

*Rutland
Record 33*



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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Lady Katherine Manners, by van Dyck (by kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Rutland)

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Archaeological excavation at Oakham Castle (Wessex Archaeology)

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Sqn Ldr A W Adams



Shortly before this issue was due to go to press the Society was informed of the death of one of its Honorary Members, Fred Adams, at the age of 94. Fred and his late wife Olive (who died in 2006, as recorded in *Rutland Record* 27 (2007) 275) were both appointed Honorary Members in 1993 when the former Rutland Field Research Group for Archaeology & History merged with this Society, in recognition of their contributions to the work of the RFRGAH since its foundation in 1971. Fred's leadership of the Group and of its excavations of the medieval village sites at Nether Hambleton and at Whitwell in particular considerably enhanced our knowledge of Rutland's archaeology and demonstrated the value of amateur involvement in the field.* The Society has expressed its condolences to Fred's family, and mourns the loss of one whose honorary status was well deserved.

* For details of the excavations and references, see Clough, T, Medieval settlements at Nether Hambleton and Whitwell, in Ovens, R, & Sleath, S (eds), *The Heritage of Rutland Water* (RLHRS, 2nd ed 2008), 421-43.

Editorial : Open all hours?

Whether you have access to the internet via a telephone line or some mobile device or by satellite, so long as it is working you can be on line at any time of the day or night. So you can search and consult and browse through all those archive and history and archaeology resources that dedicated amateurs and professionals alike have worked long hours to make available. Rutland is no exception in this regard: this issue refers to the on-line cataloguing of the Noel archive at the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland, and the digitising of collections in the Rutland County Museum, to name but two examples. With our own limited resources this Society has also been able to make some archives available on line, including some of our own out-of-print back numbers, and so too has the Langham Village History Group. We can also take a virtual tour around Oakham Castle, read at least the second volume of Rutland's *Victoria County History*, and find many out-of-copyright books on sites like openlibrary.org or Google Books that make them available free of charge. And if we have access through a local library or university or other academic institution we may be able to use portals such as OpenAthens to gain access to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* or to learned journals controlled by publishing houses. In France, on departmental archive websites we may be able to read census returns as recent as the 1930s or look at the earliest Napoleonic cadastral plan for any commune. Freedom of access, of course, is the key, and the subject of much debate. Should we have to pay to pursue our researches, whether we want to consult Census records or read learned journals, or to download information? If not, as the trend towards open access for academic publications gathers pace, how will organisations that assemble, provide and publish information finance themselves? To what extent will small local organisations be affected? What is the fair balance? Not for the first time, there are more questions than answers, and not for the first time it may be those holding the purse strings rather than those requiring facilities and services who control the outcome.

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.

Oliver Good is a Project Supervisor with Wessex Archaeology, working primarily as a field archaeologist on a variety of projects including large-scale multi-period sites.

Dr Clive R Jones is a geologist of international repute. He was an Assistant Director of the Malaysian Geological Survey, a Director of the Botswana Geological Survey and retired as Acting Head of the Overseas Directorate of the British Geological Survey in 1990. He was appointed OBE in 1979 and made a Member of the Malaysian Order of Pangkuan Negara in 1960 for services to geology. He has a life-long interest in the natural world and was Chairman of the Rutland Natural History Society from 1995 to 2002.

Elaine Jones is a field archaeologist and was employed by ULAS after graduating from the University of Leicester. She has led the RLHRS field walking team in Rutland for nearly 30 years, publishing

the results of the Oakham Parish survey in 2007 as well as articles in *Rutland Record*. Her current project is on the fields around Uppingham, Ayston and Beaumont Chase. She is married to Clive Jones.

Lorraine Mepham is a Senior Project Manager with Wessex Archaeology, specialising in ceramic research and general post-excavation management. She has published widely on post-Roman pottery, and has latterly managed Wessex Archaeology's on-site and post-excavation commitments for *Time Team*.

Ian Ryder, the Society's Honorary Treasurer, has written about the civil war in Yorkshire and Ireland, and is the author of the Society's *Common Right and Private Interest: Rutland's Common Fields and their enclosure* (Occas Pub 8, 2006). His 'Social Investigations in early Victorian Rutland, part 1: the State of Education' (*Rutland Record* 31, 16-38) was short-listed for the 2013 British Association for Local History award for Research and Publication.

P J Womack trained as a teacher and is employed at a college in West Yorkshire. She has researched George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, for many years, and her historical novel about the Duke, *Darling of Kings*, will be published early in 2014.

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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The marriage of George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham and Lady Katherine Manners

P J WOMACK



The marriage of the royal favourite George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham and Katherine Manners, achieved through deception and coercion, is explored through the close examination of personal letters and contemporary documents, many little-known, which reveal a relationship characterised by continuous infidelity on one side and passionate devotion on the other. However, research reveals that Katherine was neither meek nor subservient, but was a spirited and determined woman who was prepared to flout convention to marry the man she loved.

Fig. 1. Portrait of Katherine Manners, Duchess of Buckingham, by van Dyck, c1633 (reproduced by kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Rutland).

'I pray God never woman may love a man as I have loved you that none may feel that which I have done for you' (SPD 16/68/3).

When early in 1619 it became known that King James I wished his powerful favourite George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham, to marry, there was a flurry of excitement in the court as wealthy courtiers with daughters of marriageable age scrambled to push them forward. In January the scholarly John Chamberlain, a frequent correspondent of Sir Dudley Carleton, informed the latter that, '... it is like there will be much angling after him [Buckingham], now it is bruited that the king wishes him to take a wife...' (McClure 1939, II, 200).

However, Buckingham and his redoubtable mother Mary Beaumont, now Countess of Buckingham, had already determined that George would marry Lady Katherine Manners, the only daughter of Francis Manners, 6th Earl of Rutland, and 'by virtue of her rank and her expectations, ... the greatest heiress in England' (Stone 1973, 197). Although this marriage has often been briefly mentioned in works about Buckingham and judged to have been either unusually happy or a one-sided love affair, extensive research reveals a far more complex and fascinating story.

The Villiers family had been acquainted with the noble family of the Earls of Rutland, whose seat was at Belvoir Castle in Leicestershire, when the former had lived nearby at Brooksby, but when the ambitious Mary Beaumont had married her third husband, the wealthy and well-connected Sir Thomas Compton, she began a deliberate campaign to ingratiate herself with her powerful neighbours. Sir Thomas's brother, Lord William Compton, later Earl of Northampton, was an intimate at Belvoir, frequently dining there and accompanying Roger Manners, the 5th Earl, at hunting, and had provided tents in April 1603 when the new King James I visited Belvoir for the first time. When Mary had been the wife of Sir George Villiers there had been limited contact between the wealthy and influential Manners family and the squire from Brooksby; there is a letter written by George Villiers Esquire to Countess Elizabeth Manners in December 1588 concerning a request for a living (Rutland 1905, 208), and in 1605 Villiers sent a fighting cock to the Earl (*ibid.*, 455). However, the Earl thought enough of the Villiers family to leave Sir George's heir

William 'all my hounds for the hare' in his will (TNA PROB 11/120/21). Over the next few years Mary continued to work hard at developing links with the noble family at Belvoir, and the Rutland manuscripts record frequent gifts of artichokes, apples, cucumbers, larks, veal and lamb. Sir Thomas and Lady Compton also provided a cook for the funeral arrangements for the Earl in 1612. Their cultivation of their powerful neighbours continued with Roger's successor, his brother Francis, for example by sending rabbits for the king's visit in 1614, and there were frequent gifts of food.

In May 1609 Sir Thomas Compton procured a pass for 'John and George Villars, gentlemen, to repair unto the parts beyond the seas, to gain experience' (Add MSS, II, 402, 147v). The two young men travelled to France, staying there for around three years. In January 1610 money was sent from the Earl to John Villiers in France, at Lady Compton's behest (Rutland 1905, 465), and in February the following year, Sir Thomas sent 'horses and other things into France' for his stepsons (Rutland 1888, 428). The brothers returned in 1612 or 1613, and for a year George returned home to live with his mother, who was now living at Goadby Marwood in Leicestershire. Aged twenty, George Villiers was tall and slender, unusually handsome, and a charming conversationalist; moreover in France he had perfected the courtly skills of dancing, fencing and horsemanship. Villiers considered marrying Ann Aston, the youngest daughter of the late Sir Roger Aston, who had been a Gentleman of the Bedchamber and Master of the Wardrobe to the King. However, Ann's trustees insisted that her suitor raise 100 marks as evidence that he could provide for a wife, and when Villiers claimed that he could not raise the money, the negotiations were broken off. In view of the relatively small amount involved and the affluence of his step-father, it seems unlikely that such an amount could not have been raised (Lockyer 1981, 11), but the ambitious young man now had his eyes upon an altogether more glittering prize than Mistress Aston, and Wotton comments that he had determined to 'woo fortune in court' (Wotton 1642, 3), for his friends and patrons had dissuaded him from marriage. Ann was sufficiently in love with her handsome suitor to have married him without the permission of her guardians, but her young heart would not be the last that Villiers broke.

Wotton tells us that it was at Apethorpe in Northamptonshire during his summer progress in August 1614 that the King caught sight of a face of such exquisite male beauty that he became immediately and increasingly smitten. Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, had been James's favourite since

1607, but after a scandalous marriage to Frances Howard, daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, the relationship had soured. Somerset now had less inclination to spend time with the King, and violent altercations between the two became increasingly common. The following January, Sir Peregrine Bertie, a member of the royal household, wrote to his brother that, 'the only news is of revels at court in all of which Mr Villiers was the principle actor' (Ancaster 10 ANC 338), while Chamberlain was telling Dudley Carleton, 'we speak of a masque this Christmas towards which the King gives £1500, the principle motive whereof is thought to be the gracing of young Villiers and to bring him on the stage' (McClure 1939, II, 561).

Watching events with great interest were George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who sought a means of toppling Somerset and curbing the influence of the powerful Howard family, with their pro-Spanish alliance stance. The Abbott-Pembroke faction seized the opportunity to put forward a counter-favourite: 'one nail ... being to be driven out by another' as Abbott later wrote, for, 'It was now observed that the king began to cast his eye upon George Villiers who was then Cup-bearer, and seemed a modest and courteous youth' (Nichols 1828, III, 80). The rise of Villiers did not result in Somerset's immediate downfall, but then in July 1615 the shocking truth of the death in the Tower of Sir Thomas Overbury was revealed, and both Somerset and his wife were implicated in his poisoning. The Countess confessed to having sent poisoned food to Overbury, and she and the Earl were tried and sentenced to death, though the King reduced this to imprisonment.

By 1618, Villiers, regarded by contemporaries as 'the best built and best looking man in the world' (Petitot & Monmerqué 1827, 295; Goodman 1839, I, 225), was the acknowledged favourite, and becoming increasingly influential. Titles and offices were showered upon him, 'liker main showers, than sprinkling drops or dews' (Wotton 1642, 10): he was appointed Master of the Horse, and created Viscount Villiers, Earl of Buckingham, Lord High Admiral and Marquis of Buckingham.

The friendship with the Manners family increased after Villiers' introduction to court, with the 6th Earl of Rutland, Francis Manners, frequently 'at play' at primero or gleek (popular card games) with William Feilding (the husband of Mary's daughter Susan, later created Earl of Denbigh), Sir Thomas Compton and William Villiers, the heir to Brooksby. Villiers' mother Mary was created Countess of Buckingham in her own right in 1618, and was a dominant figure at court.

King James named his favourite 'Steenie', the

Scottish diminutive of Stephen, for the King saw in Buckingham's perfect features a likeness to St Stephen, who it was said had the face of an angel. The two had an easy, playful and affectionate relationship, enjoying bawdy conversation, James referring to his favourite as his 'sweet heart' (Harleian MS 6987, f.186), his 'only sweet and dear child' (ibid., f.5), and even his 'wife' (Tanner MS 72, f.14), and Buckingham calling himself the King's 'slave and dog' (Harleian MS 6987, f.149), addressing James as his 'dear Dad and gossip' (ibid., f.196) and even his 'Sow' (Advocates MS 33.1.7, vol 2, no.70), and cheekily writing that he kissed the King's dirty hands (ibid., no. 67).

James had no problem with his favourites marrying, for he himself understood the importance of begetting heirs and had fathered eight children, despite that he was thought to be 'more addicted to love males than females' (Peyton 1652, 346). As James was a fairly frequent guest at Belvoir, the favourite would have seen Lady Katherine Manners, and it seems unlikely that a sophisticated, worldly-wise man would have fallen in love with a girl who was only fifteen in 1619 and eleven years his junior. In a rather fulsome letter written ten years earlier in May 1609 which congratulated Francis Manners on his second marriage, Katherine's uncle Sir Oliver Manners had flatteringly referred to her as 'your pretty daughter Kate' (Rutland 1888, 416). However, all the portraits of Katherine reveal a rather plain woman, and Buckingham was an ardent admirer of female beauty. Later contemporaries would extol the genuine virtues of Rutland's daughter, but her physical charms are never mentioned, and Katherine herself commented upon her want of looks in a letter to Buckingham (Tanner MS 73, f.280). Doubtless Katherine's inheritance more than made up for her lack of beauty, and Buckingham and his mother demanded a dowry of £10,000 in cash and land worth £4,000 a year. By June 1619 Chamberlain was telling Carleton that the Marquis of Buckingham 'is in speech to marry the Earl of Rutland's daughter, and that by the King's procurement' (Nichols 1828, III, 553), adding six months later that 'On the 11th the King departed from London, just when the nuptials were contracted (as is reported) between the Marquis of Buckingham and the daughter of the Earl of Rutland' (ibid., 446).

Katherine Manners was born in August 1603 (Rutland 1888, 387; 1905, 446), the daughter of Francis Manners and Frances Knyvett, who was the daughter of Sir Francis Knyvett of Charlton, Wiltshire, and the widow of William Bevill. Her parents married in May 1602, but her mother contracted smallpox and died in 1608, and Francis married Cecily Hungerford shortly afterwards, who

bore him two sons, Henry and Francis. Francis Manners became the 6th Earl of Rutland in 1612 after the death of his brother Roger, but his two sons died in childhood. Their deaths became the centre of a notorious witchcraft case, in which Joanne Flowers and her two daughters were accused of 'wicked practice and sorcery' out of revenge for being dismissed from the Earl's service. The result of the death of Rutland's sons was that Katherine was now heir not only to the Knyvett property from her mother, but also to the unentailed estates in Yorkshire and Northamptonshire, and thus was an even more attractive proposition for Buckingham: the dowry demand doubled. 'The Earl of Rutland's only son is thought to have died by witchcraft; Buckingham has now a better chance to obtain his demands for the sister, which are, 20,000*l.* ready money and 8,000*l.* per ann', Chamberlain noted (SPD 14/113/18).

However, there were complications: Rutland was a Roman Catholic and the King would only permit his favourite to marry a Protestant. Pressure was brought to bear upon Katherine to abandon her religion, and Dr John Williams, Dean of London, was brought in to 'reclaim her ladyship from the errors of the church of Rome' (Lockyer 1981, 58). Furthermore, Rutland himself was reluctant to marry his only child to a man whom he may have considered a night-grown mushroom and a parvenu, despite the obvious benefits of allying his house to that of the powerful Buckingham. It is also quite possible that he had reservations about Katherine becoming the wife of a man, however charming, who was known to be an inveterate womaniser. There were rumours that the King and his favourite were regulars at the high-class brothel of Dame Elizabeth Hollandia, later known as 'Holland's Leaguer' in Paris Gardens on the south side of the Thames, which provided lavish entertainments and courtesans for those who could afford its pleasures.

Rutland may well also have heard the talk and speculation about the exact nature of King James's intense relationship with his handsome young favourite, some written in such poems as 'The Five Senses' (Malone MS, ff.28-31), where the author prays the Almighty will protect James 'from such a face whose excellence may captivate my sovereign's sense', and will save him from 'a Ganimede whose whorish breath hath power to lead ...'. Similar concerns were echoed in other libellous verses and satires, such as in 'To Buckingham' (Ashmole MS, f.47), where hunting imagery was used as a sexual metaphor – the King's favourite sport is 'buck-in game' and the favourite is loved 'solely for your look'. The Earl was often at court and must have witnessed the very public display of kissing and

caressing, one courtier commenting that the king had ‘sold his affections to Sir George Villiers, whom he would tumble and kiss as a mistress’ (Peyton 1652, 346). The amount of dowry demanded, too, was exorbitant and Rutland was offended. The negotiations floundered, ecclesiastical lawyer and college head Nathaniel Brent writing that, ‘the match between Buckingham and the Earl of Rutland’s daughter is broken off, because she will not change her religion; the mother Countesses have quarrelled, but are now reconciled’ (SPD 14/110/22).

Further confirmation that Buckingham was motivated more by financial considerations than love is provided by the fact that at the same time that he was in negotiations for Katherine’s hand, he was also callously seeking to seduce the beautiful and witty Lucy Hay, the wife of Viscount Doncaster. Until Buckingham turned his attentions towards her, Lucy had been deeply in love with her older husband, marrying against her father’s wishes in 1617, yet a mere six months after his distraught wife had tearfully bade him farewell Doncaster returned home after a diplomatic mission to Germany to an unexpectedly frosty reception, and in November 1619 the Count of Tillières, the French ambassador, knowingly commented that, ‘they say it is not the King’s business that necessitates the ambassador’s return visit to the Emperor, but to consummate a love that the Marquis of Buckingham has for someone very close to him’ (Baschet 31/3/53, f.52). It seems that Buckingham had deliberately delayed Doncaster’s return home while he concluded his conquest of the latter’s lovely wife, and if Rutland had heard this court gossip it is no surprise that he did not wish to bestow his only daughter upon a man who might well break her heart.

However, Buckingham was used to getting his way, and his mother Mary was skilled in the art of procuring a spouse, even a reluctant one, having ensnared three wealthy husbands for herself, and had been active in arranging advantageous alliances for her kin. Mary and George’s solution to the deadlock was a plan which reflects badly on them both, and as Stone comments ‘... the Villiers exploited this [Katherine’s] passion to force her to change her religion and to obtain the marriage on their own terms’ (Stone 1973, 198). In March 1620 Mary visited the Countess of Rutland in the absence of the Earl, and invited Katherine to dine with her, promising to bring her back home before night-fall. It has been commonly assumed that the invitation was to Mary’s Leicestershire home at nearby Goadby Marwood. However, a letter from Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, written in 1631 when Katherine was a widow, reveals that Mary brought the innocent girl, who was now sixteen, to her lodgings at the

Gatehouse in Whitehall (Davies 1914, 133). He wrote,

Madam, when at the Gate house in Whitehall you had by your own act reduced yourself into as distressed an estate as you have now brought me and mine: being by your dead lord acquainted with all the passages concerning that secret, my bowels did yearn on your behalf ... if it had not been for my advice and the now Lord Savage his discretion and stoutness on the other, I may truly affirm that you had never been the Duke’s wife ... For I prevailed with him for you, when his own dear mother with her tears could not....

Even worse, Katherine stayed overnight, and so did her suitor, despite the fact that his own lodgings were within walking distance. The next day Katherine was returned home, but her outraged and furious father refused to receive her at Belvoir and the unfortunate girl had to stay with her uncle Knyvett. Mary claimed that she had been taken ill, or that Katherine had, necessitating Katherine to stay, yet it seems clear that this was a deliberate plan, as there was no possibility of returning Katherine home from London within a day, and the fact that Buckingham had also slept under the same roof ensured that Katherine’s reputation was ruined. The Earl’s only son and heir had just died, and Buckingham’s apparent willingness to take advantage of the family’s vulnerability and grief makes his behaviour seem even more callous and calculating. Rutland was now forced into the position of insisting that Buckingham marry his daughter to save both her and the family’s honour, and sent him the threatening message that ‘he was too much of a gentleman to suffer such an indignity, and if he did not marry his daughter to repair her honour, no greatness should protect him from his justice’ (Peyton 1652, 353). Buckingham refused. The Earl wrote angrily that,

this was the better course for my daughter’s honour, which although she deserves not so great care from a father whom she so little esteems, yet I must preserve her honour as if it were with hazard of my life (Tanner MS 75, f.290).

The favourite haughtily replied,

... since you esteem so little of my friendship and her honour, I must now, contrary to my former resolution, leave off the pursuit of that alliance any more ... (Harleian MS 1581, f.134).

Whether Katherine had remained a virgin is unknown, despite Buckingham’s insistence that she was untouched. However, as Katherine was passionately in love with the dazzling Buckingham and determined to marry him, she had probably needed



Fig. 2. The family of George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, British school, 1628 (L to R: Susan, Countess of Denbigh; Katherine, Duchess of Buckingham; Mary, afterwards Duchess of Richmond and Lennox; George, 1st Duke of Buckingham; George, Earl of Coventry, afterwards 2nd Duke of Buckingham, with his nurse; John, Viscount Purbeck; Mary, Countess of Buckingham; Christopher, 1st Earl of Anglesey) (Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2013).

little persuasion to stay overnight at London, and Cranfield's letter makes clear that she had acted deliberately and not been abducted. The affair caused great scandal and gossip. On 29th April Chamberlain wrote to tell Carleton that during the St George's Day celebrations Buckingham had insultingly snubbed Rutland, saying, 'it coming to the Marquis of Buckingham's turn to be coupled with the Earl of Rutland, he left him single himself, and consorted with the Earl of Leicester; and yet the opinion is that the match must go on with his daughter, or else he should do her great wrong, as well in other respects as that she hath condescended so far for his sake and his mother's, to be converted and receive the communion this Easter' (Nichols 1828, IV, 606). The match must indeed go on: Rutland had been out-manoeuvred and he knew it.

