Peck 1727, 1:11; 14:13-14; Cox 1994, 168), and Little Casterton in 1450 (TNA CP25/1/293/72/364); and William Browne and his feoffees (again William and Thomas Stokes and John Elmes) purchased the manor of Wolfhouse in Greetham (by the 1620s, the name had become converted to Woolfox, as the placename survives to this day: Cox 1994, 24), and other property in Rutland; this was described on his death as consisting of the manor of Wolfehouse worth £2 pa held of Fineshade Abbey, and three messuages, three tofts, two dovecotes, 180 acres of [arable] land, and 20 acres of meadow in Stretton, North Luffenham, Sculthorpe and Bredecroft by Stamford worth £2 pa (*VCH Rutland* ii 136, 282; LAO, BHS 7/6/38-40; 7/8/14, 17-19; *CIPM Henry VII*, 1.525; *CIPM Henry VII*, 3.992; *CPR 1485-94*, 456-7). Members of the family acted as witnesses to land transactions in the county, and as feoffees (trustees) for notable families, as for example in 1450 when both William Browne and John Browne, merchants, of Stamford, together with others, were feoffees in Teigh for Robert Browe (ROLLR, DE1431/274). And again from 1461, they were called upon to serve on various commissions in Rutland: to keep the peace, arrest rebels, and assess taxes (*CPR 1461-67*, 313; *CPR 1476-85*, 396; *CFR 1485-1509*, 128; *CPR 1485-1504*, 243). William Browne served as JP in the county from 1483 until his death in 1489 (*CPR 1476-85*, 570; *1485-94*, 497) and as sheriff of Rutland on four occasions, 1466-7 (he received a pardon for this period of office: TNA C67/46m27), 1474-5, 1482-3 and 1486-7, on the last occasion of which he received a 'reward' of £13 6s 8d on the grounds that 'in the whiche office he will incur great losses, costs and charges to his grate hurt' (TNA E404/73/106). His grandson William Elmes (see his will (no. 6) and commentary below) served on commissions in Rutland, and Christopher Browne became one of the gentry of the county and spent most of his time in Rutland rather than in Stamford where the wool firm had its headquarters, serving as sheriff and JP and on many commissions (Wedgwood 1936, ii 119-20).

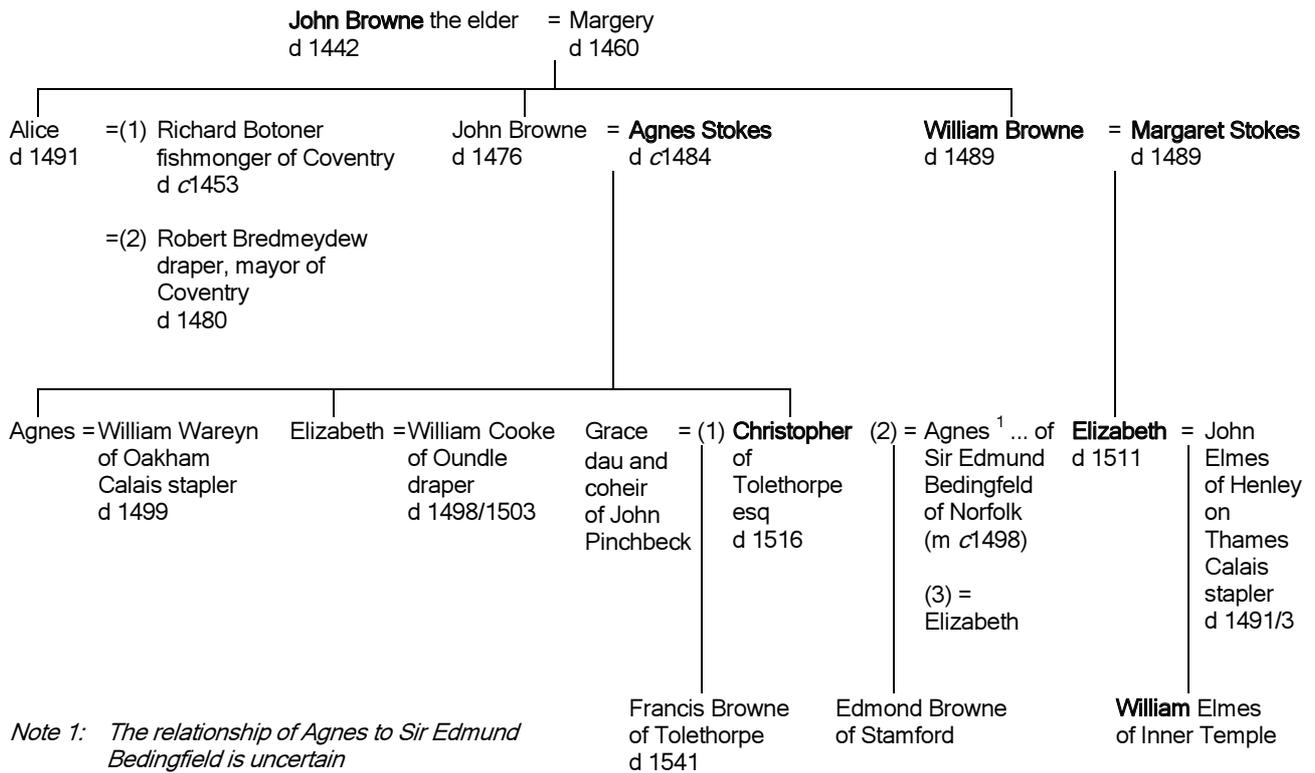
In addition to property, William Browne's business interests as a Calais stapler took him into Rutland. In 1481, he was suing a merchant in this

county; and in 1470, he was one of a regional grouping of Calais staplers centred on Oakham, for on 25th August 1470, soon after the battle of Losecoat Field at Empingham (12th March 1470), a group of 28 merchants of the Staple took out a general pardon. Apart from William and John Browne and William Colom of Stamford, they included William Wareyn (John Browne's son-in-law), John Kyrton, William Rose and William Trafford (all of Oakham), Thomas Adam of Langham by Oakham, together with merchants from Boston, Peterborough, Leicester, Loughborough, Brooke in Rutland, Horncastle, Melton Mowbray, Market Harborough, John Haryington [of Grantham and Stamford], and four who gave their addresses as London (including Robert and John Tate of Coventry) and two who gave their addresses as Calais. The highly focused nature of the group suggests some kind of regional affiliation, a consortium or even a 'chapter' of the Staplers. The name at the head of the list was William Cawode of Boston. It was probably fear of local reprisals following the insurrection of 1470 which encouraged them to secure such a pardon (*CPR 1467-76*, 212-3; *CPR 1476-85*, 266; for Calais staplers in Rutland, see Bonney 2004).

The wills of this group of local merchants and gentry and the links between them throw much light on the life of the period. The wills included here are those of William Browne, 1489 (no. 3); Margaret (née Stokes) his wife, 1489, probate 1490 (4); Thomas Stokes, Margaret's brother and executor, 1494/5 (5); William Elmes, the young lawyer grandson of William Browne, 1504/5 (6); Elizabeth, daughter of William and Margaret Browne, widow of John Elmes of Lilford and mother of William Elmes, 1510, probate 1511 (7); and Christopher Browne of Tolethorpe 1516, probate 1518/9 (8). We do not have a copy of the will of John Browne, brother of William, but we have some notes taken from a copy of the will of Agnes his widow which is dated 1470 but is certainly later than this (2); and I have included the will of John Browne draper of Stamford and Warmington, the father of the two brothers, dated 1433, probate 1442 (1), because it survives only in a rare copy in the Devon Record Office.

It will be useful to set out here (fig. 2) pedigrees showing the various branches of the families concerned. Those whose wills are discussed here are in bold.

**THE BROWNE FAMILY**



**THE STOKES / ELMES FAMILY**

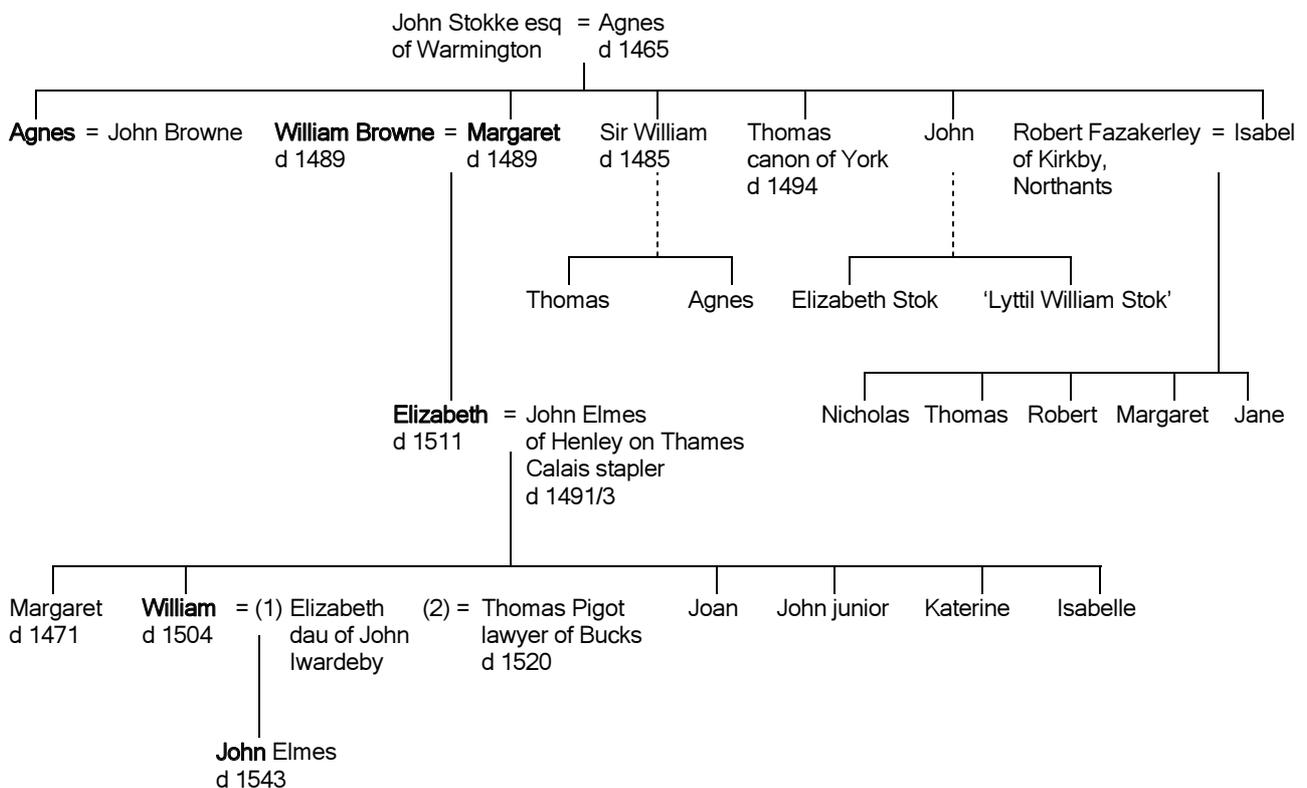


Fig. 2. Pedigrees of the Browne and Stokes / Elmes families.

## The Wills

*Material in square brackets is editorial comment.*

1. WILL OF JOHN BROWNE  
23rd December 1433

Wills from late medieval Stamford are rare. The reason for this would appear to be that probate jurisdiction for Stamford wills lay with the dean of Stamford, and either his records have been lost or

probate copies were not kept. This is shown by this will which survives only in a mutilated form in the Devon Record Office among a collection of private deeds which came originally from the Elmes family.

*Translated from the Latin*

In the name of God Amen. Written on the 23rd December 1433, 20 Henry VI. I John Brown of Staunford, sound in mind and with full memory make my testament as follows: First I leave my soul to Almighty God and the Blessed [Virgin] Mary and all His saints and my body to be buried in the church of All Saints in the Market in a chapel of St Thomas the martyr. Item, I leave in the name of my principal [mortuary fee] my best robe to the vicar there. Item I leave to the said vicar 5 marks. Item I leave to the same church on account of *schalizean* [word unknown but probably forgotten tithes or other dues; this whole item was deleted] 40s. Item I leave to the house of Vaudey [Grimsthorpe, Lincolnshire] 40s. Item to the church of 'Tischenters' [place unidentified] 26s 8d. Item to the church of Warmington [Northamptonshire] 26s 8d. Item I leave to a small chapel standing there on the west[side of the church] 13s 4d. Item I leave to the church of Haylton [Elton, Northamptonshire] 26s 8d. Item I leave to each Rector or vicar attending my funeral 12d. Item I leave to each salaried [stipendiary] priest being at my funeral 8d. Item I leave to each parish clerk being present 4d. Item I leave £10 to the two priests celebrating my obit for me for one whole year in the church of All Saints in the Market, Staunford, namely in the chapel of St Thomas the martyr. Item I leave to thirteen poor men bearing thirteen torches on the day of my burial, each of them having a black gown to the value of 3s 4d. Item I leave to Margery my wife all my household goods which shall be necessary for her. Item I leave to John my son my belt [tear in document] with my gold seal. Item I ordain these people to be my executors, namely Margery my wife, William Lewes of Oakham, [hole in MS] ... Brown of Stamford my son, and Sir Robert Ballard Rector of Helpston. In witness [whereof] I attach my seal.  
Dated 23rd December in the above year.

[Probate was granted on 16th August 1442 before the dean of Stamford in the church of All Saints in the Market Stamford].

*Devon Record Office, Simcoe 1038 M/T/9/2.*

*This translation varies from the version in the Devon Record Office catalogue.*

This short will is fairly standard. John Browne, father of William and John Browne, asks to be buried in the chapel of St Thomas the martyr which stood at the east end of the north aisle of the parish church of All Saints in the Market which is clearly his parish church; but he also leaves bequests to Warmington (Northamptonshire) where he had estates – to the parish church there and to a separate chapel in Warmington (this appears to be the only contemporary reference to the chapel of St Andrew in the churchyard noted by Bridges 1791, ii 478-83; *VCH Northamptonshire* ii 113-22). He also made bequests to the churches of Elton (Northamptonshire) and 'Tischenters' (unidentified), and a legacy to Vaudey Abbey in south Lincolnshire which held property in Stamford (Hartley & Rogers 1977, 74).

He asks for thirteen poor men to attend his funeral with torches, dressed in black gowns. He mentions his son John, to whom he leaves his belt and his gold seal – a rare mention of seals in late medieval wills. He appoints his widow Margery his executor along with William Lewes of Oakham (a Calais stapler who traded through Ipswich and Lynn),<sup>2</sup> Robert Ballard Rector of Helpston, and (most frustratingly) his son [the manuscript is torn] Browne. This son is, I am sure, William Browne, for there is no other mention of him, and John Browne the father had just transferred his property and firm to William his son (Peck 1727, 14:12).<sup>3</sup> There are no signs of special religious devotion; what is mentioned is fairly normal, except perhaps that there are no gifts to the four orders of friars in Stamford which are in most

<sup>2</sup> *CPR 1413-15*, 127; TNA E404/29/183. Lewes was a partner with the Browne brothers, and William and John Browne were executors for Lewes in 1467, *CPR 1452-61*, 209-11; *CCR 1454-61*, 6,13,15; *CPR 1467-76*, 79.

<sup>3</sup> The date of this deed is 1437 but Richard Lee was Alderman in 1433-4, the year of the will, so the transaction took place in that same year; for discussion, see Rogers, 'Aldermen', forthcoming.

wills of this period. It is relatively unusual for someone to have made his will (1433) nine years before he died, in 1442. Margery lived for another

eighteen years, dying in 1460 (several members of the Browne family were very long-lived).<sup>4</sup>

2. NOTES FROM THE WILL OF AGNES BROWNE  
29th August (1476-84?)

John Browne, son of the John Browne mentioned in the will above, married Agnes (Stokes) of Warmington where John Browne the father held land.<sup>5</sup> We do not have any will for this John Browne II, but parts of the will of his wife were printed by Wright in his *History and Antiquities of Rutlandshire* (1684, 129-30). When John her husband died in 1476, he requested her to remain single by taking a vow of chastity: there are signs she did this (Marks & Williamson 2003, 277). Wright cites the original will as belonging to Christopher Browne of Tolethorpe Hall; it cannot now be traced. This will too was probably proved in the court of the dean of

Stamford which is why it existed only in the form of a copy in private hands. Unfortunately Wright's notes are not only incomplete but they are also inaccurate, for they state that the will is dated as 10 Edward IV (1470), but as she is clearly a 'widow' and since her husband John Browne did not die until 1476 (as can be seen from the brass in the church of All Saints in the Market Stamford: Marks & Williamson 2003, 277), the will must date from between 1476 and 1484 when she died. My guess is that the will was in Latin and these notes are Wright's own translation into the English of his day.

John Brown ... Whose Widdow Agnes Brown was also a charitable Benefactress ... as appears by her Will, dated on the day of St John Baptist An. Domini [29th August] 1470 (10 Edward IV) Whereby she devised her body to be buried in Alhallows Church at Stamford beside her Husband, and among other matters, the Charities following:

To our moder Church of Lincoln 6s 8d

To the Church of Alhallows of Stamford a Vestment of a suite the which shall cost me, by the oversight of my Friends that shall occupy for me [i.e. my executors], 100 marks [£66 13s 4d]

To the Gray Fryers 20s

To the Black Fryers 20s

To the Augustine Fryers 20s

To the White Fryers 13s 4d

To the Nuns [of St Michael by Stamford] 13s 4d

To a Priest to sing for me fifteen years continually £75

To the Church of Ampthell [Ampthill] in the County of Bedford 40s

To every Godchild that I have 3s 4d

To every Curate that comes to my Dirige [funeral] 6d

To every Priest 4d

And to every Parish Clark 2d

To every Prior and Warden of the four houses [of Friars] that comes (as above) 6d

And to every other Fryer that comes (as above) 4d

Item for a Vestment and a Chalis to the Chapel that my Husband and I lig in £8

Item I will that there be bought a Cloath of Silk and Gold with a Valence of the same to be born with four Petyt

Staves over the Sacrament, on Palme Sunday in the Worship of the Sacrament, and I will that it cost 4 marks

Item to the painting of the Tabernacle in Corpus Christi Chapple in St Mary's Kyrke in Stamford 40s

The will demonstrates considerable wealth: 100 marks for a vestment (if correctly read) is excessive by most wills of the period. The ritual suggested by the canopy to be borne above the sacrament and the tabernacle suggests a piety beyond the norm; this is confirmed by the existence of a very elaborate Book of Hours which John Browne and Agnes his wife purchased from Bruges, in which the feasts of St

Agnes and St Gregory (the Pope) are highlighted (Marks & Williamson 2003, 274). The interest in the chapel of Corpus Christi in St Mary's church suggests a link with the gild of Corpus Christi which was the main gild in Stamford (Hartley & Rogers 1977, 34). The connection of the family with Ampthill in Bedfordshire cannot now be traced (*VCH Bedfordshire* iii 268-75).

<sup>4</sup> Brass in the church of All Saints in the Market. William Browne lived from about 1410 to 1489; Margaret lived from about 1420 to 1489; Christopher outlived his children and lived from about 1450 to 1511; Elizabeth Elmes was over 60 when she died. All these are calculated ages except that of Elizabeth which comes from two inquisitions post mortem; see pp 292-5 below.

<sup>5</sup> The pedigrees of the Browne family (eg Rylands & Bannerman 1922, 8-9) do not state who this Agnes was, but Margaret is called sister to Agnes in a gift by Christopher Browne to the nuns of St Michael, Stamford in 1481-2 (TNA SC6/914/3).

*Some fifteenth century kinship wills*

3. WILL OF WILLIAM BROWNE Calais Stapler of Stamford and Sheriff of Rutland  
17th February 1488/9, proved 2nd May 1489

William Browne's will is in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury records, now in The National Archives. It is in English.

In dei nomine Amen. The xvij day of the monith of ffebruary In the yere of our Lord m<sup>l</sup> cccclxxxviii and the iiiij<sup>th</sup> yere of the Reigne of kyng Henry the vij<sup>th</sup> I Willyam Brown of Staunford in the counte of Lincoln being in my goode and hole mynd, thankyd be god, make and ordeigne this my present testament conteynyng my Last Wyll in maner and fourme following

ffyrst with all my hole hert I bequeith and Recommend my soule to almighty god my maker and Savyour, to his blissed modyr Mary the virgin and to all seintis, and my sinfull body to be buryed and leyd within the chapell of our Lady on the south side within the church of Alhalowue in the markt stede of Staunford aforesaid befoore my feete betwene the water [holy water stoup?] and the wall there. And I will that all my dettys which I owe to any person be weele and truly paid. Also I will that every man that sufficiently can prove that I have done any harme or wrongid in any wyse, he be restorid and satisfied as consciens will, though a part of my bequests be lessid and withdrawn. Also I will that every man that hath offendid unto me in word or in dede have forgevenesse therof and I pray god forgeve them and in like wise I pray god and them forgeve me. Also I bequeith to the vicar of the seid church of Alhalowue my curat my best gowne. Also I bequeith to the same church a vestment of fyne black veluet, that is to sey ij coopis [copes], a vestment and ij tonacles [tunics] with the albes and other thingis therto belonging, price lxxvj<sup>li</sup> xiijs iiijd. Also I will that every parson, vicar and seculer preest being at my dirige or at any of my dirigees haue viijd. Also I bequeith to the anresse in Staunford aforesaid xxs, and x yere after my deceese if eny be there closid [enclosed], every yere xxs. Also I will that the dayes of my buryall, the vij day and the xxx day be destribute to pouere people at every of thees dayes xx<sup>li</sup>. Also I will that ther be ordeynid a vestment of white sylke for our Ladies chapell in the pariss church of Alhalowue aforesaid, price vj<sup>li</sup>. And also to the same chapell a course vestment, price xxvjs viijd. And also in like wyse ij vestmentis for the chapell in my almes howse [Browne's Hospital, Stamford], price of the oone iiij marc, and of the other xxvjs viijd. Also that ther be destribute among my seruauntes x<sup>li</sup> of money, so that every man and woman of them have a part like after ther continuaunce and desert by the discrecion of myn executrice. Also I geve and bequeith to Thomas Howys of Staunfford and Margarete hys wyfe xls in money. And of this my testament and Last will, I make and ordeigne Margarete my wife sole executrice. And to [be] of hyr counsell in assistink and aydyng hyr in all maner of thyngs concernyng this same my testament, I ordeigne and assigne Maister Thomas Stok clerke, John Elmes and William Elmes. And I bequeith to euerich of the same Maister Thomas, John Elmes and William Elmes, for his labour, counsell and eyde in this behalfe x<sup>li</sup> of Lawfull money. And I geve frely unto the same Margarete my wyfe all my seid plate and stuffe of howsold hooly [wholly] to have it unto hyr owne use and profite for euermore. And ouer this, the Residew of all my goods not bequeithid, my dettes paid, I yeve and bequeith unto the seid Margarete my wyfe and sole executrice of this my testament and my Last Will. In wittenes wherof I have put my seale to the same and subscribid with myn owne hand the day and yere above wretyn.

[Probate 2nd May 1489 by William Elmes 'literatus',<sup>6</sup> proxy for dame Margaret Brown relict and executrix of the deceased].

*TNA Prob 11/8 PCC Milles 22.*

This is a short business-like will of a man in his late seventies. He settles his debts to God and to others, and asks them to settle their accounts with him; the balance sheet is finally drawn. He sets out exactly where he wished to be buried in the chapel in All Saints' church; a brass now mounted on the wall stands close to the burial place (RCHM 1977, 9). Although there are no bequests for prayers for his soul, it is not without its religious element in the unusual long-term bequest to the anchoress at St Paul's church, Stamford, and her successors. Anchorites

and anchoresses were an increasing feature of the fifteenth century. There were anchoresses in local churches such as Ryhall (*VCH Rutland* ii 273-4) and it would seem in Langham (information from Mike Frisby of Langham). There were at least two anchoresses in Stamford at this time, but this one is certainly the anchoress at the church of St Paul, in east Stamford. He also speaks of 'my curate'; William Browne had a private chaplain who was at times the vicar of All Saints in the Market; at this time, it was Henry Wykes who also served as trustee

<sup>6</sup> This description is odd; Elmes was a young man, member of the Inner Temple and therefore would have been a lawyer (*legis peritus*) rather than simply 'literatus' (educated, literate, trained in the law) unless he had not yet qualified.

for some of the endowments which William made (BL Harl 2372; LAO, BHS 7/12/24; *CIPM Henry VII*, 1.476, 478; *CCR 1485-1494*, 423).

With only the exception of the anchoress, there are no bequests to any other church, no mention of any of the many guilds of which Browne was a member, or of any religious house inside or outside Stamford; it is all highly focused on one parish church and his Hospital. All his estates, including the Rutland property, had been settled on trustees before his death, some for his daughter Elizabeth Elmes, some for his newly built Hospital (LAO, BHS 7/12/24; Devon Record Office, Simcoe 1038 M/T/13/6). Margery is his sole executrix; Thomas Stokes her brother, whom William Browne used to found his Hospital, John Elmes husband of Elizabeth, and William the young son of Elizabeth were assigned to assist her. The bequest to Thomas Howys and his wife looks like an afterthought; they

appear to be local trades people; a Thomas Howes was appointed searcher of the market in 1478 (HB i fol 24), but there is no other sign of this man.

William left other instructions than are contained in this will – for example, he left a large cup as a family heirloom which will appear in later wills; and Margaret's will also reveals she had further instructions about loans. But they do not appear in this will. They may have been given orally or contained in a lost codicil such as Margaret added to her will.

William Browne died on 14th April 1489; his will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury within a month (*CIPM Henry VII*, 1. 476, 478). He places complete trust in his wife Margaret to whom he leaves everything and makes his sole executrix. She too was elderly and in fact died just six months later. But as her will (also in English) shows, she was alert and active right up to the end.

