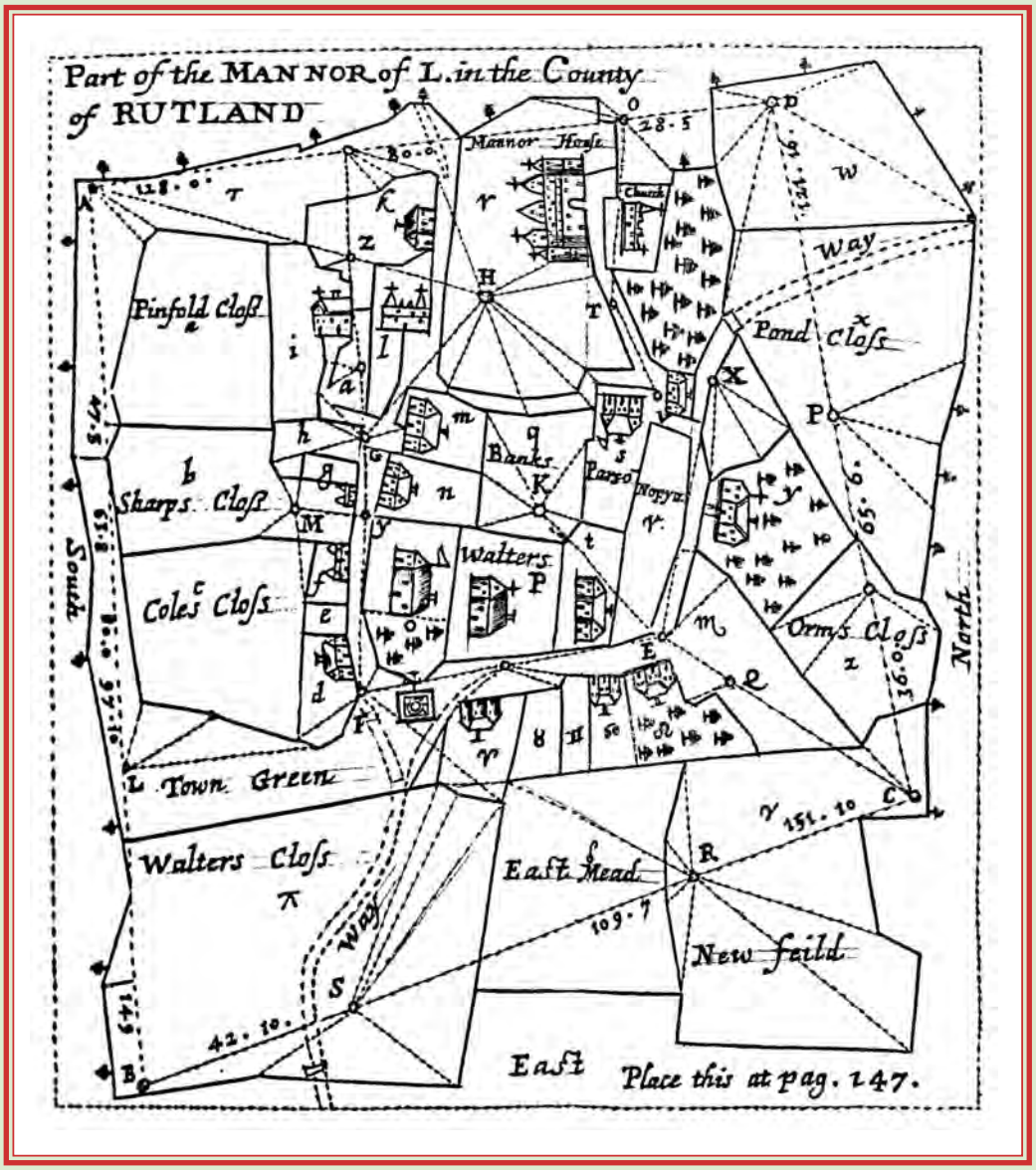
# Rutland Record 30

*Journal of the Rutland Local History & Record Society*



# Rutland Local History & Record Society

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*No 30 (for 2010)*


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Contributions and editorial correspondence should be sent to the Honorary Editor, Rutland Local History & Record Society, Rutland County Museum, Catmose Street, Oakham, Rutland, LE15 6HW



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# Editorial : Cuts need stitches, not iodine

This Editorial is written in the wake of the Government's Comprehensive Spending Review, announced on 23rd October 2010. It is too early to know exactly what its impact will be at national or local level on those many organisations responsible for managing, protecting and interpreting our national heritage. One thing is clear, however: the cuts are deep indeed, and for many frighteningly so. We know that action has had to be taken to redress the ills resulting from the financial turbulence of the last year or two, but at the same time we are all concerned at their potential, and likely, effect on our heritage organisations.

No-one can reasonably deny the primary importance of front-line services such as education, social and health care, or national security and safety, all of which are being affected to a greater or lesser extent. Equally though, it may be argued, we should not set aside willy-nilly those other services, statutory or not, that add so much to our quality of life. Our cultural and heritage services – especially national and local libraries, archives and museums – fall into this category, as do those that care for our archaeological sites and monuments, our historic townscapes and buildings. Despite confirmation that national museums, amongst other bodies funded by the Department of Culture, are to be retained with their current status and functions intact, though with reduced budgets, many are concerned for the future of such services in the current climate. The abolition of the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council as part of the purge of quangos has left this sector particularly unsure how its interests will now be represented to Government. Other organisations such as English Heritage survive but with drastically reduced finances.

Locally, the news of these cuts is received with a sharp intake of breath. We are concerned at the possible impact of cuts on the archive service provided to our county by the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland. Similar concerns are mirrored across the country. As to museums, we have already seen the brutal and pessimistic threat of closure applied to Stamford Museum in neighbouring Lincolnshire. We must therefore have hope and confidence that Rutland County Council will continue to act as a responsible steward of the collections which have been given to the Rutland County Museum by hundreds of donors in good faith over nearly half a century, and will respect and do its best to act on such advice as it may receive in the course of public consultation.

We all benefit from preserving and maintaining our heritage: to do so, and to allocate sufficient funds for this purpose, should not be regarded as a drain on our resources. However, we need to work hard to persuade those who hold the purse strings and have the hard task of managing public authority budgets that money spent on heritage is an investment that brings returns to the local economy, creating jobs, advancing skills and satisfying consumer demand. Rutland – through its people and its Council – has invested much in its museum service, supported by a range of grant-giving bodies which have all recognised its value to the local community as well as acknowledging the regional importance of its collections: truly *Multum in Parvo*. Ultimately, it is the integrity of those collections that matters. The specialist and experienced knowledge that makes possible their documentation, maintenance and interpretation forms the life-blood of Rutland's museum service: we cannot afford to spill that blood, but must stitch the wounds as best we can. Scars there may be, but if the heart is kept beating through the goodwill and active participation of the community of Rutland, eventually recovery should follow.

## Notes on Contributors

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# In the Service of the Crown: the Haringtons of Exton

SUE HOWLETT

*When James VI of Scotland was crowned as England's first Stuart monarch, no other family was more closely intertwined with the lives of the royal family than the Haringtons of Exton. The connection began when the newly ennobled Lord and Lady Harington, distantly related to the Scottish king, were appointed guardian and governess of his eldest daughter, six-year-old Princess Elizabeth. While Lord and Lady Harington cared for Princess Elizabeth, their son and elder daughter were at the centre of court life. Lucy, married at 13 to the Earl of Bedford, was the favourite Lady-in-Waiting of Queen Anne of Denmark and patron and muse of poets such as John Donne and Ben Jonson. Her brother, John, was bosom friend to Henry, Prince of Wales. It was confidently predicted that the young Harington, being 'the right eye of the Prince of Wales', would 'one day govern the Kingdom'. However, the early death of the prince in 1612 brought an end, in Roy Strong's words, to 'England's lost Renaissance', paving the way for the disastrous rule of his brother, Charles I. Within two years the great Harington dynasty of Exton came to an impecunious end with the death of John, 2nd Lord Harington. His funeral sermon, preached at Exton and printed in London, lamented the loss to 'the commonwealth, and especially this little Shire' of the most acclaimed young nobleman of his time.*

**Royal recognition**

On Easter Saturday 1603, in the first spring of the new Stuart dynasty, King James, the sixth of Scotland and now the first of England, passed through Rutland on his leisurely progress south to his new capital. The previous night had been spent as guest of Sir John Harington at Burley on the Hill, entertained by an extended poetic tribute from the old queen's court poet, Samuel Daniel. After a morning's hunting in Exton Park, the king was able to indulge his passion for the sport even while continuing his journey. Sir John Harington's best hounds led the entourage, following scent trails laid in advance, pursuing live hares which had been carried to the heath in baskets.

Throughout the journey, the royal progress was frequently interrupted by petitioners attempting to press their demands into the king's hand. However, those who confronted him on Empingham Heath must have been some of the strangest – a hundred fenlanders, dissatisfied tenants of Lady Hatton, appearing like 'Patagonian giants' on the stilts which assisted their watery labours. After graciously advising the countrymen to defer their demands until he reached London, James spent Easter Day at the Cecils' grand palace of Burghley, before being lured back into Rutland by the prospect of further hunting with Sir John Harington. Unfortunately the king's horse fell, 'and very dangerously bruised his arm, to the great amazement and grief of all them that were about his Majesty at that time'. Although he mounted to return to Sir John's for the night, the king's pain the following morning was such that he abandoned all hope of hunting and continued his journey south by coach (Nichols 1824, i 93-6).

When Coronation Day arrived on 11th July, Sir John Harington was rewarded for past and future service by the title of Baron Harington of Exton, the first of eight baronies created that day (GEC 1892, 170). His family's fortunes were at their zenith. Even before the accession of the new Stuart monarch, the Harington dynasty had enjoyed a century of dominance in the county community. Originating in Cumberland, their support of the defeated King Richard III led to loss of estates, but fortunes were rebuilt when one of many successive John Haringtons married the heiress of Exton in Rutland. She was Katherine Colepeper, who claimed the added distinction of descent from Robert Bruce, King of Scotland. Their grandson, John Harington, served King Henry VIII in several posts including Esquire of the Royal Body, becoming High Sheriff of Rutland in 1552, the year before his death.

**A great dynasty**

The family's acquisition of Exton was followed by the purchase of Horn and other Rutland estates, including the great manor of Burley on the Hill. Land was becoming more lucrative, at the expense of dispossessed labourers, as the midland rural economy was transformed by sheep farming. Under Elizabeth, Rutland saw a Harington serve as sheriff nine times, far more than any other family. Of Elizabeth's ten parliaments, only two did not include one of the Exton Haringtons, representing Rutland as Knight of the Shire. By 1600, the extensive Harington estates in Rutland included Oakham Lordshold, Burley, Exton, Ridlington, Cottesmore, Stretton, Clipsham, Greetham, North Luffenham and Leighfield Forest, as well as valuable properties

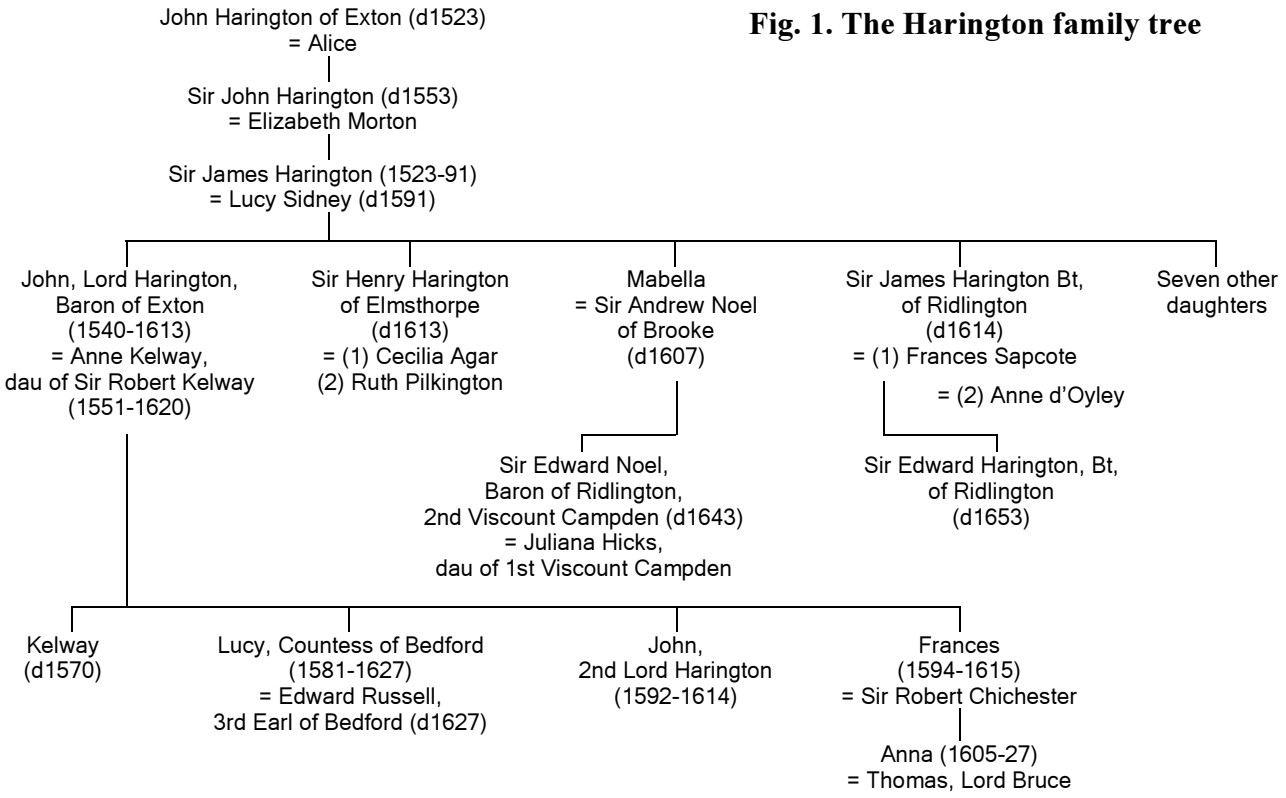


**Fig. 1. The Harington family tree**

throughout the midlands. The Haringtons had accumulated one of the largest landed fortunes in England, yielding an income of between £5,000 and £7,000 per year (Grimble 1957, 63-73). When their remote relative, James Stuart, succeeded to the throne of England, the family stood poised to seize every opportunity for advancement.

The great marriages of the Haringtons of Exton are told in the marble monuments of Exton Church. Kneeling devoutly against the north wall of the chancel, the figures of Sir James Harington (1523-91) and his wife, Lucy Sidney, testify to a fifty-year marriage which produced three sons and eight daughters. According to the Rutland historian James Wright, from that marriage were descended eight dukes, three marquises, seventy earls, nine counts, seven viscounts and thirty-six barons (Wright 1684, 52). Sir James and Lady Lucy worked hard to arrange advantageous alliances for their children. The marriage of one daughter, Mabella, to Sir Andrew Noel of Brooke, gave rise to the great Noel dynasty which was to supplant the Haringtons and dominate Rutland for over three centuries (fig. 1).

By 1570 a glittering match had taken place between the heir of Exton, John Harington (1540-1613) and Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Kelway, Surveyor of the Court of Wards. This brought the significant dowry of Coombe Abbey, Warwickshire. Sir James Harington's wedding gift to his eldest son was the wealthy manor of Burley on the Hill, purchased from the Sapcote family between 1550 and 1562. At the same time he gave the lesser manor of Ridlington, Rutland, to his third son, James. The second son, Henry, strangely received no property from his father, gaining only the manor of Elmsthorpe, Leicestershire, by his own marriage. It is likely that some falling out in the family led to Henry's exile to join the military campaign to colonize and pacify Ireland. Serving in Ireland at the same time under the Earl of Essex was a cousin of the Rutland Haringtons, Sir John Harington of Kelston, described by Queen Elizabeth as her 'saucy poet, my godson'. The poet's account of the campaign describes how, following a defeat by the colourfully named Philim McPheogh: 'my cousin Sir Henry Harington, in a treacherous parley with Rorie Ogie, a notable rebel, was taken and conveyed to his habitation a prisoner' (quoted in Grimble 1957, 130).

While Henry Harington campaigned in Ireland, his younger brother James settled at Ridlington with his wife Frances Sapcote; eight sisters made convenient marriages, and their parents lived on at Exton where they both died in the same year, 1591. Meanwhile the eldest brother and heir to the great estates, Sir John Harington, lived magnificently with his wife Anne, at Burley, Coombe Abbey, or the Harington property in London. Their first son, Kelway Harington, died as a baby in December 1570. Eleven years later their first daughter was born in Stepney, at a now vanished house probably acquired from a Harington ancestor who had been Dean of York. At some stage the growing family was joined by Anne's father, who lived with them until his death in 1580, aged 84. One of the

*Fig. 2. The Kelway tomb, Exton church (Wright 1684, 57).*

magnificent monuments in Exton Church shows the dead Sir Robert Kelway and his grandson, the infant Kelway Harington, mourned by the kneeling figures of Sir John and Lady Anne Harington and their daughter Lucy (fig. 2). A second daughter, Frances, was followed in 1592 by the long awaited heir, a younger John Harington, also baptized in Stepney. Two years later, on 12th December 1594, Lucy Harington, aged 13, was married at Stepney to the 21-year-old Earl of Bedford.

In 1591, following the death of his parents, Sir John Harington inherited his father's great estates. Adding to his existing homes at Burley on the Hill and Coombe Abbey, he now possessed the recently rebuilt Exton Hall (fig. 3) and other Rutland properties such as Clipsham Hall, where a surviving part of the older house bears the arms of Harington, on a panel dated 1582. In keeping with his prominent status, Sir John Harington lived ostentatiously but generously: 'a bountiful housekeeper, dividing his hospitality between Rutland and Warwickshire, where he had a fair habitation' (Fuller 1811, 40). He had rebuilt his wife's dowry of Coombe Abbey, incorporating three sides of the monastic cloister into a magnificent house which stands to this day. In the last decade of Queen Elizabeth, Sir John had valuable friends and family connections at court. His relations by marriage included the Sidneys of Penshurst, Sussex, and the all-powerful Lord Burghley of Stamford. Shortly before his death in 1598, the septuagenarian Lord Burghley was found taking the waters at Bath with his kinsman, Sir John Harington. The poet, John Harington of Kelston, wrote to Sir Hugh Portman:

> *I have been to visit the house which my Lord Treasurer doth occupy at the Bath, and found him and another cripple together, my cousin Sir John Harington of Exton; when it grieved me to see so much discretion, wisdom, and learning in peril of death.*
>
> (quoted in Grimble 1957, 126)

The bountiful hospitality for which Sir John Harington was renowned is described in some detail in an eyewitness account that survives among the Antony Bacon papers in Lambeth Palace Library (Unger 1987, 243). A Huguenot refugee, Jacques Petit, had left the service of Antony Bacon in order to join the Harington household as French tutor to the three-year-old heir, also named John Harington. Just before Christmas 1595, Petit travelled to Rutland with the Haringtons' daughter, Lucy, and her new husband, the Earl of Bedford, to attend a great family party at Burley on the Hill. The Frenchman sent his former master a vivid account of the activities of the young couple, which included hunting in a four-horse carriage. He reported Sir John Harington's problems in meeting the costs of the massive dowry paid on his daughter's marriage, as well as lavish feasting and entertainment for his family and neighbours. Church services were held every morning and afternoon, with a different preacher each day. But the event which gives this Christmas celebration at Burley wider significance is a recorded performance by the visiting Lord Chamberlain's Men, possibly including Shakespeare, of *Titus Andronicus* (Unger 1987).

*Fig. 3. Exton House, as depicted by Wright (1684, 49).*

Petit compared the scale of Harington hospitality over the twelve days of Christmas with that of the royal court. Two hundred private guests dined in the refectory, while daily banquets were provided in the hall for eight or nine hundred country men and women. These were joined by Sir John, who regaled them:

> *with excessive good cheer of all sorts of dishes and wines. His steward saw to it that the others lacked for nothing, having four or five long tables decked with food-stuffs for eighty or a hundred persons at a time. When these had finished, they made room for as many further persons and left. When everything was over, the poor were given bread and food in abundance so much so that when all were satisfied, there was still much food left.*
>
> (Petit MS 654, quoted in Unger 1987, 244).

If this was a family celebration, how much more lavish must have been the entertainment provided for the first of many royal visits, in April 1603. Such overwhelming providence says much for Sir John's generosity, but is perhaps an early indication of the financial over-extension which contributed to the family's demise.

**Guardian to a princess**

The Haringtons received the ultimate seal of royal approval when King James selected Lord Harington as guardian of his six-year-old daughter, Princess Elizabeth (figs. 4 & 5). Her care was to be funded by an annual pension of £1,500, plus additional approved expenses, 'for her apparel, for wages of teachers and servants, rewards, alms, and for a coach and horses for her use…' (quoted in Green 1909, 153). In the following years, State Papers record spasmodic settling of additional accounts, such as the warrant of 9th December 1603 to pay the wages due to the Lady Elizabeth's servants, as well as the increase of the annual payment to £2,500, on 28th May 1608. Lord and Lady Harington now made their main home at Coombe Abbey, largely turning aside from public life to devote themselves to the care of the young princess. In February 1604/5 Lord Harington was granted a licence to be absent from parliament on account of his charge of the princess (*CSPD* 1857, 57, 81, 434.)

Highlights of this secluded life must have included the local excursions which allowed Princess Elizabeth to rehearse her future regal role. Nichols records a visit to Coventry on 3rd April 1604, when the young Princess arrived in a carriage escorted by Lord and Lady Harington and her entourage. They were met by the Mayor and aldermen in scarlet gowns; the mayor kissed the royal hand and the party was escorted to St Michael's Church to hear a sermon. The Princess dined in state in St Mary's Hall, after which, 'Lord Harington, the mayor, with the rest of the ladies and gentlemen then dined. The mayor afterwards presented to the princess a silver cup, double gilt, which cost the city £29. 16s. 8d.' (Nichols 1824, i, 429).

Although living away from London, Lord Harington was not forgotten by the king. Meeting the poet Sir John Harington of Kelston at court in January 1605, James:

> *in much good humour asked 'if I was cousin to Lord Harington of Exton'. I humbly replied 'His Majesty did me much honour in enquiring my kin to one whom he had so late honoured and made a Baron ... We were both branches of the same tree'.*
>
> (Letter to Sir Amyas Paulet, quoted in Nichols 1824, i, 492)

This younger John Harington is now remembered as the translator of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, as well as miscellaneous writings ranging from *The Metamorphosis of Ajax or A-jakes*, a satirical work announcing the invention of a flushing water closet, to an entertaining account of his dog Bungy. He provides eye-witness accounts of over-indulgence at court, contrasting with the more serious concerns of his country cousin:

> *Lord Harington of Exton doth much fatigue himself with the royal charge of the Princess Elizabeth, and midst all the foolery of these times, hath much labour to preserve his own wisdom and sobriety.*
>
> (quoted in Green 1909, 161)

The most traumatic episode of Princess Elizabeth's sojourn with Lord Harington was the notorious Gunpowder Plot of 1605 (see Howlett 2006). As the years passed and she grew beyond childhood, the princess was allowed her own household in London, close to that of her beloved brother, Henry, Prince of Wales. The change of scene brought no respite to Lord Harington. In October 1609 he wrote from Kew to the king's minister, Robert Cecil, apologising for not bringing personally his book of accounts for the Princess Elizabeth: 'the Prince often calling for her to ride with him necessitates his own constant attendance'. When time allowed, Harington could not avoid the occasional, necessary attention to his Rutland estates: in 1610 he sent a request to Salisbury for twenty oaks to build a new lodge in Leighfield Forest; he would 'bear the rest of the expense himself out of care for the King's deer' (*CSPD* 1857, 552, 611).

Among the retinue of Elizabeth's royal brother must often have been her guardian's son, the young John Harington, created Knight of the Bath in January 1604. When Lord and Lady Harington were

*Fig. 4. King James VI & I, by Paul van Somer (The Royal Collection © 2010 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II).*

*Fig. 5. Princess Elizabeth, later Queen of Bohemia, by Robert Peake the Elder (image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art).*

given the care of Princess Elizabeth, their son, then aged twelve, was included in the household of ten-year-old Henry, Prince of Wales. A small academy of aristocratic youths was established by the king to study with Prince Henry under the tutelage of Adam Newton: not all proved to be an ideal influence on the heir to the throne. One was the son of Sir Robert Sidney, a relation of the Haringtons, created Viscount Lisle in June 1605. In August 1605:

> *Master Sidney, son of Lord Lisle, that was with the Prince, hath stabbed his schoolmaster with a knife, for offering to whip him, so dangerously that as it is thought he cannot live. The king, when he was told of it, was very much displeased and gave commandment presently that he should be discharged from attending on the prince any longer.*
>
> (Nichols 1824, i, 524)

**The Prince's friend**

At the age of fifteen, John Harington was sent to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, founded by his great-aunt and renowned for its puritan associations. There he became proficient in logic, philosophy, mathematics and four languages. Throughout this time, John Harington remained one of Prince Henry's closest friends. The court painter, Robert Peake the elder, painted several carefully posed hunting scenes of the young Prince of Wales. In one version, held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, his hunting companion is identified by the accompanying shield as John Harington (fig. 6). In addition, Harington is shown in three published engravings, 'the only young aristocrat of his generation to enter this popular medium, which is a fair index of how important he was regarded'. Sir James Whitelock described the prince as 'the most complete young gentleman of his age this kingdom could afford for religion, learning and courteous behaviour' (quoted in Strong 1986, 58, 43). The quality most noticed by all observers of the young John Harington was his piety, rigidly exercised in his private habits:

> *At the close of every week he examined himself, what progress he had made in virtue and goodness, and what fault he had committed during the course of it; and kept an exact diary of his life. His liberality to the distressed was no less remarkable than his humanity and affability to all.*
>
> (Birch 1760, 117)

Among the wide-ranging interests of Prince Henry was a desire to know foreign countries, but fears for the heir's safety prevented him joining any of his court companions on their youthful travels. The 'Grand Tour' was an opportunity for young aristocrats to complete and broaden their education, frequently expanding their families' art collections in the process. Following their arranged marriages, the Prince's friends, the Earls of Essex and Cranborne, were each sent with tutors and entourage to travel in Europe. Both communicated with the Prince in lengthy letters which must only have emphasised his isolated position. Late in 1608 it was the turn of the as yet unmarried Sir John Harington. He promised the Prince:

> *to keep an exact journal of his travels for the amusement of his Highness; concluding, that he carried about him day and night in his bosom, and should for ever do so, and often kissed, that ring, which the Prince had presented to him, and which he esteemed as a mark of His Highness's singular favour, in which he placed the height of all his fortunes.*
>
> (Birch 1760, 122)

With his father's chaplain, Master Tovey, as his tutor and guide, John Harington travelled through Basle and Heidelberg, where he attended lectures of the universities, to Florence. From here he wrote to the Prince in Latin, as was his habit:

> *under the greatest anxiety imaginable, by reason that he had not, for eleven weeks past, received, as he used, any letters from his father and mother, nor heard of His Highness's health.*
>
> (Birch 1760, 124)

As he approached Venice, Harington's reputation went before him. Preparing the ground for the sixteen-year-old's presentation at the Venetian court, the English Ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton, described Harington to the Doge in the most glowing terms:

> *The sister of this young gentleman, the Countess of Bedford, is the Queen's favourite maid-of-honour; and the Princess, her Majesty's only daughter, is brought up at the house of Lord Harington, father of the youth, whose mother is governess to the Princess. Add to this that it is thought certain that the young man will marry Lord Salisbury's only daughter, and being the right eye of the Prince of Wales, the world holds that he will one day govern the Kingdom. I wish to say that his personal merits fall not short of all the rest that I have enumerated; he is learned in philosophy, has Latin and Greek to perfection, is handsome, well made as any man could be, at least among us.*
>
> (*CSPV* 1904, 215-16)

*Fig. 6. Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, and Sir John Harington, by Robert Peake the Elder, 1603 (image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art).*

**The poets' muse**

While Lord and Lady Harington maintained a continuing, watchful care over the lively Princess Elizabeth, and their son was the closest friend of the Prince of Wales, their daughter Lucy, Countess of Bedford, was a shining star of the Stuart court (fig. 7). Married to the 21-year-old Earl, Lucy had already attracted literary attention. As part of Princess Elizabeth's circle at Coombe Abbey, Lucy had met poets such as Michael Drayton, who dedicated several of his early works to her. Other books of every literary genre, dedicated to Lucy, included a treatise on pre-destination and a translation of Montaigne's *Essays* by John Florio. This translation had been completed while Florio resided with the Haringtons, and he praised Lucy's knowledge of Italian, French and Spanish, as well as her encouragement of his labours (Lewalski 1987, 60). Ben Jonson addressed epigrams to 'Lucy the bright', while in 1598 George Chapman had sent her his translation of Homer's *Iliad* with a sonnet 'to the right noble patroness and grace of virtue, the Countess of Bedford'.

