

Rutland Record 32

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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Reconstruction of the Glaston landscape of c40,000 years ago, showing Neanderthal occupation of the site
(painting by Jayne Brayne, by kind permission of the artist)

Back cover illustrations:

Early Palaeolithic flint from Glaston (English Heritage); William Henry Fox Talbot (Wikimedia);
Elizabethan seal matrix of the Archdeacon Johnson Foundation (Rutland County Museum);
Uppingham School good conduct medal (Uppingham School Archives);
Early Bronze Age food vessel from Barleythorpe (Archaeological Project Services).

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Editorial : Legacy

The year 2012 is certain to go down in history as a year of Olympic achievement. Countless thousands of people of all ages and origins across the nation went to Olympic and Paralympic events as spectators or volunteers or watched them on television. In Rutland, as elsewhere, people turned out in numbers to watch the passage of the Olympic torch. Then of course there were those who worked for the games organisation, those who had the chance to participate, and those few who achieved the glory of winning medals. Few would deny that the London 2012 games were a resounding success. The collective memory generated by the games can hardly be quantified (though no doubt the Audit Commission might say it should be!), but it must certainly be of social significance and has to be a component of the much-discussed legacy of the games.

Legacy, of whatever kind, is important. What we inherit and what we pass on to future generations affects our own lives and those of our offspring, for better or worse. It is all part of history. One of the aims of our own Society is to ensure that our small county's history, in its broadest sense, is not lost but is sought out, protected, recorded, interpreted, disseminated and appreciated. In previous editorials we have sought to emphasise the importance of this history, and to signal the risks and challenges faced by those who are employed or work as volunteers in the heritage sector as they seek to fulfil similar aims. In view of the impact of cuts to public services, this seems an appropriate moment to glance at Rutland's balance sheet.

One unfolding story certainly seems to promise well, namely the project to redress the problems faced by Oakham Castle and its earthworks which, as noted before, have figured on English Heritage's 'at risk' register for some years. Several research projects, notably those by Trent & Peak Archaeology (see below, p88) and Nottingham Tree-Ring Dating Laboratory, have shed new light on the site, as too has a Time Team excavation which took place in June and should be broadcast early in 2013. All this has to be encouraging for the Rutland County Museum team preparing an application for a Heritage Lottery Fund grant to enable the necessary work on this nationally important site to be carried out (p94): we have declared our support for this project.

The achievements of many other organisations are outlined in our annual reports section (pp86-96). Once again the length of this section reflects the extent and importance of their work, ranging from significant archaeological finds to historic building recording and local history publishing. These too are encouraging, but there is another side to the coin. We also read of churches requiring grant aid because of thefts of lead from their roofs, and of record offices having to reduce their opening hours and facilities and make staff redundant. More particularly, we are concerned about the ultimate effect on Rutland's archive services of the significant reorganisation of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, which includes the drastic loss of the County Archivist post. This has to go on the debit side of the balance sheet, as too does the irreparable damage done to part of Loudall Lane, an important historic boundary and right of way, and its environment between Langham and Ashwell: we feel that Rutland County Council needs to review its responsibilities in this area. We also remain uncertain of the impact of likely changes in planning controls on our protected buildings and sites.

And on balance? Economic problems are not over, and the threat of further cuts remains, so our support for our heritage organisations is all the more necessary if we are to hand on our legacy to the next generation in a fit state. Rutland's heritage assets may not be on the Olympic scale, but once again we must be alert and responsive to anything that threatens their future. Of that, surely, the Audit Commission would approve.

Notes on Contributors

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 from the University of Edinburgh, and has written and edited many works on local history, archaeology and numismatics.

Lynden Cooper is a Project Officer with University of Leicester Archaeological Services (ULAS) and has been a professional archaeologist since 1986. He has a particular research interest in the Palaeolithic and identified the significance of the Glaston finds following their initial discovery. He was project manager for the Glaston excavation.

Brian Needham is a graduate of the Modern History Faculty of Oxford University and taught at Oakham School from 1971 to 1998. He is now Honorary School Historian, and has written an as yet unpublished new school history and a number of internal publications on aspects of the school (available through

www.oakham.rutland.sch.uk) dealing with specific aspects of the school's history and with Old Oakhamians.

Paul Reeve retired from a career in Sales and Marketing in 2002. A member of the Rutland History & Local Record Society, he is a past contributor to the *The Heritage of Rutland Water* and to *Rutland Record*. He is a graduate of Brasenose College, Oxford, where he read French and German.

John Thomas is a Project Officer with ULAS with over 25 years experience as a professional archaeologist. He made the original discovery of the leafpoint and initial bone group at Glaston and directed the site excavation.

Malcolm Tozer taught at Uppingham School from 1966 to 1989 before moving on to headships at two smaller schools. He retired in 2004 and now lives in south Cornwall. He is the editor of the forthcoming *Physical Education and Sport in Independent Schools* (Woodbridge: John Catt, 2012).

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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Ice Age Neanderthals and hyaena at Glaston, Rutland

JOHN THOMAS & LYNDEN COOPER



Discovery of rare Ice Age remains preserved for over 40,000 years beneath a Rutland village led to full excavation of one of the most important archaeological sites from the county in recent times. The results, which have international significance, have shed light on a very different landscape, occupied by Neanderthals and a host of long extinct animals such as spotted hyaena, woolly rhinoceros and wolverine.

Fig. 1. Reconstruction drawing of an Early Upper Palaeolithic flint leaf-point from Glaston, showing how it may have been hafted, by Julie Dobie (English Heritage).

Over the course of several months in 2000 a team from University of Leicester Archaeological Services (ULAS) excavated rare evidence of an Early Upper Palaeolithic open-air site juxtaposed with the remains of a hyaena den within the village of Glaston, east of Uppingham (fig. 4). These Pleistocene remains were a chance, unanticipated discovery during the final week of a routine excavation of medieval village core remains in response to redevelopment proposals. Sand quarrying in the 1940s had revealed Bronze Age and Anglo-Saxon burials in fields adjacent to the site, indicating there was high potential for further remains in the development area. In the event no more burials were found, but a sequence of medieval and post-medieval village remains was recorded (*Rutland Record* 21 (2001), 39-40).

Towards the end of this initial excavation an assemblage of animal bone and a retouched flint blade were recovered from what had previously been assumed to be undisturbed 'natural' sands but which were then revealed to be reworked deposits caused by geological faulting. The blade was identified as an Early Upper Palaeolithic leaf-point (fig. 1), whereas the bones – woolly rhinoceros (*Coelodonta antiquitatis*), wild horse (*Equus ferus*), and wolverine (*Gulo gulo*) – suggested it was a contemporary mid-Devensian deposit. Further excavation of the site, supported by English Heritage, revealed more of these early remains, and much interest was

generated locally, with several hundred people visiting the site at an open weekend. This summary of the results coincides with publication of the final detailed report in the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* (Cooper *et al* 2012).

The remains consisted of two assemblages, one accumulated by early hominids, the other by spotted hyaena. The hominid signature was sparse but significant, consisting of a small flint assemblage and possibly associated remains of wild horse. The flint collection included four tools (a leaf-point, a leaf-point fragment and two notched flakes), seventeen pieces of macro-débitage (flint-working waste) and sixty-three chips. The provenance of the flint is uncertain but would appear to be non-local. The broken extremity of the leaf-point reveals a light grey flint, whereas the local till-derived flint is typically yellow-brown or dark brown.

The leaf-point was manufactured on a leaf-shaped blade of triangular section and thus may be termed a blade-point, almost certainly used as a projectile point, as suggested in the reconstruction drawing. There was also a fragment of a second leaf-point, part of a base, displaying the characteristic flat retouch that is typical of British blade-points.

Five trimming flakes were identified and probably indicate on-site blade-point maintenance: their manufacture on site seems unlikely given the paucity of associated débitage. Two other tools were identified, both of which may be classified as

notched flakes, while a blade core fragment and core rejuvenation flake also added to the evidence for hominid activity.

In close proximity to the blade-point was a group of wild horse limb bones. These were spirally-fractured and displayed no signs of hyaena gnawing. It has been suggested that these may represent the prey of the humans, with fracturing to allow marrow extraction. The remains are the first indications of the prey that humans were exploiting in the north-west peninsula of Europe at this time.



Fig. 2. Excavation of a group of woolly rhinoceros bones (photo: ULAS).

A total of 375 large mammal bones were recovered from Pleistocene deposits, representing spotted hyaena, hare, wolverine, woolly mammoth, wild horse, woolly rhinoceros and reindeer (fig. 2). The faunal remains provide the best indicator of the contemporary environment, and point towards the dry, cool climate with rich arid grasslands of the Eurasian ‘mammoth steppe’ (Guthrie 1982), at a time when the British Isles had yet to come into being as separate from the mainland.

The majority of the bones, particularly those of woolly rhinoceros, had been cracked and chewed by hyaenas. Indeed, one unfortunate hyaena had lost a tooth in the process, for this was found embedded in a horse or deer shoulder bone. The faunal remains were scattered across the excavation areas, but included several discrete clusters. Some of the bone clusters were apparently within collapsed burrows and scrapes, and are likely to represent food caches for young hyaena. The presence of juvenile hyaenas is also evident from characteristic gnaw patterns on some of the bones, corroborating the existence of a maternity den. The presence of a wolverine

mandible with gastric polishing, resulting from digestive processes in the stomach of an adult, probably represents regurgitated food intended for young hyaena. Behavioural studies have shown that the hyaena young stay at the den while the adults are hunting elsewhere.

Discussion

The focal point for both humans and hyaenas would seem to have been the ridge crest on which Glaston is located. The hyaenas could have taken advantage of the large outcrop, as it then was, of sandstone rafts and the underlying sands that created perfect conditions for den creation. Both humans and hyaenas may have occupied the site due to its position as a vantage point for monitoring potential prey (fig. 3).

The good condition of lithics and faunal remains and their physical and stratigraphic associations would suggest that the human and hyaena occupations be seen as near contemporary. Many cave sites have evidence for Middle and Early Upper Palaeolithic usage juxtaposed with evidence of hyaena denning, a situation that might indicate a direct ecological relationship. Indeed, it is quite plausible that the two species had an interdependent relationship with one species on occasion being the predator, the other the scavenger and *vice versa*. It is our opinion that Glaston presents the first evidence of humans exploiting a hyaena den for economic reasons, foraging for meat caches at a maternity den.

The blade-point is the typological marker of the North European Lincombian-Ranisian-Jerzmanowician techno-complex, commonly abbreviated to the LRJ. This term incorporates several earlier, local classifications and hints at their geographical spread from western Britain to Poland. Commonly the LRJ is perceived as the earliest stage of the Earlier Upper Palaeolithic on the North European plain, though there are reasons to believe the LRJ may have been the product of final Neanderthals rather than early anatomically modern humans.

Recent reviews of the limited dating evidence for stratified LRJ assemblages suggest that they occur some millennia before the arrival of the earliest Aurignacian in north-west Europe and are therefore associated with Neanderthals. At Nietoperzowa cave, Jerzmanowice, Poland, the earliest LRJ layer was dated to *c*38,500 BP, while in Britain the most reliable dates suggest a date of *c*38-36,000 BP, certainly in excess of 35,000 BP (Jacobi *et al.* 2006). Radio-carbon dates on bone associated with the leaf-point from Glaston came in at *c*38,000 BP (42-44 ky Cal BP), providing strong support for such an early date.



Fig. 3. A reconstruction of the hyaena den at Glaston (above), and a reconstruction of the Glaston landscape of c40,000 years ago, showing the Neanderthal occupation of the site (below) (paintings by Jayne Brayne, currently on loan to Rutland County Museum and reproduced by permission of the artist).



Fig. 4. Excavations in progress at Glaston, showing the sandstone 'rafts' in the foreground and the area of the hyaena den beneath the tents (photo: ULAS).

Conclusion

The Glaston site has provided a new context for the study of mid-Devensian humans in the form of an open-air station at the site of a hyaena den. We have suggested that the association of hyaena and human is direct and that we have an archaeological signature of a maternity den targeted by humans for scavenging hyaena food caches.

The archaeological excavations have demonstrated the great potential for ridge-top locations for being repositories for fragile archaeological remains. Jones (2002) has suggested that graben structures, of similar magnitude to the Glaston example, extend across the ridges of the Jurassic Stone belt in the region. Collcutt (2001) stated that the Glaston archaeological survival was not capricious and has speculated that similar repositories may be found across Britain. Indeed similar deposit traps include gull and fissures such as those preserving Earlier Upper Palaeolithic deposits at Beedings, Pulborough, West Sussex. Of course, an

additional factor in the burial and survival of remains at Glaston was the burrowing activities of hyaenas.

In considering the mid-Devensian archaeology in what is now the British Isles the prehistorians Mark White and Paul Pettitt (2011 & 2012) have been dismissive of the results of early excavations, stating that new sites and an increased focus on fieldwork is 'sorely needed'. This is beginning to happen with recent research excavations in Britain at Creswell Crags, Kent's Cavern and Beedings. The Glaston site is testament to the fact that developer archaeology can also contribute to such research, and begins to answer the call for 'new examples of leaf-points, excavated and recorded with modern methods, and ultra-filtrated radiocarbon dates on associated fauna' (White & Pettitt 2011, 86). As such, the Glaston discovery must rank amongst the most important archaeological finds from Rutland, certainly in recent years, and we are grateful to Captain Robert Boyle for his support in enabling the investigations to take place.

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William Henry Fox Talbot and Rutland

PAUL REEVE



William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) is particularly known today for his pioneering discoveries in photography which began in the 1830s. It is less well known that he was tutored in Rutland for almost a year before going to Cambridge University in the autumn of 1817. As early as 1808 the family connections of his stepfather brought him to Burley on the Hill, Rutland, as a guest of the Earl of Winchilsea. His several visits to Rutland extended over more than twenty years. In later years his memories of the county were revived by correspondence with his old Rutland tutor, with his family and with student contemporaries who had moved to Rutland or nearby.

Fig. 1. William Henry Fox Talbot, from an early daguerrotype (Wikimedia).

Fox Talbot (fig. 1) was born at Melbury, Dorset, in 1800 and died at Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire, in 1877. Although within his family he was nearly always called Henry, and Fox was only a middle name, many of his contemporaries referred to him as Fox Talbot, and this is the form used in this article. Many will recall the name from the Fox Talbot Museum of Photography at his family home of Lacock Abbey (fig. 2), open to the public under the National Trust.

Fox Talbot suffered the early loss of his father, William Davenport Talbot (1764-1800). His mother Lady Elisabeth Theresa Talbot *née* Fox Strangways (1773-1846), daughter of the 2nd Earl of Ilchester, then married in 1804 Captain, later Rear-Admiral, Charles Feilding (1780-1837). Fox Talbot was obviously fond of his two half-sisters, Caroline Augusta Feilding and Henrietta Horatia Maria Feilding, and of his stepfather, whom he often referred to as Mr F.

He attended a preparatory school at Rottingdean



Fig. 2. The cloisters of Lacock Abbey (photo: Robert Ovens).

in Sussex and went to Harrow School, Middlesex, in 1811 under the headmastership of Dr Butler. He left in 1815 after more than a year in the sixth form and having won numerous academic prizes (Arnold 1977, 36). Interim tutoring arrangements were made for his further education until he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in the autumn of 1817. During his time at Cambridge, from 1817 to 1821, he won university prizes for classics, and in 1821 was placed in the first class in the Mathematical Tripos as 12th Wrangler.

As an adult Fox Talbot is best known to history as a photographic pioneer. He created his earliest photographic images in 1834 by exploiting the light sensitive properties of salts of silver. By brushing a sheet of writing paper with a solution of common table salt and then brushing again with a solution of silver nitrate, he produced light sensitive paper. When he placed an opaque object on this treated paper, parts of the paper exposed to light darkened, while other parts covered from the light stayed unchanged, thereby producing a photographic silhouette. This was more than a conventional silhouette for it also permitted ranges of tones. Fox Talbot understood how to fix this negative image by chemical means to prevent deterioration under sunlight and how the negative could be reversed to create a positive image. By 1835 he had improved the performance of the light sensitive paper to the point that it could be used within a camera as well as for contact based silhouettes. But these photographic negatives, known as 'photogenic drawings', entailed long exposures in order to achieve full definition on the light sensitive paper (fig. 3). In his 'calotype' process, patented in 1841, Fox Talbot showed that a

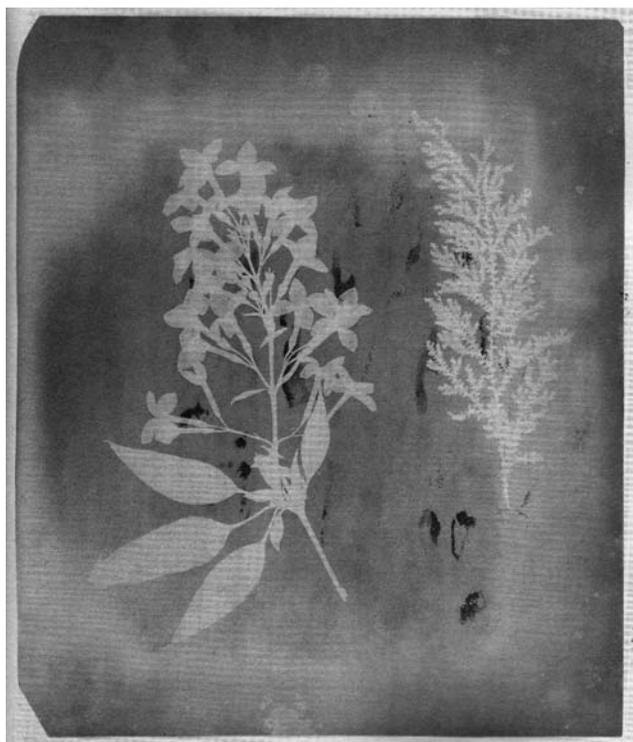


Fig. 3. *Heliophila* and *Cedar or Cypress*, 1839, prior to August. Photogenic drawing by William Henry Fox Talbot (courtesy of Hans P. Kraus, Jr., New York).

very short exposure generated a latent image, invisible to the eye, on the photographic paper. This could then be chemically developed to give a sound negative with vastly reduced exposure times.

These discoveries did not establish Fox Talbot as the sole inventor of photography. He was preceded by Nicéphore Niépce, born Joseph Niépce (1765-1833), a French inventor whose discovery was not published in his own lifetime. Better known is Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851). His method of capturing the image of the camera obscura was announced in 1839, prompting Fox Talbot to publish his own discoveries. However, it was Fox Talbot's use of paper and his negative/positive model that were the backbone of photography down to the digital age. In a related field, Fox Talbot's discoveries in what he termed 'photoglyphic engraving' were the forerunner to modern techniques of photogravure.

Apart from his photographic discoveries, Fox Talbot was also a mathematician and scientist, a botanist, a linguist and etymologist, an orientalist and decipherer of cuneiform, a writer, politician and MP, landowner, squire and local dignitary (*New Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, Professor Larry J. Schaaf; Arnold 1977, *passim*). But in his younger years the scale and variety of these achievements could not so clearly be anticipated.

The following article gives an account of Fox

Talbot's several stays in Rutland and of his many connections with England's smallest county. Extensive use is made of his correspondence, fully transcribed and gathered in an online edition under the direction of Professor Larry J Schaaf (www.foxtalbot.dmu.ac.uk). Where cited or alluded to in this article, letters are identified by their document number, followed by the date of the letter.

Three factors make Fox Talbot's involvement with Rutland more interesting: first, at the age of eight Fox Talbot asked that all his letters be preserved (no 492, 27th May 1808). His exact words were, 'tell Mamma & every body I write to to keep my letters & not burn them'. Some ten thousand letters, sent and received, survive and have been catalogued, transcribed and published. Further letters continue to be found. A surprising number refer to Rutland.

Secondly, Fox Talbot was an engaging letter writer, interested and interesting. This elicited similar qualities in the letters he received, not least those from friends and family. In the same document in which he asked for his letters to be kept, he also wrote, 'Letters comfort me much', alluding to absence from home and family. Understanding the comfort letters provided and the need that underlay this comfort, his close family wrote caringly and often. In this way the value of the letters lies as much in their interest and diversity as in how many there are.

The third factor accentuating Fox Talbot's involvement with Rutland was different, a matter of family relationship. Fox Talbot's stepfather, Charles Feilding, a naval captain, was the nephew of George Finch, 9th Earl of Winchilsea (fig. 4). George's sister Sophia Finch had married Captain Feilding's father, Captain, later Commodore, Charles Feilding. The marriage in 1772 of Sophia Finch and Charles Feilding senior echoed an earlier marriage in 1729 between Frances Feilding, daughter of the 4th Earl of Denbigh, and Daniel Finch, 8th Earl of Winchilsea. So the two families were connected dynastically.

Moreover, Captain Feilding's relationship with his uncle was one of great affection, reciprocated by the noble earl. Retired from the navy, Captain Feilding was a frequent visitor at Burley on the Hill (fig. 5) where he was warmly received. In coaching times a journey from London to Rutland could comfortably be made in two days. So, if Captain Feilding were travelling north, say to visit his friend Sir Joseph Copley at Sprotborough, Yorkshire, Burley might also be a convenient stopping off point, close to the Great North Road.

Surviving letters show that Lord Winchilsea had been a good friend of Captain Feilding senior



Fig. 4. George Finch, 9th Earl of Winchilsea and 4th Earl of Nottingham (private collection).



Fig. 5. Burley on the Hill (Rutland County Museum: Jack Hart Collection).

(ROLLR, DG7 Finch MSS box 4954, bundle 33, part 1 of 2). One of these, a letter to his mother written by Winchilsea in July 1776, at the time of the American War of Independence, indicated that Winchilsea and Charles Feilding senior were sailing together to North America. In a further letter dated 10th July 1776 Winchilsea explained he was travelling in a private capacity, and not as a volunteer serving under General William Howe, as stated in the newspapers. After his brother-in-law's death in 1783, Winchilsea received a letter referenced, 'Rhode Island Harbour Feby 14th 1777'. Anticipating in 1777 a possible death in combat, Charles Feilding senior had written that, if he should die, Sophia would not be able to settle his debts to the earl and could she not be told about them. The letter had not been posted in the writer's lifetime. On receiving this letter and with his sister Sophia now widowed with four young children, Winchilsea must have felt a particular responsibility to his late friend's family. He would have no children of his own until his son George was born in 1794.

When Pearl Finch wrote her *History of Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland* (1901) she catalogued the pictures and miniatures in the main house. They included likenesses of Sophia Feilding *née* Finch and her husband Charles Feilding, their son Charles and his three sisters (Finch 1901, I.310, II.13, 22), and Fox Talbot would probably have seen them during his visits.

In July 1815 Fox Talbot, aged 15, alluded to what may have been his first visit to Rutland. He travelled by coach from London to Oxford on his way to Wales. He wrote to his mother, Lady Elisabeth Feilding, that he had seen on the coach Mr FitzErnest whom he had met in 1808 at Burley, Rutland. Mr FitzErnest had a steel machine on his head (no 657, 30th July 1815). As no further

explanation was given, it is suggested that Lady Feilding knew full well that George FitzErnest (or Fitz-Ernest) was the natural son of Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, later King of Hanover, and a grandson of George III. She may also have known that FitzErnest had been hurt when an open carriage driven by his father overturned and ran over him. The steel machine was an orthopaedic measure designed to relieve the spine of the weight of the head (Peach 1883, I, 139-40). Both FitzErnest and Fox Talbot were guests of the 9th Earl of Winchilsea at his grand house of Burley on the Hill.

The Earl of Winchilsea and the Duke of Cumberland must have been on good terms. In September 1808 the Duke came to stay at Burley for a few days. The day after his arrival at Burley, he rode to Oakham, Rutland. Instead of presenting a ceremonial horseshoe to the Lord of the Manor of Oakham, a traditional obligation for nobility visiting the town, he gave 'a sum to purchase a large gilt one' (SM, 23rd Sept 1808). Lord Winchilsea was Lord of the Manor of Oakham and the Duke of Cumberland's gift combined fulfilment of an old custom with conventional thanks to his generous host. The Duke's horseshoe can still be seen at Oakham Castle. A careful reading of the letters suggests that Fox Talbot was at school in Sussex at this time and his 1808 meeting with FitzErnest must have been on another occasion.

Reference has already been made to the period between summer 1815, when Fox Talbot left Harrow School, and autumn 1817 when he began his studies at Trinity College, Cambridge. From 1815 to 1816 he attended the small school of the Rev Theophilus Barnes at Castleford in Yorkshire. It is probable that he visited Burley in the autumn of 1815, perhaps on his way from London to Castleford (no 670, 14th Oct 1815). Unfortunately, he found the

educational regime of Rector Barnes short on stimulation (no 717, 30th Aug 1816). He left Castleford late in 1816 and was certainly in London by early December and may have been elsewhere (no 731, 8th Dec 1816).

On 20th December 1816 Fox Talbot arrived at Burley with Captain Feilding (no 734, 21st Dec 1816) and they were both still there on 6th January 1817 (no 740, 6th Jan 1817). Their hosts were the Earl of Winchilsea, his sister Henrietta Finch and his children George and Georgiana Augusta Finch. Fox Talbot probably knew all four from earlier visits to Burley or meetings in London. He had also known George Finch, the son, for a short time at Harrow School (no 541, 15th July 1811). The earl was not married to the children's mother, Mrs Phoebe Thompson, and there is no mention of her in the letters.

Other kinsmen of the earl came to stay or to dine during the festivities. They included Heneage Finch, 5th Earl of Aylesford, and General Thomas William Fermor, later 4th Earl of Pomfret, and were joined by George William Finch-Hatton and his wife. When the Earl of Winchilsea died in 1826 without legitimate heir, Finch-Hatton inherited the earldoms of Winchilsea and Nottingham but not the late earl's estates.