#### 4. WILL OF MARGARET BROWNE

25th June 1489/24th October 1489, probate 30th January 1490

In the name of Almyghti god Amen. The xxvth day of June in the yer of our lord god m<sup>l</sup>ccclxxxix, I Dame Margaret Broune late the wife of William Broune of Staunford in the Countie of Lincoln in my pure widowhode beinge in my good and hoole mynde, Worshipped be god, make and ordeyne this my testament in this Wise. First with alle my hoole hert, mynde and wil, I geve and bequeth my soule to Almyghti god my Saviour, to the blissid virgin Marie his moder and to alle seintis And my sinfull body to be buried in the Chapell of our blissid lady saint Marye within the pariss chirch of Alle Halowes of Staunford aforesaid beside the body of my saide housband there buried. Also I bequeth to the vicar of Allhalowe chirch aforesaid my best garment as the custume is. Item I bequeth to the high awter of the same chirch vjs viijd. Also I bequeth to the Reparacions of the moder Chirch of Lincoln vjs viijd Also I bequeth to the said chirch of Alhalowes a palle for the fertour [feretory – a receptacle for holding relics] of blak velvett. Also I bequeth to the pariss chirch of saint Marye at Bridge of Staunford a vestiment of blak velvett that is to say a Cope, a cheseble with ij tenacles. Also I bequeth to the pariss chirch of saint Michaels in the same towne a vestiment of blak damaske, that is to say a Coope, a chesible and ij tonacles. Also I bequeth to the chirch of saint Andrewes in the same towne a vestiment of blak damask, that is to say a cope, a chesible and ij tonacles. Also I bequeth to the chirch of saint Paule in the same towne a vestiment of blak damask, that is to say a cope, a chesible and ij tonacles. Also I bequeth to the chirch of saint Stephen a vestiment of blak damaske, that is to say a cope, a chesible and ij tonacles. Also I bequeth to the pariss chirch of saint Peter a palle for the fertour of blak damask. Also I bequeth to the chirch of saint Clements in the same towne a vestiment of blak damask, that is to say a cope, a chesible and ij tonacles. Also I bequeth to the chirch of saint Martyne in the same towne a palle for the fertour of blak damask. Also I bequeth to the chirch of saint George in the same towne a palle of blak damask. Also I bequeth to every ordre and Convent of Freres in Staunford aforesaid vjs viijd. Also I bequeth to the prioresse and Convent of the Nonnes of saint Michaels beside Staunford vjs viijd. Also I bequeth to the pariss chirch of Warmyngton a vestiment of of [*sic*] blak velvett, that is to say a cope, a chesible and ij tonacles. Also I Woll that there be distributed among poor people at the day of my Sepultur in brede lxxvjs viijd. Also I wil that at my vij<sup>th</sup> day and my xxx<sup>ty</sup> day, at every of these dayes be distributed in brede in like wise lxxvjs viijd. Also I bequeth to John Elmes my son[-in-law] and Elizabeth his wife a hoole bed of lynnyn cloth steyned with iiij Curtayns of grene tartern, a fedirbed, a paire of fustians, ij paire of shetis, ij pelowes and a coveryng of Arras. Also I bequeth to William Elmys a bed, that is to say a fedir bed, ij blankettis, ij pair of shetis, ij pelowes, iij Curteyns of greane tartern and a coveryng of tapstrywerk. Also I bequeth to Katerine Elmes a bed, that is to saye a fedirbed, ij blanketts, ij pair of shetis, ij pelowes and a coveryng of tapstrywerk. Also I bequeth to John Elmes the yonger a bed, that is to say a fedirbed, ij blanketts, ij pair of shetis, ij pelowes and a blewe coveryng of tapstrewerk. Also I bequeth to Johanne Elmes a bed, that is to say a fedirbed, ij blanketts, ij payre of shetis, ij pelowes and a coveryng. Also I bequeth to Isabelle Elmes a bedde, that is to say a fedirbed, ij blanketts, ij paire of shetis, ij pelowes and a coveryng. Also I bequeth to my sonne Elmes the elder and Elizabeth his wife a good bordecloth [tablecloth] of dyapre [diaper] werk, ij towellis and vj Napkins of the same werk. Also I bequeth to the same John and Elizabeth his wife ij bollis [bowls] of silver and gilt with a coveryng of the same, a salt [salt

*Some fifteenth century kinship wills*

cellar] of silver and gilt with a coveryng and vj sponis [spoons] of sylver. Also I bequeth to William Elmes a bolle of silver and gilt and a salt of silver and gilt. Also I bequeth to maister Thomas Stok my brother a bolle of sylver and gilt and a standing cuppe with a coveryng ponnag [reading and meaning doubtful] and gilt and vj sponys. Also I bequeth to every sonne and daughter of the said John Elmes the elder a bordcloth and a towel.

The residue of alle my goodes above not bequethed I yeve and bequeth to my brother Thomas Stok. And I ordeyne and make for myn executours my said brother maister Thomas Stok, John Elmes and William Elmes son of the said John, to accomplish and fulfille my last wil expressid in this my testament. And also to performe the testament of myn housband. Whom Almyghti god lately hath callid oute of this present lief. In Witnes wherof I have sette my seale to this present testament. Wretin at Staunford the day and yer above exclossid, thenne being present S[ir] Herry Wyks vicar of Allhalowes aforesaid, Sir John Coton and Sir William Hawkyn prestis and Robert Bewmont.

*There follows the first of two codicils:*

Item I geve to my sonne John Elmes and to his wife a basin and an Ewer of silver and a potte of silver. Item I geve to my brother maister Thomas Stok a greate chist in the parlour, a newe table cloth of fine diapre of the largiest brede [breadth] with vj Napkins of the same werk, a grete gulted bowe [gilded bowl] of silver, a basin and an Ewer of silver, a cheir of Cipres [cypress wood], a turned chair, ij cusshins with pellycanys [pelicans], a Carpett, ij basins of laton [latten – a copper alloy normally containing zinc: Blair & Blair 1991, 83-5] with Roses in the myddes and ij Ewers for the same. Item I geve to William Elmes a pruce [spruce?] chiste standing in his chambre, a basin and an ewer of silver and a potte of silver. Item I wil that my brother deliver or cause to be deliveryd my beste Nutte [cup] at the day of mariage of William Elmes<sup>7</sup> to his wife which I geve to hir to remembre me by. Item I geve to sir Herry Wyks iiij sponys of silver with knoppes of lebardes [leopards] gilted, a Litill gilted cuppe with a coveryng to the same of silver, a Cusshyne of carpet werk with the name of Jhn [John] theruppon and xls in money. Item I yeve to John Elmes the yonger a paire of chist standing in the chapell chambre. Item I geve to katerine Elmes a pruce chist in the same chambre. Item I geve to my sustre Isabell ffitzacreley a painted chist standing in my chambre, a chaire, ij Red Cusshines with Roses, iiij Cusshins of vyolet with ymagis [images], a banker [chair cover] of Sapferis werk [uncertain], ij paire of shetis, a fedirbed, a pair of blanketts, a salt with a coveryng of silver, vj sponys with strawbury knoppes [strawberry ornaments], a coveryng of a bed of Tapstre werk that lay onne the bed in my parlour, a hanging of grene and Red that hangid in the halle and a banker perteyning to the same, a brasse potte, a basin with an ewer of laton, a testore of blewe bokeram [tester of blue buckram] with iiij Curteyns to the same, my best kirtil [overdress] and my best cloke [cloak], a table cloth of dyapre with a towell of the same, a blak focer [uncertain] bounde with Iryn, a hede of seint John, and my best prymer covered with velvet, a grete chafer [dish] for Colys [coals], a grete chafir withoute a lyd for Water, a Wassing basin of vj galons, a gilt bolle, my best sadill, a Caskett, a Ringe with a blewe stone. Item I bequeth to my cousin Nicholas [Fitzacreley?] a matras, a paire of shetis, a playne table cloth, iiij Napkyns of dyapre, a salt of silver, iiij sponis of silver with gilt strawbury knoppes. Item I geve to Thomas ffitzacreley a matras, ij paire of shetis, a coverlyd, a table cloth, ij towells of playne cloth, ij silver sponis with strawbery knoppes, xij peauter Wessells [pewter vessels]. Item I geve to Margaret ffitzacre [sic] a Chist standing in my Selar [solar], a matras, ij paire of shetis, a coverlyd, a potte, a panne, xij peawtre vessell, a table cloth, ij towells of playne cloth, iiij sponis of silver, an old salt saler [cellar] of silver and alle my Nete [herd of cows] and Swyne unto hir mariage, a White Sparver [canopy or tester for bed] that hangith in my parlore, a basin with an Ewer of laton, a blewe gounne furrid with White and grey, ij candilstikks, ij cusshins with a banker of tapstrie werk, a litill cofir [coffer] of spruce werk. Item I geve unto Jane ffitzacreley j materas, ij pair of shetis, a coverlyd, a table cloth, ij towellis of playne cloth, iiij silver sponys, xij peawtre vessells and an old salt saler of silver, a litill pruce cofer that standith in my chamber in my closett. Item I geve unto Robert ffitzacreley a matrasse, ij pair of shetis, a coverlid, a table cloth, ij towells of playne cloth, ij silver sponys, xij pewter vessells. Item I geve to Lytill William Stok a matras, ij paire of shetis, a coverlyd, a table cloth, a towell, ij spones, xij peautre vessell. Item I geve to Jonett Bone a matrasse, a paire of shetis, a coverlyd, a table cloth, a towell, ij silver spones, a gounne of vyolett, a cloke that is lined with tawney [probably a yellowy-brown fabric]. Item I geve to Agnes Sclater a materasse, a paire of shetis, a coverlid, a table cloth, a towell, vj peautre vessells, a gounne of blak lined with violett, a White kirtil. Item I geve a Ringe of fyne goold of the salutacion of our lady [the Virgin Mary] to be offered afir my decesse to our lady of Walsingham. Item I wil that a pair of bayns [basins] of silver and gilt laied to myne husband to be restored to the Awners [owners], the money paied ageyn. Item I wil that vj peces of silver with a coveryng to the same and a gardeyan [cabinet] pleggid to myne housband be restorid to the Awner, the money paied agein. And alle this plate pledged with alle other plegges to be in the keping of my brother maister Thomas Stok. Item I wil that a pyve [sic: clearly pyx, as it is mentioned in the will of Thomas Stokes below] in the Almonshous [Browne's Hospital]

<sup>7</sup> William Elmes married Elizabeth Iwardeby clearly after 1489; see pp 291-2 below.

having a coveryng to the same being in my Cuppebord in the parlour which was layed to wedde [pledge] to my housband for a certeyn money, Which Wed I wil that it be in the keeping of my said brother, he to Restore it to the Awner, the money paied agayn. Item I geve to Robert Beamont a Countre [counter] in my parlour, that is to say, the best sauser [?] oon, a coverlid that is to say a White coverlyd qwilt, a paire of shetis, iiij silver sponys with knoppes gilt. Item I geve to Mawde Huntley a blak goune lyned with blak bokeram, a kirtill furred with foxe and conye [rabbit fur], a blak cloke lyned with blak in the sholders, a smok, a kerchief. Item I geve to Alice Clopton a litill standing cofer in my closett. Item I geve to the churche of all halowes ij cuschins to the presbiterye wretin in theym ‘O mater dei’, a whyte torche to our ladyes auter [altar] wher myn husband lyeth xxli of wax to fynde the ij lyghtis in the qwere [choir], ij lightis in the Chapelle, one before seint Anne, one before seint Margaret, one before seint Crasine [Christina?], these lights to be founde in festivall dayes. Item I geve to Jonett walker a blak kyrtyll with sangweyne slevis [red sleeves], a smok, a blak kyrtyll furred with blak bogge, a white kirtill and my secunde sadill. Item I geve to the supprioresse of the Nonnes my mantell that I was professed in. Item I will that alle my tymbre, borde, Iryn, stone, lede, Nayle, Lath and alle other stuf perteynyng to bilding or Reparacion being within my place or els where be preserved and kept to my said brother for the Reparacions of the tenementis that stonden in feoffees handes. Item I geve to the gyld of seint Kateryne a table cloth of dyaper being in my grete chist in my parlour and a towell. Item I geve to the gilde of Alhalowes a table cloth, a brasse pott and a spitt. Item I will that my said brother kepe alle my servaunts togedir in houshold as many as will abyde the space of a quarter of a yer Immediatly aftre my deceasse uppon my charge and coost, mete drynke and wages, he to have the Rewle and providing [?] of theym and noon other. Item I wil that my said brother Restore a Ringe to the son of William Brooke pleggid to me by his fader nowe deceassid, And if he cannot be founde thenne to yeve to prestis and poor people iij to pray for the soule of the dede for a Recompense of the overpluse of the Wedde. And this my wil made at divers tymes by good deliberacion I will be annexed to my testament and be performed with the same. In witnes wherof hereto I have sette my seale the xxiiij day of Octobre next aftre the date of my testament.

*There follows the second codicil:*

Stuffe to be left within the place. And ther to Remyne by the Wil and commaundement of my lady Dame Margaret Browne First in the parloure the best countre [counter] and a pruce chist that standith in the Chambre, the hanging in the parloure of Red say [woollen cloth or serge], a long setell, a turned chayre, a chaire of Cipres, a beme [beam] with iiij lights, a Cuppeborde, a hanging Candilstik of Laton with v lights. Item in the Halle a hanging of Rede say, a beme with iiij lights, a pece of Arras for the high deace [dais] of the storye of Gersil. Item in the kechin ij brasse potts. Item in the bryung [brewing] hous ij sette ledis [uncertain]. Item in the Iyle [ale] hous ij Wort ledys.

[Proved at Lambeth 30th January on the oath of Robert Beamont ‘literatus’<sup>8</sup> etc and William Elmes executors; administration given to Robert and William on the grounds of the infirmity of Master Thomas Stokes clerk].

*TNA Prob 11/8 Milles.*

This is a much longer, more detailed and altogether warmer will than that of her husband. She mentions her son-in-law John Elmes, who had married Elizabeth the sole heir of William and Margaret Browne; Elmes was a merchant of the Calais staple from Henley on Thames but he had settled nearby on his wife’s land in Lilford and was working in Stamford. She mentions her grandchildren in some detail, William, John, Katherine, Joan and Isabel (Elmes). And it is much wider in its range of sympathies – all the parish churches and the friaries of Stamford are remembered as are places outside the town, including Lincoln and Warmington, her parents’ home. She sealed it with her own great seal, being witnessed by Henry Wykes, vicar of All Saints in the Market, the two priests at the Hospital, Coton and Hawkins, and Robert Beaumont.

The will itself is confined to the Elmes family

and the churches; but the first codicil added a few days before she died (on 28th October 1489, *CIPM Henry VII*, 1.525, 533, 551) goes much wider. It is full of fascinating information. It is clear that she is going round the house room by room, allocating the furniture and other contents to different members of her wider family. The key person was Thomas Stokes her brother whom she made her executor; but alongside him is William Elmes, her young grandson (clearly unmarried at this date) who has his own chamber in her house; to him she gave her ‘great Nutt’, a cup in the shape of a coconut with lid, for him to remember her by. This descended as a family heirloom, being mentioned two generations later as the heirloom of William Browne, not of Margaret Browne. For John Elmes of Lilford, Margaret Browne’s great-grandson, in November 1540 speaks thus in his will of this ‘grete nutt and cover’:

<sup>8</sup> ‘literatus’ here almost certainly means ‘trained in the law’ (*Medieval Latin Wordlist*) but it clearly carries some symbolic status rather than being just a description; he was William Browne’s man of business (steward?) in Stamford.

I wyll the next of my kinne that shuld be heire to hym of brownes londs myn Auncestour that ys hable to paye for yt and do paye for yt to have yt paing nothing for the fasshyon but to praye for my fathers soule, my soule and all christen soules, ... the sayd nutt wyth the cover whiche I wyll shall remayne to the said Edmond [his eldest surviving son] and to his heyres and to the heires of my graunt father Wylyyam Browne of Stamford for ever.

*TNA Prob 11/30*

Cups of this type, described as ‘a kind of goblet made from a coconut or other large nut, whose shell, cut open at one end, is mounted in metal’ (Jefferson 2000, 204-05), were well known in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; amongst those that survive are two in Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, of which one can be dated to about 1470, approximately the same period as William Browne’s nutt (see fig. 3). William Browne’s cup cannot now be traced.

Beyond her immediate successors, Margaret makes bequests to her sister Isabel’s family of the Fitzacreleys of Kirby, Northamptonshire – Robert, Isabel’s husband, Nicholas, Thomas, Jane and Margaret; and there is mention of one ‘Lytell William Stokes’ who unfortunately cannot now be traced. It would seem that her servants are listed by name, such as Jonett Bone, unlike William Browne’s servants; Robert Beaumont was William Browne’s man of business and he continued to serve as agent for the new Hospital in its estate dealings (Bodl. Rawl B352). All in all, this will reveals a much more sympathetic soul.

Unusually, her final codicil provides for the furniture to be left in the house; it is clear from other sources that first Thomas Stokes and then William Elmes (who was already living for part of the time there) came to occupy this building. And it was a large establishment: there is mention of the hall with its dais and hangings, the parlour with its cupboard, ‘my parlour’ containing a private closet and at least one ‘counter’ (probably a piece of standing furniture with a counting board top: it would seem that there was more than one counter, for the will gives the ‘best’ counter to Robert Beaumont and yet suggests that the counter in the parlour should be left in the house for its next occupant), ‘my solar’ and ‘my chamber’, William Elmes’ chamber, ‘the chapel chamber’ apparently in the house and not in the Hospital next door, kitchen, brewing house and ale house. The house, which descended by borough English to the youngest son except when made the subject of direct grant, was still in the hands of the family in 1543: for John Elmes the great grandson in his will speaks of ‘My house in Stamforde ... the stuff to remain there to thuse of the heyre that



*Fig. 3. A ‘Nutt’ (coconut cup) dating from about 1470. The family heirloom which William and Margaret Browne bequeathed to the Elmes family and which passed down through at least four generations would have been very similar (Crighton 1975, 17: I owe this reference to Nigel Bumphrey of Norwich).*

*We are grateful to the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and to Professor W Yao Liang for permission to use this photograph.*

borough Englyssh make heyre theyr’ (TNA Prob 11/30).

Among the more important features of this will is the reference to pledges given to her husband for loans which he had made to their owners – they are

to be restored if the sum is repaid. One of these may be noticed, the pyx being used in the Hospital with the cover kept separately in the parlour of the house: *Item I wil that a pyve [pyx] in the Almonshous having a coveryng to the same being in my Cuppebord in the parlour which was layed to wedde to my housband for a certeyn money, Which Wed I wil that it be in the keping of my said brother, he to Restore it to the Awner, the money paied agayn.* But equally interesting is the fact that Margaret too engaged in the money-lending part of the business: *I wil that my said brother Restore a Ringe to the son of William Brooke pleggid to me by his fader nowe deceassid.* She had her own great seal and presumably a privy seal as well. And she engaged in other business interests such as agriculture (she left her cattle and swine to a niece); and mention of her timber and all *other stuf perteynyng to bilding* indicates her interest in her tenanted property and perhaps the completion of her husband's Hospital; building was going on at the Hospital, at All Saints' church and on some of Browne's property in Stamford at this time.

Margaret was educated – almost certainly at the nunnery in Stamford where a school was run during this century (Power 1922, 265); for she left to the

nuns the gown in which she had taken her initial vows, almost certainly as a child. She had at least one book, a primer, and some of her furnishings had writing on them. And she had a tapestry hanging telling the story of Griselda, the 'model of enduring patience and wifely obedience, also called Patient Griselda, Patient Grissel and the like, used in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1353) and in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*'.<sup>9</sup>

She refers to the gild of St Katherine in St Paul's parish church which her husband as its lifetime Alderman had refounded in 1480 in support of the anchoress there, and of which she was herself a member (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius MSS 266/670).

Margaret's will was proved within three months of her death. She left the residue of her goods, not to her daughter Elizabeth but to her brother Thomas Stokes, Rector of Easton on the Hill, although Elizabeth was said to be aged 48 or more at the time of her death (*CIPM Henry VII*, 1.525). Thomas was engaged on the final stages of the foundation of Browne's Hospital. Together with Margaret's son-in-law John Elmes and her young lawyer grandson William Elmes, he was made her executor. The will of Thomas Stokes probably explains why this was so.

## 5. WILL OF THOMAS STOKES

20th January 1494/5, probate 14th November 1495

Thomas Stokes was a clerk, vicar of All Saints in the Market and later rector of Easton on the Hill, while also being a canon of York; he was used by William Browne to finish the founding of the Hospital, writing its statutes (Wright 1890). He and William Browne and Margaret his sister were very close.

This will, which Thomas Stokes wrote in his own hand, starts in Latin. It would appear that Thomas was

given to writing elaborate and indeed unintelligible Latin tags, several of which survive in impenetrable language (see the tablet in Browne's Hospital, and verses on the brass of William Browne); the Latin part of the will reveals the same tendency. But after a time he gives up and reverts to English. Although the Latin of the first lines of the will is obscure in construction, its meaning is fairly clear.

*Translated from the Latin:*

In the name of God Amen. Since the whole human race caught the sentence of death through the fall of the First Adam, that cruel death by rapid progress running everywhere, therefore, as a little man, a shoot from a damaged root, who faces death, so that the soul might profit after the body becomes extinct, and having my senses and my memory still vigorous for disposing of my goods,<sup>10</sup> in the year of our Lord 1494, 20th January, I Thomas Stok clerk make testament as follows:

First, I bequeath my soul to Almighty God and my body to be buried before the high altar in the chancel of my parish church at Eston by Stamford if it happens that I die within twelve miles of Eston; if elsewhere, to be buried in the church there. I leave to my said church of Eston a sacerdotal vestment of black velvet with cope, silk and *auteforium* [meaning uncertain: may be related to 'altar']. To the poor of that parish 20s. To my church of Buckworth, Huntingdonshire, another sacerdotal vestment of red silk and to the poor there 20s. Item I leave to the

<sup>9</sup> Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* 1990 edn, 504; see extracts from will of Dame Constance Ferrers of Baddesley 1551 in *Antiquaries Journal* 87 (2007) 339: 'the hangings of redd and yelowē saye with the border of the story of Grysill'. I owe this identification to the Editor.

<sup>10</sup> The Latin here is very obscure; I am grateful to Dr Nick Karn of Christchurch College, Oxford, for help with some of this Latin translation.

*Some fifteenth century kinship wills*

parish church of Bugthorp by York a sacerdotal vestment in silk coloured [indecipherable] and to the poor of that place 20s. Item I leave to the four orders of friars in Stamford 52s 4d to be divided equally between them. To each poor man in the almshouse of William Browne in Stamford 12d. Item to the nuns of St Michael there 20s. Item I leave to my nephew (*nepoti*) Thomas Stoke all lands and remainders which my brother William Stoke knight bought and acquired in the towns and fields of Rokingham, Brigstoke, Kyrkeby, Warmyngton and two closes next to the abbey of Pypwell in Northamptonshire and one close in Burtonoverey in Leicestershire according to the form and effect of a charter indented by John Scotte clerk made on this matter of which the date is etc [*sic*]. Item I leave to the said Thomas and Agnes his sister one great cup with a cover silver and gilt, twelve silver jewels of which one is gilt, two saucers silver and gilt with a cover to be equally divided between them and they are in the custody of Henry Wykes. Item, I leave to the said Thomas one complete (*integer*) bed, viz /

*This follows in English:*

my largest fetherbedd with the bolster, a paire of fustians, ij paire of shits, a coverlet of tapstry werke with ymagery, a sperver [canopy] of redd silke, ij pilowes of down, the complete hangings of my hall, vj cusshons of tapestry werke, a spruce chest and myn englissch bokes and politroni [meaning uncertain] and x marcs in mony. Item to Agnes Stoke sustre of the said Thomas I bequeth the hole stof of my White Chambre that is to say a White sperver with the hanging of the chambir, a fetherbed with a bolster, a piece of fustians, ij paire of shetis, ij pilows of down, a covering of tapstry werke with branches and flowerk, a Large hanging of a bed of silke with a covering of the same werke, a cownter, a spruce chest, a garnyss of newe vessel to be devided betwixt hire brother and hire and to hire mariage xx<sup>li</sup> in mony. Item to Robert Bewmont a fethrebed, a bolster, a paire of fustians, ij paire of shets, a pilow of down, an hanging bed[?] of grene with a large covering of grene worstede for the same, the complete hanging of my grete chambre, a horse sadill and bridell, a violet gown engrayned furred with mynks, ij salves of silver and gilt and x<sup>li</sup> in mony. Item to Thomas ffaseakyrley a fetherbedd with a bolster, a pilow, a paire of blanketts, ij paire of shets, a covering, a blew long gown furred with martiran polvys [marten's fur], a horse sadill and brydill, and lxvjs viijd. Item to Robert ffaserkyrley a fetherbed, a bolster, a pillowe, a paire of blanketts, ij paire of shets, a coverlit, a long gown and Cs [100 shillings] in mony. Item, to William ffremman a fetherbed with a bolster, a paire of blanketts, a paire of shetis, a pilowe, a coverlet, a long gown of myn and xls in mony. Item to John Holand I geve ij oxen and ij heykfords [heifers] being in his keping and xxs in mony. Item to Henry Sklater and Agnes his wif a fetherbed with a bolster, a paire of blanketts, ij paire of shets, a table cloth, ij towellis, a pilow, a coverlet, vj sponys of silver and xls in mony. Item to Sutton a gown and xs. Item to Hugh Bouche a gowne of myn, ij [indecipherable] and xxs. Item to William Hert in mony vjs viijd. Item I geve and bequeth to my sustre Isabell [Fitzacreley] x<sup>li</sup> in mony over such mony as she hath borrowed of me at dyverse tymes. Item to Nicholas ffaseakyrley I bequeith Cs in mony. Item I bequeith to my cousyn William Elmes a basyn of silver and an ewer. And to my cousyn his wif a coveryng gilted with a ring, and to Thomas Elmes my godson a standing pece gilt. The residue of my plate I woll that it be put to making of chaleis. Item I will that all pleggs and weddys which my brother William Brown and my sustre hys wif lent mony upon be restored to the owners, the mony that they hath fore paid that is to say, a paire of basyns gilt pledged by lord Souche lying for xx<sup>li</sup> iiijs as appereth by my brothers own hand in his rede boke, vj specys of silver with a covering plegges for viij<sup>li</sup> by Stones of Barnak. Item a pix of silver being in the almes house with a covering, a crosse in the top pledged by Vincent of Barnake for xxvjs viijd. Item a womans girdill gilt pledged by a woman of Spalding called [space] for xiijs iiijd. Item a standing pece of the old ffacion pledged by Dalalaund for lxvjs viijd as it appereth by my brothers Browns boke, and all such plegges as will not be borrowed owte let them be put to making of chaleis with all other brokyn silver and gold that I have, them to be geven to my churches of Eston and Bukworth and to the church of Warmyngton and other that have nede of them. Item I will that my cousyn William Elmes have C<sup>li</sup> in mony to performe my brothers Brown testament and the last will of my sustre his wif and to kep up there yere dues honoribly as it hath ben accustomed hitherto. The residue of all my goodes my dettes paid and this my last will performed I bequeith to my cousyn William Elmes, Syr Henry Wykes, Maister Thomas Hykam and Robert Bewmont, they to dispose them to the pleasure of god and wele of my soule, which iiiij personnes I ordeigne and make to be myn executours. Item I will that C<sup>li</sup> be delyvered into the keping of Sir Henry Wykes and maister Thomas Hykam for the exhibicion of ij prests that is to say maistre John Taylour scolar of Oxford and sir Robert Shipley, the said maistre Taylour to have his stipend to Oxford by cause of his Lernyng there viij marcs by yere, the said sir Robert to sing at Eston to pray for me, my brother Brown and Dame Margaret his wif,oure progenitours and frendes and for all Cristen soules which sir Robert shall have for his stipende yerely Cs. And so both prestes to contynue while the said somme of C<sup>li</sup> endureth. In witnes wherof to this my last Will writen in myn own hand I have sette my seale the yere and day above writen.