Lucy's fame owed nothing to her husband, banished from court by Queen Elizabeth following his foolhardy association with Essex's rebellion of 1601. Declining to share her husband's rural seclusion, Lucy and her mother, Lady Anne Harington,

assiduously cultivated the Scottish court-in-waiting and presented themselves to the new Queen, Anne of Denmark, as soon as the transfer of power was confirmed. Lucy's beauty, wit and charismatic charm made her an instant success and she soon overcame aristocratic female rivalry to become Anne's favourite lady-in-waiting. As such she became, apart from the Queen: 'the most important patroness of the Jacobean court … a power to be reckoned with in the disposition of offices, the arrangement of marriages, and the shaping of Jacobean cultural life' (Lewalski 1987, 52).

Much of Lucy's time was spent at Bedford House, her husband's London home. Her own family home in the capital was Harington House, where in her later years she spent increasing amounts of time. This house may have been near

*Fig. 7. Lucy, Countess of Bedford, engraved by Samuel Freeman, after Gerrit van Honthurst.*

Bishopsgate although knowledge of its precise location has been lost. Lucy also made regular visits to her family home in Rutland, writing after her father's death to her close friend Jane, Lady Cornwallis, of her hopes:

> *... to have entreated you to have made a journey to Exton to have been my guest; but, because I could not set a certain day for my going with you, I deferred my writing to you till I came into the country, where within 8 days the King overtook me; against whose coming, and during his stay at my house, all my time and little wit was so taken up about the business of housekeeping as it made me lay all else aside.*
>
> (Moody 2003, 24)

Some time around 1608, as Princess Elizabeth returned to court and the youthful John Harington departed on his European travels, Lucy bought her own estate of Twickenham Park. Here she commissioned a new house and formal gardens. Always a figure of fashion and influence, by moving to a more rural, riverside location west of London, Lucy began a trend which saw many upper class families acquiring elegant homes along the Thames. Lucy was helped to purchase the estate from Francis Bacon by Sir Henry Goodere of Polesworth Abbey, MP for Coventry and former employer of the poet Michael Drayton. Goodere was one of the circle of courtiers, artists and writers whom the countess gathered around her, emulating the salon of her illustrious Sidney kinswoman, the Countess of Pembroke.

By a fortunate coincidence, a close friend of Goodere, then living close by at Mitcham, was John Donne – wit, poet and later preacher of audacious brilliance. Donne was in desperate need of patrons, since his marriage to Ann More had brought disgrace, penury and a growing family. Probably introduced by Goodere, Donne was soon a frequent visitor at Twickenham where he found the intellectual encouragement and practical assistance of an influential patron. Among Donne's letters of eloquent, flattering appeal to public figures and private friends, several are addressed to the Countess of Bedford,

> *who besides the commandment of a noble birth, and your persuasive eloquence of beauty, have the advantage of the furniture of arts and languages, and such other virtues as might serve to justify a reprobate fortune and the lowest condition.*
>
> (Hayward 1972, 461-2)

Donne's second daughter was named for her godmother, Countess Lucy, to whom frequent allusions are made in Donne's poetry. The lover's lament of 'Twicknam Garden' is set in the 'true Paradise' of her estate, while the title of 'A Nocturnal upon S. Lucies Day' pays the Countess a graceful compliment. At times hyperbole verges on idolatry, as in this example from several verse letters 'To the Countess of Bedford':

> *Madame,*
> *Reason is our Soul's left hand, Faith her right,*
> *By these we reach divinity, that's you;*
> *Their loves, who have the blessings of your light,*
> *Grew from their reason, mine from fair faith grew...*

In November 1612 serious illness struck the Countess of Bedford. Lord Dorset wrote to Sir

Thomas Edmonds: 'My Lady Bedford last night, about 1 of the clock, was suddenly, and hath continued ever since, speechless, and is past all hope, though yet alive ...' (quoted in Williams 1967, 85). Despite all expectations, Lucy gradually recovered her speech and health. But by the time she returned to court, in the summer of 1613, everything had changed utterly. Prince Henry, bright hope of the new Stuart dynasty, had suddenly sickened and died in the midst of royal wedding preparations: his sister, Princess Elizabeth, was about to marry the leader of the German protestant princes, Frederick, Elector Palatine, and, very briefly in 1619-20, the 'Winter King' of Bohemia.

**Royal funeral: royal marriage**

Poets rallied to lament the loss of the royal eighteen-year-old on whom so many hopes had been placed: Donne's *Elegie on the Untimely Death of the Incomparable Prince Henry* was only one of an outpouring of poetic grief. The funeral procession was over a mile long, with two thousand mourners: 'including all the members of his household and his friends' (Strong 1986, 7). The Prince's household at St James's Palace remained together until the end of December: 'when it was dissolved; and upon the day of their dissolution, Mr Joseph Hall, his Chaplain, preached to them a most pathetic farewell sermon on Revelations xxi 3: the most loving and entire fellowship that ever met in the court of any prince'. John Harington wrote a few days afterwards to Sir Thomas Puckering in Italy, of the 'great Prince Henry, with whose loss his own senses had been wholly captivated' (Birch 1760, 368, 371).

While the whole court and country mourned, Lord Harington's accounts contain poignant hints of Princess Elizabeth's grief for her brother:

> *Given by her grace's command to Mr. Joshua Sylvester that presented verses to her grace upon the death of the late prince* *£5 0s 0d*
> *Given by her grace to Mr. Hart that brought a night gown to her grace that was Prince Henry's* *£5 0s 0d*
> (The National Archives E/407/57/2)

The royal marriage was postponed by a few months. As New Year gifts the prospective bridegroom, Frederick, gave to Lord and Lady Harington 'golden and gilt plate to the value of £2000, and to their servants £400'. On Valentine's Day 1613, the marriage took place in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall. The Haringtons enjoyed a prominence second only those of royal blood. Entering the chapel, the groom was attended by sixteen young bachelor courtiers, probably including John Harington, while the 'Lady Elizabeth, in her virgin robes', was preceded by 'Lord Harington of Exton, her Tutor'. The royal family watched from a raised dais, the Queen wearing jewels valued at £400,000. 'Near unto her sat the Bride on a stool; the Lady Harington her governess stood by her, bearing up her train, and no others ascended that place' (Nichols 1824, ii, 541, 546).

Even the marriage of Princess Elizabeth did not relieve Lord and Lady Harington of their exhausting burden of care. As the royal bride left England for the Palatinate, they accompanied her into Germany, not as official commissioners or attendants paid by the king, but at their own expense: 'to stay with the lady a good while to see her settled in that country before they leave her' (Nichols 1824, ii, 541). The elderly couple had little opportunity to enjoy a restful change of scene. Financial problems, exacerbated by the heavy expenses incurred directly and indirectly in the service of Elizabeth, which were only spasmodically reimbursed by the King, led to increasing debt and creative solutions. On 10th April 1613, Lord Harington was granted a licence by Letters Patent from the King, for the making of farthing tokens for issue in England, Ireland and Wales for the next three years (TNA E/214/807). These copper farthings were often known as 'Haringtons' – sad mementoes of the once vast fortune of the Exton dynasty.

In July 1613, three months after her arrival in the Palatinate, the Haringtons accompanied Elizabeth to see the new fortress being built at Mannheim. On the return journey the Princess, with Lady Harington in her coach, was accosted by her Master of Horse, Sir Andrew Keith, complaining that Lord Harington's servant, Bushell, had made an unfair exchange of horses. Lord and Lady Harington were drawn into the quarrel. Bitter words, and even blows, were exchanged by Keith and Bushell in front of the Princess and more than fifty gaping spectators. Although matters were initially calmed down, the following day Keith lay in wait for Bushell and in a scuffle between the opposing groups, Bushell was seriously wounded. Sir Andrew Keith was imprisoned 'for his disrespectful conduct to Lord Harington', but the affair must have taken its toll and a few days later Lord and Lady Harington said farewell to the Princess and set out on the long journey home (Green 1909, 252-3).

At 73 years of age, Lord Harington must have longed for a peaceful retirement on his English estates. Sadly, he had only reached the German town of Worms when he fell ill and died of fever on 24th August 1613. Within a year, having borne her first child, Princess Elizabeth earnestly requested that her former governess return to attend her in Heidelberg. When financial pressures combined with the king's

commandment, the widowed Lady Harington had no choice but to obey. Her daughter could only express her great anxiety at her mother's undertaking 'so cruel a journey', although Lucy subsequently took the opportunity to combine a visit to her mother with treatment at the German Spa, probably Baden, not far from the Palatinate court (Moody 2003, 25, 40-41).

A few weeks before her father's death, Lucy, Countess of Bedford, returned to court after her sickness, minor stroke and temporary loss of speech, which had been followed by a serious accident to her husband. John Chamberlain reported the event on 1st August 1613, observing the great mental and physical change which had come over the Countess:

> *The Earl of Bedford, hunting in a park of his own, by the fall of his horse was thrown against a tree and so bruised that the report went that he was dead, and it is to be doubted yet that he is in danger, for that his skull is said to be cracked. His lady, who should have gone to the Spa but for lack of money, shows herself again in Court, though in her sickness she had in a manner vowed never to come there... Marry, she is somewhat reformed in her attire, and forbears painting [make-up], which they say makes her look somewhat strangely among so many visards, which together with their frizzled, powdered hair, makes them look all alike, so that you can scant know one from another at first view. Dr Burges (who is turned physician) was much about her in her sickness, and did her more good with his spiritual counsel, than with natural physic.*
>
> (Thomson 1966, 128)

John Burges was a Puritan minister, banished from court by King James in 1604, who had studied medicine at Leyden and built up a practice at Isleworth, near Twickenham. John Donne records evidence of his influence over the Countess, who encouraged Burges's career at a time when she was growing more critical of Donne for his apparent early lack of true spiritual commitment (Potter 1957, iii, 15).

**End of a dynasty**

The death of the first Lord Harington of Exton left his son, John, now 21, to succeed to the title. The entail had been cancelled so that, if necessary, estates could be sold to redeem the family's debts. According to the rumours of Jesuit poison circulated by his cousin, the second Lord Harington had suffered from declining health since his return from foreign travel three years previously. Still grieving for the loss of his master and friend Prince Henry, John drew up his own will. In this he gave power to his heirs to sell land as necessary to discharge the many creditors inherited from his father: 'And being asked, when the writing was drawn up, Whether he assented to it? he answered, Yea, with all my heart, for my honour and my honesty are my nearest heirs' (Harington 1792, 161). On the same day that the will was signed, 18th February 1614, the inevitable disposal of the Rutland estates began when John agreed to sell the lordship of Exton to Sir Baptist Hicks, afterwards first Viscount Campden. Nine days later he died of smallpox, at Kew. His cousin, Sir John Harington, recorded how:

> *When death itself approached, he breathed forth these longing expressions; O Thou my joy! O my God! When shall I be with thee! and, in the midst of such desires, sweetly and quietly resigned up his spirit unto God.*
>
> (Harington 1792, 169)

The funeral of the younger Lord Harington, so soon after that of his father, took place at Exton on 31st March, 1614. Several poetic elegies were printed with the funeral sermon, and the second Lord Harington was also lamented publicly and protractedly by the greatest poet of the age, John Donne. The funeral sermon, entitled *The Churches Lamentation for the losse of the godly*, was delivered by Richard Stock, Pastor of All Hallows, Bread Street, London. The loss of the young nobleman was perceived as overwhelming, especially to devout Protestants:

> *The commonwealth, and specially this little Shire, whereof he was Lord Lieutenant, hath lost so hopeful a Nehemiah, who would have set himself for the public good and given example and encouragement to keep the Sabbath ….*
>
> (Stock 1614, 97)

There is a hint here that, had John Harington lived to administer his estates in Rutland, his concern for stricter Sunday observance would have led him to oppose the religious policy of Charles I. Growing puritan hostility to King Charles was exacerbated by his reissue in 1633 of the *Book of Sports*, with its strictures that dancing, archery and even 'Church Ales' be allowed after the Sunday service. It is interesting to speculate whether the second Lord Harington would have continued his family's loyal service to the Crown, or joined fellow puritans in challenging what they saw as dangerous undermining of the reformed protestant Church of England.

Life had further harsh blows to inflict on 'Lucy the bright' who had been such a radiant presence in the early years of the Stuart court. March 1619 brought the loss of an influential friendship, when Queen Anne died after a long illness. Lucy walked in the royal funeral procession as assistant mourner, but three months later suffered further serious illness herself. John Chamberlain reported: 'The smallpox hath seized on the Lady of Bedford and so seasoned

her all over that they say she is more full and foul than could be expected in so thin and lean a body' (Thomson 1966, 154). A further detail was added by Lady Anne Clifford, who reported that the smallpox had caused Lady Bedford the loss of one of her eyes. Since her earlier illness, many observers had noted the Countess of Bedford's sober attire and increasing puritan piety, in stark and poignant contrast to her earlier manifestation as a bare-bosomed goddess of the masque. Her Calvinist tendencies were already well known. Now, as a comfort in her time of trial, Clement Cotton followed his earlier gift of a treatise on martyrs with the presentation of a translation of Calvin's lectures on Jeremiah (Lewalski 1987, 61).

While Lucy, Countess of Bedford, was assailed by sickness and the problems of an indebted estate, Lady Harington was settling her own affairs. In 1616 she purchased a rental of £100 per annum in the manor of Cottesmore, to be distributed to the poor of Exton, Oakham, Hambleton, Cottesmore and Market Overton, as well as £2 per year to maintain the tomb of her father, Robert Kelway, in Exton Church. She also provided a small library for Oakham Church. This consisted of:

> *about two hundred Latin and Greek Folios, consisting chiefly of Fathers, Councils, School-men, and Divines, for the use of the Vicar of that Church, and accommodation of the Neighbouring Clergy; most of which Books have been curiously bound, the Covers adorned with several gilded Frets (commonly called the Harringtons Knots) and Ex Dono Dominae Annae Harringtonae Baronessae Printed and pasted in the Title Pages.*
>
> (Wright 1684, 52)

Lady Anne Harington's library, now consisting of about 150 volumes, was transferred in 1980 to Nottingham University Library [*see* pp409-10 below – *Ed*]. This gift to Oakham Church, unusual in a woman, testifies to her personal piety. A signature provides evidence that the library was used by William Peachy, the Haringtons' Puritan appointee as vicar, first of Exton and then of Oakham from 1596 to 1643. This gift to the clergy of Rutland was exceeded by a larger collection given in the same year of 1616 by Lady Anne and her daughter Lucy to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. They presented 218 volumes, the largest bequest recorded by the college, which also received: 'a polyglot Bible given by the 1st Lord Harington and a copy of the Eton Chrysostom donated by the 2nd Lord Harington'. Anne Herbert, writing on the Oakham Parish Library, convincingly suggests that the libraries presented by the Harington ladies to both Oakham Church and Sidney Sussex College may have been left to them by their son and brother, the second Lord Harington, a former student of the college founded by his great aunt, Lady Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex. Interestingly, while Oakham Church received mainly theological works, Sidney Sussex donors' register lists books on history, mathematics, grammar, poetry, rhetoric, politics, law and medicine (Herbert 1982, 1-5). Thus the Harington family of Exton, renowned in their day for piety, learning and benevolence, have left their legacy not in worldly estates but as a continuing benefit to scholars.

On her final retirement from attendance on Princess Elizabeth, Lady Harington's last months were spent mainly in London, where her daughter Lucy was a frequent visitor and anxious observer of her progressive illness. She died in the parish of St Botolph's, Bishopsgate, London, probably at Harington House where in the same year John Donne preached before her daughter, the Countess of Bedford. From there her body was taken for burial at Exton in June 1620. Her daughter paid tribute to her qualities in a letter to Lady Cornwallis: 'What a mother I have lost I need not tell you, that know what she was in herself, and to me' (quoted in Lewalski 1987, 73).

Following in her father's footsteps, Lucy attempted practical means to solve her financial problems. She was granted patents to produce copper farthings as well as an annual grant and other commercial benefits from the king. By 1621, Twickenham Park and Coombe Abbey had been sold, as well as the Rutland estates which had given the Haringtons such a controlling influence in the region for nearly two centuries. Lucy and her husband now lived mainly at Moor Park, Hertfordshire, granted to them by the king in 1617 (*VCH Hertfordshire* 1908, 77). Here she laid out the grounds, exploiting the generosity of her friends in obtaining roots or cuttings:

> *for I am now very busy furnishing my gardens. Thus you see it is not good being too free an offerer to a free taker; but be not discouraged, for I shall be as free a requiter whensoever you shall make it known it is in my power.*
>
> (Cornwallis 2003, 57).

Lucy's reputation as a landscape gardener survived her death. In 1686, Sir William Temple renamed his newly purchased estate in Surrey after the countess's home at Moor Park, Hertfordshire, which he had visited on honeymoon. He wrote of the Countess of Bedford that she had 'projected the most perfect figure of a garden that ever he saw' (quoted in *DNB* 1897, 467).

Following the death of King James in 1625, and the accession of his second son, Charles I, Lucy

wrote again to her friend Jane, now Lady Bacon. She described the new king's piety and the increased regulation of his court. She also expressed a new insight into his character: 'for aught that anybody can yet discover, he makes his own determinations, and is very stiff in them' (quoted in Stewart 2003, 347). This rigidity of the king's character and his dependence on the late king's favourite, Buckingham, were to cause problems with parliament from the start. In 1626, Nathaniel Bacon wrote to his wife that the Countess of Bedford lay at home, 'very ill of the gout', while: 'little is yet done in Parliament but snarling on both sides and much muttering against the Duke [of Buckingham]'. Lucy's final letter to Lady Bacon reported her continued suffering from gout, for which she was being treated by the celebrated physician, Sir Theodore Mayerne. However, physical pain did not blind her to the growing tensions in the kingdom:

> *God will, I trust, give me thankfulness to Him and patience till His appointed time of releasing me from all misery, of which we are yet like to have in general more and more, if this Parliament and the king part not upon better terms than yet they stand, the king having declared himself stiff one way, and they growing stronger and stronger.*
>
> (Cornwallis 2003, 142-3)

Lucy died in 1627 and thus did not live to see the catastrophic events which Charles's uncompromising stiffness would inflict on his kingdom. Fifteen years later, it was her cousins, Sir Edward Harington of Ridlington and Sir Edward Noel of Exton, who found themselves compelled to choose opposing sides in the brutal civil wars. At the start of the new century, King James I had counted the Haringtons of Rutland as his dearest friends and most loyal servants. However, under his ill-fated son, Charles I, the next generation of Haringtons would emerge as leaders of Rutland parliamentarians, in bitter armed conflict against their misguided king.

**Acknowledgements**

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# Vincent Wing and Political Astrology

*Adapted from the Society's Bryan Matthews Lecture 2009*

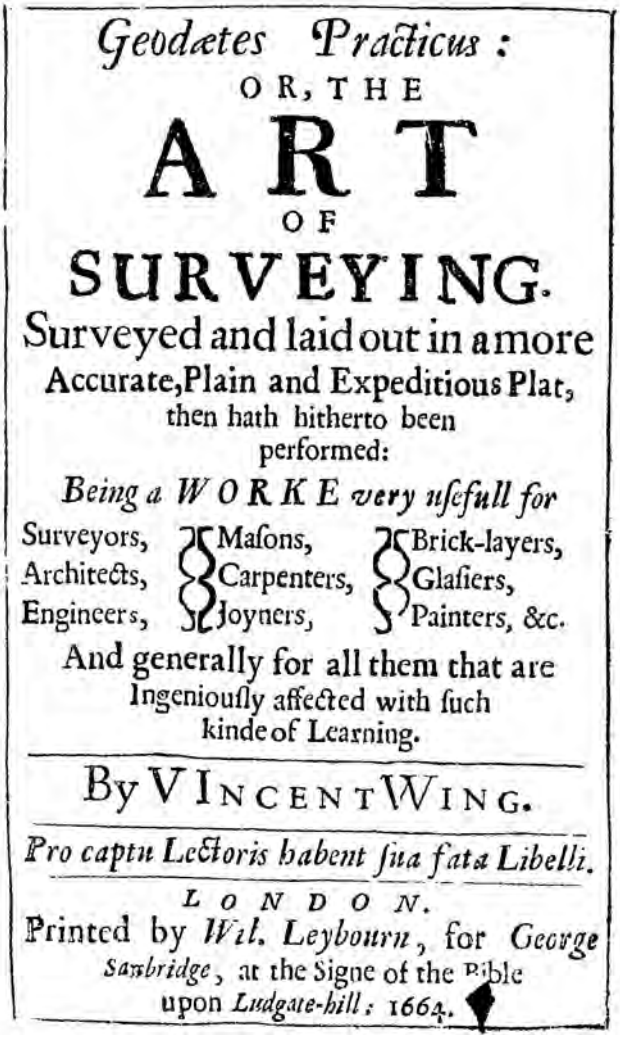
BERNARD CAPP

*Vincent Wing (1619-68) achieved fame in the mid-seventeenth century as a leading mathematician, surveyor, astronomer and astrologer. From his home in North Luffenham he built up a wide-ranging network of friends and scholars. Working as a surveyor, laying out enclosures and erecting sun-dials, he was well-known and highly respected throughout the midland counties. His pioneering astronomical work, championing the Copernican theory, brought him a national fame. And his astrological almanacs proved immensely popular, selling in the region of 50,000 copies a year. Largely self-educated, Wing belonged to a family which achieved success and distinction in similar fields over many generations.*

*Fig. 1. The portrait of Vincent Wing which appeared as the frontispiece to his* Astronomia Britannica, *published in London in 1669.*

Vincent Wing was a remarkable member of a family equally remarkable. He was famous in his time as a mathematician, land-surveyor, astronomer and astrologer. He became a best-selling author. Wing was also at the centre of an impressive network of scholars and mathematicians stretching from the midlands to London, the two universities and beyond. It is safe to pronounce him the most famous native North Luffenham has so far produced. One early admirer (Gadbury 1669, 14) claimed indeed that Vincent Wing was as famous as Julius Caesar!

We can reconstruct a surprising amount about Wing's life and world (Capp 2004). He was born in 1619 – more precisely at 5.48 pm on 9th April (Gadbury 1669, 1). Such precise detail was recorded because the Wings already had an interest in astrology, which required extreme precision in order to draw up an accurate nativity, a chart of the heavens at the moment of the subject's birth which the learned could then interpret as a guide to his character and likely fortune. The family had lived in North Luffenham for several generations; it was said to have originated in Wales, before moving to a village near Grantham, though it seems likely that the main branch had taken its name from the village of Wing, only a few miles from North Luffenham. Vincent's father, also Vincent, had a similar range of interests. We have a reference to him making astronomical observations in 1621, when our Vincent was only 2. Young Vincent recalled observing a solar eclipse, with his father and his father's friends, at the age of eleven (Wing, *Harmonicon*, 157). He did not go to university, but acquired an excellent command of Latin, then still the international language of scholarship, which he had probably acquired at grammar school – perhaps at Uppingham – as well as enough knowledge of Greek to be able to quote Homer in the original. He also acquired great skill in all branches of mathematics, applied mathematics and astronomy, either self-taught or from his family. Wing practised for many years as a surveyor, mapping estates, surveying buildings and



*Geodætes Practicus:*
OR, THE
ART
OF
SURVEYING.
Surveyed and laid out in a more
Accurate, Plain and Expeditious Plat,
then hath hitherto been
performed:
*Being a WORKE very uſefull for*
Surveyors, Architects, Engineers, Maſons, Carpenters, Joyners, Brick-layers, Glaſiers, Painters, &c.
And generally for all them that are
Ingeniouſly affected with ſuch
kinde of Learning.
By VINCENT WING.
*Pro captu Lectoris habent ſua fata Libelli.*
LONDON.
Printed by *Wil. Leybourn*, for *George Sambridge*, at the Signe of the Bible
upon *Ludgate-hill*: 1664.

*Fig. 2. The title page of Vincent Wing's* Geodætes Practicus, *first published in 1664 and re-issued in a revised edition by his nephew John in 1770.*

goods, teaching the use of instruments, and constructing sundials. At least one signed and dated survey by him is known to survive, that of Woolfox in Greetham parish dating from 1664 (Lincolnshire Archives 5ANC5/B/7/4). This was the usual range of practical mathematicians in his age, and like others he also designed new instruments, including one he had designed at the age of 18. He was dedicated to his work. His friend and early biographer, John Gadbury, described him as having spent thirty years on the road, riding in all weathers to pursue his profession, and thought that over-work had contributed to the consumption that eventually killed him. Once more we can be precise: Wing died at 7 pm on 20th September 1668 (Gadbury 1669, 31-2, misprinted as 23-4).

Wing's neighbours in Rutland and the surrounding counties of Northamptonshire, Leicestershire and Lincolnshire would have known him as a land- and quantity-surveyor and a mason. He was working for local gentlemen by the age of 18, surveying manorial estates, laying out enclosures (and perhaps the Woolfox map which shows it fully enclosed is the result of such a project), erecting sun-dials, and engaged in building work. He was a practical man, ready to get his hands dirty and his boots muddy, as well as a scholar and man of letters. Some of his publications proclaimed their value for bricklayers and plasterers as well as for educated and genteel readers. Wing's book on surveying, *Geodætes Practicus* (1664) (fig. 2), was a compact volume designed to be carried in the field by working surveyors, and even included tips on how to draw a survey while working in the rain. It provided helpful case-studies too, including a set of notes and an outline-survey of Burton Lazars in Leicestershire, probably done for Sir Erasmus de la Fountain, for whom he had also erected a dial. Wing also inserted a survey 'of the Mannor of L. in the county of Rutland' (fig. 3), and parts of a detailed field-book for North Luffenham, listing the arable and pasture holdings of each inhabitant, including his own. Some parcels were listed as 'Town lands', belonging to a local charity, 'Parsonage land', and 'The Beadhouse piece' (which helped to fund the local almshouse), while others were held by Lord Campden and James Digby, Esquire (Wing *Geodætes Practicus*, 144-6, 163-5). The field-book was no doubt part of the survey of North Luffenham he had made in 1660 (Phillips 1905-06, 90). Wing's practical work led some genteel scholars to look down on him as a 'mechanick'; the antiquarian Elias Ashmole jotted on the end-page of his copy of Wing's *Ephemerides* (1658) that he was a mere 'stone-mason in Rutlandshire', adding (in a Latin note) that he wrote much on astrology but understood little (Bodleian Library, Ash. 478). It was an ill-judged snub.

