

Rutland Record

Number One 1980

Journal of the Rutland Record Society



The Rutland Record Society

The Rutland Record Society was formed in May 1979.

Its object is to advise the education of the public in the history of the Ancient County of Rutland, in particular by collecting, preserving, printing and publishing historical records relating to that County, making such records accessible for research purposes to anyone following a particular line of historical study, and stimulating interest generally in the history of that County.

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research, writing and publication, projects, symposia, fund-raising and sponsorship etc.

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COVER ILLUSTRATION:

The map reproduced on the front cover is the 'Kitchin and Jeffreys Map of Rutlandshire' uncoloured, 1751, courtesy of Rutland County Museum; Leicestershire Museums Art Galleries & Records Service.

Editorial: The Spirit of Rutland

BRYAN WAITES

Motorists driving into the county of Rutland on a summer's day in 1973 saw, attached to the county sign a notice which said *Rat Race Ends Here*. A little further on there was another notice pinned to a tree, *Save Rutland*. As the motorist travelled through the county he saw several similar notices. If he had been in the area a few years earlier he would have seen notices pleading *Don't Flood Rutland*. What did it all mean? Was there something so precious in this small corner of England that it needed protecting?

Everyone may have heard of Rutland, after all it was England's smallest county but how many had been there? Probably very few and those who had may have passed through only on the A1. Would they have found something special if they had lingered?

At least in the right spot they could see across the county, a distance of only seventeen miles. This was in keeping with the county motto *Multum in Parvo*, much from little. This small county in the heart of the English Shires was a microcosm of rural England. Gently undulating but unspectacular landscape with good arable land in the east and well-wooded pastureland in the west. Quiet, winding, half-hidden country lanes led to brown-stone villages and sleepy market towns. There was little hint of industry except for the eternal chimneys of the Ketton Cement Works on the far horizon. In Oakham and Uppingham, built to a formula it seemed, could be found church, school, market place and High Street in close companionship. The former marked its county town status by the twelfth century Castle Hall full of lordly horseshoes given for a thousand years by visiting Peers of the Realm. It had its Assize Court and, close by, its Butter Cross.

There were too, the stately homes, great public schools and the Cottesmore Hunt contributing to the personality of Rutland. Truly the county seemed an island of Stilton Cheese, Hunt Cakes, County Ale, Ketton Stone and Collyweston Slates 'still largely untouched, still a picture of a human, peaceful slow-moving pre-industrial England with seemly villages, handsome churches, great arable fields and barns . . . one hundred and fifty square miles of unknown England'.

Though you climb up to Rutland from Leicestershire and from the Fens it does not seem so physically distinctive. Nor can you hear a unique dialect, though experts say there is one. Where is the Rutland nose, face or stature? No racial type is evident. Yet there is a fierce patriotism as shown in 1963 when the monster ambition of neighbouring Leicestershire tried to swallow up Rutland. Then, led by its hero Sir Kenneth Ruddle, Rutland won a great victory and kept its independence. A Rutland Victory Ale

was brewed and a victory party held in the grounds of Oakham Castle to mark the achievement.

And why not? For Rutland has a thousand years of history. Once, in Saxon times, it was a Royal Estate, the dower of the Queens of England. As an historic county *Roteland* reached back to the time of King John. As Charles Phythian-Adams shows in this issue, its ancestry may reach even further back into the recesses of time.

So, we begin to see why the *Rat Race Ends Here*. W.G. Hoskins with his ever-perceptive eye wrote that Rutland 'should be set aside at once as England's first Human Conservancy . . . only the human is not protected against incessant noise, speed and all the other acids of modernity'. Well worth saving. But what threats made this necessary?

Rutland was too convenient. Great cities like Leicester, Nottingham and Peterborough were less than thirty miles away. The A1 traversed the eastern corner of the county. There was still a rail link. Quickly it became commuter land. This led to a straightening of roads, disappearance of hedgerows and trees, an increase of poles and wires, more traffic in narrow lanes, houses, houses, houses on the edge of the towns and even in villages. A new kind of society was grafted onto the old.

Rutland became a cosmopolitan county with three aerodromes close by, two public schools vastly expanding. There were more strangers than natives. Then in the late 1960's it was decided to locate Britain's largest man-made lake in the smallest county. Three per cent of Rutland would be covered and it already had one reservoir at Stoke Dry. Would it now become the Lake District of the Midlands?

Royal Assent was given in 1970 and the project was completed in 1976 with a lake the size of Windermere. Early hostility grew into respect and admiration for the well-landscaped feature which actually enhanced and reinvigorated the Rutland scene. Who would have believed that Rutland, eighty miles from the sea, would become western Europe's largest trout fishery, winter wildfowl reserve and international sailing centre? It seemed as though the twenty-first century had arrived but would it hold fast to that which is good?

Whilst Rutland Water was under construction Rutland's independence was threatened again. This time it was national local government reorganisation and many other historic counties fell to the administrative axe. In April 1974, Rutland, therefore, lost its county status but still retained its identity as a District, as it disappeared finally into Leicestershire.

Soon the new county authority introduced its Structure Plan. Would this promote excessive growth or conservation? Again a struggle seemed imminent

but fortunately Planners assisted by public opinion agreed that 'The character of Rutland, moulded by its landforms, its rurality, its attractive and historic buildings and villages, is widely appreciated within and beyond the District. As Rutland's basic role is envisaged as one of positive conservation, the importance of policies to conserve this treasured heritage are obvious'.

Within ten years a series of major environmental and administrative blows threatened Rutland and the population became more mobile and commuterised. Has this crushed or changed the original spirit of Rutland ?

No. It has, in fact, rendered it more tenacious and just as distinctive as before. Commuters are more fiercely proud of its special identity than even natives were. They have formed Civic Societies, an Arts Council, a Rutland Record Society and other community organisations under the old flag of Rutland. They still use Rutland in their address, despite the G.P.O. The development of Rutland Water has added to the special quality and again made the name famous. Rutland is not just 'a tow-path round a lake' as was feared. The careful implementation of District Plans will ensure the trend towards positive conservation. And so, a wonderful thing has happened which might console and encourage other regions of Britain subject to environmental pressures and bombardment: the future and the past can live together, each one can enhance the other. A living spirit, patriotism and regionalism can continue. It can grow so that in a busy inconsiderate world we can yet find psychological refreshment and renewal in our homeland.

With this in mind a group of people met together last year to discuss the foundation of a Rutland Record Society. Their aim was 'to encourage the study and advancement of the history of the ancient County of Rutland, especially by editing and publishing historical records relating to Rutland and to stimulate public interest in historical studies'. They hoped to collect, preserve and catalogue such records and to make them more easily available for study and research.

In May 1979, a well-attended public meeting held in Rutland County Museum, Oakham, approved the constitution of the new Society and elected its officers and council. Already the membership has increased to several hundred and a lecture programme initiated.

The Society believes that a vast body of local enthusiasm and skill exists in Rutland and it is especially anxious to encourage projects and to locate the many private records in villages. Tracking down sources is one activity. Others are transcribing

and indexing records, notably parish registers; researching into Rutland's history and landscape; encouraging people to write articles and to send information to the Editor; co-ordinating all activities which relate to Rutland documentary sources.

An Editorial Committee has begun a publishing programme launched by this first issue of the *Rutland Record*, to be published annually. A *Record Series* will start with the publication of *The County Community under Henry VIII* edited by Julian Cornwall, in 1980. This comprises the Lay Subsidy of 1524/25 and the Military Survey of 1522 which are almost complete for Rutland and give a cross-section of village society at the time.

This will be followed by reprints of early directories and agricultural reports and by the major effort, the publication of the Meteorological Journals of Thomas Barker of Lyndon Hall. Barker was a pioneer weatherman of the eighteenth century and his records are of national importance.

Of course, this needs money and the Rutland Record Society will need all the help it can obtain. Most of all, however, it wants interest and enthusiasm from Rutlanders and others who wish to help the ancient county to survive the administrative surgery of 1974 not only to retain Rutland's special identity but to encourage it to grow even stronger. As Lewis Mumford says, people 'are attached to places as they are attached to families and friends. When these loyalties come together, one has the most tenacious cement possible for human society . . . in the restless movings about of the last two centuries, this essential relation between the human spirit and its background was derided, under-estimated, sometimes overlooked . . . Where men shifted so easily no cultural humus was formed, no human tradition thickened'. Is it not time, before all is lost, to re-establish our links with the past ? To understand its influence ? To renew the bonds between ourselves and our region ? To rekindle the spirit of the past in the environment of the present ?

The Emergence of Rutland and the Making of the Realm

CHARLES PHYTHIAN-ADAMS

Because Rutland was so late in being absorbed into the county-system of early medieval England, it has become almost a commonplace amongst historians to describe the eleventh century district as an administrative anomaly. It will be the main burden of this discussion to suggest an exactly opposite view. When our Midland counties were created, it was they that were anomalous. Rutland, it will be argued, continued largely as it had done before — as a divided unit of a much older system of local administration. What was unique were the circumstances which made for this survival.

The reasoning behind this revision is somewhat technical, and in the space available here it will be possible to summarize no more than conclusions. The reader is asked to remember, therefore, not only that a very detailed discussion of most of these matters has been published elsewhere,¹ but that also, as in every investigation of this kind, the evidence itself is so elusive that all anyone can do is to weigh probabilities.

Our procedure then will be first to define the basic problems surrounding the mysterious nature of Rutland as it emerges into the light of history in the eleventh century. Only then will it be feasible to reconstruct a chronological sequence of possible stages in the district's development before that period. Throughout this discussion, finally, it will be necessary always to look at the fortunes of Rutland in their wider geographical and historical contexts. Without this broader perspective, all local history is meaningless.

Rutland and its neighbours in the eleventh century. The spread of the shire-system of local administration — from Wessex to the Midlands — and the timing of it, are still matters for disagreement amongst historians. Some would argue for an early to mid-tenth century date. Others are more non-committal. A great deal depends on ascribing a period of origin to the shire by shire listing of fiscal assessments known as the *County Hidage*.

In the author's view this evidence should be dated no earlier than 997 and no later than 1016.² What the *County Hidage* seems to show is that, by the time of its compilation, the north-eastern limits of the new shire system were then defined by the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, Warwick, Stafford and Chester. Of these counties, the first three — all of them Scandinavian areas — may have been in existence by 991;³ the latter three, however, may date only from the period 1007 to 1016. Throughout all these regions and to their south and west, it is clear that groups of hundreds (fiscally assessed in numbers of hides) each now

looked not only to their leading local town but also to a twice-yearly shire court (which was presided over by the ealdorman, the diocesan bishop and the king's officer — the shire-reeve or sheriff) to which the king's writs were directed.

Immediately beyond the frontier described in the *County Hidage*, however, still lay a Danish area that was as yet unshired and which was dominated by the Five Boroughs of Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln and Stamford. No doubt the several Danish 'armies' which had settled this region each controlled identifiable tracts of territory which, in certain cases, probably equated with the later county areas. But from an unknown date before 942 the region as a whole had been organised as a confederation. The Wantage code of laws issued by King Aethelred (c.978-1008) demonstrates that here the ealdorman and the king's reeve⁴ operated not at the level of the shire, but at the level of a meeting of *all* the Five Boroughs. Below this level there were certainly courts for each borough and each wapentake (and probably also for each of the small hundreds into which the latter were subdivided), the former being the more important; but the recognised peculiarities of Scandinavian custom which operated over this entire area heavily underlined its distinctiveness, as did its method of fiscal assessment which was based throughout the region on the carucate.

There is much to suggest in fact that it may not have been until as late as 1016 that the territory of the Five Boroughs began to be shired. Lincolnshire, for example, is not likely to date back much beyond its first mention in that year, for in the same entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* a component part of it — the archaic territory of Lindsey — seems to emerge as still separately identifiable under its own ealdorman.⁵ Nottinghamshire too is first mentioned only in 1016; Derbyshire is not so described until 1049 (and in Domesday shared a sheriff with Nottinghamshire); while Leicestershire appears in the documents for the first time as late as 1066-86.

How then does Rutland fit into this changing picture? Domesday reveals a curious situation. The only part of the modern district to be described as *Roteland* in 1086 was a north-westerly area comprising some two-thirds of its extent (Fig. 1). This locality lay unambiguously within the former territory of the Five Boroughs, and its two wapentakes (assessed in carucates) comprised a detached portion of Nottinghamshire. By contrast, the south-easterly strip of Rutland, which was bounded along most of its length by the River Welland, lay in Northamptonshire. Formerly known as the double hundred of Witchley, this hidated area must have looked to Northampton since at least the date of the *County*

Hidage. That this divided control of the district should be traced back to a period well before the Midlands were shired is highly probable. To account for it, therefore, will be a major concern of the discussion which follows.

There is, however, one further preliminary and partly related problem that requires examination. Does the limited Nottinghamshire area, which alone is described as *Roteland* in Domesday, represent the *original* extent of the district? For many reasons which cannot be discussed here, the answer to this question must be in the negative.⁶ More than this, the evidence of Domesday itself strongly implies that at some unknown date, the area of Rutland as a whole must also have included Stamford much of which is said to have lain in *Roteland* in 1086. Even a glance at the map will show that the political peninsula of Lincolnshire on which Stamford stands projects artificially into the otherwise self-contained shape of the modern district, and thus clearly represents an administrative re-adjustment of earlier arrangements. It will be a major premise of the suggestions which follow then, that the original extent of *Roteland* included both the Northamptonshire part of the district *and* the area of Stamford. It is on this unit as a whole that we should focus our attention, as we turn now to what appear to have been the three major stages in its early evolution.

1. Romans and natives

It may seem surprising that a district which is only faintly visible before 1000, should even qualify for consideration as such a millennium earlier. There are however, a couple of extremely suggestive pointers in this respect.

When we look at a map of the Rutland area at this time, two important Roman centres stand out: the substantial town at Great Casterton and the religious site with its successive temples (and possibly attendant markets) at Thistleton. That both of these settlements head greater or lesser agricultural territories immediately appurtenant to them is certain: the *territorium* of Great Casterton, indeed, is unlikely not to have included at least the strategically important 'stoney ford' on the Ermine Street from which a later Stamford probably took its name. What is so striking about these two places, therefore, is their situation in relation to the 'later' boundaries of Rutland. Both of them are sited on the edges of the district, and in a manner which is closely matched elsewhere in the country at large and in the East Midlands in particular.⁷

It is worthy of note that Roman settlements with some claims to an urban or religious status are often to be found near to where Roman roads cross what are usually assumed to be the *later* lines of county

or pre-county administrative boundaries. To take but three examples near to Rutland: the Roman town at Chesterton is sited beside the boundary between Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire; the settlement at Wymeswold on the Fosse Way, with its attendant 'sacred grove' (the Celtic name for which implies a considerable antiquity), lies close by the boundary between Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire; while the *territorium* of the Roman city of Lincoln may well have coincided with the southern edge of the subsequent kingdom of Lindsey.

If such correlations were chronologically late, it would seem odd that those who created these political divisions *de novo* deliberately drew their new boundaries so as to include not the abandoned remains of the Roman past as landmarks, but the *edges* of the territories which surrounded them. An alternative — and to the author, at least — a rather more convincing theory might be that the Romans often deliberately planted settlements of some importance beside *pre-existing* divisions between the Iron Age peoples in question in order to control both feuding and marketing between the tribes concerned. If that be so, and it is only an hypothesis, then the later northern and southern boundaries of Rutland at these points may conceivably reflect the extent of a tribal (possibly Coritanian) unit that is very old indeed.

2. Angles and Mercians

Although it can hardly be claimed that the evidence which emanates from the sub-Roman and early Anglian periods is any more susceptible to firm conclusions than the fore-going speculations, there is nonetheless a body of more numerous 'facts' from which to draw inferences. It is probable, for example, that even before the Roman withdrawal, federate barbarians were already being employed locally: at Great Casterton, for example, 'Anglo-Saxon cremations and late Roman inhumations lay muggy-muggy outside the north defences of the settlement'.⁸ If the new interpretation of early place-name sequences is any guide, moreover, those names ending in *-hām* which are now attributed to the earlier stages of settlement, may be illustrated at Greetham, Clipsham, Luffenham and the lost 'Thornham' (probably the former name of Ayston).⁹ There can be little doubt in fact that by the end of the fifth century the area was already beginning to be colonised from the disembarkation points along the waterways which flow into the Wash.