Buckingham won his wife and the dowry, although manuscripts at Belvoir show that this was paid in instalments (Rutland 1905, IV, 520, 524-5). Katherine was still a Catholic the previous month, occasioning the Spanish ambassador in London, Count Gondomar, to comment that she was determined to hold fast to her faith, and that the Countess of Buckingham had agreed that no attempt should be

made to shake her. It therefore seems likely that Katherine finally decided to renounce her religion in her desperation to wed the man who now refused to marry her after he had ruined her reputation. Understandably, despite Buckingham's importance, the marriage did not take place at court with the usual lavish and lengthy entertainments; instead the couple were married privately on 16th May 1620 at Lumley House by Dean Williams, witnessed only by the Earl and the King (Lockyer 1981, 60; Camden 1719, II, 213).

The Buckinghamhs lived a lavish life-style, with George buying several houses, including Wallingford House in Whitehall, Newhall in Essex, and York House along the Strand. In 1621 he also bought Burley on the Hill in Rutland and its accompanying estates including Oakham Castle from Lucy, Countess of Bedford, for £28,000 (Lockyer 1981, 63); here he appears to have remodelled Sir John Harington's great house (Blandamer 1998) as well as undertaking important repairs at Oakham Castle. However, despite the wealthy and glittering life-style, it seems clear that this was not the fairytale life which Katherine had imagined. Eleven years younger than her glamorous and worldly-wise



Fig. 3. *The Duke of Buckingham and his family* (L to R: Mary Villiers, afterwards Duchess of Richmond and Lennox; George Villiers, afterwards 2nd Duke of Buckingham; Katherine, Duchess of Buckingham; George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham) by Gerrit van Honthorst, 1628 (© National Portrait Gallery, London).

husband, Katherine had probably been indulged and used to having her own way as the much-loved only daughter of a noble family; how soon she realised that she must share her adored lord with the King and with mistresses, or that his incessant duties as the powerful favourite must frequently take him away from her side and her bed, is not known. It seems that Katherine had imagined that Buckingham would leave his life at court and devote himself exclusively to her, and in a bitter, reproachful letter in 1627 she told him that

For my part I have been a very miserable woman hitherto, that never could have you keep at home, but now I will ever look to be so till some blessed occasion comes to draw you quite from the court, for there is none more miserable than I am, and till you leave this life of a courtier which you have been ever since I knew you, I shall think myself unhappy (SPD 16/68/3).

In an age when pregnancy was the frequent state for women, it is interesting to examine the dates of the births of Katherine's children, and to speculate what this may reveal about her marriage. The most important duty of a wife was to provide children and

particularly an heir for her husband. Most noble women employed wet-nurses, as did Katherine, and many were pregnant every year, often conceiving within the first few months of marriage, as had Katherine's own mother. Whilst in no way conclusive, it does seem that Buckingham was often absent from his wife's bed, for Katherine was apparently fertile – there is no evidence that she miscarried during this time; she even conceived immediately after her second marriage to Randal MacDonnell, Viscount Dunluce, when she was thirty-two, although she did then later miscarry. Katherine was married to Buckingham for thirteen months before she conceived, giving birth to Mary, known as Mall, in March 1622. There was then a long gap before the next child was born, even allowing for Buckingham having been in Spain with Prince Charles for several months; Katherine's son Charles, named after King Charles I, who succeeded to the throne in March 1625 and who stood as the child's godfather, was not born until late November 1625. The possibility that the illegitimate son of his brother John's wife might inherit Buckingham's titles and estate may have brought home to Buckingham the seriousness of his having no male heir and persuaded

him to spend more time in his wife's bed as well as that of his mistress. The favourite must have been much relieved when Katherine gave birth to Charles at Burley on the Hill, although the child died sixteen months later. King Charles decreed that Buckingham's daughter Mary would inherit her father's titles and wealth in the absence of a male heir, but perhaps Buckingham was now alarmed that he again had no son, and it may be no coincidence that Katherine conceived almost immediately. George, later 2nd Duke of Buckingham, was born on 30th January 1628. Further proof that Katherine was fertile is shown by the speed in which she again became pregnant, giving birth after Buckingham's death to their son Francis in early April 1629; this time the Duke had left nothing to chance.

Whatever the dreams and hopes for her marriage had been, Katherine had to contend with reality and accept that she had not only gained a husband but also all his family, which included the doting King himself. Then there were the mistresses, notably the spirited court beauty Lucy, now Countess of Carlisle, of whom it was said that 'the Duke's mother, wife and sister hate her, not only for the Duke's intimacy with her, but that she has the Queen's heart above them' (SPD 16/101/43). Lucy remained Buckingham's mistress until his death.

During Buckingham's time in Madrid with Prince Charles in 1623, the favourite apparently made a vow not to touch another woman (Harleian MS 6987, f.119). However, given his reputation, it is not surprising that he succumbed to temptation. The Earl of Rutland was well aware of his son-in-law's frequent adultery, and wrote him a surprisingly blunt letter in March 1623:

I know you are in a hot country therefore take heed of yourself and if you court ladies of honour you will be in danger of poisoning or killing, and if you desire whores you will be in danger of burning, therefore good my Lord take heed and so praying sweet Jesus to bless you and send you safe (Tanner MS 73, f.288).

Buckingham totally ignored this advice, and his behaviour whilst at the straight-laced Spanish court caused outrage about which King James was later informed. In a lengthy letter dated November 1623 (Tanner MS 73, f.316), James Wadsworth, an English Jesuit living in Spain and employed as an interpreter, acquainted Buckingham with what was being said about him. The many charges made against the favourite, now a Duke, included one that, 'you were very indecent in many discourses and answers speaking bawdily as attributing your wife's alteration of religion to lechery and pointing to your privy members...'. Wadsworth continued that 'you

had your whores in your bed chamber, being next to the prince's and more would rise out of your own bed and from your queans and go directly to the prince's chamber and bed and going into bed to him, talk to him of your lasciviousness, and that by those whores you got your sickness and swellings...'. Similarly the Duke was also said to have contracted syphilis from 'a notorious Stew' whom he mistook for the Countess D'Olivares, the wife of the powerful Spanish royal favourite and chief minister (Weldon 1650, 34; Hinds 1914, Appendix II; Fabricius 1994, 156). While there is no evidence that Buckingham was syphilitic, rumours certainly circulated about the courts of England and Spain to that effect, and these percolated down to the general populace (Lockyer 1981, 153; Sloane MS 826, fols. 167r-171r). Buckingham had been ill whilst in Spain (the sickness referred to by Wadsworth), delaying his departure for England, and six months later courtier Thomas Locke wrote to Dudley Carleton that the Duke had again been ill, adding that, 'Some say that something was given him in Spain, which now begins to work upon him' (Green 1859, 53; Lockyer 1981, 153). Buckingham later admitted having taken mistresses while in Madrid.

The Duke would again outrage convention and stretch Katherine's devotion to the uttermost when he travelled to Paris in May 1625 to escort England's new Queen Henrietta Maria to her new home. The English favourite scandalised the French court by blatantly making love to the French Queen Anne of Austria, giving scant thought to his pregnant wife at home. The Duke's obsession with Anne, which he did not try to disguise, must have caused Katherine great heartache, and he made determined attempts to return to France '... to renew his amours with the Queen of France...' (Hinds 1914, Appendix II). Anne received a letter from Buckingham on the day she learned of his assassination, but only one letter now remains of their correspondence, which is therefore worth reproducing in full.

Dearest Madame,

I knew well that since you ordered my destinies I should overcome mine enemies, who are now dispersed. Nothing is wanting after this storm but the continuance of your kindness to enable me to reach my supreme felicity. I send you this little ass and beg you to load him with commissions. It is not his merit which enables him to enjoy sooner than I do the presence of Rosa Bella, and I should not envy him, except as you did the letter of yours which fell into my hands, if it were not that, unlike the paper, he has the gift of sight. I trust it will only serve to make him on his return a mirror wherein I may behold the present state of her who is the preservation of my life, whose last sparks have often been

almost extinguished by this long separation. I can now assure myself of life's continuation and of my felicity which should crown it, for I have only to arrange an object for my journey, and to know by the bearer if I may hope to reach my supreme desire. I adjure you, give me some assurance that will soften the wounds which my long deprivation has caused.

Your devoted and obedient servant until death,
G. Buckingham
(SPD 16/540/Supplementary Addenda 3).

Katherine's correspondence with her husband is very revealing, and although Buckingham's letters no longer exist, some of what he wrote can be deduced from her replies. Katherine remained passionately in love with Buckingham throughout their marriage, and, apart from her jealousy at his infidelities and dislike of his frequent absences, appears to have had no cause to find fault with him, saying how fortunate she was to be his wife and that he was the kindest of men, and writing, 'Dear Heart, never woman was so happy as I am, for never was there so kind a husband as you are...' (Tanner MS 73, f.280). Katherine's rather naive letters, written in an immature hand, reveal the extent of her devotion; she sent some of her own jewels to Spain, repeatedly telling him that, 'I cannot express the infinite affection I bear you; but, for God's sake, believe me, that there was never woman loved man as I do you' (ibid.). When Buckingham was in Spain Katherine's distress at his absence was so great that it caused her health to break, going into a decline which some feared to be a consumption, although the King wrote to tell his favourite that his physician had assured him that it was 'but a vapour that came from her spleen' (ibid; Harleian MS 6987, f.141).

A cursory reading of Katherine's letters gives the impression of a woman whose life was utterly bound up with her adored husband. However, further readings suggest a strong-willed woman who was no door-mat and whose relationship with her illustrious husband could be 'somewhat stormy' (Lockyer 1981, 60). Clarendon later described Katherine as a woman of 'very great wit and spirit' (Clarendon 1888, 509). Perhaps Buckingham pampered his 'poor little wife' (Tanner MS 73, f.229) as her father may have done, and it seems that she made clear her displeasure with his frequent absences. Katherine could not accept that her husband needed to be away for so long, despite claiming that she was always an obedient wife, and while it seems that she had not wanted him to be made unhappy about her illness or to be informed about it, nonetheless once he did know, she made certain Buckingham was in no doubt as to the reason for her illness, telling him, 'Dear heart, I hope you make no doubt of that which

has been cause of all my illness, for never creature has felt more grief than I have done since your going' (Tanner MS 73, f.280). Perhaps the fact that she warned her lord that if he left her again then she would surely die, indicates that Katherine was not above using emotional blackmail (Tanner MS, f.280).

It appears that Buckingham was not in the habit of writing long letters, and he rather tactlessly told his wife that she had Sir Francis Cottington to thank for encouraging him to write longer ones (Harleian MS 6987, f.117). Katherine's overwhelming joy at receiving a loving and concerned letter when she was ill suggests that her husband's correspondence was not usually overly affectionate. This is confirmed by a fascinating remark in a letter from Buckingham's sister Susan; she told her brother that she had felt 'a little sad' at the unusual formality and coldness in his last letter. Buckingham had addressed her as 'madam' and had ended his letter with 'your honourable servant' (Harleian MS 6987, f.95). Susan, who was very close to Buckingham, had later realised that her brother had mixed up his letter to her with one to Katherine, so it seems that Buckingham wrote more affectionately to his sister than to his wife.

The evidence suggests that although Buckingham was never in love with his wife he nonetheless genuinely cared for her, and notwithstanding his inability to remain faithful, treated her well, thanking the King for his care of 'my poor little wife' (Tanner MS 73, f.229), even though Stone comments on the Duke's continual indifference and infidelity (Stone 1973, 198). When Buckingham discovered that Katherine had been ill, perhaps seriously, while he was in Madrid, he seems to have been genuinely alarmed, confessing his adultery and asking for forgiveness, and even telling her he would return home if she was still sick (Tanner MS 73, ff.280, 287; Harleian MS 6987, ff.126-7). The Duchess wrote, '...how happy I am that no absence can alter your affection...' (Tanner MS 73, f.280). However, Katherine was aware of her husband's weakness, and comforted by his concern for her, she was able to be sufficiently magnanimous to tell him that he was a good man save for his one sin of 'loving women so well' (ibid.). Buckingham's confession and repentance seem to have persuaded his wife that he would forsake his adulterous life-style and she optimistically told him that 'I am sure you will not commit the like again' (ibid.). Sadly she was to find that his promises were not to be trusted.

The increasing attacks upon the Duke during the first three years of Charles I's reign, and the attempts by Parliament to impeach him in 1626 must have caused Katherine serious alarm. The Duke

survived because of the King's deep attachment to him, but Katherine and his mother and sister were devastated to hear that Buckingham intended to command a naval expedition to La Rochelle to relieve the Protestant Huguenots in the summer of 1627. All of them begged Charles upon bended knees to refuse to allow his favourite to go, which the King coldly refused. Such was Katherine's distress that Buckingham promised her that he would not accompany the fleet, and she wrote to him several times reminding of his promise to her, telling him in one letter that, 'I hope you will not deceive me in breaking yours, for I protest if you should, it would half kill me' (SPD 16/67/28).

However, Buckingham lied and left without saying goodbye. When she realised that he had really gone, Katherine's letters are full of reproach, anger and pain, even to the extent of telling him she could almost wish herself dead.

Now as I too plainly see you have deceived me, and if I judge you according to your own words I must condemn you not only in this but in your action you so much forswore...if I were sure my soul would be well I could wish myself to be out of this miserable world, for till then I shall not be happy... never, whilst I live, will I trust you again, nor never will put you to your oath for anything again ... you have sent yourself and made me miserable; God forgive you for it (SPD 16/68/3).

Similarly his mother castigated him, saying that

God hath blessed you with a virtuous wife and sweet daughter, with another son, I hope, if you do not destroy it by this way you take; she cannot believe a word you speak you have so much deceived her' (Denbigh MSS, 23).

While Katherine's desire to keep her husband safe and her pain at his deceit are understandable, yet she again appears to betray a lack of understanding at the position in which he found himself; as Lord Admiral it was his duty to command any such expeditions, and he had been severely criticised when he had not done so two years earlier during the Cadiz fiasco. Buckingham and the King hoped that a great victory might stem the increasing enmity from both Parliament and the country toward the Duke (Salvetti 1887, 116), but Katherine's desperation must have been extreme if she forced him into an oath that he would not go – one which he had no intention of keeping. It is impossible to know how affected the Duke was by his wife's condemnation; his character suggests that perhaps he was used to her anger and was confident of being able to win her around. It seems that Buckingham had told Katherine that he loved only her, for she begs him

to, 'love me only still' (SPD 16/67/60). This seems hypocritical in that he was still writing passionate letters to the Queen of France whom he hoped to see again during the expedition and whom was believed by some at the courts of France and Venice to be the real cause for the war with France, '...as that kingdom still retains the hottest ashes of his amours...' (Hinds 1914, 168). The Duke's flag ship was flying Anne's colours and he was said to have an altar in front of her portrait in his opulently furnished cabin. However, he did remember to order some money to be sent to his wife as she had repeatedly requested, and the provision in the Will he wrote on 25th June 1627 before embarking with the fleet ensured that the Duchess would be well provided for if he died, although she was not one of his executors.

Katherine had failed to keep her husband at home but continued her attempts to control his behaviour, writing to physician Dr Moore who had accompanied the Duke,

I pray you will not leave my Lord until you bring him into England. I hope he will alter his intention of going into Rochelle, and hasten homewards, for it is high time he were here. If he goes into the main land he were utterly undone, and I should think myself the most miserable woman in the world... (SPD 16/82/42).

Katherine's fears for her husband's safety are not surprising, but again demonstrate her short-sightedness about what was really at stake; Buckingham was there as the commander and had to lead, displaying great personal courage and sharing the privations of his men, yet even then he was later called 'the coward at the isle of Ree' (Sloane MS 826, f.18r). Despite her personal anxieties, Katherine was extremely generous, sending Buckingham money which the increasingly beleaguered expedition so desperately needed. The Duke returned in failure, but did not return immediately to his distressed wife, who wrote to him,

Since I heard the news of your landing, I have been still every hour looking for you, that I cannot now till I see you, sleep in the nights, for every minute, if I do hear any noise, I think it is a letter from you, to tell me the happy news what day I shall see you... (SPD 16/84/80).

Katherine's impatience to see her adored husband again is natural, as is her hurt that she has heard nothing from him, and his thoughtlessness in not even dashing off a short note to her is suggestive that she was not uppermost on his mind. Katherine's demanding letters contrast greatly with those of King Charles; Katherine presumes to lecture her



Fig. 4. Katherine Manners, Duchess of Buckingham, and her children, by van Dyck 1633
(© Crown copyright: UK Government Art Collection).

husband, unlike the King who neither commanded nor rebuked his beloved Steenie. Buckingham and Charles planned another attempt to liberate La Rochelle, but this time Katherine refused to allow him to quietly slip away, determinedly accompanying him to Portsmouth in August 1628, and refusing to stay in safety with the King at nearby Southwick in Hampshire. Before leaving London, Buckingham requested that William Laud, Bishop of London, would commit ‘my poor wife and children’ to the care of the King. Fortunately Katherine was still in her bedchamber when the Duke was stabbed to death by John Felton, and Dudley Carleton, now 1st Viscount Dorchester, gives a moving account of her agony in a letter informing the Queen of the Duke’s assassination.

...the Duchess of Buckingham and the Countess of Anglesey came forth into a gallery which look’d into the hall where they might behold the blood of their dearest Lord gushing from him; ah poor ladies, such was their screechings, tears, and distractions, that I never in my life heard the like before, and hope never to hear the like again (Ellis 1824, 259).

Half-fainting, Katherine had to be restrained from throwing herself over the gallery to join her husband in death.

The Duchess returned to her Catholic faith after

Buckingham’s death, and perhaps this is an indication of how desperate she had been to marry George Villiers – such was her determination to wed the man she idolised that she would even relinquish the religion about which she later said, ‘[I] would pour out my life in defence of [Catholicism], nothing can frighten me from my faith’ (Whitaker 2010, 139). The King, whose devotion to the Duke had matched her own, removed his beloved friend’s children from her care and had them brought up with his own children. Katherine again occasioned the King’s wrath when she married the Irish Randal MacDonnell, then Viscount Dunluce, in 1635 to general censure. Parallels may be drawn with Katherine’s first marriage in 1620; Katherine’s decision to marry Buckingham against her father’s wishes had resulted in her being placed in a position whereby her reputation was damaged, and she had chosen (albeit reluctantly) to renounce her religion. Katherine displayed the same single-minded determination to marry Dunluce; she married, without the king’s permission, a man several years younger than herself, who was thought to be a fortune-hunter and who was a Roman Catholic. Writing to Viscount Wentworth, Laud, by then Archbishop of Canterbury, said, ‘...my Lady Duchess of Buckingham ... hath married herself to the Lord of Dunluce, son to the Earl of Antrim, in Ireland, by which she hath done herself much prejudice, both with the king and everybody else...’, but also saying that ‘she hath dealt very nobly with her children ... this which she hath done being but a piece of woman’s frailty, and which men as well as women are oftentimes too subject unto’ (Bliss 1860, 124); he continued in his next letter, ‘I told you how much ground she had lost by it, and that with the king himself as all others of quality’, but with a further extenuating comment that ‘she hath showed herself so brave a mother to my noble friend the Duke’s children’ (ibid., 133). Laud later commented that the Duchess had found ‘all her friends ill satisfied with her marriage’ (ibid., 137). Katherine’s new husband lived extravagantly off his wife’s wealth for many years.

Katherine’s second marriage was equally eventful but seems to have been a far more equal partnership, with Katherine playing a leading role. Ohlmeyer (2001, 31) comments upon her love for her second husband ‘to whom she ... appears to have been temperamentally well-matched. She was his closest confidante and adviser, acting as his deputy, secretary and watch-dog...’. MacDonnell, who wrote to his wife that ‘I am only [yours], your own Randel’ (ibid., 167), was distraught when she died in November 1649, possibly from the plague. His attitude contrasts strongly with Buckingham’s, to whom Katherine ever seems to have been ‘my

poor little wife' (Tanner MS 73, f.229).

Living through a time of political upheaval and the tumultuous events of the civil war, Katherine Manners was fiercely loyal and passionately devoted to her two husbands, even to the extent of defying convention and incurring the displeasure of her

father and the king to marry the men of her choice. Katherine does not lie beneath the elaborate monument she had erected to George Villiers in King Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey, despite her effigy being upon it, but was buried at Waterford in Ireland. The location of her grave is unknown.