The learned knew Vincent Wing mainly through his works on astronomy. Here, without doubt, he was a figure of national importance. Wing's *Harmonicon Cœleste* ('The Heavenly Harmony'), published in 1651, was the first major English astronomical treatise to spell out and defend the Copernican system, in which the planets revolve round the sun (the Ptolemaic system, dominant since ancient times, had the earth at the centre of the universe, with the sun and planets revolving round it). Copernicus's *De Revolutione* had been published long ago, in 1543, but he had offered no new astronomical observations to support his hypothesis. As a result, it was long treated as simply a theory and was slow to win acceptance. Many scholars preferred the slightly later system offered by the eminent Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe. This scheme had the two inner planets, Mercury and Venus, revolving around the sun, but all three of them also revolving round the earth, which thus

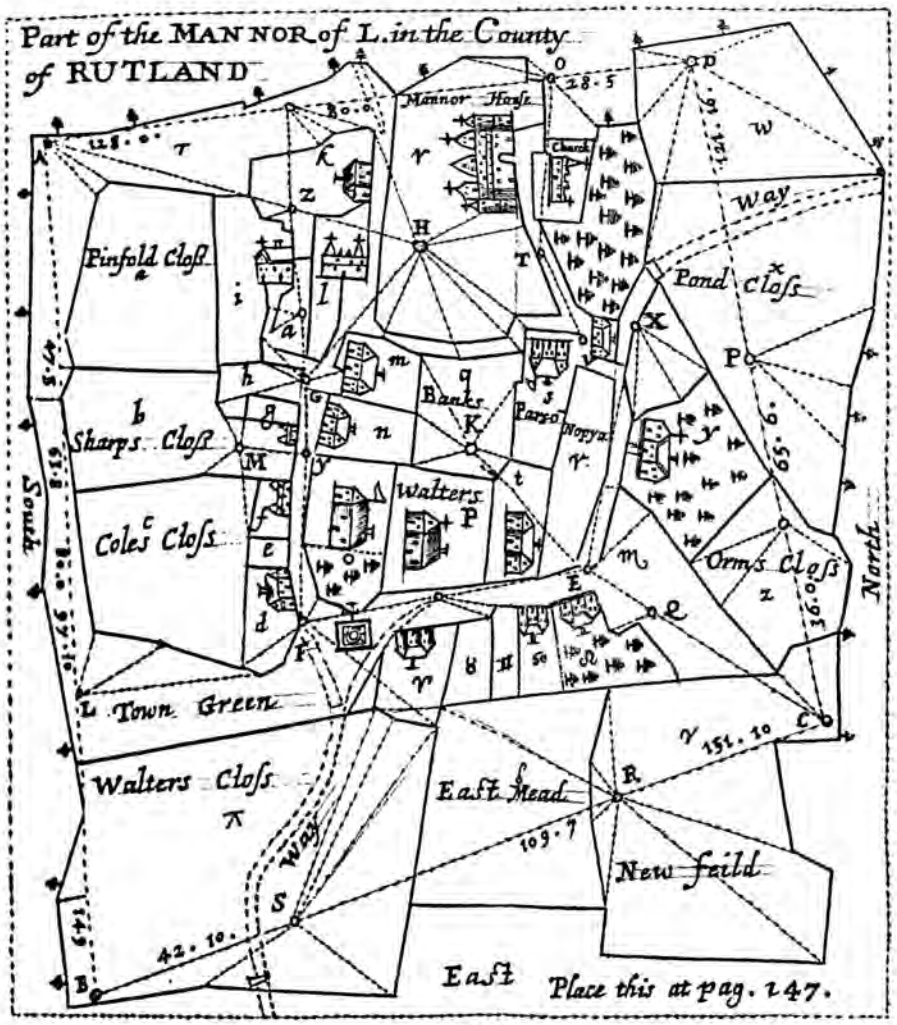
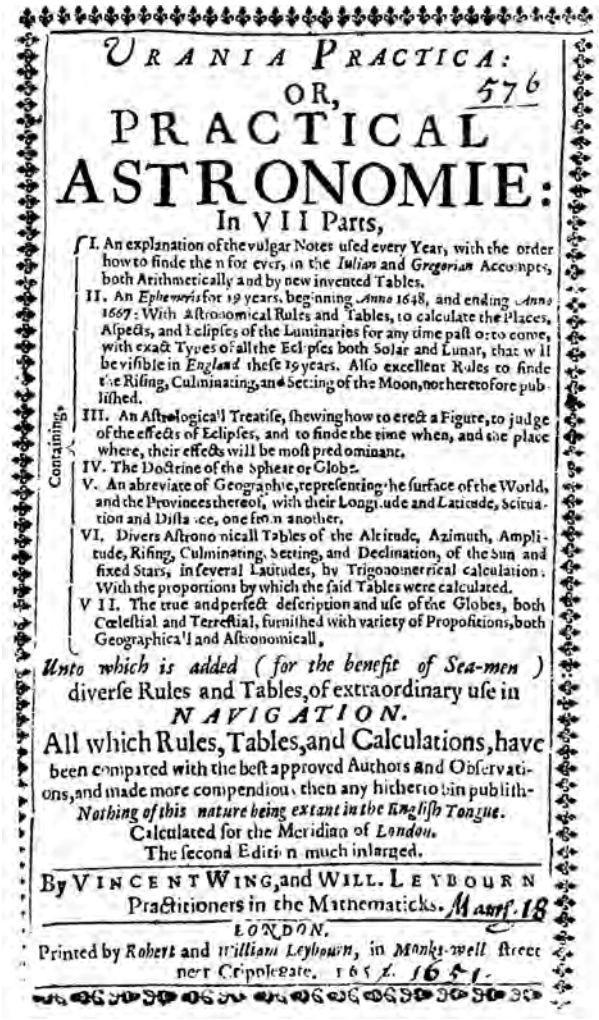



*Fig. 3. The plan of part of [North] L[uffenham] from Wing's* Geodætes Practicus *(1664), from the copy in the Science Museum Library (this plan is absent from some surviving copies).*

remained at the centre of the cosmos. However complex and implausible this now appears, it won a large body of scholarly support. This was partly because Tycho, unlike Copernicus, provided an impressive array of new astronomical data to support his hypothesis, and partly because it was far more acceptable in religious and psychological terms. As the poet John Donne had complained, the 'new [Copernican] philosophy calls all in doubt,/ The sun is lost, and th'earth, … 'Tis all in pieces, all coherence gone'. It challenged the biblical account in Genesis, and defied the common-sense perception of the sun circling the earth, just like the moon. Wing too initially supported Tycho's theory, which underpinned his first major astronomical work, *Urania Practica* (1649) (fig. 4), and he always remained a warm admirer of his astronomical observations. Tycho indeed became a favourite Christian name within the Wing family, surviving for generations. But in 1651 Wing switched his allegiance to Copernicus, in his *Harmonicon Cœleste* and subsequent works, and offered a forceful defence of the heliocentric theory. Some contemporaries recognised the significance of this development, with one admirer even declaring that Wing had raised Copernicus from the dead. Moreover Wing provided a mass of astronomical data on eclipses and other phenomena to support his arguments, some based on his own observations, others from friends in London and around the country. He also published planetary tables of astronomical events forecast to occur over the ensuing thirty years – planetary motions, eclipses, transits, and conjunctions – drawing on his observations and calculations and the best continental data. Wing's most important publications are substantial volumes, especially his *Astronomia Britannica* (1669) (fig. 5), a Latin work of over six hundred pages and clearly aimed at an elite audience. He also seems to have recognised the wider ramifications of the new astronomical ideas. The title-page of *Harmonicon Cœleste*, dedicated to his neighbour and patron, Baptist Noel, 3rd Viscount Campden (fig. 6), declared boldly that the work would prove of value to scholars, astronomers, astrologers, physicians, divines, historiographers, politicians and poets. Whenever Wing visited London he liked 'to frequent the Company of the most learned and excellent Men', and he knew most of the scientific figures of his time; his circle



URANIA PRACTICA:
OR,
576
PRACTICAL
ASTRONOMIE:
In VII Parts,

Containing,

I. An explanation of the vulgar Notes used every Year, with the order how to finde them for ever, in the *Julian* and *Gregorian* Accompts, both Arithmetically and by new invented Tables.
II. An *Ephemeris* for 19 years, beginning *Anno* 1648, and ending *Anno* 1667: With Astronomical Rules and Tables, to calculate the Places, Aspects, and Eclipses of the Luminaries for any time past or to come, with exact Types of all the Eclipses both Solar and Lunar, that will be visible in *England* these 19 years. Also excellent Rules to finde the Rising, Culminating, and Setting of the Moon, not heretofore published.
III. An Astrological Treatise, shewing how to erect a Figure, to judge of the effects of Eclipses, and to finde the time when, and the place where, their effects will be most predominant.
IV. The Doctrine of the Sphear or Globe.
V. An abreviate of Geographie, representing the surface of the World, and the Provinces thereof, with their Longitude and Latitude, Scituation and Distance, one from another.
VI. Divers Astronomicall Tables of the Altitude, Azimuth, Amplitude, Rising, Culminating, Setting, and Declination, of the Sun and fixed Stars, in several Latitudes, by Trigonometrical calculation: With the proportions by which the said Tables were calculated.
VII. The true and perfect description and use of the Globes, both Cœlestial and Terrestial, furnished with variety of Propositions, both Geographicall and Astronomicall,

*Unto which is added (for the benefit of Sea-men)* diverse Rules and Tables, of extraordinary use in
*NAVIGATION.*

All which Rules, Tables, and Calculations, have been compared with the best approved Authors and Observations, and made more compendious then any hitherto in publish-
*Nothing of this nature being extant in the English Tongue.*
Calculated for the Meridian of *London.*
The second Edition much inlarged.

By VINCENT WING, and WILL. LEYBOURN Practitioners in the Mathematicks. *Mart. 18*

LONDON.

Printed by *Robert* and *William Leybourn*, in *Monks-well* street neer Cripplegate. 165*5*. *1654.*

*Fig. 4. The title page of Vincent Wing's first major astronomical work,* Urania Practica *(1649).*

ASTRONOMIA BRITANNICA:
IN QUA
Per Novam, Concinnioremq; Methodum, hi quinq; Tractatus traduntur.

I. *LOGISTICA ASTRONOMICA*, quæ continet Doctrinam Fractionum Astronomicarum integram, tùm in Numeris Naturalibus, tùm Artificialibus.

II. *TRIGONOMETRIA*, seu Doctrina Triangulorum, (Analytica & Practica) quæ comprehendit Dimensionem omnium Trigonorum, tàm Planorum, quàm Sphæricorum, cujus ope, Dimensiones Cœli, Terræ, universiq; Mundi Orbis (modo mirabili) dignoscantur.

III. *DOCTRINA SPHÆRICA*, quæ exhibet Longitudines, Latitudines, Declinationes, Ascensiones, Ortus, Occasus, Intercapedines, Parallaxes; singulorum Planetarum ad cujuslibet Sphæræ positum, & quo pacto Figuræ Cœlestes erigi possint.

IV. *THEORIA PLANETARUM*, quæ Novâ, accuratâq; Methodo super Hypothesi *Copernicanâ*, veros Motus & Configurationes omnium Planetarum computare docet.

V. *TABULÆ NOVÆ ASTRONOMICÆ*, ex quibus Singulorum Planetarum Motus, & Luminarium Eclipses, mirâ promptitudine colligantur.

Congruentes cum Observationibus accuratissimis Nobilis *TYCHONIS BRAHÆI.*

Cui accessit Observationum Astronomicarum *Synopsis Compendiaria*, ex quâ *Astronomiæ Britannicæ* certitudo affatim elucescit.

Opus exoptatum, non modò Astronomis, Astrologis, sed & Theologis, Historiographis, Nautis, Medicis & Poetis, perutile & jucundum.

Cui additur Postscriptum de *Refractione.*

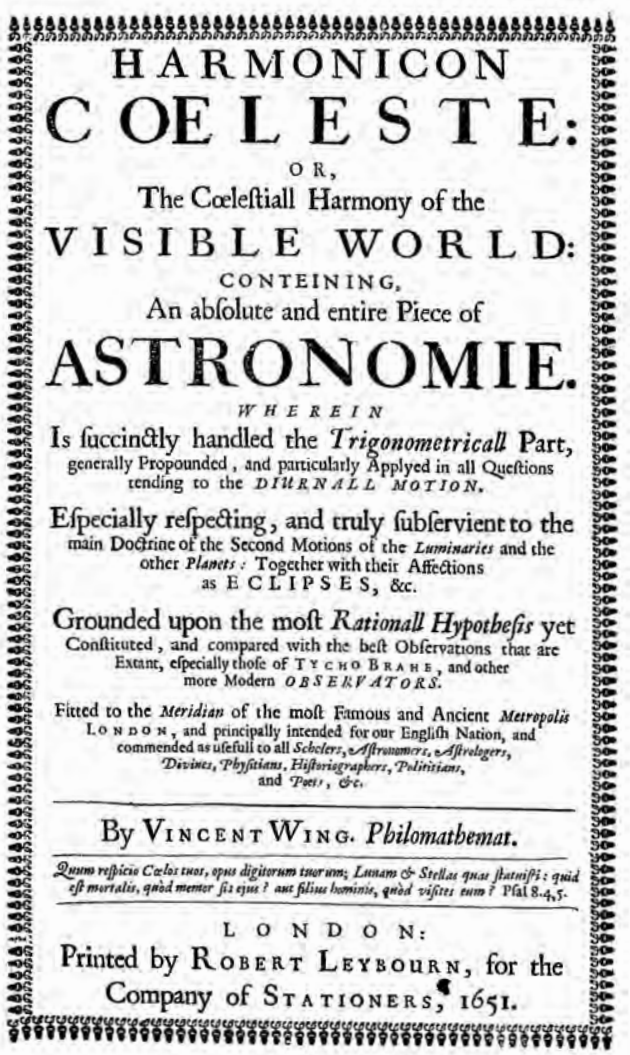
Authore *VINCENTIO WING*, Mathem.

*LONDINI,*
Typis *Johannis Macock*, Impensis *Georgii Sawbridge*, prostantq; venales apud locum vulgò **Clerkenwel-Green** dictum. *1669.*

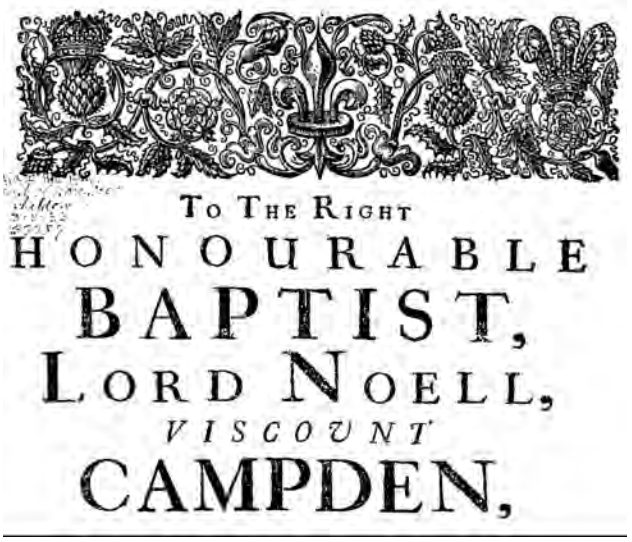
*Fig. 5. The title page of Vincent Wing's posthumous major work* Astronomia Britannica *(1669).*

included prominent mathematicians, astronomers, physicians and instrument-makers, such as John Flamsteed, Laurence Rooke, Edmund Wingate, Samuel Foster, Charles Scarborough and William Leybourne. Some of these men were professors at Gresham College, and several became Fellows of the Royal Society, founded shortly after the Restoration (Gadbury 1669, 18; Wing, *Astronomia Instaurata*; Taylor 1954). He was able to draw on astronomical data on eclipses recorded by scientifically-minded friends in London, Cambridge, Coventry and elsewhere, including Robert Billingsley of neighbouring Morcott (a close contemporary and perhaps school-friend, who had gone on to Cambridge and became an Anglican clergyman), Dr John Twysden, a prominent physician and mathematician, and their mutual friend Dr John Palmer, rector of Ecton (Northamptonshire) and archdeacon of Northampton (Wing 1669, 325-7; Taylor, 1954). Wing's connections also included leading parliamentarians such as Thomas Mackworth and John Weaver.

The wider public knew Wing in yet another context – as an astrologer. Astrology was a respectable science in Elizabethan and Stuart England, widely viewed as 'applied astronomy'. The sun had an obvious effect on earth, through its heat and light. So did the moon, visible through the tides. It seemed reasonable to imagine that stars also exerted an influence. The night-sky was of course far more visually powerful then than in the urbanised, light-polluted twenty-first century, and accordingly played a much more significant role in people's consciousness. Vincent Wing firmly believed in astrology, and defended it in print. Such defence was necessary, for astrology was always surrounded by controversy, and it was viewed with deep suspicion by many within the Church. For if human behaviour was determined by the stars, what room was left for free will? Without free will, morality itself would become meaningless. A criminal could plead that the stars were responsible for his crime, not his own moral shortcomings. Astrologers had ready answers for such objections. The stars did not threaten God's power, they insisted. God was the first cause, but chose to work through his instruments, among them



HARMONICON
COELESTE:
OR,
The Cœleſtiall Harmony of the
VISIBLE WORLD:
CONTEINING,
An abſolute and entire Piece of
ASTRONOMIE.
*WHEREIN*
Is ſuccinctly handled the *Trigonometricall* Part, generally Propounded, and particularly Applyed in all Queſtions tending to the *DIURNALL MOTION*.
Eſpecially reſpecting, and truly ſubſervient to the main Doctrine of the Second Motions of the *Luminaries* and the other *Planets*: Together with their Affections as ECLIPSES, &c.
Grounded upon the moſt *Rationall Hypotheſis* yet Conſtituted, and compared with the beſt Obſervations that are Extant, eſpecially thoſe of TYCHO BRAHE, and other more Modern *OBSERVATORS*.
Fitted to the *Meridian* of the moſt Famous and Ancient *Metropolis* LONDON, and principally intended for our Engliſh Nation, and commended as uſefull to all *Scholers, Aſtronomers, Aſtrologers, Divines, Phyſitians, Hiſtoriographers, Politicians*, and *Poets*, &c.
By VINCENT WING. *Philomathemat.*
*Quum reſpicio Cœlos tuos, opus digitorum tuorum; Lunam & Stellas quas ſtatuiſti: quid eſt mortalis, quòd mentor ſis ejus? aut filius hominis, quòd viſites eum?* Pſal 8.4,5.
LONDON:
Printed by ROBERT LEYBOURN, for the Company of STATIONERS, 1651.



TO THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE
BAPTIST,
LORD NOELL,
*VISCOUNT*
CAMPDEN,

*Fig. 6. The title page (left) of Vincent Wing's* Harmonicon Cœleste, *published in 1651, and the heading (above) of Wing's dedication of this work to Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden, whose principal seat was at Exton in Rutland.*

the stars. As an obvious and irreproachable example they cited the star that had led the three wise men to Bethlehem at the Nativity. The stars influenced human character and behaviour, but did not control them. Man was free to resist, and to choose the right moral path (Thomas 1971, 358-85; Capp 1979, 131-50).

Astrologers interacted with the public in two main ways. First, as consultants. There were hundreds of practising astrologers, whom people would visit to consult on personal problems. The leading figures in the seventeenth century were William Lilly, John Booker, Nicholas Culpeper, John Partridge, and George Parker. All these were based in London, but there were also hundreds of provincial consultants, some simple and ill-educated, others scholarly and respectable. Among the latter we may cite Richard Napier, minister of Great Linford, Buckinghamshire, famous too for his skill in treating the melancholy. Many practitioners kept casebooks, with astrological charts and brief notes, and several have survived, with notes of thousands of cases; Lilly compiled over 4,000 astrological figures in the space of only two years, in 1654-6. Clients ranged from simple servant-girls to wealthy merchants, and even politicians. Merchants might ask about an overdue ship carrying a rich cargo; was it safe and merely delayed by the weather? Or had it been sunk or captured? More common were inquiries about a sick spouse or family member. Would he or she die, or recover? Common too were questions about lost or stolen goods: would they ever be found? Women, hopeful or worried, wanted to know if they were pregnant. Others sought advice on a prospective marriage: should I marry the man or woman proposed, or not? Worried parents or employers came with enquiries about runaway children or apprentices. Many people, discontented with life, wanted to know if they would outlive their husband or wife, and be free to marry again. Others wanted to know if they would ever be rich. When civil war broke out in the 1640s, some brought more searching questions. Which side will win? Which side should I join? To answer all these questions, the astrologer would draw up a chart of the heavens at the moment when the question was posed. Better still, for long-term predictions, he would draw up a nativity – an astrological chart of the heavens at the

moment of the subject's birth – which could then be studied to reveal the likely course of the subject's life. A few bold astrologers took it upon themselves to draw up nativities for kings and princes, and even for Jesus Christ, Moses and Mahomet. This was dangerous territory, inviting accusations of treason or blasphemy (Thomas 1971, 283-322).

Astrologers also came into contact with the wider public in a second context: through print. Cheap almanacs, providing information about the year ahead, were one of the most popular forms of cheap print in early modern England (Capp 1979). Small and unbound, they generally ran to two and a half sheets, or forty pages. Throughout the seventeenth century, the production and distribution of almanacs was controlled by the Company of Stationers in London, which enjoyed a profitable monopoly over the trade. The Company maintained a roster of compilers. Aspiring new authors would send their copy to the Company, but only a small minority won approval, and if a new title failed to perform well in the market-place, it would be ruthlessly axed. The Company's almanacs sold in huge numbers, especially in the second half of the century. By then between 300,000 and 400,000 copies were sold each year, enough to reach more than a quarter of all the families in the country. They were cheap, selling for between 2d and 6d, depending on length. Some compilers and titles won a loyal following, sufficient to keep the title alive long after the original compiler's death. One series, launched by Francis Moore in 1699, still survives today as *Old Moore's Almanack*, still selling several million copies a year.

Each title had some individual quality, to provide consumers with a choice and reach niche markets. There were occupational almanacs – the *Seaman's*, *Weaver's, City and Country Chapman's*, *Farrier's,* and *Constable's*. There were almanacs with a particular regional or local flavour, sometimes proclaimed in the title itself, such as *Apollo Northamptoniensis*. There were titles appealing to different religious denominations: the *Protestant Almanack*, the *Catholic Almanack* (a short-lived title which appeared in the reign of the Catholic James II), and the satirical *Yea and Nay Almanack*, poking fun at the Quakers. There were even almanacs mocking astrology itself. Yet the almanac had a fairly standard basic structure, with most features shared by most titles. It generally came in two sections, the almanac and the prognostication, with separate title-pages. The almanac proper would have a calendar for the year ahead, showing the phases of moon and saints' days, often with a blank page facing the calendar information which the owner could use to jot down important notes. Many surviving copies contain notes about debts and payments, reminders about meetings, or notes of births and deaths. One almanac, owned by a nobleman, contains the division list of an important vote in the House of Lords. At the other extreme we find homely memoranda such as 'this night one of my great teeth fell out by the fireside' (Capp 1979, 62). It became proverbial in the seventeenth century to say that something was a worthless as an out-of-date almanac. Most almanacs were worn out by the end of the year, after being carried about in the owner's pocket, and were simply thrown away. Most of those that still survive had been bought by collectors, or were kept for the sake of the owner's notes rather than the printed text.

Almanacs also supplied a range of information much like that contained in a modern pocket diary, such as tables of weights and measures, law terms, rent days, tide-tables, and sometimes a ready-reckoner. Most contained notes on the dates of fairs in different market towns. Many also offered information on highways – advising on the best route between towns, and the distance. There were brief historical notes too, a list of key dates from the creation of the world to the present. Many carried simple tips on health and diet, and usually the 'anatomical man' – a figure showing which parts of the body were governed by each sign of the zodiac, information important for decisions on when and whether it was safe to let a patient's blood. And many almanacs also included weather forecasts, sometimes quite detailed, for each week of the year ahead. These remained a popular feature, which customers continued to demand despite the fact that many inevitably proved wrong. Wing's almanacs shared most of these common features, including the weather forecasts. Readers glancing at the calendar for January 1650 would know to expect 'Hasty showers' on the 26th, 'More Serene & fair' weather on the 27th, and 'Storms of snow or rain' on the 29th and 30th.

The prognostication carried general predictions for the year ahead. Usually these took the form of forecasts for each of the four seasons, focusing on whether they were likely to be healthy or sickly (with warnings, where appropriate, on impending outbreaks of plague, fevers, influenza and other epidemics), and whether the harvest prospects were good or bad. Material of this sort was generally acceptable. Predictions became much more sensitive when compilers ventured into the political sphere. Some Elizabethan compilers had done so, and had landed themselves in trouble. It was concern over the potential danger of political astrology that led to the establishment of tight controls over production from 1571, and the establishment of the Stationers' monopoly in 1603, with copy censored before

publication. The new system worked smoothly for many years, until the outbreak of the civil war in 1642 led to the virtual collapse of censorship. The leading astrologers exploited their new freedom to the full, with rival cavalier and roundhead titles quickly appearing, penned by the spirited cavalier soldier-astrologer Capt George Wharton, and the parliamentarians Lilly, Booker, and Culpeper. All predicted that the stars foretold certain victory for their own party, and heaped ferocious abuse on their enemies. Lilly's first prognostication sold out within a few days. There is no doubt that these writers firmly believed in judicial, or predictive astrology. But they were also consciously engaged in party political 'spin' and propaganda. Astrology was a science that left plenty of scope for personal interpretation. The rules might say that the conjunction of certain planets in a particular house of the zodiac portended the death of a great man or ruler – but which ruler? In practice, the political astrology published in the 1640s and 1650s was propaganda intended to boost the morale of the author's own side, and demoralise opponents. In the spring of 1645 Lilly and Wharton both predicted an imminent and decisive victory for their respective sides. The New Model Army's prompt and crushing victory at Naseby spelled victory for Lilly as well as for the parliamentarian cause.