The distinct groups (some of them under their own princes) who made up these Middle Angles neither comprised nor ever became a composite folk under a recognised royal dynasty. Even after

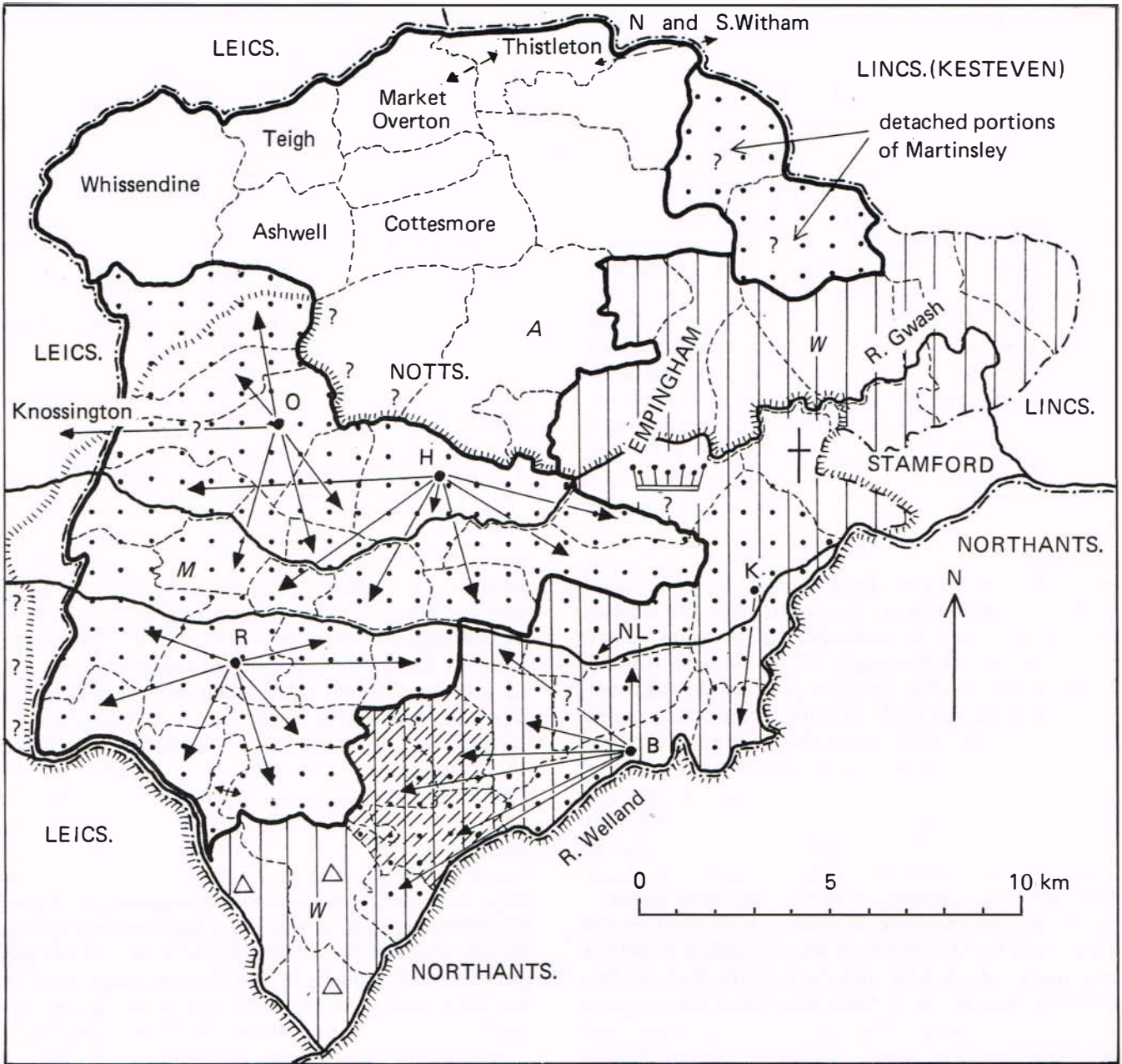
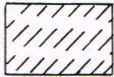


Fig.1 Domesday Rutland and the later bounds of the Forest of Rutland

- | | | | |
|----------|--|---|--|
| ---·---· | present district boundary |  | parishes manorially subdivided between Queen Edith and other tenants in chief |
| ----- | parish boundaries | + | land of the abbey of Peterborough |
| ~~~~~ | rivers | △ | Lyddington and its dependencies held by Bardi T.R.E. |
| | boundary of the Forest of Rutland | ↗↘ | manorial caput of Queen Edith with dependencies |
| — | boundaries of the wapentakes of Rotland | O | O Oakham |
| | Northamptonshire hundred of Witchley (W) | K | K Ketton |
| · · · | apparent extent of lands held by Queen Edith in 1066 | H | H Hambleton |
| ↔ | parishes with inter-related non-royal socland | R | R Ridlington |
| | | B | B Barrowden |
| | | NL | NL North Luffenham |
| | | ☞ | possible location of 7½ hides 1 bovate of 'the King's soc of Rotland in Empingham' |

The Emergence of Rutland

their subjugation to Mercian lordship (probably in the early seventh century), indeed, many of them continued to retain their several identities, as is demonstrated in that remarkable list of peoples owing tribute to Mercia known as the *Tribal Hidage* (best dated to 670-90).¹⁰ The inhabitants of the Rutland area, however, — and significantly — are not identifiable from this document (as is also the case with other groups known to have existed nearby like the *Undalas* of Oundle), but the probable extent of their territory compares favourably with what may be deduced from the numbers of hides out of which tax was rendered by some of the smaller tribes described in it.

Whether or not the district represented a political survival from Romano-British times, it is very likely that such a unit was in existence during the Anglian period. The western boundary of Rutland in particular bears all the signs of an archaic frontier dividing two hostile Anglian peoples. In this well-wooded area, the difficulties of demarcating such a line are well brought out by the place name Flitteris — ‘a brushwood region of disputed ownership’; while further south, look-out points were sited apparently to give warning of attack from the area of the later Leicestershire at Twitch Hill (Ridlington) and at Wardley (the names being derived respectively from O.E. *tōt* and, probably *Weard*). The latter place — which almost certainly boasted a church before the Conquest, had a chapelry in the land below at Belton — a name which may mean either ‘the farm by the warning beacon’ or ‘a farm associated with a space or interval’ — terms that might well be connected with a stretch of no-man’s land or inter-commonable territory. Most suggestive of all is the fact that the area which later became known by the Normans as Beaumont Chase was very possibly called ‘the wood of Thunor’, the pagan god of thunder, in the days before Christianity reached the region.¹¹ The correlation of heathen cult-sites with major political boundaries — as probably dangerous transition points — is well established elsewhere in the Midlands and the south. It is not unreasonable to assume, therefore, that these English frontier names derive from a period long before the arrival of the Danes.

From all that may be deduced about the later history of the region, it seems that it is to this early period that we should probably ascribe the eponymous *Rōta* whose ‘land’ (in the sense of territory or estate) it once was. He certainly seems to have existed in the days before Stamford was severed from the district. Moreover, his name, meaning ‘merry’ (which may have been no more than a nickname) was clearly English not Scandinavian. To have stamped his name on an entire district, he

must have been a man of considerable influence, and he also characterised an area near to its northern frontier known as ‘*Rōta*’s moor’, which overlapped the modern parishes of Teigh and Whissendine. It can have been no accident that, of all the eventual counties of England, Rutland alone took its name from an individual who once knew its acres as his own.

Whoever controlled Rutland at different periods, however, the core of their estate looks like the triangular swathe of territory which stretches from Langham in the north-west, the Eye Brook to the west, and eastwards to Stamford (see the lands of Queen Edith on Figure 1). This *bloc* of land apparently comprised a discrete unit that was run from a number of similar-looking centres, and it emerges into the light of history as the probable earlier extent of the demesne land belonging to the Anglo-Saxon Queens. Later still it developed into Rutland’s part of the royal forest of Leicestershire and Rutland. The retrospective evidence for its subdivision and the differential developments of its two parts during the Scandinavian period, strongly imply its *pre*-existence as a single unit, and it is tempting to associate it originally with the *Rōta* whose territorial power-base it may once have been. Since this estate was undoubtedly in royal hands by the tenth century, however, there is much to suggest that during the ninth century at the latest (and more probably by the date of the Tribal Hidage), it had already passed into the hands of the Mercian kings, who, as we have seen, had by then long exerted their supremacy over the territory of the Middle Angles.

The district as a whole, however, bears many of the marks of having been one of those early administrative units which were known to Bede and his contemporaries as *regiones*. Such units, which preceded the later shire organisation, customarily centred on a royal residence which was seasonally visited by the over-lord king and his council, with a dependent area around it from which food-rents were paid. These were rendered to a separate administrative centre known as the ‘king’s *tūn*’ to provision the royal retinue (many such places later developing into market towns)¹² and in which was also a gaol. In the case of Rutland, at least during the period of Mercian supremacy, it is likely that the kingly residence was situated on the dominating hill-top site of Hambleton, the wealthiest royal centre of Martinsley wapentake in Domesday and, since times beyond memory, the parent settlement of St Peter’s — the mother church of Stamford — which, even by the Norman Conquest was still recorded as having lain in *Roteland*. Whether or not Stamford was the original royal *tūn* for the area, it

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is impossible now to say, but in 1086, by when that town had long been detached from Rutland, the administrative settlement was probably Oakham (where the existence of both a prescriptive market and a gaol are recorded in post-conquest sources). By then too, the royal hall had 'migrated' to the 'town'.

It is suggested, therefore, that by the eve of the Viking invasions, Rutland, (including Stamford) was very probably a possession of the Mercian kings. If that was so, this discussion must now turn to the difficult problem of how, in, or even by, the next century, this area — in the very midst of Scandinavian territory — could possibly have passed to the *West Saxon* dynasty.

3. Mercians, Danes and West Saxons

Long before the Viking host descended on East Anglia in 865, the political balance of power within Anglo-Saxon England had shifted. The great days of Mercia, when Midland kings like Offa had dominated not only Middle Angles, but even Kent, were over. By 851, Aethelwulf, King of a resurgent Wessex, was not only in possession of ex-Mercian dependencies such as Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Essex, and, more recently Berkshire; he also stood alone against the Danish menace once the contemporary king of Mercia had been put to flight. Thereafter Mercia appears to have lapsed into a state of clientage towards the West Saxons: in both 853 and 866 its new king, Burgred, was seeking help from a more powerful Wessex firstly against the Britons of Wales, and secondly, against the Danes. In 854, moreover, he had been dynastically tied to Aethelwulf by marriage with the latter's only daughter, Aethelswyth, at a ceremony which took place significantly enough on Wessex territory. Fourteen years later, Aethelwulf's youngest son, the future king Alfred, was also prudently linked with politically important personages in Mercia through his wedding with Eahlswith, the daughter of Eadburh, a female descendant of the Mercian royal line. By 883, Mercia — now shorn of much territory by the Danes — was ruled, not by a king, but by an ealdorman (Aethelred) who looked to Alfred as his lord, and who, six years later, was more closely tied to Wessex by marriage to Alfred's eldest daughter, Aethelflaed. On Aethelred's death (in 911), Alfred's successor, Edward the Elder, 'succeeded to London and Oxford and all the lands which belonged to them',¹³ thus more or less reducing Mercia itself to its original heart-land under the rule of Aethelflaed. When she died in 918, Edward took care to remove her daughter, now the nominal ruler of Mercia, to Wessex, and was himself thenceforward accepted in her stead. Mercian pretensions to an independent royal house thereby

ceased.

Meanwhile, between 865 and 874, the invasion force of the Vikings had concentrated on controlling a territory that stretched from East Anglia to York. In 872-3, the great army wintered in Lindsey, for the peace of whose inhabitants the Mercians were forced to pay. With the powerfully symbolic occupation of Repton and its monastery — sacred to the burial of the Mercian kings — in the following winter, Mercia itself capitulated. King Burgred was displaced by an English nominee of the Danes, Ceowulf II who, three years later, was forced to accede to the partition of the Mercian kingdom. Lindsey and the Middle Anglian provinces north of the Welland now became Scandinavian settlement areas. In the same year, 977, the Danish host split into two: one, which now concerned itself with the submission of Northumbria from its base at York; the other, eventually under the leadership of Guthrum, which settled in East Anglia. Of the Viking areas between these separate territories, that which was to evolve — either then or later — into the Danish confederation of the Five Boroughs, including most of Rutland, seems to have been the more organised. Not until 918 did it capitulate to Edward the Elder.

The fortunes of Rutland during these turbulent years are obscure, but a number of remarkable facts stand out. First, and unlike all the other territories within the condominium of the Five Boroughs — and particularly surrounding Lincolnshire and Leicestershire — there is very little evidence for Danish settlement in the district. Not a single case of a place-name ending in that characteristically Scandinavian suffix *-by* survives in Rutland. There are only eleven minor secondary (and therefore probably late) settlements whose names end in *-thorp*, and only six of these are compounded with Scandinavian personal names. Though set in the very heart of the Danelaw, and in the immediate shadow of Stamford, Rutland continues as a district which is distinguished by its extraordinary Englishness.

Why was this? Two further items of information together provide at least a context for a possible explanation. As early as 894, we learn not only that the district was already severed from the Danish borough of Stamford, but that by then it was also under the distant control of the Danes at *York*. Aethelweard's *Chronicle* cryptically describes how one of Alfred's Wessex generals, Ealdorman Aethelnoth of Somerset, went to York in that year (either on a punitive raid or for purposes of negotiation) and 'contacted the enemy, who possessed large territories in the kingdom of the Mercians, on the western side of the place called Stamford. That is to say, between the streams of the Welland and the

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thickets of the wood called Kesteven by the common people'.¹⁴ From a topographical point of view, we could hardly look for a clearer description of the land which is so shaped by the tributaries of the Welland: the Eye Brook, the Chater and the Gwash. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that it was this very area that emerges in the later documentation as still detached from Stamford and, indeed, deliberately partitioned between two separate Danish interests other than York which were *independent* of Stamford: on the one hand Nottingham — another of the Five Boroughs; on the other hand Northampton, which never even belonged to the confederation. It is impossible, therefore, to ascribe the origins of Rutland to a still-born Danish 'shire' of Stamford.

Opinions vary as to the timing of these arrangements, but in the author's view they must have been early. If, as seems likely, the absence of Danish settlement is to be connected with the continuing exclusion of Stamford from the district, it is hard to accept that the partition dates from as late as either the submission of the Five Boroughs to Edward the Elder in 918 or their liberation from the Norse by Edmund in 942. By these dates widespread Scandinavian settlement would certainly have occurred. Moreover, if Stamford's connections with Rutland (as noted in Domesday) were later, surely Stamford would have been absorbed into Rutland after 918 or 942 instead of eventually becoming a part of Lincolnshire. Even if we distrust the foregoing arguments for Rutland's pre-existence, therefore, it is difficult to ascribe the creation of the district or its partition to either Edward or Edmund. There are, furthermore, at least two pointers which suggest that the position was of very long standing. The connection with Northampton, for example, clearly antedated the creation of that town's shire (apparently prior to 991), and may even be discovered as early as 917 in the opinion of some scholars.¹⁵ Similarly, the intricate administrative links with Nottinghamshire seem to be traceable to the time when the region of the Five Boroughs was first organised into wapentakes and re-assessed for taxation on the new basis of the carucate. For both these reasons, therefore, there is much to be said for the view that, at some point between 894 and 918, control of Rutland from York was simply replaced by control from Nottingham and Northampton.

In the light of these considerations, then, it would appear necessary to place Aethelnoth's visit to York in a longer perspective. The conspicuous absence of Danish settlement in the district and the continuing severance of it from Stamford, would seem to

suggest that both before and after 894, an agreement between English and Dane which restored the area to the former (although under Scandinavian administration) was deliberately perpetuated. It is tempting, indeed, to relate such an arrangement originally to the event described in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 877 when 'in the harvest season the (Viking) army went away into Mercia and shared out some of it, and gave some to Ceowulf', the quisling thegn who — at the behest of the Danes — had taken over the Mercian kingdom from Burgred.¹⁶ If Rutland was by then a royal Mercian estate, it may conceivably have represented a part of this bargain.

And yet there might seem to have been even more to this unique arrangement than meets the eye. For why should it have been perpetuated long after Ceowulf had left the scene, and long after Mercia had ceased to be ruled by a king? Why should it have been this very area that becomes by the mid-tenth century, part of the traditional dower of the Queens of England? Why, above all, was it necessary for a *Wessex* expedition under one of Alfred's closest colleagues, to be engaged at such a distance in such a side-issue relating to *Mercian* territory? There is nothing to suggest that Alfred was pursuing a policy of West Saxon aggrandisement at Mercia's expense at this time. On the contrary, he appears to have respected Mercia's territorial integrity as a subordinate ally: and even to the extent of restoring London to its control.