[Probate 14th November 1495]. Thomas died 23rd October 1495 (*CIPM Henry VII*, 1.522-3).

*TNA Prob 11/10.*

The key interest of this will is the elaboration of the money-lending activities of William and Margaret Browne. There is a more detailed list of outstanding pledges which Thomas took over from Margaret Browne and an indication that this list came both from Margaret Browne and from the red book of William Browne which he wrote with his own hand. Some of the names of the borrowers are given – lord Zouche, Vincent and Stones of Barnack, an unnamed woman of Spalding who pledged her girdle, and one of the de la Laund family who had been involved in the Lincolnshire Rising of 1470 and who later made a major donation to the Hospital of William Browne (*CPR 1467-76*, 508-9; LAO, BHS 7/7/10, 7/12/27). The pyx which Margaret refers to is again mentioned here. The house mentioned would seem to have been the original Browne's house in Stamford; hence the mention of the Hall, Great Chamber and White Chamber, among other rooms.

He refers to his 'nephew' Thomas Stokes and Agnes, sister of Thomas Stokes junior. There is some evidence that they were the illegitimate children of Thomas's brother Sir William Stokes; Thomas acted as feoffee to settle property on them, using John Scott (*CIPM Henry VII*, 1.522-3; see Rogers, 'Fermour', forthcoming). The bequest of his books, some in English and perhaps at least some called 'politroni',<sup>11</sup> and of a counter for business make it clear he saw this younger Thomas as his more direct heir. This Thomas was a teller in the Exchequer and has left behind an unusual bundle of papers relating to his work in the Exchequer which contains among them papers of

Thomas Stokes the elder (TNA SP 46/123).

The importance to the family group of Henry Wykes, vicar of All Saints in the Market and member of the propertied family of Wykes of Burleigh by Stamford, and of Robert Beaumont is again revealed in this will; they became his executors, along with Thomas Hykham, a local clergyman from a merchant family in Stamford, and William Elmes. John Taylor, beneficiary under the will, did not stay long at Oxford on his scholarship but became master warden of Browne's Hospital and later vicar of St Martin's church, Stamford (TNA C1/357/15; Bodl Rawl B352).

William Elmes now took over at Browne's Hospital – but he died very young, in 1504. He was the grandson of William Browne, eldest son of John and Elizabeth Elmes; a lawyer who had studied at the Inner Temple, in a short life he attained considerable prominence in both Stamford and Henley on Thames. He was Recorder and MP for Stamford, and in Rutland he served as collector of the lay subsidy and commissioner of gaol delivery for Oakham from 1501; he served as JP for the county and for four other counties until his death (*Rot Parl* vi 539, 540; see Wedgwood 1936, 297). With Thomas Stokes, he was supervisor of the will of William Browne (for whom he acted as feoffee) and was executor for Margaret Browne and for Thomas Stokes. He completed the process of founding Browne's Hospital, Stamford, and gave his coat of arms to the Hospital for its seal. He married (sometime after 1489) Elizabeth daughter of John Iwardby of Great Missenden (Ives 1983, 473).

## 6. WILL OF WILLIAM ELMES

22nd March 1504/5

In the name of god, Amen. The xxij day of the monith of March in the yere of ovr lorde god a thowsand v C and iiij and in the xix yere of the Regne of king henry the vijth I William Elmes of Staunforth of good and hole mynde ordegne and make this my testament and last Will as folowith. Ffirst I bequeth my soule to allmyghty god to ovr lady saint mary virgin and to all the holy companye of hevin and my body to be buried in the church of the tempull [Inner Temple] in London with my principall to be my mortuary as the custome is. Also I bequeth to the mother church of lincoln ijs and to every prest being at my dirige and masse the day of my burying viijd and thei to have no diner [ie to fast that day] And to every clerke and childe wering a superpellice ther ijd and to pore peopull in almes in halfepeny bred xxs. And in likewise to be donne at the monith day. Also I bequeth to my Curat at Stanford my principall and in money vjs viijd. Also I bequeth to the reparacions of the lady chapell within the parish church of allhallow in Staunforth xijs iiijd and to the reparacions of the body of the same church xxs, And to por peopull of the same parish vjs viijd at divers tymes by the discrecyon of my Executours. Also I bequeth to the churchis of Lillford, Missenden, Wermynghon, Wittam [Witham in Lincolnshire] and Swynsted every of them vjs viijd, and to the pore peopull of every of the saied parishes xxd. Item to the abbot and Convent of Missenden ons keping my obbet and the abbot being present xxs, and to the pour men in the almshouse in henley xs Also to the Warden of the almshouse at Staunford xs and to his brother vjs viijd and to every pour man and woman and [sic] the same house xijd and to the bedred [bedridden] folk vjjs [sic] and to the prisoners in the nexte Gayole vjjs. Also to every of the iiij ordres of ffriers in Staunforth xs, and to the Nunnys ther xijs iiijd and to the Ankres ther iiij yerly xxs and for xij trentals of Seint Gregory to be saied for my soule lxxs and to my household servaunts liijs iiijd to be devidid by the discrecion of my Executours. Also I bequeth to the Warden of the almshouse in

<sup>11</sup> The word 'politronus' occurs in Latin-Celtic texts, see *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources* (Royal Irish Academy), but its meaning here is obscure; this reference sounds like books and may refer to chronicles or law books.

Staunforth and to his confrer ther and to there successours to the use contenance and behofe of the saied almis house xls. Also I wull that all my goodis cattals detts platt and stuff of howeshold, my wifes aparell alonly excepte, to be devided in iij partys, the furst parte to the performyng of this my last Will and testament. The secunde parte of the same I frely geve and bequeth to Elyzabeth my wiff to have and enjoy it to hir owne use and profit, and the Residue of the saied iij parties I geve and bequeth to Elizabeth and Johanne my dowghters and if the saied Elizabeth and Johanne my dowghter deies or dy before they be maried, living my sonne John Elmys, Than I wull that the on half of the part or porcion to the foresaied Elizabeth and Johanne do remayne to the saied John Elmes my sonne and the othir half to remayne to the Warden aforesaied and to his successours to the use of the saied house, and if the saied John Elmys deies, lyving his saied susters or ether of them, than I wull that the oon half of the part or porcion bequethed to the forsaied Elizabeth and Johanne or to ether of them lyyng and not maried, do remayne to the saied Warden as is aforesaied and the other half therof to be distributid and given to the mariage of my brother and suster childerne or others of my pour kynsmen by the discrecion of my Executours. And of this my testament and last Will, I ordeigne and make Elizabeth Elmys my wif Johanne Iwarby hir mother Robert Brudenell and William Cuttlerd sergeants at the law to be myn executours geving to every of the saied Johanne, Robert and William for ther labors xxs. Also I ordeigne and make my mother Dame Elyzabeth Elmis to be survuior and supervisour of the same geving to hir for the same my best ring of golde. Also I wull that all such porcions of my goodis bequethid to my dowghters do remayne in my wifes hande and keping to the tyme they be maried if she life and be sole, and if she do mary agayne than I wull that the same porcion to my saied dowghters bequethid be in the keping and ordre of myne Executours or of ij of them to thuse and behofe aforesaied. Item I bequeth to the finding of a prest to sing for my soule and all my benefactours by the space of vij yere Cvjs viijd. Also I wull that Thomas my sonne have all the londis and tenements in Staunforth after my mother dame Elyzabeth Elmys deies which my saied mother hath of hir ffathers gift in Staunford terme of hir life. Also Also [*sic*] I wull that all such bargaen as I have made with William ffowler of Walcot that the profit therof grow to the performyng of this my present testament and last Will and Payment of my detts.

[Probate at Lambeth 21st June 1504 by Elizabeth the widow, Robert Brudenell and William Cuttlerd].

*TNA Prob 11/1.*

This is the will of a lawyer concerned with the future welfare of his very young children and evidently knowing that he had not long to live. His property was clearly extensive, and included his parent's home in Henley on Thames, where his mother Elizabeth Elmes (née Browne) had made her home (Rogers, 'Fermour'). That part of the property in Stamford which belonged to William Browne and which came to his daughter Elizabeth Elmes was clearly kept separate and was to be inherited by the younger son, presumably because of borough English which operated in the town (see above). His

use of London-based lawyers as executors rather than local people is interesting; and it is significant that when (as William Elmes foresaw in this will) his young widow married again, she chose another lawyer, John Pygot (Ives 1983, 473).

Elizabeth Elmes (née Browne), his mother, was the next to die. She was in her late sixties and had made Henley on Thames, her husband's family residence, her home. But the links with the Browne family home in Stamford and the Stokes remained. Her will is longer and shows a greater concern for religious observance than any of the others so far.

7. ELIZABETH ELMES  
11th April 1510, proved 17th May 1511

In the name of god amen. In the yere of our lord god m<sup>l</sup>v<sup>c</sup>x and the xjth day of Aprill, I dame Elizabeth Elmys of Henley upon Thamys in the County of Oxon the diocese of Lincoln wedowe, hole of mynde and memory make my Will and testament in this maner and fourme folowing, Ffirst I geve and bequeth my soule to almighty god my maker, to his blissed moder our lady seynt Mary, to my goode angell and to all the holy company of heven, my body to be buried within the churche of Henly aforsaid within the chapell of our lady by the sepulker of Richard Elmys if it please god me to departe this transitory lif within the lemyte of this countrey; And if it please god to call me fro this World in Stamford or within the lemyte of that countrey, than I will my body to be buried in Stamford within the churche off Alhalowes in our lady chapell there nyghe to the sepulker of William Brown my fader. Also I geve and bequethe to the moder churche of Lincoln xijd. Also I geve and bequeth to the vicar of Alhalowes in Stamford and to the person of Henley and to every of theym xs, praying theym of there charitie and every of theym to saye a trentall of seynt Gregory for the welth of my husbonds soule, my soule and all cristen soules. Also I will that on the day of my buriall the xxxth day and my xijth moneths daye and in every of theym be song with note iij masses with dirige laudes and commendacion; ffirst masse of our ladye, second of the holygost, iijrde of Requiem, And every secular preest beyng at the said iij masses the said three daies and saying

masse ther present shall have for every day of the said iij daies vjd. Also I geve and bequeth to v poore men holding v torches of myn owne the said iij daies at the said masses to every of theym a blake gowne, And every day of the said iij daies every of theym ijd. Also I will that there be distributtid every daye of the said iij daies to poore and nedy people beyng in that place and towne where it shall please god me to be buried and thies said iij masses xiijs to be distributed in bred as moche as may be had, and that the Residew in money by peny dole. Also I will that Immediatly aftir deceesse contynuyng xl daies besides my buryng daye and my xxx<sup>ii</sup> daye, that ther be song xl<sup>ii</sup> massez with note in that churche where it shall please god me to be buryed, that is to say xxx<sup>ii</sup> masses off seynt gregorys trentall with placebo dirige and commendacion all with note. Also other x to complishe the said xl as thus iij of Alhalowes, iij of the v wounds iij of Requiem and oon of the Angelys with all offices and other mysters as in the daies of the said festis is used and solempnysed; And every preest beyng present at the massez, dwelling within the said parisshe and servyng within the said churche shal have for every masse so being present with dirige, lawds commendacion And so for every of the said massez he shal have iiijd with bred wyne and wax to the saide massez at my costs and charge. Also I will that there be said iij trentalls of seynt Gregory with dirige lauds and commendacion within the said churche where it shall please god me to be buried in also goodely hast as may convenyently aftir the said xl daies, And I will the said preests saying the said trentalls shal have xxxs. And I will thies be doon for the helthe of my husbonds soule, my soule, my fader and moders soules and all cristen soules. Also if it please god to call me in Oxenfordshyre or thereabout, Then I Will geve and bequeth to every of the iiiij orders of freers in Oxenford xs, they and every of the said iiiij orders to say a trentall with dirige commendacion with all other observaunces within their places for my soule and all cristen soules; And if it please god to call me at Stamford or there aboute, then I will the said xs to every of the iiiij orders of freers of Stamford, And they to say the said trentalls under the said maner. Also I will that thos said places of freers to whom my legacies shall come Immediatly aftir shall syng in their places oon masse of Requiem with placebo, dirige lauds and commendacion. Also I geve and bequeth to the freers of Redyng xs, and they to say in their place a trentall of seynt gregory with placebo, dirige and commendacion in due maner. Also I will that aftir the forsaid xl daies that myn obite be kept in the churche where it shall please god me to be buried moneth aftir moneth unto the tyme of my xij moneths mynde, that is to saye, unto thende of the hole yere Immediatly aftir my deceesse with iij solempne massez. And I will that every preest of the saide churche beyng at dirige and at the said iij massez and saying masse the said daies of every of the said moneths obitts monethe aftir monethe shal have for every of theym iiijd. And I will the said v poore men shall hold the said v torches brennyng in every of the said obitts during the said iij massez for every daye shal have for their labour to praye for me and to holde the said torches monythely unto thende of the said yere ijd. Also I will the said v torches be observed and kepid to brenne at my said obitts and at other of myn obitts as long as they will endur and myn obite kept. Also I geve and bequeth unto the ij preests in my fathers almshouse in Stamford to every of theym xs. And every of theym to saye a trentall of seynt gregory with massez dirige and other observaunces. Also I geve and bequeth to every of the poore men and women beyng in the said al[m]shouse ijs. Also I geve and bequith to the mayntenaunce of the light of Alhalowes within the high Chauncell of the church of henley iiijs. And also I geve and bequeth to our lady light in the Chapell of oure lady within the said church iiijs, to be distributid at iij tymes within the yere aftir my deceesse, soo that the said lights be maynteyned duryng the said yere. Also I geve and bequeth to the lights of our lady and of seynt Nicholas within the churche of Carshyngton to the mayntenaunce of every of theym iij iiijd to be distributed as aforesaid. Also I geve and bequeth to the reparacion of the said churche of Carshyngton xxs. Also I geve to every of my servaunts that shall happen to dwell with me in my house the tyme of my departing xs besides their wages and clothyng behynde if any bee, soo that they may have cause to remembre and pray for my soule. Also I geve and bequeth to Kateryn Conryke my doughter my hangyng bede of Red say with fetherbedde, bolster, curteyns, sparver, testour with all therto belonging with hangyngs of that chamber, a chest with all the stuff conteyned theryn, a blake gowne, a blake gyrdell, a blake peyre of beds [beads?], a blake mantell and a blake hoode and godds [God's] blissing and myn. Also I bequeth to Jane Turnour my doughter ij bedds in the newe chambre with the curteyns sparver and testour with all the Implements to the said ij bedds belongyng with all hangyngs to the said chambre, the chest within the buttry with all the poore stuff conteyned within, a blake cloke, a blake hoode, a blake peyre of beds and godds blissing and myn. Also I geve and bequeth to Isabell Stonysby my doughter ij bedds in myn owne chambre where I lye in henley with all curteyns sparver and testurs with all hangyngs in the said chambre with all Implements to the said ij bedds belonging, a karvyn chest with the poore stuff conteyned within and hir name ys written within that chest, a blake mantell and a blak girdell gilte and a payre of blake beds and godds blessing and myn. Also I geve and bequeth to Elizabeth Elmys doughter of William Elmys my goddoughter a flatt chest beyng within my chambre in Stamford with all the poore stuff theryn conteyned, and godds blissing and myn. Also I geve and bequeth to Kateryn Elmys doughter to John Elmys my son all my household stuff beyng within my maner of Carshyngton as bedding brasse pewter laton bankers [chair covers] cusschons and all other stuff of household within the said place. Also I geve and bequeth to Elizabeth Fowler my goddoughtyer a white bed within the brosshyng chamber with the federbed bolster pelowes blanketts coveryngs a

flatt cheste and the poore stuff that ys theryn hir name ys written in that chest and goddes blissing and myn. Also I will that my preest that shall happen to be with me the tyme of my departyng kepyng hymself so in honesty shall contynew to syng and rede for my husbonds soule my soule and all cristen soules within the church where it shall please god me to be buried by the space of oon yere fully to be completid aftir my decesse and he to have for his stipend and wages by the hands of myn executours ix marcs. And the saide preest to fynde hymself brede wyne and wax the said yere during. The Residew of all my goods, my detts paied and all thies my legacies performed completed and doon, I will that they be devided among my thre daughters indifferently. Executours I ordeyn Mr Thomas Lentall of Latcheford gent and Peter Turnour of London my son in lawe. And the said Thomas shal have for his diligence xls and the said Peter Turnour xxvjs viijd. Oversears of this my will I ordeyn and make Mr Thomas Pykote sergeant of the coyffe. And I will that he shal have to be and favorable [*sic*] to this my will xls. And Mr John Willys gent, and he to have for to be goode oversear to this my will xxs. Also I will that all rents with all arrerages [arrears] of my londs dew to me the tyme of my departyng be gaderid at my charge and bestowed with all suche plate as I have not bequethid in this my testament be sold and all be gaderid and assomed, and all suche rents and plate to fynde me a preest to syng and rede for me in the said church where it shall please god me to be buried for as long tyme as the said rents with the valour of the said plate woll endure beside the yere within written, and that this be not fayled but be doon by myn executours as my faithfull trust ys in theym and they may answeere to god. Also I will geve and graunte all that my rente setting and beyng in the Northstrete [Henley] whiche I had by purchace of Thomas Rokys of Failley gent with all the appurtenaunces to the wardeyn and brydgemmen of Henley and to their successours for the tyme beyng evermore, uppon this condicion that the said wardeyn and his brydgemmen shall holde and kepe oon yerely obite with placebo dirige commendacion and masse of Requiem by note, and he that syngith the said masse of Requiem shal have every yere viijd and the two chantry preests every of theym iiij with wax lights and all othir things acustomed to be kepte and hold yerely the daye of my decesse to the valour of iiij evermore. And all othir profitts and revenuez of the said tenement, all reparacion doon, kept and maynteyned, I will to the churche and bridge according to the olde graunts accustomed within the said towne of henley, Provided alwey that if the said Wardeyn and bridgemen do not perfourme and kepe the said obit according to the forsaid graunte with keping all reparacion of the said tenement with his appurtenaunces to thentent of this my last will, that then I will that myn executours or their heires into the said rent with all thappurtenaunces shall entur possesse and enjoye all the said tenement with his appurtenaunces, and the said wardeyn and bridgemen elene be excluded for ever, And that then my said executours and their heyres to holde and kepe the said obite under the forsaid maner evermore. Also I will myn executours doo ordeyn and laye a stone of marbull with my armys and scriptur according to there discrecion.

[Probate 17th May 1511 by Thomas Lentall and Peter Turnour].

*TNA Prob 11/17.*

The difference between the wills of Elizabeth and her mother could not be much greater. Here are details of the kinds of religious services Elizabeth wishes to have said for her. Her interest in the masses of St Gregory is interesting, for in the *Book of Hours* which John Browne her uncle and his wife Agnes, sister of Margaret Browne, owned, the feast of St Gregory appears as the patron saint of the family; the same feast occurs in the detailed will of her grandson John Elmes (died 1543) (Marks & Williamson 2003, 274). But there is no sign of that with William and Margaret Browne. This religious element in the family seems to have grown stronger as the sixteenth century progressed. The will of John Elmes her grandson in 1543 (which is too long to be printed here) contains at least 27 different provisions for prayers for his soul in great detail, amounting to some £80, with full details of the masses which were to be said or sung, apart from the residue of his estate to be used by his executors to 'pray for my soul' (TNA Prob 11/30).

It would seem Elizabeth too was educated, like her mother; for she refers to the names of her

children and grandchildren written inside various chests to mark their ownership of the contents. But there is no mention in Elizabeth's will of John Elmes her husband. Elizabeth seems to have handed over the lands which her father gave her in Stamford and the area around, including Lilford manor in Northamptonshire which the Elmes family made their seat, to her son William, while she retired to Henley on Thames (she was there in 1500 when she and her aunt Isabel Fitzacreley were being sued; see Rogers, 'Fermour'). However, she clearly retained some presence in Stamford, for she speaks of her chamber in Stamford and envisages she might die in Stamford; she retains an interest in the Hospital there. The lands which William Browne gave to her were kept separate, subject to his will. Her grandson, in his will of 1543 speaks of 'the next of my kynn that shuld be heire to hym [Edmund his son] of Brownes londs myn Auncestour' (TNA Prob 11/30).

The final will in this collection is that of Christopher Browne who presents to us a different picture. It only gives the year, not the day of the will.

8. WILL OF CHRISTOPHER BROWNE  
1516, probate 8th February 1518/9

In the name of god Amen. The yere of oure Lord god a thowsande fyve hundreth and sextene I Christofor Browne late of Stanforde now beyng in hole mynde at my manour of Tollthorpe make my Testament in maner and forme followyng, that is to saye. First I bequeythe my soule to oure Lord Jesus Crist and to his mother seint Mary and to all the holy Compayny of hevyn, my body to be buried in the Chapell of Saint Thomas the Martyr within the Chirch of All Halows within the Towne of Stamfford bysidis my first wif. Item I bequeyeth for my mortuary after the custom of the cuntrey. Also to the warkes of oure mother Chirche of Lyncollne vjs viijd. Also I bequethe to the Curate of the Chirche of all halows my best gowne. Item I bequethe to every Curate commyng to myn obseques that is to say my buryng day, seventh day and threty day every day vjd. And to every seculer prest iiijd there doyng observants the said thre days. Also I bequethe to every poore persone and body comyng to my buryng at my seventh daye and thirty daye every daye jd. These founerall expences doon of all thise iij dayes with all thyngs that is necessary to be doon all those thre dayes, Then I wyll that myn executours doo paye my detts to every man that cane enythyng clayme of right and goode conscience. Item I bequethe to every place of the foure orders of ffrears in Stamford xxvjs viijd. Item I bequethe to Elizabeth my wif three hundreth mares beside hir owne plate and hir other stuff in ffull recompens of all such goods that she cane clayme of myn. Also I bequethe to my sone Edmonde twoo hundreth mares. Item to my sone Robert twoo hundreth mares. To my doughter Anne oon hundreth pownde. To my doughter Kateryn oon hundreth pounce. Also to my doughter Anne Gomley xx<sup>ii</sup> li. To Thomas Haryngton xls. To John Cooks my pryntes [apprentice] iiij li. To Richard Cooke his broder fyve mares. Also I bequethe to Chirgo my servaunte xxs. Also to every yoman servaunt that be with me at my departyng besydes their wages xs. And to every woman servaunt fyve s that have served oon hole yere before. Also I bequethe to the fyndyng of a prest to syng in the said Chapell of Seint Thomas for me and my wives Grace, Agnes and Elizabeth thre hundreth mares by the space of xl yeres. Also I bequeth to every child of my wif to Nicholas x li and to William x li to be delyvered to them when they come to their lawfull age. Also I bequethe to the twoo yongest sonnes of my sonne Gomley that he had by my doughter Margaret eyther of them xij li vjs viijd. Item to the Reparacions of all halow chirch in Stamford xls. Item to the chirch warke of Riall [Ryhall] xls. Item to the chirch warke of lytill Casterton xls. Item to the chirch warke of Brigecasterton xxs. Item to the chirch warke of Eston xxs. Item to the Chirche warke of Tynwell xxs. Item to the Chirch warke of Ketten xxs. Item to the Chirch of Oundell xls. Item I bequethe myn owne housse in all halow parisshe to my sonne Robert with the yerde and barne that belong therto and a yerde in Peter parisshe with the dufcotte when he comes to his lawfull age. Also I bequeth my house that was my fathers with my house in Petre parisshe and all other londis and medowes that I had by my ffather to Edmund my sonne and to his heires. Also I bequeth to ffraunces my sonne my manour of Tolthorpe with all my landis in lytill Casterton to hym and to the heires of his body lawfully begoton, and for defawte of suche yssue to Robert my sonne and to the heires of his body lawfully begoten. And for defaute of such issue to Edmund my sonne and to the heyres of his body lawfully bergoten. Also I will that yf eny of my childryn dye before they comme to lawfull age, that his or their partie soo disceaced be egally devyded among them that survivith. Also I will yf eny of my sonne Gomleys childryn dye before they comme of of [*sic*] lawfull age, his or their parts soo disceaced be egally devyded among them that surviveth. Item I bequethe to Sir Richard my prest xls. Item I bequeth my Cosyn John Hall xij li vjs viijd. Item I foryeve my sonne Gomley all suche detts as he owith me. Item I bequethe to my sonne ffraunces all my carts and ploes with the horsstes and oxen that goo in them upon condicion that he disturbe not my wif nor myne executours his fellowes but well and truely putt hym in devour to performe my will all my goods not bequethed. I gyf to myne executours John Caldecott ffrauncis Browne and John Halle to dispose for me as they wold I dyde for them and William Radclyf of Stamforde to be supervisour of this my will, takyng for his labour fyve mares, and to every of my executours iiij li. Item to Margaret Wodnott xls. Thes wytnes William Radclif, Elysabeth Browne, Robert Gomley, Richard Cooke and other.