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Archive sources and abbreviations

Add MSS	British Library, Additional MSS
Advocates MS	National Library of Scotland
Ancaster MSS	Lincolnshire Archives
Ashmole MS	Bodleian Library
Baschet	TNA: Baschet Transcripts
Denbigh MSS	Warwickshire Record Office
Harleian MSS	British Library
Malone MS	Bodleian Library
Sloane MS	British Library
Tanner MSS	Bodleian Library
SPD 14	TNA: State Papers Domestic of the Reign of James I
SPD 16	TNA: State Papers Domestic of the Reign of Charles I
TNA	The National Archives

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Social investigations in early Victorian Rutland

Part II – Their role in raising national awareness of a public health crisis in the expanding industrial towns

IAN RYDER

In the early nineteenth century Britain was in the midst of an upheaval that later came to be known as the Industrial Revolution. One of its consequences was a disastrous impact on living conditions in the new manufacturing towns. By the 1830s concerned groups of individuals, together with awareness of increasing poor rates, prompted statistical studies of social conditions for the first time. Once the initial studies of manufacturing towns were complete it became apparent that a rural contrast was needed. In 1838, three Rutland villages were chosen by the Manchester Statistical Society for a study. Soon after, Edwin Chadwick

prepared his seminal report on the sanitary conditions of the labouring population. In it he drew on the conclusions of the Rutland study and used the county as a reference point when constructing telling comparative mortality tables. Together these reports provide a valuable snapshot into the living conditions of Rutland's inhabitants in the late 1830s that complements and expands on the limited information available from the census. The Manchester study in particular allows hidden but important differences in outlook and activity of two relatively 'introverted' estate villages and a third more 'extrovert' to be elucidated.

By the third decade of the nineteenth century Britain was undergoing dramatic changes as a consequence of an expanding population and mass migration to the industrial towns. Manchester and Salford's populations had grown by 47% between 1821 and 1831, and that of nearby Dukinfield had nearly trebled over the same period. Bradford's inhabitants had increased by 78% and West Bromwich's by 60%, followed by a further 70% over the next decade (Flinn 1965, 4). These large increases in population had not been matched by house building, and overcrowding became severe. Those houses that were being built were high density. In 1840, of Nottingham's 11,000 houses, 7,000 to 8,000 were reported as back-to-back. Liverpool, in 1841, had an estimated 15% of its population living in cellars, while Manchester had 12%, with an average of 4.2 persons per cellar (Flinn 1965, 6; Ashton 1934, 22).

These features left the poorest in desperate conditions. In 1838 common lodging houses in Manchester were described thus: 'In some of these houses as many as six or eight beds are contained in a single room; in others, where the rooms are smaller, the number is necessarily less; ... and they are often placed so close to each that there is scarcely room to pass between them. The scene which these places present at night is one of the most lamentable description; the crowded state of the beds, filled promiscuously with men, women, and children; the floor covered over with the filthy and ragged clothes they have just put off, and with their various bundles

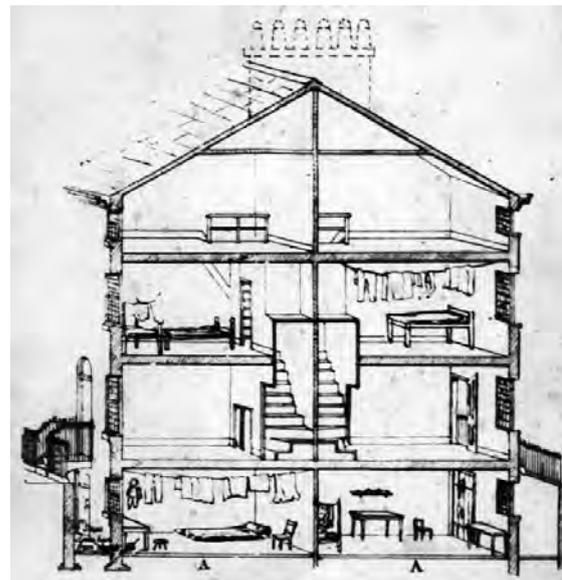


Fig. 1. 1850 diagram of back-to-back houses (courtesy of Manchester Libraries, Information and Archives, Manchester City Council).

and packages, containing all the property they possess.... The suffocating stench and heat of the atmosphere are almost intolerable to a person coming from the open air ...' (Chadwick 1842, 413). Back-to-backs in Stockport were reported as: 'Buildings consist of two rows of houses with a street seven yards wide between them; each row consists of what are styled back and front houses – that is two houses placed back to back. There are no yards or out-conveniences; the privies are in the centre of each



Fig. 2. 1838 picture of a cellar dwelling (courtesy of Manchester Libraries, Information and Archives, Manchester City Council).

Social class	Manchester	Rutland
Professional persons and gentry and their families	38	52
Tradesmen and their families (in Rutlandshire, farmers and graziers are included with shopkeepers)	20	41
Mechanics, labourers, and their families	17	38

Table 1. Average age of death c1840 in years (Chadwick 1842, 223).

row, about a yard wide and four long ... There are 44 houses in the two rows, and 22 cellars, all of the same size. The cellars are let off as separate dwellings; these are dark, damp, and very low, not more than six feet between ceiling and floor ... in the centre of [the street] is the common gutter, or more properly sink, into which all sorts of refuse is thrown; it is a foot in depth' (ibid, 91).

While the deteriorating conditions of the urban poor were clear to many, particularly the Poor Law medical officers who provided the above descriptions, such statements could be dismissed by the 'official mind' as exaggerated, emotional, untypical, or unimportant. Consequently, there arose a desire for quantification and sound statistics. At first there was resistance from the main body of the time involved with statistical studies, the British Association, to the extension of studies into social issues, and this led to the breakaway founding of first the Manchester Statistical Society, in 1833, then other local statistical societies (the Manchester Society remains the only surviving provincial society). Change was in the air and the Whig government, following its success with the 1832 Great Reform Act that enfranchised the new industrial towns at the expense of the Rotten Boroughs, also began a process of social reform. 1833 saw the Factory Act to improve the conditions of

children working in factories. In 1834 the Poor Law Amendment Act replaced the old parish based system with national Poor Law Commissioners and made Unions the general unit of Poor Law administration. 1835 produced the Municipal Corporation Act that paved the way for new local government. 1836 saw the grievances of dissenters being forced to marry in the Church of England rectified with the Marriage Act and the Registration of Births and Deaths Act. The accessible and reliable statistics provided by these last two Acts supplied much supportive information for further reform.

One of the major reasons for reforming the Poor Law was to limit the increasing amount being spent on poor relief. The new Poor Law Commissioners ordered small-scale enquiries in part of London into reasons for the epidemics that were causing '... a heavy amount of claims to relief ...' (Flinn 1965, 2, 44) (premature death from disease was removing bread winners from families, who then had to be supported by the Poor Law). However, while the result of the enquiries, compiled by three members of the medical profession, fixed the blame for the spread of disease on squalid urban conditions, it was insufficiently authoritative for official purposes. Consequently in the same year, 1838, the Poor Law Commissioners were ordered by the House of Lords

to undertake an enquiry into the sanitary conditions of the labouring class. They in turn passed the task to their secretary, Edwin Chadwick, who was released from his duties as secretary for the purpose (ibid, 45). The result was Chadwick’s seminal 1842 *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*. This report ultimately led to the 1848 Public Health Act, which for the first time charged the Government with a measure of responsibility for safeguarding the health of the nation.

So what was Rutland’s role in these issues that concerned the expanding industrial towns? Once the newly formed statistical societies began to conduct surveys of the towns, and Chadwick to collect information for his report, it quickly became clear that a contrast was needed, a contrast that would enable an assessment of whether the manufacturing towns were responsible for the ills affecting their populations. In 1839, the Manchester Statistical Society (hereafter ‘MSS’) decided to investigate the condition of workers in a purely agricultural area: three parishes in Rutland were chosen (Ashton 1934, 23). Chadwick later used some of this information in his report, together with data from local Poor Law officers and the new Civil Register of Deaths (Chadwick 1842, 221-3). These various surveys and reports provide an excellent snapshot of living conditions in Rutland at that time, together with conditions in the new manufacturing towns to which many of the rural population were either encouraged or forced to move (Flinn 1965, 41). One of the most telling tables in Chadwick’s report was a comparison of the average age of death in Manchester and Rutland (Table 1).

This table showed dramatic and alarming differences, and Mr J R Wood, the agent of the Manchester Statistical Society who had conducted the Rutland and other surveys, was asked to comment on the question: ‘Bearing in mind the fact

that wages are nearly double in Manchester to the average of wages in Rutlandshire, though rents are higher in Manchester: are the different chances of life amongst each class of the population to the extent they are indicated by the returns, conformable to what you would have anticipated from your personal examinations of the houses and observation of the condition of the inhabitants?’ He replied, ‘They are decidedly conformable to my anticipation in the general results.... The results certainly correspond with my own impressions as to the relative condition of the different classes in the different neighbourhoods’ (Chadwick 1842, 222).

Mr Wood also pointed out the need to allow for age differences in the population and differences in the death rates amongst the various age ranges within the population. These are starkly revealed by the statistics provided by the recently instituted Register of Deaths. While deaths were proportionally higher in the under-20s compared to other age groups in both Rutland and Manchester, they were very much higher in Manchester than Rutland, and this was consistent across the social divide (Table 2).

The younger you were, the more at risk you were. Calculated death rates from proportions of deaths given by Chadwick (1842, 228) show that the 0–5 age group provided 75% of all Rutland deaths in the under 20s. While data for Rutland alone are not available for more specific ages within the 0–5 group, the Registrar General’s report for the period July 1838 to June 1839 for Registration District 15, which includes Rutland as well as the counties of Derby, Leicester, Northampton, Nottingham and part of Lincoln, shows the same trend continuing into the younger ages, especially affecting infants less than a year old (Table 3). Once you were beyond the dangerous early years there was a reasonable life expectancy, as revealed by the ages of men whose deaths produced widows and

<i>Social class</i>	<i>Under 20 years</i>	<i>20–60 years</i>	<i>Over 60 years</i>
Manchester			
Gentry and professional persons	21	13	20
Farmers, tradesmen and persons of similar circumstances	444	220	61
Agricultural and other labourers, artisans and servants	3106	1149	374
Total	3571	1382	455
Percentage of all deaths	66%	26%	8%
Rutland			
Gentry and professional persons	4	7	17
Farmers, tradesmen and persons of similar circumstances	174	108	168
Agricultural and other labourers, artisans and servants	293	157	227
Total	471	272	412
Percentage of all deaths	41%	23%	36%

Table 2. Analysis of age at death (Chadwick 1842, 228).

Age	Percentage of deaths within 0–5 years
<1 year	63
1-3	26
3-5	11

Table 3. Age of death for children of 5 and under in Registration Division 15 (Registrar General 1840, 46).

orphan children receiving poor relief. The average age of death in Rutland, even in this disadvantaged group, is the highest for those areas recorded by Chadwick (Table 4). If the 0–5 age group is excluded from Chadwick’s average age of death data for Rutland, then the mean age of death increases dramatically and is similar to that reported by the Poor Unions. One can also see that higher social class also provided better life expectancy (Table 5).

The recent appointment of Medical Officers for the Poor Unions and the establishment of a Register of Deaths allowed the cause of death to be examined in various areas (Table 6). This table highlights the difference between the two environments. There was a much greater proportion of death from respiratory diseases in Manchester compared to Rutland. Conversely, death from old age was much higher in Rutland than Manchester. The Registrar General’s reports go further than did Chadwick in that they provide details on the cause of all deaths in Rutland, rather than just for those whose dependents were

given poor relief (Table 7). Here it must be remembered that the physicians of that time had no knowledge of the microbiological cause of infections, and so their listing of causes of death have been reorganised, by the author, with this later understanding. However, this still leaves some large uncertainties: for example, the high figure for convulsions (a symptom rather than a disease) may reflect the consequences of infection. Similarly, bronchitis may be caused by both infectious and non-infectious agents. The term debility implies a failure to thrive that could also have been due to infection. The largest single cause of death in Rutland is recorded as ‘old age’, but the bulk of these individuals would have died of a specific disease or diseases, some of which would almost certainly have been infectious. Nevertheless, even in ‘normal healthy’ Rutland at least a third of all deaths were probably due to some pathogenic agent, with consumption constituting half that total. In Manchester and other industrial towns where the conditions for the spread of disease were so much greater it is hardly surprising that mortality was higher, especially in the very young who had limited immunity and strength to fight the infectious onslaught from their environment.

It was to examine the ‘normal environment’ that the Manchester Statistical Society in 1839 produced their ‘Report on the Condition of the Population in Three Parishes in Rutlandshire’ (hereafter ‘MSS

Unions	Number of husbands dying under 60	Average age at death	Number of husbands dying above 60	Average age at death	Total deaths	Average age
Manchester	718	42	432	69	1150	52
Whitechapel	351	44	239	69	590	54
Bethnal Green	250	44	195	69	445	55
Strand	157	42	63	66	220	49
Oakham & Uppingham	136	45	118	71	257	57
Alston-with-Garrigill	69	45	20	66	89	50
Bath	66	38	1	60	67	39

Whitechapel, Bethnal Green and Strand are districts of London. Alston-with-Garrigill is a large parish in the eastern Cumbrian fells notable for the extensive mining of lead and other metal ores. The low average age of death in Bath may have been associated with poor quality water. Chadwick reports a case of clean pump water requiring a quarter of a mile journey and that consequently fouled river water was being used for food preparation (Chadwick 1842, 141).

The Oakham and Uppingham Unions were not coterminous with the county boundary (Ryder 2011, 18).

Table 4. Average age of death causing widowhood in various Poor Unions (Chadwick 1842, 255).

Social class	All age groups	Excluding aged 5 and under *
Professional persons and gentry and their families	52	66
Tradesmen and their families (in Rutlandshire, farmers and graziers are included with shopkeepers)	41	55
Mechanics, labourers, and their families	38	52
Total	40	53

* This column was calculated by the author using an average for each age range provided by Chadwick

Table 5. Average age of death in Rutland c1840 recorded by Chadwick.

<i>Diseases</i>	<i>Manchester %</i>	<i>Oakham & Uppingham %</i>
Respiratory organs	43	27
Epidemic, endemic & contagious	13	13
Digestive organs	5	6
Nervous	6	10
Violent	8	9
Old age	7	19
Other diseases	11	14
Undescribed	5	2
Total number of deaths	1150	254

Table 6. Chief causes of death causing widowhood and orphanage in Poor Unions (Chadwick 1842, 256).

<i>Likely infectious cause</i>	<i>No of deaths</i>	<i>Other disease cause</i>	<i>No of deaths</i>	<i>Other disease cause</i>	<i>No of deaths</i>
Smallpox	2	Apoplexy	7	Digestive, other	8
Whooping cough	13	Paralysis	8	Disease of liver	12
Thrush	2	Convulsions	31	Dropsy	21
Diarrhoea & dysentery	3	Other nervous conditions	10	Tumour & carcinoma	9
Cholera	2	Bronchitis	3	Debility	19
Typhus	11	Asthma	3	Old age	83
Pneumonia	14	Circulatory disease	4	Other	23
Consumption	64	Other Total			241
Gastritis, enteritis	8	Violent Deaths			10
Infection Total	119	Grand Total			370

Table 7. Causes of death in Rutland July 1838 – June 1839 (Registrar General 1840, 214).

Condition of Population Report’). The report was read at a British Association meeting and published by the London Statistical Society, later the Royal Statistical Society, by whose kind permission it is appended below (pp122-6). References to the original tables contained in the MSS Condition of Population Report are designated ‘MSS Table [letter]’. This study was the second of two conducted by the MSS in Rutland. The first, ‘Report of a Committee of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in the County of Rutland’ (hereafter ‘MSS Education Report’), was reprinted together with a commentary by this author in an earlier article (Ryder 2011, 16).

The three parishes involved in the MSS Condition of Population Report were Braunston (mis-spelt ‘Branstown’ throughout), Egleton and Hambleton, and as with its earlier survey of Manchester and its surrounding towns, an agent was paid to undertake a house to house study (Chadwick 1842, 222). The MSS Condition of Population Report makes the comment, in the third paragraph, that Mr Finch (George Finch (1794-1870), the natural son of the 9th Earl of Winchilsea, who had succeeded to the Rutland estates in 1826, but not the title) owned ‘the chief part’ of

Egleton and Hambleton. In fact he owned the whole of Egleton outright and was also a substantial land owner in Braunston, and was Lord of the Manor of all three villages, a situation which still obtained some 35 years later when the *Return of Owners of Land 1873* was compiled (Clough 2010, 12). As such his support would have been important for gaining the co-operation of the villagers. The study of education in the county was the initial focus of the MSS, that study being undertaken in the autumn of 1838 (Ryder 2011, 17), while the Condition of Population Report was completed in March 1839. It is therefore probable that the three villages were only chosen for examination after the arrival in Rutland of the MSS inspector.

A statement made by G J Heathcote MP, in his Chairman’s address to the Rutland Agricultural Society’s Christmas Show (*SM* 2nd December 1842), could be taken to indicate that it was the Poor Law Commissioners who had selected the three villages, but Heathcote seems to have confused Chadwick’s and the MSS surveys as he went on to talk about the comparative life span in Rutland and Manchester. The countywide scale of the education study would have prompted discussion with interested personages such as Finch, and the close proximity of the three villages

	Parkinson	Census					MSS
	1806	1801	1811	1831	1841	1851	1839
Houses (including those uninhabited)							
Braunston	25	82	79	89	106	113	97
Egleton & Hambleton	69	93	97	92	98	98	95
Families In Occupation							
Braunston	–	100	87	104	–	–	102
Egleton & Hambleton	–	105	101	103	–	–	100
Total Population							
Braunston	–	367	350	424	443	411	425
Egleton & Hambleton	–	471	458	434	463	426	479

Table 8. Comparison of figures for dwellings and population
(Parkinson 1808, 26; Census records: 1801, 1811, 1831, 1841 & 1851; MSS Report, Tables A & B).

to Oakham and to each other would have made for convenience. Further stimulus would have been provided by the parallel enquiries by Chadwick of the local Poor Law Commissioners. Certainly, a local acceptance is the most likely as at a higher level there was little common interest between members of the MSS who were mainly Whigs and Finch who was a Conservative MP (Finch 1901, 339; O'Brien 2004, 8).

The MSS Condition of Population Report states that the detailed and comprehensive statistical tables obviated 'the necessity of any elaborate comment', but the passage of 170 years since its publication does require it to be put into context. It also allows examination of the Report's claim for comprehensiveness to be tested by comparison with various other returns for these villages (Table 8)

What is immediately apparent is the large discrepancy in the number of houses between the 1801 census and the data collected by Parkinson only a few years later. Whilst the Parkinson total accounts for over 70% of the houses in Egleton and Hambleton the proportion for Braunston was much lower at 31%. The reason for this discrepancy was that Parkinson's survey was associated with matters agricultural and the houses he describes were either 'comfortable houses' let to gentlemen or farm houses and cottages tenanted from the larger proprietors. Certainly White's *Directory* (1846, 643) mentions 'a few smaller owners' as well as Sir G Heathcote and the Earl of Gainsborough, and in 1873 the *Return of Owners of Land* recorded ten resident landowners in Braunston, but just four in Hambleton and none at all in Egleton (Clough 2010, 21): which indicates that the situation had not changed significantly since Parkinson's day. Though both White's and the *Return of Owners of Land* observations relate to land rather than houses, together with the rental information provided by MSS Table C they show that the vast majority of houses in all the villages were rented. It is also clear that, by 1838, those renting just a dwelling in Braunston, as opposed to a dwelling plus land, were paying on average higher rents than similar

tenants in Egleton and Hambleton.

The MSS Condition of Population Report includes figures for both houses and chambers within the number of dwellings (MSS Table A). As the reported number of dwellings and families was identical (MSS Tables A & B) and a chamber is *per se* part of a larger building this indicates multiple family occupancy of some houses. Comparison of the MSS Condition of Population Report with the 1841 Census shows that the number of houses is slightly lower in the Report, nine fewer in Braunston and three fewer in Egleton and Hambleton. This may be due to inconsistencies in the assessors' inclusions and exclusions. The 1841 Census lists three properties, two in Braunston and one in Egleton, as uninhabited (the latter was possibly the hut or cabin referred to in MSS Table A). However, it is more likely that there had been an expansion in the number of houses to accommodate population growth. In fact the Braunston 1841 Census entries record one house in the process of being built. The pressure on housing at this time is further illustrated by a report from Ryhall in 1837 stating that the 'Relieving Officer had nearly lost his situation from not being able to become a householder as by law required' (Ryder 2011, 22). Further building continued in Braunston in the next decade, as shown by the increase in seven houses noted in the 1851 Census. In terms of total population the MSS Condition of Population Report and the 1841 Census are in good agreement. Comparison with the census shows that the MSS Report was undertaken at around the peak of population for the three villages concerned and that the information it contained is reliable.

By 1851, however, the census returns show a population decline in all three villages to below the 1831 level, with eleven of Braunston's expanded housing stock uninhabited. In contrast Egleton and Hambleton, which had had little new building, had only three uninhabited houses. That only three houses were uninhabited despite a decrease of 43 people from the time of the MSS Condition of Population Report is accounted for by the virtual elimination of

multi-occupancy of families sharing the same house. The Report shows an excess of five families to houses, in both Braunston and the combined Egleton and Hambleton figure (MSS Tables A & B). Even at this time of peak population the relatively low number of multiple occupancies in Rutland contrasts with the dire overcrowding described in industrial towns. Rutland was therefore a good comparator for the industrial towns. Mr Wood, the MSS agent, commented: 'I apprehend, however, that some allowance must perhaps be made for the very high average age in Rutlandshire, from the circumstance that many of the children or young people migrate from thence to manufacturing neighbourhoods for employment. These would certainly have passed the age at which the greatest mortality takes place amongst children; but we may expect that their migration, as it is a constant migration, might to some extent increase the average age of death or apparent duration of life in Rutlandshire, though not very materially. On the other hand, there is, perhaps, a larger proportion of children in Manchester. The majority of those migrating would have been from the younger ages and this may reflect itself in an age bias towards a slightly older population in Rutland than that seen in the towns' (Chadwick 1842, 222).