Local guests included the Dowager Duchess of Rutland and William Lowther, 1st Earl of Lonsdale, and his family who came from Cottesmore, Rutland, to dine. Among the lesser luminaries noted by Fox Talbot were Dr Willis and Mr Raikes 'the Commercial Dandy' (no 735, 25th Dec 1816). The Rev Dr Francis Willis (1718-1807) of Greatford Hall, near Stamford, Lincolnshire, had treated the madness of George III. His sons Dr John Willis and Dr Robert Darling Willis had also been involved in the treatment of the king and one of them must have been the earl's guest. Thomas Raikes (1777-1848) was a merchant banker and a dandy who frequented the clubs of west London. He 'was called Apollo by the club wits of the day because he rose in the east and set in the west, in allusion to the hours he spent alternately in his banking house in the City and the clubs of the West End' (www.londononline.co.uk).

The ground was snow-covered after Fox Talbot's arrival and he wrote of shooting in Burley Wood and planning to shoot in nearby Hambleton Wood on Boxing Day. He shot a woodcock, so he thought, and missed a squirrel. He played chess several times with Henrietta Finch. He played billiards. He also dined with the family of the Earl of Lonsdale at Cottesmore. So much emerges from letters written by Fox Talbot on 21st and 25th December 1816 and on 6th January 1817 (nos 734, 735 and 740).

However, if Christmas Day was a holiday for the

estate farm servants, Boxing Day was an ordinary working day. Surviving estate day labour accounts show that normal farm work resumed, together with breaking stone for the park road and working 'the engine' (ROLLR DG7/1/43 (d)). Had Fox Talbot shot his squirrel, the estate vermin account for the period might have shown an entitlement to a premium of 2d. For a buzzard or kite, the premium was 6d per bird (ROLLR DG7/1/42).

In his Christmas Day letter to his mother (no 735), Fox Talbot wrote, 'Mr F. called on Mr Bonney today, he is to dine here some day soon, & I shall see him then'. Mr Bonney was Thomas Kaye Bonney (1782-1863), Rector of Normanton, Rutland, and Rector of Coningsby, Lincolnshire, both in the gift of Sir Gilbert Heathcote, 4th Baronet. Bonney lived at Normanton Rectory (fig. 6) close to Normanton Hall, the residence of Sir Gilbert. The purpose of the meeting between Captain Feilding and the rector was to arrange for Fox Talbot to stay with the rector as his pupil. This lasted until the autumn of 1817 when Fox Talbot began at Trinity College, Cambridge.

Before moving to Rutland at the end of 1814 or the beginning of 1815, Thomas Kaye Bonney had been a fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and a Proctor of the university. His family had enjoyed the patronage of the Earls of Westmorland, a social advantage which Fox Talbot's mother referred to when her son was at Normanton (no 752, 17th Feb 1817). By the end of 1816 the rector had been appointed a Justice of the Peace and had taken on the curacy of the neighbouring and larger village of Empingham, Rutland. A more detailed account of T K Bonney's background and life is given in *Rutland Record* 29 (Reeve 2009).

Fox Talbot most probably went to Normanton Rectory in January 1817, not long after his letter of 6th January. His letter said that he had already spent a day with Mr Bonney, that he found him 'a very good classic & mathematician' and that he liked him 'very much'. Normanton Rectory was handsomely built in 1799 by Sir Gilbert Heathcote, and comprised a dining room, drawing room and library, eight bedrooms and other rooms. It survives as a private house and the sweeping line of the original carriage drive can still be discerned. At the other side of the house, a gate through the high garden wall once led to Normanton Hall, some few hundred yards away (Reeve 2009, 348). From his window Fox Talbot could see Cottesmore church (no 763, 7th May 1817) and Burley, as well as the steeple of Cold Overton in Leicestershire (no 751, 16th Feb 1817).

Normanton Rectory also had a large breakfast room measuring 31ft x 18ft, built by Bonney's



*Fig. 6. Normanton Rectory, now Bracknell House
(Rutland County Museum: Jack Hart Collection).*

predecessor, the Rev Dr William Tait. It must have been there when Fox Talbot arrived, albeit in a poor condition. Permission to demolish this extension was granted in March 1817 (Reeve 2009, 348).

The house was occupied by the rector and his unmarried sister, Henrietta. Rector Bonney's tax assessment for 1822 showed two servants, one horse for riding and one dog. He was assessed for armorial bearings but not for a carriage, and he did not use hair powder (ROLLR DE 843/48). A fine stable block survives alongside the former rectory but, with its 1820s date stone, it must date from after Fox Talbot's visit. The stable in 1817 was no doubt compatible with the house and large enough to take Fox Talbot's pony as well as the rector's horse. As late as January 1818 Bonney wrote that Fox Talbot's pony was still there awaiting collection by his uncle the Marquis of Lansdowne's servant (no 788, 31st Jan 1818).

Fox Talbot's letters written between January and October 1817 suggest a happy period at Normanton. Fox Talbot, his mother and stepfather all responded well to the genial rector. It was doubtless on the recommendation of the Feildings that Sir Joseph Copley's son went to Normanton the following January (no 788, 31st Jan 1818).

The rector may well have tutored his pupil in classics and mathematics, subjects mentioned at their first meeting and which Fox Talbot would later pursue at university. But Fox Talbot also had private study interests, including learning Italian, astronomy

and botany (nos 754, 2nd Mar 1817; 751, 16th Feb 1817; 755, 3rd Mar 1817). A spy-glass allowed him to observe the skies. His own garden (where millet grew) and access to Sir Gilbert Heathcote's greenhouse gave him practical opportunities (nos 771, 20th July 1817; 751, 16th Feb 1817). Whatever the balance between tuition and self-tuition, work and leisure, there was no hint of the stagnation or lack of stimulation which had ended Fox Talbot's time at Castleford, quite the reverse.

He enjoyed the company of the rector and his sister, as well as his brother Henry Kaye Bonney, Rector of Kings Cliffe, just over the border in Northamptonshire (no 751, 16th Feb 1817). He dined with Richard Lucas at Great Casterton, with the Lowther family at Cottesmore, with Sir Gilbert Heathcote at Normanton Park, with Samuel Barker of Lyndon Hall, all in Rutland (nos 758, 24th Mar 1817; 760, 2nd Apr 1817; 764, 14th May 1817).

Within the county he visited Lord Northwick's stone pits at Ketton, as well as Oakham and the Barleythorpe area, again all in Rutland (nos 764, 14th May 1817; 758, 24th Mar 1817; 771, 20th July 1817). With his tutor, he went to Crowland Abbey in Lincolnshire (no 781, 13th Oct 1817). He praised the view from Easton, probably Easton on the Hill in Northamptonshire (no 769, 26th May 1817). He also went to Apethorpe, Fotheringhay and Kings Cliffe in Northamptonshire, doubtless in the company of Henry Kaye Bonney, who was presented to the living of Kings Cliffe by the Earl of Westmorland of

Apethorpe House (nos 760, 2nd Apr 1817; 763, 7th May 1817). But when Thomas Kaye Bonney had to go to Coningsby for ten days in June, Fox Talbot did not go with him, wishing to go to London instead (no 769, 26th May 1817).

His visit to Oakham in March was to attend the Rutland Assizes held in Oakham Castle (no 758, 24th Mar 1817). There were no trials for Luddite disturbances and frame breaking as began on 31st March in Leicester (*SM*, 11th Apr 1817). But for William Luff, sentenced to death for burglary, the outcome of the first case at Oakham was no less severe (*SM*, 14th Mar 1817). The Grand Jury sat under the foremanship of Sir Gerard Noel Noel of Exton Hall, Rutland.

In September Fox Talbot wrote that he had watched a number of cricket matches at Burley and a further match was to be played the next day (no 779, 7th Sept 1817). The *Stamford Mercury* of 5th September reported several games, noting that one Burley team included a Burley servant and eight from the Cottesmore club. On 12th September the *Stamford Mercury* covered a two day match between Burley and Oakham, played in fine weather, with marquees and a large crowd. The Burley team listed by the newspaper was particularly distinguished, comprising:

Marquis of Exeter	George Finch, Esq.
Lord Sondes	Major Allix
Lord Brudenell	Stafford O'Brien, Esq.
— Watson, Esq.	Hon. Wm. Noel
Finch Hatton, Esq.	Rev. Mr. Jones
D. Finch Hatton, Esq.	

Fox Talbot's name has not been found in the various Burley cricket teams around this time. On the other hand, Lord Brudenell, son of the 6th Earl of Cardigan, appeared more than once. Some years before, he had shared a room with Fox Talbot at Harrow (no 541, 15th July 1811). But in 1812 Lord James Thomas Brudenell, later 7th Earl of Cardigan and leader of the Charge of the Light Brigade in the Crimean War, was peremptorily withdrawn from school by his father when Dr Butler refused to accept Brudenell's excuse for late return to school (no 567, 7th May 1812). Fox Talbot made no mention of meeting Brudenell during the matches.

That his stepfather occasionally played in Burley cricket matches was confirmed the following summer: 'We have had a Cricket match & got very much beaten by the Oakham people' (no 814, 29th Aug 1818). Captain Feilding batted at four for Burley, scoring three in the first innings and six in the second. Sir Gerard Noel Noel opened the batting inconspicuously (*SM*, 28th Aug 1818).

If he wished, Sir Gerard could practise on his own cricket pitch, recently established at Exton Park

(*SM*, 1st Sept 1815). He could imitate, but not emulate, Lord Winchilsea, a father of English cricket, a first class cricketer in younger days. Lord Winchilsea had been a founder member of the MCC (Marylebone Cricket Club). He had created his own cricket ground at Burley, certainly by 1790 when Hampshire played All England there for 1,000 guineas. By the summer of 1817, when Fox Talbot was in Rutland, the earl's active cricketing days were over (Snow 1982). But he still supported the Burley side and was generously ready to let local schools and clubs play on the Burley pitch. On 13th June 1817 the *Stamford Mercury* reported a game between Oakham and Uppingham Schools and on 5th September the same newspaper reported a match between the clubs of Cottesmore, Rutland, and Somerby, Leicestershire.

In writing his letters of 1817 Fox Talbot did not set out to give a historical or comprehensive account of Rutland. The content of the letters was selectively chosen, dictated more by interest, amusement, utility, circumstance. Indeed, insofar as the letters between Lady Feilding and her son reveal their personalities, aristocratic background and aesthetic temperaments, their correspondence may be seen as an artistic work, creating its own world of memory and imagination. However, assessing selectivity in composition is made difficult because some of the letters alluded to in the correspondence have not survived or are yet to be found. In such cases, later readers may be left with an imperfect understanding of the full original written context.

In February 1817 Lady Feilding wrote, 'The Bulletin about Lord James Murray's palpitation cordis is very good, cut it out for me Adieu' (no 744, 7th Feb 1817). This mention of Lord Murray's palpitations of the heart almost certainly referred to an attack on the Prince Regent's coach on 28th January 1817. Lord Murray had been with the Prince in the coach and alleged the same day before the House of Commons that gunshots had caused holes in the windows (Hansard 1817, CC32-37).

Following this event, a Rutland meeting agreed a loyal address to the Regent. Sir Gilbert Heathcote could not attend and 'A letter was read by the Rev. Mr. Bonney, from Sir Gilbert Heathcote, reprobating in strong terms the outrage which had been offered to the Regent' (*SM*, 28th Feb 1817). So the account in the letters, at least in those letters that have survived, refers to Lord Murray's involvement but not to that of Rector Bonney.

A similar situation arose with the Noel family of Exton Hall in March. Lady Feilding wrote, 'Yr account of Sir Gerard Noel amused me very much. I believe he is cracked. His wife you know is that methodistical Lady Barham who lives at Fairy Hill'

(no 757, 17th Mar 1817). Sir Gerard Noel Noel (1759-1838) was notorious for his eccentricity. His wife bore him 18 children. After the death of her father in 1813, she went to live on her own at Fairyhill, Reynaldston, Gower, where she passed her final years (Noel 2004, 114-19).

By 1817, Sir Gerard had spent most or all of his money. In late 1816 he advised his tenants he was doubtful he could keep his estate (*SM*, 8th Nov 1816). The following week it was thought the parliamentary commissioners might buy the estate for the Duke of Wellington (*SM*, 15th Nov 1816). By early January it was clear the estate would not pass to Wellington (*SM*, 10th Jan 1817) but at the same time unpaid creditors of Sir Gerard were notified to whom their claims should be sent (*SM* and *Drakard's Stamford News*, 10th Jan 1817). Sir Gerard Noel Noel's impoverishment was thus widely reported in the local newspapers, but was not at all so treated in the catalogued correspondence.

Interestingly, Exton was not the only Rutland estate considered for the Duke of Wellington. About this time Lord Liverpool 'wrote to Lord Winchilsea to say, that the country "desired to confer a suitable estate upon the Duke of Wellington, and he understood that the Earl had a seat in Rutland; perhaps his lordship might be disposed to part with it." The earl, who was very fond and proud of Burley, replied that the Duke of Rutland had a very fine mansion at Belvoir, "perhaps his Grace might be disposed to part with it." ' (Gretton 1889, 158). There is no hint of this in the letters and Belvoir, Leicestershire, stayed with the Dukes of Rutland.

Before the days of prepaid stamps with country-wide application, various finesses were used to minimize postal cost. One of these was to enclose one letter with another and to ask the first recipient to post on the enclosure. Another was to exploit the right of free franking enjoyed, among others, by members of parliament and by peers sitting in the House of Lords. A number of the family letters received by Fox Talbot at Normanton came from London and carried the franking of Lord Auckland, a family friend. Such letters were probably written at Sackville Street, where the Feildings had their London house, and then walked round to the Auckland residence to be franked with the Auckland mail (no 753, 20th Feb 1817). An earlier letter from Lady Feilding, at Burley, to her son near Brighton, Sussex, was routed via Stamford but included a 'Westmorland' reference in the addressing. It suggests that the Earl of Westmorland was at Burley with Lady Feilding and that he offered to frank her letter (no 521, 23rd Oct 1810).

Where important or confidential information was conveyed by letter, security was a concern. At

Castleford, Fox Talbot was asked by his mother if he was able to keep his letters locked up, away from 'the animadversions of Servants or people who may not have high notions of honor' (no 673, 14th Nov 1815). To this end there were locking desks and writing tables with the attendant problems of finding and losing keys. Security was a greater problem when staying in other people's houses and the final resort was the burning of correspondence after it had been read. Writing to his mother from Burley on Xmas Day 1816, he began his letter intriguingly, 'I have burned your note, in order that none of the Servants may read it' (no 735, 25th Dec 1816).

Fox Talbot's stay at Normanton ended in October 1817. He wrote on the 13th that he would travel to Cambridge the following Monday. He had dined at Burley the previous Saturday and had stayed there all Sunday. Captain Feilding's sister, Matilda, happened to be there at that time. One of his last tasks at Normanton was to forward to the Professor of Botany at Oxford University a number of plants from the far corners of Russia. They were part of a consignment sent to him by his uncle, William Thomas Horner Fox Strangways, stationed in St Petersburg as a diplomat (no 781, 13th Oct 1817). After leaving Normanton in late 1817 Fox Talbot maintained his contact with Rutland for over thirty years.

In 1818 he was surprised early one morning by a visit to Trinity by Lord Winchilsea and George Finch (no 828, 30th Oct 1818). Two months before Captain Feilding had written that Lord Winchilsea had enquired several times in London about Fox Talbot. Captain Feilding was embarrassed because Fox Talbot had been in London and had not called on Lord Winchilsea. He admonished his stepson for this failing. 'La politesse coute peu & rend beaucoup', or 'courtesy costs little and repays much' (no 814, 29th Aug 1818). The Cambridge visit showed that the earl and Fox Talbot were still on friendly terms.

From time to time there were further reunions with Lord Winchilsea in London. In 1819 Fox Talbot dined with the earl and met Gilbert John Heathcote, Sir Gilbert Heathcote's son. In 1823 he reported calling on Lord Winchilsea and George Finch and their returning his call, unsuccessfully in both cases. In January 1825 Fox Talbot and Captain Feilding dined with Lord Winchilsea (nos 852, 4th Aug 1819; 1127, 25th Nov 1823; 1247, 30th Jan 1825). In early 1824 Fox Talbot envisaged a visit to Burley, writing to his mother, 'I mean to go thro' Town to Burley for another week' (no 1155, 25th Jan 1824). It is not clear whether the visit was made, but Fox Talbot could not have contemplated staying without invitation.

Lord Winchilsea died on 2nd August 1826. His will was extremely generous towards his nephew, Captain Feilding. He was given an annuity of £600, a legacy of £1000 and a further legacy of £1000 to be divided between his daughters, along with other provisions (TNA, Probate 11/1716). The earl's death also marked a new relationship between Captain Feilding's family and the Finches. Problems with the will were acute enough for Captain Feilding to write to Fox Talbot in 1828, 'It is unmixed pain to me going to Burley' (no 1758, 16th Dec 1828), something he would not have written in the earl's lifetime.

Of course Fox Talbot was not directly involved in the earl's will and did not expect to be. But he was not unaffected by the new relationship between Captain Feilding and George Finch. If Charles Feilding no longer looked forward to being a regular and welcome visitor to Burley on the Hill, then Fox Talbot was in much the same situation. Outwardly, relations could be cordial. In 1830 George Finch dined with Captain and Lady Feilding and was in good spirits. He was given a copy of one of Fox Talbot's books, *Legendary Tales in Verse and Prose*, published in London that year (no 2037, 3rd Aug 1830). Two years later George Finch wrote to Captain Feilding that he was going to marry Lady Louisa Elizabeth Somerset, daughter of the 6th Duke of Beaufort (no 2412, 9th Sept 1832). As Members of Parliament, successful in the first parliamentary election after the Reform Act of 1832, Fox Talbot and George Finch met in the House of Commons in 1833 (no 2583, 5th Feb 1833). This was Fox Talbot's only election to Parliament, as one of two representatives for Chippenham, Wiltshire. He did not stand again.

But when George Finch failed to attend Captain Feilding's funeral in 1837, Fox Talbot's half-sister Caroline conveyed in pointed understatement her unhappiness, 'but he is not a saint! whether that is the cause of his strange conduct, for strange it certainly is in him, I do not know – He ought to have been the first person to offer – particularly as poor Papa followed his father to the grave, besides having attended him during his last illness' (no 3585, 14th Sept 1837). By this time they were both married, as Fox Talbot had married Constance Mundy of Markeaton, Derbyshire on 20th December 1832.

Matters reached an unexpected low point in 1841. George's sister Georgiana had married an army officer in the earl's lifetime and had become Mrs Drummond. Captain Feilding's sister, Matilda, asked Fox Talbot's wife Constance to make a formal social call on Mrs Drummond. Constance must have heard of some irregularity in Georgiana's background because she wrote for guidance from her

husband, 'But I want you to tell me, as soon as you possibly can, whether I am right in supposing these Finches to be honorable' (no 4375, 30th Nov 1841). This question, written in innocence and ignorance, would nevertheless have mortified Captain Feilding and the Earl of Winchilsea. If nothing else, it revealed the distance separating the Finches on the one hand and Fox Talbot's family on the other.

There were no such problems in Fox Talbot's ongoing friendship with Rector Bonney of Normanton. The Rector followed the young man's progress keenly, meeting Captain and Lady Feilding from time to time at Burley or in London. Lady Feilding was quite taken with him: 'I became acquainted with Mr Bonney at ~~Cam~~ Burley, he seems anxious about you to a degree I quite love him for' (no 817, 7th Sept 1818).

In May of his first year at university Lady Feilding wrote that Bonney had invited him to stay at Normanton in the summer (no 801, 18th May 1818). The rector was clearly looking forward to a visit when he wrote two months later, 'I am very happy that I am likely to have the Pleasure of seeing you next Week' (no 808, 11th July 1818). Later that month Fox Talbot was with Walter Calverley Trevelyan at Morpeth in Northumberland and Normanton would have been a convenient stopping off point on the journey from Cambridge to Northumberland (no 810, 31st July 1818). For whatever reason and slightly to Captain Feilding's chagrin, there was no visit to Normanton: 'he seems to have your interest really at heart, & I think it very unlucky that you could not call on him in your way North' (no 814, 29th Aug 1818). However, it is likely that they met in Cambridge in late 1819 when Fox Talbot reported to his mother that Bonney and his sister had been in Cambridge for a week (no 858, 26th Dec 1819).

In 1820 Fox Talbot proposed a further visit to Rutland. A careful study of Fox Talbot's movements indicates that almost certainly this visit too did not take place. Rector Bonney was away for ten days at Coningsby and only received Fox Talbot's suggestion on his return to Normanton. By the time Fox Talbot received Bonney's reply, the opportunity for a visit to Rutland had most probably passed (nos 886, 1st July 1820; 887, 5th July 1820).

1822 was third time lucky. Fox Talbot stayed at Normanton in June, finding the countryside 'verdant'. 'On Monday the 10th they had here the most violent thunderstorm ever known in the neighbourhood – the lightning knocked off the top of North Luffenham spire with the weathercock which it threw 170 yards into a meadow – I have been to see the church which presents an awful spectacle of ruin' (no 983, 19th June 1822). Further



Fig. 7. Church of St John the Baptist, North Luffenham, 1839 (Uppingham School Archives).

details of the storm at North Luffenham, Rutland, were given in the *Stamford Mercury* of 14th June 1822 and in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (92.i (1822) 636-7) (fig.7).

Bonney and Fox Talbot were to go on 20th June to Kings Cliffe to see the rector's mother. Fox Talbot also met at Normanton one of his Cambridge friends, invited by Bonney. This was Thomas Kerchever Arnold, son of Dr Arnold of Stamford and later Rector of Lyndon, Rutland (no 1046, 22nd Jan 1823).

The visit to Normanton allowed Bonney to give Fox Talbot his Chancellor's Second Classical Medal. Bonney had been handed it by Dr Christopher Wordsworth, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, Vice-Chancellor 1820-21, and brother of the poet (no 979, 10th June 1822). Fox Talbot had previously won the Porson Prize for translation into Greek verse.

Fox Talbot's planned visit to Burley in 1824 has been mentioned earlier. His last recorded visit to Normanton was in December 1829. There is no doubt about the visit as Bonney referred to it three months later (no 1977, 30th Mar 1830). Fox Talbot must have stayed mid-month for a few days as several letters were addressed to him care of Rector Bonney at this time (nos 1911, 1912 and 1914, 15th-17th Dec 1829). There is no account of what he did at Normanton and he was back in London before Christmas (no 1918, 23rd Dec 1829).

On his way south, he went via Northamptonshire where his friend Dr Butler, former headmaster at Harrow, was now rector of St Mary the Virgin at Gayton. The visit had an interesting result. Butler must have shown Fox Talbot his church and spoken

of his plans for improvement or restoration. For his part Fox Talbot happened to have 52 roundels of old stained glass which his uncle the 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne had obtained 'from an old church at Beauvais' in France (nos 1761, 19th Dec 1828; 1779, 5th Jan 1829). The marquess gave the glass to Fox Talbot for use at Lacock Abbey and Fox Talbot offered it to Dr Butler. The rector was grateful to accept the offer (no 1951, 21st Jan 1830).

By late February the glass had been sent to Gayton and Butler was delighted with it (no 1959, 22nd Feb 1830). He planned to install the larger roundels in the chancel window. The glass roundels, originally it is thought from the church of Ste Madeleine at Beauvais, are still in the church, tangible evidence of Fox Talbot's 1829 visit, but today they are concentrated in the North Chapel. They have been identified as North European or Netherlandish work and dated mainly to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (fig. 8; Cole 1993, 86-88; www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk). Fox Talbot's 1829 visit to Bonney was his last stay in Rutland recorded in his letters. However, he continued to correspond with the rector who was advanced to Archdeacon of Leicester in 1831. He sent Bonney copies of many of his writings, a political pamphlet in 1830, a work on calculus in 1836, on classical matters in 1839 and on English etymology in 1846 (nos 1977, 30th Mar 1830; 3391, 7th Nov 1836; 10030, 7th Oct 1839; 5939, 7th Dec 1846). News of Fox Talbot's papers read before the Royal Society percolated to Rutland (no 3383, 24th Oct 1836) and Bonney even attended a London lecture on 'Photogenic Drawing', where Fox Talbot was often mentioned (no 10030, 7th Oct 1839).



Fig. 8. Two stained glass roundels given by Fox Talbot to the church of St Mary the Virgin at Gayton (Northants), and now in the north chapel (left: dated 1643; right: seventeenth century) (photos: author).

For his part Archdeacon Bonney passed on family and local news to his old pupil. It was a sporadic correspondence, perhaps less sporadic than appears if letters have since gone astray. The last letter to Fox Talbot was dated 1850, by which time the writer was in his late sixties. Bonney was lively of mind and full of news. He was still in touch with events at Cambridge University through Sir Gilbert Heathcote's grandson, Gilbert Henry, later 1st Earl of Ancaster, who was at Fox Talbot's old college, Trinity. But remarking on the weather, Bonney intimated passing years: 'The weather has been extremely severe, and is still frosty: I keep very much within Doors' (no 6285, 5th Jan 1850).

As well as Mr Bonney, two undergraduate contemporaries of Fox Talbot provided further Rutland news. Charles Porter wrote as curate successively of Wing, Rutland; Barnack, Northamptonshire; and South Luffenham, Rutland (nos 1981, 7th Apr 1830; 2055, 15th Sept 1830; 2569, 14th Jan 1833). He became Vicar of St Martin's, Stamford, in 1833. The letters have several references to Porter possibly becoming curate at Lacock, Wiltshire. They also reveal the marked social inequality between Porter and Fox Talbot. As curate at Wing Porter reported an income of £80 a year (no 1993, 28th Apr 1830). As Vicar of St Martin's, Stamford, his annual income was still less than £100 (no 2569, 14th Jan 1833). Fox Talbot, once he had reached his majority, enjoyed a far greater income with leisure to travel at will. When he came of age in 1821, he had 'investments, consols and annuities totalling around £4250' and a debt free estate in good repair, yielding around £1800 per year (Arnold 1977, 25-6).

Between 1830 and 1834 Porter wrote at least seventeen letters to Fox Talbot but they were sadly more utilitarian than informative about Rutland.