How seriously did contemporaries take all this? Political almanacs and pamphlets certainly reached a huge and diverse audience. We hear of Charles I reading one of Wharton's almanacs, and many leading parliamentarians, both friendly and hostile, reading Lilly's prophecies, sometimes in the Parliament chamber itself (Lilly 1974, 58-9, 62, 67-9). Both sides fully recognised astrology's value as propaganda. In 1648, during the second civil war, the authorities had Lilly and Booker driven to Colchester, held for the king, so that they could encourage the besieging parliamentarian soldiers with guarantees of success. Publishers with an eye to profit issued pirate versions of leading titles, and summaries appeared in several contemporary newspapers. The Great Fire of London in 1666 offers some further evidence. One of Lilly's works had predicted the destruction of a great city by fire, with a woodcut to reinforce the message, and after the Great Fire – fifteen years later – the parliamentary committee established to investigate its cause summoned Lilly as an expert witness. The MPs wanted to know if the fire had been accidental or deliberate, and, if the latter, whether he could tell by his astrological skill who was to blame. Lilly, with plenty of experience in escaping from tight corners, informed them that the fire was undoubtedly malicious, but that astrology did not extend to identifying the individuals responsible (Lilly 1974, 88-9).

The astrological propagandists were propagandists, but they were far more than hacks writing to order. They were deeply committed. Booker, for example named a daughter Victoria, after a parliamentarian victory, generations before the name caught on. Several trod a dangerous line. William Lilly was arrested nine times over the course of his career, for overstepping the mark. He ventured to predict the dissolution of the Rump Parliament, for example, and was hauled before a parliamentary committee to answer charges. George Wharton continued to support the king's cause long after the war was lost, and was eventually captured, gaoled in the Tower, and in real danger of being executed. After the Restoration Lilly had to make an embarrassing climb-down, having totally failed to predict this sudden turn of events, and thereafter trod more carefully. The Restoration also brought stricter censorship by the royalist authorities. But a generation later a new pamphlet war erupted, with ferocious feuding between the new Whig and Tory parties, and national panic over the alleged popish plot to kill the king. Political passions continued to run high during the reign of the Catholic James II, which ended abruptly in 1688 with the Glorious Revolution. These storms triggered a new war between rival astrologers, with John Partridge championing the Whig cause and John Gadbury countering for the Tories. Both were arrested at various points, and Gadbury had the dubious honour of being burnt in effigy in great street processions through London, alongside the pope. Partridge fled abroad in 1685 when James became king, issuing defiant astrological predictions from his refuge in the Netherlands, and returning to England in 1688 with the invasion fleet of William of Orange, soon to become William III. Vindicated by the turn of events, Partridge proceeded to heap abuse on James and popery, and one of his allies declared scornfully that one drop of orange juice had proved more powerful than a barrel of popish holy water (Capp 1979, 91-9).

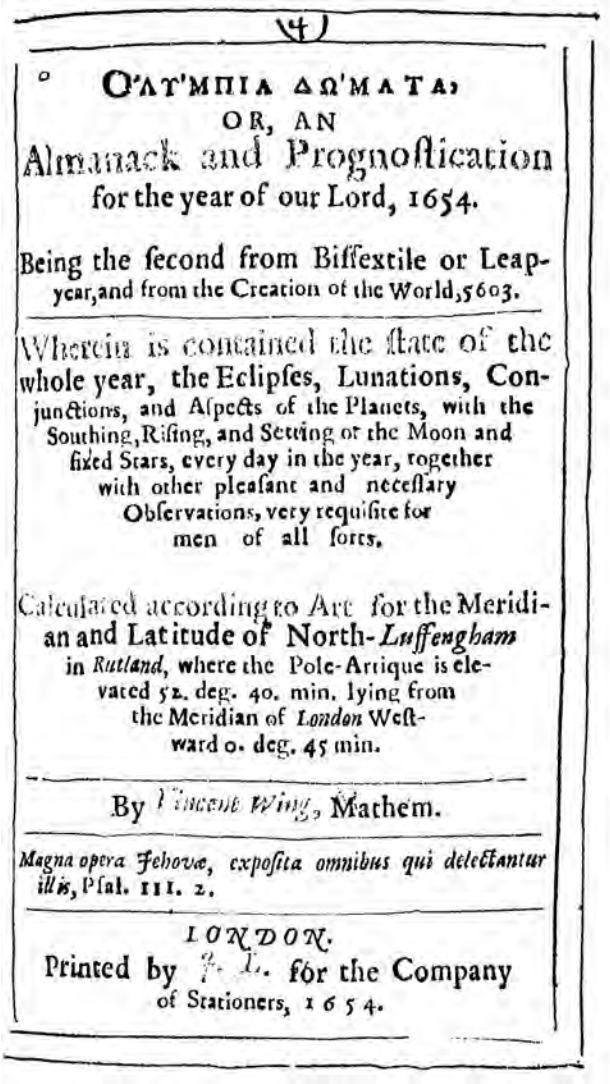
Where does Vincent Wing fit into this world of political astrology? Wing published annual almanacs from 1641 until his death, a period of nearly thirty years. Commencing when he was still in his early twenties, he explained that he had felt driven to appear in print to correct the crude astronomical mistakes made by existing compilers, whom he dismissed as a 'company of hare-braines, who abuse the Art very much' (Wing 1641, sig. B2). Despite these sharp words, Wing's almanacs were never as politically partisan as those of Lilly, Booker or Wharton. As far as we know he was never arrested. He preferred to use his almanacs, primarily, to

popularise his astronomical ideas. The edition for 1660, for example, announced on the title page that it contained 'a short Mathematical Discourse of the Systeme of the World, proving that the Sun moves not, but the Earth, wherein the Arguments of the Anti-Copernican are refuted, and the truth (though succinctly, yet) cleerly proved by *Geometrical Demonstration*'. Nonetheless, his almanacs had a political as well as personal flavour, and in the early years that flavour was clearly parliamentarian. Wing's almanac reported Naseby as a great 'victory' (Wing 1647, sig. Cv). Wing signed his almanac for 1648 as from Belvoir Castle, seat of the parliamentarian Earl of Rutland. He mentioned having been employed on public affairs in 1645, and it is likely that he had been hired by the parliamentarian authorities to survey landed estates confiscated from the bishops (the Long Parliament having abolished episcopacy in 1645), or sequestered cavalier estates, and perhaps both. He also expressed his hope that Parliament would press ahead with the great work of religious reformation (Wing 1648, sig. C7v), and several editions have a quasi-puritanical flavour. Some of Wing's astronomical works underlined this political stance by carrying dedications to prominent figures well known as leading parliamentarians in Rutland and national affairs. He dedicated his *Ephemerides* (1652) to Thomas Waite, a radical MP for Rutland in the Long Parliament and one of the judges who had condemned Charles I to death in 1649 (albeit in Waite's case reluctantly). Other works were dedicated to Sir James Harington (another Rutland MP and regicide), John Weaver, MP for neighbouring Stamford in the Long Parliament and a committed republican under the Rump, and Stamford's other MP, Thomas Hatcher of Careby (Lincolnshire), a more moderate parliamentarian.

In 1651 one admirer reported hearing rumours that Wing had been bribed not to write all he could have revealed about the future course of politics, adding plaintively, 'Prithee hence-forth if *Wars* this Land divide,/ Dear friend direct me, to be of th'right side' (Wing, *Harmonicon*, sig. B). Yet Wing was never a political zealot. His almanac for 1648 declared his determination not to 'intermeddle' with politics, and hoped king and parliament could agree 'a firm and settled peace' (Wing 1648, sig. C7v). His almanac for 1649 (compiled of course several months before the king's trial and execution) expressed a similar fervent hope, with 'Vivat Rex' appearing on the same page as 'Floreat Parliamentum' (Wing 1649, sig. Av). His circle of friends and patrons crossed party lines, and owed more to neighbourly ties and shared scientific interests. *Harmonicon Cœleste* was dedicated to Baptist Noel, 3rd Viscount Campden, who had been a prominent royalist military commander in the civil war. *Astronomia Instaurata* carried a cluster of very diverse dedications, among them the royalist Noel and the republican John Weaver. These neighbourly ties triumphed over political rivalries and reversals; Weaver was eventually to be buried in Wing's own parish, North Luffenham, and Noel close by at Exton. Similarly, Wing was no radical in religious matters. He always voiced his firm support for godly, educated clergy and denounced the new radical sectarians such as Baptists, Ranters and Quakers as 'hypocrites in Sheepes cloathing' and 'ravenous wolves' (Wing 1655, sig. C5). And though the Long Parliament had abolished Christmas, Wing ignored the ban. His almanac calendars continued to note the Christmas season each year, urging readers to be merry and generous in relieving the local poor. Wing was essentially a moderate, in both politics and religion. By the later 1650s, moreover, he was clearly moving towards a more conservative position. His almanacs often contained little aphorisms sprinkled throughout the text. Some could mean anything or nothing, like 'mustard after dinner', and 'kissing goes by favour'. But one inserted in 1658, 'The old way is best, when all's done', probably signalled his growing disillusion with the Cromwellian regime, and may have been intended as veiled support for a Stuart restoration (Wing 1658, sig. A5). If challenged, of course, he could offer many other interpretations, including support for the proposal in 1657 to offer the crown to Cromwell himself. The same edition also predicted the death of a great man in August 1658 – and Cromwell obligingly died on 3rd September. The edition for 1660 contained another cryptic message, noting in the calendar for August that 'A great person hopes to have his place again, and there may be reason for it' (Wing 1660, sig.B4). After 1660 Wing claimed that he had been hinting at the Restoration, using deliberately ambiguous language to keep out of trouble (Wing 1661, sig. C5v). He had learned well the arts of political ambiguity from masters like Lilly, a friendly acquaintance.

After the Restoration, Wing made his political feelings far more explicit. He now hailed monarchy as the best form of government, denounced Cromwell as a monstrous tyrant, and called for the punishment of the regicides. He welcomed the restoration of the Church of England and its traditional prayer-book services. All this appears far removed from his outlook in the later 1640s. But the evolution of Wing's political thinking was broadly in line with that of most moderates, and part of the secret of his popular success was that he reflected the outlook of a very substantial section of the public.

Wing remained a serious-minded figure, however. While he welcomed the Restoration, he never identified with its hedonistic and frivolous spirit. His early biographer remarked that many of his almanacs 'were in a manner *Sermons*', and there is considerable truth in that assessment (Gadbury 1669, 11). They had a firm moral streak, with repeated attacks on the sins of pride, greed and oppression. In particular Wing launched fierce attacks on oppressive landlords he accused of grinding the faces of the poor, buttressing his message with citations from the Old Testament, and warning offenders of the punishment they would face in the next life. Enclosures were good, Wing told improving landlords, but not when the arrangements caused hardship for the local poor. This was a message all the more striking in that much of Wing's work as a surveyor was for the local gentry, some of them enclosing landlords. In his work on surveying he reminded readers that some great men who had forced through 'bad' enclosures leading to depopulation and hardship had subsequently fallen from power and come to a miserable end. It is tempting to see this barb as aimed in part at his former patron Thomas Waite, who had driven through a ruinous enclosure of Hambleton, Rutland, triggering bitter resentment and petitions to Cromwell and to Parliament; only a few years later, at the Restoration, Waite had been condemned for treason (as a former regicide), stripped of all his wealth, and sentenced to imprisonment for life (Wing 1664, 167; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1653-4*, 28, 330; *1654*, 27, 83). Though never a social radical, Wing believed strongly in social responsibility, and his writings display a consistently strong moral dimension.



Ὀλυμπία Δώματα,
OR, AN
Almanack and Prognoſtication
for the year of our Lord, 1654.

Being the ſecond from Biſſextile or Leap-year, and from the Creation of the World, 5603.

Wherein is contained the ſtate of the whole year, the Eclipſes, Lunations, Conjunctions, and Aſpects of the Planets, with the Southing, Riſing, and Setting of the Moon and fixed Stars, every day in the year, together with other pleaſant and neceſſary Obſervations, very requiſite for men of all ſorts.

Calculated according to Art for the Meridian and Latitude of North-*Luffengham* in *Rutland*, where the Pole-Artique is elevated 52. deg. 40. min. lying from the Meridian of *London* Weſtward 0. deg. 45 min.

By Vincent Wing, Mathem.

*Magna opera Jehovæ, expoſita omnibus qui delectantur illis*, Pſal. 111. 2.

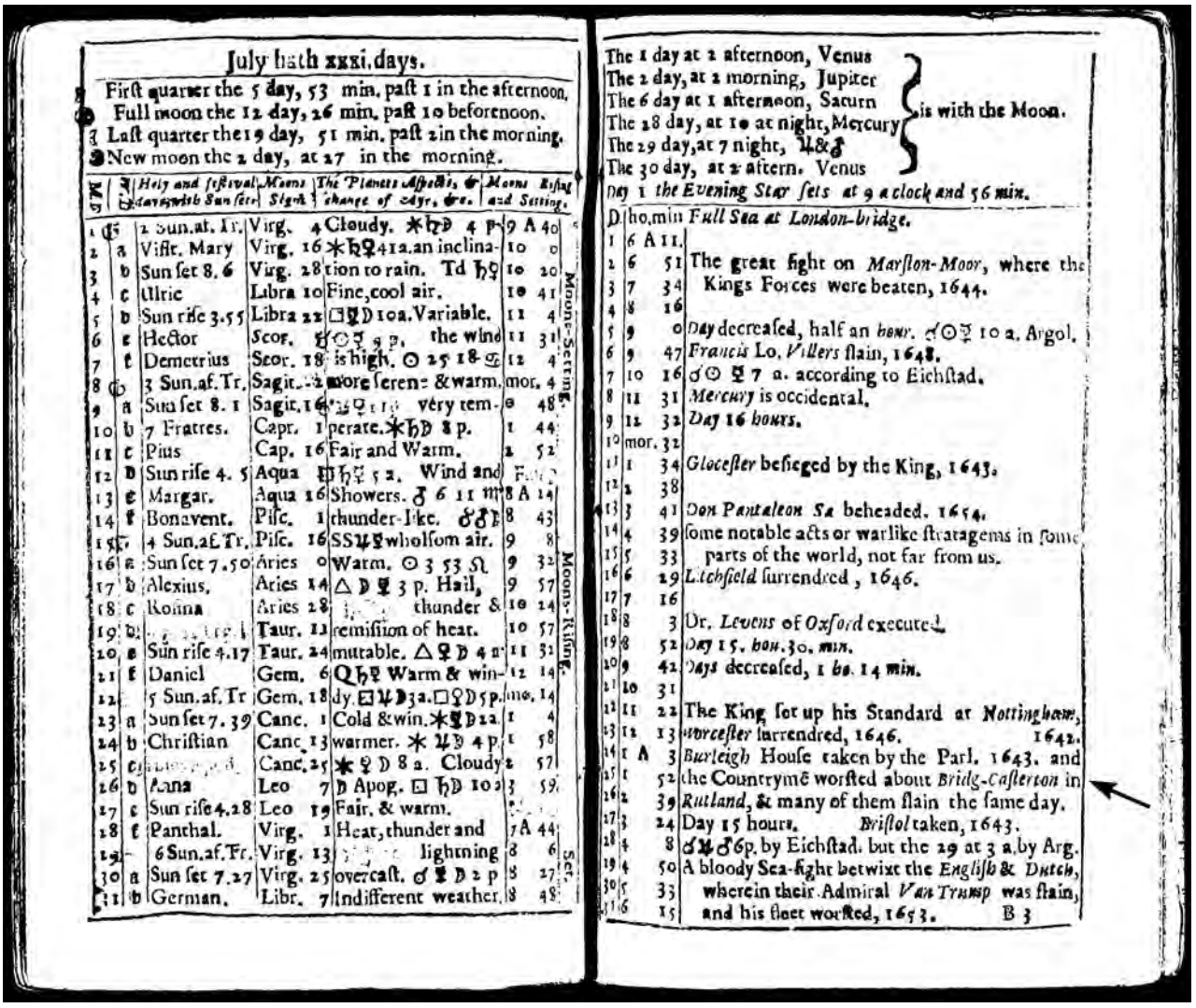
LONDON.
Printed by [illegible] for the Company of Stationers, 1654.

*Fig. 7. The title page of Wing's* Olympia Domata *or almanac for 1654, showing North Luffenham as the basis for the calculations it contained.*

Wing was also strongly patriotic. He published fierce attacks on the Scots when they invaded England again in 1651, in the campaign that was to end at Worcester. Almost certainly he disapproved of the trial and execution of the king in 1649 and the abolition of monarchy, but he issued a blunt warning to any foreign powers tempted to invade that they would be routed. When the new Commonwealth went to war with the Dutch in 1652, Wing attacked the enemy and predicted their ruin. A few years later, when Cromwell (now Lord Protector) went to war with Catholic Spain, Wing warned that the stars showed that England would quickly overrun Spain's American colonies, and predicted the approaching downfall of the Habsburgs, the dynasty that ruled both the Spanish and Austrian empires. Wing's patriotism had a jingoistic spirit.

This patriotism was undoubtedly linked to Wing's broader religious outlook. Like many contemporaries, especially puritans, he was convinced that the upheavals of the age heralded the approaching end of the world, at least in its existing form. He anticipated a series of upheavals that would culminate with the destruction of Anti-christian Rome and the ruin of Spain, its main political support. These dramatic and violent events would usher in a new age of tranquillity and peace upon earth, until the second coming and the final Apocalypse. Millenarianism, a belief in some sort of heaven on earth, had become a strong current in mid-seventeenth century England, fanned by the trauma and excitement of the civil wars and a sense of living through an age without parallel. Like many others, Wing was carried away by this febrile mood.

In Wing's case, something of this anticipation lived on after the Restoration. He now spoke of ancient prophecies of a king from northern lands destined to play a major role in bringing about the fall of Antichristian Rome and its defenders, after which the promised age of peace and tranquillity – a



July hath xxxi. days.

First quarter the 5 day, 53 min. past 1 in the afternoon.
Full moon the 12 day, 26 min. past 10 beforenoon.
Last quarter the 19 day, 51 min. past 2 in the morning.
New moon the 2 day, at 27 in the morning.

| Day | | Holy and festival | Moons Sign | The Planets Aspects, & change of aayr, &c. | Moons Rising and Setting. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ☌ | 2 Sun.af.Tr. | Virg. 4 | Cloudy. ✶♄☽ 4 p. | 9 A 40 |
| 2 | a | Visit. Mary | Virg. 16 | ✶♄☿ 4 a. an inclina- | 10 0 |
| 3 | b | Sun set 8. 6 | Virg. 28 | tion to rain. Td ♄☿ | 10 20 |
| 4 | c | Ulric | Libra 10 | Fine, cool air. | 10 41 |
| 5 | d | Sun rise 3.55 | Libra 22 | □☿☽ 10 a. Variable. | 11 4 |
| 6 | e | Hector | Scor. | ☿☉☿ 9 p. the wind | 11 31 |
| 7 | f | Demetrius | Scor. 18 | is high. ☉ 25 18 ♌ | 12 4 |
| 8 | g | 3 Sun.af.Tr. | Sagit. 2 | more serene & warm. | mor. 4 |
| 9 | a | Sun set 8. 1 | Sagit. 16 | ☽♀☿ very tem- | 0 48 |
| 10 | b | 7 Fratres. | Capr. 1 | perate. ✶♄☽ 8 p. | 1 44 |
| 11 | c | Pius | Cap. 16 | Fair and Warm. | 2 52 |
| 12 | d | Sun rise 4. 5 | Aqua | ♅♄☿ 5 a. Wind and | |
| 13 | e | Margar. | Aqua 16 | Showers. ♂ 6 11 ♏ | 8 A 14 |
| 14 | f | Bonavent. | Pisc. 1 | thunder-like. ♂☿ | 8 43 |
| 15 | g | 4 Sun.af.Tr. | Pisc. 16 | SS♅☿ wholsom air. | 9 8 |
| 16 | a | Sun set 7.50 | Aries 0 | Warm. ☉ 3 53 ♌ | 9 32 |
| 17 | b | Alexius. | Aries 14 | △☽☿ 3 p. Hail, | 9 57 |
| 18 | c | Ronna | Aries 28 | thunder & | 10 24 |
| 19 | d | | Taur. 12 | remission of heat. | 10 57 |
| 20 | e | Sun rise 4.17 | Taur. 24 | mutable. △☿☽ 4 a. | 11 32 |
| 21 | f | Daniel | Gem. 6 | ☌♄☿ Warm & win- | 12 14 |
| 22 | | 5 Sun.af.Tr. | Gem. 18 | dy. □♅☽ 3 a. □☿☽ 5 p. | mor. 14 |
| 23 | a | Sun set 7. 39 | Canc. 1 | Cold & win. ✶☿☽ 12 a. | 1 4 |
| 24 | b | Christian | Canc. 13 | warmer. ✶ ♅☽ 4 p. | 1 58 |
| 25 | c | | Canc. 25 | ✶☿☽ 8 a. Cloudy | 2 57 |
| 26 | d | Anna | Leo 7 | ☽ Apog. □ ♄☽ 10 a. | 3 59 |
| 27 | e | Sun rise 4.28 | Leo 19 | Fair, & warm. | |
| 28 | f | Panthal. | Virg. 1 | Heat, thunder and | 7 A 44 |
| 29 | g | 6 Sun.af.Tr. | Virg. 13 | lightning | 8 6 |
| 30 | a | Sun set 7.27 | Virg. 25 | overcast. ♂☿☽ 2 p. | 8 27 |
| 31 | b | German. | Libr. 7 | Indifferent weather. | 8 48 |

Moons Setting.

Moons Rising.

The 1 day at 2 afternoon, Venus
The 2 day, at 2 morning, Jupiter
The 6 day at 1 afternoon, Saturn
The 28 day, at 10 at night, Mercury } is with the Moon.
The 29 day, at 7 night, ♅ & ♂
The 30 day, at 2 aftern. Venus

Day 1 *the Evening Star sets at 9 a clock and 56 min.*

| D. | ho. min | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 6 A 11. | *Full Sea at London-bridge.* |
| 2 | 6 51 | The great fight on *Marston-Moor*, where the Kings Forces were beaten, 1644. |
| 3 | 7 34 | |
| 4 | 8 16 | |
| 5 | 9 0 | *Day* decreased, half an *hour*. ☌☉☿ 10 a. Argol. |
| 6 | 9 47 | *Francis* Lo. *Villers* slain, 1648. |
| 7 | 10 16 | ☌☉ ☿ 7 a. according to Eichstad. |
| 8 | 11 31 | *Mercury* is occidental. |
| 9 | 11 32 | *Day* 16 *hours*. |
| 10 | mor. 32 | |
| 11 | 1 34 | *Glocester* besieged by the King, 1643. |
| 12 | 2 38 | |
| 13 | 3 41 | *Don Pantaleon Sa* beheaded. 1654. |
| 14 | 4 39 | Some notable acts or warlike stratagems in some |
| 15 | 5 33 | parts of the world, not far from us. |
| 16 | 6 29 | *Litchfield* surrendred, 1646. |
| 17 | 7 16 | |
| 18 | 8 3 | Dr. *Levens* of *Oxford* executed. |
| 19 | 8 52 | *Day* 15. *hou.* 30. *min.* |
| 20 | 9 42 | *Days* decreased, 1 *ho.* 14 *min.* |
| 21 | 10 31 | |
| 22 | 11 22 | The King set up his Standard at *Nottingham*, |
| 23 | 12 13 | *Worcester* surrendred, 1646. 1642. |
| 24 | 1 A 3 | *Burleigh* House taken by the Parl. 1643. and |
| 25 | 1 52 | the Countrymē worsted about *Bridg-Casterton* in |
| 26 | 2 39 | *Rutland*, & many of them slain the same day. |
| 27 | 3 24 | Day 15 hours. *Bristol* taken, 1643. |
| 28 | 4 8 | ☌♅☌ 6 p. by Eichstad. but the 29 at 3 a. by Arg. |
| 29 | 4 50 | A bloody Sea-fight betwixt the *English* & *Dutch*, |
| 30 | 5 33 | wherein their Admiral *Van Trump* was slain, |
| 31 | 6 15 | and his fleet worsted, 1653. B 3 |

*Fig. 8. The pages for the month of July in Wing's 1660 almanac, with an entry recalling the fall of Burleigh House to Parliamentary forces on 25th July 1643.*

sort of millennial paradise – would follow. He linked it to the year 1666, which recalled the biblical 666, the number of the Beast. Wing did not identify Charles II as the conquering king, but hinted at this as a possibility. The Great Plague of 1665 and Fire of London in 1666 he explained after the event as divine punishment for the sins of the people.

Wing's almanacs, though never as fiery as those of Lilly, Culpeper, Wharton, his contemporaries, clearly pressed all the right buttons in commercial terms. Sales steadily increased. His almanac was already popular enough to prompt a rival to issue a pirate edition in the late 1640s. After the Restoration, his almanac quickly overtook Lilly's to establish itself as the best-selling title on the market. By 1667, shortly before his death, the Company of Stationers was printing 50,000 copies of the latest edition, and all were sold within a few weeks (Gadbury 1669, 29; Blagden 1958, table facing 114). His neighbours must have been impressed to have a celebrity in their midst. And Wing showed himself to be a Rutland as well as English patriot. The title-page of each year's almanac generally announced that the astronomical and astrological data had been calculated for the meridian of North Luffenham, or Stamford, or Uppingham (fig. 7). Some editions carried a list of important dates in world history, in which Rutland again found its place. One edition claimed that Stamford had been founded 2,510 years ago, and had had its own university, founded by King Bladud, teaching all the learned arts and sciences for centuries (Wing 1647, sig. Cv; 1660, title-page). A scrupulous mathematician and astronomer, Wing was clearly happy to endorse patriotic myths derived from the fanciful mediaeval history of Geoffrey of Monmouth and similar works. But he could be a careful chronicler too. Some editions had significant anniversaries recorded on the page facing the monthly calendar, usually left blank for the owner's notes, and here too Rutland events found a place. In the 1660 edition, 25th July carries the note: '*Burleigh* House taken by the Parl. 1643, and the

Countrymen worsted about *Bridg-Casterton* in *Rutland*, & many of them slain the same day' (Wing 1660, sig. B3) (fig. 8). This probably refers to the fall of the Cecil family seat at Burleigh House, although Burley-on-the-Hill was taken in the same year.

The almanac series was so popular that it long outlived its compiler. It was revived by Vincent's son, then his nephew John, who lived at Pickworth, and then other members of the family. John was a combative Whig, and his almanacs were lively in style and polemical in spirit. With sales of 6,000-9,000 copies a year in the later 1690s, however, they fell far short of Vincent's success (Blagden 1958, table facing 114). Nonetheless the series continued to appear throughout the eighteenth century, and survived until 1805. The family too continued to flourish, still rooted in Rutland, and producing a succession of capable and highly respected land- and quantity-surveyors, working for gentlemen and aristocratic landowners. Estate-maps and surveys survive compiled by Vincent, his nephew John (1662-1726), and great-nephew Tycho (1696-1750) for a range of gentry and aristocratic patrons; some are held in Lincolnshire Archives, and others at Burghley House. No doubt many more have been lost. John used his almanacs to advertise his services, for surveying, laying out new enclosures, architectural planning, and dialling. In the later seventeenth century the Wings formed part of an intriguing circle of mathematicians, astronomers and astrologers, in rural East Leicestershire and its neighbourhood. John Wing's publications included *Geodætes Practicus Redivivus* (1700), a revised edition of Vincent's work on surveying. It included sections on arithmetic, geometry and trigonometry, on surveying buildings, goods, and estates, and on the use of instruments. Like Vincent before him, he also used his almanacs to popularise science; the edition for 1698, for example, included brief explanations of Copernican astronomy and the nature of gravity. And again like Vincent, he used his almanacs to promote a strongly Protestant, patriotic and moralistic message. In the 1690s he strongly supported the war against Louis XIV's France, predicting in 1693 that the French people would rise up in justified rebellion to throw off their 'servitude' (Wing 1693, sig. A6). John advertised his services in laying out enclosures but followed Vincent's lead in condemning oppressive landlords whose enclosures had made no provision for the poor, and led to poverty and depopulation (Wing 1685, sig. C5). Another branch of the family achieved considerable success as architects in the eighteenth century, responsible for the impressive Gothic Revival church at King's Norton, and for work on many other churches and country houses in Rutland and Leicestershire.