In all of these circumstances, the author now tends to the view that only one explanation really resolves these paradoxes. Is it too much to believe that Rutland became the dower of the later English queens simply because it had formerly been associated for an unknown number of years with the endowment of the Queens of Mercia? For this was a matter in which, as we have seen, Alfred himself had a close dynastic interest. Not only was he personally allied by marriage to the royal line of Mercia, but his own sister, Aethelswyth, had been Queen of Mercia for twenty years before apparently going into exile with the deposed Burgred. She, indeed, was still described as 'Queen' in the chronicler's reference to her death at Pavia in 888. In view of the timing, it is perhaps also significant that before another year had elapsed, a new ruler of Mercia, Ealdorman Aethelred, with quasi-regal powers,¹⁷ was now married to Alfred's eldest daughter who could boast her own claims to Mercian royal blood through her mother. Even though Aethelflaed never assumed the title of Queen, she was clearly thought of as such after her husband's death. It is surely relevant that from then she was accorded the title 'Lady of the Mercians', for this

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was the traditional designation used originally of the King's wives of Wessex, who were not subsequently recognised as 'Queens' either then or — on a regular basis — thenceforward into the eleventh century.¹⁸ It may well be, therefore, that just as the Domesday connection between *Roteland* and the parts of it that lay in Stamford seems to have been of very considerable antiquity, so too may Queen Edith, the occupant of these two estates in 1066, herself have been representing a line of queenly predecessors who had claimed similar rights over the district and the town since the days before the Danes. If so, it is just conceivable that Aethelnoth's visit to York was connected with Aethelflaed's claim to the district.

We shall probably never know whether first Aethelswyth and then Aethelflaed were endowed with the profits of Rutland, but the possibility that they were cannot be ignored in any attempt to explain why and how this area of *Mercia* came to be permanently associated with the Queens of the *West Saxon* dynasty.¹⁹ It is at least noteworthy that the gap between Aethelflaed's death in 918 and the earliest *known* association between Rutland and an Anglo-Saxon queen — Aelfthryth who became the second consort of King Edgar in 964²⁰ — could have been spanned by one woman. The obvious candidate for this link is Eadgifu, who married Edward the Elder probably within two years of both Aethelflaed's death and the submission to him of the Five Boroughs, and who survived to at least 966²¹ by which time her grandson Edgar was already married to Aelfthryth. As is to be expected with respect to permanent dower land, later history at least implies that Rutland was granted to living queens only when it became available through the death of the Queen Mother. Aelfthryth probably survived to c.1002, the same year that her son Aethelred (the Unready) married and endowed Emma. The latter died in her turn in 1052, the year in which her son Edward's wife, the Lady Edith, was restored to favour, and from soon after which date it is thus likely that her connection with Rutland began.²² Only three queens therefore may have bridged the period between Aethelflaed and Edith, and two of these are known (quite incidentally) to have been endowed with the district.²³

Conclusion

Whatever the truth of these complex matters, the emergence of Rutland was a long and mysterious affair. All that is claimed for the interpretation summarised here is that it does seek to reconcile the otherwise discordant features of the known evidence: certainty is impossible.

The essence of the argument, however, is simple. Whether or not the outlines of what may have been a very ancient unit are still dimly discernable today, it is probable that an Anglian or Mercian district of local administration (now severed from Stamford) survived the Scandinavian invasions, the creation of the confederation of the Five Boroughs, and, despite internal division, even the eleventh century extension of the new shire-system to the region as a whole. That this was due, from at least the mid-tenth century, to the privileged association of Rutland with the late Anglo-Saxon queens is more likely than not. That a similar association, but with the queens of Mercia, was the origin of this connection is at least possible. It is relevant that between 854 and 918 the two women who could lay claim to that status were both of the royal house of Wessex.

It looks, moreover, as though even before 894, Rutland was intentionally kept separate from Stamford by the Scandinavians of York. At some point after Aethelnoth's visit to that city, and perhaps even as a direct result of it, control of the district was transferred from the Danes of York to those of Nottingham and Northampton. In view of the continuing absence of dense Scandinavian settlement in the area, it might thus be supposed that this arrangement may have been intended to safeguard the interests of the Mercian/West Saxon queens. Such a concession by the Vikings, however, would hardly have been one-sided. In view of *Northampton's* involvement as one of the parties concerned, therefore, it could also be that Rutland was held by these separate Danish interests as a pledge for the continuing integrity of the Danelaw. Despite their battles with the Vikings and their victories over them, it is relevant to note that the Wessex leaders sought essentially for submissions to their *overlordship*: thereafter, they were prepared to recognise the facts of Scandinavian settlement, custom and organisation. After 918, however, a wedge had been driven between the Danes of East Anglia and those of the Five Boroughs. It may not have been entirely coincidental, therefore, that the Northamptonshire part of Rutland which — in our context — was the earliest to come under West Saxon control, was also the area in which both royal lands and customary English tenancies betray the most marked signs of outside infiltration and change. In the case of Five Borough territory including *Roteland*, by contrast, a recognizably Scandinavian region survived into the eleventh century as an organised entity which was acknowledged as such even as late as the reign of Aethelred the Unready. Within that territory, and conceivably now as a continuing guarantee of the separate identity of the Five Bor-

oughs, was situated the most privileged area of royal Rutland — the wapentake of Martinsley, in which lay what was left of the probable demesne lands of the Anglo-Saxon Queens.

It was perhaps appropriate then that in the eventide of the old English monarchy, by which time the confederation of the Five Boroughs was no more, it was this very area that was granted by the Confessor to his re-founded Abbey at Westminster, the church of which has been associated ever since with the

coronations of the kings, and later the queens, of England.²⁴ Rutland as a whole, however, and like those other last bastions of pre-Conquest England — the northern counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland — was not finally absorbed into the shire-system of the nation until later in the twelfth century. Paradoxically perhaps, but in more senses than one, the individual evolution of early Rutland thus epitomises the unfolding of a greater theme: the gradual unification of England itself.

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3. Plus Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire: Cyril Hart, 'Aethelstan "Half King" and his Family', *Anglo-Saxon England*, ii, 1973, p.139.
4. 111 Aethelred, 1.1, 1.2, in Dorothy Whitelock ed., *English Historical Documents, 1, c.500-1042*, London, 1955, (Henceforward *E.H.D.*), p.403. The absence of a diocesan bishop is explained by the fact that Five Borough territory overlapped the edges of three different sees: York (Notts.), Lichfield (Derbys.) and, for the rest, distant Dorchester. The mysterious reference to the meeting in the ale-house may be to the court of the small hundred.
5. *E.H.D.*, pp.225, 227 and cf. pp.223, 224. The last mention of the Five Boroughs in the *Chronicle* is in 1015, *ibid*, p.224.
6. The reader is asked to remember, however, that it is possible that the Danish partition of the region may have followed an earlier administrative division, v. Phythian-Adams, *loc.cit.*, pp.76, 78. Even before it became a county, there are some hints to suggest that in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, Rutland was administered as a whole by the farmer of its extensive royal lands.
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10. A.Wendy Davies '1. Tribal Hidage: the Text' in 'The Contexts of Tribal Hidage: Social Aggregates and Settlement Patterns' by Wendy Davis and Hayo Vierck, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 8, 1974, p.227.
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17. H.M.Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, Cambridge 1905, pp.304-5; A.Campbell, ed., *op.cit.*, p.50.
18. For the pointed omission of Aethelflaed's achievements and title from the West Saxon version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but their inclusion in the 'Mercian Register', v. F.T.Wainwright, 'Aethelflaed Lady of the Mercians', in Peter Clemoes, ed., *The Anglo-Saxons*, London, 1959, pp.53-4, 56. He argues for a renescent Mercia at this time but in close alliance with Wessex. For the title of the Queens, see: W.H.Stevenson, ed., *Asser's Life of Alfred*, Oxford, 1904, pp.11-12, 200-202; Alistair Campbell, ed., *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, Camden Society, 3rd ser., lxxii, 1949, pp.58-61; F.E.Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, Manchester, 1962, pp.182, 448; Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, London, 1970, p.163.
19. The dower of the late West Saxon kings' wives may have been, appropriately enough, at Winchester, the ancient capital of Wessex, if Gaimar is to be believed, but on this, contrast Alistair Campbell, ed., *op.cit.*, p.xliv, and Barlow, *op.cit.*, pp.76 n.5, 117, n.1 (Emma), and p.241, n.3 (Edith). Both queens died there. Cf. Martin Biddle, ed., *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, Winchester Studies, 1, Oxford 1976, pp.38 (entry 27), 46 (entry 75 and n.1), 289 n.4, 423 n.4, 470. On the relative status of successive Queens and Queen Mothers, v. Alistair Campbell, ed., *op.cit.*, pp.62-5.
20. Harmer, *op.cit.*, p.551.
21. Edward's previous wife, Aelflaed, had married by 901 and bore him eight children. She must have lived until c.917/8. Eadgifu gave birth to Edmund in 920 (*E.H.D.*, p.201), and she last witnesses in 966 (Alistair Campbell, ed., *op.cit.*, p.63.)
22. It should be noted, however, that Emma does not even witness the Confessor's grant of Ayston in 1046, J.M.Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus aevi Saxonum*, London 1846, iv, 784, for Emma's position between 1043 and 1052, v. Barlow, *op.cit.*, pp.76-8. Edward married Edith in 1045. For his Westminster writ reserving Rutland to Edith for her lifetime, v. Harmer, *op.cit.*, p.359, who dates it either 1053-66, or, on rather less certain evidence, 28 Dec 1065- 5 Jan 1066 (pp.514, 291). For Edward's health at this latter time, however, v. Barlow, *op.cit.*, pp.240, 244, 247. Even if the later date is correct, there is nothing in the writ to suggest Edith was not already in possession of Rutland.
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The Medieval Hunting Grounds of Rutland

L. M. CANTOR

During the Middle Ages — which is here taken to be the period of more than 400 years from the Conquest, 1066, until the accession of Henry VII in 1485 — there were four principal hunting grounds. The first, and most important was the *forest*. A large tract of country belonging to the Crown, usually, though not necessarily, wooded, it had its own forest laws, and came under the jurisdiction of forest officials. ¹ Within it, the ‘beasts of the forest’ (the hart, hind, hare and boar) and ‘the beasts of the chase’ (the buck, doe, wolf, fox, marten and roe) were preserved for the King’s hunting. The royal forest rights were jealously preserved and any infringement of the forest or its animals was liable, in the earlier part of the Middle Ages at least, to severe punishment. Although the forest was a royal preserve, it usually contained a number of manors belonging to private lords, who were prevented by the forest laws from converting land from pasture to arable, from cutting down the woodland, or making enclosures which would not allow the deer to pass freely in and out of the land. ²

It was their love of hunting and the consequent need to ensure that the game were preserved which led the Norman and Plantagenet Kings to introduce and enforce the forest law, which was based not on common law but on arbitrary royal legislation. If the clearing of the forest for cultivation had not been inhibited in this way, there is no doubt that it would have resulted in the disappearance of the beasts of the forest. As the Elizabethan writer John Manwood puts it, ‘A forest must be stored with great woods or coverts for the secret abode of wild beasts and also with fruitful pastures for their common feed. For want of either of these two . . . they leave the Forest and wander up and downe untill they find coverts elsewhere which being without the bounds of the Forest are so found wandering, then they are hunted and killed to the utter destruction of the Forest . . . And so consequently it followeth, that to destroy the coverts of the Forest, is to destroy the Forest itself. Also to convert the pasture grounds, meadows, and feedings into arable land, is likewise to destroy the Forest.’ ³

Thus, in legal terms, the forest was an area belonging to and jealously preserved by the Crown and subject to forest laws. As far as the medieval landscape was concerned, it was usually a well-wooded area, though there were exceptions like the New Forest in Hampshire. It also contained open spaces, such as waste and moor, and glades known as ‘lawns’ or ‘launds’ and such a one must have given its name to Launde, in Leicestershire, on the western edge of Rutland Forest. Because of the desirability of providing covert for beasts of the chase and because

to have afforested long-cultivated land would have been extremely unpopular, the Norman kings usually chose wooded and thinly populated areas to designate as royal forests.

In many ways, Rutland was an ideal county for afforestation for, at the time of the Conquest, it was largely wild and uncultivated and sparsely settled. Some clearing of the natural woodland had taken place but the Domesday survey of 1086 suggests that it had not gone very far. Thus, of the thirty-two manors into which the county was divided at this time, wood is not mentioned in only twelve. The wooded parts of the county were principally in the north, and to the west alongside the Leicestershire border, ⁴ and it was this latter area that comprised the heart of Rutland Forest (Fig.1).

In addition to the legal use of the term ‘forest’, it was sometimes applied to mere woods in a royal forest or to describe districts where the hunting rights were held by local magnates. These latter were ‘private forests’ or, as they were more frequently called, *chases* and were land outside the control of the forest laws. ⁵ However, restrictions were usually placed on all but the holder of the chase franchise, commonly a noble or great cleric, so that for the peasant farmer for all practical purposes there was little difference between living in a royal forest or a private chase. As in the case of the forest, the term ‘chase’ later became more loosely applied, for example to ‘Beaumont Chase’ in Rutland. The first reference to the term occurs in 1689 ⁶ and was applied to an area where hunting or ‘the chase’ was a frequent occurrence; indeed, it is still to be found on modern maps, as in the seventh series one-inch Ordnance Survey map [133/845995]. In the Middle Ages, however, unlike many of its neighbouring counties, Rutland did not boast a chase.

‘In the country as a whole, by the thirteenth century, probably about one-fifth of England consisted of forests and chases. ⁷ The subsequent centuries saw a gradual decline in the royal forests as population and agriculture increased and, with it, pressure to clear the woodland. As the Crown was almost always chronically short of money, from time to time it permitted disafforestation, that is freedom from forest laws, on the payment of a fee. In this way, the forest declined, a process which, as we shall see, is illustrated by the history of Rutland Forest.

The third medieval hunting ground was the *park*, which differed from the forest and chase in that it was much smaller, being usually of the order of fifty to one hundred acres, though some royal and noble parks might be considerably larger. A common feature of the medieval landscape, it was to be found in every county in England, often in substantial

numbers.⁸ It was part of the demesne lands of the lord of the manor, and typically consisted of 'unimproved' land, almost invariably well-wooded to provide covert for the deer, and usually containing pasture; for this reason it was usually located on the edge of the manor well away from the cultivated open fields. The medieval park, therefore, was quite different from its modern successor, the sophisticated, landscaped, amenity park, though there are numerous examples of large, modern parks developing directly out of their smaller medieval predecessors.

The primary purpose of the medieval park was to provide a hunting ground for the lord of the manor, and for this purpose it was stocked with deer, of the red, fallow and roe species, though it was also put to a variety of other uses. In order to retain the deer the park had to be completely and securely enclosed, usually by a combination of substantial earth bank, topped by a wooden paling fence and with an inside ditch, which together made a formidable barrier. Occasionally, the wooden fence might be replaced by a quickset hedge, or by a stone wall, and where topography made it possible, for example just below the crest of a steep slope, the paling fence alone might serve as an effective barrier. The enclosure was broken by gates, and, occasionally, by 'deer-leaps'. The latter were special contrivances, consisting of a gap in the earth bank matched by a pit or hollow inside the park boundary at that point, which were designed to allow deer to enter the park from the open country outside without permitting those within the park to escape. As the creation of deer-leaps enabled the number of deer within the park to be painlessly increased, they were eagerly sought after. Equally, as the deer at large were royal animals, the Crown was generally reluctant to grant permission for local lords to create deer-leaps especially where they abutted on the forest, and were often quick to punish any illegalities. During the Middle Ages, there were at least nine parks in existence in the county though not all of them existed at any one time.

Finally, it became the custom of the Crown to grant local landowners the right of *free warren*. This enabled local lords to hunt smaller game — the fox, rabbit, hare, wildcat, badger, marten, otter and squirrel, and pheasants and partridges — over their estates. According to some authorities, the hare was the principal beast of the warren, giving the best sport when hunted fairly with hounds. Also highly valued, both for its meat and its skin, was the rabbit which unlike the hare was not native to this country but was probably introduced into Britain in the twelfth century.⁹ The other beasts of the warren

such as fox, wildcat, badger, marten, otter and squirrel, were hunted mainly because they were regarded as harmful to deer in the neighbouring forest. By the middle of the fourteenth century, grants of free warren had become so common that the great majority of manorial lords seem to have enjoyed them. In Rutland, for example, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, obtained free warren in his manor of Oakham as early as the thirteenth century, Hugh le Despenser in Ryhall in 1253, Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, in Lyddington in 1329, and Bartholomew de Badlesmere in Market Overton in 1338.¹⁰ These rights continued well into the modern period and still applied to parts of the county in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as in the case of Tickencote in 1787.¹¹

The right of free warren, therefore, constituted a general permission to hunt certain species of animals over manorial lands and must be distinguished from the *warren* which was an enclosed area of land used for breeding rabbits. A warren which might vary in size from a relatively small field to an extent of a square mile or more, belonged to the lord of the manor who frequently employed a warrener to look after it, as in the case of the Earl of Cornwall whose warrener at his manor of Oakham in 1300 received 6s.8d. a year.¹² There was at least one royal warren in the county, Wytchley Warren, which may have been in existence at the end of the thirteenth century,¹³ and is commemorated in the modern 'Witchley Warren Farm', between Edith Weston and Ketton [123/95054].

As will be seen, therefore, of the four principal medieval hunting grounds — the forest, the chase, the park, and the area to which rights of free warren applied — the two which had a substantial effect on the medieval landscape of Rutland were the forest and park. We shall now proceed to examine each of them in detail.