When he had something intriguing to write, he withheld the explanatory detail: 'a sad calamity has come upon my neighbour, the Rector of Lyndon – I name this, as the report might reach your ears, which you would not know where to fix' (no 1981, 7th Apr 1830). The misfortune that dared not reveal its identity befell Richard Rocke, Rector of Lyndon, Rutland, 1828-30, who died on 27th July 1830 at his brother's near Tenbury, Worcestershire (Longden 1941, XI.235). In the early 1840s Porter left the East Midlands (*inf* Ms Eleanor Harding, Archives Department, Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge).

Porter's clerical career brought him back to the region in 1855 when he became Vicar of Raunds in Northamptonshire. He had not forgotten Fox Talbot. In 1863 he recommended his son to Fox Talbot as curate or incumbent of Lacock, a reminder of similar correspondence several decades before. Porter's letter does not survive but was drawn to Fox Talbot's attention by his wife (no 8780, 29th Dec 1863).

Richard Rocke's successor as Rector of Lyndon was Thomas Kerchever Arnold, Fox Talbot's friend and correspondent, the same Arnold who had travelled to Normanton in 1822 to meet Fox Talbot. In 1830 Arnold was teaching or tutoring at Eton, Berkshire, after which he expected to achieve little more than an 'obscure curacy' (no 1994, 29th Apr 1830). When he wrote to Fox Talbot from Eton College in November, the outlook was better. He had recently been presented to the living of Lyndon (no 2078, 26th Nov 1830).

Arnold remained Rector of Lyndon until his death in 1853. In his early years there, he tutored younger pupils: there were 13 in 1836, and he must have had a full house at the rectory with family, servants and pupils (no 3383, 24th Oct 1836). He also established himself as a famous and prolific educational writer. In 1849, at Hastings, Sussex, because of his health, he recommended one of his Latin textbooks for Fox Talbot's son (no 6204, 16th Jan 1849).

In 1832 Bonney gave Fox Talbot an indication of Arnold's indefatigability: 'Arnold of Lyndon is gone to London, and I am to serve his Church next Sunday: It is reported he is about to publish. He succeeds very well with his Pupils' (no 2536, 27th Dec 1832). Alongside parish responsibilities, teaching and family, his educational writing had apparently already begun. There is in the British Library an 1836 text book by Arnold, *A Latin Syntax and First Reading Book for Beginners...*, with preface written at Lyndon. It was printed locally by Daniell of Uppingham, Rutland, as was a further work published in 1838. However, although Arnold's writing career may have begun before

1836, no published educational book from the period 1830-35 has yet been found.

Arnold's output as educational writer and editor was staggering but towards the end of his life his health began to give away. His last surviving letter to Fox Talbot in 1849 spoke of his 'exile' from Rutland because of ill health (no 6204, 16th Jan 1849). Bonney reported in early 1850 that Arnold had had a curate for the previous two years (no 6285, 5th Jan 1850). Arnold died in 1853.

Other letters may yet come to light but, for now, Bonney's letter of 1850 appears to be Fox Talbot's last direct contact with his old Rutland friends. From then on, Rutland surfaced in memory and allusion. In 1862 he reminisced with his uncle William Thomas Horner Fox Strangways about how he used to find *Pulsatilla vernalis* (the Spring Pasque Flower) in Rutland (no 6458, 22nd Aug 1862).

In 1869 he was reminded that, on the death of the 9th Earl of Winchilsea in 1826, the earldoms of Winchilsea and Nottingham had passed from the Finches to George William Finch-Hatton. Fox Talbot heard from his half-sister Caroline news of George William's successor, the 11th Earl of Winchilsea: 'Eastwell is a magnificent place

belonging to Lord Winchilsea, who has outrun his fortune, & is obliged to let it' (no 9565, 23rd Aug 1869, referring to Eastwell Park, Kent). The next year the 11th Earl was adjudged bankrupt (*The Times*, 6th Oct 1870).

Finally, in 1872, his cousin Louisa Charlotte Frampton wrote to Fox Talbot of the custom of presenting a horseshoe to the Lord of the Manor of Oakham (no 9858, 2nd Oct 1872). Their uncle, William Thomas Horner Fox Strangways, by then 4th Earl of Ilchester, had presented such a forfeit in 1862. It can still be seen on the walls of Oakham Castle, together with a further horseshoe given by the 5th Earl of Ilchester in 1899.

By the 1870s Fox Talbot was spending increasing time at Lacock. He was far from sedentary as he visited Edinburgh in both 1871 and 1872 (nos 9754, 10th Feb 1871; 9876, 13th May 1872). As late as January 1877 he was staying in Bournemouth, Hampshire, preoccupied with Cypriot inscriptions (no 231, 7th Jan 1877). He continued to study, write and publish, to the end of his life. William Henry Fox Talbot died in his study at Lacock Abbey on Monday 17th September 1877 (Arnold 1977, 311-25).

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Abbreviations

ROLLR Record Office for Leicestershire,
Leicester and Rutland

SM
TNA

Stamford Mercury
The National Archives

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Oakham School's Masters and Ushers 1584-1875

BRIAN NEEDHAM



Until 1875 the 'headmaster' of Oakham School was known as the 'Master', who taught in Old School along with one, or sometimes two, assistant masters, known as 'Ushers'. This article attempts to establish the definitive list of the Masters and Ushers of Oakham School from its foundation by Archdeacon Johnson in 1584 until its reorganisation in 1875 as a result of the Endowed Schools Commission of 1864 followed by the Endowed Schools Act of 1869.

C = Curate, D = Deacon, OO = Old Oakhamian, P = Priest, R = Rector, V = Vicar.

Fig. 1. The Elizabethan silver seal matrix of the Archdeacon Johnson Foundation (Rutland County Museum, 1967.27).

The role of the Master of the School in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries was a far cry from the role of a headmaster today, with over 1000 students at the school, of both genders, over 200 teachers, again of both genders, as well as over 100 members of support staff. As late as the 1830s Oakham School had less than 50 students, boys only, and the task of teaching, in the Old School, lay with the Master and one or two helpers, the Ushers. The Master also had the pastoral care of the boarders in the school, who resided with him in his area of the Old Hospital, now replaced by School House, in Market Square, and he benefitted from any surplus that he could make from the boarding fees on top of his stipend of £24 a year in 1584, with an additional £6 as Warden of the Hospital of Christ in Oakham, making £30 in all. Through this procedure the actual teaching of the Oakham School boys was free, and the only payments made were fees charged to boys from outside Oakham and for board and keep by the boarders, for the Statutes and Ordinances (signed and sealed by Archdeacon Johnson on 7th June 1625, just seven weeks before his death) read that:

the Schoolmaster shall teach all those grammar scholars that are born and bred in the towns of Oakham and Uppingham, freely without pay, if their parents be poor and not able to pay, and keep them constantly to school; for the rest of the said towns and meering [*sic*] towns, and other towns, he shall take according to the ability of their parents as they shall agree.

It is regrettable that not much written evidence exists of Oakham School's early sixteenth and seventeenth century history; indeed, there is even a dispute as to whether or not the school was founded by Archdeacon Johnson as a new establishment in 1584 or

re-founded from an existing establishment. This latter view was propounded in a private paper circulated by Dr John Donnelly, who was then teaching history at Oakham School (1978-80), and opposed by J L (John) Barber in his history of the school published to celebrate the Quatercentenary (Barber 1983). The Barber rebuttal was sufficient for that Quatercentenary celebration to go ahead, with the conclusion reached that an educational establishment had in fact existed in Oakham prior to 1584, sponsored by Westminster Abbey (which held the manor of Oakham Deanshold) with Robert Cawdray as Master (1563-60), followed later by Thomas Ashbrooke, but that:

when Johnson came along with new schools and almshouses so well-endowed and organised, Goodman and the Harringtons were only too happy to fold up the older establishment, find a job for Ashbrooke in the new school, and be rid of what may well have been a tiresome, and for Goodman a distant, chore (Barber 1983, 39).

[Gabriel Goodman was the Dean of Westminster and the Harrington family held the Lordship of Oakham, with Sir John Harrington having been a pupil of Cawdray.]

The existence of such an earlier school was acknowledged by W L Sargent in his 1928 revised version of his history of the School:

Robert Caudray, a man of original mind, held an English school at Oakham from 1563-1570... Then there was Francis Clement in 1577, living in the Old Hospital in Oakham, and reported to the Bishop for teaching without a licence for one and three-quarter years (Sargent 1928, 13).

That the 'take-over' was amicable may be seen by the fact that Goodman and four members of the Harrington family were among the first twenty-four Governors of Robert Johnson's new foundation, and that Thomas

Ashbrooke became an Usher at Oakham School until he died in 1605. Small educational establishments in towns were fairly common, and indeed there had been another one in Oakham run by Francis Clement, Warden of the Hospital of St John and St Anne, who was augmenting his income by instructing a few boys, but who had his teaching brought to an end in 1577 when it was discovered that he had no licence to teach from the Bishop of Peterborough, as was necessary at the time (Parkin 2000, 11).

Probably the reason why all of this foundation history is still clouded in mystery is that all of Archdeacon Johnson's papers were held not by his son, William, but by his grandson, Isaac, the first son of William; William had had a falling-out with his father, the Archdeacon, but the reason is unknown. Isaac Johnson married Lady Arabella Fiennes and in 1630 migrated to New England, where they helped to found Boston, but where they soon died, without issue, and the Johnson papers (together with the only known portrait of the Archdeacon) have been lost (Barber 1983, 21). What did remain of the early archives of the school disappeared in 1878, when the then Master Robert Tabraham was dismissed:

It has been alleged that among his other misdemeanours he destroyed the greater part of the School records whilst under the influence of drink. Whether that be true or not, it is certain that the School has very little in the way of archives prior to the time of his headmastership (Barber 1983, 89).

What is held are the Decrees and Accounts of the Governors of the Foundation – the two schools and two hospitals founded by Archdeacon Johnson. These were kept in duplicate, one for Oakham and the other for Uppingham; but the Oakham copies commence only in 1710 and the Uppingham copies in 1643, and it is known that there was a volume (now lost) covering 1625-42. The decrees are now kept in the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland.

Identifying the Masters

It was the lack of archive material that led Sargant to write in the first edition (1906) of his history 'of the early history of the School little is known but the names of the Headmasters' (Sargant 1906, 7). In an appendix Sargant established his list of Masters and Ushers. His list of early Masters runs:

1585	James Madson (or Watson), LM
1611	Abraham Green, MA
1616	Waller, LM
1623-30 (?)	Jeremias Whitaker, AM
1639-42	Stackhouse, LM
1644	R Swann
1649-61	Michael Freer
1661-62	Richard Watts
1662-1702	John Love

However, by the time Sargant came to produce his revised and much expanded history in 1928 that early list had changed considerably:

1584	Robert Rushebrooke
1587	James Wadeson
1611?	Abraham Greene
1612	Dr John Wallace, MA, MD
1623	Jeremy Whitaker
1629	James Stackhouse
1642	Dr Alexander Gill, DD
1644	Richard Swann
1649	Dr Michael Freer, MD
1661	Richard Watts
1662	John Love

Sargant made no change to the list of eighteenth and nineteenth century Masters (see below, p70), nor has any change been made to them by subsequent researchers, and so the list may be taken as correct from (at least) 1702 to the present day. His Waller of 1616 is, presumably, the Wallis (or Wallace) of 1612-23, in the same way that he names the James Wadeson of 1928 as James Madson (or even Watson) in 1906. But what else caused Sargant to revise his first list?

Immediately he has inserted the name of Robert Rushbrooke as the first Master, since the Charter for the School Foundation of 14th October 1587 – the Oakham copy of which is hanging in the School's Old Hall – obtained from Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth I contains the (translated) sentence:

We will constitute and ordain Robert Rushbrooke to be the first and present schoolmaster or pedagogue of the aforesaid free grammar school of Robert Johnson, clerk, in Okeham in the County of Rutland aforesaid, and Abel Mellors to be the first and present underpedagogue [Usher] of the same school (Barber 1983, 216).

Then Sargant continues that:

these seem to have given place almost at once to James Wadeson [Master] and Thomas Ashbrooke [Usher]... At any rate he [Wadeson] remained Master until his death in 1610... He [Wadeson] was succeeded by John Wallace, who had been Master of the Grammar School at Melton Mowbray for some years... In 1622 his successor, Jeremiah Whitaker, was Curate at Egleton. In June 1623 he married the daughter of William Peachie, Vicar of Oakham, and on October 11th 1623 he is licensed to teach in the Free School at Oakham. It seems likely that while curate at Egleton he was also usher at Oakham. On May 7th 1624 William Wallace was admitted to Sidney [Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge] – 'son of John Wallace, Master of Arts and Medicine, educated at Oakham School, which his father conducted for twelve years with the greatest distinction, and afterwards under Jeremiah Whitaker for a year more or less' (Sargant 1928, 14).

It is to be noted that although Sargant maintained Abraham Greene in his 1928 list, he has nothing to say about him, but does leave room for him with this comment:

These [Rushbrooke and Mellors] seem to have given place almost at once to James Wadson and Thomas Ashbrooke (Sargant 1928, 14).

The information concerning John Wallace's son William is taken by Sargant from the Cambridge University register of undergraduates (Venn 1922-53). Sargant has no doubt that Whitaker

was succeeded by another Yorkshireman who had a most successful career. James Stackhouse ... was master of Kettering Grammar for a year or two. From the time he came to Oakham in 1629 the number of undergraduates known to have gone to Cambridge from the School increases very rapidly... In 1642 a great calamity befell the town of Oakham. An outbreak of plague caused the death of one hundred and seventy-six inhabitants. It reached its height in the late summer and on the 4th day of August James Stackhouse was buried (Sargant 1928, 15-16).

Now there comes a time of great confusion, for Civil War had broken out in 1642, with Parliamentarians occupying the district, and Oakham School's history resting 'on the copy of the Accounts and Decrees preserved at Uppingham' (Sargant 1928, 17). Sargant notes that:

the Parish register is most imperfectly kept at this time. If he [John Halford, an Old Oakhamian who was slain in Oakham in 1647] was buried at Oakham there is no record, nor is the death of Richard Swan, the Headmaster, recorded either in the Register or in the Decrees (Sargant 1928, 17).

Sargant continues:

Turning now to the Decrees which concern Oakham School, we find in April 1644 that Mr Swan is chosen into ye Schoole of Oakham, Master of ye School in the place of Dr Gill deceased. This must certainly refer to Dr Alexander Gill... Swan died in November 1648 and was succeeded in April 1649 by Michael Frere, who had recently been ejected from his fellowship at Queens' College, Cambridge... On the death of Dr Michael Frere, Richard Watts, son of the Governor [the Rev Richard Watts, who served to 1662], was chosen master, but died in the following year. He was succeeded by John Love, the Usher, who lived to rule the school for the next forty years (Sargant 1928, 18-19).

Finally, we reach calmer waters of certainty:

On Love's death in the following year [1702], [Henry] Wright [the Usher appointed in 1701 to strengthen the school's teaching] was elected Master (Sargant 1928, 21).

John Barber accepted this revision of the list when he wrote his own history of the school, and deals with those first years up to 1612 in but one paragraph:

In the Letters Patent of 1587 Johnson names Robert Rushbrook and Abel Mellors as 'the first and present' (*primus et modernus*) Master and Usher... According to Sargant these seem to have given place almost at once to James Wadson and Thomas Ashbrook... Wadson died in 1610, and was perhaps followed by Abraham Greene, who on 11 June 1611 was licensed by the Bishop of Peterborough to teach at Oakham (Barber 1983, 36).

Then he writes short pieces on John Wallace, Jeremiah Whitaker, James Stackhouse, Alexander Gill, Richard Swann, Michael Frere, Richard Watts and John Love, adding little to what Sargant had to say although choosing to side with Arthur Hawley (an Old Uppinghamian who did much valuable work on the records of the two schools in the 1920s and 1930s) that Richard Swan(n) (named by Sargant as the son of the governor of the same name) was in fact the rector of Preston. Arthur Hawley wrote:

The Mr Swann appointed Master of Oakham School was without doubt Richard Swann, Rector of Preston. It was an extraordinary appointment, for Mr Swann was at that time over sixty years of age, but he had been a schoolmaster – Master of Stamford School. It must be remembered that the country was in a state of civil war: it seems to have been a case of Hobson's choice, take the nearest. Mr Sargant in *The Book of Oakham School* states that 'Richard Swann, Master of Oakham School, was the son of the Governor of the same names'. I have since the publication of his book (1928) explained to him my reasons for disagreeing with his statement, and after reading evidence, which he had not previously seen, he agrees that the headmaster was Richard Swann, the Governor and Rector of Preston (Barber 1983, 44).

In fact, Sargant wrote:

His successor, Richard Swan, was the son of the Governor of the same names, who had at one time been Master of Stamford School (Sargant 1928, 18).

John Barber concludes:

It seems that Hawley was right, and that Richard Swann, the younger, far from being Master of Oakham School, was in fact usher of Uppingham School from 1640-44 (Barber 1983, 44).

This concentration on Richard Swan (or Swann) may seem trivial, but it is relevant to the next twist in the tale, for in *The Old Oakhamian* of 1984 John Barber published a short article in which he corrected the list of headmasters given in his 1983 *The Story of Oakham School*, itself a correction of W L Sargant's 1928 *The Book of Oakham School*. He writes:

It is a strange characteristic of research work that important facts often come to light by mere chance and when least expected; often too late for the material to be incorporated in a finished or nearly finished work... Nevertheless the new information is of such importance, particularly in the matter of the exact names and sequence of the School's earliest headmasters, that my regret in not being able to include it in the current edition of the book is offset by a great delight that it has finally solved the problem. It was an area badly documented and full of doubts and speculation... Now it is incontrovertibly clear, and the crucial evidence comes from a man who lived and held the headmastership less than one hundred years after the foundation, and who must surely have got his facts correct. Let me explain (Barber 1984, 6).

He explains that research had led him to a book written

in 1678 by Christopher Wase entitled *Considerations concerning Freeschools*, in which three documents make reference to Oakham School. Two are unimportant, but the third is a letter written by John Love (Master 1662-1702) supplying Wase with the facts and figures that he required for the book, namely the name of the Founder, the date of the foundation, the first eight Masters, the salaries of the Master and the Ushers, the School's Exhibitions at Cambridge, the Governors of the School, the name of the Registrar of Peterborough, and a note about the school library ('pleasant enough in its site, but most of the best books were rifled and stolen in the time of the rebellion' – see Barber 1984, 6). To cut to the issue, Love names the first eight Masters as: Mr Rushbrook, Mr Wallis, Mr Jeremy Whitaker, Mr Stackhouse, Dr Gill, Mr Rich Swan jnr., Mr Richard Swan snr., and Dr Freer. Based on this evidence, Barber immediately cuts Wadeson and Greene from his list, explaining that he had

faute de mieux followed W L Sargant in my list of earliest headmasters, with I might add some doubts and misgivings, especially in regards to James Wadeson and Abraham Greene, for whom I have been unable to trace the sources upon which he based his tentative assertions (Barber 1984, 6-7).

It is true that Sargant made statements, but a careful reading of his work does give a clue as to where his sources lay, but more of that later.

Then Barber explains the Swan (or Swann) mystery by indicating that both Sargant and Hawley were right, in that each had named a different Swan (or Swann) and that the evidence from Love suggests that both were in fact Masters, the father succeeding the son:

Richard Swan junior, after four years from 1640-44 as usher at Uppingham, became master of Oakham from 1644-46 when he died. He was succeeded by his aged father (a Governor and a practised schoolmaster), who himself died in 1648 and was succeeded in the following year by Dr Michael Freer (Barber 1984, 7).

It is to be remembered that these were the very confused times of the Civil War, with all its religious and social upheaval, and that temporary expedients could well have been taken by Governors occupied with other more weighty matters. Thus John Barber left it: Rushbrooke, Wallis (Wallace), Whitaker, Stackhouse, Gill, Swan jnr, Swan snr, Freer.

The solution of the Swan (or Swann) problem is very neat, and fits the facts, although there is no precise archival evidence, but was John Barber too precipitate in dropping both Wadeson and Greene based upon Love's letter to Christopher Wase? Sargant's tentative assertions almost certainly came from his reading of two sources, Archdeacon E A Irons' work on the Patent Rolls and the Close Rolls concerning the County of Rutland, and the Episcopal Visitation Book in the Peterborough Diocesan Archives, now held in the

Northamptonshire Record Office. Sargant certainly knew of the work of Irons, for he refers to his account of Robert Caudray which had appeared in the transactions of the Rutland Archaeological Society in 1916 (Sargant 1928, 13), and there can be no doubt that Sargant is using the Episcopal Visitation Book when he gives dates of births, marriages, and deaths of early Masters. Those Rolls concerned with Oakham matters record:

on 11th Feb 1586 the contention that Mr Rushbrooke had not taken the sacrament (which would have debarred him from teaching), but that he claimed to have taken it at Luffenham administered by Archdeacon Johnson;
the licensing on 20th Sept 1607 of a Master (possibly Thomas Griffen, named by Sargant as Usher 1607-16) to teach;
the burial of James Wadeson, Master of Arts and Schoolmaster, at Oakham on 20th Sept 1610;
that Abraham Greene was licensed to teach at Oakham on 10th June 1611;
that Richard Swann the Master of the School was buried on 28th Feb 1646;
that Michael Freer the Master of the School was buried on 2nd Aug 1661;
that John Love (or Lowe) became Usher in 1662 and succeeded Richard Watts as Master;
that Thomas Sumpter the Usher died on 3rd Dec 1671.

All these names and events form part of Sargant's work. So Wadeson and Greene did exist, and did teach at the school, but were they Ushers or were they Masters? In 1906 Sargant names them as Masters and not as Ushers and does so again in 1928, but this time with a question mark over Greene. Barber does the same in 1983, although his list on p215 amazingly misses out Baptist Noel Turner (a later Master), a simple error, since he writes about him on pp56-58. Barber accepted the list given by John Love on the basis that he 'must surely have got his facts correct', but Love does not refer to any written evidence for his list, and a century is perhaps long enough for the names of Wadeson and Greene to have been forgotten.

There remains one further piece of evidence. D K Shearing (1979-80) names all those schoolmasters that he could find to have taught in Rutland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He uses as sources a considerable variety of works, especially the Episcopal Visitation Book of the Peterborough Diocesan Archives, the article by F Fletcher on Schools in *VCH Rutland I* (1908, 259-301), and Nicholas Carlisle's *Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales I* (1818), as well as the findings of Christopher Wase and the Rev E A Irons. He names:

1585	Robert Rushbrooke
1585-1610	James Wadeson (or Watson)
1611	Abraham Greene
1614-23	John Wallace (Wallis)
1623-29	Jeremy Whitaker
1631-41	James Stackhouse

1642-44	Alexander Gill
1644	Richard Swann jnr
c1645	Richard Swann snr
1649-53	Michael Freere (or Frear or Fryer)
1661	Richard Watts
1662-c1700	John Love

Just to confuse matters further, in his Appendix he throws in the name of a Mr Brooks c1661. It must be made clear that here the dates refer to the first and last reference to be found in his sources, and not necessarily the precise period of their teaching or mastership. Additionally he names as Ushers:

1585	Abel Mellors
-	Thomas Ashbroke
1589-92	John Leycocke
1607-15	Thomas Griffin
c1613	John Haycocke (petty schoolmaster)
1614-16	John Newcombe
1617-20	Thomas White
1626-29	John Seaton
1631-42	Francis Clapham (or Clapton)
c1650	Vincent Alsop
1664-71	Thomas Sumpter
1671-1700	Sampson (or John) Choyse / Choice

Notably he omits Thomas Madson, named as Usher by Sargant, and they disagree over Leycocke, with Sargant naming him as William, not John. Sargant's list omits John Haycocke, and so it would appear that these names occur not by Shearing's reference to Sargant's list (although he knew of it, since he makes a reference to the history) but from alternative corroborating sources.

So, a new name is thrown into the lists – a Mr Brooks in 1661, briefly. Michael Freer had died in 1661 and Richard Watts took over in that year but died in 1662, to be followed by John Love, who had been appointed Usher in 1659: so there might have been room for a very short-term additional Master called Brooks in 1661. But we have no evidence, and this person may well have been just a short-term Usher, not the Master, or even teaching at some other, unknown, educational establishment in Oakham.

Then there is a second newcomer, a Mr Montague, who crops up due to the research of Roger Anderson (an Old Oakhamian) into Oakham School undergraduates at Cambridge, where the admission of Christopher Hill to Sidney Sussex College names Montague as Master in 1635; but since this is during the certain mastership of James Stackhouse perhaps this name ought to be discounted as being that of an Usher responsible for scholarship boys, or at the most as a very temporary Master replacement during a possible illness of Stackhouse, or a simple clerical error.

So what can be concluded? From all the above, the following list could be argued as being the best fit for Oakham School's Masters (to 1875) and Headmasters (from 1875).