[Probate at Lambeth 8 February 1518/9].

*TNA Prob 11/9.*

Christopher was different from William Browne in many ways. He was a soldier as well as a merchant; a country gentleman at Tolethorpe; a member of Lady Margaret Beaufort's council, and a courtier of Henry VII (Wedgwood 1936, 119-20). His will reveals more about his family relationships than his religion. There is for instance no other evidence for

his third marriage. The sums involved in the bequests to his immediate family are very large; it is almost as if such sums dispose of all his obligations to these persons.

He settled at Tolethorpe in about 1499, while retaining his merchant concerns in Stamford; but he soon made Tolethorpe his main seat, from which he

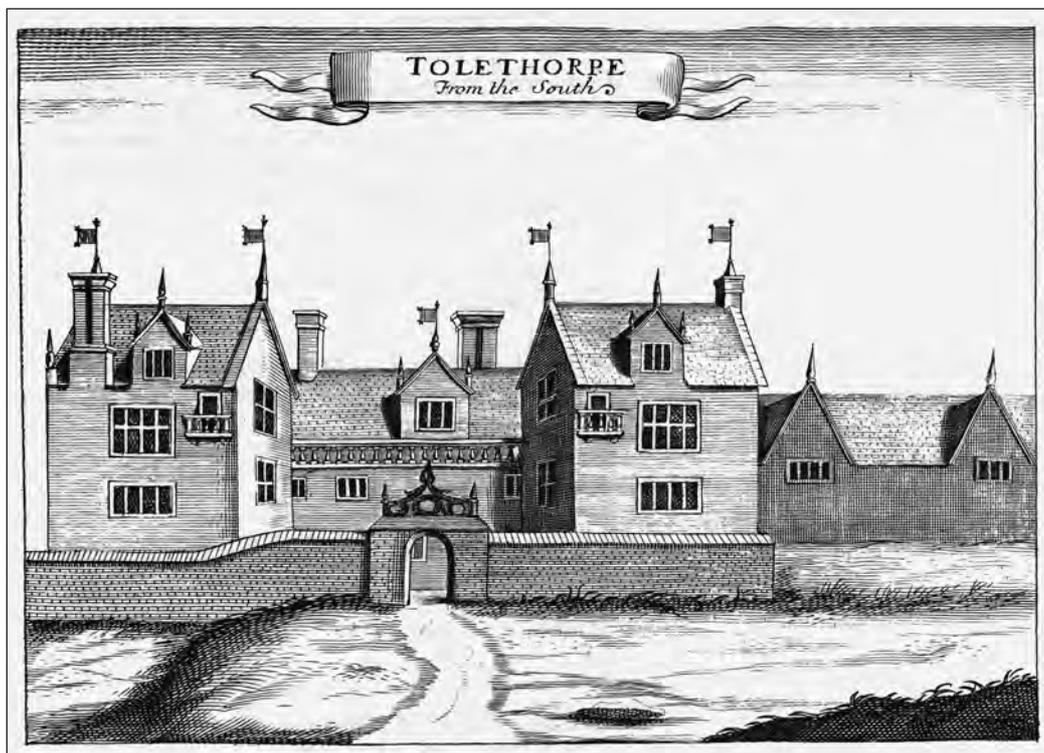


Fig. 4. The hall at Tolethorpe as shown by James Wright (1684, 128).

served in many offices in the county of Rutland. As his will indicates, his interests spread throughout the county. On his death, he left Tolethorpe (fig. 4) to his son Frances by his first wife, and his Stamford property to his son Edmund by his second wife. Frances inherited the farming implements provided he did not disturb Christopher's wife (who presumably stayed on in Tolethorpe manor) and worked with his fellow executors to implement the will fully. William Radcliffe, merchant and Alderman of Stamford and founder of Stamford School, was to see that this was done.

The bequests to the building work in several churches are interesting, for these wills taken together provide some evidence that testators preferred to give bequests either for building or for masses for their soul, but not to both. It may be that as chantry prayers became more popular, donations for

the church fabric declined. The reference to the building work at All Saints' church in Stamford, taken alongside that in the will of William Elmes, perhaps indicates that the rebuilding of that church in the fifteenth century, long thought of as the work of John and William Browne, had not been completed by 1510, well after their death. Christopher also supported the building work under way in the Rutland parish churches where he held property, including Ryhall, Little Casterton which was being repaired in the late fifteenth century (*VCH Rutland* ii 240), and Great Casterton which was extensively remodelled during the fifteenth century with a new tower, nave and chancel roof (*VCH Rutland* ii 234). He also supported building at Tinwell which was undergoing substantial rebuilding (*VCH Rutland* ii 282), and at Ketton.

### Some general comments

This group of wills from the Browne, Stokes and Elmes families reveals many aspects of their life at the time: their trading activities, the apparent increase in strength of religious devotion of a Catholic kind despite growing signs of religious reformation all around, and some family relationships of which we would know nothing (such as the three wives of Christopher Browne). Bringing them together like this demonstrates something of the value of wills for the historian, at a time when personal papers of all kinds exist only rarely. And

when they are as detailed as these are, saying so much about the contents of the houses and the way in which they and their families lived, their value to archaeologists and architectural, art and especially social historians is very great indeed. They bring to life those who have gone, even when the artefacts themselves have disappeared (Salter 2006).

For it is the artefacts with which these wealthy merchants, clergy and country gentry surrounded themselves that speak to us. Taken together with Browne's Hospital itself and its glass (fig. 1); William

Browne's muniment chest and the fifteenth century almsbox in the Hospital; with the building of All Saints' church, Stamford, and the Browne brasses in it – the furniture and plate in these wills exhibit a standard of living which other sources cannot show us. These men and women lived in large houses: Margaret Browne's will speak of at least ten rooms (see pp 285-7 above). They acquired much in the way of furnishings: again Margaret's will mentions eight beds and eight mattresses and numerous pieces of wooden and upholstered furniture with cloths to go with them. The silver plate in these wills, some of it very ornate (leopard knobs, strawberry knobs and many different kinds of spoon), and luxury items such as the coconut cup (fig. 3) which became the family heirloom, indicate a measure of patronage of silver- and goldsmiths presumably from both Stamford and London. Some of this was no doubt one way of holding the financial reserves of wealthy families, easily and quickly converted into cash – perhaps that is the meaning behind the provision in the will of Thomas Stokes that other gold and silver, including scraps, should be melted down to make new chalices. But much of it must have been for display, indicating status in the town and to other county gentry.

Despite some doubts about the value of wills for religious observance (Burgess & Duffy 2006), this group of wills does provide evidence for popular piety. On the whole, the wills of the women show more religious concern than those of the men, although the will of John Elmes, son of William Elmes, dated 1543, is full of very detailed provisions for religious services. He too used the Hospital his great-grandfather had founded in Stamford as a private chantry chapel:

Item I bequeathe to my graundfather Willyam Brownes Allmeshouse in Stamforde towarde the sustenaunce and mayteynaunce of their house x<sup>li</sup> to praye for me in their masses and other suffrages by name as they doe for other of my auncestours in their table of prayers, and to seye at the begynnyng of the yere Placebo, Dirige and Masse of requiem for my soule and for the soules of my saide Auncestours and for all christen soules, and in lykewyse ones at the yeres ende. Item I bequeathe to every of the brethren and susters of the sayd almeshouse one peny wekly during one hole yere next after my decease. Item I bequeathe to the Wardeyn of the said almeshouse and the preste his confrater for to saye two trentalles for my soule and the soules of my auncestours and to praye as they doe for other by there fundacyon twenty shillings.

*TNA Prob 11/30*

Such a collection also reveals the importance of linking wills together, even though they come from

members of different families. We would know nothing of the money-lending of William Browne if we did not have the wills of Margaret Browne and Thomas Stokes; the will of John Elmes in 1543 tells us about the family heirloom coming from William Browne; and the mention of the family patron saint of St Gregory the pope in the wills of Elizabeth Elmes and John Elmes (1543) throws light on the Book of Hours of John and Agnes Browne in the 1470s which also featured St Gregory the pope (see Marks & Williamson 2003). This kinship group of Browne-Stokes-Elmes remained closely tied by estates, heirlooms, religion and a charitable foundation over several generations, founded as it was on the wool trade and money-lending business of their ancestors.

Two final comments may be made about these wills. First, it is often suggested that the spirituality revealed in late medieval wills is more strongly expressed by women than men. While at first glance this may seem true in this case, closer examination shows it is not so. William Browne's will seems strictly business-like, concerned with debts, but the legacy to the anchoress together with his ownership of an English book on anchoresses shows more religious concern, and we know from other sources that he was a warmer person than his will implies. Margaret his wife seems more concerned with her possessions than her soul. Elizabeth their daughter makes much of her religion but then again her grandson John Elmes in 1543 provides even more and more elaborate provision for intercessions, only a few years before they were forbidden (1547) (Duffy 2005, 452-3). What we have in this case is not a gender divide but a chronological divide, with the traditional forms of religion growing stronger as the years pass and the challenges grow.

The second comment relates to the large numbers of some items bestowed through these wills. I will mention two: gowns, robes and vestments to local churches (All Saints' in Stamford was due to obtain five vestments and three gowns from these wills alone), and beds. These raise a series of questions: what did the parish churches do with all these vestments; and did Margaret's house really contain eight feather beds and eight mattresses, all with sheets, blankets, pillows and coverings? One possible answer may be that these references do not refer to the items themselves but are instructions to the executors to give a sum of money amounting to what would be needed to purchase a vestment or a feather bed, as the will of Agnes Browne suggests. We cannot be certain, any more than we can be certain that all such bequests were fulfilled; there is some evidence that several years later, not all the provisions of these wills had been carried out.

### Acknowledgements

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transcripts of manuscripts held in their collections. Many people have assisted with determining the meaning of terms used in these wills and providing references including Dr Nick Kam of Christchurch, Oxford; Eileen Bumphrey (textiles) and Nigel Bumphrey (silver plate) of Norwich; Robin Jenkins of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland; and the Editor.

### Abbreviations and sources

BL British Library  
Bodl Bodleian Library  
BHS Browne's Hospital, Stamford (collection of deeds)  
CCR *Calendar of Close Rolls*  
CFR *Calendar of Fine Rolls*  
CIPM *Calendars of Inquisitions Post Mortem*  
CPR *Calendar of Patent Rolls*

Harl Harleian Manuscripts in British Library  
HB Hall Book, Borough Archives, Stamford  
LAO Lincolnshire Archives Office  
ROLLR Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland  
*Rot Parl* *Rolls of the Parliament*  
TNA The National Archives

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## Lady Charlotte Finch (1725-1813)

J D BENNETT

*Lady Charlotte Finch married into one of the leading families in Rutland, but as governess to the children of George III she was also a significant person in her own right. Though her actual connection with the county is*

*minimal, she is nevertheless commemorated by a fine monument at Burley-on-the-Hill which W G Hoskins described as 'the best thing in the church,' and if for no other reason, deserves to be remembered.*

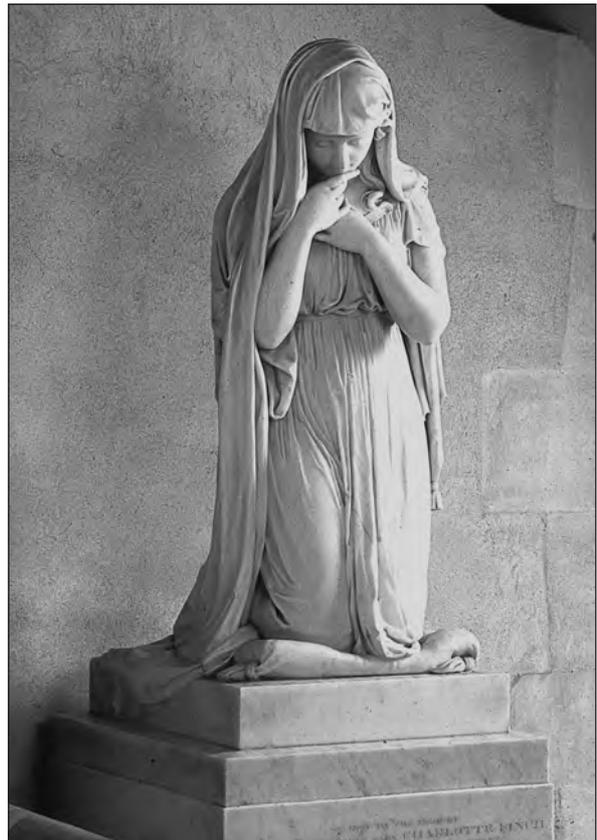
In Holy Cross church at Burley-on-the-Hill there is a white marble monument dated 1820, depicting the kneeling figure of a young woman. Symbolic rather than representational, it was erected in memory of Lady Charlotte Finch, though she was buried not there but in the family vault at Ravenstone, Buckinghamshire, where the Finches were also lords of the manor. There is a very long inscription on the pedestal which, after listing her many qualities, notes:

*This singular pattern of every female virtue was brought into more public view and influence when appointed in 1762 by His Majesty George III as governess to the Royal Children. In this distinguished situation she deserved and obtained the esteem and confidence of her Sovereign, the almost filial affection of her Royal Pupils, and the rare tribute of general approbation.*

The figure (fig. 1) is by Sir Francis Chantrey RA, the leading sculptor of the day, who was responsible for many statues, busts and monuments, though this is his only work in Rutland. His London studio, where the statue would have been made, was in Lower Belgrave Place, now part of Buckingham Palace Road.

Lady Charlotte was born on 14th February 1725, one of ten children of the Earl and Countess of Pomfret, of Easton Neston, Northamptonshire. Her father, Thomas Fermor (1698-1753), was Master of the Horse to Queen Caroline, wife of George II, and her mother, Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys (1698-1761), was a Lady of the Bedchamber. She seems to have been well educated by the standards of the time and with her parents travelled in France and Italy. In 1740, while staying in Florence, she met the writer and collector Horace Walpole, who described her in his journals as 'a woman of remarkable sense and philosophy' (Hibbert 1972, 3). The following year, in a letter, he called her 'the cleverest girl in the world,' adding that she 'speaks the purest Tuscan, like any Florentine' (Stuart 1939, 5).

On 9th August 1746 she married the Rt Hon William Finch, a childless widower whose first wife had died in 1741. William Finch was born in 1691, the



*Fig. 1. Charlotte Finch's memorial in Burley church (in the care of The Churches Conservation Trust; photo: Paul Barker).*

second son of Daniel Finch (1647-1730), 2nd Earl of Nottingham and later 7th Earl of Winchilsea, who rebuilt the mansion at Burley-on-the-Hill between 1694 and 1708. After attending Oxford University, William served as envoy to Sweden and the Netherlands in the 1720s, was a government minister briefly in the 1730s, and in 1742 was made a Privy Councillor and appointed a Vice-chamberlain in the royal household. He was MP for Cockermouth in Cumberland from 1727 till 1754 and then Member for Bewdley.

William Finch had a London house at 3 Savile Row, and a bible inscribed 'Charlotte Finch, given me by Mr Finch in Savile Row [in] the year 1753' is among



Fig. 2. St James's Palace, where Lady Charlotte had apartments, as depicted in *London and its Environs in the Nineteenth Century* (1829-31).

the Finch manuscripts at the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland (DG7). He also had a country residence, The Cedars, at Chorleywood, Hertfordshire.

There were five children from William and Charlotte's marriage – four daughters, Charlotte (1747-1767), Sophia (1748-1815), Frances (1749-1765), and Henrietta (1751-1818), and a son, George (1752-1826). Sophia married Captain Charles Feilding RN (d1783) and served as a Lady of the Bedchamber from 1779 until her death; Henrietta never married. After George succeeded as 4th Earl of Nottingham and 9th Earl of Winchilsea in 1769, following the death of his uncle, who had lived mostly at Eastwell Park in Kent, he returned to live at Burley-on-the-Hill and made many improvements to a neglected house and estate. He served in the American War of Independence, was Lord Lieutenant of Rutland from 1779 until his death, and erected the monument to his mother in Holy Cross church. Henrietta lived at Burley too and acted as hostess for her brother. There is another Rutland connection in that Charlotte's nephew Thomas, 4th Earl of Pomfret, married Amabel Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Borough, Bt, and her younger sister Augusta married the Rev John H Fludyer, Bt, of Ayston. Their daughter Katherine was to marry Henry Randolph Finch of Burley, forging another link.

Immediately following the birth of George, Prince of Wales, in August 1762 – the first of fifteen children of King George III and Queen Charlotte – Lady Charlotte Finch was appointed governess to the royal family. Her background and upbringing, in a cultured, well-travelled family, and her personal qualities – kindness, generosity and moral honesty, combined with a natural intelligence – no doubt helped in the choice of a suitable candidate for such a responsible and demanding post. This was reflected in the salary – £600 a year (the equivalent of about £43,000 today), the third highest in the Queen's household. Horace Walpole commended her appointment in a letter later that month, remarking that it was 'a choice so universally approved that I do not think she will be abused even in the *North Briton*', the anti-government political weekly founded by John Wilkes (Oxford *Dictionary of National Biography* 2004, 19, 553).

In spite of this undoubted honour, the 1760s were not easy years for her. Her husband, who was a generation older than her, became increasingly senile. There were stories that he had beaten her and thrown her down the stairs, and the authoress Elizabeth Montagu described him as 'grown by age something between mad and foolish' in a letter written in November 1765 (Brooke 1964, 425). As a result, Lady Charlotte and her children left the family home in



Fig. 3. Lady Charlotte Finch's mahogany cabinet, now at Kew Palace (© Historic Royal Palaces).

Savile Row for apartments in St James's Palace (fig. 2) and later also Windsor Castle, and a house at Kew. William and Charlotte were formally separated that year and he died on 25th December 1766. To add to her sorrows, two of her daughters, Frances and Charlotte, also died within the space of two years.

After William's death the house in Savile Row, which had belonged to him since 1735, was sold; it still exists. The Cedars at Chorleywood, which he had owned since c1747, was rented out, possibly until his son George attained his majority in 1773, but was later also sold and, after changing hands several times, was pulled down in 1861 and replaced by a new house.

Though apparently not an enthusiastic diarist, Lady Charlotte nevertheless continued her mother's diary from 1761 to 1764, and then kept one of her own from 1764 to 1767, with details of social engagements, letters written and received and books read. These are also with the Finch manuscripts and extracts from them have been published (Finch 1901, i. 287-93).

Lady Charlotte Finch was to hold the post of royal governess for thirty years, though from 1771 onwards her responsibilities were confined to the education of

the royal princesses – Charlotte (b1766), Augusta (b1768), Elizabeth (b1770), Mary (b1776), Sophia (b1777) and Amelia (b1783). She was known to them affectionately as 'Lady Cha', and with sub-governesses Henrietta Cotesworth, and then Martha Gouldsworthy and Jane Gomm, she supervised a number of assistant governors and governesses, who taught English, French, fancy needlework and beadwork, various kinds of drawing, geography, music and dancing.

Among her schoolroom aids was her mahogany cabinet of manuscript and engraved dissected maps, consisting of thirteen engraved puzzles, three manuscript puzzles and two watercolour manuscript maps, used in the teaching of geography, which miraculously has survived (Figs. 3 & 4). A note fastened inside it claims that Lady Charlotte was 'the inventor of dissecting maps . . . always used in teaching Geography to George the fourth, his Brothers and sisters', though this seems unlikely. This early form of educational jigsaw puzzle was invented in 1763 by John Spilsbury, some of whose engraved maps are included in the cabinet, as well as others of French origin. In employing this form of teaching aid, Lady Charlotte had the full support of George III and Queen Charlotte, who, through her, 'pioneered the educational use of dissected maps, the earliest known jigsaw puzzles, primarily in order to teach their children about political frontiers and world politics' (Barber 2005, 265).

In October 1792 Princess Sophia wrote to Elizabeth, Countess Harcourt, a Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte and a confidante of all the royal princesses, expressing concern about Lady Charlotte Finch's state of health: 'I am grieved to death about her, she is if possible more kind to us than ever. Indeed, both Gouly [Martha Gouldsworthy] and her are so good to us that we should not be deserving of having such treasures about us, if we did not feel their kindness in the highest degree' (Fraser 2004, 144). The following month, Lady Charlotte resigned, retiring in January 1793; she continued to receive her salary as a pension.

For many years she corresponded with various members of the royal family. In February 1806, for instance, Princess Charlotte, who was now Queen of Wurttemberg, wrote to her after she had undergone eye surgery: 'I wish I was your physician . . . I should order you a very substantial diet [of] potted meat and good strong jellies with three or four glasses of wine' (Shefrin 2003, 43).

She died in her apartments in St James's Palace on 11th July 1813. In recording her passing the *Gentleman's Magazine* reminded its readers that she had been 'nominated to the important and distinguished station of Governess to the Royal Nursery' and noted that her funeral on 19th July was attended by no fewer than five Royal Dukes (York, Clarence, Kent, Sussex and



*Fig. 4. The jigsaw map of England from Lady Charlotte Finch's cabinet, which she used when teaching the children of George III – unfortunately Rutland is one of the missing pieces (© Historic Royal Palaces).*

Cambridge). Her daughter Henrietta, who had lived with her mother, continued to reside in the Palace apartments till her own death five years later.

There are a number of portraits of Lady Charlotte Finch. Two conversation pieces by William Hogarth painted in 1730, 'A Children's Party' and 'The House of Cards', showing her with several of her brothers and sisters, are in the National Museum of Wales. A portrait by John Robinson, made in 1744 when she was still Lady Charlotte Fermor, is in the National Portrait Gallery. A conversation piece by Johann Zoffany in which she appears holding the infant

Princess Elizabeth, with Queen Charlotte and several other members of the royal family and dating from c1771, is in the Royal Collection, as is a copy made by Princess Elizabeth of a miniature by Henry Edridge, c1802, showing her in retirement.

No fewer than six portraits of her were recorded as being at Burley-on-the-Hill in 1901 – two miniatures, paintings by Jonathan Richardson, William Hopkins and Michael Dahl, and a 'Small Portrait'. This last may be the 'water-colour painting on kid' reproduced in the *History of Burley-on-the-Hill*; the portrait by Hopkins, 1787, is probably the one now in the



Figs. 5 and 6. An engraving of Lady Charlotte Finch by Thomas Major, published in 1755, after a portrait of her as a young woman by John Robinson, and a portrait of her as an old lady (private collection).

Government Art Collection. It is not clear if any of the others were lost in the fire of 1908. Some pictures were dispersed in a Christie's sale on 20th June 1947 (fig. 6: from Lot 22), and when the house was opened to the public between 1958 and 1961, the only relevant ones mentioned in the guidebook were those of her daughter Charlotte and her son George.

Several engravings of her were also published – by John Faber Jr, by Thomas Major (fig. 5), both after a portrait by John Robinson, and by K Mackenzie, after a painting by William Marshall Craig, which appeared in the magazine the *Lady's Monthly Museum* in 1807.

The wax modeller Joachim Smith is also known to have made a wax portrait of her in the 1770s.

Lady Charlotte's cabinet descended in her family until it was sold at Christie's in 2000. Applications for export licences were made then, in 2004 and again in 2006, when the Art Fund was able to purchase it for £120,000 for Historic Royal Palaces and the V&A Museum of Childhood. It went on display at Kew Palace, where it would originally have been used, when that building was re-opened to the public in March 2007, another fitting memorial to a remarkable woman.

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# Thomas Hotchkin of Tixover (1774 – 1843)

BRIAN PALMER

*Forty documents, once the property of the Rutland and Lincolnshire landowner Thomas Hotchkin and now held at the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland (DE7367), form the nucleus of this study. Most are invoices and receipts that contain sufficient detail for*

## Early life

Thomas Hotchkin was born at South Luffenham Hall in 1774, the son of Robert Hotchkin (d1796) and his second wife Sarah Sharp (d1828). In 1791, at the age of seventeen, he was admitted to Clare Hall (now Clare College), Cambridge. He matriculated in 1795 (Venn 1922-54). Clare College still has nine large silver spoons dated 1796 that Thomas donated, which are engraved with his name (fig. 1).



*Fig. 1. Detail of one of the silver spoons donated to Clare College, Cambridge, by Thomas Hotchkin, with a 1986 hallmark (photo: Clare College).*

On leaving the university he returned to Rutland. By the time he was 28 he was already an important figure in the local area. He was one of some two hundred trustees empowered by Act of Parliament to see through improvements to the turnpike road from Wansford to Stamford and on to Bourne (ROLLR DE7367). Some of the other trustees were Lord Burghley, Lord Proby of Elton Hall, Richard Newcomb – the proprietor of the *Stamford Mercury*, Christopher Nevile of Walcot Hall near Barnack, and the three Willis doctors of Greatford, who treated George III for his mental illness. The Act is dated 1798, in the reign of George III.