Vincent Wing remains the most significant member of this remarkable family, and it seems extraordinary that there is nothing to commemorate him in the church where he was buried. If his friend and early biographer, writing in 1669, was a little carried away in claiming that Vincent Wing was as famous as Julius Caesar, he certainly deserves his place in the history books.

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Bibliographical entries and details of library holdings for many of Vincent Wing's publications can be found in the British Library's *English Short Title Catalogue* (http://estc.bl.uk).

The Society is grateful to Doug Simpson and the Science Museum Library at Wroughton for providing copies of relevant pages from its copy of *Geodætes Practicus* including the plan of North Luffenham (fig. 3), and to Mike Frisby (the Society's webmaster) for his assistance with the digital files. The remaining illustrations are from copies of Wing's publications available via *Early English Books Online* (http://eebo.chadwick.com).

# Robert Gouger (1802-46) and his Connections with the East Midlands

PAUL REEVE

*Fig. 1. Robert Gouger, 1833 (State Library of South Australia B 48189).*

*Robert Gouger played an important role in the history of South Australia and was its first Colonial Secretary. This article explores his family background in England and, in particular, his association with the East Midland towns of Stamford, Nottingham and Oakham where the family had a silk manufacturing business.*

**Miscellaneous.**

Adcock Samuel, china, &c. dealr, High st
Ball Samuel, cooper, Deans lane
Beaver Edward, auctioneer, &c. High st
Bingham Sml. fire office agent, Market pl
Clarke Wm. tanner, Squire st
Coupland Elizth. gardener, &c. Squire st
Crowson John, wine, &c. mcht. Market pl
Eyre George, brazier, Market place
Fern Mary, haberdasher, High st
Gouger Robert, silk manufacturer, High st
Grice Wm. flax dresser, Market place
Parnell Geo. veterinary surgeon, High st
Pine Mary, clothes dealer, High st
Read Sampson, basket makr, Deans lane
Taylor Wm. toy dealer, High st

*Fig. 2. Robert Gouger's entry on the Oakham pages of Pigot's 1828-29 directory (Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland).*

Oakham, a small town in England's smallest county of Rutland, lies about one hundred miles north of London. Pigot and Co's *National Commercial Directory for 1828-9* included a small section on Oakham, Rutlandshire, and detailed on p667 the 'Merchants, Bankers, Professional Gentlemen, Manufacturers and Traders' of the county town. Gentry and clergy were listed first, then the different callings alphabetically, from academies and schools down to wheelwrights. Finally, there was a category headed 'Miscellaneous'.

Even the careful reader would be forgiven for failing to notice, between Fern Mary, haberdasher, and Grice William, flax dresser, an entry reading 'Gouger Robert, silk manufacturer, High st' (fig. 2). The only further information about Mr Gouger's activity is the comment at the top of the page that 'The coal trade is of some consequence here, but the only manufactory is one for silk.' At this stage, it is important to realise that the so-called directory for 1828-29 was actually published in 1828. It could only be as up to date as the compilers were at the time of publication.

There is nothing in the directory to indicate that the same Robert Gouger (fig. 1) would later actively promote further colonization of Australia. He played a key role in the prolonged campaign preceding the passing of the South Australian Act in 1834. His appointment in 1835 as Colonial Secretary was the first appointment made by the South Australian Colonization Commission.

He arrived in South Australia in November 1836 (fig. 3). However, misfortune dogged his personal and public life. His wife and baby son died in March 1837. The same year he was suspended from office following disputes and a brawl and left for England towards the end of 1837. He came back to Adelaide in mid-1839, reinstated as Colonial Secretary and having married again. He was later appointed Colonial Treasurer but his health deteriorated to the point where in August 1844 'he had to apply for leave'. He returned to London, dying in 1846 (*Australian Dictionary of Biography* **1**, 461-3).

In his account of the birth and early years of the colony of South Australia, *Paradise of Dissent,* Douglas Pike states that Robert Gouger, 'newly arrived in London', first met Edward Gibbon Wakefield, in January 1829 (Pike 1967, 52). From this time onwards Robert Gouger's life, including his co-operation with Wakefield in promoting

*Fig. 3. Robert Gouger's hut at Glenelg, South Australia, 1837 (State Library of South Australia B 2131).*

colonization, has been researched and documented in great detail. However for his earlier years, 1802-28, there is a comparative dearth of documentation and firm evidence. *Paradise of Dissent* (Pike 1967, 99) gives a short sketch of Robert Gouger's early life:

> *Born at Stamford, Lincolnshire, on 26th June 1802 Robert Gouger was the second youngest in a family of eleven children. He came of Huguenot stock; it was his unselfish ambition to devote his life to some worthwhile calling. After leaving school at Nottingham, he worked for a while as a clerk in his father's office, but found that life restricted. For some years he travelled in England and on the continent, gaining experience in many fields and developing his skill in the liberal arts. He became a creditable musician, dabbled in painting and natural history and had some of his verses accepted by Blackwood's magazine. Through a friendship with Robert Owen of Lanark, he came to include in his mental equipment radical politics and a philanthropic outlook.*

The key source for the detail above was *The Founding of South Australia as recorded in the journals of Mr. Robert Gouger…*, edited by Edwin Hodder and published in 1898. Hodder was given access to Robert Gouger's journals and other papers by Sarah Adelaide Gouger, Robert's daughter. He was much more than a mere editor although he may be catalogued as such. That section of the book about Robert's early years, before 1829, is clearly Hodder's own narrative, written in his own words but without full disclosure of his sources, personal or documentary. He reports that Robert 'spent his childhood at Stamford, in Lincolnshire, was educated at a school in Nottingham, and obtained his business knowledge in London in the office of his father, who was a city merchant of excellent repute and of good means' (Hodder 1898, 16). He particularly stresses the influence on Robert of his mother (ibid, 10). He adds the further detail that the Gouger family hailed from Ramsgate, Kent, and that they had maritime connections (ibid, 9).

However, even the Pike and Hodder accounts considered together give little explanation of what brought Robert Gouger to Oakham and to silk manufacture in or about 1828. To understand that, it is necessary to retrace in outline the career of Robert's father, George, lingering in more detail as the family moved northward to the East Midlands.

George Gouger was born on 24th October 1763 at Ramsgate, Kent, and baptised at the Ebenezer Independent Chapel in Ramsgate (TNA, RG4/Piece 1175/Folio 56). The family's maritime connection was confirmed when Robert's grandfather, 'Captain John Gouger', died at Ramsgate in 1809, as reported in the *Stamford Mercury* of 11th August 1809. Probate was granted on 28th October that year. From the abstract of the will it can be understood that John Gouger, George's brother, would receive certain 'Freehold Estates' provided he made specified money payments to George and other relatives within one year. These arrangements were to come into effect on the death of Captain John's widow which occurred in 1825 (TNA, IR 26/300). By this time George Gouger was past sixty and his decision to move away from Ramsgate had been taken decades before.

In 1787 George Gouger married Miss Anne Sibley. At the time of the marriage he was described as a 'ribband' weaver living at Wood Street, London (*Gentleman's Magazine* **57.1** (1787), 452). The dates of George Gouger's birth and marriage align precisely with those given by Edwin Hodder.

In *The General London Guide, or Tradesman's Directory for the Year 1794* George Gouger, of 48 Newgate Street, London, is listed on p94 as a Ribbon Manufacturer. In *The Post-Office Annual Directory for 1808* he is shown on p117 as a Silkman, living at 4 Wardrobe Place, Doctors' Commons, London. So as well as a merchant, he was also a manufacturer.

As his business evolved, so did his family. Robert, the tenth child, was born in 1802. Richard Dennison MD and Betty Hall certified that they were present at the birth of Robert Gouger, son of George Gouger and Anne his wife, daughter of Sainsbury Sibley. He was born in Gutter Lane in the Parish of St Vedast, Foster Lane, London, on 26th June 1802. These facts were registered on 12th November 1802 at Dr Williams's Library, London (TNA, RG 5/26: fig. 4), establishing London as his place of birth, not Stamford. The family must have had some catching up to do because a separate sheet bearing the same date and signed by the same official, registers the births of George Gouger 1796, Henry Gouger 1799, Rebecca Gouger 1800 and Robert Gouger 1802. Mr Dennison was present at all births but his fellow witness for the first three was Hannah Sibley, probably the children's grandmother (TNA, RG4/4660).

In the meantime, Robert was baptised on 19th

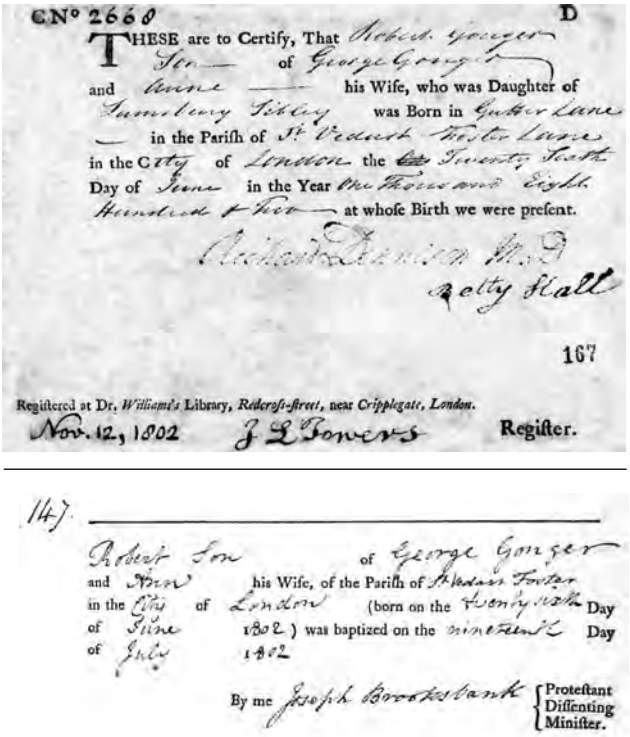


*Fig. 4. Records of Robert Gouger's birth (above: TNA RG5/26) and baptism (below: TNA RG4/4243).*

July 1802 by Joseph Brooksbank, Protestant Dissenting Minister (RG4/4243: fig. 4). Joseph Brooksbank (1762-1825) was at this time the Pastor at Haberdashers' Hall Independent Chapel, Staining Lane, London. Dr Williams's Library was founded in the early eighteenth century by a prominent London protestant nonconformist, and this explains its non-conformist records of births and baptisms. Those referred to above were later transferred to The National Archives.

At some time after Robert's birth the family moved to Stamford, Lincolnshire, or at least established a second home there. Alfred, the eleventh child, was born in the parish of All Saints, Stamford, 26th September 1807 (TNA, RG4/4661). He was baptised on 10th November in the dissenting chapel of Stamford by Robert Winter, minister, who had travelled from London. The occupation of the father, George Gouger, was now 'Proprietor of Silk Mills' and his abode was Stamford (TNA RG4/1941).

The ministers baptising Robert and Alfred were men of education and stature and not casual choices. *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895* identifies Joseph Brooksbank as one of the first members (Lovett 1899, 13-17). Robert Winter DD is recorded in the same book as giving a charge or exhortatory address to a party of missionaries destined for Africa and Polynesia (ibid, 241-2). In 1801 George Gouger was recorded as a director of the Society (*Four Sermons* 1801). These brief references are representative of many showing the religious concerns of Robert's father and mother during his formative years.

If George Gouger was a 'Proprietor of Silk Mills' in 1807, it is not unequivocally clear that these were then in Stamford. However, no doubt applied on 25th August 1816 when the Stamford authorities 'Ordered that application be made to Mr George Gouger for payment … on account of his having made or brought out new Windows at his Silk Manufactory Estate next to the Butchers Shambles' (HB 5, f.126). Similar demands were made in August 1818 (HB 5, f.147) and August 1820 (HB 5, f.174 and f.175). In the last case, a further encroachment was mentioned, as a result of digging a cellar under the shambles (butchers' market) area.

The Gouger silk spinning or silk throwsting mill was adjacent to the butchers' market and is generally agreed to have been behind the present 32 Broad Street (fig. 5) where 'a long rectangular structure with red brick walls, stone-dressed openings, and hipped roof, may probably be identified as the silk throwsting factory' (*RCHM* 1977, 77). Unfortunately, it burnt down in the 1980s and little more than the floor outline and part of the exterior walls survive.

By the early 1820s between three and four hundred women and children were employed by Mr Gouger, either in his mill or at home. Silk for spinning came from 'Italy, Naples, Turkey, Spain, Messina, Bengal and China' (Drakard 1822, 422-5). The mill had a low-pressure 8-horsepower steam engine. In an attached footnote, possibly based on what he had seen, Drakard explains the process by which the filaments of several cocoons are 'reeled together out of warm water … so as to form one strong smooth thread'. This was known as raw silk and was the supply condition of all silk from India and of much from elsewhere. This was then, in Drakard's explanation, spun to make tram and organzine, threads suitable for the woof and warp of silk weaving. The Gouger steam engine was claimed to be the first in Stamford (Burton 1846, 300).

Business must have been buoyant at this time because Mr Gouger advertised to Parish Officers on two occasions for about twenty girls aged nine to ten years. They would be 'properly clothed, maintained, and instructed' (*Drakard's Stamford News* 6th August 1819, 13th September 1822). Identical advertisements were placed in the *Stamford Mercury*.

Not only women and children were employed by Mr Gouger although Drakard suggests this. There must surely have been a mechanic to manage the machinery and stokers to feed the boilers, supervisors, clerks and apprentices. This emerges from contemporary news items and from court judgements, punishing male and female alike for misdemeanours. The death of a silk mill foreman,

*Fig. 5. 32 Broad Street, Stamford: the Gouger silk spinning mill was at the rear (photo: author).*

aged 59, was reported in the *Stamford Mercury* of 25th August 1826. Martha Drake was committed to gaol for one month for leaving her employment before the expiry of her engagement (*SM* 15th April 1825). John Bagley, apprentice, was given three months hard labour for neglect and disorderly conduct (*SM* 3rd August 1827).

A more liberal outlook was projected by *Drakard's Stamford News* when it published on 3rd April 1818 a letter from the reforming manufacturer Robert Owen to the 2nd Earl of Liverpool, Prime Minister. In advocating improved working conditions for children, Owen wrote explicitly that 'no child should be admitted to work in any manufactory before ten years of age, and not for more than six hours per day until he is twelve years old'. Later accounts of Robert Gouger stress his friendship and sympathy with Robert Owen. In advertising for girls nine to ten years old in 1819 and 1822, the Gouger family did not quite match the new standards recommended by Owen. Yet this was a marked improvement on earlier practice. An advertisement in the *Stamford Mercury* of 7th September 1810, headed 'To OVERSEERS of the POOR and CHURCHWARDENS', sought children seven years old and upwards to work at the silk mills in Stamford.

The National Co-operative Archive at Manchester, which has Robert Owen's correspondence, has six letters from Robert Gouger to Owen (fig. 6). 'These are all dated between March and July in the year 1830 and sadly give no indication of how, or where, the two men met, or even if the two met before Gouger's arrival in London' (information from Adam Shaw, National Co-operative Archive).

Finally, if Mr Gouger's rights over his employees appear quasi-proprietorial and punishments for employee misdemeanour harsh, this was as nothing to the way in which courts defended the real property rights of manufacturers and merchants. For stealing eight silk handkerchiefs from Robert's grandfather, Sainsbury Sibley, a haberdasher, Elizabeth Jones, was convicted to branding and six months' imprisonment on 15th July 1778. Things had not greatly improved on 14th February 1833 when Henry Boden, a pickpocket with a previous conviction, was given 14 years transportation for stealing, again in London, one handkerchief from Robert's brother Alfred (*Proc Old Bailey, 1674-1913*, www.oldbaileyonline.org).

In 1826, because of declining health, Mr Gouger advertised for sale the 'Freehold Silk Mills, Stamford'. In the usage of the time 'Silk Mills' did not automatically imply different mills at different locations. Mr Gouger was selling one spinning mill only at Stamford, that behind 32 Broad Street. It

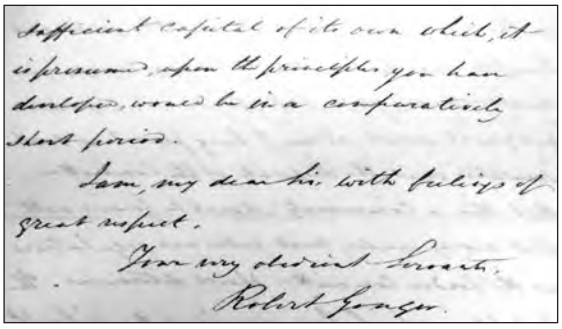

*Fig. 6. Extract from a letter RO223 from Robert Gouger to Robert Owen, 4th April 1830 (National Co-operative Archive).*

may have had more than one spinning line but this is not made clear.

The 8-horsepower steam engine, with two copper-bottomed boilers, was a selling point (*SM* 11th August 1826). There was no quick sale, business continued, and in early 1829 an apprentice was convicted to fourteen days hard labour for absence without leave (*SM* 30th January 1829). Further advertisements appeared in the *Stamford Mercury,* for the steam engine and two boilers on 20th February 1829, for the freehold house on Broad Street and for the silk mills on 8th May 1829, and for the house again on 4th December 1829. Finally, on 30th April 1830 the *Stamford Mercury* advertised the Stamford silk mills for auction at the Crown Inn, Stamford, on 10th May 1830. Mill spinning had ceased by 1830 (Burton 1846, 300).

Apparently, George Gouger did not live continuously at Stamford. In 1811 his 'Valuable Household Furniture' and effects were offered for sale by auction as he was 'removing to the metropolis' (*Drakard's Stamford News* 15th March 1811). In 1812 the fine house on Barn Hill, Stamford, 'late in the occupation of George Gouger, Esq.' and 'now in the tenure of Mr. Jameson', was offered for sale (*SM* 18th December 1812). On 4th April 1817 *Drakard's Stamford News* gave Mr Gouger's address as Coleman Street, London. But on 27th April 1821 Mr Dewar gave notice that he would shortly offer 'the excellent HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, with the valuable and extensive LIBRARY, of Geo. Gouger, Esq., who is removing from Stamford to London' (*SM* 27th April 1821).

George Gouger did not sever all family ties with Stamford in 1821. As will emerge, there were various family events at Stamford in the 1820s. The *Stamford Mercury* advertisement of 4th December 1829 showed clearly that the Gouger family retained a substantial residence in Broad Street. George Gouger may even be the Mr Gouger, available on the premises, to provide 'further particulars'. However, it could also be one of his sons. The main part of the advertisement is copied below as well as legibility allows:

> *To be SOLD by PRIVATE CONTRACT*
> *THAT excellent FAMILY RESIDENCE, situate in Broad-street, Stamford, now in the occupation of Mr. Gouger; comprising a spacious dining-room and drawing-room, eight bed-rooms, and water closet, convenient kitchen and other offices, brewhouse, three-stall Stable, and other Out-buildings, with convenience for a carriage, and small Garden. For further particulars apply to Mr. Gouger, on the premises; which may be viewed any day from 12 to 3 o'clock.*

The first house has been identified as 12 Barn Hill, Stamford (fig. 7); Till 1990, 93). This derives from an 1808 lease of the adjacent Methodist chapel (LAO, Meth/C/Stamford, Barn Hill/D/1/11). The property advertised in 1829 may have been 32 Broad Street, Stamford, behind which the silk spinning mill was located. The age of the building, the number of rooms and the location speak in its favour but no documentary evidence has been found similar to that for Barn Hill.

It is possible that business commitments obliged Robert's father to divide his time between Stamford and London. This absence might then help to explain the strong maternal influence on Robert which Hodder was at pains to mention. Conversely, when in Stamford, George Gouger was active in the public life of the town. This was shown to good effect in 1809.

At the election for a new member of parliament for the borough the establishment candidate was Charles Chaplin. He stood in the Burghley interest, in the interest of Brownlow Cecil, 2nd Marquis of Exeter of Burghley House, Stamford. His opponent was Joshua Jepson Oddy who was defeated by 306 votes to 142. Oddy's campaign, run from a committee room at the George and Angel Inn, St Mary's Street, Stamford, entailed vigorous canvassing and nocturnal parades with 'burning tar-barrels and flambeaux'. Oddy even indulged the local penchant for bull-running. George Gouger was one of Oddy's chief supporters (*SM* 3rd March 1809).

The contested election had personal consequences for Gouger. Oddy declined to pay Mr — Weldon, a Stamford draper, the full bill for ribbons and other items supplied for the election campaign. The dispute was referred to two arbitrators and Gouger, selected as arbitrator by Oddy, supported Oddy's case. This led to bad feeling between Weldon and Gouger, to an altercation in the street and to Weldon striking Gouger in the face.

At Oakham Assizes in March 1810, in Weldon versus Oddy, the jury awarded the draper the full amount of his demand. Gouger versus Weldon, a case of assault, came to trial shortly after at Lincoln Assizes. In his summing up the judge noted unfavourably that the prosecution had not called Mr Drakard as witness, even thought he had been closest to the altercation. 'The Jury consulted a few seconds, and then returned A verdict for Plaintiff − Damages One Shilling.' Because of the nominal damages, the verdict in favour of George Gouger was effectively a defeat. It was a case of Goliath defeated at the hands of David for, as the defence theatrically argued, 'Gentlemen, the Plaintiff in this case is a man of ten times the size, of ten times the strength and power of the Defendant. Gouger is fit to put Weldon in his pocket' (*Drakard's Stamford News* 16th March 1810). Mr Gouger had already been described by one

*Fig. 7. 12 Barn Hill, Stamford, the residence of Mr George Gouger (photo: author).*

witness as a 'stoutish man'. In stressing Gouger's strength and power versus Weldon, the defence may also have played on the social and economic inequality between the two men, disobligingly mentioned by Gouger's counsel in his introduction.

Despite his discomfort at the two court cases, soon after this Mr Gouger was Chairman at a committee meeting of 'the intended Stamford Junction Navigation' (*SM* 1st June 1810). This was an unrealised project to link Stamford by waterways with Oakham in Rutland, Boston in Lincolnshire and Peterborough in Northamptonshire (*SM* 7th September 1810). George Gouger had clearly arrived as a businessman at Stamford. He was recorded as a generous subscriber to various charitable causes, public and private. He contributed to the 'CORRECTION of the ABUSE of PUBLIC CHARITIES', supporting William Wilberforce (*Drakard's Stamford News* 29th December 1809) and to the Stamford and Rutland Infirmary (*SM* 8th July 1825). He gave for the 'Relief of Mrs Myers and Family' (*SM* 19th June 1812). At the close of 1825, he was among those signing a notice of confidence in the Stamford and Rutland Bank (*SM* 16th December 1825).

Finally, in 1830 George's son, Alfred Gouger, attended a public meeting at the George and Angel Hotel. Alfred seconded the first of many motions concerned with the independence of the Stamford electors and deploring aristocratic interference and coercion (*Drakard's Stamford News* 5th November 1830). Outwardly, the parliamentary election of 1830, returning two Tory members of parliament, had the same outcome as the by-election of 1809 when the Tory candidate defeated Mr Oddy. But times were changing, the margin of victory was small and at the 1831 election Charles Tennyson secured the second seat, to the chagrin of the Tories and the Burghley interest. This victory would have pleased George Gouger but, by then, he and his family had probably left Stamford.

Even so, we find that George Gouger's son Robert had become involved in the 1831 Stamford parliamentary election. A contemporary publication, *A Political Monitor*, dated 6th May 1831, featured an article 'Boroughmongers and Boxers'. The article explained how 'Mr. Robert Gouger, a gentleman connected with Stamford and its neighbourhood' had been told that the Burghley faction was hiring London pugilists to travel to Stamford for the election. Robert Gouger intervened with Mr Phillips, Under Secretary of State, and also alerted Mr Tennyson, 'the reform candidate'. Mr Tennyson in turn wrote to Lord Melbourne, the Home Secretary. Mr Phillips interviewed and investigated, establishing that the pugilists were being recruited by a superintendent of police for enrolment as special constables to keep the peace! A predictable fracas was reported at Stamford (Carpenter, Hone & Cruikshank 1831, 543-4).

As it acknowledged, the above article repeated information already published in *The Spectator*, including the reference to Robert Gouger (*The Spectator* for week ending 30th April 1830).

The *Stamford Mercury* of 6th May 1831 told a similar story about 'the introduction of numerous pugilists, and other persons of that description, from London, and of an immense band of hired labourers from the villages around Stamford'. It was fortunate that 'After a season of unusual excitement, Stamford

has returned to a state of the most perfect order and quietness'.

In retrospect the Stamford voting irregularities of 1831 provided ideal copy for reform-minded journalists. *The Spectator* and *A Political Monitor* were bold enough to give details and names where other contemporary accounts covered Stamford events 'very vaguely'. After two mentions in the week ending 30th April *The Spectator* returned to Stamford's problems the following week. William Carpenter, printer of *A Political Monitor,* repeated the full story of electoral misdeed at Stamford (and Robert Gouger's resistance to it) six years later in his *Peerage for the People*, published in 1837 (Carpenter 1837, 302-03).

During the Stamford years a number of family milestones were publicly recorded. John Gouger of Sherborne, Dorset, brother to Robert, married Charlotte Hall of Coventry (*Drakard's Stamford News* 19th July 1811). Sarah, sister to Robert, married Thomas Howell Merridew of Coventry in 1817 (*Drakard's Stamford News* 4th April 1817). In 1823 Robert's eldest sister Mary married the Rev Henry Hubbard, Rector of Hinton Ampner, Hampshire, at St Michael's, Stamford (*Drakard's Stamford News* 14th March 1823). Hubbard was appointed curate at West Deeping, Lincolnshire, in 1818 and Mary probably met him during his curacy (Clergy of the Church of England database, Record ID: 65526). The next year, at the age of 24, Mary's sister Rebecca died in December after a seven-year illness (*SM* 24th December 1824). A memorial tablet was erected in her memory in St Michael's church, inscribed 'Near this spot is deposited until the archangel's trump shall summon from its resting place, the perishable part of Rebecca …' (*RCHM* 1977, 29).

These were more than just family events. Mary's wedding and Rebecca's memorial at St Michael's church, Stamford, suggest that the Gougers were not committed in a doctrinaire way to the dissenting tradition. Even the two weddings to partners from Coventry were more than mere coincidence. Ms Valerie Barton, a descendant of Captain John Gouger, reported an undated sheet giving details of George Gouger and his family, describing him as a silk throwster who had 'lived in London, Coventry and Stamford' (family papers of Mrs J H M Rissi and Mrs E M Swaby). No definitive evidence of George Gouger's residence at Coventry has emerged but the marriages of John and Sarah Gouger point in that direction.