Masters and Headmasters 1584 to date

1	1584-87	Robert Rushbrooke (or Rushebrooke)
2	1587-1610	James Wadeson, MA
3	1611	Abraham Greene
4	1612-23	Dr John Wallace (or Wallis), MA, MD
5	1623-29	Jeremy (or Jeremiah) Whitaker, MA
6	1629-42	James Stackhouse, MA
7	1642-44	Dr Alexander Gill, DD, MA
8	1644-46	Richard Swann (or Swan) jnr., MA
9	1646-48	Richard Swann (or Swan) snr., MA
10	1649-61	Dr Michael Freer (or Freere), MA, MD
11	1661-62	Richard Watts, MA
12	1662-1702	John Love, MA

Following them, and not in dispute, are:

13	1702-24	Henry Wright, MA
14	1724-52	John Adcock, MA (OO)
-	1752-53	Thomas Ball MA (Acting Head)
15	1753-58	William Powell, MA
16	1758-69	Enoch Markham, MA
17	1769-78	Baptist Noel Turner, MA (OO)
18	1778-96	Dr Thomas Orme, DD, MA
19	1796-1808	John Bradford, BA
20	1808-46	Dr John Doncaster, DD, MA (OO)
21	1846-75	Dr William Spicer Wood, DD, MA
22	1875-78	Robert Tabraham, BA
-	1878	H W Fitch, MA (Acting Head)
23	1879-1902	Edward Vere Hodge, MA
24	1902-29	Walter Lee Sargant, MA
25	1929-34	Francis Docherty, MBE, MA
26	1935-57	Grosvenor Talbot Griffith, MA
27	1958-77	John David Buchanan, MBE, MA
28	1977-84	Oliver Richard Sylvester Bull, MA
-	1985	Michael Stevens, MA (Acting Head)
29	1985-96	Graham Smallbone, MBE, MA
30	1996-2002	Anthony Richard Morrell Little, MA
31	2002-09	Joseph Arthur Francis Spence, BA, PhD
32	2009-	Nigel Mark Lashbrook, BA

The Masters and their backgrounds

So who were these first twenty-one Masters of Oakham School? In the main the sixteenth and seventeenth century Masters remain very shadowy characters about whom little is known. RONALD RUSHBROOK (or Rushebrooke) was a pronounced Puritan, much in line with the views of the Founder; JAMES WADESON was an MA from St John's College, Cambridge; of ABRAHAM GREENE nothing is known; JOHN WALLIS (or Wallace) was an MA of Sidney College, Cambridge, from where he gained his doctorate in divinity, who moved to Oakham from teaching at the Grammar School in Melton Mowbray.

JEREMY WHITAKER was a Yorkshireman born in Wakefield, educated at Wakefield Grammar School, who went up to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge (where he was a contemporary and friend of Oliver Cromwell) and graduated BA 1619 and MA 1623) and was the last Master to be appointed in the lifetime of the Founder. He was ordained P at Peterborough 1623, becoming C at Egleton near Oakham before his

appointment as Master. In 1629 on resigning as Master he became R of Stretton, while remaining a Governor of the school until his death. He was a strong Puritan and was supported by Puritan patrons (the Cecil family of Burghley, Sir John Pickering and Robert Horsman). He read a weekly lecture in Oakham, preached often in neighbouring parishes and was a regular attender of private godly prayer meetings, according to his biographer Simeon Ashe. His Puritan outlook led him to fall foul of church authorities, for instance in 1628 when he was accused of conspiring with a parishioner to omit the sign of the cross in baptism, and Ashe claims that he played a prominent part in resisting royal policy in the 1630s by refusing to read the anti-sabbatarian Book of Sports (1633), conscientiously objecting to paying the clerical contribution to fund the bishops' wars (1639), and preaching twice on Sundays, which was against the practice of the Caroline church. In August 1640 he was one of the leaders of a conference of Puritan ministers at Kettering which declared the etcetera oath (legitimising the new Laudian canons) illegal and endorsed the invasion of the Scottish army as a means of attaining a common redress of grievances. In 1641 he subscribed to a petition calling for a missionary effort to convert Native Americans. In 1643 he signed the plea *Certain Considerations* which sought an end to the foundation of separatist churches. The same year he was chosen as a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, convened to produce a new religious settlement, serving on one of the crucial standing committees. As a now high profile Presbyterian he preached often at parliamentary fasts 1643-48, in one of which (*The Danger of Greatness*) he attributed the violent deaths of successive kings of Judah to their preference for arbitrary government, a veiled threat to the monarch, Charles I, who in fact was executed in 1649. Yet he was not a parliamentarian since he refused to swear allegiance to the republic, but even so remained on good terms with the Lord Protector Cromwell. In 1620 he had married Chephzibah, daughter of William Peachey, the puritan incumbent at Oakham; they had two sons, Jeremiah and William. Whitaker died in 1654 at Bermondsey where he is buried (J Fielding, *Oxford DNB*).

JAMES STACKHOUSE was another Yorkshireman, probably educated at Giggleswick School before going up to Christ's College, Cambridge. It is possible that he was Headmaster of Kettering Grammar School before moving to Oakham School and dying of the plague in August 1642.

The next Master, ALEXANDER GILL, initially of Trinity, then of Wadham College, Oxford (BA 1616, MA 1619), but later at Trinity College, Cambridge (BD 1627, DD 1637), was the son of the High

Master of St Paul's School in London and succeeded his father in that position in 1635. His teaching career had started at Thomas Farnaby's School in London before he became under-usher at St Paul's in 1622. His puritanical religious views brought him into conflict with William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and when in 1628, drinking in the cellar of Trinity College, Oxford, he disparaged both Charles I and James I, he gave the opportunity to Laud to have him arrested. With incriminating libels and letters being found in a friend's room in college, the Star Chamber sentenced Gill to be degraded from the ministry, dismissed from St Paul's, deprived of his university degrees, and fined £2000. He was also sentenced to lose one ear in the pillory at Westminster and the other in a pillory at Oxford, and to be imprisoned in the Fleet. Only the intercession of his father prevented him from losing his ears, being stripped of his degrees, and having to pay his fine, and after two years in prison he received a royal pardon in 1630. He had lost his teaching post at St Paul's but continued teaching there unofficially, and was appointed High Master in 1635 on his father's death. But he did not see eye to eye with the governors, who took the opportunity to dismiss him in 1639 when a student, John Bennett, alleged that he had been bullied (lifted up by the jaws, beaten, and kicked around the school). Gill, just as his father, had gained a reputation for a savage temper and fondness for corporal punishment, together with – it was alleged – drunkenness and absenteeism. His appeal against dismissal was rejected, despite the support of Archbishop Laud. So it was surprising that he gained the mastership at Oakham, but he owed his appointment in 1642 to the locally powerful Noel family (Baptist Noel, third Viscount Campden, was a good friend), but he died in London in the spring of 1643. He published Latin and Greek verse in a collection entitled *Parerga* in 1632, affirming his loyalty to king and church; Milton, who had been a friend of his at university, praised his efforts for their poetic majesty and Virgilian genius (G Campbell, *Oxford DNB*).

Of the two RICHARD SWANNs all that is known, other than that they were Cambridge MAs, is that the son was an Usher at Uppingham School 1640-44 and that as shown above he was succeeded by his father, a local clergyman. MICHAEL FREER, MA, MD, who took over the headmastership for the rest of the Commonwealth period, had been ejected very recently from his Fellowship at Queens' College, Cambridge, probably on account of his puritanical religious views, and found a safe haven in Oakham before dying and being buried there in 1661. RICHARD WATTS, MA, had attended Pembroke

College, Cambridge, but survived only a year; his successor, JOHN LOVE, MA, studied at St John's, Cambridge, having been educated in Grantham along with Isaac Newton, graduated from Cambridge 1659, became Usher at Oakham immediately on coming down that year, and took over as Master in 1662 where he remained until he died in 1702.

Somewhat more is known of the eighteenth century Masters. HENRY WRIGHT had been appointed as John Love's assistant in 1701 through the good offices of Daniel Finch, the Earl of Nottingham, a school Governor as well as Secretary of State under William III and builder of Burley on the Hill, and succeeded to the mastership in 1702; he had matriculated from Christ Church, Oxford (the first Master not to have been to Cambridge), having been educated at Westminster School. The appointment of JOHN ADCOCK, MA, in 1724 on the death of Henry Wright was made unanimously by the Governors on 17th September; Adcock himself was an Old Oakhamian who had attended St John's College, Cambridge, and had been a Fellow there from 1718-22. Sargant summarises his headmastership with the words:

That Adcock was a worthy student of Wright there can be no doubt, for the School reached its highest pitch of prosperity under him, but he lacked the power of his Master to turn out scholars and teachers (Sargant 1928, 26).

Once again there was a death in office in 1752, and there was a short gap (filled by the Usher Mr Ball) before WILLIAM POWELL, MA, an Exhibitioner of Magdalene College, Cambridge, was appointed in 1753 and remained in post until he resigned in 1758 'after a period of some uncertainty and little distinction' (Barber 1983, 56), dying that same year. He was succeeded in 1758 by ENOCH MARKHAM, MA, of Christ Church, Oxford, who hailed from the south-west of Ireland, and whose teaching was responsible for six of his old pupils gaining Fellowships at Cambridge, although his time at Oakham is most noted for his work in continuing to adapt the Old Hospital for boarding accommodation.

BAPTIST NOEL TURNER, MA, about whom was written an article in John Nichols' *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century* (Nichols 1817-58, VI, 140-94) was another Old Oakhamian to become headmaster when he succeeded Markham in 1769; he was the son of the rector of Wing in Rutland and an Exhibitioner at St John's College, Cambridge, becoming a Fellow at Emmanuel. However, he is described by Nichols with the comment that teaching was 'not congenial to his habits and disposition'. The school went into academic decline, and after nine undistinguished years Turner resigned his post in

1778 to succeed his father as R of Wing before dying in London at the age of 86.

The Governors had little hesitation in 1778 in appointing the Usher, Dr THOMAS ORME, DD, MA, educated at Repton School and St John's, Cambridge, to the headmastership; amongst his students was one John Doncaster, destined to become Oakham's first great headmaster; in 1796 Orme resigned to become headmaster of the King Edward VI Grammar School at Louth (the first Oakham headmaster to move on to another school), dying suddenly in 1814. JOHN BRADFORD, BA, an Oxford man from Christ Church, replaced Orme in 1796 until his own resignation in 1808.

While the previous nineteen Masters up to the end of the eighteenth century may be seen as somewhat shadowy characters, with little really known about them, Dr JOHN DONCASTER, DD, MA is an entirely different matter. As a schoolboy at Oakham's Speech Day in 1788 he had delivered part of Pericles' *Funeral Oration*; he went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, as sizar, but migrated to Christ's College with a scholarship in 1791, taking his degree three years later as 13th Wrangler (a student placed in the first class of the mathematical tripos) and first Chancellor's Medallist, becoming a Fellow of his college in 1796 and a Doctor of Divinity in 1816. He married Elizabeth Wright in 1816 and, on her early death, a Miss Nettleship in 1843, but his only child died in boyhood. He was a short sturdy man, normally dressed in knee breeches with grey worsted stockings or gaiters, broad buckled shoes, and a doctor's shovel-hat. Sargant writes:

This was the man who returned to his old school at the age of thirty-six, with University honours and University experience, to give it fresh life, and to set a mark on it which it has never quite lost (Sargant 1928, 31).

John Doncaster, then, was a huge force for good, although it has to be admitted that numbers fell off in his later years. Sargant writes:

Dr Doncaster was of a retiring disposition. No portrait of him exists, no memorial at the School to remind us of his zeal for religion and for learning; indeed, it is said that he begged that no testimonial should be given him when he left. Yet his personality was so marked that he remained to the end of the century a living character in the imagination of the inhabitants of Oakham, and the beloved Master of his old pupils (Sargant 1928, 37).

Dr WILLIAM SPICER WOOD, DD, MA, took over in 1846 and remained until 1875, the last Master before the school's reorganisation, but he is less well remembered than his predecessor for far less is known about him. At Cambridge he had had a brilliant career (4th Classicist and 7th Wrangler) and was elected Fellow of his college, St John's, before

marrying and taking up the mastership at Oakham, gaining his doctorate while in post. It is interesting to note that just six months before being appointed to Oakham he had been unsuccessful in his application to be Master at Uppingham, but by just one vote. All seemed to be going well at Oakham under his mastership until the conflict created by the Endowed Schools' Commission (set up to reorganise the provision of education in England at a time when there were no state maintained schools) and the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 which called into question the whole future of the school. Bluntly, the Commission came up with the idea that Uppingham School (under its soon-to-be-famous headmaster Edward Thring) was to become the senior school in Rutland and that Oakham was to be relegated to being a school for the working and middle classes, if it continued to exist at all, or perhaps as a preparatory school to Uppingham. The eventual outcome was that Oakham School did continue to exist, just, as a separate entity, but it had been a savage fight with the authorities (and Thring), and Wood retired exhausted in 1875 with a pension of £275 a year compared to the £300 he had been earning, becoming R of Higham (Kent) and Rural Dean of Gravesend, dying in 1902 and being buried in Oakham.

The Ushers

As mentioned above, the task of teaching in the Old School lay with the Master and one (or occasionally two) helpers, known as Ushers. The Usher was paid a stipend, half that of the Master, with an additional £3 as sub-Warden of the Hospital, earning just £15 in 1584. According to the 1587 Charter, the school's Usher was selected by the Governors from two names submitted to them by the Master, and as such had to be licensed to teach by the Bishop of Peterborough; most, then, were clergymen, since the bishop would only grant a licence to ordained men, and many went on to headmasterships or rectorships.

The school's first Usher, named in the 1587 Charter, was ABEL MELLORS, who appears to have been employed by Archdeacon Johnson in some teaching capacity in his Luffenham parish from 1580, but of whom nothing else is known (but there is a Covell Mellors, who graduated from Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1578 – maybe Abel and Covell are one and the same); but he appears to have given way fairly soon to THOMAS ASHBROOKE, who had been teaching in an educational establishment in Oakham before Johnson's new 1584 foundation, who was possibly at Oxford (where such a person graduated and became a schoolmaster at around this time), and who was buried in Oakham in 1605. Before then both THOMAS MADESON and WILLIAM (or perhaps John, as noted above) LEYCOCK, a BA from Trinity and

Clare Colleges at Cambridge, had appeared on the scene, in 1589, and so it is to be presumed that Ashbrooke had retired by that date and that either Madeson or Leycock was simply a temporary appointment, for surely the small pupil numbers did not admit of more than two teachers. William Leycock had been ordained D 1585 and P 1586 at Peterborough, was R of Knossington in 1588 and C at Oakham, and was Master of North Luffenham School, and so it is likely that if ever he did teach at Oakham School it was only for a very short period, or possibly even part-time taking some form of religious education as the parish curate.

THOMAS GRIFFIN, possibly of King's College, Cambridge, was licensed to teach at Oakham in 1607 and appears to have lasted until 1615, also serving as curate; JOHN NEWCOMBE, BA, perhaps of Magdalene College, Cambridge, is named in 1614, but he died in 1616; then THOMAS WHITE, perhaps of Clare College, Cambridge, was appointed in 1617. The next known Usher is Old Oakhamian JOHN SEATON, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, possibly a nephew of the Founder, who took his BA 1623-24 and MA 1627; of him W L Sargent says:

John Seaton seems to have succeeded [Jeremy] Whitaker as Curate at Egleton and to have been appointed usher when he [Whitaker] was made Master. This makes it the more probable that Whitaker had acted as usher for one or two years. Seaton appears to have shared the advanced puritanical views of the Master, for we hear of him as Usher under the learned and famous Puritan Master at Felsted, and as an uncomfortable minister in Essex (Sargent 1928, 15).

Seaton was ordained D 1623, and P 1625, taking a curacy at Egleton from 1623-29. It is thought that Seaton left Oakham at the same time as Whitaker, 1629, and became a non-conforming minister in Essex (and possibly an Usher at Felsted School), followed by teaching posts at Islip and Thrapston (Northants), dying there in 1684.

In 1630 FRANCIS CLAPHAM, a Yorkshire neighbour of the new Master, James Stackhouse, was appointed. Clapham was an MA from Christ's College, Cambridge, probably having been educated at Giggleswick, and was one of the few early Ushers to stay for a lengthy period, marrying twice in Oakham and having a numerous family before he retired for reasons of health on a pension in 1654, dying as R of Langtoft two years later. He served, then, under five Masters, and it is to be wondered why he was not offered the mastership rather than the two Swanns (both Richard, son and father) and Dr Michael Freer.

It was not until 1655 that the next Usher appears, VINCENT ALSOP, who had been baptised in 1630 at South Collingham (Notts), where his father George

was rector, and had been educated at Uppingham School. He was admitted sizar to St John's, Cambridge, 1647 and matriculated 1648, gaining an MA; he had married Elizabeth the daughter of the vicar of Oakham, the Rev Benjamin King, in 1657; his father-in-law seems to have converted him to strong Puritanical views. He became C of Langham and became famous as a preacher, ministering to the congregation that built the Chapel now known as the Queen Anne Building in the school, and departed in 1659 to a troubled time as a parish clergyman, given his by then non-fashionable Puritan convictions. He became R of Wilby (Northants) in 1662 but was ejected the same year, serving six months in gaol in Northampton for praying with a sick person, presumably without episcopal licence, and finally gaining a licence under the Declaration of Indulgence to minister in his own house at Geddington (Northants), before becoming minister of Tothill Street in Westminster from 1677 until his death in 1703. He had gained the Tothill position because of the admiration of the then minister, the puritan Thomas Cawton, for Alsop's *Anti-Sozzo*, a 1675 tract against the Socinianism or anti-Trinitarianism of the doctrines of William Sherlock, and for his plea of 1679 in *Melius Inquirendum* for religious tolerance for non-conformism, in alliance even with Independents, Quakers and Baptists. This approach, which opposed the primacy of the Anglican Church, was attacked by Edward Stillingfleet's *Mischief of Separation* in 1680, to which Alsop riposted in 1680 with his own *Mischief of Impositions*.

Alsop was one of the strong supporters of the Declaration of Indulgence granted by the Catholic King James II, drafting the humble address of support to the monarch, which helped to gain forgiveness for Alsop's son, Benjamin, for his participation in the Monmouth Rebellion. Alsop supported the union between the Independents and the Presbyterians in 1691, but he resigned from that support in 1694 over a divergence of doctrinal views. However, he remained at the forefront of Presbyterian dissent, and in 1694 participated in the first public ordination among dissenters in London since 1662. This work of Alsop has gained him the title of being the real emancipator of Restoration dissent (William Lamont, *Oxford DNB*).

Alsop's place at Oakham was taken by JOHN LOVE, a graduate of St John's, Cambridge. He took his MA 1662, the same year that he succeeded Richard Watts as Oakham School's Master, which brought in THOMAS SUMPTER as the new Usher, of whom Sargent writes:

Thomas Sumpter, who was appointed Usher in place of Love, was also the son of a Leicestershire farmer. After a schooling of seven years at Church Langton, Glooston

and Market Harborough, he was admitted to Caius College [Cambridge] as sizar. He gained a Scholarship the following year, which he held for six years until he was appointed Usher at Oakham, where he remained until his death in 1671 (Sargent 1928, 20).

Sumpter had been at Caius College, Cambridge, in 1656, took his BA 1661-62 and MA 1665; he was ordained D 1663 and P 1664, both at Peterborough, becoming C at Brooke in Rutland. Sargent continues:

After Sumpter's death Sampson Choice was elected Usher. From Uppingham he had proceeded as Exhibitioner to Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1668. He came to Oakham immediately on taking his degree. Here he worked until 1700 when, 'having suffered for a long time under a severe and chargeable distemper', he retired on a small pension of £10 a year, although he remained Usher in name (Sargent 1928, 20).

SAMPSON CHOICE was the son of John Choice, had been born at Uppingham and went to school there, matriculated at Cambridge, was ordained D 1675 and P 1681 at Peterborough, and served as C of Langham (1683-99) and Eggleton (1692-99); he died in 1716. The next Usher was another who went on to be Oakham School's Master, HENRY WRIGHT, of Christ Church, Oxford, who was appointed as Assistant Usher (Choice was still officially Usher until his death in 1716) in 1701 and who succeeded Love as Master in 1702.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century NATHANIEL WESTON, an Old Oakhamian, was employed as Usher (or Usher's Assistant) straight from his schooldays, and in 1702 went up to St John's College, Cambridge, aged 18; he took his BA 1705-06 and MA 1715; he was ordained D at Peterborough Cathedral 1706 and P 1707; while C at Normanton he returned to Oakham as Usher until 1711; he served as R of Normanton 1718-21, V of Empingham 1718-35, V of Exton 1721-30, R of Pickwell 1729-34, V of Chipping Campden (Glos) 1734-43, V of Whitwell and R of Northampton 1743-50, dying in 1750.

WILLIAM CRAMP is named by Sargent as an Usher or Assistant in 1712, but no more is known of him. Another Old Oakhamian, JOHN BASSE, born in Brentingby (Leics), matriculated at Clare College, Cambridge, in 1706 or possibly 1707, took his BA 1710-11, was ordained D at Peterborough 1711, received his MA 1715, was ordained P at Peterborough 1715, was a Fellow of Clare 1714-16, and was C at Eggleton, and so it looks as though he was a short-term Usher / Assistant c1711-16.

Yet another Old Oakhamian (and also of Stamford Endowed Schools), JOHN GOODHALL, born in Hambleton, Rutland, to Andrew Goodhall, was a pensioner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1715-16, and migrated as a scholar to Sidney, Cambridge,

in 1716; he is recorded as matriculating 1713 and taking his BA 1716 or 1717, and his MA 1721, but there are no other details of his time at Cambridge; he was ordained D at Peterborough 1717, becoming C of Egleton; Sargant records him as an Usher at Oakham in 1717 until he went to be headmaster of Lincoln Grammar School and Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral 1736-42; he died in 1742.

Sargant next names WILLIAM HUBBARD as Usher in 1719; he was born at Melton Mowbray, matriculated at Clare College, Cambridge, in 1715, took his BA 1718-19, and was ordained D at Lincoln Cathedral 1719 and P at Peterborough 1720; he was C at Teigh in 1719 and of Langham in 1720; it looks as though he remained at Oakham School until 1734 before becoming Master of Uppingham School 1734-47.

Hubbard's position at Oakham was taken on by CULPEPPER TANNER, another Old Oakhamian; he was born at Easton (Northants), had been admitted sizar to Emmanuel, Cambridge, in 1720, took his BA 1723-24, was ordained D at Peterborough 1724, and P 1726; he became C of Ridlington in 1724, and it is likely that he was admitted at Gray's Inn in 1730 before becoming Usher in 1734; he married Elizabeth while at Oakham, and had a son, but nothing is known of his length of service at Oakham, nor of his career afterwards.

His successor, THOMAS BALL, born in Kingsclere (Hants), matriculated at New College, Oxford, 1740, aged 18, and took his BA 1744; he is annotated in Fisher's Oxford lists as a cleric, and Sargant records him as Usher from 1745. Perhaps he remained at Oakham until 1759, for it is then that PHILIP PARSONS is named as Usher; he was the son of William Parsons, an attorney of Dedham (Essex), where he was born; he went to school at Lavenham (Suffolk) before being admitted sizar at Sidney, Cambridge, 1747; he matriculated 1748, took his BA 1752, and was ordained D at Lincoln 1752 and P by the Bishop of Chester at Cambridge 1754; in 1761 he became Perpetual Curate and schoolmaster at Rye in 1761 until his death in 1812, absorbing the rectorship of Snave (Kent) in 1775 and Eastwell in 1776, the same year that he took his MA; he was domestic chaplain to Lewis Thomas Monson, Baron Sondes; he was an author of various theological works, as well as an amateur archaeologist, recording the monuments in over a hundred churches in eastern Kent.

His place at Oakham School had been taken briefly by JOHN FANCOURT (son of William Fancourt of Lyddington), another Old Oakhamian. He had gone up to St John's, Cambridge, in 1760 but migrated to Hertford College, Oxford, in 1762, taking his BA 1766, before returning to St John's, Cambridge, to take his MA 1769. He was C at Exton

and of Teigh in 1767 and of Stretton in 1768, while being recorded as Usher at Oakham School 1762-70 before becoming Master of Uppingham 1771-77. It appears that he returned to reside in Oakham from May to September in 1777. He had become V of Stow (Lincs) in 1772 and C of Bisbrooke (Rutland) in 1774.

In 1771 THOMAS ORME had succeeded as Usher; born in 1744, he was the son of Thomas Orme, husbandman of Ashby-de-la-Zouch (Leics), and educated at Repton before matriculating at St John's College, Cambridge, 1764, taking his BA 1767, MA 1770, and doctorate 1793. He had been ordained D at Lincoln 1767 and P 1769, becoming C of Woodwalton (Hunts) 1767-70, C of Exton 1770-78, V of South Scarle (Notts) 1772-1806, V of North Leverton 1775-77, and V of Barholme with Stow (Lincs) 1777-1814. He was the Usher at Oakham School from 1771 and succeeded to the mastership in 1778 where he remained until 1796 before moving on to become Headmaster of Louth Grammar School 1796-1814. He had married Anne, daughter of Charmell Cave of Burrough-on-the-Hill (Leics), became a Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral, and died in 1814, aged 70, being buried in St James' Church, Louth.

Orme appointed WILLIAM TREMENHEERE as Usher in (according to Sargant) 1779; William was the eldest son of William Tremenheere, an attorney of Penzance (Cornwall), born 1757, and matriculated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1776, taking his BA 1779, but delaying his MA until 1830. In Venn he is recorded as being Usher at Oakham School 1778-85, and was ordained D at Peterborough 1780, taking the curacy of Exton in 1781. Later in his career he was a chaplain in the Royal Navy, chaplain to the Viscount Torrington, V of Madron with Morval (Cornwall) 1812-38, dying (unmarried) in 1838. He published a volume of his sermons and *Verses on the Victory of Trafalgar and the Death of Lord Viscount Nelson*, and erected a monument to himself in Madron Church; he is caricatured as vicar of Overton in J A Paris' *Philosophy of Sport* (1827).

The next three Ushers named by Sargant are all Old Oakhamians: George Osborne, Edward Twentyman, and Richard Williams. GEORGE OSBORNE is recorded by Sargant as having been at Merton College, Oxford, taking his BA 1786 and his MA from Clare, Cambridge, 1799 and as having been Usher at Oakham 1785-91 and R of Hasebeach 1822-39, but he does not appear under that name in Fisher. The Cambridge list does have a Rev George Osborne (son of the rector of Godmanstone, Dorset) at Clare, having taken his BA from Merton College, Oxford, 1786 and migrating to Clare 1782; he was ordained D at Peterborough 1787 and P 1796; he served as C of

Teigh 1796-1802, as V of Whissendine 1802-03, R of Stainby with Gunby (Lincs) 1803-25, V of Twyford with Hungarton (Leics) 1809-21, and R of Hazelbeeche (Northants) 1822-39. He married Mary Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William Latham, of Eltham, had two sons (George and Philip), and died 1839. In these times of multiple benefices, it is quite possible that this is the same cleric as the one who was Warden of the Hospital of St John the Evangelist and St Anne (founded by William Dalby in 1399) in Oakham 1800-21 (Parkin 2000, 23), for John Love (Master 1662-1702) had been Warden 1685-1702 and Thomas Ball (Usher 1745-58) was appointed Warden in 1752.