1. The Forest of Rutland

The Domesday Survey makes no reference to the Forest of Rutland as such. Indeed, it is doubtful if the county of Rutland was officially in existence at this time, although as we have seen, the county area was clearly well wooded in 1086. Thus, it was not until early in the twelfth century, during the reign of Henry I, that the Crown 'made permanent arrangements for the afforestation of a strip of Leicestershire and the greater part of Rutland',¹⁴ or in other words created the royal forest. This consisted of the greater part of Rutland together with a narrow, contiguous strip of eastern Leicestershire, some two to three miles wide. During the anarchic years of the reign of Stephen in the middle of the twelfth

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century, the forest laws seem not to have been enforced; however, they had been reapplied early in the next century, as the holding of 'pleas of venison' at Oakham in 1208-9 makes clear. Then in 1235, the greater part of the Leicestershire portion of the forest was disafforested so that for the rest of the century at least, the remaining larger section remained and was known as the Forest of Rutland.

Towards the end of his reign, in 1269, Henry III had conducted a perambulation of the bounds of the Forest which gives us a detailed picture of its extent. At this time, it was divided between two bailiwicks, or administrative areas, Braunston and Beaumont, each being administered by two foresters. The 1269 perambulation begins at Eye Brook where it flows into the Welland opposite 'Cotton' (presumably the modern Caldecott) (Fig.1). It then follows the course of the Welland as far as the Lincolnshire border, 'by metes and bounds as far as Stumpsden' (or Stumpedestone). It has been suggested that 'Stumpsden' represents a spot in Belmesthorpe marked 'Stump Stone' on the 1842 Ordnance Survey map, a very likely supposition.¹⁵ The boundary of the forest then follows the Gwash upstream to Great Casterton bridge, then to Empingham bridge, and so to 'Stanbridge' which is probably the spot where the Burley Brook enters the Gwash. From here, the bounds run through the middle of Barnsdale Park to 'Twyfford', which it is suggested is the 'double ford' between Burley and Egleton where 'the brook from Langham joins that through the grounds at Catmose'.¹⁶ The boundary continues through 'the middle of the town of Langham' to Cold Overton Park and thence to 'the door of the Castle of Sauvey'. From here it goes to 'Coptre' (site unknown) to 'Finchford' (presumably the modern Finchley Bridge where the A47 crosses the Eye Brook) and so down to the Eye Brook back to the Welland. In all, the Forest of Rutland at this time encompassed more than one hundred square kilometres.

Although this extensive area, like the other royal forests, provided deer for the chase, hunting was neither its only, nor perhaps its main, function. While hunting was certainly an important, if sporadic, use to which the forest was put, it was regarded more highly for its provision of venison.¹⁷ Because the lack of forage made it necessary to kill off all but a few breeding cattle and sheep, meat had to be salted for winter consumption. Hence, venison provided a welcome source of both fresh and salt meat and medieval kings and nobles consumed it in very large quantities. Certainly, there are frequent references during the Middle Ages to the granting of deer from Rutland Forest to the king's courtiers and other

nobles, both for consumption and to stock their parks. For example, in 1223 Henry III ordered his justice of Rutland Forest to permit the Bishop of Lincoln to take three does from the forest and, in 1284, Edward I granted William, Earl of Warwick, six bucks.¹⁸

Other important uses to which the forest was put included the grazing of animals and the provision of timber, both for building purposes and for fuel. As far as grazing or agistment was concerned, the sale of rights to pannage, the feeding of pigs on acorns, provided a useful source of revenue: in 1252, for example, agistors paid £10.7s.5d. for the rights of pannage.¹⁹ The sale of wood also brought in substantial amounts of money: in 1333, for example, twenty acres of underwood were sold for £8.1s.8d., 200 maples for £5, and thorns for 20s.²⁰ The king frequently ordered his officials in charge of the forest to supply timber for building and for fuel: in 1285, for example, the keeper of Rutland Forest was ordered to supply twelve oaks to repair a chamber and a chapel in Rockingham Castle and, in 1275, to supply the prior of Launde with four oaks for his fuel.²¹ Cultivation by private individuals was, however, allowed only very rarely and then by licence. In 1310, for example, the abbot and convent of St. George, Boscherville, near Rouen, were given a licence to assart and cultivate a part of their waste containing 100 acres, called 'Wychele', in Edith Weston, within the bounds of Rutland Forest.²²

Within the forest were a number of enclosed hunting parks, including Flitteris Park, Oakham; Lyddington; and Ridlington. Because they were within the general area of royal jurisdiction, they customarily required a licence from the Crown before imparking could take place, as in the case of Flitteris in 1252.²³ Special permission was also required for the park owner to create a 'deer-leap' in the park bank, as in the case of the Bishop of Lincoln in respect of Lyddington Park in 1229.²⁴ As we have seen, this was a special device which enabled deer from the forest to enter the park, but once in prevented them from escaping; hence it was a valuable perquisite.

At some period in the Middle Ages, the Forest of Rutland was greatly reduced in size, to about a third of what it had been in 1269. This is made clear in a later undated perambulation printed in Wright's 'History of the Antiquities of the County of Rutland', published in 1684 and reprinted in the Victoria County History.²⁵ The forest delimited in this perambulation extended from just west of Oakham in the north to Caldecott in the south and comprised a strip of land on the western side of the county, approximately six kilometres wide, with a small

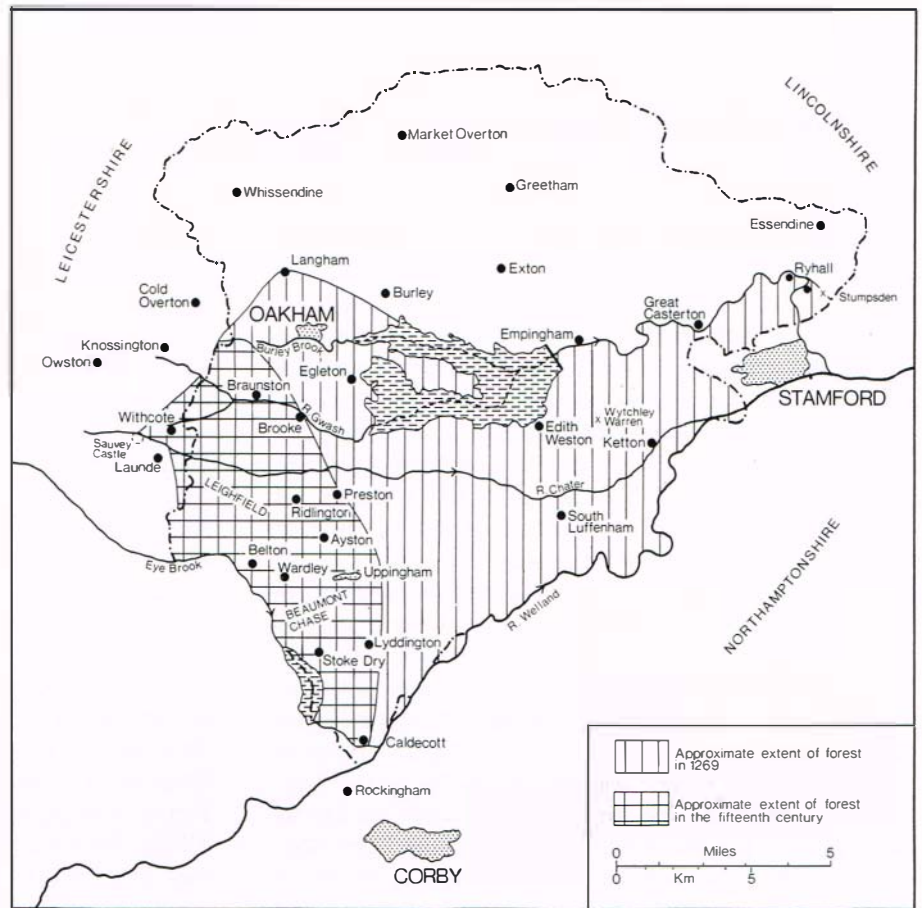


Fig.1 Rutland Forest

extension into Leicestershire beyond Withcote. It contained within its limits the settlements of Braunton, Brooke, Belton, Wardley, Ridlington, Ayston, Uppingham, Stoke Dry, Lyddington, Snelston (a deserted village site just north of Caldecott) and Caldecott (Fig.1). Unfortunately, the date of this perambulation is somewhat open to question. According to two anonymous articles, the perambulation was made by Edward I in 1299, the twenty-eighth year of his reign.²⁶ If this was the case, then the Forest of Rutland was in existence for slightly less than a hundred years, throughout the greater part of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, the Victoria County History describes the second perambulation as being 'much later' than the first,²⁷ but without giving any evidence to support this statement. However, it may be borne out to some extent by the fact that in 1310 an area in Edith Weston, which is well to the east of the residual forest is described as being 'within the bounds of Rutland Forest'.²⁸ In 1316, the King ordered that a perambulation be made of the Forest of Rutland in order to confirm its bounds²⁹ but unfortunately a copy does not appear to be extant. Nevertheless, judging by the few references to places in Rutland Forest named in later fourteenth century Patent and Close Rolls, for example, the forest would seem to be restricted to the smaller area delimited in the undated perambulation.

Whatever the exact date of the disafforestation of the thirteenth century Rutland Forest, by the fifteenth century it had certainly shrunk to a small

part of its former extent and by the end of the Middle Ages it had usually become known as Leighfield Forest, from the manor of that name which was situated on the western edge of the county just south of the river Chater. Its name is commemorated in the area still designated as 'Leighfield' on the seventh series one-inch Ordnance Survey map at 122/821038. Leighfield Forest continued into the modern period and the uses to which it was put continued much as before: in 1569, for example, Thomas Holmes, the Queen's bailiff of the manor of Preston and Uppingham, took two fallen trees from the forest for 'the repair of her grace's common hall in Uppingham' and, in 1579, Lord Burghley, the High Treasurer of England, commanded one John Norris to provide him with 150 fallen trees in the forest 'appraised to his lordship' at £22.10s.³⁰

According to the Victoria County History, Leighfield Forest was finally disafforested about 1630 or possibly earlier.³¹ Certainly, it is shown quite clearly on the so-called 'Anonymous' map of Leicestershire and Rutland of 1602, where it is entitled 'Lyfeld Forest'.³² This seventeenth century disafforestation brought about a quite rapid depletion of the tree cover and, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, all that remained was a small enclosed remnant, also known as Leighfield Forest, which contained no village and consisted of hilly land, partly woodland and partly cultivated. It had five lodges round its boundaries known as Leigh, Cole's, Swintley, Lambley and College lodges, enclosing an area of approximately one square mile just north of Belton

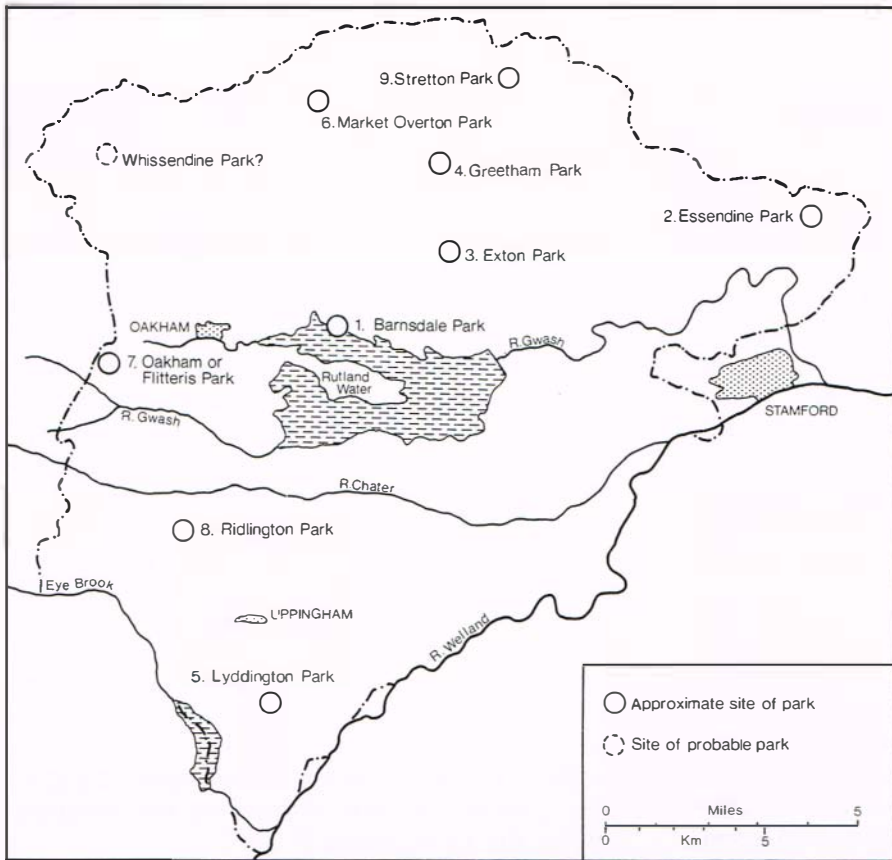


Fig. 2

The Medieval Parks of Rutland

and all commemorated in the names of houses or farms. Thus, by this time the ancient forest of Rutland had gone forever, after an existence in varying forms of some five hundred years.

2. The Medieval Parks of Rutland

As we have seen, at various times in the Middle Ages the county contained at least nine hunting parks: at Barnsdale, Essendine, Exton, Greetham, Lyddington, Market Overton, Oakham, Ridlington and Stretton. The history of these parks has already been described elsewhere;³³ however, there was probably a tenth park in existence early in the Middle Ages at Whissendine. About 1212, David, Earl of Huntingdon, is recorded as taking from Richard de Morville 123 acres of land 'outside the park', which Richard had apparently given to the Templars,³⁴ presumably on or before his death in 1189. As it was not uncommon for landowners to bequeath parks to religious orders, after which they usually ceased to be hunting enclosures, it is indeed a reasonable supposition that there was a park at Whissendine in the late twelfth century, belonging to Richard de Morville, and that it ceased to be a park at about the time of his death.

As Figure 2 shows, the county's parks were quite widely scattered in the north and west, but were markedly absent in the south east. As has been observed elsewhere,³⁵ there seems to be a marked correlation between the distribution of Domesday woodland and that of medieval parks, a correlation which is borne out by Rutland, for the great bulk

of the woodland recorded in Domesday is also in the north and west.³⁶ This in turn reflects the fact that, at the time of the Conquest, agriculture was already developed on the alluvial soils of the Welland valley and the more fertile marlstone and Northampton Sands of the eastern part of the county, while the heavy Liassic and Boulder Clays of the north and west supported woodland.

As we have seen, most medieval parks were enclosed by an earth bank topped by a wooden paling fence. On occasion, however, the latter was replaced by a stone wall, as at Lyddington in 1331,³⁷ and at Barnsdale. According to Rackham,³⁸ the bounds of Barnsdale Park are represented by Barnsdale Wood in the north and Armley Wood in the south [122/910089 and 915078], with a laund between them. The park was typically elliptical in shape, and remained largely unaltered until recent replanting and the creation of Rutland Water.

The earliest known park in the county was Exton which was certainly in existence by 1185, when it belonged to David, Earl of Huntingdon,³⁹ while most of the other parks seem to have been created in the following century. Several of them had a very long life: for example, Ridlington existed at least between 1238 and 1638, Barnsdale between 1206 and 1602 and Oakham between 1252 and 1610. Exton was also very long-lived, but in two distinct forms: it is an example of a medieval hunting park which was subsequently transformed into a modern amenity park. The latter was created about 1639 by royal licence and, about a century ago, was

The Medieval Hunting Grounds of Rutland

described as 'a noble existing park of 800 acres with a herd of 400 fallow deer'.⁴⁰

Park ownership was vested in the lord of the manor, consequently in the country at large the greater numbers of parks were held by the Crown, the nobility and the great ecclesiastics. This is reflected in the county where the Crown held Oakham Park, the Earl of Huntingdon held Exton and the Bishop of Lincoln Lyddington. Local lords were also well represented as John de Cromwell at Essendine in 1318 and Peter de Montfort at Ridlington in 1253.

As we have seen, individual parks were generally located on the edge of manors, on uncultivated, generally wooded land suitable for deer. Indeed, many of them began life with the imparkment of small areas of woodland such as at Oakham where, in 1252, Henry III granted Richard, Earl of Cornwall, a licence to impark Flitteris Wood in Rutland Forest⁴¹ and at Barnsdale, where 'Barnsdale Wood' marks the probable site of the original park. Subsequently, these small areas of woodland were enlarged to take in other additional acreages as at Lyddington, which in 1331 was increased in size by sixty acres and enclosed by a stone wall in place

of the old bank and paling fence,⁴² and Essendine which, by 1447, consisted of 200 acres of land, together with twenty acres of meadow and hay across the county boundary into Lincolnshire.⁴³

The effect which the medieval park has had on the contemporary landscape clearly varies considerably from place to place and county to county. In places, substantial parts of the original earthwork which constituted the park bank remain, as at Cold Overton, in Leicestershire,⁴⁴ and it is likely that detailed fieldwork will reveal similar remains for some at least of the parks of Rutland. They have also left an imprint in the form of modern field-names and place-names: for example, Oakham or Flitteris Park is commemorated by the modern farm called 'Flitteris Park' [122/820078] and Ridlington Park by 'Park Farm' [122/834018]. As the medieval parks of Rutland have yet to be explored in detail, they offer to the local historian a very worthwhile subject for investigation.⁴⁵

My thanks are due to Mr Tony Squires for his considerable help and to Mrs Anne Tarver who drew the maps.