## A wealthy inheritance

Thomas Hotchkin's standing in the local community was a consequence of his inherited wealth. *Burke's Landed Gentry* shows that his ancestry (Appendix 1) can be traced back to Robert Hotchkin of Bradmore in Nottinghamshire (b1642), who had three sons, Thomas (d1717), John (1672-1774) and Robert (1667-1709). Thomas was a physician. John (1672-1744) was Rector of Abbots Ripton in Huntingdonshire between 1702 and 1742. Robert acquired land in Jamaica (BCA Norton 2708 and *The Slave Trade Pack*). When he died without issue his Jamaican

*a picture to emerge of Thomas Hotchkin's interests and activities. Related research, starting with the wills of Thomas Hotchkin and his ancestors, has revealed a man of some influence, from a hitherto little-known but wealthy East Midlands family with slavery connections.*

estate was passed to his two brothers in England (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1864, 595-6). The revenue from this estate probably enabled John and Thomas to invest in land in England. Thomas acquired estates in Lincolnshire. There is a reference to this acquisition in the Rev John's will (TNA PROB 11/738) where he states:

*... a freehold estate situate in Thimbleby and Woodhall in the county of Lincoln which was the estate late of the last Sir John Bolles of Scampton in the county of Lincoln aforesaid Baronet deceased and which was by my said brother Thomas purchased and by his last will (after my death) settled upon my said eldest son John ....*

The Rev John's will, dated 1741, passed a total of just over £6,000 in cash to his beneficiaries, and names estates in Great Humby, Little Humby, Somerby, Ropsley, Upton, Kexby and Sutton St Edmund in Lincolnshire, Ramsey in Huntingdonshire, Stonesby in Leicestershire and Uppingham in Rutland. He refers to several of these estates as being 'by me lately purchased'. The Rev John Hotchkin had thirteen children, but according to his memorial plaque in the church at Somerby, where he retired, only six survived him. He refers to this plaque in his will when he orders his executors to:

*... erect for me a handsome marble monument with an inscription in Latin or English ... and that the expense thereof do not exceed in the whole the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds.*

He died in 1744 aged 73. His eldest son John (1703-36), who had married Ann Terrewest of South Luffenham, predeceased him by eight years and he therefore passed most of his English estates to his grandson Thomas (1729-74), John's eldest son.

There is an impressive tomb in the churchyard in Allexton, Leicestershire, bearing this Thomas's name. In his will (TNA PROB 11/1000), dated 1769, Thomas of Allexton, who had no children of his own, bequeathed his estates to his nephew John (1768-89), the one-year-old son of his brother Robert by his first wife Ann. These estates included



Fig. 2. South Luffenham Hall as depicted in watercolour by Alan Oliver (by kind permission of the artist).

Woodhall and other Lincolnshire estates, as well as South Luffenham. When his nephew John died in 1789 aged 20, they reverted to John's father Robert.

Robert Hotchkin had been High Sheriff of Rutland when living at South Luffenham Hall (fig. 2) (Traylen 2005, 236). He died in Stamford in 1796. His will (TNA PROB 11/1279), dated 1794, shows that he owned land at, amongst other unspecified places, Great Humby and Sutton St Edmund in Lincolnshire and South Luffenham in Rutland. Robert's first wife, Ann (d1768), had borne him two children, Mary (b1767), who died in infancy, and John (1768-89). He also had three children by Sarah Sharp before they married. He refers to these children in his will:

*...Mary Ann, Robert and Sarah my three reputed illegitimate children, by Sarah my now wife, before our marriage whose maiden name was Sarah Sharp, which three last mentioned children have taken or go by my name of Hotchkin ...*

These illegitimate children benefited from trusts when Robert died in 1796. Although the process by which the estates were handed on is not made clear in the will, they eventually passed to his second son Thomas, later of Tixover, as Thomas's will shows. And so the fact that his uncle died without issue, and that his older brother died young, meant that in 1796 Thomas, at the age of 22 and fresh from Cambridge University, was now extremely wealthy. The line of descent from the Rev John Hotchkin to Thomas is

confirmed by a lease document in the Fellowes family estate deeds, held in Huntingdon (CCROH R10/3/18).

#### The Hotchkin estates in Jamaica

The Hotchkin estate in Jamaica, acquired by Robert, was used for rearing cattle, the labour being provided by 294 African slaves. A surviving inventory of this estate (BCA Norton 2708) shows that it had a value of nearly £17,000 in 1710. By today's standards this is the equivalent of about £14,000,000. This inventory was drawn up by Robert's brother Thomas, who presumably travelled to Jamaica on Robert's death. A surviving letter (BCA Norton 2708) shows that Thomas disposed of some of the slaves. He writes:

*Since my last to you by ye Conveyance dated the 19<sup>th</sup> of Jan. 1711/12 I lay hold of the opportunity to send you 15 Slaves and pickinines – which I desire you to dispose of for me to the best advantage you can and to make remittances by the way of England ...*

Robert had clearly been an important figure in Jamaica, for in 1703 he had been appointed Attorney General (Headlam 1913). In addition to the plantation, he owned a vessel, the *Grantham*, which was capable of transatlantic voyages (Headlam 1916). Whether it was a slave ship, however, is not stated.

The Rev John Hotchkin passed his share of the Jamaican plantation in the parishes of St Andrew

and St Catherine to his second son Robert (1712-76), who is commemorated by a plaque in Uppingham Church. The estate is illustrated on a surviving map dated 1737 (BCA Norton MS 917A/110). The Rev John's will states:

*... all those my several plantations ... commonly called or known by the name of the upper and lower plantations and all other my real estate whatsoever in the island of Jamaica in the West Indies together with all and every the negroes or slaves belonging to the said plantations I give and devise ... to my said son Robert Hotchkin.*

Robert (1712-76) had two children – Robert (1756-1806) and Mary (1754-1808). By 1780 this Robert had been declared insane and the Jamaican plantations were handed to Mary's husband Charles Bowyer Adderley of Warwickshire to administer (BCA Norton MS 917/110 and *The Slave Trade Pack*). They had no children. In 1878, another Charles Bowyer (b1814), a great-nephew of Charles Bowyer Adderley, was created Baron Norton (*Burke's Peerage* 1970) and so the Jamaican estate records were added to the Norton Estate papers.

However, it appears that the ownership of the plantations remained in the Hotchkin family because Ralph Hotchkin (1750-1818) in his will, made in 1784 (TNA PROB 11/1604), refers to:

*... the several plantations, negroes, hereditaments ... of me the said Ralph Hotchkin situate in the island of Jamaica.*

In a codicil dated 1815, he states:

*... my plantation or estate called or known by the name of the pennis or pennland situate lying and being in the parishes of St. Andrew and St. Catherine in the island of Jamaica called or known by the name or names of Hotchkins upper and lower pennis.*

He places these Jamaican estates in a trust with the revenue to support himself, his wife and children. He also leaves the dividends and interest of '£100 stock in 3 percent Consolidated Bank annuities' to the poor of Uppingham. There is a plaque commemorating this bequest in Uppingham Church. Elsewhere in the codicil, he states:

*I do hereby charge and make chargeable all my said plantations and estate in the island of Jamaica aforesaid to and with the payment of the said ... money.*

The codicil also states that he is 'late of Frome Selwood in the county of Somerset but now of Uppingham'. Ralph's son, the Rev Robert Charles Herbert (1801-74) confirms the family's long connection with Jamaica in *Notes and Queries* (1863

S3 – IV 523) when he writes, '... my family has been connected with that island nearly one hundred and seventy years'.

Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* lists the Rev Robert's son Ralph Herbert Barnes Hotchkin (1848-1939) as 'late of Jamaica and Dursley, Glos'. In 1900 Ralph H B's plantation in St Catherine's parish, Jamaica, was known as Halfway-Tree Penn and was producing bananas and cocoa (Falink 2001). Father and son are buried close to one another in the churchyard at Thimbleby. The records (CCEd) show that the Rev Robert's patron was Thomas of Tixover as Lord of the Manor of Thimbleby.

The will (TNA PROB 11/884) of Anthony Hotchkin (1715-63) confirms that his brother Ralph (b1721) had a son Ralph (1750-1818). It is assumed by virtue of the Jamaican connection that the line then went down to the Rev Robert and his son Ralph Herbert Barnes.

The Rev John's will also mentions a Charles Hotchkin (1713-83) of Bristol, the illegitimate son of Thomas (d1717), the Rev John's brother. Charles became mayor of Bristol in 1774 and an alderman in 1781. The Bristol Record Office has no evidence that he was involved in the slave trade. His name does not appear in the indexes of shipowners, masters or merchants, nor does it appear in a list of members of the Society of Merchant Venturers. His will does, however, refer to his estate and his negroes in Jamaica (TNA PROB 11/1111), which he had inherited from his father. Charles's mother, another beneficiary of Thomas's will (TNA PROB 11/558), was Catherine Wood, who lived some of her life in Jamaica. Part of her inheritance is stated as being 'two midling [sic] negro slaves'.

### The Hotchkin coat of arms

The Rev John Hotchkin left £250 to his fourth son Anthony (1715-63), in whose memory there is an armorial floor slab in the chancel of Ketton church (*VCH Rutland* II, 264). This records that Anthony was a London grocer before he retired to Rutland. He has left us with what must be the Hotchkin coat of arms (fig. 3), which is engraved on his black marble memorial slab. The Hotchkin coat of arms is referred to in the wills of both the Rev John Hotchkin and Thomas of Tixover. The stone roof supports of St Andrew's church, built in 1846, at Woodhall, are stated to have been carved with the coats of arms of three families including the Hotchkins, but the church was taken down as unsafe after the last war and the carvings are now lost (Prince 1992, 10). The College of Arms has no record of a coat of arms in the name of Hotchkin and states that there is no entry for the name in *Burke's General Armory* (1884), which lists a great many



Fig. 3. The armorial floor slab of Anthony Hotchkin in Ketton church (photo: author).

coats of arms that have been informally adopted. However, an article on memorial inscriptions of Barbados and Jamaica (*Gent's Mag* 1864, 595-6) describes the arms and crest of Robert Hotchkin (1667-1709), eldest son of Robert and Mary, thus:

*Party per pale, azure and gules, a chevron or between three lions rampant; a lion's head erased and crowned ducally.*

This is in accord with the arms as represented on Anthony Hotchkin's grave slab at Ketton except that

there the cross-hatching indicates sable instead of azure.

#### Thomas Hotchkin's early position in society

A measure of Thomas Hotchkin's wealth can be seen in surviving invoices detailing some of his purchases (ROLLR DE7367). In 1797 he spent £23 18s 6d on items of glassware from Thomas Price of the Strand, London (ROLLR DE7367; fig. 4). In the same year, he spent £32 15s 9d on candlesticks and cutlery with engraved crests from Wakelin & Garrard, goldsmiths of London (ROLLR DE7367; fig. 5). In 1796 he purchased three best hunting saddles and other pieces of riding tack from John Stones of Grantham at a cost of £18 10s (ROLLR DE7367; fig. 6). It is probable that he rode with the Cottesmore Hunt, since South Luffenham lies within its country. Sir Gilbert Heathcote of Normanton Park was Master of the Hunt from 1802 to 1806 and Thomas is known to have been an acquaintance if not a friend of his. Surviving race cards for Doncaster, 1798, and Newmarket, 1799, and a poster announcing an auction of hunters by the famous bloodstock dealer Richard Tattersall near Hyde Park Turnpike in 1796, confirm Thomas Hotchkin's love of equestrian activities (ROLLR DE7367), though they carry no mention of horses owned by Thomas.

Two intriguing documents dated 1798 and 1800 specify itineraries and costs incurred by Richard

Tho <sup>s</sup> Hotchkin Esq <sup>r</sup> - London May 29 <sup>th</sup> 1797	
Bought of Thomas Price,	
CUT-GLASS MANUFACTURER,	
No. 109. Strand, opposite Exeter Change.	
Apparatus for making Seltzer Water on the most approved plan, Glasses of all sizes for Anatomical Preparations.	
6 cut Ring Decanters	3 <sup>..</sup> 3 <sup>..</sup> 6
6 pintos Do	1 <sup>..</sup> 16 <sup>..</sup> 6
4 Carrafts	1 <sup>..</sup> 4 <sup>..</sup> 6
1 <sup>..</sup> Dozen cut Glasses	2 <sup>..</sup> 8 <sup>..</sup> 6
2 Dozen various Do	1 <sup>..</sup> 1 <sup>..</sup> 6
2 Dozen large Ale Glasses	1 <sup>..</sup> 8 <sup>..</sup> 6
1 Dozen Goblets	1 <sup>..</sup> 4 <sup>..</sup> 6
1 Dozen Smaller Do	1 <sup>..</sup> 1 <sup>..</sup> 6
1 Dozen Coolers	1 <sup>..</sup> 10 <sup>..</sup> 6
1 Kettle Basin & Plate	1 <sup>..</sup> 1 <sup>..</sup> 6
1 Stand & 3 squares & Sugar Basins	3 <sup>..</sup> 3 <sup>..</sup> 6
2 Dozen water cups	1 <sup>..</sup> 12 <sup>..</sup> 6
1 Dozen plain Water Carrafts	1 <sup>..</sup> 18 <sup>..</sup> 6
1 Dozen half pint Tumblers	1 <sup>..</sup> 9 <sup>..</sup> 6
6 Decanters with rings	1 <sup>..</sup> 14 <sup>..</sup> 6
1 Water Decanter	1 <sup>..</sup> 6 <sup>..</sup> 6
2 Boxes	1 <sup>..</sup> 10 <sup>..</sup> 6
	£ 23 <sup>..</sup> 18 <sup>..</sup> 6

Fig. 4. Invoice dated 1797 for glassware from Thomas Price of the Strand, London (ROLLR DE7367).

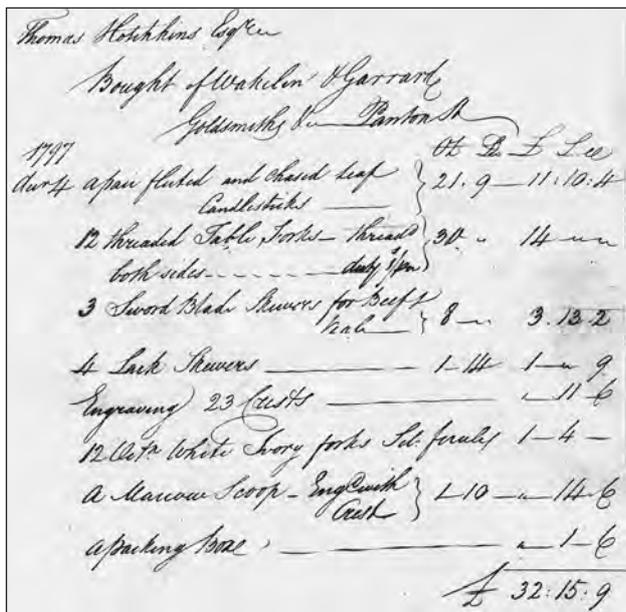


Fig. 5. Invoice dated 1797 for candlesticks and cutlery with engraved crests from Wakelin & Garrard, goldsmiths, of London (ROLLR DE7367).

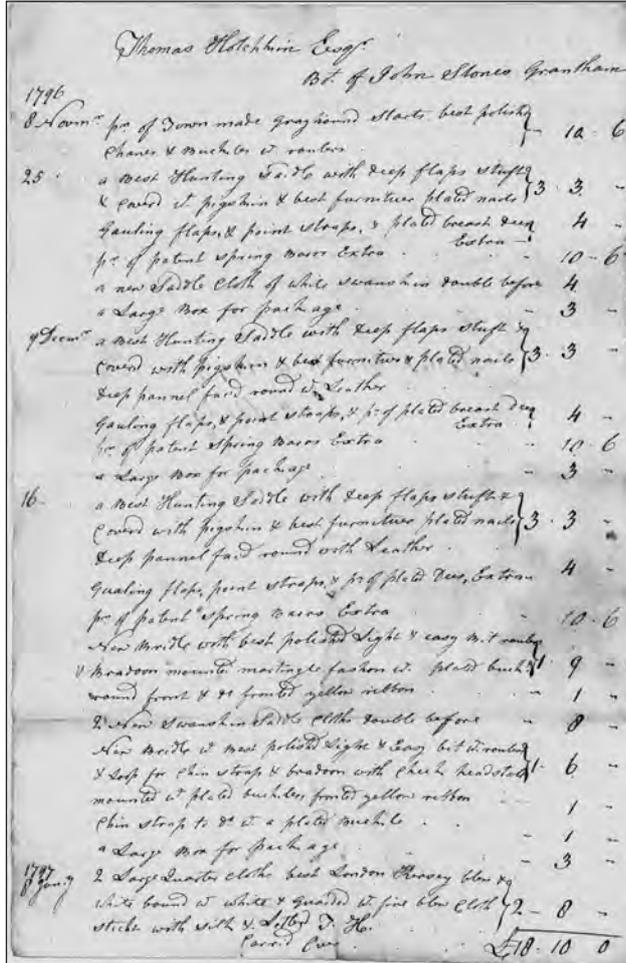


Fig. 6. Invoice dated 1796 for three best hunting saddles at £3 3s each and other riding tack from John Stones of Grantham (ROLLR DE7367).

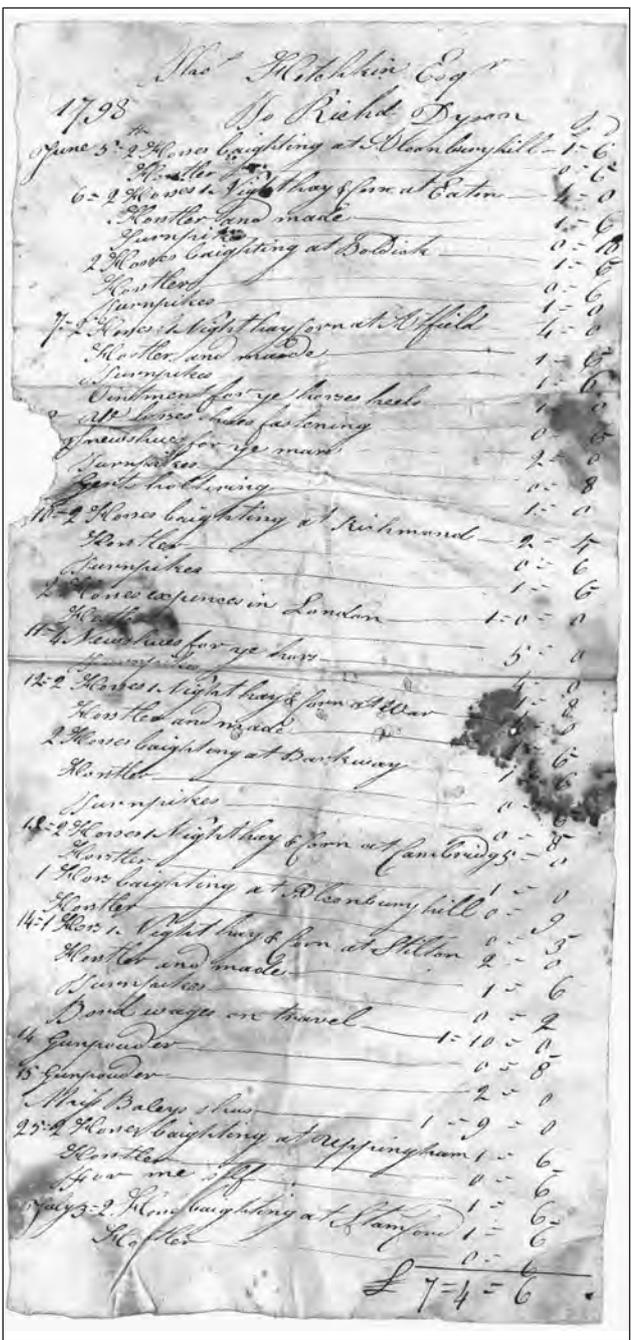


Fig. 7. The itinerary of Richard Dyson on behalf of Thomas Hotchkin in 1798 (ROLLR DE7367).

Dyson on behalf of Thomas Hotchkin (ROLLR DE7367). The 1798 itinerary (fig. 7) is the more detailed and reveals a journey from Alconbury Hill via Eaton [Socon], Boldick [Baldock] and Atfield [Hatfield] to Richmond. The return journey was by way of War [Ware], Barking, Cambridge and back to Alconbury Hill. The journey continued to Stilton, Uppingham, Stamford and then to Wansford. There is considerable detail describing the care of the horses but, frustratingly, the purpose of the trip is not stated.

A surviving Excise Office Permit dated 22nd September 1801 shows that Thomas Hotchkin purchased ten gallons of foreign brandy from a London



Uppingham. In October 1812 he sold a shop there to Joseph Seaton for £1,025 (Uppingham Local History Study Group 2002, 23). He appears on the Uppingham enclosure map of 1804, which shows a property in his name at the western end of the High Street. He also had nearly 26 acres of land allocated to him in Wood Field, near the Stockerston Road (ROLLR MA/EN/A/R51/1). Thomas's will, dated 1843, mentions his manors at South Luffenham, Great Humby, Little Humby, Ropsley, Huttoft, Anderby, Thimbleby, Woodhall, Edlington and Langton and 'all other my manors ... whatsoever and where-soever' (TNA PROB 11/1997).

While not a member of the nobility, which in Rutland would have included the Heathcotes and the Noels, Thomas Hotchkin was clearly a wealthy landowner. He can be regarded as a squire, the term embracing gentlemen who, in Lincolnshire at least, were in possession of land amounting to anywhere between 1,000 and 23,000 acres (Olney 1979, 25-26). His interests were those typical of a country squire and emerge in articles and notices published in the *Stamford Mercury*. Between 1808 and 1812 there are five notices mentioning that he was a subscriber to the various race purses at Stamford Race meetings. Between 1809 and 1820, eight notices mention that he served on the Grand Jury at the Rutland Assizes. He and his wife attended a ball in Stamford held in celebration of Charles Chaplin's victory in the Parliamentary election of 1809 (*SM* 3rd March 1809). The MP, one of Lincolnshire's great landowners, was stated to be a supporter of the Burghley interest.

In 1825, at a meeting held in Stamford, Thomas was elected to a committee charged with looking into the possibility of establishing an infirmary in the town. Others on this committee included the Marquess of Exeter, Sir John Trollope, Dr Willis, Stafford O'Brien and Gilbert Heathcote (*SM* 8th July 1825). Thomas was also a trustee of the Rutland Savings Bank in 1818 (*SM* 27th February 1818).

Thomas Hotchkin was a prize-winner more than once in the Rutland Floral and Horticultural Society shows, of which he was vice-president in 1835. He was also a vice-president of the Stamford Agricultural Society. At a meeting held in Stamford Town Hall on 7th August 1840 it was resolved that

*a society be formed called The Stamford Agricultural Society the object of which will be to hold an annual meeting for the exhibition of farming stock, implements etc., the encouragement of industry in farming servants and labourers, and the general promotion of agriculture.*

The president of the new society was Sir John Trollope. Among the other vice-presidents were

Stafford O'Brien of Blatherwycke, Henry Nevile of Walcot, G Heathcote of Normanton, C Noel of Exton and R Newcomb the newspaper proprietor (*SM* 14th August 1840). Thomas was also a vice-president of the Rutland Agricultural Society in 1841 (*SM* 15th January 1841).

The *Mercury* mentions eight occasions on which Thomas Hotchkin had paid Game Duty. The fee to obtain a game certificate was £3 13s 6d a year. Shooting rights were jealously guarded and most landowners inserted notices in newspapers stating their intention to protect their game. The *Stamford Mercury* for 11th September 1840 carried the following:

*Mr. Hotchkin, being desirous of preserving the game upon the manor of Tixover, requests that qualified gentlemen will refrain from sporting thereon: all unqualified persons and poachers will be prosecuted.*

*Mr. Hotchkin being desirous of preserving the game on the manor of Great Humby and also Humby Woods requests gentlemen will not sport thereon: the tenants and woodkeeper are ordered to inform against trespassers.*

*Sir Gilbert Heathcote, having authorised Mr. Hotchkin to preserve the game on his property in Kilthorpe and Ketton, it is requested that gentlemen will not sport thereon: all trespassers will be prosecuted.*

### Woodhall Spa

Today, Thomas Hotchkin is best known in Lincolnshire for his setting up of the spa at Woodhall. In 1811 a speculator named John Parkinson had sunk a shaft in a vain attempt to find coal. Work had been abandoned in 1823-4 and the shaft filled with water. Thomas Hotchkin, Lord of the Manor, found that the mineral-rich water helped his gout and he determined to capitalise on its curative properties. White's *Directory* (White 1842, 454-55) states that the waters

*have medicinal virtues especially in the cure of rheumatism and chronic diseases of the joints. This water has been found to contain five and a half times as much of that active principle iodine as that of any other British spa ... About six years ago, Thos. Hotchkin Esq., the proprietor, erected a small bath house at the spa and about three years ago, he built near it a large and elegant hotel, with a commodious suit of cold, warm and shower baths and a pump room, reading room etc. all handsomely fitted up. To this splendid establishment he is yearly making additions and improvements. The surrounding grounds have been tastefully laid out in shrubberies and serpentine walks.*



Fig. 10. The Victoria Hotel, Woodhall Spa, Lincolnshire, built by Thomas Hotchkin in the 1830s, but destroyed by fire in 1920 (from Prince 1992).