EDWARD TWENTYMAN was born at Roxbury (Northumberland) and was admitted sizar at Clare College, Cambridge, 1785, advancing to scholar status and taking his BA 1790 and MA 1793, becoming a Fellow 1791. He was Usher at Oakham School 1791-1802, and later was V of Elmsett (Suffolk) 1812-16, although he died at Oakham (presumably on a visit) in 1816.

Finally of the trio came RICHARD WILLIAMS, Usher from 1802-10; he was the son of the Rev Richard Williams, V of Oakham, and went up to St John's, Cambridge, as sizar 1796; he took his BA 1802 and his MA 1806; he was ordained D at Peterborough 1801 and P 1802, taking on a curacy at both Oakham and Langham in 1801, before becoming V of Enderby with Whetstone (Leics) 1803-15 and succeeding his father as V of Oakham 1896-15, dying there in 1815.

Recruitment next came from Oxford; WILLIAM COOPER TAYLOR, son of Joseph Cooper of Bristol, matriculated at St Edmund Hall, Oxford, 1792, aged 19, took his BA 1796, his MA 1799, was Usher at Oakham School 1810-15, was ordained, and died in 1859. But he was the last from Oxford, with all succeeding Ushers until 1875 coming from Cambridge. ANTHONY GORDON was the son of a gentleman of Pimlico of the same name, was born in Chelsea and was educated at St Paul's School; he matriculated at Trinity College 1812, aged 16, as an exhibitioner, took his BA 1816 and MA 1833; he was Usher at Oakham School 1815-19, was ordained P in London 1822, was chaplain of Trinity College 1838-58, but then disappears from the Clergy List in 1859, and nothing more is known.

The eldest son of the Rev William Hamilton Warren, and born in Greenstead (Essex) in 1796, ZACHARIAH SHRAPNEL WARREN was educated at Oakham (1808-12) under the Master Dr Doncaster, was admitted as a pensioner at Sidney College 1812, matriculated 1814, took his BA 1818 and MA 1821. He was Usher at Oakham School in 1819 and was ordained D at Salisbury 1819 and P at Peterborough 1820. He was C of Oakham in 1820 and of Abingdon

and Hardingstone (Northants) in 1820, then of Burton Bishop (Yorks), before becoming V of Dorrington (Lincs) 1823-61 and of Ancaster (Lincs) 1841-61, while finding time to be Headmaster of Beverley School 1828-42. He married Maria, the daughter of the Rev John Lamb, R of Stretton, fathered John in 1848, and died in 1861.

He was succeeded by FREDERICK EDWARD GRETTON, the youngest son of George Gretton, the Dean of Hereford, born 1803 and educated at Shrewsbury School before being admitted as a pensioner at St John's 1821, matriculating 1822 as a scholar, taking his BA 1826 as 7th Classicist, his MA 1829, and being elected Fellow that same year. Ordained D at Gloucester 1827 and P at Peterborough 1818, he was Usher at Oakham School 1829-33 while holding curacies at Great Casterton and Tickencote, before becoming Headmaster of Stamford School 1833-72. During that period he was R of St Mary's at Stamford 1847-64 and gained prominence as the Select Preacher at Cambridge 1861-62. On retirement from Stamford School he served as R of Oddington (Glos) 1872-90, dying there in 1890.

Next came seven Ushers, each of whom served for just a year or two or even less. WILLIAM BUNTING TATE was the son of the Rev William Tate, chaplain of the Royal Naval College in Portsmouth; but he was born in London and went to school at Sherborne before matriculating as Bell Scholar at Trinity 1826, taking his BA 1830 and MA 1833; then he was Usher at Oakham for just a year 1833-34 before becoming V of Nether Wallop (Hants) 1834-51, dying in 1851. The next Usher also served for just one year, 1834-35, although he was a schoolmaster of note; the eldest son of Samuel Welldon of Great St Mary's parish in Cambridge, born 1811, JAMES IND WELDON was educated at Dedham in Essex, matriculated at St John's 1830, took his BA as 30th Wrangler and 5th Classicist 1834, became a Fellow 1835, and gained his MA 1837. Then he was admitted *ad eundem* at Oxford in 1845, where he was awarded his DCL. He had been ordained D at Rochester 1836, and P at Lichfield 1838, becoming C of St Giles at Shrewsbury and Second Master at Shrewsbury School 1838-43. From there he moved on to become Headmaster of Tonbridge School 1843-75, from where he retired to become V of Kennington (Kent) 1875-96, being appointed Honorary Canon of Canterbury 1875-96. He was married twice: first to Anne, daughter of William Oliver of Baldock, in 1836 but she died in 1839; second to Elinor, daughter of Michael Turney of Putney, in 1844. He had one son and died 1896.

While there is no Rutland evidence, it is likely that WILLIAM EDWARD SCUDAMORE was Usher for a short period around 1835-39; born in 1813 he was the

only son of Dr Edward Scudamore, was educated in Brussels, Edinburgh and Lichfield, entered St John's, Cambridge 1831, took his BA as 9th Wrangler 1835, was admitted a Fellow of St John's 1837, and took his MA 1838. Then it is recorded in *Oxford DNB* (T Seccombe, rev G M Murphy) that he was an assistant master at Oakham School for 'a short time', before going to Minto in Roxburghshire as tutor to the family of Gilbert Eliot, the second Earl of Minto, being ordained P 1839 and presented to the living of Ditchingham (Norfolk). Here he married Albina and devoted his time to parish work (which had been much neglected in the previous 90 years by non-resident rectors), restoring the parish church, building a school, raising subscriptions for a chapel-at-ease, supporting a penitentiary which included a hospital and orphanage managed by the Sisters of Mercy, and writing devotional works and church history (*Notitia Eucharistica, Essay on the Office of the Intellect in Religion, Letter to a Seceder from the Church of England to the Communion of Rome, Steps to the Altar, Devotions for the Blessed Eucharist, Plain Words on Absolutism, and The North Side of the Table*, among other works). He died and was buried at Ditchingham in 1881.

Of RICHARD WILSON who was Usher 1835-39 nothing certain is known; Sargant records him as graduating from St John's, and the only candidate appears to be a Richard Wilson, son of Robert Wilson, a surgeon of Leeds, educated at Leeds Grammar School, who went up to St John's 1829, taking his BA as 5th Classicist 1833; then he migrated to Trinity and took his MA 1839 (which fits well with the possibility of being at Oakham earning a living and gaining teaching experience 1835-39) before being ordained D at Canterbury 1840. Then he was appointed Second Master at Leeds Grammar School 1841-56 (and so presumably had had previous teaching experience, probably at Oakham). Finally he took private pupils at 64 St Andrew's Street, Cambridge, and died 1890.

Of ALFRED LEEMAN being Usher at Oakham School 1839-41 we are certain, although Venn names him as Second Master (a position that did not exist at that time, at least formally). Born 1816 in London, son of William, he was educated at Louth, matriculated as a scholar at St John's, Cambridge, 1835, took his BA 1839, and MA 1842; he was ordained D at Winchester 1841 and P at St Albans a huge four decades later in 1881. In the meantime he was Headmaster of St Paul's School, Southsea, 1841-43 and of Aldenham School 1843-76. He married Eliza Ann, daughter of Charles Tyler of Monmouth, in 1842, served as C of Buckhurst Hill (Essex) from 1881, and died there in 1895. CHARLES THOMAS PENROSE was Usher for two years, 1841-43, before

becoming Headmaster of Grosvenor College, Bath, 1844-46, and of Sherborne School 1846-55. He was the second son of the Rev John Penrose of Bracebridge (Lincs), being born in Bracebridge in 1816, and was educated at Rugby. He went up to Trinity, Cambridge, 1835, became a Bell Scholar, took his BA as 2nd Classicist 1839 and MA 1842, won a rowing Blue 1839 and was ordained D at Lincoln 1839. Venn names him as Usher at Oakham School in 1844, but it is likely that Sargant is more accurate with his dates of 1841-43, although the period may have been 1841-44. He retired to North Hykeham (Lincs), serving as perpetual curate, and died in 1868.

Last of this group comes JOHN BICKNELL, son of John, and born at Colchester (Essex) in 1821. He went up as sizar to Trinity, Cambridge, 1839, took his BA 1843 and MA 1846; he was ordained D at Peterborough 1844 and P 1845, becoming C at Oakham 1844-48 and of Langham 1849-50, as well as serving as chaplain of the Oakham County Gaol 1844-48. His time as Usher at Oakham School seems to have been just 1843-44, and there is a gap in his record from 1850 until his time as V of St Saviour's in Highbury (Middx) 1866-99. He married Charlotte, daughter of John Ellington, the surgeon or doctor at Oakham, in 1847, retired in 1899 to Staplehurst near Worthing (Sussex), and died in Worthing in 1913, aged 92.

Finally come two long-serving Ushers, Timothy Byers (1844-64) and Patricius Gray Skipworth (1864-75). Born 1819 at Darlington and educated there, TIMOTHY BYERS was admitted as a pensioner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1840, but migrated to Christ's College as a scholar, taking his BA 1844, MA 1847, BD 1860, and DD 1870. He was ordained D 1845 and P at Peterborough 1846, serving as chaplain of the Oakham County Gaol 1848-65. Moving from Oakham in 1865 he served as V of Leake (Lincs) until 1874, and then disappears from Crockford in 1876. Venn lists the next incumbent, PATRICIUS GREY SKIPWORTH, as Second Master (still not a formal position at the school), and admittedly he was one of the first Ushers to have had previous teaching experience, having been at Lincoln Grammar School 1859-60 and at the Royal School in Armagh 1860-65. He was born in 1836, the son of Philip Skipworth, and attended Tonbridge School before matriculating as a pensioner at Emmanuel, Cambridge, 1854. He took his BA 1858 and MA 1865; he was ordained D in Armagh 1862 and P 1863. On leaving Oakham in 1875 (made redundant, having been given three months' notice and a small pension by the Trustees, given the very low numbers in the school at the time) he became C of Cold Overton (Leics) 1872-74 and of Burrough-on-the-Hill (also Leics) 1874-75 before returning to education as

headmaster of Rishworth Grammar School (Yorks) 1875-78. Then he reverted to his clerical role, becoming V of Bonby (Lincs) from 1878 until his death in 1884. He married twice: first Fanny, daughter of John Shaw of Attercliffe in Sheffield, in 1869, who presumably died, and secondly Eda Eleanor, daughter of William Slater of Moseley (Worcs), in 1882.

Perhaps there is one final Usher before 1875, since Venn records THEODORE MONTAGUE NUGENT OWEN as being an Assistant Master at Oakham School, while also giving his education as being at Merchant Taylor's; but the 1861 Census records him as a boy of 16 at Oakham, and so it is possible that he taught for a short period at Oakham on coming down from Clare College (where he was an Exhibitioner) with a BA 1866 before becoming ordained D at Rochester 1869 and P at Peterborough 1870; he was C at Kettering (Northants) 1869-72, C of Middleton (Lancs) 1872-75, V of Rhodes (Lancs) 1875-87, R of Woodwalton (Hunts) 1887-1907; he married Sarah in 1872, producing four sons and five daughters, and in his retirement, finding time to write *A History of the Church Bells of Huntingdonshire*; he resided at St Olave's in Ipswich before dying in 1913. However, there is no corroboration of his teaching at Oakham School in the Oakham or Rutland archives.

There is a full staff register extant from 1875, with A W Brown of St Catharine's, Cambridge, serving in 1875 and W J Berrington of unknown provenance (for he does not appear in either Venn or Fisher) 1876-77; then comes the Rev H W Fitch (the first teacher at Oakham of whom there is an extant photograph), also of St Catharine's, who was on the staff 1877-1901, and during that period a third, a fourth, and even a fifth teacher was added to the staff as the school size rose to 120 by the end of the century. But these were no longer Ushers, for the reorganisation of 1875 now termed the Masters as Headmasters and the Ushers as Assistant Masters.

Ushers (and Assistant Ushers) 1584-1875

1	1584	Abel (or Covel) Mellors
2	1585	Thomas Ashbrooke
3	1589	Thomas Madson
4	—	William (or John) Leycock, BA
5	1607	Thomas Griffin
6	1614	John Newcombe, BA
7	1617	Thomas White, MA
8	1623	John Seaton, MA (OO)
9	1630	Francis Clapham, MA
10	1655	Vincent Alsop, MA
11	1659	John Love, MA
12	1662	Thomas Sumpter, MA
13	1671	Sampson Choice, BA
14	1701	Henry Wright, MA
15	1702	Nathaniel Weston, MA (OO)
16	1712	William Cramp
17	1716	John Basse, MA (OO)
18	1717	John Goodhall (OO)
19	1719	William Hubbard, BA
20	1734	Culpepper Tanner, BA (OO)
21	1745	Thomas Ball, BA
22	1759	Philip Parsons, MA
23	1762	John Fancourt, MA (OO)
24	1771	Thomas Orme, MA
25	1779	William Tremenheere, MA
26	1785	George Osborne, MA (OO)
27	1791	Edward Twentyman, MA (OO)
28	1802	Richard Williams, MA (OO)
29	1810	William Cooper Taylor, MA
30	1815	Anthony Gordon, MA
31	1819	Zachariah Shrapnell Warren, MA (OO)
32	1829	Frederick Edward Gretton, MA
33	1833	William Bunting Tate, MA
34	1834	James Ind Welldon, MA
35	1835	Richard Wilson, MA
36	c1835	William Edward Scudamore, MA
37	1839	Alfred Leeman, MA
38	1841	Charles Thomas Penrose, MA
39	1843	John Bicknell, MA
40	1844	Timothy Byers, MA, BD
41	1864	Patricius Gray Skipworth, MA
42	1860s?	Theodore Montague Nugent Owen, BA (OO)

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‘A perfect pattern of manly power’: coming to manhood at mid-Victorian Uppingham School

MALCOLM TOZER



An education true to the Victorian ideal of manliness was the central purpose at Uppingham School during Edward Thring's long headmastership. In the years between 1853 and 1887, Thring raised a small grammar school in the East Midlands to become a public school of national renown. The climax of an education in manliness came as each boy prepared to confirm his baptismal vows to seek adult membership of the Church of England. This case-study reveals the contemporary gender expectations for adolescent boys from upper- and middle-class families at a critical time in British domestic and imperial history.

Fig. 1. Good conduct medal awarded to MR Graham, 1865.

For Cormac Rigby

The careers of boys who were at one mid-Victorian English private boarding school, commonly known as public schools, offer a contrast with those of their contemporaries at other schools (for details of the figures see Tozer 1988, 15). In the first half of Edward Thring's long reign as headmaster at Uppingham School, from 1853 to 1870, taking holy orders in the Church of England as parish priest, schoolmaster or social worker was the most popular profession for school leavers, well ahead of the law and the armed forces. At all the schools examined by T W Bamford for his history of the public schools there had been a steady decline in the number of boys entering the Church since 1835, including Rugby School part way through Thomas Arnold's renowned headmastership (Bamford 1967, 15). Rugby now produced twice as many boys who followed careers in law or in the armed forces as those taking holy orders, and at Harrow School the Church ranked fifth, a long way behind the armed forces, administration and politics, and law. At Uppingham two clergymen were produced for every soldier and throughout Thring's years the percentage of boys entering the Church was higher than at any of the other schools cited by Bamford. In the second half of Thring's tenure of office, from 1870 to 1887, the armed forces and business came to the fore in agreement with the trend at other schools, yet even here the rise of the businessman was less marked than elsewhere. As a

career choice in the whole of Thring's headmastership, the Church ranked third. Clearly the man regarded by Bernard Darwin as 'the most Christian man of his generation' was running a school that practised what he preached (Darwin 1929, 126).

When in 1853 Thring accepted the appointment as headmaster of Uppingham School and came to the remote East Midland county of Rutland, he inherited an Elizabethan country grammar school for boys with some local reputation and just twenty-five pupils. After childhood as a country parson's son in the south-western county of Somerset, schooling at Eton College, study and holy orders at King's College, Cambridge, parish work in the slums of Gloucester, and tutoring with private pupils, Thring was ready for his life's work. By the time of his death at the school in 1887, Uppingham had been for twenty years a 300-strong public boarding school of national renown and its headmaster had won fame as a highly respected and much-consulted authority on educational matters (for a summary of Thring's life and work, see Tozer 1987, 1992b).

Education and religion were equivalent to Thring (Education).¹ Only a small fraction of his pupils had the innate ability to perform brilliantly in the classroom, but all could benefit from the training in 'True Life'. Indeed, to him the latter was also more important: 'Rather a divine life and a divine knowledge' was an early Thring maxim, for a right-minded

¹Such citations refer to Thring's manuscripts in Uppingham School Archives, as listed in the Bibliography on p85.

character would ensure that one's talents were always used for the good (Index Rerum). The school years were the most crucial phase in a boy's life; not as a preparation or practice for adulthood, but rather as the most formative stage of a whole life. Each pupil came to the school as a boy aged 12 or 13 years, each left as an 18-year-old man, and 'nursery milk' was exchanged at Uppingham for the 'wine of life' (ibid). The evolution was gradual, but the process accelerated for each boy at about the age of 14 years as he prepared to confirm his Christian baptismal vows and assume adult membership of the Church of England.

The whole school took part in the annual ceremonies associated with confirmation, and as year succeeded year so every boy took this rite of passage to manhood. As Thring's manuscript notes held at the back of the first volume of his three-volume Bible state, 'Every one must be a communicant' (fig. 2).

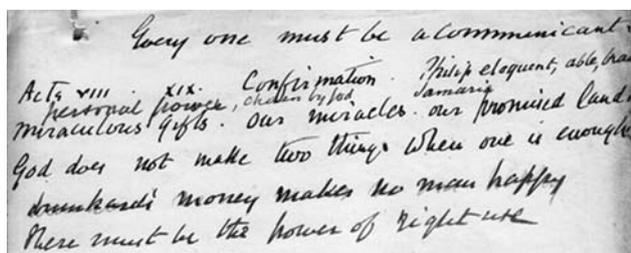


Fig. 2. Note from the back of Thring's Bible.

Each March or April, Thring would inaugurate the confirmation week with a sermon delivered in chapel at the school's Sunday service of worship. Then on successive weekday evenings, at a time when Thring believed that boys were at their most receptive, he would speak to separate groups assembled in the chapel. First he would address the youngest boys about the confirmation process, and then on the next evening he would concentrate on the boys who were that year's confirmation candidates. A visiting bishop, and usually a close friend of the headmaster, led the actual confirmation service on the third day, and on that evening Thring would address all the older boys as communicants. The confirmation week was formally closed on the following Sunday with a second sermon delivered by Thring to the whole school (the programme is outlined in Thring's diary, for example 14th March 1887). An examination of the rich archive material held at Uppingham of Thring's notes for these confirmation classes, and of the texts for the sermons preached, reveals the contemporary gender expectations for adolescent boys from upper- and middle-class families at a critical period in British domestic and imperial history.

Thring's sermon at the beginning of the confirmation week had two purposes: to remind the

boys of their membership of a very distinctive school community, and to warn them of the sexual dangers associated with 'mock manliness'. Thring often compared the boys of the school to the Israelites on their flight from Egypt to their new home on the banks of the Jordan; the much-annotated text of *Exodus* in his Bible became 'The Architect's Plan' for their moral training. He believed that the rigours and deprivations of the Israelites' captivity had bred a hardiness of character, whilst the rescue at the parting of the Red Sea had inspired a single-mindedness of purity. Thring saw Moses and his followers as:

... young, and brave, and strong, ranks clear of traitors, clear of sensual lust, limbs hardy and obedient from the hardy wilderness marches, spirits burning with high hopes, feet standing at the boundary line between preparation and victory, eyes fixed on the hills of their future homes (sermon 238, April 1881).

He urged the boys to identify with the Israelites, and to view the confirmation service as the boundary line between preparation for battle and eventual victory in their own lives.

Then there was Thring's second purpose, the warnings on 'mock manliness'. The Israelites had been clear of sensual lust, and so too should Uppinghamians. The boys were encouraged to 'manage' their thoughts on such matters, and to beware those who were sexually self-indulgent. The warnings were explicit:

Who is that crawling along, pale and tottering, with his face full of pox and death even already claiming on his brow? Can this be he, the young, the handsome, the strong, who some eight or ten years ago was the envied champion of his school or college? Yes, it is he. Can it be the little boy who so few years ago was playing with idleness, and laughing merrily over his petty tricks, tricks alas often praised or made a joke of by those who ought to know better? (sermon 374, March 1887).

This was sin; this was death working. This was hell-fire shrivelling tender feelings, blackening brightness, hardening hearts, blinding eyes, and destroying all for the victims of sin.

A few evenings after the Sunday sermon, Thring addressed the hundred or so junior boys. He told them that they had outgrown the involuntary demands of mewling childhood and he likened them to the Israelites who had escaped from slavery in Egypt. The crossing of the Red Sea had its parallel in their initiation to the Christian Church at the time of their baptism. They had been freed of original sin, and they now walked at liberty as the sons of God. No responsibilities would be placed on them until they had grown in power, purity and manliness, and they should use this interval to learn to become 'soldiers of Christ' – 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God,

and that the spirit of God dwelleth in you?' (I Cor III 16).² With that encouragement also came warnings, warnings against indecency of thought, word and deed – 'But fornication, and all uncleanness of covetousness, let it not be once named among you, as become saints' (Eph V 3). The folly of the 'mock manliness' of homoerotic habits, whether performed alone or with others, was starkly stated, and the likely downhill path to lunacy or death was clearly signposted. The boys were thus encouraged to manage their thoughts by avoiding idleness, to harness their energies by being busy in their leisure time, and to strengthen their willpower daily by reading ten to twenty verses of their Bibles. Should they however fail to heed the moral warnings, they would be spared no mercy. 'Secret poisoners', he assured them, would meet instant dismissal from the school (Younger Boys, 1886, 1887) (fig. 3).

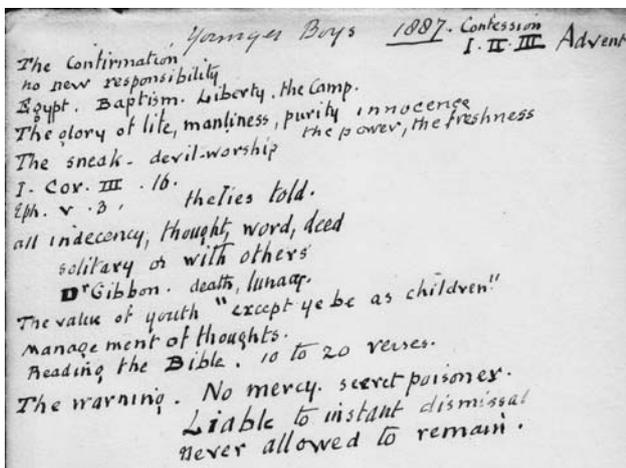


Fig. 3. Extract from confirmation notes to younger boys, 1887, spelling out 'the warning'.

It was the turn of the fifty or so confirmation candidates to be addressed by Thring on the following evening. He developed his Israelite theme, for their lives moved from a childlike baseness to an enlightenment that he associated with adulthood. The dependency of childhood matched the Israelites' call for food in the wilderness and God's answering provision of manna and water. God could have taken their lives, yet they were given back; and God does nothing without a reason. Daily bread was provided for God's people to sustain their power for living, and in return they would serve God's purpose in the way that they led their lives. The Israelites now stood overlooking their Promised Land, happy to honour the promise they had made to God for their safe

deliverance. In the same way, the confirmation candidates were at the boundary between boyhood and manhood, and they should be ready to use all their talents and powers for the good of their fellow people (Confirmees, c1880, 1885, 1887).

The example of St Philip was held before the boys for emulation. Here was an able, eloquent and intelligent man who chose to use his personal power to serve God rather than to further his own ambitions. God had chosen Philip, and Philip had answered the call to take the Christian message to the Samaritans. This would be Philip's Promised Land.³ In the same way, each boy in the school had talents that could be used for good or for ill – like the money that might relieve the long-term sufferings of the poor or bring temporary happiness to the drunkard. Each boy had it within him to use his own unique gifts, to perform his own miracles, and to strive for his own Promised Land – 'And he said unto me, it is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely' (Rev XXI 6) (Confirmees, c1880). To do this 'true courage' was needed. This was not to be confused with the strength, energy and hardness of the body, though one could not have 'true courage' without those animal qualities. 'True manliness' rose above these by the addition of quiet endurance, righteousness and gentleness, and through a patient willingness to bear reproach, shame, obscurity, pain and misunderstanding when on active service in a good cause (Confirmees, 1885, 1887).

Thring repeated his warning on the consequences of indecency. Sex was not a curse, lust was. He was sure that curiosity, ignorance and lies formed the hotbed of impurity, and he was determined to speak with 'perfect plainness on lust and its devil worship'. There was to be no questioning of the boys on their thoughts, nor any probing into their habits: exhortations and warnings would suffice. One exhortation now introduced the subject of the female sex: 'It is manly in a man to be pure, as it is womanly in a woman'. Thring was sure of the 'wonderful purity of good women' and he relied on the ladies of the school community to help set the right atmosphere as they looked after the boys in the boarding houses, watched them at their sports, or nursed them in the sanatorium. Thring saw it as one of the hopes of the period that women's work in the professions would be rated as worthy as men's, for such equality would end woman's lot as either degraded slave or pampered

² All biblical references are from Thring's notes and commentaries in his three-volume Bible in Uppingham School Archives.