What was driving this rural migration to the towns? Agricultural economic conditions deteriorated after 1824 until 1837, and wages fell from between 13 to 15 shillings to 10 shillings (Thirsk 1954, 237). Rents, by contrast, appear to have increased. Parkinson (1808, 27) reported that in 1806 in parts of the county 'a comfortable house with a good garden is let at £1 per annum' to gentlemen but by 1839 the average yearly rent for a house in Egleton and Hambleton was £2 17s 3d and at Braunston £3 (MSS Table C). After 1837, while there was a general revival in the agriculture economy, technological innovation continued to reduce the need for workers (Thirsk 1954, 237). The reported figure for wages of 10 shillings a week is very close to the average weekly earnings for heads of families for Egleton and Hambleton and almost a shilling higher than that for Braunston (MSS Table G). These earnings starkly contrast with the observation that 'wages are nearly double in Manchester to the average of wages in Rutlandshire' (Chadwick 1842, 222). However, the low Rutland wages were in part compensated for by relatively lower rents: 'The rents of the houses in Rutlandshire would appear to be very low compared with those in large manufacturing towns. Not only is the average cost of the former less than half of the latter, but for that diminished cost the dimensions of the houses are double those in large towns, with comforts and conveniences which the latter never can possess' (ibid, 221). Despite these comforts and

conveniences the MSS Condition of Population Report describes the general interior appearance of village houses as indicating 'thrifty poverty'.

Here the Report is able to give further insight into the village houses and their interior. The houses were described as 'low never exceeding two stories; many of them are thatched and nearly all are built of stone. To each a garden is attached, which is generally of sufficient dimensions to supply the family with vegetables. As there are no cellars, most of the houses have a small dairy or store-room attached ...'. These are in contrast to the back-to-back housing and cellar dwellings described earlier that were increasingly prevalent in industrial towns. The interiors were assessed (MSS Table A) for furnishings, cleanliness and comfort, as well as the availability of water and drainage. On all criteria, with the exception of water provision, the villagers of Egleton and Hambleton appear to have been advantaged over the inhabitants of Braunston. In comparing Rutland with industrial towns the proportion of well-furnished dwellings was the same or favoured the towns: Braunston, 41%; Egleton and Hambleton, 51%; Manchester and Salford, 52%; Dukinfield, 61%. This bias was even greater for the proportion of comfortable dwellings: Braunston, 50%; Egleton and Hambleton, 65%; Manchester and Salford, 72%; Dukinfield, 95%. Given that the MSS Condition of Population Report itself states that the 'instances of the squalid misery so frequent in large towns' were extremely rare in Rutland, the high proportion of 'comfortable dwellings' in the industrial towns appears to be a contradiction. The reason is probably the nature of the measurements: 'well furnished' could be reasonably objectively assessed from the number of such items as tables, chairs and cupboards. Given the higher wages in the towns it is perhaps not surprising that they had the same or a higher proportion of well furnished dwellings compared to the 'thrifty poverty' of Rutland. However, 'comfortable' was more subjective, as the Agent for the Society admitted: 'nor is it possible to attach any precise definition to it'. As a consequence he chose his own: 'If I considered [the dwelling] capable of being made comfortable by the tenant, I set it down accordingly; if it was damp, the flooring bad, and the walls ill-conditioned, I reported it uncomfortable'. The large numbers of cramped back-to-back houses of the industrial towns were of relatively recent build and this may have permitted them to meet these limited criteria, whilst the more spacious older properties in Rutland, possibly poorly maintained, were less likely to meet the requirement. The high number of Rutland's houses with inadequate or no drainage would support this assertion.

The MSS Condition of Population Report also lists the size of the houses occupied by the villages'

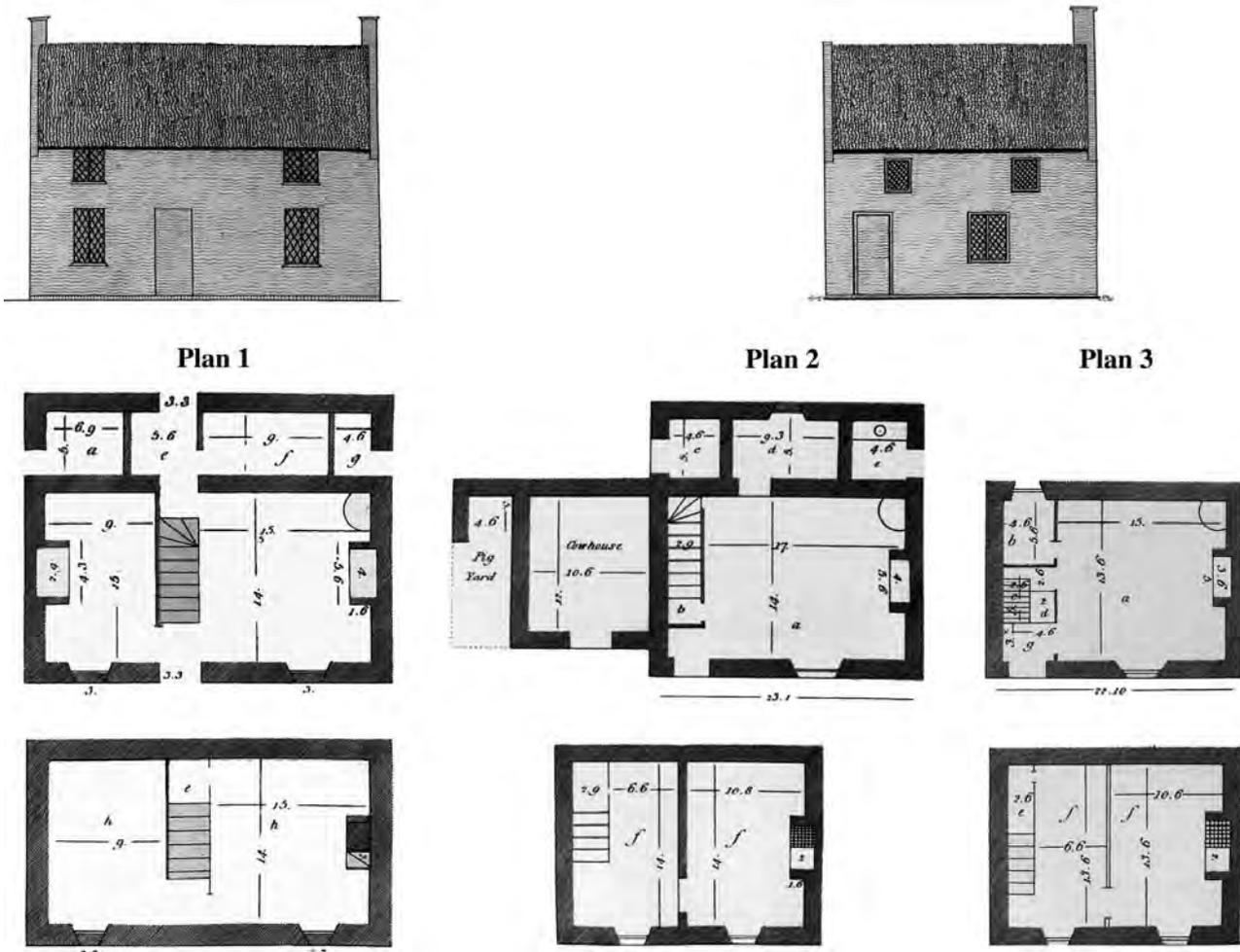


Fig. 3. Plans of Winchilsea estate cottage houses, adapted from Parkinson (1806, after p28).

Plans 1 & 2 have a lean-to at the back of the house with separate rooms for (left to right) a 'calf place or wood house', 'passage & place for washing dishes', dairy and privy (Plan 1); or a 'calf house', pantry and privy (Plan 2). In addition Plan 2 has an attached cow house and pig yard. The tenants of a Plan 1 house probably had a separate barn. The kitchen is the main ground floor room in all plans, but Plan 1 also has a parlour and two chimneys rather than one. There is separate access to both bedrooms in Plan 1, but not in Plans 2 & 3. In Plan 3, designed for a labourer, there is an internal pantry, but no privy, and the bedrooms are accessed by a ladder.



Fig. 4. Photograph of a 'Winchilsea cottage house' at Hambleton that conforms, in mirror image, to Plan 2. The bay windows are later insertions, as is the raising of the 'cow house' on the right to two storeys and its incorporation together with an extra chimney into the house (photo: author).

families (MSS Table B). In making this assessment it specifies in its fourth paragraph that only living quarters were counted, the small dairy or store-room attached to most houses being excluded. This shows clearly that the majority of families from whom information was ascertained in Egleton and Hambleton had four or more rooms, with the largest number of families in four-roomed houses. This closely matches the description of cottages the Earl of Winchilsea preferred to have built, which besides the dairy had a kitchen, parlour and two bedrooms (*VCH Rutland I*, 246). Parkinson, in his 1806 agricultural survey of the county, was provided with three plans for cottages by Winchilsea's steward Mr Wilson (figs. 3 & 4). In Braunston on the other hand, where he owned a much smaller proportion of the village, the majority had three or fewer rooms, with the largest number in two-roomed houses. These figures indicate a degree of overcrowding in Braunston compared to Egleton and Hambleton. Whilst this was ameliorated to some degree by the smaller size of its families, an average of 4.17 in Braunston compared to 4.79 in Egleton and Hambleton (MSS Table D), it is reflected in the numbers given for three or more persons sharing a bed: Braunston, 19%; Egleton and Hambleton, 14%. Even so these are still well below the comparative figures quoted for industrial towns: Dukinfield, 33%; Bury, 35%.

The smaller average family size in Braunston seems to reflect a greater proportion of the younger adult group whose families had not yet been completed, as shown by the age breakdown for the population provided by the 1841 Census (Table 9) (the accuracy of the census age data is constrained by rounding of ages for those over 15) (Davis 2013, 91).

These age tables also demonstrate the relative youthfulness of even the rural population with over 50% aged 20 or under. This high percentage of children would inexorably have led over the following decades to an expanding village population, if they all had remained at home. However, as the population of the three villages, like that of Rutland as a whole, remained static or declined in that period, substantial migration, as described by Mr Wood, must have continued. The expanding rural population was faced with a decreasing employment market, as increased farm efficiency and mechanisation reduced the need for labour. In fact, large increases in Rutland's poor rates in the last decades of the eighteenth century were already indicators of increased rural poverty. These increases had prompted the establishment of a Society aimed at creating initiatives to avoid future rate rises (*VCH Rutland I*, 224). Even so, the number of villagers in abject poverty as shown by those exempt in 1824 from paying tax due to poverty was low: Egleton 1.5%, Hambleton 3.9%,

and Braunston 5.2% of the 1821 population (ROLLR, DE4076/7/1-51). Migration of Rutland's young and able-bodied to the manufacturing towns, reducing pressure on the remaining population, was the probable reason for the low level of abject poverty.

Age Range	Egleton & Hambleton	Braunston
0-20	51.6%	51.7%
21-40	21.0%	26.9%
41-60	17.9%	13.3%
60+	9.5%	8.1%

Table 9. Population ages in the 1841 Census.

Number of children	Attending school aged under 10	Census aged 10 and under	Attending school aged under 15	Census aged 15 and under
Braunston	36	45	43	70
Egleton & Hambleton	67	75	89	84

Table 10. Comparison of MSS Condition of Population Report of those attending school with 1841 Census data.

The MSS Condition of Population Report also lists the number of children at various age ranges attending day school (MSS Table I). Unfortunately these ages are not the same as the age ranges provided for the total population elsewhere in the report. Nevertheless, they can be compared with the population numbers obtained from the 1841 Census (Table 10). Allowing for the limited accuracy of the census age information described earlier, the vast majority of children aged 10 and under in these Rutland villages attended school. However, in Braunston the number of children attending school aged between 10 and 15 dropped dramatically, whilst a majority of that age group living in Egleton and Hambleton still attended – though how often is a moot point, particularly at harvest and other important agricultural times.

Tables D & H in the MSS Report also provide the acquired educational attainments of both adults and minors, which have been converted here into percentages of the population (Table 11). As is to be expected, the percentage of minors with educational achievements was lower than that for adults and the level of adult education was similar between the villages. The ability of the adult population to read was at least 90%, but with a much lower proportion able to write and fewer still with numeracy. The same pattern is seen in the education of children and resulted from the restricted range of subjects provided by Dame Schools, which focused just on reading, sewing, knitting and religion. The ability to sew reaches almost 50% of the population and reflects this important skill being a mainly female occupation. The MSS Condition of Population Report summarises the situation as, 'Their education has been but limited,

Percentage of	Braunston				Egleton & Hambleton			
	Read	Write	Numbers	Sew	Read	Write	Numbers	Sew
Minors under 21	56.4	26.1	10.6	29.3	67.0	31.3	16.3	26.2
Adults	90.3	57.3	37.1	49.8	93.9	64.2	38.6	46.3

Table 11. Education achievements of the population.

nor has their intelligence been very highly developed'. More detailed information on education in Rutland at the time is provided in the writer's earlier assessment of the MSS Education Report (Ryder 2011).

The MSS Condition of Population Report also classifies the occupation of both minors and adults. Not surprisingly two thirds of the adult population in the villages were listed as employed in agriculture (MSS Table E). This is similar to the proportions recorded in the 1841 Census (Table 12). However, the Report and the census differ in the details of the numbers employed in the various occupations. In part the reason may be the passage of a few years between the two studies. Another is the definition of an adult. As mentioned earlier the census only recorded ages to the nearest 5 years, so it is unclear whether a person aged 20 was recorded as an adult or a minor. Here the assumption has been made in the construction of Table 12 that anyone aged 20 was an adult. Where this has most effect is in the classification of servants. The MSS Condition of Population Report indicates this was primarily a female occupation with only one male 'domestic servant' present in all three villages. The census on the other hand uses the less specific title of 'servant' and while this covers both male and female, the former were probably mostly young men employed in non-domestic service on farms (Davis 2013, 92). This could explain the apparent lower numbers occupied in agriculture in Braunston in the census compared to the MSS Condition of Population Report. The status of an individual could also give rise to confusion in classification. The totals for farmers and graziers in Egleton and Hambleton are much lower in the census compared to the MSS Condition of Population Report, while those for other agricultural occupations are much higher. The reason for this is the status of cottagers, of whom there were 31 recorded at Egleton and Hambleton in the census, but only one at Braunston. The term 'cottager' was often tied to the right to pasture a cow, but an individual could also equally be described as a grazier or agricultural labourer, depending on whether they owned several beasts or none. Lord Winchilsea's Egleton tenants had a common pasture for 28 cows, but a 1797 survey records that not all the cottagers had a cow (Parkinson 1808, 101; ROLLR, DG7/4/27). The term 'farmer' was more clearly defined, implying ownership or tenancy of a sizeable

piece of land. In the 1797 survey, Egleton had six farmers, only one more than was recorded by the 1841 Census. In contrast the village at that time had fourteen cottagers, one grazier and eight agricultural labourers, of whom six had their own cottage.

	Braunston		Egleton & Hambleton	
	MSS	1841	MSS	1841
Agricultural & outdoor	57	44	50	65
Farmers & graziers	26	31	37	19
Total	83	75	87	84
Clothing trades	5	8	3	4
Mechanical & handicraft trades	12	13	10	9
Shopkeepers & publicans	9	14	6	10
Professional	5	3	1	5
Servants total (female only)	9 (9)	9 (2)	7 (7)	13 (8)
Miscellaneous	0	1	4	4
Employed at home	10	0	9	0
Total	50	48	40	45
Grand Total	133	123	127	129

Table 12. Occupations of adults shown in the MSS Condition of Population Report and 1841 Census.

Braunston had more of its population working in the clothing and mechanical trades than Egleton and Hambleton. In 1841 its clothing sector consisted of six shoemakers and two tailors. In contrast, Egleton and Hambleton had one tailor and two weavers. The number of Braunston's shoemakers was clearly more than was needed to supply the village and was probably an offshoot of the growing shoe trade in Leicester. This had grown from 58 manufacturers in 1828 to 119 in 1839 and 200 in 1846 (*VCH Leics* IV, 319). Interestingly, the census for Braunston, unlike Egleton and Hambleton, also lists a carrier living in the village. White's *Directory* (1846, 643-4) names a number of the tradesmen and records the carrier, Samuel Hackett, as making weekly visits to Leicester which could have included delivering the week's shoe production. The other difference between the MSS Condition of Population Report and the census is the inclusion in the former of a group 'employed at home'. What they did and how they were then defined in the census is unknown. The census occupations in the three villages, grouped to provide a similar classification to the MSS Condition of

<i>MSS Report</i>	<i>1841 Census</i>
Agricultural & outdoor	Farmer Grazier Labourer Drover Carrier Gardener
Clothing trades	Weaver Tailor Shoemaker / cordwainer
Servants	Domestic Charwoman
Mechanics & handicrafts Trades	Blacksmith Wheelwright Carpenter/joiner Builder Mason
Professional	Clergy Teacher Independent means
Miscellaneous	Toll collector Journeyman Jobber Midwife

Table 13. Occupations of adults.

Population Report, are shown in Table 13.

Included in the MSS Condition of Population Report's tally of Braunston's shopkeepers and retailers were three retail brewers (beer houses), in addition to two licensed victuallers. This is similar to the information provided by White's *Directory* (1846, 629, 644-5), which lists two victuallers, at the Blue Ball and Plough, and four beer houses, but contrasts with the recording of only three publicans in the 1841 census. In Egleton and Hambleton, the MSS records two licensed victuallers and no beer houses, while White's *Directory* lists only one victualler in both villages, at the Finch's Arms in Hambleton, as does the 1841 census. The growing number of beer houses in Braunston was a consequence of the 1830 Beer Act, which had abolished many of the previous restrictions on the licensed trade and permitted any rate payer to sell beer, ale and cider without a licence. The number of beer houses in Braunston, compared to their notable absence in the estate villages of Hambleton and Egleton, points to a greater entrepreneurial spirit in that village. The villagers of Hambleton and Egleton lived under the patronage and control of the Winchilsea estate, which in all likelihood subscribed to the prevalent upper and middle class view that spending on alcohol by the lower classes could lead to personal and family ruin. This sentiment is echoed in the MSS report's general observation that 'swearing and drunkenness are far from common' in the villages. From this perspective beer houses would have been viewed as morally

unhealthy by the estate and any such nascent enterprises discouraged. The presence of beer houses also points to the limited nature of census occupation descriptions, enumerators being constrained to using primary descriptions, such as grocer or cottager, and ignoring that they also sold beer from their houses (Davis 2013, 92).

Domestic service was mainly a female occupation with similar numbers in the villages, but was an employment for girls rather than women (MSS Tables E & F). The dominance of agricultural occupations amongst minors was much greater in Egleton and Hambleton (37 out of 42 in employment) than in Braunston (25 out of 35 in employment), and while a proportion of Braunston's adolescents were employed in the mechanical or clothing trades, Egleton and Hambleton had none. The impression given by this look at occupations is that Egleton and Hambleton were somewhat introverted compared to Braunston, whose greater supply and diversity of tradesmen indicates a higher level of business outside its own community. This impression is strengthened by the increase of its population and houses during the first four decades of the nineteenth century, compared to the near stasis of the more agricultural villages of Egleton and Hambleton. However, the smaller size of houses, lower wages and higher rent paid by the inhabitants of Braunston point to a greater level of deprivation compared to those at Egleton and Hambleton. These relative advantages for those living at Egleton and Hambleton probably arose from the two villages being Winchilsea estate villages and benefiting from its history of paternalism (Ryder 2006, 37). The contrast may be a consequence of the higher number of individual small landowners in Braunston but may also reflect the fact that, as the MSS Report states (in its second paragraph), there was 'no resident landlord possessing any extensive property' in that parish.

Not surprisingly 73% to 80% of the three villages' population professed to be Church of England, with the bulk of the remainder Protestant dissenters. As the MSS Education Report on Rutland states, 'there is little or no Roman Catholic population' (Ryder 2011, 28). What is perhaps surprising is that a number of individuals were prepared to admit to no religious profession, more in Braunston than Egleton and Hambleton. Again this possibly indicates a greater spirit of independence, or maybe the lack of a resident clergyman. As Braunston was a chapelry of Hambleton (until 1885) and Egleton a chapelry of Oakham only one clergyman was resident in the three villages. These figures for religious persuasion are in broad agreement with the 1851 religious census. This records no non-conformist chapels at either Egleton or Hambleton and one Methodist chapel at Braunston.