Thomas Hotchkin did all this in his sixties. Kelly's *Directory* (Kelly 1905, 619), in describing his venture, states that he

*spent nearly £30,000 sinking the well and erecting a hotel and bath house and other improvements were effected by his successor T. J. S. Hotchkin [Thomas's grandson].*

In the 1840s the spa was treating more than two thousand clients each year and when the Horncastle to Woodhall railway arrived in 1855 the number rose dramatically. In the 1880s Woodhall Spa had become known as the English Kreuznach (a reference to the German resort of Bad Kreuznach on the river Nahe, famous for its salt baths) and in 1889 the railway brought it 47,000 visitors (Olney 1979, 170). The significance of the railways to the development of the economy in general was clearly appreciated by T J S Hotchkin (1839-91), for he invested £30,000 in the Great Western, the Midland and the London and South Western companies in 1873 (LA Hotchkin 4C). The record shows that subsequent sales made him a tidy profit. Kelly's *Directory* goes on to say:

*More recently in 1886, the estate, consisting of about 100 acres was purchased by a syndicate and extensive alterations and improvements have already been effected under the direction of Mr. C. E. Davis, architect, of Bath.*

The hotel that Thomas Hotchkin built was the Victoria Hotel (fig. 10), which no longer stands,

having been destroyed by fire in 1920. During almost forty years of ownership, Thomas John Stafford Hotchkin had received a very comfortable income from the estate, enough, according to surviving letters (LA Hotchkin 4C), for him to take holidays in Carlsbad and Algiers. When he died in 1891 the trust estate consisted of:

- £39,900 invested upon various mortgages
- £12,516 Leicester Corporation Stock
- £28 in cash
- Real estate let to tenants yielding £950pa rent
- Two farms
- The Manor House at Woodhall with 30 acres
- Extensive woods yielding timber and shooting revenue

Thomas Hotchkin must have alternated his time between Woodhall and Tixover because the 1841 census gives him living at Tixover with a staff of eleven. These were a housekeeper, five maids, butler, servant, footman and two stable boys. His daughter and her two children were also with Thomas at the time the census was taken.

#### The legacy

Thomas Hotchkin died in 1843. A notice in the *Stamford Mercury* for Friday 9th June reads:

*Died. On Sunday evening at Woodhall Lodge, near Horncastle, aged 74, Thomas Hotchkin Esq., of Tixover House, Rutland.*

His age is incorrectly given; in fact he was 69.



Fig. 11. The Manor House, Woodhall, now Agriculture House (photo: author).

Woodhall Lodge, home of Thomas Hotchkin, was later the Manor House and is now Agriculture House (Robinson 1983, 121; fig. 11).

Thomas's will (TNA PROB 11/1997), made on 24th March 1843, runs to eighteen pages. The main beneficiaries were his son Thomas Henry Stafford Hotchkin, who died only five years later at Woodhall Manor, and his daughter Marian Matilda Humphrey, his wife and twin sons having pre-deceased him. The will states:

*I give and bequeath unto my son Thomas Henry Stafford Hotchkin all the furniture, plate, linen, china, pictures, engravings and books, carriages, horses, harness, farming stock and farming and gardening utensils which at the time of my decease shall be in or about my dwelling houses at Tixover and Woodhall ...*

In addition to his several estates in Lincolnshire Thomas gives his property in South Luffenham to his son:

*... and also all that my Mansion House, garden and paddock and all other my hereditaments at South Luffenham in the county of Rutland ...*

There is no mention of Tixover being one of Thomas's estates.

There were also trusts in favour of two further children of a certain Eliza Vines. These children are named as Thomas Hotchkin Vines and Eliza Hotchkin Vines, presumably illegitimate offspring. The details of his will suggest a man of some business acumen and one who, even after death, sought to control his heirs. He insists, for example, that the bequest to his daughter shall be for her

exclusive benefit and is not to be used to settle any of her husband's debts. Furthermore, he desires that every son of his daughter, Matilda Humphrey, shall:

*take and use the surname of Hotchkin only and no other surname whatever in addition to his Christian name and shall bear the arms of the said testator Thomas Hotchkin.*

He also insists that they shall seek the legal means to effect this change. Should they not do this, then they will be disinherited.

Parish registers show that Thomas Hotchkin is buried at South Luffenham, though his grave has not been identified. The entry reads:

*10 June 1843. Buried. Thomas Hotchkin of Woodhall, Lincs aged 69.*

### Epilogue

The brevity of the notice in the *Stamford Mercury* announcing the death of Thomas Hotchkin is puzzling. It would be expected that a person of such local importance would have received a lengthy obituary in the press, yet a search of the *Stamford Mercury* for the month following his death yields no further details of his life. No newspaper was published in Horncastle until the 1860s, some twenty years after his death. Similarly puzzling is the absence of any memorial in the church at South Luffenham where there are funerary tablets commemorating Thomas Hotchkin's wife and twin sons. Likewise, there are no memorials at Tixover or Woodhall.

Apart from South Luffenham, the majority of the Hotchkin family estates in England lay in Lincolnshire in three areas: close to Grantham (Ropsley,

Somerby, Humby), close to Horncastle (Woodhall, Langton, Thimbleby, Edlington), and near the coast north of Skegness (Anderby, Huttoft). The Rutland seat at South Luffenham seems to have come into the family with the marriage of John (1703-36) to Ann Terrewest. From this union South Luffenham was passed down to Thomas of Allextion (1729-74) then to his brother Robert (d1796) and then to Robert's son, Thomas of Tixover (1774-1843): *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1972) mistakenly conflates information on Thomas Hotchkin of Allextion and Thomas Hotchkin of Tixover. Curiously, Thomas of Allextion makes no mention of South Luffenham in his will, although his connection with it is given in his entry in Foster's *Alumni Oxoniensis*. He does mention his manors at Thimbleby and Woodhall, which passed down to Thomas of Tixover in 1796. In 1800 or soon after, Thomas and his wife moved to Tixover, after which South Luffenham Hall was let to tenants. White's *Directory* for 1846 states:

*The Hall, a large stone mansion, belongs to S. Hotchkin Esq. [Thomas Henry Stafford, 1802-48], but is occupied by the Misses and Col. Wingfield.*

### Acknowledgements

The author is indebted to the following: Tim Clough for his editorial guidance; Peter Lane for his copies of extracts from Parish Registers relating to the Hotchkins; the staff at Woodhall Spa Cottage Museum for their helpful advice; Adam Goodwin of

The Hall continued in Hotchkin ownership and in the *Return of Owners of Land 1873* T J Hotchkin (1839-91) of South Luffenham is shown with a Rutland estate of just over 83 acres. Some time around the close of the century it must have passed out of the family's hands.

Further research into the Hotchkin name might reveal additional branches of the family. For example, there exists the will of a Rev Anthony Hotchkin of Stonesby in Leicestershire, proved in 1657 (TNA PROB 11/263). He had three sons, John, Robert and Ralph, and two daughters, but any connection with Robert of Bradmore (b 1642) is at present uncertain. However, it is known that the Rev John (1672-1744) had land in Stonesby. There are also other Hotchkins mentioned in parish registers for Edith Weston, Lyndon, Exton, Braunston, Burley, Greetham, Lyddington, Ridlington and Ryhall, and family connections exist in Yorkshire. Any further research will most likely connect these people to the main line of descent from Robert of Bradmore.

### Primary sources

BCA Birmingham City Archives, Norton Papers.  
 CCEd Clergy of the Church of England database (on-line at [www.theclergydatabase.org.uk](http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk)).  
 CCROH Cambridgeshire County Record Office, Huntingdon.  
 LA The Hotchkin Collection (estate papers, conveyance documents, correspondence)

the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland for reproductions of the Hotchkin documents; the Master & Fellows of Clare College for Figure 1; and Reflections of a Bygone Age, Keyworth, for Figure 10.

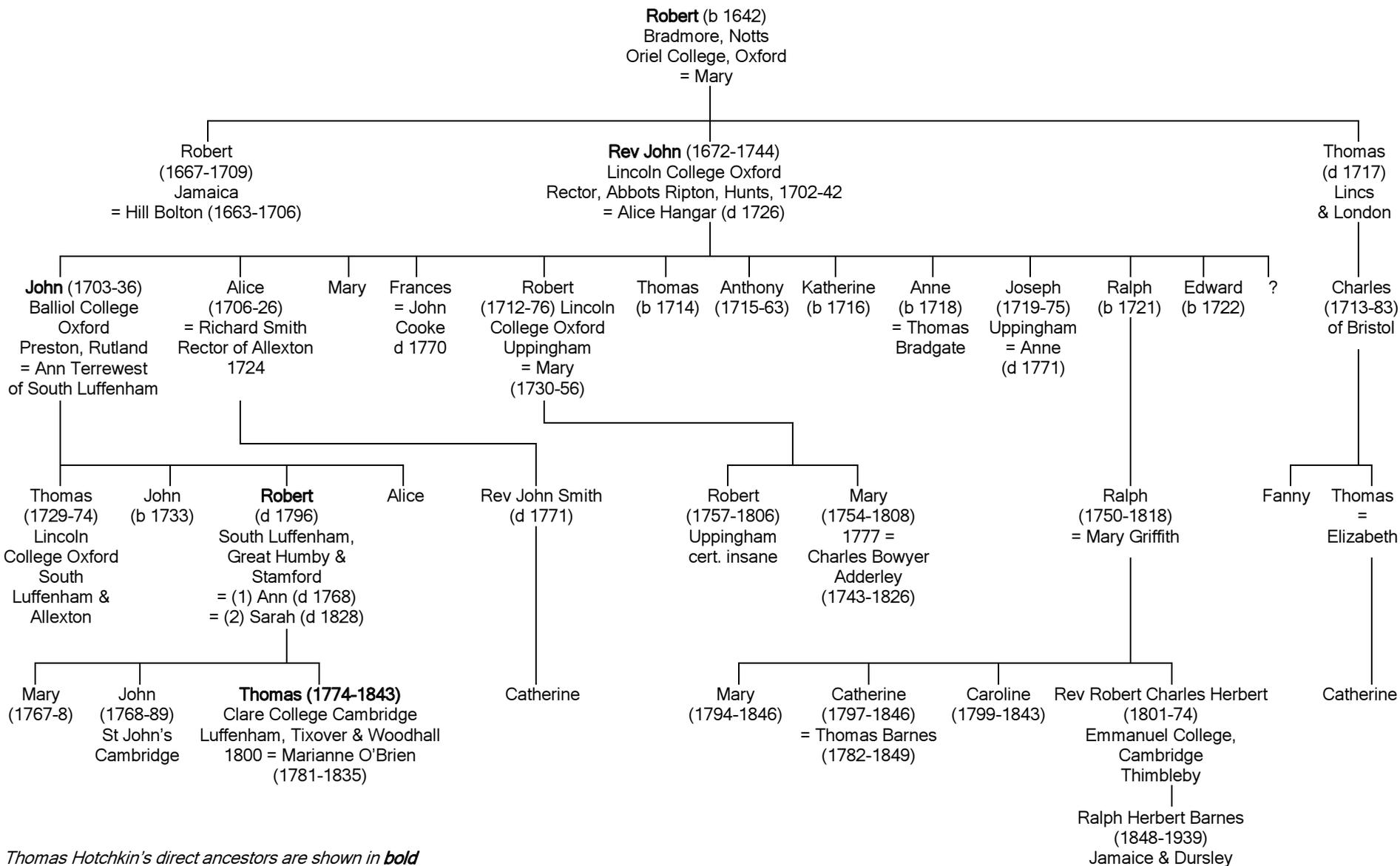
in the Lincolnshire Archives, Lincoln.

TNA The National Archives, [www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline) (for Hotchkin wills).  
 ROLLR A series of Thomas Hotchkin's business papers 1791-1802 in the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland.

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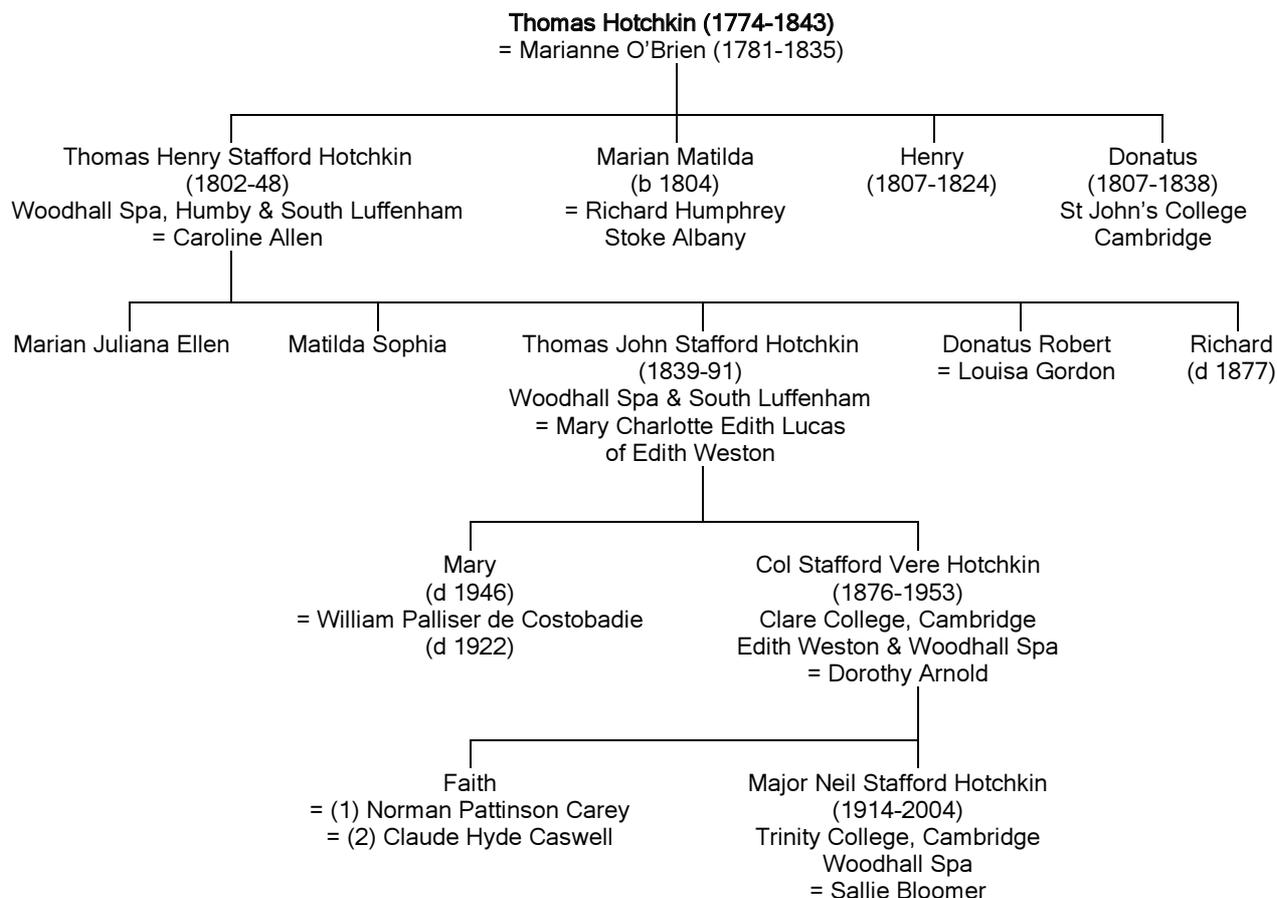
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Thomas Hotchkin's direct ancestors are shown in **bold**

**Appendix 2 – The descendants of Thomas Hotchkin of Tixover**



# The King v Richard Hack: The Story behind the Headlines

PAT GRUNDY

The Rutland Quarter Sessions met four times a year, at Epiphany, Easter, Midsummer and Michaelmas. At the Epiphany Quarter Sessions on 14th January 1819, four Justices of the Peace met at Oakham Castle expecting to hear ‘and determine divers Felonies Trespasses and other misdeeds committed within the county of Rutland’. The Summary of the session lists all the court officers and jurors, including the four Justices – George Fludyer Esquire, Samuel Barker Esquire, the Reverend William Baker and the Reverend Thomas Kaye Bonney. Amongst the usual list of minor crimes was a case that, even today, would have been a joy to tabloid editors and headline writers.

In October 1818, *Drakard's Stamford News* published a story that would have been scandalous even by today's standards. It reports that Charles Garfoot (spelt Garfit in the report) had some ugly bumps on his forehead and thought they were caused by the fact that his master, Richard Hack, and his own wife, Lucy, were having an affair. It went on to explain that Garfoot wanted a separation ‘from bed and board’. Hack was only too happy to oblige and the sum of ten pounds was agreed upon, half at the ‘time of delivery’, and the other half on the next morning.

A vivid picture of the exchange is given in the paper, explaining how Garfoot put a halter around his wife's waist and then put the end of it into Hack's hand in front of William Butler who, we are told, was a fellow labourer. Garfoot was alleged to have announced, ‘Here, Hack, take your bargain, and I wish you may have better luck with her than I have had’. Hack then gave Garfoot half a crown with which to drink his health in the public house at Greetham, without giving a name to it. Garfoot clearly felt better about matters and did indeed do so, at the same time telling his story to the amusement of the other customers in the bar.

Hack took Lucy home where they ate eggs and bacon before retiring. He had apparently nailed up the door so that when Garfoot turned up later and tried to enter the house, he could not. Hack refused to let him in and suggested that he go to his wife, Charlotte, at another house, also belonging to Hack, three miles away. Garfoot did just that and Charlotte got up, stoked up the fire in the kitchen and became his ‘condoling companion’ for the remainder of the night. On the third night after the transaction, Hack

took Lucy Garfoot to the Quarry Lodge where he introduced her to his wife, Charlotte. The newspaper alleges that on the next night all three slept together, and there the newspaper report ends rather abruptly.

When the case came to court, it was described as a misdemeanour, the King *versus* Richard Hack, who was accused of buying another man's wife and described as a person of ‘most wicked lewd lascivious depraved and abandoned mind and disposition and wholly lost to all sense of decency Morality and Religion’. His crime was that he intended to bring the state of holy matrimony into contempt and to corrupt the local citizens. Richard Hack was accused that on 29th September 1818, in Cottesmore in Rutland and in front of one William Butler, he persuaded Charles Garfitt to sell his wife Lucy to him for the princely sum of £10. Richard then openly lived with Lucy in Clipsham until 1st December 1818.

The case was described in great detail and with an overabundance of adjectives. The words ‘lewd’, ‘lascivious’ and ‘filthy lucre’ were repeated over and over again. The descriptions of the crime were clearly written by someone who was outraged by the whole affair. Initially both Richard Hack and Charles Garfitt were both bailed to appear before the court, Charles to give evidence for the bill of indictment and Richard to answer it. Richard's recognisance also named Robert Hack [as surety?].

On 14th January 1819, Richard Hack came to court and pleaded ‘not guilty’. His recognisance was discharged but he was bailed again to appear at the next sessions. Charles gave his evidence and his recognisance was discharged. On returning to court on 22nd April 1819, Richard had clearly had time to think about his ‘crime’ and changed his plea to ‘guilty’. He was fined one shilling and ordered to pay the prosecution costs. He paid the fine to the Sheriff in court and was discharged immediately.

I had used this case in Family History classes for years as an example of the documents that might be found in Quarter Sessions, here at the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland; my students always wanted to know more. Who were these people and what happened to them?

Richard Hack was a farmer, born in Clipsham on 6th January 1786, son of John and Elizabeth Hack. His father, a man of property and influence, had been Sheriff of the county of Rutland in 1805. He

married Charlotte Holmes of Stretton at Stretton on 28th January 1811 by licence. They had a daughter, Charlotte, baptised at Stretton on 2nd May 1814, and then the family moved to Cottesmore. In Cottesmore they had two more children, Richard, baptised on 26th November 1815 and buried six months later on 10th May 1816, and Anne, baptised on 1st March 1816. Anne must have died too because, after moving back to Clipsham, Charlotte gave birth to another daughter Ann who was baptised there on 12th April 1818. At the time of his offence, Richard's wife was pregnant again and his youngest son, Matthew, was baptised on 15th February 1819, a month after his father was fined for buying another man's wife. Richard Hack died at the age of 60 and was buried at Clipsham on 10th May 1847. There is no trace of Charlotte after 1819 and the baptism of her son Matthew until the 1841 census.

In June 1841 when the census was taken, Charlotte was living in Tanter Street, Birmingham, with her daughter Ann and her family. Ann had married William Shakespeare at Birmingham in 1836 and by the time of the census they had a daughter, Mary. This suggests that Charlotte may have moved away to Warwickshire. She did not appear in the 1851 census there, and there seemed to be only one possible death entry in the General Register Office index. However further investigation, on obtaining the death certificate, showed that the certificate referred to a different, older Charlotte Hack.

By contrast, Charles Garfitt was a poor agricultural labourer. He was born Charles Garfoot on 30th March 1788 and baptised the same day at Market Overton, son of William and Elizabeth Garfoot. The name appeared as both Garfitt and Garforth in the Quarter Sessions minute book and as Garfitt when he married Lucy Pilmore at Teigh on 28th October 1812 and made his mark. As an illiterate man he was unable to correct misspellings of his name.

At the time of his marriage, Charles was living at Castle Bytham in Lincolnshire and the couple would have moved back there before moving to Greetham.

#### **Sources** (all at the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland)

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Clipsham Parish Register, Temporary Loan 1a; 3a.  
Cottesmore Parish Registers, DE1920/6; /7.  
Greetham Parish Registers, DE2574/3.  
Market Overton Parish Registers, Temporary Loan 1.  
Stretton Parish Registers, DE2496/3; DE3189/1.  
Teigh Parish Registers, Temporary Loan 6.  
Census Indexes.  
1851 Census Greetham, HO107/2092/folio40.  
1861 Census Greetham, RG9/2306/folio37.  
1841 Census Birmingham, HO/107/1145/1.  
General Register Office Indexes.

They certainly had a son John before they moved, born about 1814, who later died in Greetham at the young age of 22 years. It was in Greetham that the youngest children were baptised, Elizabeth on 15th March 1818, before the scandal, and Charles, born after it, on 20th August 1820.

Reading the summary of the case in the Quarter Sessions minute book, it would seem that only Charles and Lucy could say why they entered into this transaction. As a farm labourer Charles Garfitt earned little money and therefore they were a poor family. Richard, on the other hand, was a farmer and the son of a rich farmer. Whether this wife-selling was really to do with Charles blaming the 'protuberances' on his forehead on his wife's alleged affair with his boss or whether he just made them an offer that they could not refuse remains unclear; whatever their reason, when it was all over, Charles and Lucy lived together at Greetham until they died in old age. Charles was 70 years old when he was buried on 1st February 1858 and Lucy lived until she was 79 years old and was buried, like her husband, at Greetham on 11th November 1870.

The *Lincoln, Stamford & Rutland Mercury*, on 29th January 1819, gave two lines to a man named Jackson in Retford who had sold his wife for ten shillings and sixpence the week before. To the Hack case they gave nineteen lines and declared their opinion that whilst both men were liable for prosecution, Richard Hack was singled out because 'he was the more opulent man'. The fact that he came from such a rich and influential family was probably the cause of the decision to devote so many lines to the case. Yet on 30th April, after the Easter Session, there was no mention of it. We tend to think that trial by media is a modern development but I think that this case belies that. *Drakard's Stamford News* would make a modern tabloid editor proud!

There was just one person about whom I could discover no details, the Clerk who was so outraged. Was this for the benefit of the clerical gentlemen on the bench? He, I'm afraid, remains anonymous.

*Drakard's Stamford News*, Oct 1818 (actual date uncertain).

*Leicestershire Journal*, 15th Jan, 22nd Jan, 22nd Apr 1819.

*Leicestershire Chronicle*, 16th Jan, 23rd Jan, 23rd Apr 1819.

*Lincoln, Rutland & Stamford Mercury*, 15th Jan, 22nd Jan, 22nd Apr 1819.

*The Rutland Magazine*, Jan 2003, article by Audrey Buxton

*The Rutland Magazine*, Apr 2004, article by Wendy Maxwell

With thanks to Audrey Buxton and Wendy Maxwell.

## In the Doghouse...

### Rutland beneficiaries of Lord Harborough's Hospital at Stapleford

CYNTHIA BROWN

While conducting family history research into the parish registers for Stapleford, near Melton Mowbray, I came across references to a charity established in 1732 under the will of the Rt Hon Bennet, Earl of Harborough, a member of the Sherrard family. This may be of interest to readers of the *Rutland Record* as residents of two Rutland villages, Teigh and Whissendine, were among the potential beneficiaries.

Following entries for baptisms, marriages and burials for 1760 in the register, there is an inventory of 'utensils' belonging to the church and the conditions of the Earl's bequest for a 'hospital' for six 'poor men'. These were to be inhabitants of:

*some of his towns of Stainby Gunby Stapleford Saxby Whissendine and Teigh not under the age of five and fifty years ... And [the Earl] directs so much money to be raised out of Stapleford as to buy a blew cloath Gown for ye six poor men once in every three years ... and directs his Trustees within one year of his decease to lay out and expend out of the rents and profits of his estate any sume not exceeding one hundred pounds in making six habitable rooms in the dog-kennel and convenient for such six poor persons to dwell in and afterwards be maintained supported and repaired by the persons entitled to Stapleford....*

The register also notes that these 'Hospital places' were intended for former servants, but the former Earl 'having not left any servants who have lived with him Ten years except such who will not accept any of the said Hospital places, they having plentiful Fortunes in the world to live without them...', the first Hospital men were nominated by Philip, 'now Earl of Harborough', who had just inherited the Stapleford estate. These were William Tinkler of Stapleford, Thomas Penny of Saxby, and John Barrow of Whissendine. Each also received an annuity of £8 (Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland, subsequently ROLLR, DE659/14).

'Appointments' as Hospital men appear at intervals later in the registers. The first that I could find from Rutland was that of Thomas Redmile, a labourer, of Whissendine on 27th June 1737, 'in ye room of Henry Smith deceased and have paid one

quarter to ye widow of Henry Smith he having outlived ye quarterly and ye other quarter to be paid to ye said Thomas Redmile, whose executor is to receive the same on ye same condition' (ROLLR DE659/14). All the remaining Hospital men appear to be from Whissendine rather than Teigh. Entries are sometimes difficult to decipher, but as far as I can transcribe them, with their date of 'appointment', they included:

Thomas Chamberline	3rd November 1740
Richard Illston	25th January 1741
Robert Tansley	5th June 1750
Thomas Draper	10th December 1753
Phillip Penneystone	10th December 1753
John Hoar	10th December 1753
John White	5th November 1754
John Veasey	14th September 1759
John Percival	3rd September 1763

An entry by Robert, the son of Philip, Earl of Harborough, dated 10th November 1768 and possibly prompted by a lapse in behaviour by one or more Hospital men, declares that: 'All six men and their successors must be obedient to such Rules and Orders as shall be agreeable to the Will of Bennet first Earl of Harborough' (ROLLR DE659/15). One further entry on 13th August 1810 notes that the Guardians of Robert, Earl of Harborough, 'an infant', had appointed a Hospital man on his behalf: a James Torkington, resident in Stukely [sic: probably Great or Little Stukeley] in Huntingdonshire, but possibly a former servant of the family (ROLLR DE659/15).