³ Philip was one of the seven chosen to assist the Apostles by ministering to needy members of the Church so that the Apostles could be freed to preach the Gospels. He was the first to preach in Samaria, where he converted Simon Magus and then, on the road from Jerusalem to Gaza, a eunuch who was the chief treasurer of the Queen of Ethiopia. A Greek tradition has him become Bishop of Tralles, Lydia. He was so successful in his preaching that he was sometimes named 'the Evangelist'.

goddess: Thring aided the cause, inviting headmistresses to have their first conference at Uppingham in 1887. Earlier, in 1869, he had called the first conference of headmasters. He spoke too of the letter of advice on the matter given to him in his youth by his father: 'A quiet, simple statement ... and a few of the plain texts from St Paul saved me' (Purity). He also drew on the happiness of his own marriage, and he invited the boys to join him in a confirmation pledge – 'never to harm a woman in thought, word, or deed' (Confirmees, 1885, 1887). And, as ever, the exhortations were accompanied by a warning, for failure in this respect would mean instant dismissal from the school – 'And almost all things are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding blood is no remission' (Heb X 22).

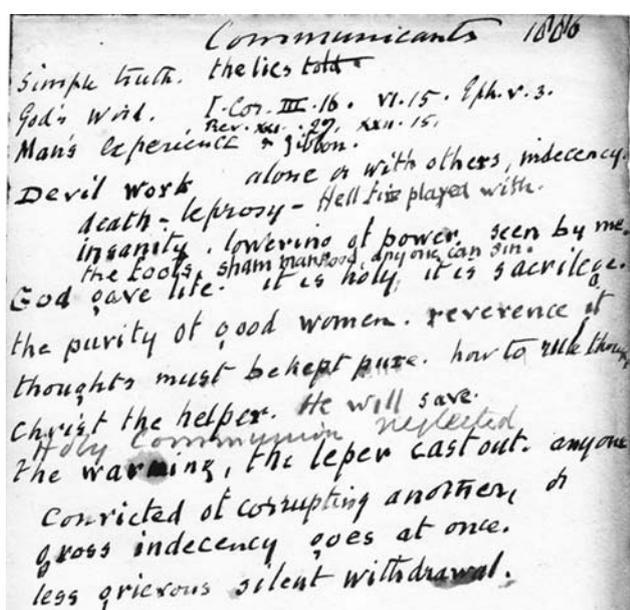


Fig. 4. Extract from notes to communicants, 1886.

After the following day's confirmation service, Thring turned his attention in the evening to the one hundred and fifty or so senior boys who were already communicant members of the Church. Here was the opportunity to remind them of their promises. 'Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ and make them the members of a harlot? God forbid' (I Cor VI 15). The school was a 'regiment for Christ', and anyone found guilty of gross indecency or of corrupting another would leave it at once – 'For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whoever loveth and maketh a lie' (Rev XXII 15). The 'purity of good women' was recalled, and the boys were asked to 'reverence it' by keeping their own bodies pure for eventual marriage (Communicants, 1886, 1887) (fig. 4).

Thring sought to act on a favourite maxim –

'Remember if you have children, not to treat them as children after they are grown up' (Index Rerum) – and one former pupil recalled that he was generally less autocratic with the senior boys in the sixth form than he was with his teaching staff of assistant masters. He did not ask for mere obedience, for that was a 'slave virtue', rather he sought to encourage individuality, integrity and vitality. He did, however, demand unswerving devotion to the most important moral and religious principles, and many boys at the school in this period reckoned that for the most part he got it (James, nd). Thring was always suspicious of intellect without character – 'Intellect without moral excellence, like a dwarf with a head disproportionately large' was his maxim (Index Rerum) – and he would draw on the experiences recalled by the historian Edward Gibbon in his *Autobiography*. Gibbon had been a precocious pupil at Westminster School in London during the eighteenth century, passing in to Oxford University at the age of 15 'with a stock of erudition that might have puzzled a doctor, and a degree of ignorance of which a schoolboy would have been ashamed' (Gibbon 1827/1932, 36). Intellect without a sound moral foundation led in turn, Gibbon and Thring agreed, to idleness, folly and vice, and no schoolmaster or tutor sought to mend Gibbon's ways. Only rustication from Oxford and the subsequent course of rigid discipline and abstinence in Switzerland saved his mind and body (ibid, 40, 49, 81). Such 'sham manhood' would be prevented at Uppingham by training boys' minds on 'hard subjects', by adding variety in fully-employed leisure time, and by a planned and active physical education (MS rough notes 1887). Through sport 'bodily pleasure outweighed pain', excitement and activity 'roused manliness', and physical skill awakened 'bodily power and health' (ibid 1886). Precocity was held in check – 'And there shall in no wise enter into it anything that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life' (Rev XXI 27).

Thring could not resist the urge to remind the senior boys of the need to read those ten to twenty verses of the Bible each day, and to complain that their attendance at the twice-weekly communion services was not as whole-hearted as he would have wished. He ended with an exhortation: 'A great school is an army in the regiment of the brave and the true' where the boys were to live 'the high and happy Christian life, the honour and the power of being a Christian, the wisdom, the bravery, the true nobility of being enrolled in the army of Truth and of Christ' (sermons 33, Sept 1870; 66, April 1872). He would ask if 'the idea of Christian knighthood was beginning a new life?' ... 'May it not begin here – even here?' (Thring 1886, II, 302, no cxxxiv). This

army would win ‘victory’ on the battlefield of life, and each enlisted soldier would be God’s hero:

God’s hero, the man who bears and does all things easily, gently, lovingly – the hero, who may die without glory, but who has been felt to be a perfect pattern of manly power by every living being with the heart of life, whose life has been touched by the life. For life touches life, and passes on in silence, invisible, into other lives, even as rain that falls gently on the earth, and seems to pass away, till the harvest comes, and speaks of a hidden, wonderful spread of unseen goodness’ (ibid, II, 48, no lxxxviii).

Thring brought the confirmation week to a close with his sermon to the whole school during the next Sunday’s chapel service. E W Hornung, later the author of the *Raffles* tales, was a boy in the school in the 1880s. He recalled in his preface to his Uppingham novel *Fathers of Men*: ‘I remember Thring plainest in the pulpit, no longer a little old man, but majestic, noble and austere’ (Hornung 1912/1919, vii; Tozer 1992a). Nearly 400 manuscripts of Thring’s sermons are held in the Uppingham School Archives, and of these about a third were published in 1886 in the two-volume *Sermons Preached at Uppingham School* (Thring 1886). Earlier sermons, given to the boys in the boarding house before the building of the school’s chapel, were published in 1858 as *Sermons Delivered at Uppingham School* (Thring 1858) – many headmasters of this period published sermons as a form of advertising prospectus. Reading these sermons more than a century later, one is struck by their directness; they read as parables for boys. Each sermon would seem to have been written out at one attempt. Thring might make a few amendments on reading over the text, but here the main purpose appears to have been to insert the pause marks needed for effective delivery. Oswald Powell, one of the housemasters, remembered that when Thring preached there was ‘no art, no dexterity of phrase or of articulation’; he would merely speak straight from the heart, with rarely a movement except to turn the leaves (Powell 1953, 32). Each sermon had a biblical text, and most a title. The length, in an era notorious for prolixity, was no more than ten minutes. Thring stood in the pulpit as a ‘prophet’ of God, and in these sermons he spoke as Moses to a ‘chosen people’ (*Uppingham School Magazine* 1900, 63). John Skrine, a favourite former pupil from Thring’s first years and a trusted lieutenant on the staff in his last years, calculated that over half the sermons were directed towards the explanation of ‘True Life’ (Skrine 1890, 245).

After the exhortations and warnings introduced in the previous Sunday’s sermon and developed in the separate evening addresses to the three groups of boys, the second Sunday sermon usually found

Thring in cheerful mood. His last confirmation sermon, delivered in March 1887, saw him on particularly happy form (fig. 5). Taking as his text, ‘Sin, that it might appear sin, working death in me by that which is good, that sin by the commandment might become exceedingly sinful’ (Rom VIII 13), Thring confided that his chief worry as headmaster was that even in a good school sin could gain a toehold:

[I]t is in a school that all the little beginnings of corruption are thought so lightly of by those who do them, it is in a school that the Apostle’s warning is most neglected, and uncleanness is named filthiness, and foolish talking and jesting in an unseemly way go on (sermon 375, March 1887).

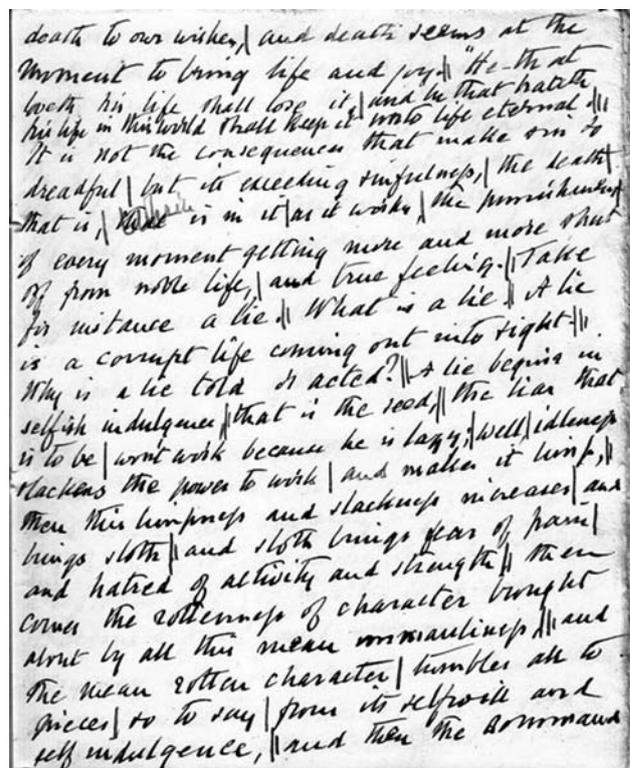


Fig. 5. Extract from Thring’s last confirmation sermon, warning of the dangers of sin, March 1887.

It was for that reason, he reported, that he had to be so vigilant, and only a fortnight earlier he had caned two brothers, both confirmation candidates, for possession of ‘a vulgar low note’ (Diary, 2nd March 1887). Thring kept a record of all canings, and in a letter of 29th October 1885 to the Rev George Christian, one of his housemasters, he noted that sixteen boys had been beaten in the previous term, four of them twice. But, he told the assembled school, his vigilance then and now had been successful:

But brethren, God be praised, there are better things than this. Today, once more, I can look on this school, and speak to you as one regiment in the army of Christ, one in Confirmation Week, one on this Commemorative

Sunday, one as marching under our Lord, one as having thrown in your lot with life and honour and truth, loyal and faithful soldiers and subjects of Christ your king. It is a glorious feeling to feel we are one body in Christ. I do not mean that evil has gone, or that no traitor is here, but I do mean that we can feel that as one body we are bounded together to do holy service. I do mean that we can feel a happy confidence in the truth and desire to be true of the school as a whole. I do mean that we can feel that we have a common cause and are ready to work together for it. I do mean that the battle against sin in this place is a real battle, and the Holy Spirit of God is dwelling with us here (sermon 375, March 1887).

Thring's confidence that his boys could lead the 'True Life' was high, for he believed even the young could be valiant soldiers in that regiment – 'The spirit that does right, because it is right, is as strong in the little child as in the old' (*ibid*). His closing rallying call saw the promise of 'Victory':

Brethren, in this Confirmation and Holy Communion, let one spirit breathe through our ranks. Let us stand today shoulder to shoulder as one regiment on the battlefield, resolute, with one voice, and one power to cast out from this place the unclean spirits and their lies (*ibid*).

'The rich boys must learn to help the poor boys', Thring wrote in 1864, and from the outset his pupils were to continue the pattern of social work that he had undertaken in the Gloucester slums (Thring 1864, 21). In the early years the boys subscribed to help the parish church, and Thring and his staff contributed to the restoration of the building and its churchyard (Parkin 1898, I, 310). Money was given to a Boys' Home in London, an Uppingham Scholarship was created at the Blind College in Worcester, and former pupils on missionary work in India, Japan, Honolulu and Africa all received support from the school. Through such efforts 'manly open religion' steadily gained ground in the school (Diary, 25th November 1859). In 1866 the Bishop of Brisbane visited Uppingham and talked to the boys about missionary work in Australia; the result was that he gained support and financial aid for the church and mission in his diocese (James, *nd*, 15). Later the school made similar efforts for the Bishop of Western Australia (Diary, 25th November 1886). Work nearer home began in April 1869 when the Rev J Foy of the Additional Curates Society lectured to the school on the missions in the East End of London (Scotland 2007, 116-7). Uppingham immediately agreed to find £100 a year for his work, and then followed this up by starting its own mission, the first by a public school (for details of the mission, see Tozer 1989). This was based on the church of St John in North Woolwich, east of London, where the Rev Dr Boyd, later principal at Hertford College, Oxford, was the incumbent. The

following year one of Thring's former pupils, Wynford Alington, became missionary curate under Boyd. A church was built in 1872 from Uppingham subscriptions and that September Thring, some masters, a choir of 48 boys, and several former pupils – a party of 74 in all – went down to London for the service of consecration. In 1878 when Alington, an uncle of the future headmaster of Eton College, went on missionary work to Africa, the mission transferred to nearby Poplar under another former Uppingham pupil, Vivian Skrine.

Work still nearer home began after the return of the school from Borth in North Wales, where it had adjourned for a year to escape an outbreak of typhoid (Tozer 1985; Richardson 2001, 2006). In 1878 Thring, ably supported by some masters, revitalised the Uppingham 'Mutual Improvement Society'. At Christmas there would be a gathering of townspeople in the schoolroom and an exhibition of objects of local craft-work; in the summer Feast Week, Thring arranged for a band to play for a dance on the school's cricket field (Parkin 1898, II, 80, 82). Horticulture, acting and games were encouraged and Thring's wife, Marie, presented the Society with embroidered banners blessed at a simple ceremony by her husband (Skrine 1890, 200). Thring provided a cricket field for the town and helped with the levelling of the ground; athletic sports were arranged, and cricket and football clubs were formed for the younger boys (Parkin 1898, II, 83, 93). The girls were not forgotten, and a tennis club, the 'Grasshoppers', was presided over by the ladies of the school; young men, the 'Locusts', were allowed to play at certain times (Skrine 1890, 200). Oswald Powell remembered Thring helping with the instruction of this new-fangled game – 'I love the picture of him with Lawn Tennis racquet, before a row of daughters of Uppingham Tradesmen, showing the action and motions necessary for them to acquire' (Donnelly 1974, 14). All was in sympathy with Thring's maxim – 'Merriment unlocks the heart and removes constraint' (Thring 1866, 12).

Thring expected 'manly earnest hearts' to go from Uppingham into the tumult of the world and play their part to bring order, hope and help to those in need, and in the process they would bring peace and happiness to themselves (sermon 33, September 1870). Each boy was told that on leaving Uppingham he was not to remain 'in his own station', thus creating a gulf between the rich and the poor, but that he should join 'the manliness of Christ's service' and do God's work in 'the lost places of the Kingdom', in the 'bare and dirty streets', and in the 'outcast settlements that skirt our great cities' (sermons 36, September 1870; 47, July 1871). He would have been pleased then that so many of his former pupils took

holy orders and went on to work as parish priests, schoolmasters and social workers. Still others did valiant voluntary service in their local communities. At the time of the Thring centenary celebrations in 1953, Oswald Powell recalled how he had often heard the headmaster end a school speech with the hope that whenever Uppinghamians went out in the world they would carry with them such rules for conduct, and such determination always to live the ‘True Life’, that they would receive in all lands and amongst all people a character for manliness. This, Powell continued, he cared for more than any number of honours, and he knew Thring to be absolutely sincere on this (Powell 1953, 24). Thring always noted in his diary when an Uppinghamian ‘had played a modest and manly part’ somewhere in the British Empire, closing each entry

with the words ‘Glory to God’ in Greek (James, nd, 15). Just one entry illustrates ‘a perfect pattern of manly power’ at work:

Took leave of — tonight. Am greatly pleased with him; he has been an honest, manly fellow, and I am proud of his taking those feelings from the school. He said that he could not do much in classics and work, but he hoped to represent the truth and manliness of the school, which was the great thing. I told him that indeed it was, and that I had as great an affection and respect for him on that account as if he could get the Balliol.⁴

Thring then presented to the boy the medal he had commissioned for all leavers. It was engraved with the words ‘For good work and unblemished character’ (fig. 1).⁵

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Jerry Rudman, Uppingham School’s archivist, for permission to illustrate extracts from

Thring’s papers in the School’s archives, and for providing copies of them.

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⁴ Balliol College offered the top scholarship to Oxford University. The boy’s name is omitted, for all Thring’s diaries bar the first and the last were destroyed on the family’s instructions after Parkin had used them for his official biography. This diary excerpt for 10th Oct 1864, with the omission, is taken from Parkin 1898, I, 200.

⁵ The medal in the Uppingham Archives was given back to the school in 1919 as the ‘Henry Eccles fielding prize’ for cricket. A new moral force was now in place!

Rutland History & Archaeology in 2011

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, Heckington, Sleaford, Lincolnshire, NG34 9RW.	RR	<i>Rutland Record</i> .
HI	Historic Investigations (Carole Bancroft-Turner & Debbie Frearson), www.historic-investigations.co.uk.	TNA	The National Archives, Kew.
NA	Northamptonshire Archaeology, 2 Bolton House, Wootton Hall Park, Northampton, NN3 8BE.	TPA	Trent & Peak Archaeology, University of Nottingham, Nottingham, NG7 2RD.
RCM	Rutland County Museum (MDA code: OAKRM).	ULAS	University of Leicester Archaeological Services, University Road, Leicester, LE1 7RH.
RLHRS	Rutland Local History & Record Society.	WA	Witham Archaeology, Unit 6, Sleaford Station Business Centre, Sleaford, Lincolnshire, NG34 7RG.
ROLLR	Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland.		

I – Archaeological Fieldwork during 2011

Short reports, arranged in alphabetical order by parish

Note: Where appropriate, archives are expected to be deposited with Rutland County Museum under the accession number shown.

Ashwell, The Old Hall (SK 86421295)

APS carried out further investigations (see *Rutland Record* 28-31) for Midland HR in the grounds of the Old Hall, adjacent to scheduled medieval settlement and post-medieval garden remains. Foundation trenches for an extension were monitored, revealing a large pit, probably a quarry, but this was undated. RCM 2009.16.

Andrew Failes

Ayston, 'The Glebe' field (SK 856006)

The ongoing field walking survey on the Uppingham plateau by the RLHRS Archaeological Team revealed a concentration of thickly corticated iron stained flint 'blades', possibly of Upper Palaeolithic or Early Mesolithic age (c12,000-10,000 years ago). This indicates the presence of nomadic hunting parties returning to Britain at the end of the last ice age. Some of the material may equate with the nationally important Late Upper Palaeolithic site discovered on the Rutland/Leicestershire boundary at Launde by ULAS in 1997. These are in addition to the other local find spots previously recorded during the survey project (Jones, E, *RR*27 (2007), 243-68). RLHRS R110.

Elaine Jones

Barleythorpe, land off Main Road (SK 85140954)

Following earlier programmes of geophysical survey and evaluation that had revealed concentric ring ditches (see *RR* 31 (2011), 38-9), an excavation, supervised by V Mellor of APS, was carried out for Larkfleet Homes Ltd on the site of a probable Bronze Age barrow defined by the ditches. The excavation established that the barrow, which had a maximum diameter of c21m, consisted of three concentric ditches (fig. 2) and within the innermost of these were two burials. Located by the skull of one of the skeletons was a complete highly decorated food vessel dating to about 2200 BC (fig. 1). Sarah

Percival describes the pot thus:

Weighing 1,083gm and 141mm high, the tripartite bowl has an externally-thickened rim with sloping internal bevel, a deep collar



Fig. 1. The Early Bronze Age food vessel (photo: APS).



Fig. 2. General view of the barrow excavation showing its concentric ditches (photo: APS).

and wide shoulder cavetto defined by parallel mouldings. From the lower moulding the vessel narrows to a slightly hollowed base. The diameter at the rim is 148mm, at the base 80mm and at the widest point of the girth c152mm. The vessel is densely decorated with comb-impressed herringbone motif interspersed with narrow, horizontal bands of multiple comb-impressed lines. Decoration covers the entire body and the rim bevel, as well as the underside of the base which features triple comb-impressed bands forming a cruciform motif. The sandy fabric has an open granular texture with occasional inclusions of small angular quartz.

The second burial had a series of flints, some worked, others natural, placed around the skull. Although the burial is also likely to be Bronze Age the worked flints from around the skull were much earlier, dating to the Mesolithic and Neolithic, perhaps a couple of thousand years older than the burial. Additionally, a complete red deer antler was recovered from the inner ring ditch, but did not appear to have been worked or used as a tool. RCM 2011.11.

Victoria Mellor

Barleythorpe, Main Road (SK 855100)

S Malone of APS supervised a geophysical survey at Barleythorpe on behalf of Larkfleet Homes Ltd. A Saxon sunken floored structure had been found in the area previously. Magnetic anomalies suggestive of further sunken floor structures were identified. Medieval field systems and ridge and furrow were strongly evident across the area.

Steve Malone

Braunston, Chapter Farm, Wood Lane (SK 83250655)

A watching brief, for the Robert Weighton Partnership and Mr & Mrs M Hammond, was undertaken by C Moulis of APS during the construction of an extension. Chapter Farm is a Grade II* Listed Building of c1600 (see *RR 31* (2011), 42). However, the investigation established that the area of development had been lowered at some point in the past and, as a result, no archaeological remains were encountered. RCM 2011.20.

Liz Murray

Cottesmore Hall, Hall Close (SK 90421375)

See below, under Historic Building Recording.

Cottesmore, Mill Lane (SK 90221387)

Land adjacent to previous discoveries of Late Saxon and medieval remains at the former Lilac Farm was the subject of an evaluation, supervised by R Trimble of APS for Hereward Homes Ltd. A ditch of 12th-14th century date was revealed and probably represents a northwards extension to one identified previously (see *RR 29* (2009), 364). Pits/hollows and a possible posthole were also revealed but were undated. RCM 2011.8.

Gary Taylor

Cottesmore, Plot 7 Mill Lane (SK 90211393)

A watching brief, by B Garland of APS for Hereward Homes Ltd, was undertaken in an area where Late Saxon and medieval remains had been found previously. No archaeological remains were revealed, though artefacts of 17th century and later date were recovered. RCM 2011.15.

Paul Cope-Faulkner

Great Casterton, Primary School, Pickworth Road (SK 999092)

Following evaluation, an archaeological excavation was carried out by ULAS at Great Casterton Primary School in advance of an extension to the school and the laying of a

temporary road to facilitate the proposed ground-works. The school lies close to the ramparts of the Roman town, a Roman fort and Ermine Street Roman Road. Excavations during the construction of the school in 1959 revealed Roman burials and two pottery kilns were found nearby. Two trenches were placed in the school grounds as part of the evaluation; one revealed part of a Romano-British pottery kiln containing several sherds of Romano-British pottery and fragments of kiln lining and kiln furniture, dating the kiln to the late 2nd to early 3rd century.

During the excavation phase most of the footprint for the new building was stripped by machine. This revealed further evidence of the main kiln structure along with part of the stoke-pit. Many artefacts were retrieved including parts of kiln bars, a large amount of kiln-produced pottery and other forms of pottery not associated with the kiln. A further pit feature, cut into the limestone and showing signs of burning, was found at the opposite end of the trench to the main kiln. It was thought this might represent a stoke pit for a second kiln, but further work proved it was only a pit, the purpose of which was unknown. The firing chamber of the kiln falls outside the main development area and was reburied.

The kiln is similar in form to two other Romano-British pottery kilns discovered in the area in the late 1950s, indicating that the school grounds lie in an area where other Romano-British discoveries are likely. RCM 2011.5.

Leon Hunt

Gunthorpe, Gunthorpe Hall (SP 48693056)

Mitigation works in advance of the construction of a new access for Gunthorpe Hall, were undertaken by NA. There were earthworks and buried remains associated with the deserted medieval village of Gunthorpe. Evidence for late Saxon and medieval activity associated with a low-status rural economy was present. Activity on the site appears to have ceased by the late 14th century.

Jason Clarke

Ketton, Kilthorpe Grange (SK 98730342)

An archaeological evaluation by trial trenching was carried out by ULAS on land adjacent to Kilthorpe Grange, in advance of excavation for a planned fishing lake. Several gullies or pits were exposed, one of which contained a small assemblage of flint, diagnostically datable to the Mesolithic period. Observation of ground-works during the construction phase of the lake uncovered remains of two ring-ditches and an associated scatter of features. Both ring-ditches were c15m diameter but both were only partially exposed. One of the ditches had a C-shaped feature lying roughly central to the ring, suggesting an associated feature of unknown function. Apart from a flint flake no other finds were associated with these features or any of the outliers to the ring-ditches. The area was omitted from the development proposals; the archaeology was planned but then covered over. RCM 2011.12.

Jon Coward, Mathew Morris

Langham, Burley Road (SK 84541118)

On behalf of the Robert Weighton Partnership and Lansdowne Restoration Company, M Peachey of APS supervised an evaluation in the historic core of Langham, close to the 13th century parish church. Immediately adjacent to the site is the Old Hall, which dates from 1665, and 17th and 18th century maps show buildings in the area. A rough metalled surface, perhaps a yard, and a brick-built structure, possibly a cess pit, were revealed. Both were of 18th century date and the cess pit

was probably associated with stables shown on a map of 1760. Iron smithing slag filled the cess pit and probably indicates that a farrier or blacksmith was working close by. Although no earlier remains were encountered pottery of medieval date was recovered in addition to post-medieval material. RCM 2011.14.

Mark Peachey

Little Casterton, Camp Hill Court (TF 01660982)

A strip, map and sample excavation was undertaken by APS on behalf of Mr & Mrs Iveson. The site is within an area of earthworks including a probable mill leet and possibly the site of the medieval manor house. The investigation revealed a 10th century oven containing pottery of that date and much wattle-impressed fired clay oven structure. Charred wheat grains were recovered from the oven and a nearby former river channel. Several postholes adjacent to the oven may represent a windbreak or shelter. The oven was probably used for both grain drying and baking. RCM 2010.31.