White's 1846 trade directory does not mention Braunston's Methodists, but does record a Baptist chapel (White 1846, 643). Church of England congregations were claimed, at that time, to reach 65-70 at Egleton, 120 at Hambleton and 130 at Braunston, whilst the Methodists mustered 45 (Tomalin 2002, 51). The importance of religion in education is indicated by the MSS Condition of Population Report stating that while most houses had books, they were 'almost exclusively confined to religious subjects'.

The MSS Condition of Population Report and the subsequent Sanitary Conditions study by Chadwick marked a new scientific approach to social investigations. Whereas the first national censuses were prepared as a series of questions addressed to the overseers of the poor and parish clergy from the Clerk to the House of Commons, the 1841 Census was the responsibility of the new General Register Office. This census is transitional between the older and the later ones, but the influence of new scientific studies, such as the MSS Condition of Population Report, is clear in the detail of individual information called for (Higgs 1996, 7). While the main reason for the MSS Condition of Population Report and Chadwick's data

on Rutland was to provide comparative information to contrast with that produced for the industrial towns, which they certainly succeeded in doing, they also provide the historian with a snapshot of living conditions in Rutland at that time and, coincidentally, enable us to delineate some perhaps unexpected differences between the rural communities of 'extrovert' Braunston on the one hand and the 'introverted' estate villages of Hambleton and Egleton on the other. Although in its third paragraph the MSS Report identifies Mr George Finch as 'a humane and considerate landlord', landowners were generally blind to rural poverty, with Chadwick's report being used by the supporters of the Corn Laws to 'compare the happy condition of agricultural labourers [in Rutland] with the miserable condition of the inhabitants of large manufacturing towns' (LM, 14 Jan 1843). In reality Rutland's villagers, whose general condition the MSS Report had described as living in 'thrifty poverty', '... marked by sobriety, frugality, and industry', were forced by lack of opportunity to leave their 'happy condition' for the employment, higher wages and dangerous environment of the industrialising towns.

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Abbreviations

MSS Manchester Statistical Society
 ROLLR Record Office for Leicestershire,
 Leicester & Rutland

LM *Leicester Mercury*
 SM *Stamford Mercury*
 VCH *Victoria County History*

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[* For details and links, see www.histpop.org]

Appendix

Report on the Condition of the Population in Three Parishes in Rutlandshire, in March, 1839, by the Statistical Society of Manchester

[Read before the Statistical Section of the British Association, 26th August, 1839]

The Statistical Society of Manchester, having completed and published an inquiry into the condition of the working classes in several large manufacturing towns in the north of England, were desirous of obtaining similar information with regard to some population differing in character and circumstances from those which they had previously examined. For this purpose they selected three parishes in Rutlandshire, a purely agricultural county, which they conceive may be assumed to afford a fair sample of the whole. The information thus obtained they have arranged in a series of detailed and comprehensive tables, which obviate the necessity of any elaborate comment.

The parish of Branstown [*sic*, = Braunston], which lies on the western side of the county, contiguous to Leicestershire, contains about 1400 acres, of which more than three-fourths are pasture-land and about one-fourth is arable. It has a population of 102 families, comprising 425 individuals; but there is no resident clergyman, and no resident landlord possessing any extensive property.

The parishes of Egleton and Hambleton (which have been classed together) are situated at a very short distance from Oakham, the county town, and contain about 2400 acres, which are about equally divided between arable and pasture. The chief part of both these parishes is the property of Mr. Finch, who resides upon his estates, and bears the character of a humane and considerate landlord. The population consists of 100 families, comprising 479 individuals.

The first three tables, A, B, and C, relate to the dwellings of the population, and the account of them is upon the whole very satisfactory. The houses are low, never exceeding two stories; many of them are thatched, and nearly all are built of stone. To each a garden is attached, which is generally of sufficient dimensions to supply the family with vegetables. As there are no cellars, most of the houses have a small dairy or store-room attached, which, however, has not been counted in reckoning the number of rooms in each house. Forty percent of the dwellings in Branstown, and 51 percent in Egleton and Hambleton, are reported to be well furnished. In Manchester and Salford 52 percent, and in the Dukinfield district 61 percent, had that character.

The proportion reported to be *comfortable* * in each district were

In Branstown	50 percent
Egleton and Hambleton	65 percent
Manchester, &c.	72 percent
Dukinfield	95 percent

* The word "comfortable" must always be a vague and varying epithet, nor is it possible to attach any precise definition to it. Our agent says, "In filling up this column I was guided by observing the condition of the dwelling apart from all consideration of order, cleanliness and furniture. If I considered it capable of being made comfortable by the tenant, I set it down accordingly; if it was damp, the flooring bad, and the walls ill-conditioned, I reported it uncomfortable."

The general appearance of the interior of the houses indicated thrifty poverty, and instances of the squalid misery so frequent in large towns were here extremely rare. In comparing the physical condition of the people in the three parishes, Egleton and Hambleton appeared to have some slight advantage over Branstown. A reference to Table B will show that, while 31 percent of the houses in the former parishes contained 4 rooms, only 17 percent in the latter had this advantage. In its amount of sleeping accommodation, also, Branstown is inferior to the neighbouring parishes. From a comparison of these tables with those in a former report it appears that [the proportion of families having more than three persons to a bed in each town was]:

Egleton and Hambleton	14 percent
Branstown	19 percent
Dukinfield	33 percent
Bury	35 percent

The rents of the houses in Rutlandshire would appear (Table C) to be very low compared with those in our towns; the difference being apparently nearly double that which would be warranted by the inferior size and accommodation of the dwellings.

Average yearly rent			
	£.	s.	d.
Egleton and Hambleton	2	17	3
Branstown	3	0	0
Dukinfeld, &c.	6	14	0
Manchester, &c.	7	11	8

The next series of tables, D E, F, and G show the age, sex, occupations and earnings of the population, and call for no particular remarks.

The proportion of public houses and beer shops is to the population:

In Branstown	as 1 in 85
Egleton and Hambleton	as 1 in 240

The average weekly wages of the heads of families was ascertained, after some difficulty with tolerable accuracy. The amount appears to vary from 9s. 7d. in Branstown to 10s. 8d. in Egleton and Hambleton; and about one-fourth of the individuals under 21 years of age are reported to be earning wages. In the manufacturing towns previously examined by the Society it was found impracticable to ascertain from the persons employed the average amount of their earnings; and, as statisticians we do not feel at liberty to hazard a conjecture which we are not able to substantiate. We know, however, that in those districts one-third of the minors are in the receipt of wages.

Considerable pains were taken by our agent to obtain a comparison of the rate of wages in Rutlandshire at the present day and ten years ago; but, after the examination of about 80 cases, it was found that the information obtained was not sufficiently precise or certain to warrant the Society either in publishing it or in drawing any conclusions from it.

The state of education in these parishes is fully detailed in the Report on the Schools of Rutlandshire.¹ We shall therefore merely give a summary corresponding to that published in our former Report on the Condition of the Population in the Manufacturing Districts. We do not, however, wish much reliance to be placed upon the comparison which we have drawn out, as the inquiry into these points in the manufacturing districts was not fully sifted. Tables H and I give the following results:

	Percent	Able to read	Able to write
Branstown		75	44
Egleton and Hambleton		81	50
Manchester, &c.		50	–
Dukinfeld, &c.		53	28

Proportion now at day schools (percent)

Branstown	11
Egleton and Hambleton	19
Manchester, &c.	12
Dukinfeld, &c.	6

Table K relates to the religious profession of the heads of families in the parishes of Rutlandshire, and needs no comment. In Egleton, where there is a resident clergyman, the establishment claims 82 percent of the population, and in Branstown, where it is destitute of this advantage, only 73 percent. In conclusion, we may observe that the visitation of the houses of the labouring poor in Rutlandshire, and the observation of their language, manners, and habits, leave a favourable impression with regard to their moral condition. Swearing and drunkenness are far from common, and the general conduct of the people is marked by sobriety, frugality, and industry. Their education has been but limited, nor has their intelligence been very highly developed; and, though few dwellings were found entirely without books, yet these were far from being either numerous or well-selected, and were almost exclusively confined to religious subjects. Among the most common were Fox's *Martyrs*, Fleetwood's *Life of Christ*, and Venn's *Whole Duty of Man*.²

¹ This report was read at the British Association's meeting on 27th August 1839, and published in the *Journal of the London Statistical Society*, 2.5 (1839), 303-13. It is reproduced and discussed by this author in *Rutland Record* 31 (Ryder 2011, 16-37).

² John Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, first published in 1563, tells of the suffering of Protestants; there were many subsequent editions and abridged versions. The Rev John Fleetwood's *The life of our Blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ* was first published in 1767 and also went through many editions. The Rev Henry Venn published the *Complete Duty of Man* in 1763 as an evangelical alternative to Richard Allestree's *The Whole Duty of Man* of 1658. The MSS report seems to have conflated these two works.

Table A – Number and Condition of the Dwellings

Number of Dwellings	Branstow	Egleton and Hambleton
Houses	97	95 *
Chambers	5	5
Total	102	100
Condition of Dwellings		
well furnished	41	51
tolerably furnished	38	36
ill furnished	23	13
clean	58	70
tolerably clean	33	27
dirty	11	3
comfortable	51	65
tolerably comfortable	38	28
uncomfortable	13	7
with ample supply of water	43	42
insufficient	23	31
no supply	4	3
not ascertained	32	24
with adequate drainage	15	28
inadequate drainage	29	31
no drainage	25	18
not ascertained	33	23

* One of these is only a hut or cabin

Table B – Number of Rooms, and Number of Beds in each Family

Number of Individuals of which each Family consisted	Number of Families, distinguishing the number of Rooms which each has in its Dwelling															
	Parish of Branstow								Parishes of Egleton and Hambleton							
	Number of Rooms								Number of Rooms							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Not ascertained	Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	Not ascertained	Total
1 or 2	2	8	2	4	–	–	4	20	1	4	4	6	1	1	4	21
3	1	7	6	2	–	–	4	20	1	4	4	8	–	–	1	18
4	–	9	3	4	–	1	10	27	–	6	1	4	1	2	3	17
5	–	1	1	2	1	–	7	12	–	–	2	4	2	1	2	11
6	–	1	2	2	1	–	2	8	–	1	1	3	2	–	5	12
7	–	–	2	2	1	–	2	7	–	2	–	1	2	–	1	6
8	–	1	1	–	–	–	3	5	–	1	–	–	1	1	–	3
9	–	–	–	2	–	–	1	3	–	–	1	2	–	1	1	5
above 9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	–	3	7
Total	3	27	17	18	3	1	33	102	2	18	13	31	10	6	20	100
No of Families with																
1 person to a bed									18							20
2 persons									29							23
3 persons									14							13
4 persons									5							1
Not ascertained									36							43
Total									102							100

Table C – Annual Rent of Dwellings

	Number of Dwellings paying a Yearly Rent						Parish of Branstown	Parishes of Eggleton and Hambleton	
	£	s	d		£	s			d
Of	1	0	0	and not exceeding	1	10	0	2	5
Of more than	1	10	0		2	0	0	13	2
	2	0	0		2	10	0	5	2
	2	10	0		3	0	0	13	2
	3	0	0		3	10	0	5	7
	3	10	0		4	0	0	3	–
	4	10	0		5	0	0	6	1
	6	10	0	and upwards				1	1
	Rent free							1	2
	* Not ascertained							53	78
Total								102	100
Average ascertained								£3 0s 0d	£2 17s 3d

* The greater proportion of these were farms or cottages, with land attached, under the same rent charge

Table D – Number and Ages of the Population

Parishes	Adults			Above 12 and under 21 years			Under 12 years			Total Population	Average to Family
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total		
Branstown	120	117	237	38	32	70	54	64	118	425	4.17
Eggleton and Hambleton	121	125	246	52	46	98	72	63	135	479	4.79

Table E – Occupation of Adults

Nature of Occupations	Branstown			Eggleton & Hambleton		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Agricultural & other outdoor employment	56	1	57	50	–	50
Farmer and graziers	26	–	26	32	5	37
Employed at home	4	6	10	4	5	9
Building trades	7	–	7	7	–	7
Clothing trades	5	–	5	3	–	3
Mechanics and handicrafts	5	–	5	3	–	3
Shopkeepers and retailers	5	2	7 *	4	–	4
Licensed victuallers	2	–	2	2	–	2
Domestic servants	–	9	9	1	6	7
Professional	3	2	5	1	–	1
Miscellaneous	–	–	–	4	–	4
Total employed in business	113	20	133	111	16	127
Not employed	7	97	104	10	109	119
Total adult population	120	117	237	121	125	246

* Three of these are retail brewers

Table F – Occupation of Minors

Nature of Occupations	Branstow			Egleton & Hambleton		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Agricultural & other outdoor employment	19	–	19	32	–	32
Farmer and graziers	6	–	6	5	–	5
Employed at home	2	3	5	1	–	1
Building trades	2	–	2	3	–	3
Clothing trades	3	1	4	–	–	0
Mechanics and handicrafts	3	–	3	–	–	0
Domestic servants	–	14	14	1	13	14
Total employed in business	35	18	53	42	13	55
Not employed	57	78	135	82	96	178
Total	92	96	188	124	109	233

Table G – Weekly Earnings of Heads of Families and Lodgers

Rate of Weekly Earnings	Number of Families and Lodgers	
	Branstow	Egleton & Hambleton
3s 6d	1	2
5s	2	1
6s	1	0
7s	5	1
8s	1	1
9s	9	2
10s	3	9
11s	5	0
12s and upwards	6	30
Work by piece	17	3
Engaged on their own account	49	52
Paupers	4	0
Wages not ascertained	9	1
Total	112	102
Average wages per week	9s 7d	10s 8d

Table H – Acquirements of the Population with regard to Education

Ages of the Population	Branstow				Egleton & Hambleton			
	Read	Write	Cipher	Sew	Read	Write	Cipher	Sew
Minors under 21	106	49	20	55	156	73	38	61
Adults	214	136	88	118	231	158	95	114
Total	320	185	108	173	387	231	133	175

[Cipher = number skills, arithmetic]

Table I – Number of Children now at school

Ages	Branstow	Egleton & Hambleton
Under 5 years	3	13
5 years and under 10	32	54
10 years and under 15	11	22
15 years and under 21	2	1
Total	48	90

Table K – Religious Profession of Heads of Families and Lodgers

Religious Profession	Branstow	Egleton & Hambleton
Church of England	82	82
Protestant Dissenters	12	14
Professing to worship among various denominations	11	4
Making no religious profession	6	2
Not ascertained	1	0
Total	112	102

Wilkershaw Cowpasture: a possible Saxon enclosure overlooking Beaumont Chase, Rutland

CLIVE JONES & ELAINE JONES

Introduction

‘Wilkershaw Cowpasture’ covers an area of some 80 acres overlooking Beaumont Chase. It lies in the parish of Uppingham at National Grid reference SP 851993 at 160m above sea level, overlooking the Eye Brook and Rutland’s western boundary with Leicestershire. Here, the Uppingham plateau of the Northampton Sand Ironstone is covered with a thin layer of Boulder Clay (IGS Sheet 157 1:50 000). This article enlarges on a preliminary note on ‘Wilkershaw Cowpasture’ in *Rutland Record* 32 (Jones 2012).

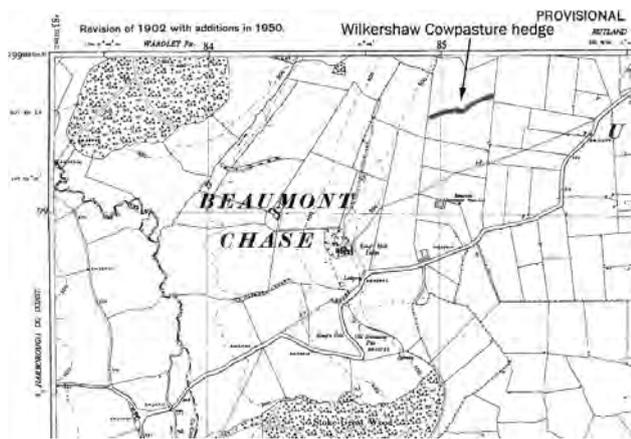


Fig. 1. The location of Wilkershaw Cowpasture (reproduced from the OS 6" : 1 mile Provisional edition 1950, sheet XIII SW).

Wilkershaw would seem to lie within the Royal Forest of Rutland. The Royal Forest was probably created soon after William the Conqueror retained *Roteland* for himself at the death of Queen Edith in 1075 (Cox 1994, lvi). The Domesday Survey of 1086 shows most of the recorded woodland to be in the north and west of the county. In the west the Leighfield Forest region was heavily wooded southwards to Stoke Dry and Lyddington. Barrie Cox writes that the early place-name evidence echoes this Domesday distribution. One of the common elements signifying woodland is Old English *leah*, ‘woodland, a woodland clearing’, and this occurs predominantly in the west and southwest in what was once Leighfield Forest and Beaumont Chase (ibid, xiv).

The 1804 Uppingham and Beaumont Chase Enclosure Map shows the name as ‘Wilkershaw Cowpasture’. Cox writes that it probably meant

‘Wulfgar’s enclosure, with OE *haga* as the second element. However, OE *scaga* “a copse, a small wood” is possible...’ (ibid, 215). By 1238 it was ‘Wulgareshag’, ‘Wulgershagh’ in 1282 when it was held by Peter de Montfort, then lord of the manor of Preston cum Uppingham, ‘Wilgershaw’ in 1414, and ‘Wilkershaw’ by 1688 (*VCH Rutland II*, 89).

Peter Lane (*pers comm*) has found a reference to Wilkershaw dating from 1595:

Tenements by Copy in Uppingham: Kellam Cheselden, Anthony Fawkener, Everard Britten, Everard Wilson, Edward Burton and Robert Wells hold by copy one parcel of land or pasture called Wilkershaw in the fields of Uppingham containing 17 acres... (NRO FitzWilliam F(M) Misc Vol 433, 1595).

Yet it was that ‘spirit of place’ which led us on to the evidence of place-names: the forest’s *leah* (AD c700-1250), Wulfgar’s enclosure and the *Yppingas* (Uppingham), people of the upland (AD c400-700) (Cox 1994, 211).



Fig. 2. The Wilkershaw hedge (photo: Elaine Jones).

We had noticed that along the north side of the enclosure was a ‘wiggly’ bit of hedge (figs. 2 & 6) contrasting with the dead straight enclosure hedges of 1804. This ‘wiggly’ section is a remnant of the northern boundary between the ‘cowpasture’ and ‘Wood Field’, one of Uppingham’s common fields not enclosed until 1804. These features are shown on the enclosure map (fig. 3) and also on the OS 1947 RAF aerial photographs (fig. 4).



Fig. 3. Extract from the Uppingham and Beaumont Chase Enclosure Award map, 1804 (MA/EN/AR51/1: by permission of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland).



Fig. 4. RAF aerial photo © Crown Copyright 1947, sortie 15 2157 (Rutland County Museum).



Fig. 5. A layered coppiced crab apple in the hedge (photo: Clive Jones).

The Survey

So in September 2011 we examined the ‘wiggly’ hedge from ‘Wood Field’. Clive Jones identified the flora. We concluded that as the hedge averaged fewer than four species per 30 metres it had probably been ‘improved’ at the time of the enclosure hedge planting. Yet there was other field evidence for an earlier date.

a) The surrounding very straight 1804 enclosure hedges were predominantly hawthorn, but our ‘wiggly’ section also included crab apple trees (although there was no Midland Hawthorn as one might expect from a former woodland environment). We concluded that the dominant species were blackthorn (*Prunus spinosa*) (56%), Common Hawthorn (*Crataegus laevigata*) (40%), and crab apple (*Malus sylvestris*) (4%).

The presence of crab apple is intriguing, for ‘they are the third most mentioned species as boundary features in Anglo-Saxon and Welsh charters, occurring in nearly 10% of 658 charters examined’ (Mabey 1996, 201). ‘Crab occurs throughout most of the British Isles. Being very non-gregarious it is

the least abundant of common trees: it seldom occurs more than singly...’ (Rackham 2003, 355). The trouble is, we have the trees (fig. 5), but no charter to match!

b) Beneath the hedge grew not a pasture but a woodland ground flora of Yellow Archangel (*Lamiastrum galebdolon*), Dog’s Mercury (*Mercurialis perennis*) and the grass *Brachypodium sylvaticum*.

c) The hedge had been planted on a bank, now reduced to only about 30cm high and ‘splurred’ out to c4m wide. The bank’s ditch in ‘Wood Field’ was only about 30cm deep, and Tufted Hairgrass (*Deshcampia cespitosa*) was abundant in the wet patches.

d) As the ridge and furrow in ‘Wood Field’ respects the line of the Wilkershaw bank it has to be of a later date. Indeed the 1947 aerial photograph shows the medieval ridge and furrow strips respecting the line of the ancient enclosure as it continues along the northeast section and then skirts by the Harborough road along the south side.



Fig. 6. The Wilkershaw hedge, showing the ditch (photo: Elaine Jones).

Conclusion

One must therefore ask whether the boundaries of this enclosure can really be pre-Domesday Saxon as the Old English place-name suggests. Not only did Wilkershaw exist before it was recorded in the medieval and post-medieval documents as noted above, but also the unusual density of crab apple in this hedge is a conspicuous feature which could indicate an early, possibly Saxon origin on the grounds cited by Rackham (2003, 355).