As for the 'dog kennel' referred to in the original bequest, this was presumably where Bennet, Earl of Harborough or his predecessors had kept their hounds. It was rebuilt around 1791 by the Rev Robert Sherrard, 4th Earl of Harborough and canon of Salisbury. According to John Nichols (1815, 342):

*thinking the situation of the old apartments to be unhealthy, [he] has built a very handsome house... for the reception of the poor almsmen; whose number he has increased to eight, and extended the yearly stipend of each to ten pounds, with an allowance of coal.*

The hospital was described in White's *Directory of*



*Fig. 1. Lord Harborough's hospital for almsmen as it survives today (photo: author).*

*Leicestershire & Rutland* in 1877 as 'a handsome building, thatched with reeds', with residents at that time chosen by the Countess of Harborough. It was located to the north of Stapleford Hall itself, close to the River Eye. It still survives, albeit much altered, and part of it – No 1, Bede House, Stapleford – was

on the market in 2007 for £399,000. So far I have not been able to establish exactly when it ceased to fulfil its original function, so if any reader of the *Rutland Record* can enlighten me, or add to the information above, I would be very interested to know.

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# Rutland History & Archaeology in 2007

Edited by T H MCK CLOUGH

The Editor is grateful to all those who have provided information and reports for this section. Organisations whose work is not reported here are invited to contact the Society so that it may be considered for inclusion.

The following abbreviations are used:

APS	Archaeological Project Services, The Old School, Cameron Street, Heckington, Sleaford, Lincolnshire, NG34 9RW.	RCM	Rutland County Museum.
CgMs	CgMs Consulting, Newark Beacon, Beacon Hill Office Park, Cafferata Way, Newark, Nottinghamshire, NG24 2TN.	RLHRS	Rutland Local History & Record Society.
NA	Northamptonshire Archaeology, 2 Bolton House, Wootton Hall Park, Northampton, NN3 8BE.	ROLLR	Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland.
		RR	<i>Rutland Record</i> .
		TCP	Trigpoint Conservation & Planning, 29 Kingfisher Way, Loughborough, LE11 3NF.
		ULAS	University of Leicester Archaeological Services, University Road, Leicester, LE1 7RH.

## I – Archaeological Fieldwork during 2007

Short reports, arranged in alphabetical order by parish

### Pipeline from Empingham to Hannington, Northamptonshire

Northamptonshire Archaeology was commissioned by Mott MacDonald, on behalf of Anglian Water Services, to conduct geophysical prospection, followed by test pit excavation, as part of the archaeological evaluation of a proposed pipeline route from Empingham in Rutland to Hannington in Northamptonshire. The test pits were excavated to the underlying natural geology in areas of archaeological potential to establish the depths of overburden over archaeological deposits. For individual areas within Rutland, see Bisbrooke, Caldecott, Empingham, Glaston, Lyddington, Lyndon, Normanton, North Luffenham / Edith Weston, Pilton, Seaton, Thorpe by Water and Wing.

#### Ashwell, The Old Hall (SK 865138)

APS carried out watching briefs for Ancaster Properties Ltd during development and tree planting in the Scheduled Ancient Monument of medieval settlement remains at Ashwell. Evidence of garden landscaping was identified, together with a possible garden path. Small quantities of 16th-17th century pottery may suggest the date of these remains. This evidence supports the interpretation of this area of earthworks as the remains of a terraced garden rather than an occupied site. Variations in subsoil depth in the tree pits probably also relates to the earthworks. A small quantity of medieval pottery was also recovered. Archive: RCM 2007.55.

*Vicky Mellor*

#### Barrowden, 21 Main Street (SP 78889681)

During March and April 2007, Benchmark Archaeology undertook an archaeological watching brief during soil stripping and groundworks associated with the erection of a new dwelling and garage on the site. Finds included 11th-13th century pottery (mainly Stamford ware), a 13th-14th century roof tile fragment, animal bone (cattle, sheep

and deer, possibly *Dama dama*, European Fallow Deer: one deer metatarsal showed evidence of butchery in the form of fine cut marks), and a silver groat of Edward IV.



*Fig. 1. Silver groat of Edward IV, London mint, light coinage (1464/5-1470), from Barrowden.*

Evidence for garden terracing, dated to the mid 19th century on the basis of the Barrowden Tithe Map of 1844 and Ordnance Survey mapping of 1885 and observed to continue on the neighbouring property of Welland View Farmhouse, and for ancillary structures on the site was also found. Archive: RCM 2007.54.

*Richard Cherrington*

#### Bisbrooke (SK 892999)

Overlapping archaeological anomalies detected by geophysical survey probably represent multiple phases of boundary and enclosure ditches. Medieval ridge and furrow cultivation is apparent along the length of the pipeline corridor. Several irregular pit-like anomalies could perhaps indicate localised quarrying. Conjoined ditched enclosures, two further parallel ditches and three large pits were also detected. The only features found in the test pits were remnant ridge and furrow.

*Ian Fisher, Jason Clarke*

#### Burley, Holy Cross Church (SK 884103)

On behalf of the Churches Conservation Trust, APS carried out a watching brief during refurbishment of the

13th century church. Some of the external foundations, of medieval date, were revealed, while work within the church exposed hardcore surfaces and tile floors relating to restoration in the 1870s. Partially overlain by the Victorian tile floor was the gravestone of Margaret Saunders, daughter of Francis Cumberland, dated 1717. Archive: RCM 2007.65.

*Michael Wood*

**Bisbrooke, 3 Glaston Road (SP 886997)**

An archaeological watching brief was undertaken by CgMs Consulting in January 2007. No significant archaeological remains were observed. A linear feature was recorded which was found to represent a drainage ditch or channel associated with a 19th or early 20th century brick-lined well. Archive: RCM 2007.1.

*Ken Hollamby*

**Caldecott (SK 97759485, SK 87759400)**

Several ditches were identified by geophysical survey. The breadth of the anomalies may indicate that these are deep-seated (sub-alluvial) features. Two contiguous lengths of curvilinear ditch are possibly the eastern side of a circular feature, perhaps a prehistoric barrow.

*Ian Fisher*

**Caldecott, The Green, Church Lane (SP 86829359)**

A watching brief was undertaken by T Bradley-Lovekin of APS for Twinfit Ltd in the historic village core and close to known Roman remains. A pit and boundary ditch were revealed but were undated. The boundary ditch was subsequently replaced by an extant stone wall. Archive: RCM 2007.9.

*Paul Cope-Faulkner*

**Edith Weston – see North Luffenham**

**Edith Weston, Tyler Close (SK 92890518)**

M Wood of APS supervised an evaluation, on behalf of Ms L Tyler, close to the historic core of Edith Weston and near to several 18th century and later buildings. However, no archaeological remains were found and recent deposits directly overlay natural, suggesting the site had been previously stripped. A small quantity of post-medieval artefacts was recovered, together with two tile fragments that may be Roman. Archive: RCM 2007.68.

*Michael Wood*

**Empingham (SK 94750755)**

Geophysical survey found one possible ditch. Five parallel linear anomalies give the appearance of ridge and furrow, but the relatively close spacing compared to others encountered nearby may suggest a more modern origin. No features were found in the test pits.

*Ian Fisher, Jason Clarke*

**Glaston, Manor Farm (SK 89550050)**

Magnetic anomalies representing a number of linear and curvilinear ditches and an elongated pit-like anomaly were found by geophysical survey. Three small pits were detected close to a 'T'-shaped ditch intersection. One particular ditch appears to be situated directly on the Glaston parish boundary, suggesting that this may have been marked on the ground before enclosure. Ridge and furrow cultivation was also recorded. A single gully was

found in one test pit and a few sherds of Iron Age pottery were found in the topsoil of another, but with no associated features.

*Ian Fisher, Jason Clarke*

**Ketton, Ketton Quarry (SK 968072 & SK 966045)**

NA conducted a geophysical survey of two separate areas of land to the W and NW of Ketton. The survey formed part of an ongoing archaeological study of areas to be considered for future quarrying operations and was undertaken on behalf of Castle Cement Ltd. An area of some 168ha was subject to reconnaissance scanning by magnetometer and this identified eight separate locations to be sampled by detailed survey. To date, six of these areas, totalling 16ha, have been surveyed. Evidence of enclosures and settlement of possible Iron Age or Roman date has been found in three of the areas.

*Ian Fisher*

**Ketton, Stamford Road, 'Fishponds' (SK 985051)**

Archaeological investigation was undertaken on land at Fishponds, Stamford Lane by NA. A small number of features, including undated linear features and a section of a curvilinear ditch were uncovered. The curvilinear ditch might be part of a complete ring ditch, approximately 10m in diameter, perhaps of Bronze Age date, although the ditch fills contained both flints and medieval pottery. Archive: RCM 2006.7.

*Nathan Flavell*

**Lyddington (SK 880951)**

A right-angled ditch, possibly half of a square enclosure, and another ditch were identified by geophysical survey as well as ridge and furrow cultivation on various alignments. No archaeological finds or features were found in the test pits.

*Ian Fisher, Jason Clarke*

**Lyndon (SK 914038)**

There was ridge and furrow, orientated N-S. A curvilinear ditch and a possible cluster of pits were also revealed by geophysical survey.

*Ian Fisher*

**Manton, Dairy Farm, Lyndon Road (SK 88150469)**

An excavation carried out by ULAS for McCrombie Smith Architects revealed sparse evidence for the prehistoric, Roman and Late Saxon periods through residual or unstratified finds, with later periods being represented through occupation evidence. The village appears to originate in the Late Saxon period. The earlier medieval to late medieval periods demonstrate a growth in the village core, following the Norman Conquest, and are represented by stone quarrying, and subsequent occupation of the land evidenced through the construction of walls, cobbled surfaces, post-hole activity and wells. The post-medieval to early modern periods are represented by a potential change in land-use, with landscaping making way for earth-fast timber 'hay-barn'-like structures, presumably the origin of the recent Dairy Farm. By the end of the early modern period, it appears that these structures had been demolished and no further structural activity occurred. Archive: RCM 2008.13.

*John Tate*

**Market Overton, Main Street (SK 89131624)**

An archaeological strip plan and sample excavation were carried by ULAS on behalf of T Denman & Sons (Melton Mowbray) Ltd. The site had been extensively quarried for the ironstone in the early to middle part of the 20th century to a depth of 1.00-1.50m, leaving a N-S spine of 632 sq m of unquarried ground. This area included a network of ditches and gullies, two probable structures, pits and post-holes of Iron Age and Roman date. Large demolition deposits of Roman painted wall plaster and flue tile suggests the site lay near to a Roman villa. In the north-eastern part of the area, an early Mesolithic flint scatter was located. Archive: RCM 2008.33.

*Martin Shore*

**Market Overton, Main Street (SK 88721640)**

Development in the W part of Market Overton near to previous discoveries of Roman remains was the subject of a watching brief carried out by APS for Mr M Howard. No archaeological remains were identified though artefacts of 17th century and later date were plentiful. Archive: RCM 2007.56.

*Paul Cope-Faulkner*

**Normanton (SK 944066 & SK 939059)**

Geophysical survey located areas of ridge and furrow cultivation. Three linear ditches and a further curvilinear ditch were also identified, together with a curvilinear ditch that may be part of an enclosure that extends beyond the survey area.

*Ian Fisher*

**North Luffenham/Edith Weston (SK 930050);**

**Pilton (SK 90750339)**

Medieval ridge and furrow cultivation was located by geophysical survey.

*Ian Fisher*

**Seaton (SK 887989 & SK 887982)**

Several linear ditch anomalies and the possible corner of a large enclosure were detected by geophysical survey as well as further medieval ridge and furrow cultivation. One undated pit was found in a test pit.

*Ian Fisher, Jason Clarke*

**Seaton, Church Farm (SP 903981)**

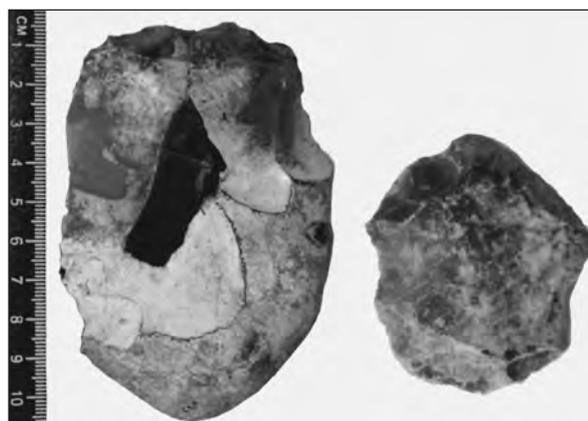
An evaluation undertaken by ULAS for London and Country Homes Ltd revealed wall footings and flag-stone floors from a domestic building. Archive: RCM 2008.31.

*Jennifer Haywood*

**Stoke Dry (SP 851983)**

Fieldwalking by the RLHRS Archaeological Team on the edge of the Uppingham plateau recovered possible Palaeolithic as well as Mesolithic, Early Neolithic and Later Neolithic-Early Bronze Age flint material. The identification by Richard Knox of these Palaeolithic pieces is made with his reservations and needs further study.

This advance report draws attention to some 20 possible Palaeolithic struck fragments that might include: a 'Mousterian' single-edged scraper (3E), a Middle(?) Palaeolithic bi-facial chopper (10H), a core tool (16B), a scraper (17O), a core (16C), a tool (19H) and a re-touched(?) piece (19L); 6 Upper Palaeolithic/Mesolithic struck fragments including an Upper Palaeolithic



*Fig. 2. A possible Palaeolithic bi-facial chopper (10H) (left) and core tool(16B) (right) from Stoke Dry*

rejuvenation flake (18E); 18 Mesolithic and/or Early Neolithic flints were also found, including a saw/backed blade (19O); the Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age pieces included scrapers (3D), (7C), 9(G) and a piercer(?) (23C) (RLHRS R77).

*Elaine Jones, Richard Knox*

**Thorpe-by-Water (SK 887970 & SK 887996)**

Within two fields several linear anomalies were detected by geophysical survey; one is almost certainly a ditch but the broader ones have a slightly diffuse appearance which suggests they may mark the edge of a palaeochannel. There are other probable ditches. Ridge and furrow on differing alignments also occurs across both fields. Test pits confirmed the presence of ridge and furrow.

*Ian Fisher, Jason Clarke*

**Tixover, Bankside (SK 976005)**

B Garland of APS carried out a watching brief, for the Richard Oakley Partnership, during development in the historic core of Tixover. No archaeological remains were revealed though artefacts of 12th century and later date were recovered. Archive: RCM 2007.64.

*Paul Cope-Faulkner*

**Wing (SK 89850225)**

Ridge and furrow was evident from geophysical survey, as well as probable ditches.

*Ian Fisher*

**Wing, Water Treatment Works Extension (SK 900026)**

Geophysical survey was conducted over an area of c0.5ha for a proposed extension to the Anglian Water Services Water Treatment Works at Wing. There was a great deal of ferrous debris as well as short linear features. Both kinds of anomaly may have resulted from modern construction relating to the present works.

An archaeological evaluation comprising two trial trenches was undertaken in relation to the proposed extension. No archaeological features were observed within the trial trenches.

*Ian Fisher, Tim Upson-Smith*

**Negative watching briefs and evaluations in Rutland (all undertaken by ULAS unless otherwise stated)**

**Ashwell:** The Old Hall (SK 86759 13825) APS

**Braunston:** 31a Church Street (SK 833066) CgMs

**Belton:** Goughs Lane (SK 81527 01111)  
**Bisbrooke:** 3 Glaston Road (SP 88650 99718) CgMs  
**Caldecott:** 1 The Green, Church Lane (SP 86820 93592)  
 APS  
**Cottesmore:** The Grange, Main Street (SK 904137)  
**Edith Weston:** Tyler Close (SK 92880 05183) APS  
**Essendine:** 18 Manor Farm (TF 047127)  
**Glaston:** Coppice Paddock, Coppice Farm (SK 89580071)

**Ketton:** Fishponds (SK 98556 05058)  
**Market Overton:** 7 Main Street (SK 88720 16402) APS  
**Oakham:** Lands End Way, Barleythorpe (SK 85346  
 09842 & SK 85127 09944) APS  
**Ridlington:** Ridlington Park Farm (SK 833019)  
**South Luffenham:** West Farm, Angle Lane (SK 93919  
 02054)  
**Uppingham:** Seaton Road (SP 87325 99488)

## II – Historic Building Recording during 2007

### **Ketton, Kiltorpe Grange** (SK 98510326)

A survey was carried out by TCP for the Joseph Whattoff Will Trust in February 2008 prior to conversion of farm buildings SE of the principal farmhouse (a Grade II listed building) at Kiltorpe Grange in the Welland valley. The buildings, which comprise a cottage, a barn and stables set around three sides of a former rectangular farm-yard, are mainly constructed of irregular coursed limestone, with larger stone dressings, and Collyweston slates. The earliest building, a large threshing barn, was likely to date from the late 17th century; the remaining farm buildings were added in stages throughout the 19th century, although a substantial part of the historic farmyard was removed in the late 20th century. Of particular interest were two stones inscribed with the initials 'R' & 'H' in the rear wall of the stable block and a silhouette of a female head carved in plaster, dated July 1879, located in an upper room within the barn. Archive: RCM 2008.41.

*Stephen Bradwell*

### **Oakham, Flore's House** (SK 86042 08736)

A detailed survey and analysis of the building was carried out with kind permission from the building owners. This was followed by a programme of tree-ring dating, funded by English Heritage. The former open hall to the central part of the building was tree-ring dated to 1378, indicating that it was indeed built for William Flore, then Controller of the Works at Oakham Castle. The crosswing to the south also survives largely intact and was tree-ring dated to c1407-10, so appears to be an early addition by William's son, Roger. The north crosswing was added around 1500. With the complete form of the medieval house established, Flore's House emerges as one of the best surviving medieval town-houses in the country.

*Nick Hill*

### **Preston, Holly Farm, Main Street** (SK 87100247)

A survey was carried out by TCP for Mrs Mickelthwait in May 2007 in advance of works to extend Holly Farm-

house, a Grade II Listed Building, and for the conversion of an adjoining stable block. The site lies on the W side of Main Street, within the historic village core of Preston, and comprises Holly Farm, a detached two-storey farmhouse, along with a detached two-storey agricultural building of similar date. The buildings are constructed of coursed ironstone with ashlar dressings and Welsh slate roofs. The survey revealed that the principal farmhouse had been built in two distinct phases; the earlier phase, dated to 1694 by a stone in the end gable, is a good example of a lobby or baffle entry cottage, where the main entrance door opens into a lobby formed between the front wall and the jamb of the fireplace block. Archive: RCM 2007.50.

*Stephen Bradwell*

### **Seaton, The Ridings, Moles Lane** (SP 90069810)

R Hall of APS carried out historic building recording for Mr & Mrs Cockbill prior to conversion of a barn. The recorded building forms an L-shaped arrangement on one side of the farmyard complex. Located at one end of the range and representing the earliest structural phase was a dovecote of 19th century, or perhaps slightly earlier, date. Subsequently, probably in the early 19th century, the L-shaped barn was added to the dovecote. This initially comprised a ground floor animal shed with, possibly, a granary on the upper storey. Later, the ground floor of the barn was divided into two rooms and new entrances and doorways were inserted. Perhaps at the same time the dovecote received a new entrance and windows, and the ground floor was converted to an animal shed and a manger installed. Archive: RCM 2007.24.

*Paul Cope-Faulkner*

### **Other buildings recorded:**

**Essendine:** Manor Farm, outbuildings (TF 04727 13110)

*TR Projects*

**Oakham:** 4-6 Church Street (SK 85964 08805)

*AOC Archaeology*

## III – Other Reports for 2007

### **Lincolnshire Archives**

Contact information:

Lincolnshire Archives, St Rumbold Street, Lincoln, LN2 5AB.

Tel: (01522) 525158 (search room appointments and enquiries); (01522) 526204 (other enquiries).

Fax: (01522) 530047.

Website: [www.lincolnshire.gov.uk/archives](http://www.lincolnshire.gov.uk/archives).

E-mail: [lincolnshire\\_archive@lincolnshire.gov.uk](mailto:lincolnshire_archive@lincolnshire.gov.uk).

Opening times: Mon: (Mar-Oct) 1pm-7pm, (Nov-Feb) 11am-5pm; Tues-Fri: 9am-5pm; Sat: 9am-4pm. Closed on UK public holidays, Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve.

Appointments for microfiche viewers and study tables are necessary to ensure space in the search room.

No relevant Rutland material was reported for 2007.

## Northamptonshire Record Office

Contact information:  
Northamptonshire Record Office, Wootton Hall Park,  
Northampton, NN4 8BQ.  
Tel: (01604) 762129. Fax: (01604) 767562.  
Website: [www.northamptonshire.gov.uk/community/record+office](http://www.northamptonshire.gov.uk/community/record+office).

E-mail: [archivist@northamptonshire.gov.uk](mailto:archivist@northamptonshire.gov.uk).  
Opening times: Mon: 10.30am-4.45pm; Tues, Wed: 9am-4.45pm; Thurs: 9am-7.45pm; Fri: 9am-4.15pm; Sat: two mornings a month, 9am-12.15pm. Contact the office to confirm Saturday opening dates.

No relevant Rutland material was reported for 2007.

## Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland

Contact information:  
Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland, Long  
Street, Wigston Magna LE18 2AH.  
Tel: (0116) 257 1080. Fax: (0116) 257 1120.  
Website: [www.leics.gov.uk/record\\_office.htm](http://www.leics.gov.uk/record_office.htm).

Email: [recordoffice@leics.gov.uk](mailto:recordoffice@leics.gov.uk).  
Opening times: Mon, Tues, Thurs: 9.15am to 5pm;  
Wed: 9.15am to 7.30pm; Fri: 9.15am to 4.45pm;  
Sat: 9.15am to 12.15pm.

### Archival Accessions, April 2007 – March 2008

This has been a quiet year in terms of Rutland archival accessions to the Record Office, with only eight logged in the period. The earlier part of the year's accessions was dominated by the Church of England. Three of the deposits came directly from parish churches or parochial church councils. The other two were closely linked to parish churches, one being from the Mothers' Union at Uppingham and the other from the Rutland Decorative & Fine Arts Society, which submitted a copy of their detailed report on Preston parish church. However, two collections of nonconformist records were accessioned towards the end of the year: Belton-in-Rutland Baptists, with financial records dating back to the 1870s; and Somerby Methodists, which includes documents concerning Ashwell and Oakham Methodist churches.

- DE7264: Uppingham Parochial Church Council Records: Minutes, agendas and associated papers, accounts, etc, 2003-07.
- DE7265: Wardley Parish Register: MS transcript of the register, 1574-1709. Signed by Arthur Hawley (a Trustee of Uppingham School) and dated 11 Nov 1938.
- DE7266: Uppingham Mothers' Union Records: Financial records, including bank statements, subscription records, etc, 1973-2000.
- DE7269: Market Overton Parish Records: Register of Services, 1917-31.
- DE7285: Rutland Decorative & Fine Arts Society Report on Preston Parish Church: Record of church furnishings, including stonework, woodwork, library, windows, etc., 2006.
- DE7420: Somerby Methodist Church records: including baptism register (with Hungarton) 1964-72; Somerby Primitive Methodist Church records: Sunday School minutes, 1919-51, and undated photograph; Ashwell Methodist Church, register of baptisms, 1947-75; Knossington Methodist Church, baptisms, 1952-89; and Oakham Methodist Church, sale of manse records, 2004.
- DE7337: Oakham photographic slides: 35mm mounted slides of the 'Old School' and Market Square, Oakham, c1970s.
- DE7343: Belton-in-Rutland Baptist Chapel Records: including Minutes, 1970-2001; financial records, 1879-1970s; building work accounts and papers, 1956-97; and notices, 1997-2002. Sunday School rules and accounts, 1880-1939; minutes, 1939-46, and attendance register,

1939-67. Baptist Fellowship minutes etc, 2002-04; preachers' contact details and plan, 1990s.

### Local Studies Library, April 2007 – March 2008

Some 450 items relating to Rutland were added to the Library's stock during the period, consisting of books and pamphlets, newspapers and periodicals, handbills, sound recordings and microfilms. The major items were: *The Heritage of Rutland Water* (RLHRS 2007) and microfilms of the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 1864-1894, 1896-1900, 1912. Copies of the latter are also available in Oakham Library, and this acquisition has been made possible by the on-going co-operation between the Stamford Mercury Archive Trust, the Record Office, Rutland's library service, Lincolnshire libraries and others. It makes available a very important local newspaper not previously accessible to researchers.

### Cataloguing and Conservation

Work continues to expand the range of Record Office material available to researchers on our online catalogue. Progress is slower than we would like it to be, because of staff shortages and other priorities, but all new accessions are entered onto our computerised archival cataloguing system (CALM), and all new catalogues appear online as soon as they are completed. Conversion of existing digital and paper catalogues is continuing: Rutland readers will be interested to know that the records of the Sherard family of Stapleford (reference DG40), whose estates included land at Empingham, Market Overton, South Luffenham, Teigh, Whissendine and elsewhere, have been added to our online catalogue. During the year, monthly figures for visits to the online catalogue have doubled (to nearly 4,000 by February 2008), which is gratifying, and illustrates the importance of continuing our efforts to increase the volume of material available there.