Mark Peachey

Manton, Lyndon Road (SK 88190461)

Development close to the medieval core of Manton was the subject of an investigation, supervised by L Murray of APS for Thomas Wilson Architects and Mr P Harrison. A recent metallised surface was revealed together with a ditch of probable 19th century date. No other archaeological features were revealed; artefacts of the 16th century and later, and faunal remains, were abundant. RCM 2011.16.

Liz Murray

Morcott, The Manor House, 8 High St (SK 922007)

An archaeological watching brief was carried out by WA during ground-works associated with the re-opening of a blocked gateway and construction of a new drive at The Manor House. The site lies in an area of archaeological interest within the historic medieval and post-medieval core of the village. The Manor House, a Grade II listed building of 1697 (according to a datestone in the façade), shows little sign of external alteration. A stone boundary wall and associated gate piers on the high street boundary are considered to be late 17th or early 18th century. The piers are constructed in ashlar with ball finials. The watching brief resulted in the identification of a metallised surface, possibly part of a forecourt, in the area immediately W of the house. The surface was apparently bounded to the W by a stone-built retaining wall, which may have defined the E edge of a raised terrace. Although the surface and wall cannot be dated with any certainty, owing to a lack of associated artefacts, there is a strong likelihood that they originated during an early phase in the use of the house. Two stone-lined drains were also recorded, both post-dating rubble associated with the collapse or demolition of the probable retaining wall. RCM 2011.18.

Russell Trimble

Oakham, Barleythorpe Road (SK 855092)

An archaeological field evaluation by trial trenching was undertaken by ULAS on land at Huntsman's Drive, Oakham, in advance of proposed housing development. The initial potential of the site was highlighted by information in the Leicestershire & Rutland HER indicating that the area was close to known Iron Age and Roman remains. Nine trenches were excavated. Towards the SW corner of the area two trenches contained archaeological remains including ditches, post-holes and pits. Pottery dating to the 11th-13th century was present in one of these features. To the N, five of the

trenches contained ditches, post-holes and pits. One of the ditches contained pottery dating to the Late Iron Age or Roman Conquest period, slag, burnt daub and animal bone. RCM 2011.32.

Tim Higgins

Oakham Castle (SK 861089)

TPA were commissioned to carry out an archaeological, topographical and photographic survey of Oakham Castle, culminating in an illustrated report and site archive. A previous Conservation and Development Plan report considered issues relating to repairs and restoration, the need for a management plan for the castle, its use by the public, the case for developing knowledge of the site, and its role in assisting the regeneration of the town and its tourist trade. The report concluded that whilst fabric repair and vegetation control were essential requirements and that a development appraisal and new foul drainage were necessary, it was also desirable that further archaeological investigation and survey should take place.

Following clearance and cutting back of overgrown vegetation, the archaeological survey was carried out using a Leica phase-based laser scanner and a Canon digital camera with a fish-eye lens. Separate fieldwork was concentrated on the supposed postern gate on the W side of the castle and on tracing and examining remains of the castle's walling. The so-called 'gardens' area (Cutt's Close) to the N of the main enclosure was also surveyed.

The castle earthworks were surveyed from both the interior and exterior, although the survey was partly hampered by buildings, car parking and coverage of walling by ivy. The Hall's interior was surveyed making use of a portable tower hired at the time for the taking of dendrochronological samples from roof timbers.

Before the current survey, the existing plan of the Castle was largely based on the work of the Ordnance Survey and measured surveys by Seaman (1961) and Hartley (1983). Archaeological knowledge of the site was mainly drawn from two excavations in the 1950s and a few watching briefs since then. An extensive geophysical survey was carried out by Stratascan in 2005. Other buildings within the Castle are recorded in medieval documents. Excavations close to the Hall in the 1950s pointed to both the good archaeological potential of the site and the likelihood of a fair depth of overburden across much of the castle interior. Whilst previous surveys and the recent TPA work have been able to suggest possible positions of buildings, none are certain. Only a future programme combining ground radar and below-ground investigation will probably further our knowledge of the castle's interior with any certainty. RCM 2011.21.

David Walker & Richard Sheppard

Oakham, land W of Uppingham Road (SK 862080)

ULAS carried out an archaeological evaluation by trial trenching on land to the W of Uppingham Road, in advance of proposed residential development. The evaluation revealed archaeological settlement evidence dating to the mid to late Iron Age (400 BC to AD 43), and the early Roman period (1st to 2nd century AD). Worked flint also indicated Neolithic to Bronze Age activity in the area. Archaeological evidence was seen in 13 of 22 trenches, consisting of a sub-rectangular enclosure settlement with evidence for a building, along with associated field boundaries, including a pit alignment. RCM 2010.36.

Gavin Speed

Uppingham, 'Wilkershaw Cow Pasture', by Beaumont Chase (SP 851993)

An old enclosure hedge on the Uppingham plateau overlooking the Eyebrook Valley was studied by Clive and Elaine Jones in September 2011. Documentary and field evidence pointed to the enclosure as being of ancient origin: the name was probably Old English for 'Wulfgar's enclosure' (Cox, B, *The Place Names of Rutland* (1994), 215); along the surviving section, the hedge lay on a bank covered with a woodland flora – although the number of woody hedge species was limited, there were a significant number of crab apple trees, a tree commonly noted in Anglo-Saxon charters (Rackham, O, *The History of the Countryside* (1999), 209); the most convincing evidence was a headland and ridge and furrow respecting the enclosure hedge bank and ditch – the ridge and furrow was thus later than the enclosure. This may imply that Wilkershaw is Saxon in origin. RLHRS R109.

Elaine Jones

Uppingham, new Uppingham Town Cricket Pitch field, Old Leicester Road (SK 854000)

During a field walking survey and 'walk over' by the RLHRS Archaeological Team pottery, iron slag and flint material were found. With the exception of two Roman sherds, the earliest pottery was Late Medieval Cistercian and Midland Purple wares – in contrast to the adjacent fields on Beaumont Chase where there is virtually no pottery of this period. The flint may include Palaeolithic pieces as well as Mesolithic, Neolithic and Early Bronze Age material. Although there has been no specialist identification, one piece may be an end of blade scraper – similar to one found only a mile away and thought by Dr Lynden Cooper (ULAS) to date possibly to the Late Upper Palaeolithic or Early Mesolithic. RLHRS R92, R106.

Elaine Jones

II – Historic Building Recording during 2011**Braunston, Quaintree House (SK 833068)**

This base-cruick hall, whose roof structure has been previously tree-ring dated to 1306-18 (*Vernacular Architecture* 22 (1991), 45), has one of the finest surviving medieval roofs in Rutland. An earlier report on the building by its former owner, Prince Yuri Galitzine, appeared in *Rutland Record* 1 (1980, 25-31). It can probably be identified with 'The Hall', the second manor of Braunston, so was probably built by William de Braunston or his son Hugh de Swaffield, who was given lands here by his father in 1313. The hall is of two bays with a central base-cruick (or short principal truss), which has two heavy tie-beams which clasp the arcade plates. At the S end is a cross passage, separated from the hall by a spere truss. Above the tie-beams is a crown-post roof, with short, moulded crown-posts. Passing braces run inside the line of the rafters, rising from the aisle ties to a scissors crossing near the apex. The external walls have been much rebuilt, but it seems likely that these were of stone (in common with other examples in the locality), rather than timber-framed. At the N end of the hall a timber partition with arcade posts and diagonal bracing separated the hall from a further block, which would have contained the principal chamber (solar). Nothing remains of this block, but evidence in the partition indicates it might have been formed as a cross-wing, rather than as a continuation of the hall range roof.

The service end of the house was rebuilt as an extensive cross-wing in the mid to later 17th century, perhaps for James Tiptaft. A separate storeyed range, perhaps a stable block, was built around the same time immediately to the SE of the cross-wing. Its front gable incorporates a re-used stone window dating from around the late 12th century, perhaps taken from the ruins of nearby Brooke Priory. This range was reconstructed as a stable block in the 18th century, when a further range for service and farmyard use was also added to the NE of the house.

There has been some debate about the origin of the name 'Quaintree'. Some have thought that it represents a corruption of 'queen tree', the house being distinguished for many years by the two large cedars which grew at the front. However, recent research indicates that the name pre-dates the trees. In the will of William Burton of Braunston of 1599 (TNA PROB 11/96), an entry mentions 'sayed tennaments situate next to quaintree lane and over against the hall gates on the W side of the cross and streete ...'. Cedar trees were not imported into England until a much later date.

Nick Hill

Cottesmore Hall, Hall Close (SK 90421375)

In advance of barn conversions a photographic survey was carried out on the Grade II listed outbuildings at Cottesmore Hall. The listing describes the buildings as an 18th or 19th century cottage and stabling. However detailed examination revealed significant 15th and 16th century features, including a huge fireplace, a nice moulded beam and areas of well laid ashlar block work. A stone mullion window with Tudor arches in the listing appears to be made of cement; the two other windows at the back of exactly the same design are original 15th or 16th century moulded stone. All in all, the quality of the elements suggests a building of some status which may actually be the original medieval manor house which was abandoned in favour of the new Hall in the 18th century.

An archaeological evaluation at the Hall was carried out by ULAS in advance of redevelopment. The work followed on from an earlier evaluation, also by ULAS in 2003, and revealed a number of stone- and brick-built structures of uncertain date. These are likely to have formed part of a demolished range associated with the possibly 15th- or 16th-century standing building described above flanking the N side of the present farmyard. This arrangement of buildings may have been associated with the hall which lay a short distance to the N, possibly as stable. RCM 2011.4.

Gerwyn Richards & Roger Kipling

Glaston, 9 Spring Lane (SK 897004)

Targeted building recording and a later archaeological watching brief were carried out by TPA in 2011 in advance of and during preparation works for a new kitchen extension of the W side of the building. The proposed works entailed partial rebuilding of an existing single-storey addition and its further extension with new build to the W into the rear garden. The existing house is Grade II Listed and is the S half of a former single building, described in its listing as a row of two early-mid 19th century houses. The N part, no.11, is now under separate occupation. The row is within the historic settlement core of the village. Examination of the building, together with window fragments from the garden, strongly suggest that 9 and 11 Spring Lane are now separated parts of a single domestic building of probable 17-18th century date, quite possibly used as a farmhouse. At some point, possibly in the 18th century, a single-storey bake-house may have been added at the S end (the presence of a bakery being suggested

by documents and the tithe award of 1841). Probably in the mid to late 19th century the building was partly rebuilt, refaced and fully re-roofed and turned into two separate dwellings. The building photographic recording was targeted on that part of the building that would be affected by the building works, the S gable wall. Although constrained by access problems to attic entry points only, this provided some evidence for at least one, possibly two fireplaces having been in place against the lower walling: one the internal domestic fireplace, the other an external oven, with flue penetrating into the gable wall. The watching brief found no features or debris dating from before the 17th century. The majority of the few pottery sherds and the clay pipe fragments from both the pit and the general area were of types most likely to be of 18th century date. No finds were made to confirm the former existence of a bakery at the S end of the building.

Richard Sheppard

Langham, Langham Cottage, 28 Burley Road
(SK 845112)

Despite outward appearances, this house contains two ranges with medieval fabric. The rear N range incorporates a cruck truss with very unusual joints of notch-lap type, which probably dates back to the late 13th century. The range was subsequently rebuilt in the 15-16th century, with a second cruck truss. The front range has a heavily smoke-blackened roof with two trusses, one of normal cruck type and another of unusual, non-cruck form. This range is probably a former open hall dating from around the 16th century. The relationship between the two ranges, which do not connect to form an 'L' shape, is very odd. Both ranges had first floors inserted in the 17th century, with various later alterations and additions of the 18th century.

Nick Hill

Lyddington, Main Street (SP 87399744)

On behalf of Mr & Mrs E Straw, G Taylor of APS undertook historic building recording of a structure in the centre of Lyddington and in the curtilage of a 17th-early 18th century Listed Building. This established that the buildings, a linked barn and byre, were of two main phases of construction. Probably in the 18th century the buildings had been constructed in ironstone. Subsequently, probably in the 19th and

early 20th centuries, the building was raised in height with brick. There was evidence that the roof originally had a steeper pitch and was probably thatched. There was also an indication of a former dormer window at the base of the roof, and possible an internal chimney. RCM 2011.23.

Gary Taylor

Ryhall, Ryhall Hall (TF 036107)

To fulfil a planning condition, a programme of building recording was undertaken by Pre-Construct Archaeology in May 2011. The Cottage at Ryhall Hall once formed part of a much larger complex of service structures. The presence of a fireplace and an oven suggests that part of these buildings housed the kitchen, while a copper and drainage features indicate that part of the building was associated with laundry. It is possible that it also provided servants' accommodation. The building can be traced in documentation as far back as 1806, at which time it had a S wing; by 1888 an E wing was added, but by 1906 both wings were no longer extant. The Cottage at Ryhall Hall provides physical evidence of the evolution of domestic kitchen arrangements from the end of the 18th into the early 19th centuries. RCM 2011.9.

Simon Savage

The Strategic Stone Study – Rutland

Stone is the major building material in many of the half-a-million listed buildings and 9,500 conservation areas. English Heritage and the British Geological Survey, working with local geologists and archaeologists, funded the Strategic Stone Study (SSS) which aimed to address the problem that most of the original quarries that supplied stone (which reflected the local geology) which makes so many towns villages and rural landscapes so distinctive, have closed. Detailed information on the stones used is difficult to find, and it can be extremely challenging to find suitable alternatives. Historic Investigations carried out the survey for Rutland; this included identifying the geology of the county, recording numerous buildings in every Rutland parish, and identifying quarries. At present part of the project is published in the form of an Atlas on www.bgs.ac.uk/mineralsuk/mines/stones/EH_project.html which provides a link to the Rutland chapter where a list of sources used can also be found.

Debbie Frearson & Carole Bancroft-Turner

III – Other Reports for 2011

*Note: Records under 100 years old containing personal information may be subject to access restrictions.
Please contact the appropriate Record Office for further information or advice on specific items or collections.*

Lincolnshire Archives

Lincolnshire Archives, St Rumbold Street, Lincoln, LN2 5AB.
Tel: (01522) 782040. Fax: (01522) 530047.
Website: www.lincolnshire.gov.uk/archives.
E-mail: lincolnshire.archives@lincolnshire.gov.uk.
Please check opening hours and search room reader ticket and

No relevant Rutland material was reported for 2011.

Northamptonshire Record Office

Northamptonshire Record Office, Wootton Hall Park,
Northampton, NN4 8BQ.
Tel: (01604) 762129. Fax: (01604) 767562.
Website: www.northamptonshire.gov.uk/recordoffice.

No relevant Rutland material was reported for 2011.

booking systems before making a journey.

Open: Tues-Sat: 10am to 4pm; closed on bank holidays and at Christmas and New Year.

Latest time for requesting original documents on the same day is 1½ hours before closing time or 12 noon on Saturdays.

E-mail: archivist@northamptonshire.gov.uk.

Opening times: Tues, Wed, Thurs: 9am to 5pm;
Fri: 9am to 4pm; Sat: 9am to 1pm.

Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland

Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, Long Street, Wigston Magna LE18 2AH.
Tel: (0116) 257 1080. Fax: (0116) 257 1120.
Website: www.leics.gov.uk/recordoffice.

Email: recordoffice@leics.gov.uk.
Opening times: Mon, Tues, Thurs: 9.15am to 5pm;
Wed: 9.15am to 7.30pm; Sat: 9.15am to 12.15pm.

Archival Accessions, April 2011 – March 2012

This year's deposits of Rutland material were, once again, as eclectic and eccentric as might have been expected. The Survey of Normanton (DE8240) was perhaps the most important deposit, recording the parish's landowners and holders at a significant point (a generation after enclosure and a decade before the first surviving census). The records of the two church restoration projects (DE8210 & DE8295) are also unusually full. That for Exton is especially valuable, offering a complete survey, with plans and photographs, of the celebrated monuments: 'there are no churches in Rutland and few in England in which English sculpture from the C16 to the C18 can be studied so profitably and enjoyed so much as at Exton' (Pevsner, N, *Leicestershire and Rutland* (2nd ed 1984), 468).

The 1887 Jubilee poster from Uppingham (DE8236) was a most timely deposit, while the Royal British Legion deposit (DE8118) reflects the wider compass and value of what was a Leicestershire project to bring in and preserve Legion records.

A full list of this year's accessions appears below.

- DE8089: Whissendine School: Register of admissions, 1902-44; with memorandum of school staff in 1888 (n.d.).
- DE8118: Royal British Legion Empingham Branch: Minutes, 1927-1995; Benevolent Fund accounts, 1958-87; correspondence, 1954-89; and printed ephemera, 1971-81.
- DE8122: Uppingham Evening Women's Institute: Minutes, 1971-2008; Record books, 1971-2003; Agendas, 1985-86.
- DE8139: Photograph by Stocks of Uppingham, unidentified group of men in masonic or friendly society regalia, including Canon Richardson, rector of Uppingham, 1920-30.
- DE8161: Caldecott Corinthians Football Club: match records and photographs, 1949-50s.
- DE8168: Royal British Legion Empingham Branch: certificates awarded to Mr J W Hall, 1954-92.
- DE8210: Lyndon church restoration appeal: Leaflets, reports, correspondence, &c, re the fund-raising campaign and subsequent work to restore Lyndon Parish church, including plans of earlier work; 1960s-2000.
- DE8219: Renaissance East Midlands: Records of the administration and projects of REM, a regional partnership funding programme for museums, &c, 1990s-2000.
- DE8236: Uppingham: Poster advertising celebrations in Uppingham, Ayston and Beaumont Chase, for Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, including details of a Thanksgiving Service and Procession, 21st June 1887.
- DE8240: Normanton, Rutland: 'A Survey of the Parish of Normanton', listing owners or occupiers of land, and 'An Account of the Living', recording the land allotted at Enclosure in lieu of Glebe and value of Corn-Rent. 1828-31.
- DE8250: Papers re the life of the Rev Thomas Yard, Rector of Ashwell, including inductions &c to Havant (Hants.), Brighton (Sussex), and Ashwell, with correspondence between friends and Yard's daughter on Yard's death (1829-99). Also a deed to Buckland Grange, Isle of Wight, 1844.
- DE8251: Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland postcards: Historic and contemporary views and 'subject' cards, c1890-1990, collected by the County Local Studies librarians.
- DE8255: Oakham Providence (Strict Baptists) Chapel: account books, 1949-1968.
- DE8262: Deeds and associated papers relating to Baptist properties at Appleby Magna, Bruntingthorpe, Diseworth,

Huncote, Husbands Bosworth, Leicester, and Morcott and Barrowden in Rutland, 1723-1975.

- DE8289: Lyddington Women's Institute: Committee minutes, 1927-2003; Monthly Meeting minutes, 1927-2003.
- DE8295: Records of the Exton church monuments restoration project, 1999-2003.
- DE8311: Mainstream Partnership: Black and ethnic minority arts ephemera and promotional material from across the East Midlands including Leicestershire and Rutland, 1990s-2000s.

We continue to add Rutland documents and accession cards from our backlog onto our online catalogue, and it is always worth checking to see what has appeared during the year.

Rutland's Phoenix: The Archives of the Noel Family of Exton Park, Rutland

The archives of the Noel Family of Exton Park have long lain in a dormant state at the Record Office, cataloguing having been started on this immense collection but never completed due to lack of funds and time. However, in August 2011 a project funded by the National Cataloguing Grants Scheme 2010 began to complete the cataloguing and make this important collection well and truly accessible for the first time. The grant money has enabled the Record Office to employ a Project Archivist (Rachael Marsay) to work full-time for 60 weeks on the project, which has been aptly named 'Rutland's Phoenix', although it is better known as the 'Exton Project'.

Several milestones have already been reached. The collection – 697 boxes and hundreds of maps, plans, volumes and other outsize material – is now fully listed. Document descriptions are being entered into the Record Office's cataloguing software so that they will be accessible online. We hope to launch the catalogue in September 2012.

By May 2012, over 3,750 records had been entered – 1,856 of which are deeds relating solely to lands in Rutland, a large part of the collection. However, the largest section by far consists of records concerning the Noel family's Exton or Rutland Estate, including documents relating to tenants, estate management, farming and local involvement.

The scope of the collection is huge, encompassing a vast range of records covering many different topics. Some of the 'gems' of the collection have been included in the 'feature' section on the Exton Project web-pages (accessible via the Record Office's website), including a fantastic map of Cottesmore and Barrow, c1730. The web-pages give an introduction to the project, the collection and project archivist, raising people's awareness of the project. A regular online news bulletin enables supporters to keep up to date with progress.

Partly as a result of the web-pages, there have been several interesting queries relating to the collection, demonstrating how important it is for a wide range of research. These have included the use of Exton Hall for evacuees during the Second World War and the connection between Exton and the composer Handel.

In the summer, the project archivist will be giving talks on the collection and will produce an exhibition that is due to open at the Rutland County Museum in September 2012. We would like to thank all the people who are eager to begin (or to continue) using the collection for research for their patience while the cataloguing is completed.

Local Studies Library accessions

The number of new items added to the Local Studies collection at the Record Office has greatly reduced over the past year: a total of 34 titles were added to the catalogue. This is the direct result of the untimely death of one of our part-time librarians, Michael Raftery, during the year, and the long-term illness of the other, Yvonne Wattam. The situation will continue to give concern, since as a result of the restructuring of Heritage and Library services in the county, there is no longer a post of Local Studies Librarian at the Record Office. It is not clear at this stage how the collection will develop and be managed in the future, but we are most grateful for the assistance of librarian Emily Barwell in Rutland and of John Martin, one of Leicestershire's Development Librarians, during the year.

Conservation

During the period of this report, 50 Rutland items were encapsulated for protection by Conservation. These included Uppingham's Queen Victoria Jubilee poster of 1887, which was de-framed, cleaned and encapsulated, and four framed certificates from the Empingham Royal British Legion collection, dating from 1963 to 1992.

Three regular conservation volunteers from NADFAS, Oakham, have been responsible for a great deal of conservation work. Nigel and Caroline Webb and Janet Whittaker have been working throughout the year on the Royce collection (DE3663), hitherto unlisted. They are listing the contents of the collection on a spreadsheet, and as they go along they are also cleaning and repackaging documents and weeding out duplicates. To date, some 57 boxes of documents have been listed.

More on Volunteers at the Record Office

Our team of volunteers continue to work on a variety of cataloguing projects which have helped us to make more Rutland material accessible to researchers. The following projects have been completed during the past year:

- DE3736 (photographic collection): All parishes A-G, outsized photographs and albums listed on the online catalogue, including numerous Rutland photographs.
- DE4569: Records of Rutland Community Council now listed on the online catalogue. Includes a few 'strays', e.g. Egleton Town Book 1803-46, Oakham District School Attendance Committee Minutes 1877-1937 (part closed due to the Data Protection Act), and Rutland Home Guard papers, 1942-44.
- DE5183: Additional deposit of Manton, Lyndon & N Luffenham Parish records 1884-1973, listed and on the online catalogue.

Within the Local Studies collection, there are files containing Biography Cuttings for a very eclectic mix of local notables. The files for surnames A-S, including many Rutland people, are now on the online catalogue.

One dedicated volunteer has made available her name index for the Leicestershire and Rutland Lunatic Asylum, covering the period 1837-1908. Another volunteer has produced an index to Rutland wills from 1384-1858, including those at Northamptonshire Record Office and Lincoln Archives. Finally, an index of Nonconformist Baptisms and Burial records for Leicestershire and Rutland is being compiled by a volunteer. It includes baptisms for nine Rutland registers ranging in date from 1759 to 1920 (Caldecott, Ketton, Lyddington, Morcott & Barrowden, Oakham and Uppingham) and one burial register (Oakham Baptists, 1766-1827). All these are available for consultation on CD in the searchroom.

Outreach work, April 2011 to March 2012

Only one of the Record Office's exhibitions travelled to Rutland during the year. A series of pull-up banners describing the

history of Girl Guiding in Leicestershire and Rutland went on show at the Rutland County Museum in July and August 2011.

The Royal British Legion project to record and celebrate the contribution made by the Legion in Leicestershire and Rutland, 1921 to 2011, came to an end with a celebratory event at County Hall in October, at which representatives from branches which had contributed to the project came together to see what had been achieved during the year. Records from branches and from individuals in Rutland as elsewhere have been coming in throughout the year, and continue to do so.

There was one Education visit from Rutland during the year. A workshop arranged by an organisation named Glassball, who have obtained Heritage Lottery Funding, involved a gifted and talented year 7 group from Rutland County School, based on the edge of Great Casterton, with their head of history. The workshop was spectacular and had a focus on farming around Great Casterton.

A new online resource for schools has been created, and is available free of charge to schools in Rutland as well as Leicestershire. 'What a life for a crust' explores the life of a Victorian child through the themes of domestic life, school life, leisure/play, health/disease through documents from the Record Office. It contains some Rutland material, most notably a meeting of the Society of Industry Committee in Oakham containing the names, ages and occupations of individuals with their parishes, dating from 1812.

In terms of annual statistics, we had a total of 10,311 visitors into our searchrooms this year, of whom 1,182 were researching Rutland documents or subjects, once again an increase over the previous year. We dealt with a total of 8,451 enquiries during the year, of which 281 related solely to Rutland matters, although others were more general enquiries which relied on research from Leicestershire and Rutland resources. We gave only one talk to a Rutland group in Rutland during the year, although a group of librarians and library volunteers from Rutland visited the office to see the local studies collection.

Legal Compliance & Equalities

We have continued to monitor and respond to guidance and decisions from the Information Commissioner's Office relating to Data Protection, Freedom of Information and Environmental Information enquiries. This ensures compliance with the access regimes and that customers receive the correct information in a timely manner. Staff have received follow-up training in the legal obligations relating to requests for information and additional training given in copyright and intellectual property law. All requests have been dealt with within statutory time limits. There has been a significant increase in requests relating to former patients of the Carlton Hayes Hospital (formerly the Leicestershire and Rutland Lunatic Asylum). This is in addition to the usual requests relating to adoptions, care, schools and family history.