Yet there is still some nagging doubt that the

enclosure may not be so early, for although common open field systems are thought to possibly date from as early as the 9th century AD, the ridge and furrow here is so prominent beneath the pasture that, we guess, it could perhaps date from the late 12th / early 13th century when population increase led to land hunger and the taking in of more marginal lands on this drift-strewn terrain. The commons in this area of Uppingham parish and Beaumont Chase were not enclosed until the 1799 Act of Parliament (and not included in an earlier 1770 enclosure) (Postan 1966; Matthews 1978, 49; Hall 1981, 36; Bowman 2004, 117, 119; Jones 2007a, Ch 6 & 7).

Finally, it may be worth noting that two other enclosures, one thought to be Iron Age or Roman and the other possibly Bronze Age, lie just south of the Harborough Road only half a kilometre distant. One kilometre to the north is the Castle Hill motte and bailey where Roman and Saxon material has been found nearby during a field-walking survey (Pickering & Hartley 1986, 62-3; Jones 2007b; Jones 2011).

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the landowner, Mr Ellingworth of Uppingham, for permission to go on his land and Peter Lane, our Local Historian, for sharing his knowledge of the documentary sources.

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Abbreviations

IGS	Institute of Geological Sciences [British Geological Survey]
NRO	Northamptonshire Record Office
OS	Ordnance Survey
ROLLR	Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland.

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Time Team's investigations at Oakham Castle, Rutland, 2012

OLIVER GOOD & LORRAINE MEPHAM

Introduction

Wessex Archaeology was commissioned by Video-text Communications Ltd to undertake archaeological recording and post-excavation work on a trial trench evaluation by Channel 4's *Time Team* at the site of Oakham Castle (NGR 86147 08895). The evaluation took place in June 2012. This short note is an interim report on the results of the evaluation, in advance of a more detailed assessment report, and proposed further analysis and publication.

Historical and archaeological background

The historical background to Oakham Castle is well documented elsewhere (eg Clough 2008), and will not be repeated in any detail here; the following is a summary only. The castle complex comprises a standing Great Hall (a Grade I listed building) and the remains of a motte or mound incorporated into the south-east corner of the inner bailey earthworks; traces of other buildings within the bailey, many of which are known from documentary evidence, are visible as irregularities in the ground surface to the east of the Great Hall. To the north of this is a large rectangular outer bailey known as Cutts Close which contains dry fishponds and garden earthworks. Cullingworth's map of 1787 suggests that this enclosed area may originally have extended further to the west, before the northward extension of Church Street in the early 19th century.

The hall of Oakham Castle is listed in *Domesday* and would have been represented at that time by a wooden building (which may have had pre-Conquest origins). The motte is more likely to relate to the *Domesday* hall than to the inner bailey in its existing form, which probably dates from soon after 1075 when Oakham was acquired by the crown on the death of its previous owner Edith, widow of Edward the Confessor. The stone-built aisled hall that survives today, one of the finest surviving Norman domestic buildings in the country, was built by Walkelin de Ferrers between 1180 and 1190, a date confirmed by recent dendrochronological work; de Ferrers was probably also responsible for the curtain wall, although this must have been strengthened or developed later. The period of 1372-86 is particularly rich in recorded detail of the castle, with accounts of work done and grants made (the most detailed

description of what was physically present appears in an inquisition of 1340), but by 1521 the castle appears to have been in decline with much except the Great Hall, which continued in use as a law court, in ruin. An engraving of 1684 shows the Hall freestanding inside the castle enclosure, as it is today (Wright 1684, 104).

Current archaeological knowledge concerning Oakham Castle derives from a few direct historical references, the clear existence of a motte and a circuit of banks to the main enclosure, the architectural stylistic history of the Great Hall and some limited sub-surface investigations. The existing plan of the Castle has been largely based on the work of the Ordnance Survey, and measured surveys in 1961 and 1983. Two excavations, and a series of smaller scale archaeological works, have provided various details of the castle. In 1953-4 Peter Gathercole, excavating outside the south gateway entrance, uncovered a large ditch containing early medieval pottery (Gathercole 1958). Then in 1956-7 a series of trenches, excavated by local schoolmaster John Lewis Barber and his students to the east of the Great Hall located masonry walls of medieval date, believed to belong to service buildings to the Hall (Jones & Ovens 2012). In 1989 an archaeological evaluation of Cutts Close suggested that its south-west bank might be pre-Norman in origin (Sharman & Sawday 1990), while an extensive geophysical survey carried out in 2005 pointed to further structures to the east of the Hall, and on a terrace below the motte (Heard 2005). A laser scan and photographic survey of the site in 2011 by Trent & Peak Archaeology aimed to provide the most extensive and accurate data of the site. The survey revealed variations in the construction of the curtain walls, suggesting that these were of below average height and thickness, and found evidence to support Speed's depiction (1610) of a large rectangular tower at the south-west corner of the castle, and possibly also for the existence of another tower at the south-east corner (Sheppard and Walker 2011, 19-20). Most recently, Nick Hill (forthcoming) has undertaken a detailed study of the fabric of the Great Hall.

The results of *Time Team's* evaluation

The *Time Team* evaluation in 2012 comprised six trial trenches, five lying within the inner bailey around



Fig. 1. Trench 2 under excavation: uncovering the wall of an ancillary building.

the Great Hall, and one (Trench 5) situated across the northern earthwork of the outer bailey. Any substantial remains encountered were left *in situ*.

Trenches 1, 2, and 3 all contained evidence of multi-phased medieval structures. Trench 1, located beside the eastern end of the Great Hall, aimed to locate the edge of John Barber's 1950s excavation trench and to confirm his findings if possible, as well as determining the presence or absence of any buildings on the eastern side of the Hall. The trench was found to contain part of an external corridor with evidence of a series of floor surfaces and occupation layers. The form and alignment of the structural remains matched Barber's records exactly. Pottery recovered from occupation and levelling layers dates to the 13th to early/mid 14th centuries.

In Trench 2, located to the north-east of the Great Hall, the outer wall of one of the castle's ancillary buildings was uncovered. Later facing had been added to this wall, possibly as part of a change in the function or style of the building. Pottery recovered from this trench had a date range spanning the medieval period, from the late 12th to the 14th/15th century.

Three construction phases were identified in Trench 3, located just to the west of the Great Hall. The earliest consisted of a deliberately demolished wall, aligned east-west, and an adjacent floor surface. The wall was later rebuilt twice, in the latest phase changing its alignment slightly. The

construction cut for the earliest wall contained one sherd of 15th/16th century pottery.

No archaeological features were revealed in Trench 4, to the north-west of the Great Hall, while in Trench 6, located between the Hall and Trench 2, a robber cut (a trench dug to retrieve stonework from a demolished wall for reuse) was uncovered, running east-west.



Fig. 2. Wall alignments in Trench 3.

As for the earthwork of the outer bailey, no evidence was found in Trench 5 to determine the date or function of the earthwork, but this is unsurprising, as the earthwork in its current form almost certainly relates either to the early 19th century enclosure of

Oakham, or to the construction of the Melton to Oakham canal (T Clough, pers. comm.).

The medieval finds assemblage recovered during the evaluation was not large, but included significant groups of pottery, animal bone and ceramic and stone building material (mainly roof tiles), as well as metalwork. The pottery provides a good ceramic profile of the region and shows that pottery was sourced over a wide area from the Late Saxon to medieval periods. The Late Saxon to early medieval material is dominated by Lincolnshire types, but by the 13th century pottery was also coming from kilns in Nottinghamshire, Northamptonshire and more local kilns. It is apparent, however, that little pottery was travelling from the west, a scarcity also detected in medieval pottery previously recovered from the castle (eg Sawday 2012), and indeed from other medieval sites in Rutland, and possibly explained by the physical barrier of the forest preventing large-scale trade with Leicestershire. Much of the medieval material comprises coarseware jars and bowls and undecorated jugs (kitchen wares), with a complete absence of what would be classed as 'high status' ceramic vessels or imported material. Other possible 'high status' items recovered include a metal clasp, perhaps from a book or small casket, and bones of red deer.

Discussion

The *Time Team* investigations have not added greatly to the existing archaeological knowledge of the castle itself. The accuracy of John Barber's findings was confirmed, but the other structural remains found from too small a sample to enable any significant discussion. Nevertheless, the trenches did reveal that structural remains do survive, and that the site still retains the potential for further investigation. Some further comment is possible on the basis of the building materials recovered. Fragments

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of glazed ceramic roof tiles suggest that for most of the life of the castle ceramic tile was only used to cap the roof ridge. Five thousand Collyweston stone roof slates are noted as being acquired for Oakham Castle in 1383 (Aslet 2010) and it is this medium that was likely to have been used on all of the substantial buildings in the castle. Variation in the ridge tiles, some of which have elaborate crests, suggests several episodes of roofing and sourcing from different production sites at different times. The crests and different coloured glazes would have created an eye-catching effect from below.

Acknowledgements

The evaluation at Oakham Castle was funded by Videotext Communications Ltd. The on-site recording was co-ordinated by Oliver Good, and on-site finds processing carried out by Ben Cullen, both of Wessex Archaeology. Excavation was undertaken by *Time Team's* retained archaeologists, Phil Harding (also of Wessex Archaeology), Ian Powlesland, Tracey Smith, Matt Williams, Raksha Dave, Cassie Newland and Rob Hedge assisted by Neil Finn, Jamie Patrick, Scott Lomax, Jon Coward and Tony Gnanaratnam.

This report incorporates comments on the pottery and building material by Jane Young (freelance finds specialist). Wessex Archaeology would also like to acknowledge Tim Allen and Nick Hill (both of English Heritage), and Richard K Morris (architectural historian) for help throughout the project. Thanks are extended to Robert Clayton (Rutland County Council) and Richard White (Oakham Town Council) for allowing access to the site for the geophysical survey and archaeological evaluation.

Finally, the authors would like to thank Tim Clough for his constructive comments on an earlier draft of this paper, many of which have been incorporated here.

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Rutland History & Archaeology in 2012

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:

ABH	Archaeology & Built Heritage, 14 Crown Hills Rise, Leicester, LE5 5DG.	RCM	Rutland County Museum (MDA code: OAKRM).
APS	Archaeological Project Services, The Old School, Heckington, Sleaford, Lincolnshire, NG34 9RW.	RLHRS	Rutland Local History & Record Society.
GSB	GSB Prospection, Cowburn Farm, 21 Market Street, Thornton, Bradford, West Yorkshire, BD13 3HW.	ROLLR	Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland.
Minerva	Minerva Heritage Ltd, 14 Briery Street, Lancaster, LA1 5RD.	RR	<i>Rutland Record</i> .
NA	Northamptonshire Archaeology, 2 Bolton House, Wootton Hall Park, Northampton, NN3 8BE.	TNA	The National Archives, Kew.
OA East	Oxford Archaeology East, 15 Trafalgar Way, Bar Hill, Cambridgeshire, CB23 8SQ.	TPA	Trent & Peak Archaeology, Unit 1, Holly Lane, Chilwell, Nottingham, NG9 4AB.
		TRP	TR Projects, 81 Narborough Rd, Cosby, Leicester, LE9 1TB.
		ULAS	University of Leicester Archaeological Services, University Road, Leicester, LE1 7RH.

I – Archaeological Fieldwork during 2012

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, Cottesmore Road (SK 865139)

An archaeological evaluation was undertaken by APS on land at the Old Hall to determine the archaeological implications of proposed development at the site. The evaluation was required as the site lay alongside a scheduled monument comprising the remains of a medieval (AD 1066-1540) settlement, watermill, millponds and gardens. Previous investigations close by have revealed Late Saxon (AD 850-1066) and medieval occupation remains. The evaluation identified a sequence of dumped deposits which appear, by their nature, to be infilling a large feature, probably a quarry. Former topsoil development and a probable post-medieval pit containing building debris were also encountered during the investigation. RCM 2012.17.

Paul Cope-Faulkner

Barleythorpe, land at Barleythorpe Road/Huntsmans Drive (SK 855092)

An archaeological field evaluation by trial trenching was undertaken by ULAS on land at Huntsmans Drive, Oakham, in November/December 2011. The initial potential of the site was highlighted by information held in the Leicestershire & Rutland Historic Environment Record indicating that the area was close to known Iron Age and Roman remains. Nine trenches were excavated. Towards the SW corner two trenches contained archaeological remains including ditches, post-holes and pits, one of which was associated with pottery dating to the 11th-13th centuries. To the N five of the trenches contained ditches, post-holes and pits. One ditch contained pottery dating to the Late Iron Age or Roman Conquest period, slag, burnt daub and animal bone. RCM 2011.32.

Tim Higgins

Barleythorpe, land off Main Road (SK 849099)

An archaeological evaluation was undertaken by APS on land off Main Road, Barleythorpe, to determine the archaeological implications of proposed development at the site. The development site is located within a rich archaeological landscape with evidence for significant archaeological remains dating from the early prehistoric period to the present day. An initial evaluation revealed remains of a possible Saxon sunken-floored building containing metal-working evidence. A subsequent geophysical survey suggested that more of these features might be present at the site.

Further evaluation identified a number of other features including two possible Saxon sunken-floored buildings, a group of undated possible post-holes, a post-medieval fence line and two probable pits of uncertain date. One of these pits contained a small, probably residual flake of Neolithic worked flint. Dating of the possible sunken-floored buildings was also problematic, as one contained no datable material, while the other contained pottery suggesting a Roman date. The largest category of finds retrieved from the evaluation comprises pottery of prehistoric and Roman date; however, all the fragments of pottery recovered, with one exception, were fragmentary and heavily abraded suggesting they were residual. Although two possible Saxon sunken-floored buildings were identified on morphological grounds, no material clearly dating from the Saxon period was recovered during the investigation. However, a single fragment of residual iron-smithing slag recovered from a post-medieval post-hole may be Saxon in date. RCM 2012.1.

Andrew Failes

Beaumont Chase / Stockerston (SP 837988)

Medieval pottery was found on the west bank of the Eye Brook in Stockerston, Leicestershire, during a field walking survey by the RLHRS Archaeological Team in December 2012. This scatter is of interest as it dates from the time of the disafforestation of the Leicestershire portion of the Royal Forest of Rutland in AD 1235 and contrasts with the absence of similar material on Beaumont Chase where the lord of the manor was 'entitled to herbage and deer browse' until enclosure in AD 1799. RLHRS Archaeological Team unpublished archive report R115.

Elaine Jones

Cottesmore, land adjacent to Hall Close

(SK 90481375)

A programme of archaeological investigation by strip, map and sample excavation combined with watching brief was undertaken by ULAS on behalf of Hazleton Homes on land adjacent to Hall Close between March and April 2012. The work proceeded from an earlier archaeological evaluation undertaken by ULAS in 2011 which revealed a number of stone- and brick-built structures likely to represent part of a demolished range associated with the post-medieval standing building flanking the N side of the present farmyard. This arrangement of buildings, possibly stables, may have been associated with the hall which lay a short distance to the N. The 2012 work revealed the east end of the aforementioned post-medieval standing building and later porch, and demonstrated that the structure post-dated a sizable possible barn structure of likely post-medieval date. The full plan of the modern building located to the E was also uncovered and shown likely to have formed a separate structure built against a boundary wall that probably represented a missing fourth side to the group of farm buildings. RCM 2011.4.

Roger Kipling

Great Casterton, The Old Rectory (TF 000087)

In April 2012 OA East undertook a small archaeological evaluation in advance of the proposed construction of an extension to the Old Rectory. The single evaluation trench revealed evidence of a significant ditch, possibly the boundary to the Roman town. Overlying the ditch was a stratified sequence of walls and floor surfaces which continued beyond the limit of excavation towards the Old Rectory itself. These deposits were sealed by demolition layers containing medieval pottery, indicating a significant sequence of settlement activity prior to the construction of the current Rectory. RCM 2012.6.

Sarah Henley

Gunthorpe, Gunthorpe Hall (SP 48693056)

Excavation by NA in advance of the construction of a new access for Gunthorpe Hall recorded a series of earthwork and buried remains associated with the deserted medieval village of Gunthorpe. A trackway and plot boundaries dating from the late Saxon to the late 14th century were present, associated with a low status rural economy.

Jason Clarke

Ketton, Kilthorpe Grange (SK 98730342)

An archaeological strip, plan and sample excavation and watching brief were carried out by ULAS on land at Kilthorpe Grange during ground-works associated with the excavation of a new fishing lake. A previous evaluation by ULAS had revealed a number of small discrete features, which were mostly undated apart from a small number of

flints dating from the Mesolithic period. The excavations were carried out by a box grader until archaeological horizons were reached at which point the upper soils were slowly stripped using a JCB with a flat bladed bucket. A number of small discrete features were revealed along with parts of two small ring ditches. Only a single find, part of a flint knife, was found during the work. The decision was taken by the client not to excavate further and so the features were not excavated and were covered in geotextile material before being reburied. The ring ditches were most likely Neolithic-Bronze Age in date, but the Mesolithic flint from the evaluation and the fact that one of the ring ditches appears to cut another feature may indicate a multi-phased site. RCM 2011.12.

Leon Hunt

Martinsthorpe (SK 867045 centre)

A geophysical survey was undertaken on land near to the Deserted Medieval Village of Martinsthorpe by GSB. Numerous anomalies that lack clear form or obvious patterning were detected. These are likely to be of archaeological interest due to their context, as they may be part of the adjacent medieval village. Such an interpretation is supported by a strong linear response that appears to form a southern boundary to the settlement; however, a natural origin for the latter is also entirely possible. Evidence of probable ridge and furrow and more recent agriculture was detected, as was an anomaly likely to be of natural origin.

Jon Tanner

Oakham, 11 Finkey Street (SK 858089)

An archaeological watching brief was undertaken by ABH at 11 Finkey Street. An early medieval ditch was revealed, interpreted as the boundary of the Oakham Deanshold or Church Manor. The ditch contained a small assemblage of pottery and animal bones, the pottery consisting mainly of Stamford wares and Oxidised Sandy wares with a general date range of AD c900 to 1250. RCM 2012.7.

Neil Finn

Oakham, Uppingham Road (SK 860080)

ULAS carried out an archaeological excavation on land to the west of Uppingham Road in advance of a proposed development. The work revealed archaeological settlement evidence dating to the Mid to Late Iron Age (400 BC – AD 43), and the early Roman period (1st to 2nd century AD). The settlement consisted of a complex system of field boundaries, pit alignments, roundhouses, and pits. Excavation resulted in an assemblage of pottery and animal bone associated with the settlement remains. RCM 2010.36.

Gavin Speed

Thorpe-by-Water, Tudor House, Main Street

(SP 893964)

An archaeological watching brief was undertaken by ABH during groundwork for the construction of an extension to Tudor House, a grade II* listed building of late 16th century date, and creation of a new driveway and parking area adjacent to the house. The watching brief also covered alterations to the fabric of the listed building. Within the area of the new driveway a Roman ditch and two post-holes were encountered. The ditch contained pottery ranging in date from the mid 1st to early 4th centuries AD. Within the area of the new extension on the W side of the house was a shallow Roman gully. Wall foundations and a stone flagged floor were also recorded in this area, associated with a

former extension to the house illustrated on 19th and early 20th century maps and photographs. RCM 2012.12.

Neil Finn

Whitwell, Whitwell Rising Main Replacement

(SK 925083 centre)

Archaeological attendance was undertaken by NA during the replacement of a rising main by Anglian Water, to the north of Rutland Water, at Whitwell. Two archaeological features were located at the top of a south-facing slope on the N shore of Whitwell Creek. They comprised one gully and one pit: neither contained datable finds. In addition, an undated ditch was observed in section to the W of the grassed boat storage area, beside the access road. Two worked flints were

recovered from the topsoil of Test Pit 4. Dark organic silty clay was observed at the head of Whitwell Creek, but no further archaeological features or finds were present. RCM 2012.24.

Anne Foard-Colby

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

Brooke: Grange Farm, 2, Church Lane (SK 848057) (Minerva).

Cottesmore: Little Cottage, 8, Clatterpot Lane (SK 90221363).

Whitwell: Chantry Cottage, Church Lane (SK 92430880).

II – Historic Building Recording during 2012

Lyddington Manor Project

Buildings in this section in the villages of Caldecott, Lyddington and Thorpe by Water have been investigated as part of Lyddington Manor History Society's ongoing 'Historic Buildings and People of a Rutland Manor' project funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund (www.hlf.org.uk).

Nick Hill & Robert Ovens

10 Main St (Somercot Cottage), Caldecott (SP869936)

This is an unusual survival of a small, two-room cottage, which was never extended or adapted. The main ground floor room has the only fireplace, with an unheated smaller room beyond and two bedchambers upstairs. The form and details, including the crudely built timber partition and roof truss, with much re-used timber, suggest a date in the mid or late 18th century. To the rear there is evidence of a 19th century outbuilding, with walling of stone and mud.

Manor House, Mill Lane, Caldecott (SP866936)

This property forms an extensive complex, with a large multi-period house and several farmyards. It seems that the earliest part of the house was the lower-roofed range towards the front entrance, dating from around the second half of the 17th century. This range, containing the kitchen, was subsequently truncated when a large two and half storey main range was added in 1696 (as date-stone). Major alterations were carried out to this main range around 1850-60, including a formal entrance front, together with further extensions, though fine masonry features and two roof trusses survive from the 17th century. The front range was reconstructed in 1988. The site includes some standing walls from a large dovecote which used to carry a date-stone of 1645. There is also a fine 18th century barn with attached stable.