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Rutland Field Names: some Comparisons and Contrasts

JOHN FIELD

Rutland is particularly fortunate in possessing a virtually complete survey of twentieth-century field-names. The mapping of the names in 1943, directed by R. Sterndale Bennett, Intelligence Officer of the 1st Rutland Home Guard, resulted in a unique document.* The Tithe Survey in the age of Victoria had outstanding qualities, the praises of which have been sung often enough; but not every parish was included in that mid-nineteenth-century Domesday, and sometimes only part of a parish was placed on record. Moreover, not every Tithe Apportionment actually names the fields; some of the largest of these documents limit their information to number-references to the parcels of land, with the customary names of owners and occupiers, acreages, and cultivation details. Valuable though this material is in the interpretation of field-names, without the names themselves such teasing documents are very blunt instruments.

In its extent and homogeneity the Home Guard map provides scholars with a body of information of a quality that no county could derive from its Tithe documents alone. Systematically studied, the field-names of Rutland can serve as a valuable set of reference points for investigating those of surrounding counties, especially Leicestershire and Kesteven — the surveys of which are now in progress. The present summary account of the field-names will attempt to indicate such connections, as well as, of course, making comparisons and contrasts with earlier forms of Rutland names whenever these are available.

The assumption throughout is that no name, ancient or modern, is without its interesting aspects, even those which have been often regarded in the past as unworthy of attention because of their regular occurrence. The challenge of focusing on these aspects is best taken up in what is perhaps the most commonplace of all categories, names which state merely the acreage of the field.

Acreages are found in the Rutland nomenclature to about the same extent as in neighbouring counties; up to a dozen names in any one parish are likely to be in the form Ten Acres or Ten Acre Close. Occasionally the number of instances is greater; Ryhall has more than twenty names of the 'normal' acreage type, together with variants such as Home Fifteen Acres and Ivett's Ten Acre.

One of the ways in which this county's acreage names differ from those of its neighbours is in the actual areas concerned. Such appellations seldom go above Thirty Acres, but in Rutland considerably larger fields are named in this way. Ryhall offers

Thirty-three Acres, Forty Acres, and The Seventy-three Acres. In North Luffenham can be found Fifty-three Acres, The Eighty-five Acres, and One Hundred and Nine Acres. Seaton has a field called One Hundred and Twenty Acres, and South Luffenham can boast The Seventy Acres. Four Score Acres in Great Casterton, however, contains only about twenty-four acres, and this may be an idiosyncratic form of expression rather than an exaggeration.

Numerical exaggeration, in fact, does not seem to be a Rutland characteristic. Most of the acreage names are close approximations to the actual area concerned, and there is no evidence at present of the ironic use of Hundred Acres or (as in Leicestershire) Forty Acres, as names for very small fields.

One way in which acreage names are special is, of course, that the area of the field provides an objective confirmation of the appropriateness of the name. But however appropriate any field-name may appear to be, there is nothing inevitable about its choice or use. A triangular field may seem to cry out to be called Three Cornered Close, but may with equal propriety be named Clay Field, or Road Close, or Top Arable, or even Twelve Acres. References to size occur regularly throughout the county, but names such as Great Close, Big Meadow, or Little Field are neither irreplaceable nor of unique significance. *Great*, for instance, is not necessarily used of the largest field in the parish. Often enough, size names are found in correlative pairs — Big Meadow and Little Meadow (North Luffenham), Great Close and Little Close (Pilton), Great Hewitts and Little Hewitts (Ketton). Great Ground(s) is seldom, if ever, balanced by a small counterpart and tends, moreover, to be larger than Great or Big anything else. Mead's Great Ground is the largest field in Teigh, and Great Ground in Essendine is more than fifty-two acres in extent.

At the lower end of the scale, it may be worth mentioning that Little is the usual adjective for relatively small fields: such names as Little Close, Little Field, or Little Meadow normally refer to enclosures containing no more than two or three acres. Little Field in Flitteris Park, for instance, is just over 3.75 acres, and Little Meadow just over 1.75 acres. With specific names, rather than with generics such as Field, Close, or Meadow, Little may imply considerably larger fields, sometimes only slightly smaller than their Big or Great counterpart. Thus Great Hames in Tixover has an area of just over 21 acres; the adjoining Little Hames contains 10.75 acres; Great Brickennook in Tinwell is over 14 acres in area, but Little Brickennook is almost as big, with 13.5 acres.

Two adjacent fields in Market Overton are called

*Now in the Leicestershire Record Office.

Little 'Un and Little 'Uns. These were almost certainly once a single piece of land, and the name, despite the colloquial modernity of its appearance, undoubtedly derives from *Liteleng*, recorded in *Ministers' Accounts* in 1346. A similar transformation took place not far away, across the Leicestershire border in Hoby; the Women's Institute survey of a few years ago recorded there a field called Little 'Un, and this, too, is traceable to a fourteenth-century *Litil Eng*, 'little meadow'.

Special terms used of small fields include Pingle (the Midland variant of Pightle), which almost always denotes a close less than four acres in area; The Pingle in Ayston has an area of just over two acres; Pingle in Tinwell is much smaller — less than half an acre. Other terms include (The) Shred (Ryhall) and Stripe (South Luffenham). The Slip in Barrow is a narrow wedge between Spring Close and Hill Field. The fanciful Handkerchief or Handkerchief Close or Field, fairly common in what we must now refer to as the remainder of Leicestershire, is rare in Rutland. Handkerchief Close in Clipsham has been noted; this has an area of just over four acres.

Imagination has played a part, however, in the naming of fields according to their shape. Elbow Field, in Lyddington, is markedly angular. This characteristic is also alluded to in Ell Close (Stretton, Morcott), The L Fields (Glaston), and L Nook (Pickworth). Another letter of the alphabet is brought into service to denote a semicircular field, in the bend of the river — D Close, in Tickencote. Alphabetic names occur in Leicestershire and elsewhere: L Close in Broughton Astley parallels the Rutland examples.

Other fanciful shape names are similarly not unique in Rutland. Shoulder of Mutton (Manton) belongs to a group which is fairly abundant elsewhere, as do also Cock Hat (Ketton) and Coked Hat (Tickencote). Triangular fields are also indicated by Cheesecake (Close), occurring in Greetham, Langham, and (in a 1700 document) Empingham. This term occurs in other parts of the Midlands.¹ Ox Liver (Braunston) is a triangle of land on the parish boundary; the name does not seem to occur elsewhere.

Top Funnell in Lyddington, with the adjoining Bottom Funnell in Stoke Dry together constitute a rough triangle. (Far) Letter Box in Tickencote will also be found to refer to this shape, and Pike Piece in South Luffenham, is a long, narrow triangle. Triangular Piece (Tinwell) and Triangle Close (Stretton) contradict a statement I made in an article in 1975² — that 'This term does not appear among the field-names of Rutland' — but it can be safely said to be

rare in the county, whereas Three Corner(ed) Close and Three Corner(ed) Field are not, being found in a dozen or so parishes; also to be noted is Three Cornered Pightle in Clipsham.

Another feature in the appearance of a field that may give rise to a name is the colour of soil or vegetation. The latter is almost certainly the reason for such appellations as Green Close (Thistleton) and Green Headland (Morcott). Black Lands in Essendine is balanced by White Lands, and Redlands can also be found in that parish, as well as in Great Casterton. Blackness of soil is occasionally an indication of former habitation sites, and it is interesting to note that Blackholm in Thistleton is on the site of a Romano-British settlement.

Little Casterton has a White Ground, and Caldecott a Whiteroods. Black Mould in Whitwell leaves no doubt about the source of the coloration, and coloured soil is referred to also in Redmiles Plain, in Ketton. Red Ground also occurs in Bisbrooke, Ketton, Seaton, and Tinwell; fields of this name are found in some of these places on the 300 ft contour.

Other qualities of the soil may not be visible from outside the boundaries of the field, but may be readily observable by those working the land. Such features as dryness and wetness are duly recorded in the nomenclature. Dry Field occurs in Thistleton and Pickworth; Dry Close is found in Tinwell, South Luffenham, and half a dozen other places. Apart from Wet Field in Clipsham, wet, barren spots receive due recognition by the well established term Gall(s). In Tickencote, one close is called Straw Gall; a field called Galls occurs in Burley, one known as Stonegalls in Langham, and one called Watergauls in Egleton. Names derived from Old English *galla*, 'barren, wet place', occur in other Midland counties. *Watergalles* is found in Northamptonshire places in the Middle Ages, in Moreton Pinkney in 1200 and Yelvertoft in 1416.³ In Warwickshire, *Watergalle* is mentioned in a 1278 document relating to Ufton, and *Watergall*, named in a Wellesbourne Court Roll in 1450, survived in exactly the same form in the Tithe Apportionment.⁴

Names applied to muddy or sticky land include Honey Hole (Market Overton, Tixover), and Washspokes (Ketton), the latter suggesting that cart- and waggon-wheels would become water-logged, or perhaps would get so muddy as to require washing. Significantly, Honey Holme (Egleton) adjoins Long Rotten.

In a large number of names there is a direct reference to the type of soil, as in Clay Ground (Ketton), Bottom- and Top-Clay Field (Stretton), Clay Close (Pilton), and The Clay, Clayfoot, and Little Clay Close (South Luffenham). Sand and gravel are not

forgotten, witness The Sands (Seaton), Sand Nooks (Morcott), Sandy Close (Greetham), Gravels (Essendine) and Gravel Pit Close (Essendine, Clipsham). Stone Field is found in Barrowden, Stone Furlong in Seaton, and Stone Husk Furlong in Thorpe-by-Water.

Qualities or defects of the soil are also referred to in such names as Sour Hill (Ryhall), Rough Close (Cottesmore), and Treadwell (Greetham). Scrape Hills in Stretton suggests shallow soil, and Silver Diggings in Whissendine possibly implies intractable land. Pitchcaps in Lyddington is the only instance so far found of this name; the interpretation suggested is 'land bare of vegetation', by association with the depilatory effect of this medical appliance.

Vegetation has, of course, given rise to numerous names. Trees in hedgerows, trees clumped in fields, grouped and tended in copses and plantations, or standing solitary — perhaps blasted by lightning, are all sufficiently conspicuous to act as identifying marks for the fields which bear their names. Elm Tree Close (Tickencote), Elm Tree Pasture (Pilton), Oak Trees (Bisbrooke), Ashes (Caldecott), Ash Close (North Luffenham), and Fir Close (Stoke Dry) may be compared with Pear Tree Close (Greetham, Thistleton), Pear Tree Furlong (Ryhall), and Chestnut Tree Field (Manton).

Ryhall field-names include those of several species of trees: besides Ash Tree Close (found also in Great Casterton), there are also Poplar Tree Close and Willow Row. The last-named tree features also in Willow Close (Pilton) and Long Willows (Exton); Burnt Willow (Essendine) alludes to a tree which might have been an object of awe rather than admiration. For The Wise (Essendine) a derivation from Old English *wiðig*, 'withy' is suggested; names like Ozier Holt (Tinwell) and Old Ozier Bed (Morcott), though fairly plentiful in Leicestershire, are quite rare in Rutland. Cedar Field (Wing) is also a relatively rare allusion, and Crabtree Close (Pilton) and Crabtree (Tickencote, Market Overton) are also of a type which is not so abundant as might be expected. Both the alder and the elder feature in Whissendine names: Big Olan is noteworthy for its rarity, and Eldern Stumps — also not common here — is the counterpart of Elder Stubbs, found in other counties, including Leicestershire (where examples are recorded from the seventeenth century onwards).

Apart from the names of species, references to trees may also take the form of allusions to woodland of various kinds, e.g., Forest Field (Whitwell), Wood Field (Cottesmore, Uppingham 1804, Empingham), New Wood Field (Normanton), Wood Close (Stretton, Barrowden), and The Grove (South Luffenham). The Coppice (Glaston, Stoke Dry), and Coppice

Close (Tinwell) strictly allude to plantations in which young growth was encouraged by the periodic cutting of the stems to soil level, but occasionally the term seems to be used without reference to this practice. *Coppice* (or its Middle English predecessor) was mistakenly regarded as a plural word and the 'singular' *copy* was accordingly generated; *copy* occurs as a widespread element in Midlands field-names, Rutland instances being Copy Hills (Pickworth) and Copy Close (Great Casterton).

Names alluding to woodland are found in early documents. One of the great fields of unenclosed Greetham was called *Woodfeild* (1652 *Survey*), and among its subdivisions were *High Bush Furlong*, *Crab Tree Furlong* and *Wood Side*. Among the furlong names of the adjoining fields were *Hazells Furlong*, *Bryer Bush*, and *Three Bush Holme Furlong* (in the *Church Feild*) and *Sallow Tree Furlong* (in *North Feild*).⁵

The element (*ge*)*fyrhð* is usually given a general interpretation of 'woodland, wooded countryside' and is the source of such major names as Frith (Lancs, Middlesex), Frithsden (Herts), and Chapel en le Frith (Derbyshire). It is normally taken also to be the origin of such field-names as The Frith (Little Casterton), but a derivation from Old English *frið* seems more likely, implying an area of forest in which commoners had access to game; the form *Frithwod*, occurring in a document of 1256, supports this suggestion, especially in view of other compounds of *frið*, such as *friðhus* and *friðgeard*.

A term which is limited to one or two Rutland parishes, *sale*, is found in other Midland counties. The element is discussed in the EPNS Northants volume.⁶ The evidence for its being a woodland term is clear enough: early forms cited include *Middlesale* (1313), *Briggisale* (1313), and *boscus vocat' La Sale*, in Higham Ferrers, and *le Salecorner* 1337, in an unspecified parish. Warwickshire instances are noted in the volume for that county,⁷ and examples occur in at least one parish in Leicestershire: Nether, Middle, and Upper Sale are mentioned in an 1853 Mortgage of Land in Withcote. Only a provisional interpretation of the term can be offered for these and for the Rutland names: 'division or "quarter" of a wood, of which the underwood is cut and sold'. Examples in this county occur in Wardley and Stoke Dry; Snelstone Sale is the sole example in the latter, but in the former a map of 1804 shows Swallowsale, Old Sale, Headland Sale, Garner Hill Sale, and a number of others.

Bottom Stocking (Exton) is one of the few instances of this name in the county. In Warwickshire and Leicestershire it is of frequent occurrence, but in Rutland other names seem to be used to express

the idea of 'land cleared of tree-stumps', such as Grubwoods (Clipsham).

Besides the woodland on the periphery of many villages, there was often scrub-covered waste which in earlier centuries supplemented the pasture. More recently, particularly in the Midlands, such land has become fox-cover, and this term is found in a number of field-names. In exactly that form it occurs in a dozen or so places; Fox Holes (Whissendine) is a less common name, as is Laxton's Fox Close (Glaston). Other animals alluded to in field-names include the badger and the deer: Badger Hills (Great Casterton) seems to be a unique reference to that mammal, and (rather more surprising) Deer Leap (Lyddington) is the only example so far collected of any name referring to an animal which is rather more celebrated in Leicestershire names. Beaver Ground (Pickworth) and Beaver's Close (Langham) may both allude to people rather than rodents. The rabbit, of course, is not forgotten: Rabbit Burrows (Ryhall) and Rabbit Close (Pickworth) are clear enough, but to interpret The Kungiger (Bisbrooke) it is necessary to recognise the term *coninger*, 'rabbit warren'. Mole Hill (Barrowden) is presumably named on account of an infestation of the land concerned, rather than to commemorate a single mole hill.

The names of farm animals play as large a part in the formation of field-names in this as in other counties. Cow Close and (The) Cow Pasture are probably the most frequent. Cow Field is found in Ryhall and Pilton. In Morcott, Cow Pasture in the Tithe Apportionment becomes Cow Field in the Home Guard Map; in a pre-Enclosure terrier (1779) the name (probably of the same piece of land) is Cow Gate. Cowholding (Glaston) was land on which 'holding stock' or breeding cattle were kept, Breeder Leys (Stretton) may be compared. Milking Field (Edith Weston) and Bottom Milking Close (Manton) have a number of counterparts in other parishes. The father of the herd was not completely ignored: there is a Bull's Walk in Barrow, Bull's Meadow in Lyndon, and Bull's Close in Whitwell and in Langham. *Ox Hill Furlong*, named in the Seaton Tithe Apportionment, was in *Windmill Field* before Enclosure.