Our two conservators have continued to keep up a steady rate of work on Rutland documents during the year. In particular, Caldecott's school register dating from 1878 to 1977 (E/R/11R/1: DE1832) has received their ministrations. Its condition was poor: boards were detached from the cover, the sewing was loose and broken, and there was the dreaded Sellotape on the first and last pages. The book has been cleaned up, re-sewn and edges and corners repaired. It has been bound in black buckram, with a tooled label along the spine. A title deed for c1839

relating to a Rutland transaction between Nathaniel Kiborne and Edward Roberts, a paper document of 16 pages (DE6271), required a surface clean, and where pages were soft and fragile with losses, leafcasting has been necessary.

#### **Partnership work with and for Rutland**

One of the Record Office's main exhibitions of the year travelled to Oakham at the end of 2007: *The Long Road to Freedom*, an exhibition to mark the bicentenary of the Act to Abolish the Slave Trade in British colonies, was displayed at the library in December. This exhibition highlighted the links between Leicestershire and Rutland and the slave trade, including the Hotchkin family of Rutland and their plantations in Jamaica [see article, pp304-15 – *Ed*]. This exhibition has opened people's eyes to the connections which existed all over the country, inland as well as in the ports, between Britain and the Caribbean – not just because the leading county families invested heavily at the time in the plantation economy, but also because there were significant local voices of opposition to the slave trade, and many were female.

We were approached, informally, in April 2008, by the Honorary Archivist of Uppingham School, asking for advice on the archive there – he received information and support on both the care and organisation of the archive from Robin Jenkins and Bill Cochrane.

We support local groups working on the history of their settlements in whatever ways we can. We continue to marvel at the indefatigable enthusiasm of the Langham History Group and the information they have unearthed from a variety of documentary resources, in our Record Office and elsewhere, and consider them a model of good practice in community history.

Our excellent volunteer from Rutland, Jo Harrison, continues to work on a variety of collections, most recently on Girl Guiding history, as she works to complete her archive qualification at Dundee University.

#### **And finally – the end of an era!**

At the end of March 2008, we said farewell to Carl Harrison, the Chief Archivist since 1991 (and one of two Keepers of Archives from 1974 to 1977). In Carl's time as Chief, the Record Office moved from New Walk in the

centre of Leicester to its present premises in Wigston, bringing under one roof documents which had been scattered around the city in various temporary and not-so-temporary stores. The Local Studies Library came out of the Reference Library in Leicester to join the archive service on the Wigston site. Carl weathered the storms of local government reorganisation in 1997 when Leicester City and Rutland both achieved unitary status, and oversaw the introduction of joint arrangements between our funding partners, Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, for taking care of their archives. Carl was keen to seize opportunities for working with other external partners, and so the relationship, for example, with EMOHA, the East Midlands Oral History Archive, has grown, with the consequent expansion of our oral history archives. Carl encouraged us to develop our outreach work in recent years, and riding on the wave of the continuing popularity of family history, we have worked with local libraries to put on family workshops and related events where we take the Record Office into the community.

On a less solemn note of reminiscence, Robin Jenkins recalls Carl's brush with the constabulary in Rutland. The occasion was a trip with Jenny Clark, then archivist of the Exton collection, to visit the Gainsboroughs at Exton. On their return journey, along the A47, Carl and Jenny became aware of an ever-strengthening police presence behind them and at junctions along their route. At length, having marvelled with growing unease at this encirclement by the thin blue line for many uncomfortable minutes, the police swooped and halted them. It seems there had been an armed robbery somewhere further east and the (clearly ill-chosen) getaway vehicle bore a remarkable similarity to the then Record Office Peugeot estate car. Whether the armed robbers had also disguised themselves as archivists was not made clear. As Carl was not generally known for his careful and speed-conscious motoring, there was almost certainly a mutual agreement between stopper and stopped that the matter was best forgotten!

Carl has retired to the big city – to London – where he intends, as he told us, to revel in as many theatre trips and other cultural pursuits as he can. We wish him a long and happy retirement.

*Margaret Bonney, Chief Archivist*

### **Rutland Library Service**

Contact information:

Oakham Library, Catmose Street, Oakham, Rutland,  
LE15 6HW.

Tel: (01572) 722918. Fax: (01572) 724906.

#### **Rutland County Libraries Local Studies Service**

The year has been an extremely busy one for the Local Studies department. We have received almost 700 enquiries this year including from as far afield as Canada and Australia. Our new Local Studies leaflet, designed to detail more of the resources available, has just reached its fourth issue and is now available on our website.

#### **Cataloguing and conservation**

The cataloguing of the large backlog of Local Studies resources and duplicates in our reserve collection is still under way. The work of the past 18 months has already

Website: [www.rutland.gov.uk/libraries](http://www.rutland.gov.uk/libraries).

Email: [libraries@rutland.gov.uk](mailto:libraries@rutland.gov.uk).

Opening times: Mon, Wed, Fri: 9am-7pm; Tues, Thurs: 9am-5pm; Sat: 9am-4pm (Librarian only until 1pm Saturdays).

made a vast amount of material available to the public, where before these were both inaccessible and un-indexed. From our updated records, we have been able to identify gaps in the collection, and these are in the process of being filled. To aid in conservation and preservation of Rutland resources, an off-site reserve collection has been established as a back-up to the main reserve. This new reserve will help considerably with disaster planning, and accessing existing resources to answer research enquiries.

There has also been a massive effort to index many of our non-book resources (particularly our microfiche

records), and these indexes are now available in the Local Studies room and on the library website. A project to index and cross-reference our entire map collection is also nearly complete. And, following a visit from the Record Office for Leicester, Leicestershire & Rutland, steps have been taken to identify and protect our antique map collection with polypropylene pockets.

#### **Acquisitions**

We have updated our parish register holdings, and over 157 fiches have been added to stock this year along with the 1841 Census records for Rutland on microfilm. We have extended our census coverage with Census surname indexes for Stamford 1841 through to 1901 (not including 1881). The 1841 and 1851 indexes also include Bourne. Our range of Stamford resources was also enlarged by obtaining copies of the *Stamford Union Workhouse Books* (1835-1844, two volumes), *Stamford and the Great War*, and some antique town guides.

A number of CD ROMs have been purchased this year as well, including: *The Leicestershire and Rutland Poor Law Index 1598-1940s*, *Leicestershire and Rutland Strays Index*, and *Rutland Census Indexes*.

As usual we have continued to purchase books, pamphlets and other materials relating to Rutland and the

surrounding area, both new and antique, to fill gaps in our coverage. In total over 220 printed items have been acquired, including Kelly's *Directory of Leicestershire & Rutland* for 1922, and some nineteenth century texts relating to Edward Thring and Uppingham School.

A number of particularly in-depth research projects have been done on behalf of enquirers from overseas, and this has resulted in our obtaining copies of the letters of Henry Larratt, surgeon of Uppingham, written in 1781; and a personal testimony from a WWII evacuee.

#### **Partnership work with the Record Office**

The Library Service continues to work closely with the Record Office, particularly with the co-ordination of new acquisitions and the scanning of Rutland newspapers onto film. The Library recently purchased the Market Overton Register of Services 1917-31, which was passed on the Record Office for their stock and preservation [DE7269].

Oakham Library was proud to host the Record Office's exhibition marking the Bicentenary of the Act abolishing British involvement in the Transatlantic Slave Trade in December 2007. This exhibition garnered much interest from the public.

*Emily Barwell, Extended Services Librarian*

### **Rutland County Museums Service**

Contact information:

Rutland County Museum, Catmose Street, Oakham, Rutland, LE15 6HW.

#### **Rutland County Museum**

The year got off to a good start when the Museum was accredited as a Quality Assured Visitor Attraction, which recognised the excellent work of our front of house team.

2007 saw two major changes to the Museum's public spaces: the first was the new Museum Garden, which was opened in May. The Garden was designed by Oakham in Bloom, and funded by the Friends of Rutland County Museum and Oakham Castle; it has since been awarded a special Judges Award by East Midlands in Bloom. The second major change was a new exhibition, 'A Revolution in Farming', in the Riding School, which features some of the stars of the Museum's farming agricultural collection.

The Museum's activities and events programme continued to grow and a particular success was our first involvement in National Archaeology Week, with a well attended programme that was developed by staff and volunteers.

The Museum website was also improved during the year and this led to a substantial increase in its use.

#### **Acquisitions**

The Museum accepted a large number of archaeological

Tel: (01572) 758440.

Fax: (01572) 758445.

Website: [www.rutland.gov.uk/museum](http://www.rutland.gov.uk/museum).

E-mail: [museum@rutland.gov.uk](mailto:museum@rutland.gov.uk).

archives during the year, but relatively few included significant finds. One interesting arrival however was some samian ware from Thistleton that had originally been excavated in 1956 and 1963! A completely different item was a scrapbook of the US 82nd Airborne Division that provided a fascinating insight into some aspects of life in wartime Rutland. A carved stone from the Ram Jam Inn, commemorating the famous 1811 boxing match at Thistleton Gap, was transferred from Stamford Museum. Finally, a Rutland Constabulary cutlass was donated just in time to be included in the plans for a new display about Rutland's Police.

#### **Oakham Castle**

Oakham Castle was enhanced by the addition of a French door to the Number 1 Court, which makes it a much more flexible and pleasant space, particularly in the summer months. The works also included the fitting of shutters to the windows of the Number 1 Court to increase security and make the area suitable for a wider range of exhibitions.

*Simon Davies, lately Museum Service Manager*

### **Rutland Historic Churches Preservation Trust**

Contact information:

Honorary Secretary: Mrs K Raitt, 1 Gretton Road, Lyddington, Rutland, LE15 9LP

Rutland is well known for being small. It is also recognised as possessing an impressive number of fine churches. These treasures are both a benefit and a heavy

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responsibility. The Trust exists to be able to offer help to those churches (of any denomination) which need assistance in their preservation. This is not merely for the

benefit of worshippers, but to maintain the quality of life of everyone who lives in or visits the County. During the past year churches that have been helped, or are expected to be helped, include those at Market Overton and Egleton, and Oakham Congregational Church and Oakham Catholic Church.

The Trust depends for its continued existence on gifts and bequests. Every two years in September a major fund raising effort (Ride and Stride) is made in the form of sponsored visits to churches by cyclists and walkers. In 2007 the magnificent total of £21,500 was achieved, involving the participation of over 400 people, whether as

visitors or church recorders. Half the money raised is paid to a church nominated by the walker or rider and half is received by the Trust's general fund. All participants were thanked in writing and certificates were awarded to those who had visited as many as 45 churches. The Davenport-Handley Cup was presented jointly to the two participants making the most visits.

The Trust wishes to record its thanks to Mr David Houghton for acting as Secretary during the absence abroad of Mrs Kay Raitt.

*David Houghton, Acting Secretary*

## Rutland Local History & Record Society

Once again it is the privilege of the Chairman of the Society to report on a year of much activity and achievement, reflecting the energy and enthusiasm of its members.

By far the most important event in the Society's programme was the publication of what was in both senses of the word the weighty tome *The Heritage of Rutland Water*. This has consumed much of the Society's energies and resources over several years, making particularly heavy demands on its compilers Robert Ovens and Sheila Sleath. In the end, however, it was definitely worth it. The book involved a huge collective effort: writing, editing, interviewing and numerous other tasks. The result was a production both aesthetically pleasing and hugely informative which, through substantial sales and considerable publicity, has done much to raise the public profile of the Society. *Rutland Record* 27 was also published, covering a wide chronological range from primitive man through to Victorian railways. In yet another tribute to the quality of work produced on behalf of the Society, the British Association for Local History awarded joint first prize for research and publication to Nigel Richardson for his article on the Uppingham typhoid outbreak of 1875-77 which appeared in *RR*26.

Either on its own, or in conjunction with the Friends of the Rutland County Museum, the Society has staged a number of excellent lectures presented by a series of visiting speakers. Highlights have included the Bryan Matthews lecture in which Professor Colin Haselgrove outlined the key features of the later Iron Age in the East Midlands. Our former Honorary Secretary, Sue Howlett, temporarily deserted her new abode in Essex to illustrate the experiences of some of the important families of Rutland during the Civil War. Tony Squires, uniquely in my experience of the Society, addressed two successive meetings, firstly on maps and secondly on woodlands. A rather different slant came with Bill Learoyd's discussion of the geology of Ketton Quarry.

The Society also arranged a number of other successful activities. In September the village visit, blessed by the usual good weather, attracted a large number of members and guests to Seaton. Also in September, the Society's guided walk around Exton Park and its environs, led by Robert Ovens and Sheila Sleath, attracted an enthusiastic following, both human and canine. Led by Kate Don, the Archaeological Group continued its regular field walking activities, most recently in Beaumont Chase. The Historic Environment Group, under the

auspices of David Carlin and Chris Wilson, continued to monitor planning applications in Rutland, an increasing challenge in view of the ever-expanding level of building in Rutland. In this context, the Society registered its objection alongside that of the Victorian Society to the proposed demolition of a pair of late Victorian terrace houses and associated workshops in Gaol Street, Oakham.

There was a particularly high standard of entries for the George Phillips Award, won this time by Oakham School for the refurbishment of the building which is now Little's boarding house. This year a second award, for minor projects, was introduced to stand alongside the main award and was won by a conversion at Caldecott. The Committee has decided to name this award after the late Tony Traylen, one-time Chairman of the Rutland Local History Society, who, with George Phillips's grandson Patrick Coyne, was responsible for establishing these awards.

The Society's office and library are now fully operational in the Rutland County Museum. Our thanks are once again due to the Library Group for their hard work – and patience. It is at this point that I should report that the convenor of the Library Group, Auriol Thomson, has announced her resignation from the committee. Auriol has served the Society in a number of capacities, including the chairmanship. Her contribution to the Society has been huge, and she will be sorely missed from the committee.

The Society has continued to benefit from the wise counsel of its officers. Ian Ryder has ensured that the finances remain in a healthy condition, as well as absorbing the extra work entailed by the Heritage of Rutland Water project and sales of the book. Jill Kimber has continued to act as Correspondence Secretary, but we do still urgently need a Minutes Secretary. Ian Canadine as Publicity Officer and Mike Frisby as Webmaster have happily contributed their expertise to aid the Society's cause. As well as guiding the Heritage of Rutland Water Project to its successful conclusion, Robert Ovens, our vice-chairman, has once again produced the Society's newsletter and led the annual walk. All other members of the committee have played their part in ensuring the continued health of the Society.

The Society has long benefited from its symbiotic relationship with the Rutland County Museum. In view of decisions by Rutland County Council about the management of the museum service impending at the time of the

Society's AGM, the Society felt obliged to express its concerns as to the future and organisation of this invaluable service.

In conclusion, I wish to thank all those who have contributed their time, enthusiasm and expertise to ensure the continued good health of our Society.

*Mike Tillbrook, Chairman*

#### **Archaeological Activities**

Kate Don attended 'The Romans are Coming' at Donington-le-Heath Manor House in March 2007 to exhibit finds from Thistleton and photographs of the recently completed excavation of a Romano-British villa at Market Overton. At two events in Market Overton, 'Feast Weekend' and the 75th 'Birthday Party' of the Village Hall, Kate exhibited 'Market Overton in Times Gone By', a collection of photographs and postcards of the village, many from the Jack Hart collection. In July Kate was invited to speak at the monthly luncheon of Rutland Friends of Cancer Research UK. She also spoke to Market Overton annual Village Meeting about the

newly discovered Romano-British villa on the outskirts of the village and was able to show roof and hypocaust tile that the excavators had (deliberately) left behind!

Elaine Jones organised a marvellous 'jolly' for the group in August. A fascinating tour of Prebendal Manor House, Nassington, given personally by the owner, was followed by a picnic in glorious weather at nearby Fotheringhay.

In November Elaine and Kate attended the Local History Fair at Jewry Wall Museum, Leicester, and as well as renewing old contacts, and making some new ones, managed to sell a few copies of the Society's publications.

The group is, as ever, grateful to the farmers and landowners who kindly allow us to walk their fields and who often take such an interest in what we find. Most of all, thanks are due to the loyal band of field walkers who brave the elements to help us understand more about the Rutland landscape.

*Kate Don, Archaeology Convener*

## **IV – Rutland Bibliography 2007**

A bibliography of recent books and pamphlets relating to Rutland, compiled by Emily Barwell

- Arnold, Jacques, *A history of Britain's Parliamentary Constituencies (Leicestershire & Rutland)* (Arnold 2008, £66, ISBN 9780955509476).
- Bosher, L, *To the manor drawn* (Pier 9 2007, £7.99, ISBN 9781921259890) [Rutland Author]. \*
- Brownlow, R A, *A walk through history: a continuous walk of 94 miles around the Melton Borough District* (R A Brownlow 2007, £8.00, ISBN 9780955175213).
- Carney, J, *Geology of the Melton Mowbray District* (British Geological Survey 2007: Booklet £9.00, ISBN 0852724365; Booklet & Map £44, ISBN 0852724896).
- Crowther, G, *Leicestershire & Rutland (less Leicester)* (National Series of Waterway, Tramway & Railway Atlases, G L Crowther 2006, £6.99, ISBN 9781856155397).
- Dutton, B, *Let Shakespeare die: long live the merry madcap: Lord Roger Manners, 5th Earl of Rutland, the real "Shakespeare"* (Rosedog Press 2007, £39.37, ISBN 9780805988024).
- Fox, G, *Ketton church and parish* (Mrs J Fox 2007, £20).
- Gosling, Ian, *The Puppet Master* (Vanguard Press 2008, £14.99, ISBN 9781843863861) [South Luffenham Author].
- Gough, M, et al, *Game for gourmets* (Swan Hill Press 2007, no price shown, ISBN 1846890306) [Clipsham author included].
- Jones, E, *Oakham Parish field walking survey* (Elaine Jones 2007, £14.50, ISBN 9781905933037).
- Langham Larder* (Langham Village Hall Committee 2007, £5.99).
- Leicestershire Boy Scouts and adjacent counties rally to commemorate the visit of the Chief Scout of All The World... 1937* (Reprint 2007, £3.50).
- Philip's Street Atlas Leicestershire and Rutland* (3rd ed, Philip's 2008, £4.99).
- Rawnsley, H D, *Edward Thring: Teacher and poet* (repr Kessinger Publishing Company 2007, £22.95, ISBN 9780548203576).
- Rawnsley, H D, *Edward Thring: Maker of Uppingham School, Headmaster 1853-1887* (repr Routledge 2007, £90.00, ISBN 9780415432726).
- Siddons, D, *Uppingham: an introduction to the town* (Forest Books 2007, £2.00).
- Sillanpää, K, *Some pages in Oakham and Barleythorpe history* (Viafor, Helsinki 2007, price not shown). \*
- Ovens, R, & Sleath, S (eds), *The Heritage of Rutland Water* (Rutland Local History & Record Society 2007, £20.00, ISBN 9780907464396).
- Thompson, E J, *Tigers along the Tigris: The Leicestershire Regiment in Mesopotamia during the First World War* (Leonaur 2007, £7.99, ISBN 9781846773662).
- Thring, Edward, *Borth Lyrics* (repr Kessinger Publishing Co 2007, £10.95, ISBN 9781432528935).
- Uppingham in living memory Part II: Uppingham in peacetime* (Uppingham Local History Study Group 2007, £8.00).
- Waites, B, *Pub walks in Leicestershire & Rutland* [new edition] (Countryside Books 2007, £7.99, ISBN 9781846740473).
- Webb, David W, *Railways of Leicestershire and Rutland (British Railway Pictorial)* (Ian Allan Ltd 2007, £12.99, ISBN 9780711032194).

\* – Reviewed in RLHRS Newsletter, April 2008

# RUTLAND LOCAL HISTORY & RECORD SOCIETY

Registered Charity No. 700273

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

- Rutland Record 1* (£1.00 post free)  
Emergence of Rutland; Medieval hunting grounds; Rutland field names; Illiteracy in 19th century Rutland
- Rutland Record 2* (£1.00 post free)  
Archdeacon Johnson; Thomas Barker's weather records; Rutland Agricultural Society; Rutland farms in 1871
- Rutland Record 6* (£1.50, members £1.00)  
Transitional architecture in Rutland; Family of Rutland stonemasons; Restoration of Exton church
- Rutland Record 7* (£1.50, members £1.00)  
Rutland place-names; Rutland Domesday; Lords and peasants in medieval Rutland; Shakespeare in Rutland
- Rutland Record 12* (£2.00, members £1.50)  
Deer parks; Preston records; Thring at Uppingham; Jeremiah Whittaker; Joseph Matkin; Cinemas in Rutland
- Rutland Record 16* (£2.00, members £1.50)  
Iron smelting; Saxon archaeology; Stilton cheese; Oakham in 1871; Rutland Hotel, Wanganui
- Rutland Record 17* (£2.00, members £1.50)  
Byrch's charity; Maj-Gen Robt Overton; 50-52 High St, Uppingham; White Hart, Uppingham
- Rutland Record 18* (£2.00, members £1.50)  
Earthworks at Belton-in-Rutland; Peter de Neville; Oakham gallows; Buckingham's house at Burley
- Rutland Record 19* (£2.00, members £1.50)  
Anne Barker; Exton and Noel family; 14th century Rutland bacon; Emigrants to Australia
- Rutland Record 20* (£2.50, members £2.00)  
Rutland castles; Medieval site at Barrowden; Mompesson and Rutland inns; George Phillips
- Rutland Record 21* (£2.50, members £2.00)  
Mary Barker letters; Anton Kammel, musician; Uppingham School and Borth, 1875-77
- Rutland Record 22* (£3.50, members £3.00)  
Religious Census 1851 (pt 1); Exton churchyard
- Rutland Record 23* (£3.50, members £3.00)  
Tinwell Roman coins; Ridlington Park; Lord Ranksborough; *Notitia Parochialis* 1705; annual reports
- Rutland Record 24* (£3.50, members £3.00)  
Medieval wool trade; Ketton quarries; Religious Census 1851 (pt 2); annual reports
- Rutland Record 25 - Rutland in Print: a bibliography of England's smallest county* (£3.50, members £3.00) Compiled by J D Bennett: full bibliography to 2005, with indexes
- Rutland Record 26* (£3.50, members £3.00)  
Rutland and Gunpowder Plot; Uppingham's typhoid outbreak; Rutlanders in 1851 Census; annual reports
- Rutland Record 27* (£3.50, members £3.00)  
Rutland Militia; Railways in Rutland; Hunters & Gatherers of Uppingham Plateau; annual reports
- Index of Rutland Record 1-10*, compiled by John Field (1994) (£2.50, members £1.50)

The following issues are out of print: *Rutland Record* 3-5, 8 (Who was Who in Rutland), 9, 10 (Burley-on-the-Hill), 11, 13-15; please enquire for details of contents and for photocopies

### Rutland Record Series

1. *Tudor Rutland: The County Community under Henry VIII*, ed Julian Cornwall (1980). The Military Survey of 1522 & the Lay Subsidy of 1524, with introduction (£3.00, members £2.00)

2. *The Weather Journals of a Rutland Squire*, ed John Kington (1988). Thomas Barker's 18th century weather, farming and countryside records, with introduction (now £5.00, members £3.50)
3. *Stained Glass in Rutland Churches*, by Paul Sharpling (1997). Complete survey and gazetteer; introduction; lists of glaziers, subjects, dedicatees, donors, heraldry (now £5.00, members £3.50)
4. *Time in Rutland: a history and gazetteer of the bells, scratch dials, sundials and clocks of Rutland*, by Robert Ovens & Sheila Sleath (2002)(now £10.00, members £7.50)
5. *The Heritage of Rutland Water*, ed Robert Ovens & Sheila Sleath (2nd imp 2008). History, archaeology, people, buildings, landscape, geology, natural history of Rutland Water area; reservoir construction; sailing, fishing, birdwatching, flora and fauna (£22.00, members £18.00)

### Occasional Publications

1. *Domesday Book in Rutland: the dramatis personae*, by Prince Yuri Galitzine (1986)(OP)
2. *The Oakham Survey 1305*, ed Allen Chinnery (1988). Medieval survey: population, occupations, topography, customs, and personal/place-name evidence (£3.50, members £2.50)
3. *The Rutland Hearth Tax 1665*, ed Jill Bourn & Amanda Goode (1991). Population and payment information, with introduction (£3.50, members £2.50)
4. *The History of Gilson's Hospital, Morcott*, by David Parkin (1995). The charity, its almshouse, trustees, beneficiaries, and farm at Scredington, Lines; 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 Assessments and the 1710 Poll Book for Rutland*, ed T H McK Clough (2005). Introduction, commentary, transcripts, indexes (£5.95, members £4.95)
8. *Common Right and Private Interest: Rutland's Common Fields and their Enclosure*, by Ian E Ryder (2006). Detailed account of how Rutland's enclosures evolved, historical background, case studies, gazetteer, indexes (£7.50, members £6.00)

### UK Postage and packing (2nd class or parcel)

*Rutland Record, Index, Occasional Publications* 3, 4, 5, 6: 75p one issue + 50p each extra issue, maximum £5.00;  
*Occasional Publications* 2, 7, 8, & *Stained Glass*: £1.00 each;  
*Tudor Rutland, Weather Journals*: £1.50 each;  
*Time in Rutland*: £5.00; *Heritage of Rutland Water* £7.50.  
Overseas customers are recommended to order on-line.

All orders for publications, 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.  
E-mail enquiries: [book.orders@rutlandhistory.org](mailto:book.orders@rutlandhistory.org).  
To order on-line: refer to [www.genfair.co.uk](http://www.genfair.co.uk).

Membership enquiries to the Honorary Membership Secretary at the same address or via [www.rutlandhistory.org](http://www.rutlandhistory.org).

# *Rutland Record 28*

*Journal of the Rutland Local History & Record Society*



*In this issue:*

Late Fifteenth century Wills from Stamford & Rutland

Lady Charlotte Finch (1725-1813)

Thomas Hotchkin of Tixover (1774-1843)

The King v Richard Hack

In the Doghouse: Lord Harborough's Hospital

Rutland History and Archaeology in 2007