The Old Plough, 41 Main St, Caldecott (SP867936)

This house, unusually oriented with its gable end to the street, seems originally to have been of three-room plan type, dating from the 17th or early 18th century. It had a range of farm buildings around its narrow, elongated yard. A date-stone indicates that the house was much altered in 1838, to serve as an inn. Some good quality fittings survive of this date, including an unusual pine-panelled partition with service hatches and multiple door openings. The stair leads upstairs in two directions, again no doubt connected to use as an inn. At the same date, the former farm building to the east of the house was converted for service use, probably housing a brew-house/laundry, with a bedroom for a servant on the first floor. The farm buildings to the south of the house were rebuilt as a range of stables and coach house, with a fine stone front. Although much altered, the buildings provide

unusually complete evidence for an early 19th century inn, including the whole complex of support buildings.

Priest's House, Church Close, Caldecott (SP868936)

This is a high-quality house probably dating from the first half of the 17th century, with an unusual lobby-entry plan form. On the ground floor there is a hall and parlour, separated by a large central chimneystack, with two main bedchambers (both unheated) on the first floor. The masonry is of excellent quality, with precisely laid alternating courses of ironstone and limestone, and many moulded stone windows. The floor structures at first and second floor level are also original and of good quality, though the roof trusses resemble those found in houses of lesser status or later date. The location of the house, set well back from the street frontage, and with the farmyard at the front, is very unusual in the area.

Rose Cottage, 6 The Green, Caldecott (SP867936)

This is a two-room house of 18th century date, built with good quality stonework, but of small size. Unlike most smaller houses, it has not been extended or adapted, so represents an interesting survival. The ground floor has a slightly larger main room with good inglenook fireplace, clearly the main living and cooking space. The inner room to the south also had a small fireplace of unusual type, perhaps fitted with a grate or stove. A winder staircase beside the inglenook leads upstairs to two bedrooms, which were divided by a roof truss of simple A-frame construction.

Slievenanee, 63 Main St, Lyddington (SP875972)

This house, double-fronted with a central doorway, is built of very finely jointed ironstone ashlar and has a date-stone of 1763. The rear wall, however, has the remains of a stone window dating from the earlier 17th century, indicating that the building, although much reconstructed in the 18th century, has earlier origins.

Jasmine Cottage, 105 Main St, Lyddington (SP873975)

This house has a two-room main block with a fine stone frontage, bearing a date-stone of 1741. However, two stone windows in the rear wall and the first floor structure indicate that this probably represents the re-fronting of an earlier house, dating from the 17th century. The house was

subsequently extended further south in two phases, prior to 1804, filling the whole frontage. The southern section of this build was later demolished, and then replaced with the current crosswing around the mid-20th century.

Home Farm, 35-37 Main St, Lyddington (SP875970)

This house contains an *in situ* fragment of a cruck truss, which probably dated from the 15th or earlier 16th century. It was rebuilt in the earlier 17th century, with a typical cross-passage plan. To the south of the cross-passage was the kitchen, with the hall at the centre and a parlour beyond. Over each room was a first floor chamber, with an attic room in the roof space at either end. A further service building was added beyond the kitchen during the 18th century. Around the early 19th century, the parlour end was completely rebuilt as a high-status drawing room, with a good quality bedroom above. There is a fine range of ironstone farm buildings, including a main threshing barn, of 18th century date.

The Homestead, 81 Main St, Lyddington (SP874973)

This is a good quality farmhouse which formed a substantial establishment, owned by the Pretty family by the mid 18th century. The main range of the house, with a lobby entrance plan, probably dates to the first half of the 17th century. Of this original house the kitchen and hall survive. The parlour end was rebuilt as a taller cross wing in the second half of the 17th century, when the fine striped stonework and mullioned windows, with distinctive quadrant cornices, were probably added to the main range. A good stone-built barn range survives, with a date stone of 1758. A granary range of similar date has been rebuilt and converted to domestic use.

The Manor House, 22 Main St, Lyddington (SP875971)

This is an unusually complete example of a substantial house of the mid-18th century, which survives in largely unaltered condition, including many interior features. It is of particular importance as documents also survive which give information about its construction. (Access for research purposes to the Burghley Estate archive has kindly been agreed as part of the Lyddington Manor project.)

The house was built in 1758-9 for the tenant, the village miller Edward Sharman, at the expense of the owners, the Burghley Estate. It replaced an earlier house on the same site which was completely demolished, though some materials (particularly roof timbers) were incorporated in the new house. The building has an interesting combination of features, old-fashioned in many ways, but very up-to-date in others.

As a lease agreement states, the house was built with 'four rooms upon a floor', centrally planned around a staircase hall which gave independent access to all the main rooms. The front block has a hall and parlour, with a kitchen in a wing to the rear. On the first floor there were three heated bedrooms. A back stair formerly led up to the attic rooms which were well-lit by dormer windows, providing space for servants and storage. There was also a cellar under the parlour, with its own well. The street front is carefully symmetrical, but has oak transomed windows rather than Georgian sashes, and gable parapets of traditional design. Inside, the hall has an old-fashioned large inglenook fireplace, but the staircase has a balustrade of Chinese Chippendale pattern, a style very much in vogue in the 1750s. The building became known as the Manor House during the 19th century.

Prebendal Farm, 11 Church Lane, Lyddington (SP877969)

This was one of the finest barns in the area, of high quality

masonry with the unusual features of buttresses to either side of the threshing doors, and a king post roof. Most unusually, an original building account survives (at Derbyshire Record Office), indicating that it was built in 1738 at a cost of £150. It was the tithe barn for the prebendal farmhouse, much the largest landholding in the village. It was originally of six bays, but unfortunately the upper part of the northern half has been lost, with this end reduced in height. The building account gives full details of its construction, which was undertaken by John Clarke, a carpenter from the City of Lichfield. It was built for Christopher Horton, whose main estate was to the north of Lichfield, for the use of a local farmer, John Larratt. This connection explains the use of a non-local carpenter, and also the use of a king post roof, a type which was not in general use in the locality until the 19th century. The barn was converted to domestic use in the 1980s.

Tudor House, Thorpe by Water (SP893965)

This is one of two very fine 16/17th century houses in Thorpe, which was formerly the Manor House, though that name was transferred to the house across the street in the mid 20th century. It is a high quality house with a wealth of stone mullioned windows, stone fireplaces and a fine oak spiral stair. It has a main front range of three-room plan and a one-room rear east wing, both of two and a half storeys. A rather later service wing to the rear west has been much reconstructed. A programme of tree-ring dating has been carried out by Robert Howard of the Nottingham Tree-ring Dating Laboratory.

The original building, dating from the later 16th century, seems to have consisted of a two-room block, rather lower than the current house, comprising the centre and eastern sections of the existing front range. The house then underwent major alterations in 1597, as indicated by a date-stone re-set in the front wall, and confirmed by tree-ring dating of the roof. The front block was raised in height, with the addition of an attic storey lit by dormer windows (now missing), and a 2½ storey rear wing was added to the north-east. By the time of the Hearth Tax of 1665 the house was occupied by John Osborne and contained nine hearths, which suggests that the west end was in existence by this date or before.

Tree-ring dating shows that the west end was subsequently rebuilt in 1668, with an unusually late example of a clasped purlin roof. This phase of work incorporates blocks of stone with distinctive roll mouldings, re-used from a high-status building of around 1200, perhaps the lost chapel of Thorpe. In the 18th or early 19th century a further two-storey rear wing was added to the north-west, though this was reduced to a single storey in the 20th century.

Besides the house, there was an extensive set of farm buildings, many of which still survive. Grouped around two yards, these included a dovecote and a large barn. The property is also distinguished by a fine stone-coped wall which surrounds a small formal garden beside the house.

Ivy Cottage (No 4), Thorpe by Water (SP893965)

This house is located gable-end on to the street, but recessed back from the street frontage. Part of the explanation for this unusual location is that the adjoining house formerly extended across the front of the plot, but was subsequently demolished to allow the construction of No 4. Despite appearances, the house is mainly of a single phase, probably dating from around 1700. The front section had a two-room plan, with a hall and parlour, and quite lofty bedchambers above. The rear section, which was considerably lower than

the front part as built, seems to have housed an unusually extensive service end on the ground floor, with a hayloft above. The finely-built street front, with limestone ashlar and

keystone window lintels, contrasts with old-fashioned features elsewhere, such as the moulded stone doorway, rear windows and irregular plan form.

Other buildings

7 Market Place, Uppingham (SP867996)

This building, until recently the HSBC Bank, conceals an earlier high quality stone house behind the 19th century front range. The original building, dating from the early 17th century, probably presented a gabled west front to the Market Place, and had a good chamber on the first floor, of at least two bays, with a lofty, arching roof truss, of which only a fragment remains. Soon afterwards, probably around 1620-50, the building was extended eastwards by two further bays, with fine ashlar masonry and mullioned windows. Later alterations have obscured the original plan form, but the house included a kitchen on the ground floor and a good first floor chamber, lit by a bay window.

2 Blacksmith's Lane, Exton (SK926113)

This small house forms part of a row of cottages on Blacksmith's Lane. The current east room of No 2 originally formed part of a two-room house of 1½ storeys, extending

further eastwards. This original house probably dates from c.1650-1700. Although small, it had quite good quality features, with stone-mullioned windows to the two ground floor rooms and the west bedroom. The east bedroom has an original timber-framed dormer window, a rare survival. A single-celled cottage was added in the 18th century, forming the west room of the current house. A rear service wing was subsequently added, in the late 18th or early 19th century.

Barleythorpe: Manor House, 2, Manor Lane (SK 848096) (ABH).

Burley: Chapel Farmhouse (SK 891122) (TPA).

Cottesmore: Mill Lane (SK 90421375) (ULAS).

Market Overton: Glebe Farm, 30, Main Street (SK 888163) (ABH)

Morcott: School Hall, School Lane (SK 924007) (TRP).

Oakham: Neville House, 49, High Street (SK 859087) (Tim Shears).

III – Other Reports for 2012

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

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.

No relevant Rutland material was reported for 2012.

Northamptonshire Record Office

Northamptonshire Record Office, Wootton Hall Park, Northampton, NN4 8BQ.
Tel: (01604) 362513.
Website: www.northamptonshire.gov.uk/recordoffice.

E-mail: archivist@northamptonshire.gov.uk.
Opening times: Tues, Wed, Thurs: 9am to 5pm;
Fri: 9am to 4pm; Sat: 9am to 1pm.

No relevant Rutland material was reported for 2012.

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.

The Rutland work of the Record Office this year has been dominated by the project to complete the cataloguing of the Exton Collection (DE3214). Since their deposit in 1987, the papers of the Noel family of Exton have been the subject of several waves or onslaughts of archival cataloguers. Much of the collection was catalogued thanks to an award to the Friends of the Record Office from the Leverhulme Trust but the subsequent discovery of yet more material at Exton left the task frustratingly incomplete.

The Exton collection occupies some 700 archive

boxes and is, without a doubt, the Record Office's largest single deposit. In 2010 a successful appeal to the National Cataloguing Grants Fund saw the appointment of Rachael Marsay as Project Archivist to this 'Rutland Phoenix' project, to complete the cataloguing and make the papers fully accessible, through. For twenty years the frustration of researchers has been palpable: their eagerness to go beyond the glimpse afforded of the collection by its cataloguing slips has been no less than that of the Record Office to make this possible. The work of 2012 has seen

the creation of a vast on-line catalogue. Also, the physical task to re-number, re-package and re-box the collection has absorbed vast amounts of staff time, including much of the annual stock-taking week closure. In addition, the Project Archivist prepared bulletins to inform her many 'followers', as well as a website and an exhibition to celebrate and promote the project.

Exton may have dominated the year but the Record Office's collecting has continued nevertheless. The year's new accessions show the usual range of material, dominated by deposits of parish and photographic archives. Two large collections of photographs were taken in, including significant Rutland elements. The 8mm film, bearing the tantalising title 'The one that got away', is included only because of its production by a Leicestershire and Rutland group. It will, in any case, be transferred to the Media Archive for Central England. The full list of Rutland accessions is given below. In addition many publications and items of ephemera were received.

The Conservation section was also busy with Rutland repairs in 2012: 124 items from the county were conserved (78 from the Exton Collection). It is appropriate too to record the sterling work of the Rutland NADFAS volunteers, based in the Conservation block, who are gradually working their way through the records of Royce & Company, the Oakham estate agents, valuers and auctioneers. The collection (DE3663) consists of over 200 boxes of sales catalogues, correspondence and associated papers.

The use of Rutland material has also increased this year. Just over one twentieth of the material consulted in the Record Office searchroom related directly to Rutland (1,110 documents out of 20,309). The proportion of enquiries on Rutland matters was more or less the same (342 postal, telephone and e-mail enquiries out of 6,614) though the number of visitors researching the county reached 13% (1,255 visitors out of 9,417).

Outreach activities have also extended into Rutland – although not specifically called for in service agreements. Nevertheless, Rutland audiences represented some 15% of those benefiting (we sincerely hope) from Record Office talks and other presentations or events. Even without the long shadow of the Exton project, there can be no doubt that Rutland continues to receive a good service from its archives.

Robin P Jenkins, Senior Archivist (Collections)

Rutland Accessions 2012

- DE8324: Leicestershire & Rutland transparencies, 1960s-1970s: 70mm transparencies and 35mm slides of family events and local scenes and events, including the 'Round Britain milk race' at Market Bosworth in 1973; construction of the M1, in 1963; Swithland Reservoir, Bradgate Park, etc.
- DE8387: Cottesmore Parochial Church Council records, 1924-2003: Minutes (including Vestry) 1924-2003; correspondence and files re 'electrics', &c, 1988-2003.
- DE8343: Leicestershire & Rutland hospital records, 20th C: Administrative records of Rutland Memorial Hospital, Hinckley Isolation Hospital, Lutterworth Fielding Palmer Cottage Hospital, Catmose Vale (Oakham), Melton Mowbray Isolation Hospital and other Rutland medical records.
- DE8358: Rutland Investment Club records, c1969-1973: Constitution, bank books and headed paper.
- DE8388: The C E John Aston Photographic Collection, c1960-2000.
- DE8414: Deeds to property in Whissendine, Lyddington & Uppingham (with an RLHRS Archaeological Team report), 1794-2012.
- DE8416: Deeds & papers of John William Conant (1824-1884) and his sons Henry John (1852-1914) & Edward (1863-1904), c1850-1914.
- DE8418: Wardley parish records, 1980-2010: Quinquennial reports, 1980-2007; annual accounts and associated papers, 2000-09; Annual Meetings minutes, 1994-2007, Inventory, 2002; notes on barrel organ, iron box, &c, c2010; &c.
- DE8419: Belton-in-Rutland parish records, 1995-2012: Faculties, 2004-10; reports on the altar and reredos, organ case and tower gargoyles, 2001-05; Quinquennial reports, 1995-2006; and PCC Minutes, 2009-12.
- DE8446: Oakham parish records, 1994-95: Reports, correspondence, faculties, plans, financial papers, etc, regarding the development of the west end of the church.
- DE8447: Rutland Rural Deanery minutes, 1963-2001.
- DE8460: 8mm film of morris dancing at Leicester Town Hall and of the Leicestershire & Rutland AAA, 'The One that Got Away', nd (1960s?): taken by Mr T B Hunt, Uppingham Rd, Leicester.
- DE8463: Rutland General Friendly Institution annual report, 4th June 1863: 31st Annual Report of the Institution, as 'Insurance Office for the benefit of both sexes in the labouring and agricultural classes, Tradesmen, Workmen, servants, etc...' (posted to Mr Richard Pettifor, of Thistleton).
- DE8487: Lord Harborough's waste rentals account book, 1821-30: Recording rents due from tenants and cottagers (named) in Whissendine, Stapleford, Saxby, Wymondham, Asfordby, Melton, Freeby, Brentingby, Teigh, Stainby, Gunby, Witham, and others. With memoranda, calculations, notes of loans, &c.

Langham Village History Group

Website & contact: www.langhaminrutland.org.uk

The year began with an exhibition of 17th century Langham at Rutland County Museum opened for us by Dr Margaret Bonney. It was not an easy task to select just twenty display boards from the seventy prepared for our 2009 Heritage Lottery funded project but judicious choices and some additional linking information provided a display that was well received by visitors. The exhibition also included the parish record books of the period, copies of wills and inventories, items relating to Langham held by the Museum and a rolling digital display of Langham's general history.

The main area of continuing group research has been Langham's history from 1725-1850. So far, this has included the study of wills, church-wardens' accounts, newspaper reports, maps, tithe data and faggot voting in parliamentary elections. Members also continued to pursue their own particular interest areas which included the Cheselden and Clarke-Jervoise families, local mills and millers, village buildings, Langham's fallen of World War I, and local memories. Two members were involved as volunteers working at Rutland County Museum and ROLLR on the Royce papers and Matkin papers and gave a

presentation to a meeting of the Friends of the Museum/RLHRS on this topic. In May some members of Upper Broughton History Group were taken on a guided walk around Langham.

Much use has been made of the camera stand at the Museum to photograph documents, books and maps. Several members are now proficient in its use. The parish registers, Parish Council minute books and some of the school log books have been photographed. As well as being useful to our own work these are gradually being made accessible through our website. It has been gratifying to see the continued use made of the website by Langham C of E Primary School in their project work. Another school, this time located in Chicago, had made use of information relating to the effects of the Icelandic volcano Laki in 1783, which had formed part of our researches some years ago.

Having used the Exton papers extensively in our researches, we were interested to learn of the progress of the Rutland Phoenix project [see p138 – *Ed*] and, in particular, the online catalogue from Rachael Marsay when she visited us in August.

Lyddington Manor History Society

www.lyddingtonhistory.org.uk

Lyddington Manor History Society was founded in January 2010 to provide a forum for anyone interested in our very rich local history and to undertake a major project on the buildings of the ancient Manor that has at various times included Caldecott, Stoke Dry, Thorpe by Water and the deserted medieval village of Snelston. In February 2011 the Society successfully applied to the Heritage Lottery Fund for funding for a project entitled *Historic Buildings and People of a Rutland Manor*. The project was officially launched in July 2011.

Project Report, June 2013

This work has been undertaken as part of the Lyddington Manor History Society's ongoing *Historic Buildings and People of a Rutland Manor* project funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund (www.hlf.org.uk). It is a community led project which, we told the Lottery Fund, would investigate the history of the buildings and their inhabitants in the ancient Rutland Manor. Its aims, as agreed by the Heritage Lottery Fund, are:

To involve local people from the Manor of Lyddington and the surrounding area in researching, understanding and publishing the history of their own community, including how their ancestors lived and worked in the past:

The Society now has over 70 members, 20 of whom are actively engaged in the project. One team is surveying buildings, another is working on the documents and some have preferred to work on their own, pursuing individual studies on a variety of topics including trade and transport, roads systems, population and the gravestones in Stoke Dry churchyard, to name but a few.

To enable local people to discover, interpret and disseminate the social, economic and cultural history of the villages in the Manor of Lyddington, paying particular attention to local houses and the people that occupied them:

Members of the documentary team have learned to transcribe

In September, we were delighted to hear that the stump of our Village Cross had received Grade II listed status. The stump, in the churchyard, was uncovered from its shroud of ivy some years ago and was thought to have been a churchyard cross damaged by Cromwell's forces. Research related to the parish map of 1624 led us to believe that it was far more likely to have been a medieval standing cross moved to its current position when the Manor was built in the mid-17th century. At a height of 1.3 metres, the stump itself looks rather insignificant but the stone base has a series of carved arcades which has led a number of experts to date it not later than the 11th century.

We ended the year with the publication of a booklet entitled *Three Women of 17th century Langham*, written by Elizabeth Mann and illustrated by Brenda Witcomb, and based on the researched facts about Eme Tomlinson, Grace Fracey and Luce Briscoe, each of a different social class, who lived in Langham in the 1600s. Around this she has woven a story of what their lives would have been like as daughters, wives, mothers and widows.

Gill Frisby

info@lyddingtonhistory.org.uk

documents dating from the 16C to the 19C in a variety of hands. They have worked on a wide range of manuscripts, such as wills and probate inventories of local residents, plus manor court rolls, letters, rentals, surveys and parish registers. Property transactions in the manor court rolls from 1709 onwards were indexed. These indexes have been transferred to Excel spreadsheets, to which have been added the details of all transactions back to the late 15C, greatly aiding the tracing of house histories. The occupants and owners of five houses in Caldecott and sixteen in Lyddington have been traced back to the 17C. For six of these we have been able to trace the owners back to the 16C and for one house the late 15C. The results have been disseminated to the community by a series of talks, exhibitions and village walks.

To ensure continuing commitment to the conservation of the local built environment through the education of the community in its history and significance:

The historic buildings team has completed surveys and produced reports on fifteen buildings in Lyddington, seven in Caldecott and two in Thorpe by Water [see above, pp136-8 – *Ed*]. Samples have already been taken for dendro-dating from four houses and results are starting to come in. Robert Howard of the Nottingham Tree-ring Dating Laboratory has on his list another six that we believe are suitable candidates for dating. As reports and surveys are completed on each house, copies are given to the householder. If the householders agree, the reports will be published on our website, making their history available to everyone.