In the evidence to be found at Stamford there has been no specific mention of Robert Gouger. For his growing up there, Edwin Hodder is the explicit source. But in a circumstantial way, Robert Gouger's arrival in Oakham is predicated on the Stamford connection. Hodder's description of Robert as a creditable musician is recalled by the final item in the 1811 advertisement for George Gouger's furniture: 'Also, to be disposed of, by Private Contract, a fine-toned Piano-Forte by Broadwood' (*SM* 15th March 1811). Were Robert's noted poetic leanings encouraged in 1810 by his father's subscription for two copies of *Poems* by George Townsend of Trinity College, Cambridge? Perhaps it was the final long satirical poem about Ramsgate that really prompted the purchase.

If Robert Gouger's schooling was in Nottingham, as Hodder stated, he would have had to live away from Stamford in term-time. The school chosen for him was Standard Hill Academy, Nottingham. He and two older brothers appear in the enrolment list for boarders, part of a bound volume of material about the school held at Nottinghamshire Archives (NA, M 373). Boarder 71, G Gouger (George) of Stamford was admitted January 1809, left June 1810, and was shown as subsequently living in Jamaica. Boarder 77, H Gouger (Henry) of Stamford, was admitted July 1809, left June 1813, and was subsequently a merchant in India or similar wording. Boarder 99, R Gouger (Robert) of Stamford, was admitted July 1810 and left June 1812. The only further information was that he was later 'In London'.

Standard Hill Academy, close to Nottingham Castle, was a well-respected school under its Master, Robert Goodacre (fig. 8). It catered for day pupils and boarders, attracting the latter from the Midlands counties and beyond. A programme printed for a school performance of readings and acting on 14th December 1812 gave the annual fees for boarders as twenty-six guineas, with two guineas extra for Latin and Greek, and a further two guineas for other special subjects (NA, M 373). By modern standards the time spent by boarders at the school was comparatively short. Precisely why Robert left, at a younger age and after a shorter stay than his brother Henry, is not clear.

A recurring item in the school's diary was a public performance by the pupils in December, reading verse and prose and excerpts from plays. The handwritten programme for the afternoon of 19th December 1809 included H Gouger as 'Gardener' in an item titled 'Prejudice subdued'. In the evening G Gouger was one of several performing 'Bashful Man'. Three years later, on 14th December 1812, H Gouger featured again as Araspes in 'Daniel', a play in seven parts (NA, M 373). Sadly, no surviving programme has been found including Robert Gouger although he must surely have taken part in similar performances.

Some twenty years after, in 1832, Robert

*Fig. 8. A North-West View of Standard Hill Academy, Nottingham; Nottingham Castle can be seen in the background (Nottinghamshire Archives M373).*

Goodacre invited former pupils, living at Nottingham and nearby, to join him for the evening at the Durham Ox Inn, Pelham Street, Nottingham. More than seventy attended. When the former headmaster offered to give information about any pupil not living in Nottingham, the first person asked about was Henry Gouger. Mr Goodacre said that Henry had been imprisoned and mistreated during the Burmese war but he 'was now settled in a mercantile house at Calcutta' (NA, M 373, *Nottingham Review* 3rd February 1832). The war referred to was later known as the first Anglo-Burmese War. Henry Gouger, working as a merchant in Burma, was caught up in the hostilities and was imprisoned by the Burmese from 1824 to 1826, as told at length in *A personal narrative of two years' imprisonment in Burmah, 1824-26* (Gouger 1862).

Gouger expansion to Rutland was considered in 1818 when George Gouger travelled to Uppingham, Rutland. At a meeting there he offered to employ at spinning silk 'any number' of 'female children of the poor'. If a small scale trial proved successful, he undertook to erect a large building for spinning (*SM* 3rd April 1818). It is not known whether a trial actually took place.

Nevertheless, the attractions of Rutland led the Gouger family to establish a silk factory at Oakham in a building erected about 1825. The date of the building may be inferred from the 1829 sales particulars cited below. The Oakham land tax returns for 1824-29 (ROLLR DE 5037/38-43) give further information. For 1825-27 Robert Gouger appears as the owner/occupier of a house, but for 1828-29 he is recorded as owner/occupier of a 'manufactory'. Since his annual land tax assessment of two shillings is unchanged over five years, it is possible, but unproven, that house and manufactory were part of the same building. No return survives for 1830.

The factory product was described as 'silk shag' (a woven material with rough nap or pile) (Pigot 1835, 175). In early 1826 'Several new silk looms, on the French model' were fitted out at Stamford for Mr Gouger by a French workman (*SM* 3rd March 1826). Little is known of the equipment and working conditions of the Oakham factory but it would be surprising if some or all of these looms were not eventually used at Oakham, if the product was silk shag.

However, in his *Memoir of the Late William Tiptaft* J C Philpot's memory was that the factory was originally used for silk throwing (Philpot 1867, 94). This was probably the source for a similar statement made in *The Strict Baptist Chapels of England* (Chambers 1963, **4**, 114-15). On the evidence available, it is hard to determine the main use of the building, whether for weaving or spinning.

The factory was located in Bedehouse Row, leading off Oakham High Street where Robert Gouger lived (fig. 9). It was a short-lived enterprise. The same 1829 advertisement which offered for sale the Stamford residential and commercial premises of Mr Gouger also offered for sale by Private Contract: 'A first-rate Building, at OAKHAM, in the county of Rutland, 72 feet long and 24 wide, 4 stories high, erected only about 4 years, lately used as the Silk Manufactory' (*SM* 8th May 1829). A cited advantage of Oakham was the absence of competition for labour. Silk manufacture had ceased by the time of the advertisement and malting was proposed as an alternative use for the building. The freehold building

at Oakham was advertised again on its own in 1832, for auction by Mr Royce of Oakham. Confusingly, its dimensions were stated as '85 by 25'. Any enquiries were to be addressed to the auctioneer (*SM* 9th March 1832). Finally, in 1835 it was reported that 'The large brick building at Oakham for a few years used as a silk manufactory by Messrs. Gouger, has been purchased at a very moderate price by Mr. Keal, of that place, and a part of it converted into a chapel for the Calvinistic Baptists' (*SM* 13th February 1835). The 1828-29 directory, which placed Robert Gouger on Oakham High Street, recorded William Keal as a surgeon living at the Market Place, just off the High Street (fig. 10). Confusingly, this was not William Keal, surgeon of the Market Place, who died in 1823, but his son William Tomblin Keal. By 1835 Robert was long departed from Oakham but must surely have known the son from the time when he lived on the High Street.

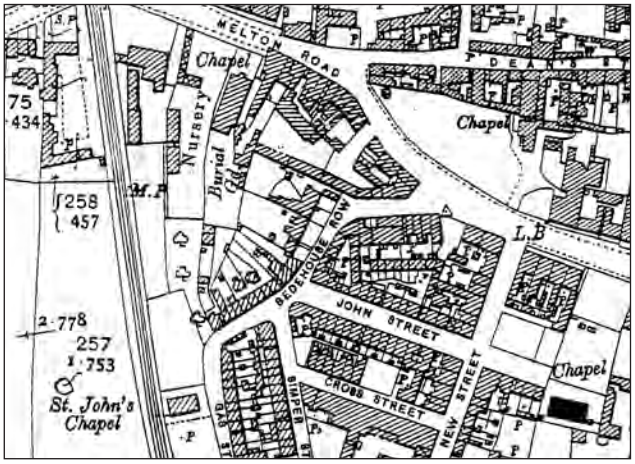


*Fig. 9. The second Providence Chapel in Oakham is shown (in solid black) in John Street, E of its intersection with New Street. The first chapel in Bedehouse Row is not shown (OS 2nd ed 25" map 1904).*

As for the machinery and other items at Oakham, their fate is not clear. Some may first have been offered for sale by auction in Stamford (*SM* 24th May 1833), but on 7th November 1833 the following advertisement appeared in *The Times*:

> *MACHINERY.--To Silk Manufacturers.--To be SOLD, on very reasonable terms, the under-mentioned MACHINERY, now standing in the factory in Oakham, in the county of Rutland:--28 looms used in weaving of silk shag, 8 ditto for Persians, 1 soft silk engine with 150 spindles, 1 hard ditto ditto with 70 ditto, 3 warping frames as good as new, 1 turning on frame, spinning wheels, and machinery for making hand sewings. A water conveyance from Oakham* [referring to the Oakham Canal]. *May be viewed on the premises: or application made to Mr. George Gouger, 3, Falcon Street, Aldersgate-street, London.*

The Oakham silk manufactory was not Robert's only involvement in the textile industry. As stated earlier, he also worked in his father's offices which he had not liked. He was not the only son to try his hand in his father's line of business.

His eldest brother John, born 1788, established a silk throwing mill at Sherborne, Dorset (Symonds 1916, 83). He was recorded in 1820 as having sought additional silk winding labour at Wimborne, Dorset (DHC PE/WM/OV 8/4). He was at Sherborne in 1811 at the time of his marriage and there are several references to him at Sherborne until the 1830s. In late 1842 he appeared in the court records of the Old Bailey as a warehouseman of Wood Street, London. The term 'warehouseman' should doubtless be understood as warehouse owner, not employee, as the trial concerned the theft of ribbons, the property of John Gouger (*Proc Old Bailey, 1674-1913*, www.oldbaileyonline.org).

Alfred, the youngest brother, was still in Stamford in 1830, presumably winding up the Gouger business and family interests. In 1833, when the theft of his handkerchief preoccupied the Central Criminal Court, his address had become Castle Street, Falcon Square, London.

*Fig. 10. William Tomblin Keal's house, behind the Buttercross in Oakham Market Place (Rutland County Museum, Hart Collection 2002.6.3760).*

Henry Gouger, born 1799, the brother before Robert, travelled to India as a young man to seek his fortune, but still in the textile trade. In 1822 he determined to move from India to Burma after he had spent two or three years trying without success to compete with the East India Company in making raw silk (Gouger 1862, 1-5). After his two-year imprisonment in Burma he went on to make a 'small fortune' in textiles before returning to England (*Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1966, 461-3).

This leaves only George Gouger junior, born 1796, of Robert's brothers who survived to adulthood. Very little is known about him. However, George Gouger of Stamford and George Gouger Junior of Cheapside both appeared in 1819 as subscribers to *Lectures on Scripture Duties* by Dr

William Bengo Collyer. So it is quite possible that George Junior was involved with the London end of his father's business affairs (Collyer 1819, 10).

This skeletal account of the early careers of Robert's brothers illustrates two points. Firstly, in so far as Robert worked in his father's office and also with the silk manufactory, he worked in the family trade, as did John and Henry in their different ways, and quite possibly Alfred and George. Secondly, considered as one economic entity under the stewardship of George Gouger senior, the Gouger family was a dynamic unit. It increased its capital, it applied it to new products and new areas of manufacture, it spread to the East Midlands, to Dorset, and as far as India and Burma, in pursuit of opportunity.

This prompts the question, why were the Stamford and Oakham operations closed and sold in the late 1820s? The declining health and advancing years of George Gouger were one factor but possibly not the only one. There must surely have been good expectations and good returns up to the early 1820s. The investment in the Stamford mill, the high employment levels described by Drakard in 1822, the advertisements for extra workers, the discussions in Uppingham, the investment in looms and in the Oakham mill, all testify to a prolonged period of success. But by May 1829 when the Stamford and Oakham buildings were for sale, the outlook was not so optimistic. The Stamford building was earning a modest six to six and a half percent on capital and the Oakham mill was offered 'for any manufactory requiring room' including malting (*SM* 8th May 1829).

One of the factors affecting silk throwsters and weavers in England in the 1820s was changes in import legislation. In 1824 duties on raw silk and thrown silk were greatly relaxed. Legislation also provided for the lifting in 1826 of the ban on imports of finished silk goods (Mongredien 1881, 11). For finished silk items an import duty of 25 to 40 per cent then applied (Ball & Sunderland 2001, 309). In deciding to close the Stamford and Oakham operations, a prudent businessman would weigh carefully supply and demand, raw material cost, competition and other key factors.

J C Philpot, writing more than three decades later, saw things in simpler terms. The Oakham enterprise was a commercial failure (Philpot 1867, 94). Pigot (1835, 339) reported that Oakham 'formerly enjoyed a considerable wool trade, and subsequently a manufactory for silk shag was established; but now it is not distinguished by any particular manufacture or extensive trade'.

When not busy with work, Robert Gouger had a liking for poetry. In his biography of John Clare (1793-1864), the Northamptonshire poet, Professor Jonathan Bate mentions some of Clare's local literary contacts. Among them 'A Mr Gouger of Oakham, whom he had met briefly at Gilchrist's, asked him over for some informal "bachelor's fare"' (Bate 2004, 324, BL, Egerton Manuscripts, Eg.2247, fo.247). This letter, signed by Robert Gouger at Oakham and dated 27th December 1826, invited Clare to stay for several days in 'my rooms'.

Robert referred to 'our slender acquaintance during the life of the late Mr Gilchrist'. Octavius Graham Gilchrist (1779-1823) was a Stamford grocer and man of letters. He was a friend of Clare but was also acquainted with Robert's father who acted as one of the witnesses at the publication of Gilchrist's will in 1818 (Dr E C Till's Index, Stamford Museum). Since Gilchrist died mid 1823, Robert's meeting with Clare must have been at least three years before the invitation to Oakham.

On 4th May, presumably 1827, Robert sent a further pressing invitation from Oakham to John Clare. He had clearly had for some time an interim reply from Clare, deferring an immediate visit. He urged Clare to visit the following week if he could (BL Egerton Manuscripts, Eg.2250, fo.196).

He then moved on to say that he had just finished reading Clare's last volume of poems. For his part Clare had apparently praised Gouger for certain poems that had recently been printed in *Blackwood's Magazine* followed by the initials RG. Robert reported that these were not his work but that Blackwood's had published 'some little things' of his in the past. He had submitted nothing recently to Blackwood's but had passed some verse of a 'fanciful kind' to his friend Gillson, a gentleman living at Oakham. Gillson, with its variant spelling Gilson, was the surname of a prominent Rutland family. The most likely candidate is John Cole Gillson, shown on the 1836 Oakham enclosure map as owning a stretch of land between High Street and South Street, Oakham, abutting on Bedehouse Row (ROLLR MA/EN/A/R35/1).

Curiously, Robert said that his main interest in poetry had more recently been supplanted by his study of old documents, investigating particularly the charities of Oakham and the abuse thereof.

In late 1829 the *Stamford Mercury* of 4th December gave Oakham readers an indication of Robert Gouger's new field of activity. A small advertisement featured 'A Letter from Sydney, the principal town of Australasia. Edited by Robert Gouger. Together with the Outline of a System of Colonization'. It could be bought at H Mortlock of Stamford for six shillings.

Two years later a large gathering at Oakham would unconsciously play its part in deciding the eventual use of the silk manufactory. 'A congregation of not less than 2000 persons assembled on

Sunday last in the Riding-school at Oakham, where the Rev. W. Tiptaft, B.A., Vicar of Sutton Courtney, Berks, delivered a powerful sermon on the necessity of spiritual regeneration. The reverend young preacher, who is of the respectable family of his name resident at Braunston, in Rutland, has a most fluent delivery, (somewhat too rapid to give full effect to his matter,) and he engaged his auditory for nearly two hours without tiring them. His doctrine is of the school of high Calvinism' (*SM* 23rd September 1831). The Riding School at Oakham has since become Rutland County Museum. It was large enough to accommodate in 1831 a crowd of biblical proportions, unusually numerous for the time and place.

William Tiptaft (1803-64) was born at Braunston. His sister Deborah Ward Tiptaft married William Tomblin Keal, a surgeon like his father, and it is probable that William Tiptaft was staying with his sister and brother-in-law on the Market Place when he spoke at the Riding School. In November 1831 Tiptaft formally seceded from the Established Church of England and relinquished his living at Sutton Courtney (today Sutton Courtenay, Oxfordshire). He went on to build the Abbey Baptist Chapel at Abingdon, Oxfordshire, and became minister there. His friend Joseph Charles Philpot (1802-69) seceded from the Established Church in 1835, resigning his Fellowship of Worcester College, Oxford, and relinquishing his curacy at Stadhampton, Oxfordshire. Tiptaft, Philpot and others of similar persuasion, several connected with Oxfordshire and Oxford University, would later be termed The Seceders. In both cases their letters of resignation were published (Tiptaft's to the Bishop of Salisbury and Philpot's to the Provost of Worcester College, Oxford). If the doctrines of high Calvinism are elusive today, there was strong contemporary interest. Philpot's letter of resignation ran to seventeen editions (Carter 2001, 298).

Chambers (1963, **4**, 114-15) explains the Oakham sequel to William Tiptaft's sermon or address at the Riding School. William Tomblin Keal, Tiptaft's brother-in-law, began to hold services and readings at his own house. In 1833 he bought the building in Westgate known as 'The Factory', converting it to a chapel named 'Providence'. Worshippers continued to call it 'The Factory'. The address in 1833 would have been Bedehouse Row, not Westgate Street, a much later re-naming. The Bedehouse Row address for the chapel, and by implication for the factory that preceded it, recurs in several commercial directories of the 1850s and 1860s.

This account differs in detail from others already reported, dating the Riding School sermon 1832 and giving 'twisting of raw silk' as the previous use of the building. Nevertheless, the general sequence of events seems clear. Nor is there good reason to disbelieve the *Stamford Mercury* of 13th February 1835 which stated that the chapel had been opened the previous Sunday by Mr William Tiptaft. He enjoyed large congregations, morning and afternoon.

Tiptaft's letter of 5th December 1833 to William Tomblin Keal makes plain that his brother-in-law had by then acquired 'a chapel', albeit not the finished article (Philpot 1931, 206). Keal and his wife, and his three sisters, 'pooled their resources … to convert two floors of a derelict silk-factory … into a Calvinist chapel' (Philpot 1931, 76). The need for conversion helps to explain the delay from building acquisition in 1833 to official chapel opening in February 1835. It is also possible that the chapel was used before the official opening day.

In 1836 Philpot came to Oakham and in 1838 he married the eldest daughter of Mr W T Keal. The same year, 1838, he became joint minister at Providence Chapel, Oakham and at North Street Chapel, Stamford. The Stamford chapel was opened in 1834, again by William Tiptaft. Much as at Oakham, it was his preaching that stimulated a Stamford surgeon, John George de Merveilleux, to erect the chapel at his expense. Mr Philpot's joint appointment in 1838 followed 'a unanimous call from the friends both at Oakham and at Stamford to become their settled minister' (Philpot 1867, 125). Philpot stayed as joint minister until 1864 (Chambers 1963, **4**, 115-17). This account is a simplification of a more complex story told in the first two volumes of *The Seceders* by Philpot's son (Philpot 1931, 1932).

The precise configuration of the 1830s Oakham chapel is unclear. What happened to the two unused factory floors? In 1843 Mr Keal and his wife underwent a ceremony of public baptism by immersion, implying an immersion chamber by that time (*SM* 10th March 1843). The chapel also had a gallery (Philpot 1867, 94).

At the 1851 religious census, Mr Keal, deacon, submitted the return, stating that the chapel was a 'separate building, exclusively used for worship'. It provided seating for 400 and standing for 30. The average monthly attendance was 1,132 (Tomalin 2002, 77, census reference 419/29). Attendance was unevenly divided between well attended preaching Sundays and less well attended reading Sundays when Mr Philpot preached at Stamford. The seating was open, with neither pews nor seat rents (Philpot 1867, 76).

A new Providence Chapel was built in the mid 1860s close to the intersection of John Street and New Street, Oakham, not far from the High Street. This continued in use until *circa* 1969-70 when it closed (personal information from Mr David

Oldham, former Minister, North Street Chapel, Stamford). The building then had various interim uses and survives, converted to apartments but carrying an 1865 date stone. As for the old chapel, post 1865, the trail has gone cold, hopefully not permanently.

The narrative has come back to its starting point of Oakham. If Robert Gouger were to return to Oakham today, he would still be able to recognise many of its buildings. The crooked course of Bede-house Row is preserved in Westgate Street but the original silk manufactory of the 1820s, converted to a chapel, is no more to be seen. The Oakham enterprise was not a success but Robert Gouger was not deterred by adversity and went on to notable achievement.

**Acknowledgements:**
Tim Clough, Robert Ovens & Sheila Sleath of Rutland Local History & Record Society; Pauline Collett; Dr D F Cram, Fellow, Jesus College, Oxford; Dr Dorothy Johnston, University of Nottingham; Professor Brian Dickey, Flinders University, Adelaide, Australia; P M Gouger; Yvette Gunther, Head Librarian/Archivist, Nottingham High School; Giles Hopkinson, Stamford; Miss M Hyde, Gospel Standard Baptist Library, Hove, East Sussex; James Frieland, Development Control, Rutland County Council; Michael Key; George Mackie, Stamford; W S Murray, Oakham; D Oldham, former Minister, North Street Chapel, Stamford; Mrs J H M Rissi; Dorothy Ritchie, Local Studies Library, Nottingham Central Library; Professor Alan Rogers; Adam Shaw, National Co-operative Archive, Manchester; Stamford Library; Stamford Museum; Mrs E M Swaby; Peter Tomalin; Bob Williams, Stamford Town Hall.

**Abbreviations and sources:**

| | |
|---|---|
| BL | British Library |
| DHC | Dorchester History Centre, Dorchester, Dorset |
| HB | Hall Book, Borough Archives, Stamford |
| LAO | Lincolnshire Archives Office |
| NA | Nottinghamshire Archives |
| RCHM | Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) |
| ROLLR | Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland |
| *SM* | *Stamford Mercury* |
| TNA | The National Archives |

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# Rutland resources at the University of Nottingham

CORINNE FAWCETT

*Fig. 1. A medieval deed of 1338-9 relating to Cottesmore from the Middleton Collection (Mi D 3675).*

The Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections at the University of Nottingham has a range of material which may be of interest to *Rutland Record* readers. The Department is part of the University Library service, and used to be located in the Hallward Library on the green and leafy main campus at University Park. However, in 2006 we moved a short distance to Lenton Lane, to a building formerly occupied by Central TV Studios, and our manuscript store now occupies one of the old recording studios, previously used for such programmes as *The Price is Right*, *Supermarket Sweep*, and *Auf Wiedersehen Pet* (so far, no ghostly apparitions of Leslie Crowther…).

Our holdings include manuscripts and archives, old and rare published works, and a loanable local history collection for the East Midlands.

***East Midlands Collection***

The East Midlands Collection is a collection of books, pamphlets and periodicals relating to the counties of Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, and to the East Midlands as a region. The Rutland element is still comparatively small, although information will also be found within books in the Leicestershire section. Periodicals include *Rutland Magazine* (1903-12), and *Rutland Record* (1980 to the current issue). Older material, including all items published prior to 1850, and rare items have been transferred to the East Midlands Special Collection, and are not kept on the open shelves. We are keen to expand the stock, and are happy to receive information about new publications, both small and large. All items are catalogued on the University of Nottingham Library Online Catalogue (UNLOC), which can be seen at http://aleph.nottingham.ac.uk/ALEPH.

> *Search tip: To search the catalogue, simply enter a keyword (which could be a place name such as Oakham, Rutland etc. or a subject term) and then use the Filter facility and choose East Midlands Collection from the list of Special Collections.*

Most of the items can be borrowed by members of the University Library, and all can be consulted for reference by University members and the general public.

***Manuscript collections***

Most of our manuscript collections have an East Midlands provenance, and there are many references to Rutland places and people amongst them. For example, family collections can contain correspondence, accounts, or information about land-holdings which relate to a wide geographical area. Catalogues for many of the collections are now available online, and can be found at http://mssweb.nottingham.ac.uk/catalogue/.

> *Search tip: It is possible to perform keyword searches of the catalogue. Under the heading 'Search the main catalogue' choose the option 'Catalogue records', and use the free text field to enter search terms.*

A catalogue search using the term 'Oakham' brings up 9 pages of results, including such diverse items as:

- *Records of the Oakham Gas and Electricity Company Limited, 1917-1945.*
- *Copy of the will of William Drury of Oakham, Rutland, 1760.*

- *Two colour slides of stocks at the Butter Market, Oakham, Rutland (H 63; Sept 1979).*
- *Letter from Dr Francis Armstrong, Oakham, Rutland, to [W.H.C. Bentinck] 3rd Duke of Portland; 22nd Sept 1772.*
- *Records of the Oakham Branch of East Midland Region of the Workers Educational Association; c.1944-52.*

The Middleton Collection probably holds the earliest Rutland material, with deeds relating to Cottesmore, Uppingham, and Martinsthorpe dating from the thirteenth century. The illustration shows Mi D 3675, the Cottesmore deed, which dates to 1338-9. It is quite a short document, with a small wax seal. Knowledge of Latin and palaeographic skills will be needed to work with this material.

The text of the actual documents is not available online, but the manuscripts can be viewed in our Reading Room which is open to the general public, as well as to university staff and students

***Special Collections of published works: Oakham Parish Library***

Church libraries were once common, but most of those surviving have now been transferred from parish custody to record offices or major libraries, to give greater access for readers, and better environmental conditions of storage. Thus the University holds Oakham Parish Library, which it acquired on deposit from Peterborough Diocese in 1980.

The original part of the Library of Oakham Parish Church was bequeathed to the church in 1616 by Lady Anne Harington of Exton [*see* p384 above – *Ed*]. Anne Herbert, who catalogued the library in 1978, suggested that this original bequest of books probably belonged to Lady Harington's son John, who was reputed to be a great scholar at Cambridge, and who died in 1613-14 (Herbert 1978, 1982). Over the years that followed the library was added to by the church. The surviving Collection, as transferred to the University Library in 1980, numbers around 150 volumes, of which about seventy items probably date back to the Harington bequest. They are almost all in Latin and printed in Continental Europe in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The subject matter of these, and of most of the collection, is very largely theology, church history and canon law. The collection is now catalogued online on UNLOC, and can be searched or browsed.

*Search tip: to browse the collection, on the Basic Search screen select 'Special collection' in the Field to Search drop-down menu and enter 'Oakham Parish Library' as your search term.*

***Website***

If you are interested in finding out more about our collections, please do take a look at our website at http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections/index.aspx. The section on Collections and Catalogues is a brief introduction to the collections we hold, with links to the catalogues. More detailed background and supplementary information relating to our major collections can be found in the section Collections in Context.

We also have information of a more general historical interest. Have you ever had difficulty understanding the weights or measures used in a document, or interpreting a deed? We have developed some research guidance modules to help readers using historical documents. These include Dating Documents, Weights and Measures, Accounting Records, Deeds, Manorial Records, and Maps and Plans. They are illustrated with documents from our collections, but are valid for researchers anywhere in the country.

Before you leave our website, you may like to look at the online exhibitions and digital gallery. We mount several exhibitions each year to promote our collections to the University and the local community, and from these we are creating 'online exhibitions' to give access to the wider national and international community. Recent exhibitions include 'Laxton: farming in an open-field village', 'From Parchment to Pixels: collections at the University of Nottingham', and 'A Literary Legacy: DH Lawrence at the University of Nottingham'.

We have also created a digital gallery of images from our manuscripts and rare printed collections; this is expected to increase steadily, as we add more material. At present, most of the images are of photographs or artworks, and they can be browsed or searched.

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***Contact information***

Readers wanting further information about our collections are very welcome to contact us. Not all of our collections have yet been catalogued online, so please do enquire if you think we may be able to help. We require new readers to show us some identification, and we can then register you and provide you with a reader's ticket.

Manuscripts & Special Collections, University of Nottingham, King's Meadow Campus, Lenton Lane, Nottingham, NG7 2NR.