Sheep Walk (Clipsham) is found in other counties, e.g., in Dunholm (Lincs), Bridgmore (Cheshire), and Sturton Grange (W. Riding Yorks). There are relatively few other names alluding to sheep. Sheepdyke Close (Exton), Great and Little Ewe Close (Burley), Sheep Close (Essendine), The Ram Field (South Luffenham), Tup Field (Manton), and Weather Close (Leighfield) are the most obvious examples. It is possible that a Braunston name,

Bottom-, Top-Dry Slight, is derived from the element OE *slæget*, 'sheep pasture', but an origin in Old Norse *slétta*, 'level field', is more likely.

Horse Close is fairly common, and there is a Great Horse Close in Horn. Horse Pasture(s) occurs in Cottesmore, Empingham, and Stretton; the last-named also has a Foal Close. Evidence of pig-keeping is found in such names as Hog('s) Hole (Lyddington, Braunston, Morcott); a close in South Luffenham is called Pig Stye. There is a reference in *Ministers' Accounts* for 1346 to a *Swynpit* in Market Overton; this is not found frequently as a field-name term, but a parallel can be offered from Oxfordshire, where *Swyne Pytte Feld* is named in a 1551-2 *Survey* of Ramsden.

Field-names also reflected the techniques of cultivation, the state of cultivation (arable, pasture, etc), the enclosing and cultivation of land from the waste, and change of use of land within the cultivated area. To this category belong such frequent names as The Meadow, Pasture Close, and Arable Close. Innams Field (Bisbrooke) alludes to the taking in of land from the waste, and so corresponds to Intake elsewhere. Bottom breach (Thorpe-by-Water) and New Broken Pasture (Ryhall) allude to land recently broken up. Near and Far Enochs (Clipsham) is a variant of Inhooks, originally denoting temporary enclosures in the open fields, in which a second crop (usually legumes) was taken. Outfield (Empingham) alludes to the system of infield-outfield cultivation, by which the inner land was permanently under the plough, but that on the periphery was tilled for a few years and then allowed to revert to rough grazing. Cuckoo Fields (Exton) were probably so called because they were sown late in the season, owing to the nature and condition of the soil. Burnt Close (Horn, North Luffenham) alludes to burning-off the aftermath. Grass Bake Nook (Tinwell) and Batt Meadow (Essendine) possibly refer to the practice of burn-baking — the systematic slow combustion of herbage on fallow land to provide potash in the field concerned — commemorated elsewhere in such names as The Bake, The Beak, Beatlands, and Burnbake.

Lammas Ground (Morcott, Pilton) is one of the Rutland forms of names found throughout the country; they relate to the custom of opening the meadows to grazing animals after the hay had been carted. This land would remain open from Lammas Day (1st August) until Lady Day in the following year. Elsewhere in Rutland there are Lammas Close (Whissendine, North Luffenham, South Luffenham) and Lammas Pen (Thistleton).

The industrial exploitation of land, both medieval and modern, is also recorded in field-names. Pit

Rutland Field Names

Field (Tickencote) and Pit Close (Great Casterton) do not specify the nature of the excavation, but Quarry Field (Tickencote), Freestone Pit Close and Stonepit Close (Empingham), Stonepit Close (Ryhall, Cottesmore, Thistleton), and Ironstone Close (Cottesmore) leave no doubt at all about the kind of workings that were involved. To these may be added Sandstone Meadow in Stoke Dry, and the various names alluding to the making of lime and of other bricks, such as Limepit Field (Exton), Mortar Pits (Market Overton), Brick Piece (Bisbrooke), and Limekiln Close (Greetham, Thistleton). Engine Field quite often denotes land on which a stationary agricultural engine was sited, but in Market Overton a piece of land with this name actually adjoins ironstone workings, and so is more likely to refer to quarrying machinery.

Medieval mineral workings are commemorated in phrasal names occurring in a number of Rutland parishes, with instances and variants in adjoining counties. There is, in fact, considerable variety, but there can be no doubt about the general sense; Cocks and Holes is found in Essendine, Hills and Holes also occurring there and in Hambleton. The form in Exton is Hills and Hales; in Ryhall it is Hills and Dales, and in Whissendine, Humps and Hollows. Hills and Holes is found also in Nottinghamshire⁸ and in Northamptonshire, in Barnack, where it marks the site of former large quarries which provided most of the building material for the abbeys of Peterborough, Croyland, Thorney, and Ramsey, and most of the churches in Holland in Lincolnshire and the Marshland in Norfolk.⁹

Not all the buildings alluded to in other field-names would have been built from stone quarried in one of the Hills and Holes fields. In Rutland, as elsewhere, there are many names referring to churches and chapels, for example Church Headlands (Ryhall), Church Close (Greetham, Tixover), and Big Church Leas (Whissendine). Such names may imply proximity to the sacred edifice, or ownership by the church. There is a Chapel Close in Pickworth, and a Beadhouse Ley in Stretton. Steeple Close in Pickworth, with its neighbour Mockbeggar, marks the site of the church, the only part of which remaining was the steeple, nicknamed Mockbeggar.¹⁰

The former *Chappell Close* at Wardley, has now, we are told by A.E.Brown,¹¹ been merged with an adjacent field; it marked the site of a medieval hermitage. Other names with ecclesiastical connections include Glebe House Field (Cottesmore), Rectory Field (Stretton), and Vicarage Field (Lyddington). Domestic and farm buildings are the basis of such names as House Close (Exton, Greetham), Cottage Close (frequent), Lodge Close, Lodge Field (Cald-

ecott), Barn Close (Barrow &c), Sheep Cote Close (Lyddington), and Hovel Close (Cottesmore, Morcott). The dovecote was an important feature in medieval (and later) rural life. Dovecote Close (South Luffenham) is a memento of this. Less specifically rural in their reference, and doubtless bestowed in quite recent years, are Tin Hovel Field (Market Overton), School Field (Essendine), and Scout's Hut Field (Oakham).

Various forms of transport are alluded to in field-names. Location near a road is noted in Road Field and Roadside Field (Cottesmore), Coach Road Field (Exton), Bridge Road Close (Thistleton) and Footpath Close (fairly frequent). The dialect form *pad* is found in Footpad Piece (South Luffenham), adjoining the path to Morcott, where it traverses Footpad Field; Pad Field (Braunston) may also be noted. The system of maintaining roads by means of tolls is commemorated in The Turnpike (Empingham), Turnpike Field (Belton), and Tollbar Close (Glaston).

Fields near railway tracks and stations include Station Field (Ryhall). Station Fields in Morcott adjoin Line Fields in South Luffenham. Beside the Stamford line are Railway Fields (Morcott), and in Barrow and in Essendine there are fields called Over the Line. There is a Tunnel Close in Glaston, but Big Tunnells in Hambleton is not near a railway; Viaduct Close in Seaton is at the northern end of the Welland Viaduct. Navigation Close (Barrow) and Wharf Fields (Market Overton) are instances of names referring to canals.

Workers in earlier centuries would not have had the advantage of any form of transport, private or public. Extreme distance is duly recorded in some names. Far Field and Far Close may indicate merely that the named land is slightly further than Near Field or Near Close. Faraway Field (Tickencote), however, leaves no doubt about its meaning. Land at the extremity of a village attracted the name *Town(s)end*, as in Townend Field (Cottesmore), Bottom-, Top-Townend (Essendine), and Town End Close (Thistleton). Land on the parish boundary might be called by a straightforward name such as Boundary Field (Tickencote) or Waste Boundary Land (Little Casterton). Elsewhere the terms *meers* and *marches* occur. The Meadow (Teigh) on the boundary with Barrow, has the alternative name Merry Acres; Marches in Caldecott is beside the river Welland; and the North Luffenham Tithe Apportionment contains the name Meers Next to Pilton. The name of the adjacent parish — or even county, is sometimes used, as in Lincoln's Close in Ryhall, at its southern boundary, with Stamford; the northern border of the same parish, with Aunby (Lincs), also

presents a characteristic boundary name — No Man's Ground, of which Normans Field (Pickworth), on the Empingham border, is a recognised variant. The legal immunity formerly offered by some boundary land is commemorated in Sanctuary, by the river Gwash.

Transferred place-names are used for land in the remoter parts of the parish. Occasionally such names merely allude to events in the news, but usually the land will be found to be at a considerable distance from the centre of the parish. Rutland instances include America (Cottesmore), Nova Scotia (Ticken-cote), and Scotland (North Luffenham). The last name is capable of more than one interpretation, but it is not likely that Scotland Voyage (Thistleton) refers to anything than the necessity of a long journey. Scotia Close (Stretton) almost certainly recalls Nova Scotia, in view of its proximity to Canada. European countries are occasionally named, as in Belgium (Oakham) and Jarminy (North Luffenham). Jersey Hill (Whissendine) is on the boundary. The only recorded biblical name in the county is Jericho, in North Luffenham.

Australia Gorse (Ridlington) is an instance of the special use of Antipodean names; it is possibly significant that such names are often used in game preserves and in hunting country (cf. Botany Bay Fox Cover in Billesdon, Leics).¹² Could the name have been used for the additional purpose of warning poachers of their liability to transportation to penal colonies? Botany Bay (South Luffenham, Little Casterton) specifies the location of the penal settlement, and Van Diemens in Lyddington possibly has a similar implication, as there was also a convict settlement in Tasmania. Such names doubtless also suggested the difficulty of working such land, as well as its remoteness, and references to the Canadian 'gold rush' of later in the nineteenth century, almost certainly do not allude to the likelihood of making a fortune. Klondyke occurs in Wardley and in Hambleton, and Far- and Near-Klondyke are on the western boundary of Barleythorpe.

Mention must be made of some of the other classes of field-names represented in Rutland. Complimentary names are exemplified in Best Close (Whissendine, Caldecott, Eggleton), parallels to which are found in Burton Overy and in Stretton Parva (Leics). Big Buttermilk (North Luffenham), Cream Pott (Ketton), and Honey Pots (Ridlington) also have analogues in other counties.¹³ Derogatory names include Upper and Lower Hell Holes (Whissendine) and one of the rather rare abstract type, Misery (Pilton).¹⁴

Topographical features, crops grown on the land, and the names of owners are also represented in

the nomenclature, and there are references to money value, to archaeological sites, and to places regarded as haunted. Recreation is not forgotten, being commemorated in names ranging from Racecourse (Lyddington) to Sports Field (Ketton); tennis, football, and cricket all receive due recognition.

Those responsible for the naming of fields may have fallen somewhat short of being all things to all men; but they have provided a body of material offering a many-faceted service to various academic disciplines, as well as a rewarding activity to those who make the study and interpretation of the names their principal intellectual pursuit. Many Rutland fields (like those of other counties) are now covered by roads, factories, and human habitations; others are beneath the waters of reservoirs. The names survive to record what the rural landscape once was, bringing home to us the complexity of agrarian life in former times. Those who interpret this record do not need the support of a mere passing admiration for the names as quaint curiosities, so long as they are aware of the elaborate web of the actuality to which the study of these names gives access.

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7. *Place-Names of Warwickshire*, 336, 379.
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9. *Place-Names of Northants*, 230.
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12. See the comment and illustration (not, however, of the named fox-cover) in W.G.Hoskins: *Leicestershire — The History of the Landscape*, 1957 (Hodder & Stoughton), 100. See also the same author's *The Making of the English Landscape 1955/1970* (Penguin Books), 195-7.
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The Quaintree Hall House, Braunston, Rutland

PRINCE YURI GALITZINE

Formerly known as 'The Hall' (12th/13th centuries); 'The Quaintrees' (1835-1897 & 1937-46); 'Quaintree Hall' (-1835); Braunston House (1897-1905); and more recently as 'The Cedars' (1905-37 & 1946-75).

The house stands overlooking the 'village green' at the centre of the village of Braunston, two miles west of Oakham, Rutland. The village, which in 1976 had a population of around 300, is on the northern edge of the Old Royal Hunting Forest of Leighfield and about a mile from the Leicestershire border. Its origins are Saxon but since Norman times the Manors of Braunston (i.e. the civil administration) have depended on the Lordship of Oakham and the Church, until 1884, was a chapelry of the church of Hambleton within the diocese of Lincoln.

The Quaintree Hall House is a Schedule 2 protected building, being described in Pevsner's *Buildings of England: Leicestershire and Rutland* as 'Seventeenth century with a thirteenth century window, very probably not in situ'.

The *Victoria County History* refers to the house as 'a small Georgian house, possibly the old Manor House, which has a wing with a late thirteenth or early fourteenth century two-light window in the gable'.

The deeds of the house which have been traced so far, do not go back further than 1897 when the house had been known as *The Quaintrees*. It was sold at that time by a member of the Noel family and the earlier deeds are undoubtedly still in the possession of that family. Research has shown that the house did not come into their possession until between 1835 and 1862. This was after the fire at Exton Park when so many Noel documents were destroyed.

The earliest sure identification of ownership of the Hall is the Braunston Enclosure Award Map of 1807. Here the owner is shown as James Tiptaft Esq. His family had been in Braunston since at least 1560. A James Tiptaft (or Tiptoft) is listed in the Hearth Tax returns of 1665 as having a house of four hearths. If this was Quaintree it was not the largest house — there was one of six (Thomas Campion) and two of five (Mr. Chiseldyne and Justin Rawlins). There were two others of four (William Lunn and the Widow Foster). Altogether sixty-five houses were listed in Braunston, one of the then known Lords of the Manor, Gyles Burton, returning only three hearths. The number of hearths in Tiptaft's return could fit *The Quaintrees*, but further research should make it possible to identify the other big houses and eliminate them.

The entry in the *Land Register* states that 'the house has been in continuous habitation since

1100'. It is not known by what authority. An inspection of the fabric and structure of the house does, however, produce some interesting information, which shows conclusively that it was a Hall House in the fourteenth century and possibly earlier.

The reference in the *Victoria County History* to the possibility of it being 'the old Manor House' needs further examination. The County History shows that there were *three* Manors of Braunston, one of which 'disappeared' in the seventeenth century. As for the others, the Lordship of the whole parish seems to have been arbitrarily claimed by the Finch family (Earl of Winchelsea) without any good proof of title except political and social power at the time (1801) and the apparent acquiescence of the only then known Lord of one of the manors — the Earl of Gainsborough.

The Manor of Braunston is not mentioned in Domesday Book in 1086. It is presumed (*VCH*) to have been included among the berewicks dependant on the Manor of Hambleton, which Manor was afterwards transferred to the Soke of Oakham, within the Lordship of the Barony of Oakham.

The first known holder of the Barony of Oakham was Wakelin de Ferrers in 1167.

In the twelfth century the greater part of Braunston was subinfeudated. Two portions were both known as the Manors of Braunston and the third part of the parish was the Manor of Braunston and Brooke.

One of the three Manor Houses (which was possibly on the site of the one so-called today) originally came down through the Meynil, Nevill and Cheselden families — all but a few of the latter being absentee landlords. This manor was last in the certain possession of Orlando Browne in 1794 and was the one which was owned by Gyles Burton (mentioned above).

It is this building which is termed today *The Manor House*. It was put up in 1863 by the then owner Thomas Heycock on the site of an older house. It came into the possession of the Finch family about 1880 when they named it *The Manor House*. The present building is not now fit for human habitation, being used as part of a grain drying plant by an absentee farming company.

Another Manor of Braunston was known as *The Hall*, being first recorded as the residence of William atte Halle in 1300. From him it came down in the Swaffield family who were resident in Braunston until the end of the sixteenth century, the last owner but one in that century being in 1577 the curate of Braunston as well as Lord of the Manor. It was sold by him to Augustine Burton, a younger son of William Burton, Lord of Brooke Manor, in 1614 and came

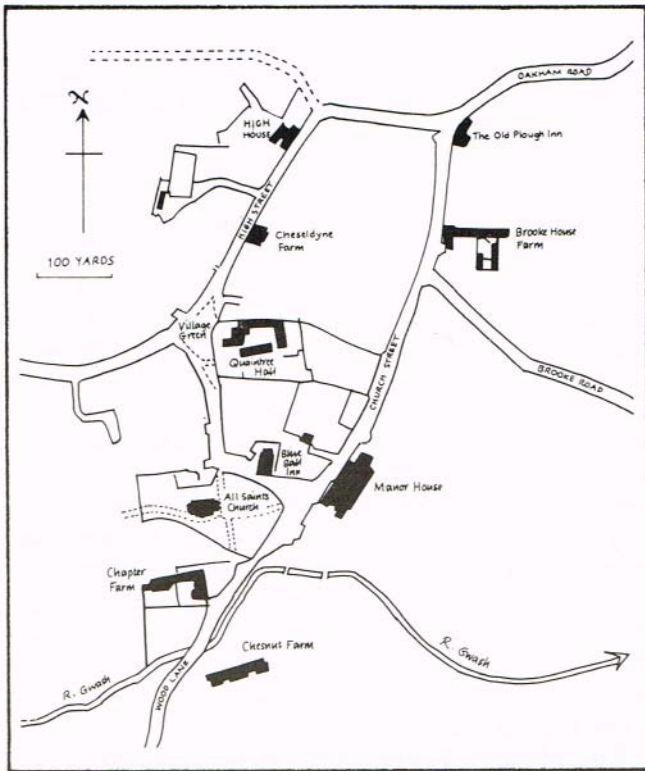


Fig. 1 Plan of Braunston village with main houses

Fig. 2 The Quaintree Hall House from the village Green. Note the medieval chapel window.



down through the Burtons to the Wards and to Deborah Ward, heiress, to William Tiptaft in 1759.