To build an archive of historic records on the manor that is available for future study:

With the help of many who have endured the tedium of scanning for hours on end, we have built an enormous archive and it is still growing. It now contains all the 'Lyddington cum Caldecott' Manor Court Rolls that have so far been found at Burghley House, plus leases, surveys, maps and rentals (many of which we have still to scan) as well as many documents from elsewhere.

To protect and preserve original material by making electronic copies available, hence reducing the necessity for handling:

Thanks to the skill of our webmaster, we now have an online archive. All the scans are being converted into PDF files which are uploaded onto a protected area of our new website. Access to this is limited during work on the project but when it is complete, everything will be made publicly available.

To conclude, the amount of work involved in this project, much greater than anticipated, has brought unanticipated rewards. The life of the village and its inhabitants begins to emerge and has given us several surprises. We have, for

example, discovered that a high proportion of householders were women in the 17th and 18th centuries. We have also noticed an influx of credit into the village, many of the loans to householders coming from the medical fraternity in Leicester, and the rate at which houses changed hands appears to differ in the four villages in our study. As the residents speak to us through their writing over the ages we learn of their ailments, their problems and their successes. We are planning to publish, towards the end of 2014, our portrayal of their lives and the buildings they inhabited. The Committee joins me in thanking everyone who has helped.

R M Canadine

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, 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.

Displays and Exhibitions

Work has now been completed on the new brewing and coopering display in the main hall of the Museum. Our first audio-visual installation can be found in this area, showing Pathé films on making beer barrels.

The First World War display case has been updated and includes medals kindly on loan from Belton Parochial Church Council. The medals belonged to Stevens Buxton and medals from his son, Robert Stevens Buxton are now on display in the Second World War case. Work is now under way to re-vamp the children's activity area, and new interpretation banners for the courtyard are being planned.

The Museum continues to offer the temporary exhibition area for community groups, especially local history groups and local artists. The Rutland Open has become an annual exhibition here and last year we also had a very successful exhibition produced by the U3A Textile and Art group and Uppingham Local History Study Group. We have continued to produce in-house exhibitions which showcase our own reserve collections and have collaborated with other organisations to produce regional displays such as the 'Combine' exhibition.

Schools and Family workshops

The financial year 2012/2013 saw record-breaking numbers using the varied learning programmes and resources at the museum. Over 2,000 people attended the family workshops held during holiday periods. In addition, there have been record numbers of school users (around 800 pupils) attending taught workshops and using the loan boxes.

Collections

Our volunteers have again been busy this year. We have several groups working on different areas of the collection. Our large agricultural items are continuing to be cleaned down, paintwork consolidated and generally being maintained. Oakham Decorative & Fine Art Society volunteers have been working on re-packaging and

cataloguing the ephemera and textile collections. A group of volunteers have been helping with the re-packaging of archaeological items and have been working on an exhibition of Roman Rutland for later in the year 2013, and other volunteers have also been helping with interpreting the collections and research for display.

The Museum Collection database has now been moved from the old Modes database to the new Modes Complete database with financial help from the Friends. This new database is more user friendly, and has the capacity to link more easily with a website. The museum has been successful in bidding for some funding for its Collections Access project. This funding will allow us to provide training for volunteers, and acquire photographic equipment and packaging materials. The project will also enable us to provide access to the collections on line.

Acquisitions

Notable acquisitions for the Museum have been:

- Firemark from Cottesmore
- Salon hair dryer from Uppingham
- Collection of RAF Sortie aerial photos from June 1969
- Ruddles advertising mirror
- Rutland Swimming Club challenge cups and shields

Oakham Castle

The Stage One HLF application for extensive restoration work at the Castle was successful, and work is under way to finalise costs and documentation to allow the submission of the Stage Two paperwork. Plans include major consolidation and revealing of the curtain wall; repairs to the Great Hall; extensive interpretation work; improved toilets and refreshment facilities; and development of a high profile leisure and educational activity offer.

Our trial of Castle Tours run by our volunteers last year was successful and this is being repeated this year. We are experiencing particular interest in pre-booked group tours following our Time Team exposure early in 2013.

Local Studies Collection

Use of the Local Studies resources at Rutland County Museum continues to be extensive. Work continues to add items to the catalogue, and transfer items from Oakham Library reserve. A project is under way to re-categorise stock to make access easier. A digital microfiche/film reader has recently been purchased and is due to be installed to complement our existing equipment.

We continue 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 such material. Consequently very few items have been published on Rutland, particularly in comparison with other years. 55 titles have been acquired for the collection this year, only

a few of which are Rutland specific.

The service is beginning to see more enquiries from Key Stage Two children, and there are plans to provide Local Studies stock to meet those needs over the next year.

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

The Service continues to work closely with the Record Office, particularly with the co-ordination of new Local Studies acquisitions, management of material, the scanning of Rutland newspapers onto film, and exhibitions.

Visitor Figures

From April 2012 to March 2013 the museum received 19,848 visits (2011-12: 21,894). Over the same period Oakham Castle received 30,285 visits (2011-12: 34,678).

Emily Barwell & Lorraine Cornwall

Rutland Historic Churches Preservation Trust

Contact information:

Email: rhcptrust@googlegmail.com.

Website: www.rhcpt.co.uk.

The 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. All of these places of worship, fine buildings, have been inherited by our generation to use and to care for, and to pass on, diligently preserved, as we have received them.

Our new income for this year has come from kind and generous donations from the following Rutland Parochial Church Councils: Belton, Clipsham, Empingham, Morcott, Preston, Stoke Dry, Tickencote and Tixover, to all of whom we acknowledge our sincere thanks. We are also a fortunate and grateful beneficiary of a legacy from the Kenneth Alan Scott Estate. The Trustees of RHCPT are seeking to promote the Trust as a worthy beneficiary of legacies particularly with local Rutland families in mind.

During the past year a new website has been completed which combines the Ride and Stride site with the main RHCPT site. The new sites can both be accessed either from www.rhcpt.co.uk or from www.rhcpt.co.uk/rutland-ride-and-stride.html. The site includes a new photo gallery, a new social networking facility, and direct access to Just Giving, in order to place donations. We hope that visitors will find the new site more interesting, informative and easier to access and navigate than before.

On Saturday 14th September 2013 the sponsored Ride and Stride around the churches and chapels of Rutland will take place. In 2011 the cyclists, walkers, recorders and in one case horse rider, raised a total of £19,250, so this is now a target we aim to exceed. Half of the proceeds raised are returned to the nominated Church PCC. Once again,

Registered Charity No 211068.

Give As You Earn Reg No 000101080.

Inland Revenue Identification No NAK 60 JG.

Hanson Cement has offered to arrange all the printing with significant cost saving to the Trust. Barnsdale Lodge and Rutland Cycling have also offered their assistance with publicity in the provision of vouchers for best walking and cycling team endeavour. This is most helpful to the Trust Organisers who wish to record their thanks to all.

During the past financial year the Trust has approved grants totalling £33,000 to Ashwell, Hambleton, Langham Baptist Church, Market Overton, Oakham (All Saints) and Tinwell. Most of the work involved was for major roofing repairs, and in the case of Oakham All Saints, the requirement was for re-laying and replacing of quarry tiles on the floor of the nave.

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

In October 2012 we welcomed a new Trustee to the Trust, Air Cdre Andrew Griffin DL, who will take over responsibility for looking after the churches in the southern area of Rutland, formerly the responsibility of Mr Peter Lawson.

The Trustees wish to take this opportunity to thank all of our supporters, sponsors and donors for all they have contributed during the past year. During the coming year, as in the past, we confidently look forward to receiving the continuing favour of our benefactors, and to providing all necessary support to our beautiful 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 continued 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 sage guidance of

Website: www.rutlandhistory.org.

Email: enquiries@rutlandhistory.org.

its Honorary Editor, Tim Clough. The annual *Rutland Record* continues to be the cornerstone of the Society's activities. Number 32 was published in December with what to some might have appeared a tautologically-titled press release, 'Neanderthals and Headmasters'. Articles

detailed ULAS's excavation of an important palaeolithic site at Glaston, the names of headmasters and their assistants at Oakham, the work of Edward Thring as Headmaster of Uppingham, and the hitherto little-known Rutland connections of the photographic pioneer W H Fox Talbot.

I am delighted to report that the quality of work in *Rutland Record* has once again been accorded national recognition by the British Association for Local History. Ian Ryder's article 'Social Investigations in Early Victorian Rutland: the State of Education', in *Rutland Record* 31, was a runner-up in the BALH's annual awards for local history journals – the third time in recent years that an article from *Rutland Record* has been commended by the BALH, a remarkable record for a society as small as ours.

We have recently added a substantial volume to our Occasional Publications with the appearance of *Medieval Property Transactions in Rutland: Abstracts of Feet of Fines, 1197-1509*, edited by Bridget Wells-Furby, an invaluable resource for social and economic historians of medieval England.

The Society's website, www.rutlandhistory.org, continues to develop and is widely recognised as offering a model of good practice for local history societies. The website now offers a wide range of research materials for the history of Rutland which can be accessed by members, as well as numerous articles from earlier issues of the *Rutland Record* which are now out of print. 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, whose report follows.

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 naturally enough have related to Rutland, though we have ranged more widely. Thanks are particularly due to Peter Diplock for the arrangement of the programme. Peter stepped down from the committee at the 2013 AGM. His expertise and energy will be sorely missed.

2012's guided walk took place in and around Great Casterton. Thanks are due once again to Robert Ovens and Sheila Sleath for organising and leading this event. The archaeological group continues its activities, refusing to be daunted by execrable weather, which has rendered field walking an activity only for the most dedicated.

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. 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. Increasing the number of nominations will enable the organisers, led by Robert Ovens – who has also produced the Society's *Newsletter* – to feel that their considerable efforts have been worthwhile. We also monitor planning applications, and I would urge as many members as possible to assist us in that respect.

Mike Tillbrook, Chairman

Website

The Society web site continues to be a heavily used resource, accessed by our membership, by education establishments and by many hundreds of individuals each week. Greater use of Information Technology continues to help the Society to be more effective in its administration and finances. The new membership data management system, configured with help from the treasurer, is ensuring timely collection of subscriptions. Members who agree to the use of their email address will, in the future, allow Society newsletters to be sent electronically, thus saving on printing and postage costs. This may also provide the opportunity for more regular updates and reminders of presentations and other events.

People looking to join the Society are now able to do this online and we have enabled members to pay their annual subscription online using a credit or debit card.

The Research and Local Resources section continues to receive additional items. The site now has nearly thirty detailed local history book reviews, as well as many back issues of the Society's newsletters. The transcription drafts of Archdeacon Irons's papers, for all the Rutland towns and villages in the collection, are nearing completion. This resource provides a wealth of information beginning in the 13th century, and our online search routine includes data from all the files, providing a very powerful tool for linking together family names, property, misdemeanours and amusing incidents.

To help other local history societies in Rutland and its surrounding counties, we now offer help with web hosting or the allocation of specific pages on our main site, e.g. <http://www.rutlandhistory.org/cottesmore-home.htm> or <http://www.uppinghamhistory.org.uk>.

We are testing a dedicated search routine, <http://www.langhaminrutland.org.uk/search.htm>, which searches all the files on our Society site, the Uppingham site and the Langham site. It is remarkably fast, returning links to everything that matches an individual request. Users may be surprised at what it finds. After testing, the search routine will be directly available from a navigation button on the Society site; in the future we may be able to include other local history sites in this search routine.

Mike Frisby, Webmaster

Uppingham Local History Study Group

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

The Uppingham Local History Group has been helping the Town Council with the creation of a heritage trail in Uppingham. The council submitted a bid for £50,000 to the

Heritage Lottery Fund. A working group visited similar schemes in Kibworth and Nether Broughton. The History Group has been involved in providing information for the

boards which will be marked by brass plaques around Uppingham. A website will be created and a leaflet produced. It is hoped to launch the scheme in autumn 2013.

At our March meeting Vanessa Doe told us about Richard Westbrook Baker (1797-1861), a well-known figure in Rutland and agent to the Noel family and their Exton estate. The estate extended to Uppingham. Richard took the lease on Hall Farm in 1851 and the level land was used for the Ploughing Meeting. This was famous in England and demonstrated the latest techniques and hedge laying. This became the Uppingham Ploughing Meeting and met at the Falcon Hotel. Richard was Smithfield Show Champion twice with his Shorthorn cattle, and founder of the Rutland Agricultural Show. He was a keen promoter of allotments and founded a Friendly Society with offices in Cottesmore and Uppingham. He invented the Rutland Plough which was manufactured by Ransomes of Ipswich. There is an example in the Rutland County Museum. Langham Old Hall was purchased by Baker in 1836. Langham Brewery was run by his son Edward Baker and it became Ruddles Brewery in 1911.

In April member Vivian Anthony gave us a talk on Uppingham in Tudor times. While there is no evidence of families with great wealth living in Uppingham, many of the prominent families of county gentry – Cheseldynes, Digbys of Stoke Dry, Burtons and Falkeners – held land in the parish. The power and influence of the manor courts was on the wane and that of the Vestry increasing at their expense. The period saw the old type timber-framed dwellings replaced or encased by stone ones. The layout of main street with north and south back ways, market place and church was firmly established with weekly markets and two annual fairs held. The Grammar School was founded by Robert Johnson in 1584.

In July we met at the home of Margaret Stacey in Station Road, Uppingham. Margaret told us about the history of her house. Originally the land had been part of the Hall, owned in the 18th century by the Hotchkin family. It had passed by marriage to the Adderleys who later assumed the title of Lords Norton, hence both Adderley and Norton Streets nearby. Beyond the stream at the bottom of Margaret's garden the land in medieval times had been a common pasture called Many Bushes, but with the enclosure of Uppingham's common land this had been allotted to the Hotchkins and Adderley. Margaret's talk was supported by deeds and maps of the property, The Orchard, at various stages of its existence.

Members were invited to Uppingham School's exhibition for parents at the annual Speech Day and the group's portraits and information about local characters were given a prominent position. In August Roy Stephenson and Norman Tomson manned a stall at the Produce Show, promoting the group's publications and activities.

In September Vivian Anthony spoke about the medieval period of Uppingham's history. A royal charter was granted in 1281 to hold a weekly market and annual three-day fair. This marked the start of Uppingham's growth in importance. The market displayed a range of crafted metal and wooden goods, and produce such as wool and foodstuffs.

From December 2012 to February 2013 the group mounted an exhibition at the Rutland County Museum on the history of the shops in the High Street of Uppingham which was well received. Special thanks go to Roy Stephenson, Marjorie Mottram-Epson, Peter Lane and the Museum staff for organising the exhibition. It is hoped to display the material in Uppingham during 2013.

Helen Hutton

IV – Rutland Bibliography 2012

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

- Ashforth, Philip J, *Industrial railways and locomotives of Lincolnshire and Rutland* (Melton Mowbray: Industrial Railway Society, 2010, £21.95, ISBN 9781901556636).
- Billson, Charles James, *County Folk-lore: Leicestershire & Rutland* (Alcester: Read Books, 2010, £15.45, ISBN 9781445521480).
- Cockin, Tim, *The Parish Atlas of England: Leicestershire and Rutland* (Malthouse Press, 2012, £7.50, ISBN 9781907364099).
- Collett, Pauline, *The Parish Churches of Rutland* (Stamford: Spiegl Press, 2012, £9.99, ISBN 9780902544772). *
- Deadman, Derek, & Brooks, Colin, *An Illustrated Guide to the Printed Maps of Rutland 1576-1900* (Landseer Press, 2012, £30.00, ISBN 9788700008366). *
- De Wylde, Jae, *Thinking Tank* (Lincolnshire: Summertime Publishing, 2011, £7.99, ISBN 9781904881438) [Local author].
- Garrs, Mike, *Valiant Hearts: the story of the Uppingham School V.C.s* (Stamford: Spiegl Press, 2010, £9.95)
- Merchant, Rex, *The Dealer and the Devil* (Oakham: Rex Merchant, 2012, £9.00, ISBN 9781902474267) [Oakham author].
- Newbury, Aubrey, et al, *Freemasonry in Leicestershire & Rutland: the 'other' orders and degrees* (Anchor Print Group, 2012, £20, ISBN 9781907540578).
- Parry-Wingfield, John, *Napoleon's Prisoner* (Ilfracombe: Arthur H Stockwell, 2012, £5.99, ISBN 9780722341520) [Empingham author].
- Price, Dorothea, *The River Welland* (Stroud: Amberley, 2012, £14.99, ISBN 9781445603315).
- Richardson, Dick, *The Great Leicestershire and Rutland Quiz Book* (Bakewell: Country Books, 2011, £6.99, ISBN 9781906789572).
- Roberts, David, *Rock Atlas* (Ellington: Clarksdale, 2011, £19.99, ISBN 9781905959242)
- Rogers, Alan, *Noble Merchant: William Browne (c1410-1489) and Stamford in the Fifteenth Century* (Abramis Publishing, 2012, £19.95, ISBN 9781845485503). *
- Skinner, Julia, *Flavours of Leicestershire & Rutland: Recipes* (Salisbury: The Francis Frith Collection, 2012, £3.99, ISBN 9781845896928).
- *Did you know? Leicestershire & Rutland: a miscellany* (Salisbury: The Francis Frith Collection, 2012, £3.99, ISBN 9781845896829).
- Stebbins, Will, *Off the mark* (Leicester: Matador, 2012, £7.49, ISBN 9781780881522) [Ketton author]
- Wells, Gerry, *Kicking the hornets' nest* (Leicester: Matador, 2012, £7.99, ISBN 9781780881560) [N Luffenham author].

* Reviewed in RLHRS Newsletter, April 2013.

RUTLAND LOCAL HISTORY & RECORD SOCIETY

Registered Charity No. 700273

The Society's publications, with their main contents, are currently available (autumn 2013) 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* (£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* (£2.50, members £2.00)
Religious Census 1851 (pt 1); Exton churchyard
- Rutland Record 23* (£2.50, members £2.00)
Tinwell Roman coins; Ridlington Park; Lord Ranksborough;
Notitia Parochialis 1705; annual reports
- Rutland Record 24* (£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* (£2.50, members £2.00), J D Bennett:
full bibliography to 2005, subject index, 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
- Rutland Record 32* (£4.50, members £3.50)
Ice Age at Glaston; Fox Talbot and Rutland; Oakham's masters and
ushers; Mid-Victorian Uppingham School; annual reports

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

Rutland Record Series

1. *Tudor Rutland: The County Community under Henry VIII*
ed Julian Cornwall (1980). The Military Survey of 1522 & the Lay
Subsidy of 1524, with introduction (£3.00, members £2.00)
2. *The Weather Journals of a Rutland Squire* ed John Kington
(1988). Thomas Barker's 18th century weather, farming and
countryside records, with introduction (£5.00, members £3.50)
3. *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)
4. *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)
5. *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

1. *Domesday Book in Rutland: the dramatis personae*
by Prince Yuri Galitzine (1986) (OP)
2. *The Oakham Survey 1305* ed Allen Chinnery (1988). Medieval
survey: population, occupations, topography, customs, and
personal/place-name evidence (OP)
3. *The Rutland Hearth Tax 1665* ed Jill Bourn & Amanda Goode
(1991). Introduction and transcript (OP)
4. *The History of Gilson's Hospital, Morcott* by David Parkin (1995).
The charity, its almshouse, and farm at Scredington, Lincs; trustees,
beneficiaries; foundation deed, Gilson's will (£3.50, members £2.50)
5. *Lyndon, Rutland* by Charles Mayhew (1999). Guide to the village
and church (£2.50, members £2.00)
6. *The History of the Hospital of St John the Evangelist & St Anne in
Okeham* by David Parkin (2000). The 600-year old charity: history,
chapel, trustees and beneficiaries (£3.50, members £2.50)
7. *The 1712 Land Tax Assessments and the 1710 Poll Book for
Rutland* ed T H McK Clough (2005). Introduction, commentary,
transcripts, indexes (£5.00, members £3.50)
8. *Common Right and Private Interest: Rutland's Common Fields
and their Enclosure* by Ian E Ryder (2006). Details of Rutland's
enclosures, with historical background, case studies, gazetteer and
indexes (£5.50, members £4.50)
9. *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)
10. *Medieval Property Transactions in Rutland: abstracts of feet of
fines 1197-1509* by Bridget Wells-Furby (2013). Introduction,
discussion, detailed calendar of all 355 Rutland feet of fines, full
indexes (£10.00, members £8.00).

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

Rutland Record, Index, Occas Pubs 4, 5, 6: £1.20 one issue + 50p
each extra issue; *Occas Pubs* 7, 8, 9 and *Stained Glass*: £1.50 each;
Tudor Rutland, Weather Journals, Occas Pub 10: £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 some 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 33

Journal of the Rutland Local History & Record Society

In this issue:



The marriage of George Villiers
and Katherine Manners



Social investigations
in early Victorian Rutland



Wilkershaw Cowpasture,
Beaumont Chase



Time Team at Oakham Castle