Email: mss-library@nottingham.ac.uk. Tel: 0115 9514565.
Opening times: Mon-Thurs: 9am to 6pm; Fri: 9am to 5pm; Saturday morning once a month.

# Rutland History & Archaeology in 2009

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:

| | |
|---|---|
| ARCUS | Archaeological Research & Consultancy, University of Sheffield (now disbanded). |
| APS | Archaeological Project Services, The Old School, Heckington, Sleaford, Lincolnshire, NG34 9RW. |
| NA | Northamptonshire Archaeology, 2 Bolton House, Wootton Hall Park, Northampton, NN3 8BE. |
| OASIS | Online AccesS to the Index of archaeological investigationS. |
| RCM | Rutland County Museum (MDA code: OAKRM). |
| RLHRS | Rutland Local History & Record Society. |
| ROLLR | Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland. |
| *RR* | *Rutland Record.* |
| ULAS | University of Leicester Archaeological Services, University Road, Leicester, LE1 7RH. |

## I – Archaeological Fieldwork during 2009

Short reports, arranged in alphabetical order by parish

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

**Ashwell, The Old Hall** (SK 865139)
Further investigations (see *Rutland Record* **28** & **29**), carried out by staff of Archaeological Project Services for Ancaster Properties Ltd (Midland HR), were undertaken in and adjacent to the Scheduled Ancient Monument of medieval settlement and post-medieval garden remains alongside the Old Hall at Ashwell. Features probably associated with garden landscaping, perhaps terraces, were revealed. A post-medieval pit was also encountered. Additionally, a complex of intercutting ditches and gullies, together with a posthole, was recorded. These contained assemblages of Saxo-Norman and medieval pottery. Archive: RCM 2009.16.

*Andy Failes*

**Beaumont Chase** (various NGRs)
Field walking at King's Hill Lodge farm by the RLHRS Archaeological Team on '35 Acres' (SP 840988), 'Crabsale' (SP 8444993), and 'Newgates' (SP 846993) has now completed the survey of the farm. The six Roman sherds collected may be significant considering the dearth of pottery seen on this survey. Flint material continued to be found, some as old as the Mesolithic, and even older with possible Upper Palaeolithic blades present: however, specialist identification of these finds has yet to be undertaken. Archive: RLHRS R88, R96, and R99.

*Elaine Jones*

**Belton in Rutland, The Old Hall** (SK 81550137)
Groundwork and structural alterations were monitored by APS on behalf of the Robert Weighton Partnership for Mr J Browett. Previous investigations at the 17th century hall, thought to be on the site of a medieval manor, revealed post-medieval remains. Observation of the groundwork revealed a large medieval pit that had burnt sides, perhaps indicating its use in some form of undetermined industrial process such as bell casting, though there was no evidence of mould or bronze casting dross. Probable yard and path surfaces likely to be of post-medieval date were revealed on the N side of the hall. Within the hall itself an early mortar surface was revealed in the W corridor. Otherwise, all the ground level floors appeared to be 19th-20th century in date. Upper floors were probably mostly of this period and a mortar floor in one room was inscribed 'SP 1833'. Archive: RCM 2009.15.

*Gary Taylor*

**Bisbrooke, St John the Baptist Church** (SP 887996)
Early church foundations were seen during a watching brief by the RLHRS for Bisbrooke PCC when a new ground source heating system was installed. When the church was rebuilt in 1871, the site had been levelled and remains of the earlier building lost or destroyed. During the 2009 work the 1871 floor was removed, revealing 'footprints' of the medieval church in the chancel and nave. The old pier bases had been retained to support the 19th century columns. A 'rammed earth' floor had been cut by later alterations, and a short section of an early south nave wall was seen beneath a pier base.

Outside in the churchyard, metre-deep pipe trenches were cut, showing the build-up of soil layers by the N aisle on the down slope. The transition from the white Lower Lincolnshire Limestone within the churchyard curtilage to the red Northampton Sand Ironstone in the 'secular' car park was noted. Substantial stone blocks protruded into the pipe trench from beneath the tower – these may have been part of an earlier structure, but they could have been blocks reused by the Victorians for the tower foundations. A second area of stone building blocks lay 5m from the NW church gate, perhaps part of an early lich gate, but two Roman potsherds were found nearby. Archive: RLHRS R93.

*Elaine Jones*

**Great Casterton, 3-8 Main Street** (TF 001089)
ULAS undertook an archaeological evaluation of 3-8 Main Street, where plans for residential development were proposed. Three evaluation trenches were machine-excavated within the garden of no 3, where less disturbed areas would be impacted on. All of the trenches showed evidence of archaeologically significant remains. Trench 1

within the front garden uncovered evidence of post-medieval cottages which originally occupied the site prior to the present houses being built. Trench 2 uncovered undisturbed medieval deposits containing re-deposited Roman material at depth and Trench 3 contained extensive *in-situ* stone-built structures, one of which was possibly Roman in date. Archive: RCM 2009.8.

*Gerwyn Richards*

**Manton, Hollytop House, Lyndon Road** (SK 883047)
An archaeological evaluation was undertaken by ULAS prior to submission of a planning application for the construction of housing. Archaeological features encountered consisted of two possible medieval quarry pit features. Archive: RCM 2009.18.

*Dr Roger Kipling*

**North Luffenham: Sculthorpe**
The Leicestershire & Rutland Historic Environment Record showed the deserted medieval village of Sculthorpe at SK 925028, in the parish of North Luffenham, identified through field names, references in Domesday Book and earthworks (which were confined to an area defined by a survey by R F Hartley (*The Medieval Earthworks of Rutland: a survey* (Leicestershire Museums 1983)). A research project analysed the landscape of the river valley and argued that the secondary sources used to identify this location were misrepresented. Analysis of the literary and cartographic sources suggested that Kilthorpe at SK 986033, in the neighbouring parish of Ketton, is the actual location of Sculthorpe. Excavation at the North Luffenham site provided dating evidence and indicated a possibly outlying farmstead but not a deserted medieval village. Documentary evidence, earthworks and standing buildings provide strong evidence that the Ketton site is the location of Sculthorpe. This is an ongoing project: the preliminary work formed part of a dissertation for an Archaeology and Landscape History degree (Anglian Ruskin University, Peterborough).

*Debbie Frearson*

**Oakham, Vale of Catmose College, Cold Overton Road** (SK 85180914)
Following evaluation in 2008 (*RR* **28** (2008), 364-5), an open area excavation on 0.8ha of land at the Vale of Catmose College was conducted by NA, on behalf of Rutland County Council, before the construction of new school buildings and drainage improvements on the former sports field.

From the middle Iron Age there were two settlements: one was excavated and the other has been preserved *in situ*. The excavated site was a small open settlement, probably containing four roundhouses, although not necessarily contemporary. The best preserved example contained a narrow and shallow wall slot terminating at deep doorway postholes. The final arrangement included a D-shaped enclosure. The pottery is dominated by storage jars, some in scored ware. It is suggested that occupation spanned the 2nd to 1st centuries BC. Finds included fragments of one saddle quern and several rotary querns, a triangular loomweight and limited evidence for iron-smithing.

In the early 1st century AD, a boundary division was introduced. At least two roundhouses were present into the early Roman period. The dividing ditch was retained until the mid-2nd century, when there was a new arrangement created respecting the earlier alignment. In the 3rd and 4th centuries a small Roman settlement comprised a rectangular sub-enclosure, layers of domestic debris and two wells. These were probably related to a timber house for which all direct traces had been lost. A small assemblage of ceramic roof tile survived. A single inhumation burial lay nearby. Domestic items included a scalpel, tweezers, a lead weight and fragments from rotary querns.

*Jim Brown and Jason Clarke*

**Ryhall, The Rosery, Essendine Road**
In August 2009 Elaine Jones and Deborah Sawday, the post-Roman ceramics specialist at ULAS, looked at a collection of clay ridge tiles in the yard of Sandy and David Ellis, a Colleyweston slater. The tiles had been retrieved by David Ellis throughout his work and retained for possible reuse. They had come from roofs in Peterborough, Stamford, and Oakham and the surrounding area. Deborah Sawday examined 13 examples and thought that the fabric of 12 of them pointed to the Bourne area of production and that they were late medieval in date (c1375AD+) – there were probably another 20 pieces around the yard. Sizes varied from 15 to 19 in and they were generally tapered at one end. The tiles were moulded and many had been poked with a pin or something perhaps to let the air out of the clay during firing or maybe for air circulation in the dwelling. Most had applied continuous strips pressed along the top crest with pronounced thumbing on either end. Many were decorated on their side with combed wavy lines or sub-circular swirls. Some had an over-fired olive greenish and black glaze. Archive: RLHRS R95.

*Elaine Jones*

**Uppingham**

*Fig. 1. Silver penny of Stephen, Leicester mint, moneyer Simun, from Uppingham (photo: Tim Clough).*

A medieval silver penny of King Stephen (1135-54) was found near Uppingham (North 1994: type 898) and recorded through the Portable Antiquities Scheme (LEIC-0534D2). The coin (fig. 1) is a rare type minted in Leicester during the period known as the 'Anarchy', the war of succession following Henry I's death in 1135. The coin is quite worn and was also poorly struck, the latter a common trait for all of Stephen's coinage. It was produced with locally-made dies rather than ones supplied from London. The obverse shows a bust, facing three-quarters to the right, but the inscription here is illegible. The reverse shows a central lozenge containing a pellet, surrounded by four fleurs all within a tressure of eight arches. The inscription reads S[ ]M[ ]N:ON LE (Simun of Leicester). Very few of these coins are known, especially with precise location details, and so it is an interesting and important addition to our knowledge of the circulation of coinage during a most turbulent period of English history.

*Reference:*
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*John Naylor, Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum of Art & Archaeology, Beaumont Street, Oxford, OX1 2PH*

**Uppingham** (SK 852005, SK 854009)
Castle Hill field was field walked by the RLHRS Archaeological Team in March 2009, and the laying of the new Uppingham Town Cricket pitch was also watched. Pottery, iron slag, and flint material were collected and archive reports will be forthcoming. Archive: RLHRS R91, R92.

*Elaine Jones*

**Wing, St Peter & St Paul Church**(SK 894029)
On behalf of Wing PCC, a watching brief was undertaken by C Moulis of APS on the line of a path and area of groundworks for a root barrier. It revealed three areas of interest. A retaining wall associated with a family vault (dated to 1852) was revealed just N of the church nave. To the NE of the chancel was the former N-S churchyard wall. An area of dumped deposits was also identified in the NE area of the churchyard. Medieval finds recovered during the work consisted of an unstratified sherd of pottery and a piece of iron smelting slag. Other finds included a tombstone dated 1825, 19th-20th century pottery, glass and industrial residue, mainly from the area of dumped deposits. Archive: RCM 2009.1.

*Andrew Failes*

**Negative watching briefs and evaluations in Rutland**

***Langham:*** 11 Bridge Street (SK 84261112) (ULAS).
***Little Casterton:***
'Godfreena', Main Street (TF 01890985) (APS).
***Oakham:*** 26-28 Northgate (SK 85910893) (ULAS).
***Wing:*** (SK 890033) (ARCUS).

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## II – Historic Building Recording during 2009

*Note: Unless otherwise stated, these reports have been submitted by Nick Hill and result from an ongoing independent research programme on Rutland houses; detailed survey and analysis have been completed with the kind permission of the owners, and it is intended to lodge copies of reports at RCM in due course.*

**Belton in Rutland, The Old Hall** (SK 81550137)
See also Archaeological Fieldwork, above.

**Burley on the Hill, Burley House** (SK 88391019)
An assessment of the S wing at Burley House was carried out by NA to record the wing as it is now, prior to any work being carried out. The house was built *c*1700 by Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham, replacing an earlier house which was destroyed during the Civil War. The house was built in brick and faced with stone. Two-thirds of the house was damaged by fire in 1908, after which it underwent restoration. The study area comprised the interior of the S wing of the Grade I listed mansion house, which was converted into flats in 1992. OASIS 72885.

*Tim Upson-Smith*

**Clipsham, Park House** (SK 96981661)
A buildings recording action was carried out by NA at Park House, Clipsham, to record a late 19th-century farm building before it was re-converted into a house. The survey demonstrated that the building formed an integral part of a late 19th-century estate, as engine room, sawmill, wood workshop and stables. The buildings are all of one build with the exterior walls being coursed Clipsham limestone rubble, with a fine limestone lintel and sill course and fine limestone detail around the stone mullioned windows. The interior dividing walls of the buildings are of red brick. The floors are concrete throughout. The roofs are all Colleyweston slate. Within the gables are pairs of vents with fine limestone surrounds. OASIS 72943.

*Tim Upson-Smith*

**Langham, 34 Well Street** (SK 84201115)
On behalf of Mr P Green, V Mellor of APS carried out a programme of building recording and a watching brief prior to and during the construction of an extension to a building within the curtilage of a Grade II Listed Building of 18th century date in the historic core of Langham. The building, which is recorded on the 1841 tithe map, was of coursed, roughly squared rubble. There were indications that the building extended further to the north, or that there had previously been another structure attached to the north side. There were no clear indications of date for the building, which could be contemporary with the main 18th century house. No archaeological remains were identified during the watching brief. Archive: RCM 2009.2.

*Victoria Mellor*

**Langham, Yew Tree Farm** (SK 843112)
This house has a rear wing which, unexpectedly, turns out to be earlier than the main building. The rear wing appears to be of 17th century date, and must have formed part of a larger house, of which no other trace remains. The building was transformed in the earlier 18th century, when a large, regularly planned three-room house was built at the front. The new building incorporated a number of up-to-date pine fittings to the interior, with the rear wing retained for service use.

**Lyddington, 3 The Green** (SP 875971)
The current W gable of this house preserves a pair of stone doorways with Tudor arched heads which led eastwards into the service end of a late medieval house, dating from around the later 15th century. The cross passage and open hall of this house have disappeared, and the service end has been replaced by the existing later building, so only the gable end wall survives *in situ* from the original medieval house. However, the roof timbers of the original medieval hall, of clasped purlin type with some smoke-blackening, are probably re-used over the existing building. The original house was rebuilt in the 17th century, with unusual double inglenook fireplaces to the E gable, probably for use as a bakehouse. A much larger purpose-made bakehouse was added to the E gable around the late 18th century, though this was converted to domestic use in the 20th century. There is documentary evidence for the construction of a substantial bakehouse in Lyddington in 1509, which may have been in the vicinity of 3 The Green, with the use perpetuated in later centuries. However, the surviving early fabric was clearly built as a house, not a bakehouse.

**North Luffenham, Bede House Farm** (SK 933034)
This is one of the most complete surviving medieval houses in the area. Following the recognition of the house's importance by Elizabeth Bryan, tree-ring dating was carried out in 1991 by Robert Howard of Nottingham University. The recent recording and research programme has been assisted by Professor Alan Rogers, who was able to identify the medieval owners of the property, in connection with documentary research he has undertaken on the history of Browne's Hospital in Stamford.

The fine solar cross-wing, with a cruck-framed roof and original first-floor fireplace, has been tree-ring dated to *c*1395-1424 and was probably built by John Leuk, for his own occupation. The cross-wing seems to have had a further cruck-framed structure attached to its NW, a secondary chamber of some sort. The hall range was added in 1433, presumably replacing an earlier hall. This range was built by Peter Fyssher, a yeoman of Wakerley, for occupation by tenants rather than himself. The range incorporated a small open hall, a cross passage and a service end. The hall was originally open, with a fine arch-braced truss, with tenoned purlins. At the service end, there was a stairway up to another chamber over the service rooms, which also had an arch-braced roof. The property was acquired by William Browne in 1482, and passed on to Browne's Hospital in 1494. The open hall was later floored over and two large inglenook fireplaces were inserted, with further rebuilding and repairs in the 18th century.

**Oakham, 15-17 Gaol Street** (SK 859087)
ULAS was commissioned by M G Evans & Co to undertake an archaeological standing building survey at 15-17 Gaol Street, Oakham. Planning permission had been granted for the demolition of two outbuildings S of 15 Gaol Street. The survey indicated that these were essentially late 19th century in date, most likely cart sheds, but included elements of earlier buildings. Despite their rather modest size and appearance, the outbuildings exhibit a rather complex history, with evidence of at least three builds, re-modelling and evidence of at least one, or possibly two earlier buildings. An examination of cartographic evidence including the Cullingworth Map of 1787 [ROLLR DE3443 (DG7)] suggests that these earlier elements, most notably the W wall, may be remnants of the County Gaol which originally stood to the N of the proposed development area, and of an 18th-century building to the S. Archive: RCM 8.57.

*Gerwyn Richards*

**Preston, Uppingham Road** (SK 87210231)
A programme of desk-based assessment and historic building appraisal was undertaken for Mr T Davis by V Mellor of APS. In addition to indicating the potential for prehistoric and Roman remains in the area, the desk-based research indicated that the site was in the historic settlement core and various post-medieval structures, including a smithy and a well, had been located on the site. Examination of the building indicated that parts of the main core were of coursed ironstone rubble and likely to be of late 18th century, date. Two ground floor windows within this section of the building retained panelling of probable Georgian date. There was also a series of later 19th and 20th century extensions. Archive: RCM 2009.12.

*Victoria Mellor*

**Ridlington, Park Farm** (SK 833018)
Although much rebuilt, Park Farm still contains the core of an earlier building, a hunting lodge dating back to the 16th century. It was probably built by the Harrington family in 1550-1600, replacing an earlier medieval lodge, perhaps around 1567 when it is noted that timbers were obtained for repairs. A map of the Park in 1624 indicates that the lodge was a substantial establishment. The deer park and lodge were abandoned after 1622, and the building is noted in the Hearth Tax entry of 1665 as 'The Parke Lodge' and described as 'Empty & ruinous'. Only half of the original building shown on the 1624 map survives. This is a thick-walled structure, which probably had a three-room plan. There was a good stone fireplace at one end and an inglenook fireplace with a timber chimney at the other end. A stone bay housed a spiral stair for access to the first floor. Between 1666 and 1675, the building was restored and occupied by the Swan family, with a new roof structure of this date. The Swans and their successors were strong Quakers, and the Lodge served as one of the principal Quaker Meeting houses in the area. Around the early 19th century, major alterations, upgrading and extension was undertaken, probably by John Burgess. A separate stone-built Quaker Meeting House was constructed at this time, though this was demolished soon after 1870.

**Ryhall, Green Dragon** (TF 035108)
The early vaulted cellar at the rear of the Green Dragon Inn, Ryhall, has been known as an exceptional survival for many years, but has not been recorded in detail until now. The two-bay cellar is thought to be of 13th century date and is quite small, measuring 3.4m (11ft) wide by 4.9m (16ft) long. It is vaulted with plain-chamfered quadripartite ribs which terminate in moulded corbels. At one end there is an original stone doorway with a segmental arched head. The building which stood over the cellar has been lost, and the main surviving building is of much later date. However, an outbuilding to the rear contains the remains of a large arched opening at a raised level, which must be related somehow to the cellar. The building formed the site of the original manor house of Ryhall, though it was later eclipsed by the Hall, a short distance to the S. The original function of the cellar and the room over it within the medieval manorial complex is difficult to deduce. It is unlike other examples of chamber blocks raised over an undercroft of the period, as it is much smaller and the cellar itself is set well below ground.

**Seaton, Manor House** (SP 902982)
This building is the principal surviving manor house of Seaton. A brief inspection indicated that it was rebuilt around 1640-70, but there are indications of an earlier building, probably dating from the later 16th century. The original house may have been built by George Sheffield soon after he acquired the property in 1568. This building had a lateral chimneystack, with walls of thinly coursed rubble and ironstone dressings. It seems likely that the surviving house is only a small part of a much larger original building. The rebuilding of *c*1640-70 was probably undertaken by Peter Tryon after he bought the manor in 1646, or by his son James. It is distinguished by a fine crow-stepped gable, an unusual feature in the area, clearly built for show. The house was given a symmetrical front and mullioned windows, with fine fireplaces inside. Once again, it seems likely that the 17th century house was considerably larger than the surviving block of this date. Further extensions to the N and NW were added in the later 19th and 20th century.

**Seaton, Manor Farm Barns** (SP 90229820)
Action was carried out by NA at Manor Farm Barns to

record two traditional late 19th-century farm buildings before they were converted into offices. The survey demonstrated that the buildings formed an integral part of a late 19th-century farmstead, as a stock shed and probable stable. The buildings which made up the elements of the farmyard were all of one build with the exterior walls being coursed limestone and ironstone with brick detailing around the doors and windows; all of the doors and windows had segmental red brick arches over and bull-nosed brick sills. The bricks forming the jambs of the door and window openings were bull-nosed, as were bricks on the corners of the building. The interiors of the buildings were white-washed red brick. The roofs were all originally Welsh slate, although part of the western range had been partially covered in corrugated iron. OASIS 72881.

*Tim Upson-Smith*

**Uppingham, The Little Crooked House, 4 Hope's Yard** (SP 867997)

Set back off the High Street in one of Uppingham's yards, this house conceals an earlier building inside its later exterior. Probably dating from the 16th century, the original house had an open hall, with a roof of clasped purlin type. The roof structure indicates that the original building extended further to the E, probably housing the service end. A surviving fragment of a timber-framed partition to the rear shows that there was an attached wing to the NW, with subsidiary chambers serving the main bedchamber on the first floor. The ground floor walls would have been of stone, but it is possible that the upper front and rear walls were timber-framed.

In the first half of the 17th century, the open hall was floored in and a very fine stone fireplace was built to the main first-floor chamber, with a large inglenook below. The N wing was later reconstructed in stone, and stone-work gradually replaced any other remaining timber-framing. During the 18th century, the original cross passage became an open passageway serving the yard. A fire in the 19th century may have led to loss of the service end, which then passed into separate ownership and was redeveloped.

# III – Other Reports for 2009

*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) 525158 (appointments and enquiries); (01522) 526204 (other enquiries). Fax: (01522) 530047.
Website: www.lincolnshire.gov.uk/archives.
E-mail: lincolnshire_archive@lincolnshire.gov.uk.

Opening times: Mon: (Mar-Oct) 1pm-7pm, (Nov-Feb) 11am-5pm; Tues-Fri: 9am-5pm; Sat: 9am-4pm. Closed on UK public holidays, Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve. Appointments for microfiche viewers and study tables are necessary to ensure space in the search room.

No relevant Rutland material was reported for 2009.

## Northamptonshire Record Office

Northamptonshire Record Office, Wootton Hall Park, Northampton, NN4 8BQ.
Tel: (01604) 762129. Fax: (01604) 767562.
Website: www.northamptonshire.gov.uk./community/record+office.
E-mail: archivist@northamptonshire.gov.uk.
Opening times: Mon: 10.30am-4.45pm; Tues, Wed: 9am-4.45pm; Thurs: 9am-7.45pm; Fri: 9am-4.15pm; Sat: two mornings a month, 9am-12.15pm. Contact the office to confirm Saturday opening dates.

No relevant Rutland material was reported for 2009.

## 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.
Email: recordoffice@leics.gov.uk.
Website: www.leics.gov.uk/recordoffice.
Opening times: Mon, Tues, Thurs: 9.15am to 5pm; Wed: 9.15am to 7.30pm; Fri: 9.15am to 4.45pm; Sat: 9.15am to 12.15pm.

***Archival Accessions, April 2009 – March 2010***

Some 15 archival accessions from Rutland were logged in the period under review. They include DE7678, which would be a priceless photographic record of non-conformists in Uppingham if only the portraits were all identified. It contains a curious portrait of two men in apparently genuine 'Red Indian' costume. DE7741 includes the bound correspondence of the organiser of a South African War fund-raising event – revealing some interesting responses from local dignitaries. DE7798 is a curious printed record, with MS additions, of land and rights transfers in the wake of enclosure, and DE7799 includes slides taken by the well-known local author Hugh Collinson of church monuments and other items. A full list of this year's accessions appears below.

We continue to add Rutland documents and accession cards from our considerable historic backlog onto our on-line catalogue, as time and resource allows. At least another 69 items with Rutland in the title or description have been added to the catalogue from backlog collections, and 101 backlog accession cards have been added during the last year. A search for 'Rutland' on the online catalogue now yields 517 entries, a number which will increase from month to month.

DE7666: Deeds to the George, the Unicorn Inn, and Crown Yard, Uppingham, 18-19th C.
DE7674: Belton-in-Rutland parish records (additional), including: registers of marriages, 1837-1995; burials, 1813-1977; and services, 1952-90; faculties, 1934-38; etc.
DE7675: Wardley parish records: register of marriages, 1838-

1952; quinquennial report, 1949; notification of listed building status, 1986; plan of churchyard extension, 1865; restoration fund account book, 1897-1911; etc.

DE7676: Leicestershire & Rutland rates and community charge valuation tribunals records: minutes and records of decisions, 1949-2005.

DE7678: Photograph album of Miss Annie Perkins of Uppingham: containing cabinet and *carte-de-visite* portraits of unidentified subjects, presumably family and friends of Miss Perkins. The album also includes a group photograph taken in front of the Ebenezer Chapel and views of the Congregational Chapel and Manse in Uppingham. Most of the photographs are by W J W Stocks of Uppingham, others are by Burton of Leicester and Copeland of Oakham. One is a portrait of two unidentified men wearing feather head-dresses and exotic costume. There are accompaying notes, attempting some identifications, by Peter Lane, of Uppingham. 1851-90.

DE7720: Records of HM Coroner for North Leicestershire & Rutland: Inquest records, 1991-2001 (including the Kenny Case, 2006-2008) and Post Mortem reports, 1997-2001.

DE7741: Ephemera and correspondence of R B Watts, schoolmaster and organist, of Uppingham, 1899-1921.

DE7746: Lyddington Parish Council records: minutes, 1894-1990; financial records, 1940-1981; general correspondence, 1961-90; and miscellaneous files, including Home Defence Plan, 1978-82, 'Undergrounding', reading room, playing field, cemetery, etc.

DE7756: Deeds to property in Whissendine, 1789-1908, and to the Red Lion, Oakham, 1782-1884.

DE7764: Empingham WI records: minutes, 1932-60; agendas, 1984; record books, 1932-90; programmes, 1971 & 1983-2000; etc.

DE7766: Photographs of Pilton, Sproxton (Leics) and Waltham (Leics) quarries, 1960-68.

DE7798: Volume recording claims and amendments to claims arising from the enclosure of Lyddington, Caldecott & Uppingham; printed claims to lands or rights in Lyddington, Caldecott and part of Uppingham, arising from the Enclosure Act of 1799; with MS notes as to costs, changes of ownership etc. Including MS notes re Corby (Northants) enclosure, etc. *c*1820s-30s.

DE7799: Leicestershire & Rutland churches photographs: photographic prints of churches, taken by Drusilla Armitage and Jonathan Wilshere, *c*1977, and 35mm slides of monuments and other architectural features, taken by Hugh Collinson, *c*1975-80.

DE7813: Declarations and associated correspondence of the High and Under Sheriffs of Rutland, 2009.

DE7822: Portrait photographs of the Wing family of North Luffenham: copies of studio portraits of the Wing family, including William Wing (Sheriff of Rutland, 1866). One original photograph of Mrs William Wing and her daughter Mary in a pony cart. With a CD of the scanned copies. *c*1860s-1910s.