As a result of the need to make financial savings, the Record Office is now closed to the public on Fridays. An Equalities Impact Assessment (EIA) and public consultation were undertaken to ensure that no group would be unduly affected by the change and that we had considered relevant factors before implementation. No complaints were received from Rutland residents and 526 responses were received in total. The changes were mitigated by retaining Wednesday evening and Saturday morning opening and by maintaining enquiry services. The aim is that Fridays will be used by staff to add information to the online catalogue, thus enabling people to find out what we have and to make more information accessible remotely.

Endpiece

This has been a difficult year for the Record Office. There has been a drastic restructuring of the Heritage, Arts and Library service of Leicestershire County Council, as a result of some steep savings and efficiencies targets. The most visible change so far has been Friday closure of the office to the public, but the future of the Local Studies collection is very much in doubt and of longer-term concern to all users of the office. Staff reductions are beginning to bite: after May, there will be no Local Studies librarian in the office, the long-serving Researcher, Pat Grundy, will leave and so will I – none of us to be replaced. The archive service will be run by Locality Managers, who will also have responsibility for all the libraries in Oadby & Wigston and Blaby districts. My colleagues Robin Jenkins and Jenny Moran will take over the day-to-day running of the archive service, supported by the

remainder of the Record Office team. We continue to remain under considerable financial pressure, with some difficult and high financial targets to be met over the next three years.

It has been a great pleasure and a privilege to serve as Chief Archivist for three local authorities, albeit for a short period. It was a wonderful job, presenting opportunities for developing new working relationships with local communities, bringing in new types of archive material, and allowing occasional opportunities for research based on our collections. We are fortunate to have a highly skilled and knowledgeable team of people at the Record Office, who will continue to serve the interests of heritage in Rutland as well as Leicestershire and Leicester City. I wish them well, as I do all readers of the *Rutland Record*, and ask for your continuing support to the Record Office.

Margaret Bonney, lately Chief Archivist

Langham Village History Group

Website & contact: www.langhaminrutland.org.uk

Langham Village History Group has now been in existence for ten years. Of our eighteen members, eight live outside Langham but were either born here or have close connections with the village. The group, which met on ten occasions in 2011, is essentially a research group, only occasionally allowing itself the luxury of a visiting speaker, such as the visit of Dr Phil Harding to talk about Metal Detecting in April 2011.

Also in April, the group hosted a visit by four former evacuees who returned to Langham to unveil a plaque in the Village Hall thanking those who gave them shelter in 1939. In May all members took part in an evening presentation in the church of St Peter and St Paul, charting the history of the church and examining its architecture, stained glass and tombstones, and looking at the contribution made by former parishioners. The event raised over £400 for church funds.

Following the completion of the major project on the life and families of 17th century Langham in 2009, which led to the publication of *The Life and Families of 17th Century Langham*, some members continued with research in that period while others chose a new topic and century. Ongoing researches through the year included the transcription of wills and inventories and the indexing of these; the life of 17th century women, local families and trades; gargoyles, war

memorials, early press reports; local maps and (with help from Nick Hill of English Heritage) early village dwellings. Results of our researches are made available on our website.

Four booklets were published during 2011: *Langham Lads*, the memories of Bill Nourish and the late Fred Palmer; *They Left Langham* by Ann Grimmer; *Looking Back at Langham*, a compilation of two earlier works; and *Langham's Wartime Experiences, American Style*, which was updated and re-printed. Using a specially commissioned painting by local artist Fay Howison, a Christmas card was produced and sold for group funds. A stall at Langham's August Bank Holiday Street Market provided an additional sales outlet.

Individual members visited over a hundred places of historical interest, or research establishments, both at home and abroad, over the course of the year and these were all reported on at our meetings. The archivist and chairman made presentations to Lyddington History Group and Uppingham Village History Group.

In November, arrangements were made with Rutland County Museum staff to stage a display at the Museum early in 2012. The year will also see the beginning of group research into Langham's history during the period 1725–1850.

Gill Frisby

Rutland County Museums Service & Local Studies Library

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

Tel: (01572) 758440. Fax: (01572) 758445.

Websites: www.rutland.gov.uk/museum; .../familyhistory, .../castle.

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

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

Website: www.rutland.gov.uk/libraries.

E-mail: museum@rutland.gov.uk; history@rutland.gov.uk.

Opening times: Rutland County Museum : Mon, Wed, Fri, Sat, 10am to 4pm;

Oakham Castle: Mon, Wed-Sat, 10am to 4pm.

Closed at Christmas, New Year and on Good Friday.

Email libraries@rutland.gov.uk; history@rutland.gov.uk.

Opening times: Tues, Wed, Fri: 9am to 6pm;

Mon, Thurs: 9am to 5pm; Sat: 9am to 4pm.

Rutland County Museum and Oakham Castle

It was extremely busy at the Museum during this year. Despite reduced opening hours at the Museum and Castle from 31st October 2011, we remain busy with visitors, schools groups, and the Live@ programme, and plenty of work is going on

behind the scenes. Between April 2011 and March 2012 the Museum received 21,861 visits (including meetings) (2010-11: 22,187); the Castle received 34,688 visits (including meetings etc) (2010-11: 33,200).

Displays and Exhibitions

The balcony display cases have been upgraded with toughened glass and security measures, with generous help from the Friends. The cases now provide a more suitable environment and will allow us to display more of our collections.

The Museum continues to develop its own in-house exhibitions to enable it to display objects from its reserve collection. The Museum has also collaborated with the Belton History Group and Langham History Group, which has enabled us to display very relevant community-led exhibitions. This is something which we hope to continue to deliver.

External exhibitions have been brought in from Leicestershire and Hampshire, and a Rutland and Stamford Embroidery Guild Exhibition proved very popular. We aim to continue to develop a wide range of exhibitions to help to encourage repeat visits and to encourage more non-users to visit.

Schools and Family workshops

Between March 2011 and March 2012, twenty family workshop sessions took place, attended by 1,752 adults and children. There are now six workshop sessions for primary schools. These are Romans, Homes in the Past, Victorians, WW2, Seaside Holiday and Christmas in the Past. 644 pupils, including two special needs groups, have now attended these workshops.

Collections

Our volunteer has been restoring the Fordson tractor in the courtyard. The engine could not be restored to working condition, but it has now been completely overhauled and has been rubbed down and re-painted, and a replacement steering wheel added which was kindly donated to the Museum.

The Oakham Decorative & Fine Art Society have been working on several projects. The group are continuing the identification, cataloguing and repackaging of the textile collections. This is ongoing work which may lead to conservation projects in the future and a possible exhibition.

The group have also identified, scanned/photographed and documented all of the Museum's early Rutland maps. The list of these maps can be found on the Museum website under the 'developing collections' section. The Matkins ephemera collection is also in the process of being re-numbered, documented and re-packaged. A list of this collection will be available soon on the Museum website.

The collections catalogue has been getting its data 'cleaned', so that it will be possible to transfer to a new updated database. This is ongoing work which is being done in-house. The new database will be more user-friendly, will allow volunteers access to help with cataloguing, and will be developed to allow access via the internet at a later date and when funds allow.

Disposals Project

Two items are still waiting to be removed from the Museum from the disposals project, which identified a number of objects which were surplus to the collections for various reasons. All other items have now been transferred to new homes or removed via sale. The Marshall & Son threshing drum from Gainsborough has gone to a farm near Uppingham to be restored by a group of dedicated individuals. They aim to return the drum to working condition and show it at working weekends. The reaper binder and canvasses have gone for a similar purpose but will be used to restore another binder back into working condition.

The proceeds of the sale of the items that could not be found new homes (£1069.98) have now been put towards essential conservation work on the Exton Friendly Society Banner which has recently been donated to the Museum. The banner is so large that it will be stored rolled, but it is intended

to use it in temporary exhibitions next year, so that it will be viewable by the public in the near future.

Acquisitions

Accessioning of objects is currently postponed until more work on the catalogue has been completed. Notable acquisitions include:

- Exton Friendly Society Banner.
- RAF Cottesmore Station Boards and Crests.
- 20 photographic postcards depicting scenes around Wing.
- Selection of 1960s toys.
- Bottle of Rutland Victory Ale.
- Greatham Women's Institute cup and two saucers.

Oakham Castle

The Castle Development Project has now been completed. All of the reports generated from this project are now available to view on the website www.rutland.gov.uk/castle The next stage of this project will be to apply to the Heritage Lottery Fund for further funding to carry out the work needed to stabilise the walls, develop physical access by improving the facilities, and develop interpretation and intellectual access to the site.

Lorraine Cornwell, Collections Manager

Rutland County Libraries Local Studies Service

The amalgamation of the Oakham Library, Rutland County Museum, and Rutland Local History & Record Society local studies collections continues to be successful and the resource is well-used, as is the joint Local History enquiry service. There are still many items from the reserve to transfer to the new location and additional shelving has been acquired to facilitate additional stock. This year has also seen the appointment of a number of volunteers to assist with Local Studies research, in particular, for a new Castle Visitor Guide, and background research to support guided tours at Oakham Castle.

Cataloguing and Conservation

Back-cataloguing of the reserve collection continues to be put on hold whilst cataloguing of duplicates takes place in the joint collection at Rutland County Museum.

Acquisitions

This year we have continued to purchase books and other materials relating to Rutland and the surrounding area to complement our collections. We endeavour to purchase as much as possible that is newly published on the local area, but continue to witness a decline in available published material. Consequently very few items have been published on Rutland, particularly in comparison with other years. Fifty titles have been acquired for the collection this year, only a few of which are Rutland specific.

May 2011 saw a loan of material to the Local Studies collection from Oakham School of 15 titles to complement our collection; these are stored at Rutland County Museum, but are not on open display. A number of items from the duplicate collection at the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland are in the process of being catalogued for public access.

Partnership work with the Record Office for Leicester, Leicestershire & Rutland

The Library Service continues to work closely with the Record Office particularly with the co-ordination of new acquisitions, management of material, and the scanning of Rutland newspapers onto film. The Local Studies Librarian has also provided additional targeted practical support and expertise to the Record Office during the recent Leicestershire County Council restructure.

Emily Barwell, Local Studies Librarian

Rutland Historic Churches Preservation Trust

Contact information:

Email: rhcptrust@googlemail.com.

Website: www.rhcpt.co.uk.

Rutland Historic Churches Preservation Trust exists to provide financial assistance to the 63 churches and chapels within the County of Rutland, whenever they may need help for conservation and maintenance.

New income this year has come from generous donations from the following Rutland Parochial Church Councils: Belton, Empingham, Exton, Morcott, Pickworth, Preston, Stoke Dry, Tickencote and Tixover, to all of whom we record our sincere thanks. We are also a grateful beneficiary of the Kenneth Alan Scott Legacy and of the Ring and Sing Concert in Oakham Church on 12th November 2011, organised by Joyce Lucas.

On 10th September 160 people took part in the sponsored Ride and Stride around the churches and chapels of Rutland. The cyclists, walkers, recorders and in one case horse rider raised a total of £19,250, slightly in excess of the 2009 result. In addition, Hanson Cement arranged all the printing, a significant cost saving. Barnsdale Lodge and Rutland Cycling assisted with publicity in the provision of vouchers for best walking and cycling team endeavour. This was very satisfying for the Trust Organisers who wish to record their thanks to all who took part.

During this Financial Year the Trust has approved grants totalling £62,500 to Ashwell, Egleton, Greetham, Market Overton, Pickworth, Preston and Ridlington. Three of these were given assistance towards the replacement of stolen lead roofing materials, and two others for major roof repairs.

As and when their Church Quinquennial Reports are issued we are encouraging PCCs to contact us for help if they need it, so that they may complete recommended work promptly, thus avoiding any unnecessary deterioration to their church fabric.

Registered Charity No 211068.

Give As You Earn Reg No 000101080.

Inland Revenue Identification No NAK 60 JG.

The recently appointed Archdeacon of Oakham, the Ven Gordon John Steele, has agreed to join the Trust and was duly appointed at our AGM in May 2012. We offer him a warm welcome and look forward to the benefit of his experience in Church Fabric care and the financing of it.

We have to report the retirement at the AGM of our long serving and greatly respected Treasurer Mr Dennis Atkinson. Dennis has served the Trust as Treasurer, with great distinction, for some forty years, since his early banking days in Uppingham. He has presided over the growth of our available funds from a few thousand pounds to over four hundred thousand pounds this year. At the AGM he was presented with a Certificate of Merit and Distinction, to mark the service he has given and the fond respect of his colleagues on the Trust. His successor is Mr John Clement Saunders to whom we offer a cordial welcome and every support from the Trustees in his task.

We also have to report the recent decision of our Chairman, Sir Clifford Boulton, to retire from the Trust at the end of the 2012 AGM. Sir Clifford became Chairman following Sir David Davenport-Handley's retirement in May 2004; he has given us eight years of experienced and kindly leadership for which we are most grateful. His successor is Mr Peter Lawson to whom we offer a very warm welcome.

Our next Ride and Stride event will be in September 2013, with plans and preparations already beginning for that event. In the meantime we confidently look forward to receiving the continuing favour of our benefactors, and to providing every support to our Rutland churches.

Clifford Bacon, Honorary Secretary

Rutland Local History & Record Society

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

Despite the problems brought about by recession the Society has continued to offer a varied programme and services to its members and to the wider public interested in the history of Rutland. The Society remains committed to its programme of publications under the guidance of its Honorary Editor, Tim Clough. The annual production of the *Rutland Record* remains the cornerstone of the Society's activities. No 31 contained two substantial articles, by Tony Squires on the county's medieval woodlands, and by the Society's Honorary Treasurer, Ian Ryder, on Rutland education in the 1830s. The Society's other major publication during the past year was the *Index of Rutland Record 11-20*, compiled by the Society's indefatigable Vice-Chairman, Robert Ovens. The Society's website continues to develop, and is widely recognised as offering a model of good practice for local history societies. Putting so much material on the website requires a considerable investment of time and skill, and in this respect we are indebted to the enthusiasm and expertise of our webmaster, Mike Frisby.

The Society's lecture programme, jointly staged with the Friends of Rutland County Museum and Oakham Castle, has continued to provide a wide range of expertise as well as entertainment. Most of the talks have related to Rutland, but we have ranged more widely, not only thematically but also chronologically. Thanks are particularly due to Peter Diplock for the arrangement of the programme. It is disappointing to note a decline in attendance since the two societies were obliged to

Website: www.rutlandhistory.org.

Email: enquiries@rutlandhistory.org.

move their meeting dates to a Wednesday. We hope this trend can be reversed in the coming year. 2011's guided walk took place around Braunston and once again proved popular. As before, thanks are due to Robert Ovens and Sheila Sleath for organising and leading this event. The archaeological group continues its activities during a time when archaeological finds in Rutland have been particularly rich.

At a time when some would argue that both central and local government lack commitment to environmental protection in rural England, it is important that the Society continues to exercise its environmental remit. This has been demonstrated in a variety of ways. The annual presentation of the George Phillips and Tony Traylen awards to new and restored buildings which respect the historic environment remains a key point in the Society's year. Members are cordially urged to nominate *via* the Society's website any buildings which they consider to be worthy of future awards.

I must end on an unfortunate note. By the time of the 2012 AGM we will all have become aware of the swingeing increase in postal rates, an important part of the Society's costs. In other respects the Society's own inflation rate has exceeded that of the Retail Price Index. In the circumstances, an increase in the Society's subscription is inevitable. Even so, we trust members will feel that the Society still offers considerable value for money in these straitened times.

Mike Tillbrook, Chairman

Website

The Society's website, www.rutlandhistory.org, has continued to grow, providing a resource of Rutland local history information for our membership as well as for a worldwide audience. It also provides a secure system for our authors' articles to be made available for peer review.

The committee took the decision to make some of its material available online rather than in print; an example of this is the study of Rutland Population Figures 1801 to 2001, by Peter Tomalin. It was also agreed to allow Society publications, currently out of print, to be converted to digital editions and made freely available. *Rutland Record* 3, 4, 8, 9 & 10 may now be downloaded as fully searchable Adobe Acrobat pdf files. *Rutland Record* 1 and the Index volumes 1-10 and 11-20, though still obtainable in printed form, are also available on-line. Other publications will be converted as time allows.

Another innovation has been the addition of a 'Local Research and Resources' section. Its index page has links to a growing number of society online resources and we anticipate the continued development of this area. Submissions for inclusion may be made to the Editor. 'Rutland Villages and Other Useful Links' offers local village history groups from

the area, an opportunity to publicise their activities and research.

More than 250 individuals access the web site daily. It is difficult to determine the length of each access, as the tendency is to download material and read it offline. 70% of the access is made directly through our URL or a page reference, 18% is referred by other linked web sites and 12% uses search engines such as Google, Bing or Yahoo. Searches are mainly for local village or family names, Rutland, local churches and chapels, and the *Rutland Record* and our other publications.

Mike Frisby, Webmaster

Acknowledgements

The RLHRS wishes to thank the farmers and landowners for permitting access to their lands. Without this and the dedication of the Archaeological Team (Carol Bancroft-Turner, Claire Brown, David Carlin, Linda Dalby, Debbie Frearson, Jo Holroyd, Clive Jones, and Jasmine Knew), the reconnaissance and survey of early settlement and land use in Rutland whose results are noted in the Archaeological Fieldwork section above would not have been achieved.

Elaine Jones

Uppingham Local History Study Group

Website & contact: www.uppinghamhistory.org.uk.

The Uppingham Group currently has 15 active members. We met in members' homes until October 2011 when we were offered the use of the front parlour of the recently refurbished Falcon Hotel. This has raised our profile and led to enquiries about membership.

At the first meeting of the year in February, we were updated on various researches into the Burton family, of which a branch provided some of the land for Archdeacon Johnson's School, and also the Drake family who were strong Methodists. The meeting ended with a talk by Jim Peschek, retired Director of Music, Uppingham School 1969-78. The school has a long tradition of providing good music, especially under Paul David, the school's first Director of Music. Only 25, he recruited musicians from Germany, his father being the leader of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra. He revived the music of Bach, set up scholarships, introduced free lessons: the latest addition to music facilities was the Paul David Music School.

Two members who moved to Uppingham recently gave us an interesting talk on Pulham Market, Norfolk, their previous residence. The village decided to make a tapestry of the village in 2000 to mark the Millennium, requiring much research. We all left with a beautiful booklet recording their results.

Our member who researches Methodist history gave an

interesting talk on the Drake family. At least four generations have been members, and led most interesting lives, especially the Rev John Bell, a missionary sent to the West Indies who died tragically there. The last direct descendant, Lily, died in the 1950s. Another member gave a comprehensive talk on the Charities of St John and St Anne at Oakham with Archdeacon Johnson's hospital of Christ at Uppingham, now one of the largest Foundations of its kind. The final talk, on Corby from the 9th century to the 1930s, was given by Dr Mark Page, Assistant Editor of the *Victoria County History of Oxfordshire*.

Much work has been devoted to our website, giving information for enquirers and members. We are also getting census lists and our own published books on specific subjects onto the website.

We were lucky to be able to purchase a framed copy announcing the celebrations at Uppingham to mark Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee for the group. Uppingham Town Council intend to provide a new trail and we have agreed to help with the text of a Heritage Trail funded by the Lottery.

We remember Betty Howard, one of our founder members and always delightful company, who died this year. Her lavish champagne Christmas gatherings will be long remembered.

Gilbert Tennant, Chairman

IV – Rutland Bibliography 2011

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

- Blatchford, Robert, *The Family and Local History Handbook 13* (Robert Blatchford Publishing, 2011, £10.00, ISBN 9780955239946) [article by local author Audrey Buxton, p63].
Collett, Pauline, *Rutland in dissent: 350 years of protestant meeting-houses and chapels* (Spiegel Press Ltd., 2011, £14.95).
Don, Kate, *Market Overton: a walk through times gone by* (Rutland: Kate Don, 2009, £3.50, ISBN 9780956267108).
Falconbridge, Adam (ed.) *Our Rutland: Rutland photographer of the year* (Rylands, 2011, £16.99, ISBN 9781906551292).
Flowerday, Alan, *Shoe-maker turned soul-mender: The life and work of Henry Hercock (1811-1881)* (Norwich: Alan B W

- Flowerday, 2011, £12.99, ISBN 9780956926203).
— *After life of the soul-mender: The later family of Henry Hercock (1811-1881)* (Alan B W Flowerday, 2011, £7.99, ISBN 9780956926210).
Lockley, Diane, *The house of cure* (Leicester: Anchor Print Group Ltd., 2011, £9.99, ISBN 9781907540431) [Leicestershire & Rutland Asylum].
Martin, Brian, *Rutland roundabout: personal poetry from England's smallest county* (Spiegel Press, 2010, £9.00).
Patefield, Jean, *Leicestershire & Rutland (Pocket Pub Walks)* (Berks: Countryside, 2011, £5.99, ISBN 9781846742347).

RUTLAND LOCAL HISTORY & RECORD SOCIETY

Registered Charity No. 700273

The Society's publications, with their main contents, are currently available (autumn 2012) as follows:

- Rutland Record 1* (£1.00)
Emergence of Rutland; Medieval hunting grounds;
Rutland field names; Illiteracy in 19th century Rutland
- Rutland Record 2* (£1.00)
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 1851; 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* (**now** £2.00, members £1.50)
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* (**now** £2.50, members £2.00)
Religious Census 1851 (pt 1); Exton churchyard
- Rutland Record 23* (**now** £2.50, members £2.00)
Tinwell Roman coins; Ridlington Park; Lord Ranksborough;
Notitia Parochialis 1705; annual reports
- Rutland Record 24* (**now** £2.50, members £2.00)
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* (**now** £2.50, members £2.00)
Compiled by JD Bennett: full bibliography to 2005,
with subject index and index of publishers
- 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
- Rutland Record 28* (£4.00, members £3.50)
Late 15th century wills; Lady Charlotte Finch; Thos Hotchkin
of Tixover; shorter notes; annual reports
- Rutland Record 29* (£4.00, members £3.50)
Victorian clerical incumbents; The Ven T K Bonney; Martinthorpe
House; annual reports
- Rutland Record 30* (£4.00, members £3.50)
Haringtons of Exton; Vincent Wing; Robert Gouger; annual reports
- Rutland Record 31* (£4.00, members £3.50)
Medieval woodlands; Education in Victorian Rutland; annual reports

Indexes: Rutland Record 1-10, compiled by John Field (1994)
 (£2.00, members £1.50); *11-20*, compiled by Robert Ovens (2011)
 (£2.50, members £1.50)

Rutland Record Series

- 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)
- The Weather Journals of a Rutland Squire* ed John Kington
(1988). Thomas Barker's 18th century weather, farming and
countryside records, with introduction (£5.00, members £3.50)
- Stained Glass in Rutland Churches* by Paul Sharpling (1997).
Complete survey & gazetteer; introduction; lists of glaziers, subjects,
dedicatees, donors, heraldry (£5.00, members £3.50)
- Time in Rutland: a history and gazetteer of the bells, scratch
dials, sundials and clocks of Rutland*
by Robert Ovens & Sheila Sleath (2002). Definitive account of
dials, clocks and bells of Rutland (£10.00, members £7.50)
- The Heritage of Rutland Water* ed Robert Ovens & Sheila
Sleath (2nd rev imp 2008). History, archaeology, people, buildings,
landscape, geology, natural history of Rutland Water area;; sailing,
fishing, flora, birds and fauna (**now only** £15.00, members £12.00)

Occasional Publications

- Domesday Book in Rutland: the dramatis personae*
by Prince Yuri Galitzine (1986) (OP)
- The Oakham Survey 1305* ed Allen Chinnery (1988). Medieval
survey: population, occupations, topography, customs, and
personal/place-name evidence (OP)
- The Rutland Hearth Tax 1665* ed Jill Bourn & Amanda Goode
(1991). Introduction and transcript (OP)
- The History of Gilson's Hospital, Morcott*
by David Parkin (1995). The charity, its almshouse, trustees,
beneficiaries, and farm at Scredington, Lincs; foundation deed,
Gilson's will (£3.50, members £2.50)
- Lyndon, Rutland* by Charles Mayhew (1999). Guide to the
village and church (£2.50, members £2.00)
- 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)
- The 1712 Land Tax Assessments and the 1710 Poll Book for
Rutland* ed T H McK Clough (2005). Introduction, commentary,
transcripts, indexes (**now** £5.00, members £3.50)
- Common Right and Private Interest: Rutland's Common
Fields and their Enclosure* by Ian E Ryder (2006). Detailed
account of Rutland's enclosures, with historical background, case
studies, gazetteer and indexes (**now** £5.50, members £4.50)
- Who Owned Rutland in 1873: Rutland entries in Return of
Owners of Land 1873* by T H McK Clough (2010). Annotated
transcript of the 563 Rutland entries; analysis; Lyddington and
Chipping Campden (Gloucs) case studies (£7.50, members £6.00)

UK postage and packing (2nd class, parcel or carrier)

Rutland Record, Index, Occasional Publications 4, 5, 6: £1.20 one
issue + 50p each extra issue; *Occasional Publications* 7, 8, 9 and
Stained Glass: £1.50 each; *Tudor Rutland, Weather Journals*: £2.00
each; *Time in Rutland*: £5.00; *Heritage of Rutland Water* £7.00.

All orders and enquiries for publications, with payment
including p&p as above, should be sent to: The Hon Editor, RLHRS,
c/o Rutland County Museum, Catmose Street, Oakham, Rutland,
LE15 6HW, England. Download OP issues free from our website.
To order and pay on-line: refer to www.genfair.co.uk.

Membership enquiries to the Hon Membership Secretary at the
same address or via www.rutlandhistory.org.



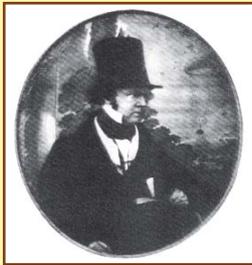
Rutland Record 32

Journal of the Rutland Local History & Record Society

In this issue:



Ice Age Neanderthals at Glaston, Rutland



Fox Talbot and Rutland



Oakham School's Masters and Ushers



Mid-Victorian Uppingham School



Rutland History & Archaeology in 2011