***Local Studies Library accessions***

Some 301 items relating to Rutland were added to the Library's stock during the period April 2009 to March 2010, including 69 books and pamphlets, 220 newspapers and periodicals, and 12 items of ephemera. Around 420 items have been indexed from the *Rutland Mercury* and the *Rutland Times*. In August 2009, we received around 4,500 Ordnance Survey maps dating from the earliest 1st editions to contemporary maps, covering Leicestershire and Rutland, generously donated by the Ordnance Survey Office directly in two substantial deposits. This will undoubtedly fill some of our gaps in the map collection for Rutland. These are some of the highlights of the year:

O'Reilly, John, *156 Parachute Battalion: from Delhi to Arnhem*. An in-depth look by a local Oakham author at events including Operations Pegasus I & II, and details of the Battalion's billet & training in Rutland (pp80- 81).

Fray, Rob, et al, *Birds of Leicestershire and Rutland* (2009 edition). A weighty volume which now includes more records on the larger Rutland Water reservoir than the previous volume published in 1978 (one year prior to the filling of Rutland Water in 1979), plus increased areas of nature reserves. There are some excellent colour and black and white photographs, and an analysis of species breeding, growth or decline in population numbers.

Butt, Stephen, *Rutland through time* (published 2010).

Among the year's interesting reprints were:

Newman, William, *Surgical cases: mainly from the wards of the Stamford, Rutland and General Infirmary* (1881). Includes gruesome accounts of operations performed, and their varying success rates.

North, Thomas, *The church bells of Rutland: inscriptions, traditions, and peculiar uses; with chapters on bells and bell founders* (1880). Illustrates the rather grim fact that the 'death knell' often rang out the age of the deceased, plus '3 rings for a male in honour of the Holy Trinity' with only '2 rings for a female' (in honour, apparently, of the fact that 'our saviour was born of a woman').

It is hoped to resume talks and tours of the Record Office to all library staff from Rutland, as well as from Leicestershire, during the coming year.

***Conservation, April 2008 to March 2009***

During the period of this report, nine Rutland items were dealt with by Conservation, and advice and information provided about the Exton collection (DE3214) for a funding bid, and about other Rutland collections (including Finch, DG7) which will be the subject of a Rutland volunteers' project this year.

The highlight of the year was the work done for the Ketton charter and great seal of 1594. Boxes were made for transporting and exhibiting this document in time for the major celebratory event at Rutland Museum with the visit of HRH The Duke of Gloucester in June 2009.

Conservation volunteers have become an important part of the work of the Conservation Unit, helping with basic cleaning and encapsulating of documents and maps, and also sorting out collections to check for conservation needs. We have been fortunate to be allocated funding to support an apprenticeship at the Record Office this year, and Oliver Grudgings started work with us in January 2010. One of the unique parts of his NVQ training is an introduction to the basic principles and ethics of archive conservation. He has been working on a collection and has learnt about cleaning and encapsulating paper items.

***Outreach work***

One of the Record Office's exhibitions, *The Forgotten Front: The Women's Land Army,* was seen in Oakham Library from 26th August to 15th September 2009.

Attempts to form contacts between the Record Office's education and learning contact officer, Jeanette Ovenden, and Rutland secondary schools have so far failed to materialise. A short questionnaire with a link to the recently completed WW2 resource on our website was sent out during the year, as was an offer of free induction sessions

for pupils at the Record Office in September 2009 without any responses. However, working with Emily Barwell, Local Studies librarian at Oakham library, who was a member of the now disbanded education forum at the Record Office, Jeanette hopes to continue to feed through information about teaching and learning resources and using archives in the classroom to Rutland schools.

We gave five talks to Rutland groups during the year, including the Leicestershire & Rutland Gardens Trust, and 121 people heard these talks. One Rutland student came to the office for work experience during summer 2009 and we certainly gained much from her enthusiasm and ability – we hope she gained as much from her work with us.

We recorded 804 visitors to the office from Rutland, and we continue to deal with a regular stream of enquiries about Rutland resources at the Record Office. During the period under review we dealt with 226 postal/email enquiries and 144 telephone enquiries which were specific to Rutland archives, but this discounts enquirers who were asking about both Leicestershire and Rutland matters. One particularly interesting (and difficult) enquiry concerned references to Cardinal Newman within the Exton collection – this was a 3-hour piece of work!

*Margaret Bonney, Chief Archivist*

## Rutland County Library Service

Oakham Library, Catmose Street, Oakham, Rutland, LE15 6HW.
Tel: (01572) 722918.
Fax: (01572) 724906.
Website: www.rutland.gov.uk/libraries.
Email: libraries@rutland.gov.uk.
Opening times: Mon, Wed, Fri: 9am-7pm; Tues, Thurs: 9am-5pm; Sat: 9am-4pm .

***Local Studies Service***

This last year has been busier than ever for the Local Studies Service. There have been further significant changes in the service this year, the most visible of which is the amalgamation of the Oakham Library, Rutland County Museum, and Rutland Local History & Record Society local studies collections. It is intended that this move will reduce duplication of stock (including new acquisitions), and services, whilst providing Rutland customers with the convenience of having one major location to go to for accessing local and family history resources. The move has involved the transfer of over 1600 items of book stock to the museum alone so far, some of which were previously located in the reserve, and with more to follow. Dedicated hard work from staff has ensured that the move has been achieved with as little disruption to the service as possible. A loan collection, the bulk of the reserve, electoral rolls, and the hard-copy newspaper archives are still maintained at Oakham Library.

This year has also seen, for the first time, the purchase of a subscription to Ancestry Library Edition by Rutland Library Service. This resource which has been frequently requested by our family history users, is now available for customers to access for free from any Rutland Library, and will shortly be available for customers in the new Local Studies Centre at the Rutland County Museum.

***Cataloguing and Conservation***

The project to index and cross-reference the Oakham Library map collection was completed early this year. Since then we have been fortunate to receive a collection of county series maps from the Ordnance Survey which is now housed at the new local studies facility at the museum.

In total we received approx 626 maps of varying scales, very few of which duplicated our existing holdings. The entire collection will now need indexing and cross-referencing for ease of access, and this will be a long-term task. Further back-cataloguing of the reserve collection has been put on hold whilst reference and loan stock has been relocated to the museum – a large cataloguing task in itself.

***Education***

Our partnership activities with the museum in producing loan boxes for schools has been temporarily put on hold this year due to the Local Studies move.

***Acquisitions***

This year we have continued to purchase books, and other materials, relating to Rutland and the surrounding area to complement our collections. Though we still endeavour to purchase as much as possible that is newly published on the local area, we have witnessed a decline in available published material which we have attributed to the economic downturn. Consequently very few items have been published on Rutland particularly, in comparison with other years. This year 126 items have been acquired for the collection including one or two antique items: plans for a wrought iron screen for Cottesmore RAF chapel, and Braunston Church chancel plans.

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

We continue to work closely with the Record Office, particularly with the co-ordination of new acquisitions and the scanning of Rutland newspapers onto film.

*Emily Barwell, Principal Librarian*

## Rutland County Museums Service

Rutland County Museum, Catmose Street, Oakham, Rutland, LE15 6HW.
Tel: (01572) 758440. Fax: (01572) 758445.
Website: www.rutland.gov.uk/museum.
E-mail: museum@rutland.gov.uk.
Opening times (Rutland County Museum & Oakham Castle):
Tuesday-Friday, 10am-5pm; Saturday, 10am-4pm;
Sunday & Monday closed (open Bank Holiday Mondays).
Closed at Christmas, New Year and on Good Friday.

***Rutland County Museum***

The Museum service has several successes to report on for the last year. Firstly we were awarded Accredited Museum status from the Museums, Libraries & Archives Council in July 2009. The national Accreditation scheme sets standards for how museums care for and document

their collections, how they are governed and managed, and on the information and services they offer to their users. Attaining the Accreditation standard increases the profile of Rutland County Museum and fosters public confidence in Rutland's museum service as an institution which holds its collections in trust for society.

We are also happy to report a substantial increase in visitor figures at both RCM and Oakham Castle. We have welcomed over 55000 people to RCM and OC which represents a 10% increase in attendance. We attribute this success to the varied programme of events, exhibitions and Live @ the museum performances we have hosted in the last year. These have included a very popular and nostalgic 'Summer Holiday' exhibition at the museum and 'Inspired', a display of local artists and makers.

It is fitting that these successes come in the year of a triple celebration for local heritage in Rutland. The Friends and the Museum celebrated their 50th and 40th anniversaries and RLHRS celebrated its 30th anniversary. HRH The Duke of Gloucester made a special visit to RCM in June as part of the 'Big Birthday' to unveil the Museum's most recent and precious acquisition 'The Great Seal of Ketton' and Oakham Castle once again became the site of Norman encampment with re-enactors demonstrating the perils of Norman life.

The education programme was launched in September 2009 and now features a wide range of workshops including Egyptians, World War II, Victorians and Local Traditions. Many schoolchildren have participated in the workshops and their success has led to similar workshops being hosted in the school holidays.

The Live @ the museum programme has gone from strength to strength with 23 cinema and 14 live events hosted at the Museum. The EMDA funding that has enabled us to improve our facilities for events has also resulted in new shop fittings at both the Museum and Oakham Castle. The revitalisation of the shops has been developed under the leadership of the new Retail and Visitor Services Manager, Katie Wilkins, following the retirement of David Poore.

***Oakham Castle***

The Castle has benefitted from the installation of new grounds lighting and it is hoped that this will help guard against the disappointing increase in anti-social behaviour and vandalism which we experienced last year. We have managed to retain the Heritage Lottery Funding for investigations into a conservation programme for the Castle walls and this will be a major piece of work for the next year.

***Acquisitions***

We have added to our social history collections this year with some 20th-century material. These include a PYE radio (1960s), a book of motor car petrol coupons (1957), and a box of Robin Starch (1950s) which will feature in the 2010 shopping exhibition 'Kir-Ching!'. We are also delighted to be able to add a collection of milking items from Empingham Coach Road Farm to the Museum and these will complement the permanent displays. We also received a bequest from Mary Roope of maps, paintings, and household items. Other acquisitions include an early 1900s First Aid kit, a collection of Victorian clothes and Conservative campaign material for the 1929 general election – just in time for the 2010 general election!

*Victoria Newton-Davies*
*Audience Development Manager*

## Rutland Historic Churches Preservation Trust

Contact information:
Secretary: Clifford Bacon (clifford_j_bacon@yahoo.co.uk)
Website: www.rhcpt.co.uk

Registered Charity No 211068
Give As You Earn Reg No 000101080
Inland Revenue Identification No NAK 60 JG

Rutland Historic Churches Preservation Trust exists to provide financial assistance to the 63 churches and chapels within the County of Rutland, whenever they may need help for conservation and maintenance. 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 the Ride and Stride event in September 2009, from a number of kind and generous donations from Rutland Parochial Church Councils, to whom we are most grateful, and from a legacy. The Ride and Stride event , taking place on one of the finest days of the 2009 summer, was a most successful and much enjoyed affair. The individual cyclist winners visited 60 churches. In the striding category one walker visited 17 churches and raised £402, and the team winners visited 43 churches and raised £1,400. The Davenport-Handley Cup was presented to the individual winner after our AGM on 17th May 2010. In total £18,500 was raised, which was divided equally between the Trust and individual churches named by the participants. The total funds raised were some £3,000 lower than the 2007 figure, which serves to remind us that we are now in competitive economic times, and depend upon the continuing generosity of our benefactors.

In 2009-10 grants totalling £28,500 were made as follows: Ketton, St Mary the Virgin, repairs to stained glass windows; Manton, St Mary, repair/replace wooden window frames in chancel; Preston, St Peter & St Paul, repairs to stone- and wood-work of tower; Teigh, Holy Trinity, repairs to top of tower; Uppingham, St Peter & St Paul, major roof repairs.

As and when the Quinquennial Reports are issued we are encouraging the parochial church councils to contact us for financial help so that they may complete the recommended work promptly. The National Churches Trust is introducing a new Partnership Grants Scheme whereby additional funds will be accessible to the County Trusts from 2011, sourced by the National Churches Trust. This new scheme is in recognition of the increasing need for individual fabric preservation grants up to £10,000 and of the anticipated contraction in other sources of funds during this economic recession.

We are very pleased to report that the newly appointed Bishop of Peterborough, The Right Reverend Donald Allister, has accepted an invitation to join our Trust as a

Trustee and Vice President. We look forward to benefitting from his knowledge and experience, and we welcome him to our Trust.

We wish to record our grateful thanks to our Acting Secretary, Mr David Houghton, who retired in September 2009, on the appointment of the new honorary secretary and trustee. Mr Houghton was responsible for designing and creating the new website for our Trust, which has proved an enormous benefit for our administration and communication. We also welcome, as a new trustee, Mr Howard Phillips, who succeeds Mr John Saunders, to whom we also record our grateful thanks. The Trust also wishes to record its thanks to the Treasurer and Secretary, for their services during the past year.

Our next Ride and Stride event will be in 2011, and in the meantime we confidently look forward to receiving the continuing favour of our benefactors, and to providing every support to our Rutland churches.

*Clifford Bacon, Honorary Secretary*

## Rutland Local History & Record Society

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

Website: www.rutlandhistory.org.
Email: enquiries@rutlandhistoyr.org.

This has been a year of consolidation following the considerable effort that went into the successful Heritage of Rutland Water project. *Rutland Record 29*, published during the year, had a substantial emphasis on the clerical profession in Rutland during the nineteenth century. The macroscopic picture was painted by Gerald Rimmington; in contrast, Paul Reeve concentrated specifically on the career of Thomas Kaye Bonney. Nick Hill examined in detail Old Hall Farm and Martinsthorpe House. We expect that 2010-11 will see a renewed increase in the Society's publishing activity.

Either on its own, or in conjunction with the Friends of the Rutland County Museum, the Society staged a number of outstanding lectures. Attendances for lectures held at the Rutland County Museum continued to be healthy, and there was an improved attendance for the Bryan Matthews Memorial Lecture at Uppingham School in which Professor Keith Snell discussed rural history and landscape painting in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The George Phillips and Tony Traylen Awards evening once again drew a good audience to Oakham to see the prizes presented by the late Alan McWhirr and to hear the talk on Ketton Stone by Alan Curtis.

In September 2009 the Society's guided walk, led by Robert Ovens and Sheila Sleath explored Ridlington Park. Led by Kate Don, the Archaeological Group continued to brave the elements for their regular field walking programme. The Historic Environment Group, under the auspices of David Carlin and Chris Wilson, continued to monitor planning applications in Rutland in order to alert the local authority in the case of insensitive building or rebuilding.

The Society expressed firm support for the Record Office's bid for funding to catalogue the important Exton MSS collection, which is rich in Rutland material but is not yet fully accessible.

*Mike Tillbrook, Chairman*

***Archaeological Activities***

In June 2009 Kate Don was invited to speak to the South Luffenham archaeological group about the Romano-British town at Thistleton and the villa at Market Overton. In the same month Kate lead a guided historical walk around the village of Market Overton and published 'Market Overton, a walk through times gone by'. Field walker Debbie Frearson gave a talk at Rutland County Museum in July entitled 'How to discover the history of your house', and in August Kate gave a guided tour of Market Overton church and churchyard to a group from the University of the Third Age (U3A). As museum volunteers, Kate and Debbie staged an exhibition in July entitled 'How clean was your Roman' at RCM as part of the activities associated with the National Archaeology Festival.

The Archaeological Team is grateful to the farmers and landowners who allow field walking to take place on their land, amongst them Joe Nourish and Robert Scott. The field walking season is inevitably confined to the winter months and field walkers turn out in what can be cold and wet conditions. This season the team comprised Carol Bancroft-Turner, David Carlin, Alan Clark, Kate Don, Debbie Frearson, Jo Holroyd, Rob Hutchins, Clive and Elaine Jones, Jasmine Knew, Jenny McConnell, Hugh Stiles, and Derek Wilkinson. Without their endeavours such basic, fundamental, reconnaissance archaeology would not get recorded and we would understand less about the archaeology of our beautiful county.

*Kate Don & Elaine Jones*

## Uppingham Local History Study Group

Website: www.rutnet.co.uk/ulhsg.

Email: ulhsg@fsmail.net.

The group, started by Prof Alan Rogers in 2000, currently has 17 members, who meet in each other's homes usually once a month. After Alan left to live in Norfolk, Julia Culshaw led the group; Julia resigned in April 2008, having successfully launched two books on Uppingham in Living Memory: Part 1, *Uppingham at War*, in 2005, and Part 2, *Uppingham in Peacetime*, in 2007. Details of these and the Group's other publications, and how to order them, will be found on the website.

We occasionally invite speakers to our meetings. In February 2008 local farmer John Tabram spoke to us about his memories of shops, trades and businesses found in Uppingham when he was growing up. Mike Frisby came and told us about the Langham Village History Project in March which the group has researched since 1990 with the help of Lottery funding and has led to the

publication of a book on Langham in the 18th century.

We enjoyed a visit from Kate Don in September 2008 who informed us about the remains of a substantial Roman town within the parish of Market Overton and Thistleton. The site is on Fosse Lane, linking Ermine Street and Fosse Way. She illustrated her talk with a selection of finds from the site.

In October 2008 we had a fascinating insight into the life of Uppingham School with a talk from Charlie Menzies who became Head Porter in 2001. He told us that the duties had altered and developed since Thring created the post in 1859.

One of our members, Roy Stephenson spoke to us about H H Stephenson (no relation) who was a famous cricketer. Roy introduced John Oakley of Bisbrooke, H H Stephenson's great grandson, who showed us a great collection of memorabilia. Roy's book on H H Stephenson was launched in November 2009.

Another of our members, Margaret Stacey, researches interesting members of the Methodist Church and publishes small illustrated booklets. Her most recent publication is *Mary Drake and the Missionary*.

Nick Hill has spoken to us on old buildings in Rutland in the splendid setting of "The Little Crooked House" in Uppingham, which belongs to one of our members. Vivian Anthony has published an excellent History of Allexton. We are fortunate to have such accomplished members of our group and a very knowledgeable secretary in Peter Lane who produces excellent notes for us – invaluable if you have to miss a meeting!

*Helen Hutton, Leader of ULHSG*

## IV – Rutland Bibliography 2009

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

Anthony, Vivian, *Survival of a Village: the history of Allexton* (Stamford: Spiegl Press, £16.50, ISBN 0902544624).

Broadbent, Lucy, *What's love got to do with it* (London: Little Black Dress 2008, £5.99, ISBN 9780755345229) [Clipsham author].

Broadbent, Lucy, *A Hollywood affair* (London: Little Black Dress 2009, £5.99, ISBN 9780755345243).

D'Arcy, Robert James, *Memoirs and Records of the Northamptonshire and Rutland Militia* [1873] (Kessinger 2009, no price, ISBN 9781104346430).

Esdaile, Andrew, *Esdaile's Rutland Monuments: with a description of Bottesford Church and parish* [1845] (Kessinger 2009, £10.09, ISBN 9781104123833).

Fray, Rob [et al], *The Birds of Leicestershire & Rutland* (London: Christopher Helm 2009, £40, ISBN 9780713672336).

Furlong, Prisca, *Gardens for Contemplation* (Louth: Imp-Art Publications 2009, £9.99, ISBN 9780951481073) [Includes Barnsdale and Artdejardin (at Wing)].

Gosling, Peter & Anne Huscroft, *How to be a global grandparent: living with the separation* (Oakham: Zodiac Publishing 2009, £8.99, ISBN 9781904566847) [Mr Gosling is a Ketton author].

Gosling, Peter, *The Quest for Speed* (London: Kuperard 2009, £6.95, ISBN 9781857334968)

Grindley, Nick, *Common Sense Conservatism* (Uppingham: Nick Grindley 2009, £3.95, ISBN 9780956400901) [Uppingham author].

Healy, John, *The last days of steam in Leicestershire and Rutland* (Stroud: The History Press 2009, £14.99, ISBN 9780752453248).

*Life and Families of 17th Century Langham* (Oakham: Langham Village History Group 2009, £9.99, ISBN 9781907097003).

Mitcham, Terry, *50 Rutland Birds* (Stamford: Spiegl Press 2008, £7.50, no ISBN).

Newman, William, *Surgical Cases: mainly from the wards of the Stamford, Rutland and General Infirmary* [1881] (Kessinger 2008, no price, ISBN 9781437058536).

North, Thomas, *The Church Bells of Rutland: their inscriptions, tradition, and peculiar uses; with chapters on bells and bell founders* [1880] (Kessinger 2008, no price, ISBN 9781437380347).

O'Reilly, John Patrick, *From Delhi to Arnhem: 156 Parachute Battalion* (Thoroton 2009, £42, ISBN 9780956044402) [Rutland author].

Rippin, Maurice, *A Rutlander... At home and abroad* (Swithland Books 2008, £4.95 ISBN 9780956062604).

[Duke of] Rutland, John Henry Manners, *Rutland Papers: documents illustrative of the courts* [1842] (BiblioBazaar 2009, £16.99, ISBN 9780559946097).

*Rutland, Uppingham School roll of war service 1824-1913* [CD-ROM] (S & N Publishing 2008, £17.45, ISBN 9781847274243).

Stephenson, Roy, *H H Stephenson, a cricketing journey: Kennington Oval to Uppingham School* (Uppingham: Uppingham Local History Study Group 2009, £8, ISBN 9780954007669).

Stretton, John & Peter Townsend, *British Railways Steam: the final years 1965-1968* (Great Addington: Silver Link Publishing 2008, £30, ISBN 9781857943207) [includes Seaton, Uppingham & Stamford branch lines].

*The Construction of Rutland Water: the story of the construction of one of Europe's largest man-made reservoirs, now providing a vital source for Anglian Water* [DVD] (Huntingdon: Anglian Water 2009, £8.49).

Tonks, Eric, *Ironstone Quarries of the East Midlands: History, operation & railways. Pt 7: Rutland* (Nottingham: Book Law Publications 2009, £15.99, ISBN 9781907094064).

Ward, Barry, *The Nelson Conspiracy* (YouWriteOn.com 2009, £7.99, ISBN 9781849234016) [Oakham author].

Webb, Nigel, *Rutland Non-Conformist Chapels and Meetings: a summary topographical survey and bibliography relating to reports of meetings and places of worship of Protestants, Non-Conformists and Roman Catholics (post-Reformation) in Rutland* (2009, electronic file available online at http://www.rutlandhistory.org/localresearch.htm).

Wells, Gerry, *Growing up in Sussex: from schoolboy to soldier* (Oxford: Isis Publishing Ltd., 2009, £17.95, ISBN 9780753195406) [Langham author – large print item].

# RUTLAND LOCAL HISTORY & RECORD SOCIETY

Registered Charity No. 700273

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

*Rutland Record* 1 (£1.00 post free)
Emergence of Rutland; Medieval hunting grounds; Rutland field names; Illiteracy in 19th century Rutland

*Rutland Record* 2 (£1.00 post free)
Archdeacon Johnson; Thomas Barker's weather records; Rutland Agricultural Society; Rutland farms in 1871

*Rutland Record* 6 (£1.50, members £1.00)
Transitional architecture in Rutland; Family of Rutland stonemasons; Restoration of Exton church

*Rutland Record* 7 (£1.50, members £1.00)
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Iron smelting; Saxon archaeology; Stilton cheese; Oakham in 1871; Rutland Hotel, Wanganui

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Byrch's charity; Maj-Gen Robt Overton; 50-52 High St, Uppingham; White Hart, Uppingham

*Rutland Record* 18 (£2.00, members £1.50)
Earthworks at Belton-in-Rutland; Peter de Neville; Oakham gallows; Buckingham's house at Burley

*Rutland Record* 19 (£2.00, members £1.50)
Anne Barker; Exton and Noel family; 14th century Rutland bacon; Emigrants to Australia

*Rutland Record* 20 (£2.50, members £2.00)
Rutland castles; Medieval site at Barrowden; Mompesson and Rutland inns; George Phillips

*Rutland Record* 21 (£2.50, members £2.00)
Mary Barker letters; Anton Kammel, musician; Uppingham School and Borth, 1875-77

*Rutland Record* 22 (£3.50, members £3.00)
Religious Census 1851 (pt 1); Exton churchyard

*Rutland Record* 23 (£3.50, members £3.00)
Tinwell Roman coins; Ridlington Park; Lord Ranksborough; *Notitia Parochialis* 1705; annual reports

*Rutland Record* 24 (£3.50, members £3.00)
Medieval wool trade; Ketton quarries; Religious Census 1851 (pt 2); annual reports

*Rutland Record* 25 - *Rutland in Print: a bibliography of England's smallest county* (£3.50, members £3.00)
Compiled by J D Bennett: full bibliography to 2005, with subject index and index of publishers

*Rutland Record* 26 (£3.50, members £3.00)
Rutland and Gunpowder Plot; Uppingham's typhoid outbreak; Rutlanders in 1851 Census; annual reports

*Rutland Record* 27 (£3.50, members £3.00)
Rutland Militia; Railways in Rutland; Hunters & gatherers of Uppingham Plateau; annual reports

*Rutland Record* 28 (£4.00, members £3.50)
Late 15th century wills; Lady Charlotte Finch; Thos Hotchkin of Tixover; shorter notes; annual reports

*Rutland Record* 29 (£4.00, members £3.50)
Victorian clerical incumbents; The Ven T K Bonney; Martinsthorpe House; annual reports

*Index of Rutland Record 1-10*, compiled by John Field (1994) (£2.50, members £1.50)

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

## Rutland Record Series

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

2. *The Weather Journals of a Rutland Squire* ed John Kington (1988). Thomas Barker's 18th century weather, farming and countryside records, with introduction (now £5.00, members £3.50)

3. *Stained Glass in Rutland Churches* by Paul Sharpling (1997). Complete survey & gazetteer; introduction; lists of glaziers, subjects, dedicatees, donors, heraldry (now £5.00, members £3.50)

4. *Time in Rutland: a history and gazetteer of the bells, scratch dials, sundials and clocks of Rutland* by Robert Ovens & Sheila Sleath (2002). Definitive account of dials, clocks and bells of Rutland (now £10.00, members £7.50)

5. *The Heritage of Rutland Water* ed Robert Ovens & Sheila Sleath (2nd imp 2008). History, archaeology, people, buildings, landscape, geology, natural history of Rutland Water area; reservoir construction; sailing, fishing, birdwatching, flora and fauna (£22.00, members £18.00)

## Occasional Publications

1. *Domesday Book in Rutland: the dramatis personae* by Prince Yuri Galitzine (1986) (OP)

2. *The Oakham Survey 1305* ed Allen Chinnery (1988). Medieval survey: population, occupations, topography, customs, and personal/place-name evidence (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, trustees, beneficiaries, and farm at Scredington, Lincs; foundation deed, Gilson's will (£3.50, members £2.50)

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

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

7. *The 1712 Land Tax Assessments and the 1710 Poll Book for Rutland* ed T H McK Clough (2005). Introduction, commentary, transcripts, indexes (£5.50, members £4.50)

8. *Common Right and Private Interest: Rutland's Common Fields and their Enclosure* by Ian E Ryder (2006). Detailed account of Rutland's enclosures, with historical background, case studies, gazetteer and indexes (£7.50, members £6.00)

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)

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The Honorary Editor, RLHRS, c/o Rutland County Museum, Catmose Street, Oakham, Rutland, LE15 6HW, England.
E-mail enquiries: book.orders@rutlandhistory.org.
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