The third Manor was a dependency of the Priory of Brooke and was known as *The Manor of Braunston and Brooke*, which was sold after the Dissolution of the Monasteries, in 1544, to the Burton family. It subsequently came into the hands of the Noel family in 1636 and was last claimed by Gerald Noel and his cousin the Earl of Gainsborough, in 1862. It is very possible that the house on which this Manor depended is now Brooke House Farm in Church Street, appropriately on the Brooke side of the village. There is no definite attribution of a house to either of the last two manors and the Lordship of the Swaffields is certainly in abeyance. *The Hall* of the Swaffields could well have been the Quaintree Hall House. As the early deeds are missing this can probably be established by a process of elimination. By investigating the histories of the few other important houses in the village it is probable that their antecedents can be established.

THE QUAIN TREE HALL HOUSE

The front of the house faces west onto the village green. The original front door was on this side and was replaced with the addition of a stone porch, about fifty years ago. There was a carriage sweep through two gates from the road and before in 1807 this, the frontage, was the present road edge.

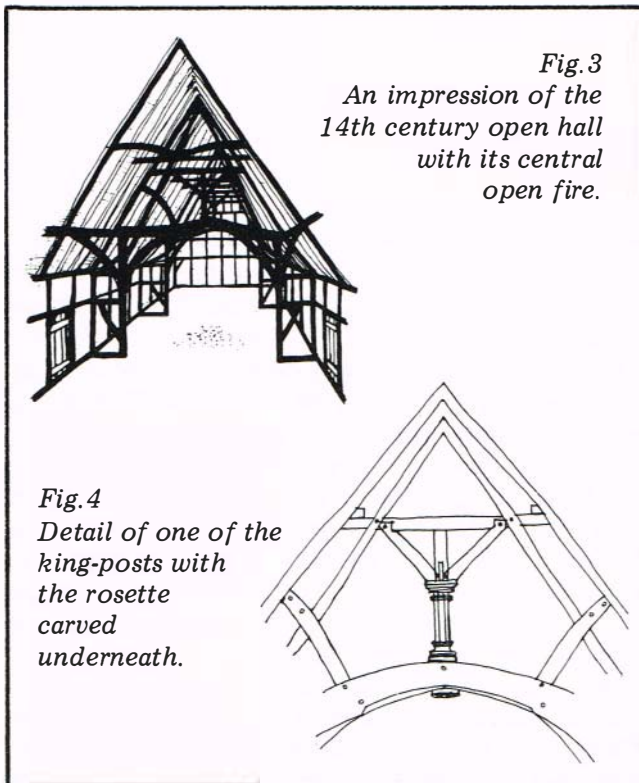
The chapel was joined to the main house at one time, which accounts for it being referred to in the *Victoria County History* as a 'wing'. The house had extensions built on this side in Edwardian times which were pulled down in 1938. The arch now joining the chapel was added in 1977. It came from

the ruins of Edmundsthorpe Hall, once the seat of the Tiptaft family in the fourteenth century. The arch bears a mason's mark. 'W.A.1754'.

The Medieval Section

The central portion of the house which runs north to south was originally an open hall. The medieval roof timbers remain, probably thirteenth or fourteenth century. The roof is supported by two huge tie beams on the centre of each of which there are pillars supporting an elaborate arrangement of King Posts and struts. The underside of the tie beams under the pillars is carved with a rosette which would have been exposed to the Hall below. Experts who know the roof say that the arrangement is the only one of its kind in Rutland. The medieval roof beams are blackened even though they are now above the ceilings which probably indicates that this was done by smoke. The later beams are not blackened. As there does not appear to have been an old stone chimney, it is also probable that there was a hole in the roof with a central fire on the floor of the hall which was not uncommon in medieval times.

From the way that the roof beams are tied in to the vertical beams of substantial size it would appear that the original building was wholly of wood with daub and wattle walls. The steep pitch of the old roof indicates that the medieval roof was probably thatch. The wooden framework is now completely encased in the stone and brick walls of later buildings: even the roof has been altered and the medieval beams are inside a newer roof structure. Sections of two of the main vertical beams of the medieval hall have been exposed to show the arrangement of the pillars on the first floor landing and master bathroom.



*Fig.3
An impression of the
14th century open hall
with its central
open fire.*

*Fig.4
Detail of one of the
king-posts with
the rosette
carved
underneath.*

It is not certain if the wing of the house which runs east to west at right angles to the old hall existed in the medieval house. Certainly the lay-out was typical of the Tudor period and could have only been added then. If the house was the 'Halle' of the Swaffields, however, the little hall by itself would not have been important enough. One substantial roof timber in the present drawing room, which could have been part of a medieval wing, not necessarily in its original position, was replaced by a Reinforced Steel Joist in 1976. This beam, which it is intended to incorporate in the house elsewhere, is slotted to carry floor joists and wall joists. In the bedroom, where a wall was taken down alongside the site of the old medieval staircase, an additional beam has been added which came from Carleby Manor in Lincolnshire. The two roof beams in the bedroom on either side of the Carleby beam have now again been exposed.

Sixteenth Century Alterations

At some time in the sixteenth century the house was changed from a totally wooden structure to a stone-clad building. The outside walls of Lyddington stone are three to four feet thick. They are two to three feet outside the vertical beams of the main hall. This meant altering the pitch of the roof and was done by superimposing a new roof structure on the medieval framework. In the hall there are two mullioned windows from this period buried in the walls and traces of another. One of these windows near the kitchen of the present house in the pantry is interesting as it is curved and there is a bulge which might have been to take a wooden staircase. There does not seem to be any evidence that this section of the house did not remain a hall after the house

was clad in stone; indeed, all the rooms and stairs would appear to have been added in the eighteenth century. The possible wooden staircase (in the north-east corner) would have gone up to a gallery at the northern end of the hall.

Most of the living quarters which run east-west are as they were in Tudor times. The ground floor consisted of a kitchen with a large open fireplace at the east end, a wooden staircase in the middle and a parlour at the west end. The cut stone Tudor fireplace was uncovered in 1976 and shows that the floor level of the parlour was about eighteen inches higher in Tudor times making a typical low ceilinged room of the period. In taking the fireplace out to repair it, tracings have been made of the grouting joggles made by the Tudor masons to bind the key-stone, though the lead with which they should have been filled has disappeared.

Upstairs, there was one important bedroom over the parlour in which there is a smaller replica of the fireplace below. The other room on the first floor was probably another bedroom heated by the flue of the kitchen fire and so having no fireplace of its own. Above, on the second floor, the present attic rooms were probably a loft used for storage as the windows came much later, possibly in the beginning of this century.

The other building of undoubted Tudor origin is the barn alongside the southern end of the house which for many years has been known in the village as 'The Chapel'. It is a Schedule 2 building also, as it has exceptionally fine Tudor mullions and at the top a thirteenth century window which is referred to by Pevsner. It is known that the Chapel was connected to the main house as late as 1935. The end of a main floor beam which stretched to the house can be seen in the side of the Chapel as can the outline of a filled-in door at first floor level.

When making alterations in 1976 which involved cutting through the Tudor walls in the living quarters a great many pieces of cut and carved stone were removed from the walls. One was a corbel stone with two ornaments, one a ball-flower (probably thirteenth century), commonly found in ecclesiastical buildings. One wonders at the origin of these and of the thirteenth century window in the Chapel since that building is so clearly sixteenth century. The logical solution would be that the stone came from Brooke Priory which was only one mile away. At the Dissolution of the Monasteries the Priory, the oldest monastic building in Rutland, was pulled down and later the ruins were acquired by Sir Andrew Noel, the ancestor of the present Earl of Gainsborough. Sir Andrew undoubtedly used much of this stone to build Brooke House but much of it also

found its way into houses in Braunston. It was at this period that a number of stone houses in Braunston were built.

In 1577 Augustus Swaffield, the descendant of the Swaffields of 'The Halle', was not only Lord of the Manor of Braunston, but also Curate of Braunston and this could well have been his residence, being so near the church. Could it have been that the curate, probably not wealthy, saw these new houses going up and wanted to clad his wooden Hall with stone? A sort of Tudor 'keeping up with the Jones's'. He then could have run out of money and been forced to sell to Noel for money owed on the stone, and since his son 'quit-claimed' (i.e. forced a return sale) the Swaffield family probably never moved out. This can only be theory, but further research may throw more light on the true facts.

An amusing story is told of Augustus Swaffield that on Palm Sunday in 1577, William Burton (probably owner of one of the other Manors in Braunston, as the name corresponds) called Augustus 'knave' and other indecent words. It appears in the notes on the Archdeacon's visits where they go on to say that the churchwardens concealed the offence but reported Augustus Swaffield for giving Simon Burton a stroke on Low Sunday.

Village tradition has passed down the story that the villagers brought their tithes to the Chapel when the Cromwell family was at Launde Abbey (c.1540-1620). If there is any truth in this story this could help link the house with the Swaffield family and one of the missing Manor Houses. The Rutland Local History Society's booklet on *Braunston* (1976) suggests that the Bishop of Lincoln held a service in 'the Chapel' each year. There is no substance for this assertion, nor is there confirmation from Lincoln. What is much more likely is that it was a tithe barn, which links it up with the Swaffield connection.

Augustus Swaffield sold the Manor in 1588 to Sir Andrew Noel. It is quite possible that Swaffield ran out of cash after buying the building materials from Andrew Noel, with which he had just clad the wooden Hall in stone. This situation could have been connected with Augustus's son's success in getting it back ten years later by quit claim. Shortly after Augustus got the house back he sold it in 1607. This time Noel was connected with the sale (possibly he was still a mortgagee). The purchaser was Augustine Burton, a younger son of William Burton (who had insulted the curate in 1577), then Lord of Brooke Manor in Braunston, the third of Braunston's three manors.

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

The Burtons were an old Rutland family who were Lords of Tolethorpe, near Stamford, from the reigns of Edward II to Edward IV. The elder branch died out and during Henry VI's reign the cadet branch, who sold Tolethorpe, went to live at Braunston, where by the seventeenth century, they were yeoman farmers. Augustine Burton, who bought the house and lands in 1607 did not live long to enjoy them as he died in 1614, leaving them to his nephew, Sir Thomas Burton who was then living at Stockerston. Then came the time of the Civil War and the fortunes of the Stockerston Burtons underwent several changes. Sir Thomas's daughter, Anne, married Abel Barker, Cromwell's representative in Rutland, who built the house that stands at Lyndon today. Sir Thomas the Second was an ardent Royalist, a Commissioner of Arms for Charles I for the county of Leicester. On the defeat of the king, Sir Thomas suffered sequestration and imprisonment, dying on 6th April 1659. Sir Thomas's son and grandson got into severe monetary difficulties. The grandson, another Sir Thomas Burton, sold the Braunston house and lands to his cousin, Andrew Burton, in 1689. In the next year, Thomas was forced to sell the remainder of his estate to Sir Charles Duncombe, but later, in 1712, his son was transported to the West Indies for theft — a sad fate for an old Rutland family, which now appears to be extinct.

It is not clear what happened to the house during most of the seventeenth century, particularly during the Civil War when the Burtons were absentee landlords at Stockerston. Judging by the state of the roof and the alterations and repairs (or rather lack of them!) that appear to have been made during this period, it is possible that the house lay empty during the Civil War and that the roof fell in. We do know whether Andrew lived there. It is unlikely as he is styled as 'of Exton'. He passed it to his son William in 1694. William's only son died an infant and William's daughter, Dorothy, became his heiress. She married Henry Ward of Braunston, gent., about 1700 and inherited just before her death in 1706. She left the estate to her son, William Ward, and the property was probably included in his marriage settlement to Hannah Cheselden in 1726. The grave-stones of the Wards are to be found in one of the aisles of Braunston Church. In the next generation, the house and lands passed again through a daughter, William's heiress, Deborah Ward, who married James Tiptaft in 1760.

The Tiptafts are a very ancient family whose first representative appears on the roll of Battle Abbey in 1066. They came from Tybetot in Normandy. By 1216, the family had settled in Leicestershire

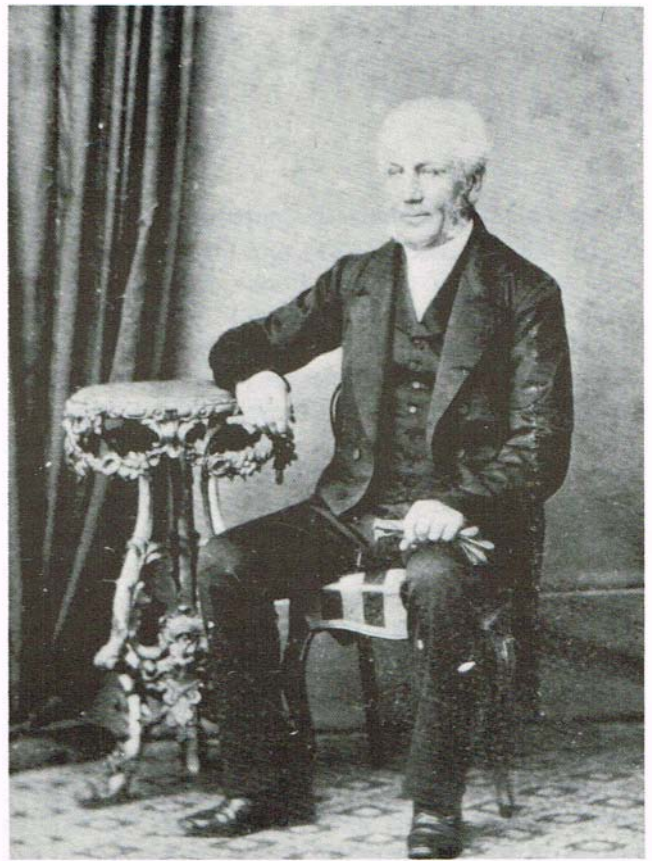


Fig.5 James Tiptaft, J.P., High Sherriff of Rutland and his wife Susan who sold Quaintree Hall in 1835 and moved to the Manor House, Tinwell.

on the border with Lincolnshire and Rutland at Edmundsthorpe with lands at Barkeston, Stapleford and Market Overton. While the senior branch of the family moved to Cambridgeshire, some stayed in the area. They have connections with Braunston and Whatborough (near Launde) going back to 1531. The family moved to Lyddington, probably during the Civil War. During most of the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth, they resided at Lyddington, but had lands and a house (rented ?) in Braunston. The house was a large one, as the Hearth Tax returns of 1664-6 shows James Tiptaft owning land and a house in which he lived at Lyddington and another property at Braunston. It is probable that the Tiptafts would have been tenants of the absentee Burtons from Stockerston. It is certain that they were friendly with the members of the Burton family who remained in Braunston as Andrew Burton's cousin, Martin Burton, and James Tiptaft the elder were churchwardens together in Braunston Church. Nothing would have been more natural when the property passed through Dorothy Burton to her granddaughter, Deborah Ward, to the son of the sitting tenant, James Tiptaft, when he married her in 1760.

The James Tiptaft who is buried in the churchyard was married at Thurcaston near Leicester in 1725. He came from Lyddington and took up residence after his marriage in Braunston. His son James, however, whose memorial tablet is in Braunston Church, did achieve some distinction as he was

Sheriff of Rutland in 1766. It was he who altered the house by filling the hall section with a staircase and rooms and altering the windows on the front of the house to contemporary Georgian style. Unfortunately James Tiptaft was either very mean or did not have much money (as being a sheriff was an expense). It is probable that he was mean, since he was the third largest landowner in Braunston in 1807 at the time of the Enclosure Awards.

The seventeenth century alterations included putting another chimney flue at the south-east corner to serve new fireplaces in the first floor and attic rooms. The dormers were probably added to the attics then. During this period the pantry was added and brick cowsheds built to form a yard at the back of the house. When the pond was dug in 1978, it was found that there was a cobbled floor to the yard about two feet below the present surface, which could have existed from medieval or Tudor times. The kitchen was probably added on at the time of the conversion of the Hall in the late eighteenth century. When a specialist in antique pine furniture inspected the large cupboard in the kitchen he estimated that from the construction of the nails used it had been built 'in situ' about 1790. The Enclosure Awards mentioned 'a malting' and in his wedding entry in the Braunston register James Tiptaft is referred to as a 'maltster'. The malting appears to have been between the walled garden and the wall facing the village green alongside the wall with the next door house. It no longer exists.

Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

James Tiptaft died in 1811 and his son James, who was also Sheriff put the house on the market in 1835 when he moved to Tinwell, where he rented the Manor House from the Burghley Estate for £350 per annum. His descendants are living today in South Yorkshire, Oxfordshire, Cumbria and Sussex. An advertisement for the sale of the Tiptaft's house in Braunston appears in several successive issues of the *Stamford Mercury*, inviting enquiries to Tinwell and stating that ninety acres of land went with the house. A tenant farmer, Mr James Ratt, was installed in the house as a caretaker, while the house was up for sale. Who bought it is not yet established, but the deed of sale of 1897 indicates that previous occupiers after Tiptaft were Robert Calverley and William Snodin. A local directory entry for 1891 shows Snodin as a grazier. William Snodin was a tenant farmer of James Gambier Noel. In 1897, when the house was sold he moved to 'Mr Wood's house on the Knossington Road', and some of the older villagers remember him as a very odd character. He used to take the cows and the sheep through his house! Snodin's life was a Rake's Progress, starting with a tenancy of Quaintrees, when he gave himself airs — eventually ending up in what was virtually a pigstye called Tucker's Hut on the Brooke Road near the Water Works. From here he was forcibly taken in the 1930's to the Workhouse in Oakham, known locally as 'The Ashes', where he died. There is still a field on the Knossington Road in Braunston parish called after him, 'Snodin's Piece'.

The vendor in 1897 was James Gambier Noel C.B. 'late of the Admiralty'. He was a relative of the Earl of Gainsborough, who had been born in 1826, younger son of a seventh son. It looks as if the house was bought by the Noel family Trust for him as a boy and that Calverley and Snodin were farmer tenants. There is no evidence that Noel ever lived in the house as a man of such distinguished family would have certainly been listed in the directories of the period. James Gambier was a Civil servant — probably poorly paid — and his income was augmented by farm rents. When the house was sold it had to be done with the signature of all the Trustees including the Earl, Sir Gerard Noel and Lady Augusta Noel. It would appear that the Noel Trust bought the house and land for James Gambier and that these were let during the period to tenant farmers. It is possible, however, that Calverley was an intermediate purchaser, since his name does not appear in the census returns of 1841, 1851, 1861 and 1871.

Nothing was done to the house during this period and probably no money whatsoever spent on regular maintenance. It was bought by a property speculator,

George Smith, an antique furniture dealer of Oakham, who incidentally also bought The Limes next door. He left his mark by changing the name of the house from The Quaintrees to The Cedars. He paid £500 for the property, but only with about one acre, as the Noels had undoubtedly retained the land. George Smith sold to Major Arthur Hughes-Onslow in 1903 for £1500. For a short time he seems to have called the property Braunston House. Hughes-Onslow made some fairly considerable additions, adding an extension to the south face and a passage at the back of the house connecting the hall with the pantry.

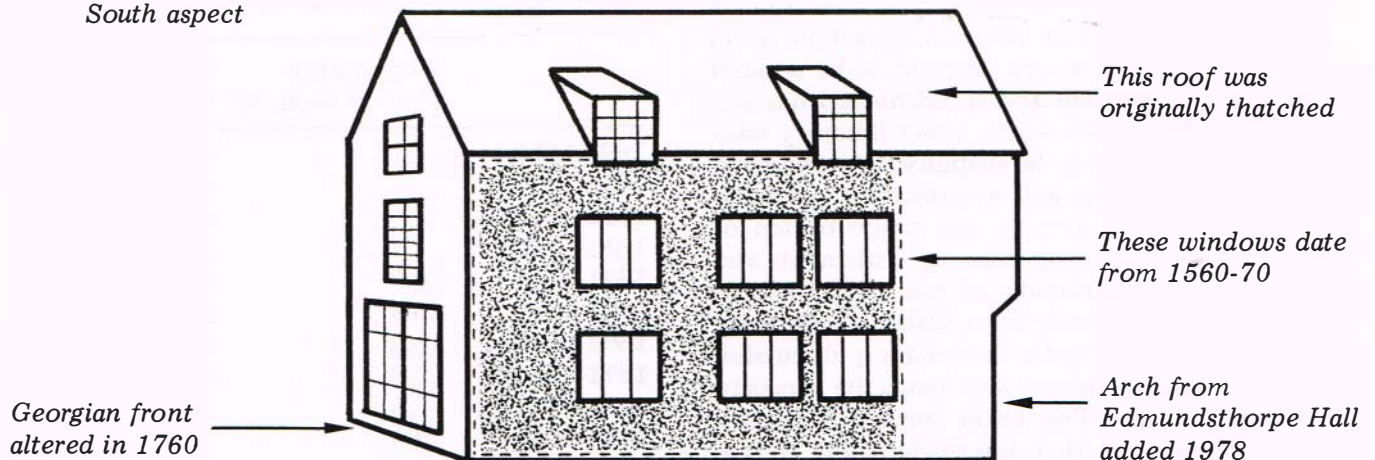
The Hughes-Onslows were cousins of the Earl of Onslow whose connections with Rutland dated back one hundred years, the third Earl having married Mary, the eldest daughter of George Fludyer of Ayston in 1818. Arthur Hughes-Onslow was a popular cavalry officer who enjoyed foxhunting and rode frequently in steeplechases. He won the Grand Military Gold Cup three times, and also the Irish Grand Military three times. He had seen service in Sudan and South Africa and it was just after his recall from the Reserve that he died on board ship crossing to France, aged 52, at the outset of the Great War, on 17th August 1914. Although a well-known figure in Rutland, the house at Braunston was maintained by him purely as a lodge for foxhunting. His family home was at Alton Albany, near Girvan, Ayrshire. His widow stayed until 1924. Arthur Hughes-Onslow contributed to the chapters of the *Victoria County History of Rutland* (1906) on shooting, fishing and horse training. His biography appears in the *Book of Honour* on Rutlanders where it is mentioned that he died in the 1914-18 War.

Mrs Tiel was told by Mark Atton (1867-1951) that he used to live in the house once and he remembered the stockyard at the back of the house with cowsheds into the yard. They were converted to stables facing the other way, by the Hughes-Onslows. It is possible that Atton was a tenant of Smiths.

The Lubbock family followed the Hughes-Onslows. First the house was let to Rupert Lubbocks, who persuaded a brother to buy the house for them in 1928. Geoffrey Lubbock bought the house on 14th February 1928, for £3075 and leased it back to his brother, Rupert Lubbock, for £158.50 per annum. On 15th September 1937, with the assent of Rupert Lubbock's widow, the lease was surrendered to Geoffrey Lubbock's son, Peter, and a week later — 21st September — the house was sold and conveyed under mortgage to R.E.Wagg and other for the benefit of Mrs. V.B.Starling for a price of £2200. Mrs Starling was a Miss Wagg, daughter of one of the partners of the merchant bankers,



Fig.6 The Quintree Hall House -
South aspect



Dotted/shaded area is where the Edwardian extension joined the house.

Helbert, Wagg and Co.

She was married to someone who served overseas in World War II in the Royal Artillery, but they separated in 1945 and she sold the house in 1946. The Starlings pulled down the extension put up by the Hughes-Onslows and blocked up the front door which had always been on the West side of the house facing the village. They used the door that had been cut through the south wall, which was blocked up again in 1976.

The house was bought on 9th May 1946, by an American, H.Sheldon Tiel, for £4400. He was a collaborator with Isaac Wolfson in the setting up of Great Universal Stores. The property by now was

mainly used for foxhunting and the cowsheds became excellent stables. On the death of Mr Tiel, the house passed to his widow, Mrs Nora Keogh Tiel, on 15th February 1955. Mrs Tiel sold the house to the present owner, Princess Yuri Galitzine, in 1975, but retained the paddock which had always been part of the property and also the Kitchen Garden (which had been acquired in 1910 by George Smith from Evan Hanbury for £550 and sold back to him in 1913 — it had been bought in 1943 by Mrs Starling and sold to Mr Tiel with the house). Mrs Tiel has built her new house, New Place, on the old Kitchen Garden.

Illiteracy in Nineteenth Century Rutland

GORDON YOUNG

Nineteenth century educationalists would have expected the illiteracy rates in Rutland to be directly related to the scale of Public Day School provision, notably during the first seventy years of the century. W.L.Sargant, in 1867, reflected the accepted view of that time: 'On the whole I am quite convinced that in the inquiry as to elementary education, we shall be safe in relying on the marriage registers for the purpose of comparison.'¹ Marriage Registers kept by Church of England incumbents supply information about illiteracy up to 1839. After 1754² the law only recognised as valid those marriages which were registered in Anglican Churches and signed in the Marriage Register by both parties and two witnesses. After 1839, the Registrar General's annual reports provide statistical information on those proportions of brides and grooms either able, or unable, to sign their names in the marriage registers.

These statistics were thought to enable judgements to be made in comparing different areas of the county as to the efficiency of their school provision. 'We possess in the marriage registers the means of determining the progress of education.'³

This direct causal link between school provision and illiteracy levels is now thought to be a much more complex problem and R.S.Schofield has suggested that the factors which affect illiteracy rates probably include the 'availability of schooling, geographical location, and a variety of social and economic variables such as, the concentration of land ownership, the dispersion of settlements and the occupational structure of the community.'⁴

The choice of illiteracy rates, rather than literacy rates, is preferred in order to avoid any discussion regarding levels of literacy and hence the necessity to define 'literate'. This latter concept obviously contains much more than the single ability to sign one's name. Therefore, if illiteracy rates are considered then the discussion is definitely focused upon that particular group of the population who could not write at all. This lack of attainment does not appear, at first sight, to be particularly meaningful. However, it does have the advantage of covering a great proportion of the population during the nineteenth century.

There was a proportion of the population which never married and therefore one can only suggest that this group would tend to divide into similar proportions as those who did marry and could either sign or make a mark in the marriage register. Schofield suggests that in 1851 the percentage of men and women who were still unmarried in the age group 50 to 54 years of age was of the order of eleven per cent for men and twelve per cent for women.⁵ Therefore by using the nineteenth century

Marriage Registers roughly ninety per cent of the population who reached marriageable age can be sampled.

It was found necessary to check the Marriage Registers of the Rutland parishes for the period 1800 to 1915. The Registrar General's annual statistics could not be taken as accurate because they were given for the 'registration county'; that is for the registered Poor Law Districts; and not for the 'geographical county'. With Rutland being so small the 'registration county' figures are unreliable because the Oakham Union district contained two Leicestershire parishes, whilst the Uppingham Union district contained nine Leicestershire parishes and five Northamptonshire parishes. Furthermore, seven Rutland parishes were contained within the returns for Stamford Union district which was enumerated as part of Lincolnshire.⁶ The deviation between the illiteracy figures based upon the registration county and those of the geographical county can be seen in Fig.1.

Fig.1 Illiteracy proportions for Rutland

	Registration County Mean % ⁷	Geographical County Mean % ⁸
1801-1810		41.9
1811-1820		40.6
1821-1830		33.7
1831-1840		34.7
1841-1850	30.9	32.9
1851-1860	25.4	26.1
1861-1870	18.2	15.8
1871-1880	13.5	10.7
1881-1890	5.6	5.4
1891-1900	2.6	1.9
1901-1910		0.4
1911-1915		0.95

The Marriage Register evidence of writing ability and comparisons derived from it rests upon two further main assumptions. First, that the majority of children left school at about the age of 10 to 11 years and secondly that they married about fifteen years later at the age of 25.

The first assumption is difficult to be categorical about because children in Rutland, and throughout the country, attended school in a very irregular way and tended to leave school when a job opportunity arose; rather than at a 'fixed' age. In general the evidence suggests that up to the 1860s: '... there were few older pupils in schools. This fact is too well known to need emphasis, the official figures

Illiteracy in Nineteenth Century Rutland

for inspected schools showed 70% of all pupils to be under 10 years old in the late fifties and sixties.⁹

The laws governing school attendance after the Education Act of 1870 were derived from a variety of Education and Factory Acts. Up to 1893, children in the areas of certain School Boards could leave school altogether or for half-time employment at the age of ten. In 1893 the age of employment was raised to 11, and in 1899 the age for total or partial exemption from school was raised to 12. Therefore the age of 10 to 11 years seems to be justified as an average school leaving age for the nineteenth century.

The second assumption that 25 was the average age of marriage applies to Rutland as well as to the remainder of the country. Schofield chose a fifteen year gap between leaving school and marriage because in 1851 the majority of all brides and grooms registered was between 20 and 29 years of age.¹⁰ A sample of Rutland's parishes was taken so as to arrive at an average marriage age for the county. The sample had to be taken after 1839 because the marriage registers before that date often did not supply the ages of brides and grooms but used the terms of 'full-age' or 'minor', to signify age categories. In the parish sample, those marriages which were given general categorization were ignored and only the remainder where specific ages were given were used. The sample contained a cross-section of parishes for Rutland and was for the period 1839 to 1915.

Fig.2 Parish Sample for Average Marriage Age

	Size of Parish Population	Number of Marriages	Average Marriage Age
Oakham	2-3000	1197	25.2
Tinwell	200+	117	26.4
E. Weston	300+	168	26.2
Caldecott	300+	156	24.4

Average marriage age of sample = 25.5 years

Therefore a fifteen year gap between leaving school and marriage is justified in its application in Rutland and thus the illiteracy figures can be referred to as two distinct periods; those of a 'schooling period' and a 'marriage period'.

Marriage and Schooling Periods.

The general conclusions regarding levels of illiteracy in the nineteenth century have produced a picture of probably lower levels of illiteracy in the towns than in the rural areas in the pre-industrial period,

but that the impact of industrialisation combined with population expansion began to adversely affect the illiteracy levels in the 'industrialised' towns and their immediate areas. The levels of educational provision in these towns during the rest of the nineteenth century remained lower than in other towns and rural areas, and these illiteracy levels remained a problem for these industrialised towns throughout the period.

Fig.3 Marriage and Schooling Periods.

Marriage	Schooling	Marriage	Schooling
1801-10	1786-95	1861-70	1846-55
1811-20	1796-05	1871-80	1856-65
1821-30	1806-15	1881-90	1866-75
1831-40	1816-25	1891-00	1876-85
1841-50	1826-35	1901-10	1886-95
1851-60	1836-45	1911-15	1896-00

On the other hand, agricultural areas in mid-century enjoyed levels of prosperity which favourably affected levels of school provision, and social and economic life. W.B. Stephens postulates a general picture of: 'on the one hand, older market towns and the like as centres of superior educational standards, set in more backward farming areas; and on the other hand, of industrial towns, especially in the north and midlands where the standards of education were lower, sometimes much lower than in neighbouring agricultural districts.'¹¹ However, there is no easy categorization but only general trends against which each town or geographical area can be set. Each one will have its particular set of connections amongst its levels of schooling, social and economic variables, and its illiteracy levels. Stephens has already produced work on the predominantly agricultural county of Devon, and his conclusions were that there were considerable differences in the levels of illiteracy between the coastal and urban areas which had rising populations; and the rural agricultural areas with falling populations and 'some connection between day school provision and consequent later levels of illiteracy.'¹²

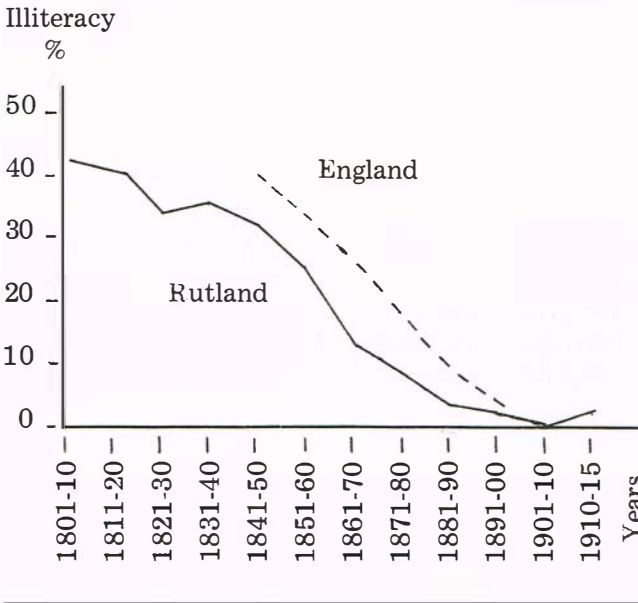
Therefore a case study of illiteracy levels in Rutland, a predominantly agricultural county, with two market towns which had superior educational endowments, and which remained isolated from any direct shock of industrial expansion, may define more clearly the inter-relationship between the variables taken to affect illiteracy levels.

Illiteracy in Nineteenth Century Rutland

The County Illiteracy Figures.

The 'mean' illiteracy figures; that is the combination of statistics for both men and women, reveal that the illiteracy level in Rutland was much lower than that of England.

Fig. 4 'Mean' Illiteracy Rates for England and Rutland.¹³



These figures suggest that Rutland is a special case in that its illiteracy figures are consistently lower than those for England throughout the nineteenth century.¹⁴

These 'mean' illiteracy figures for Rutland probably reflect the high level of school places provided

in the county both pre-nineteen hundred and for all of the nineteenth century. The population pattern for the county is one of increase until 1851; and then a steady decline. Therefore, if there is a strong connection between provision of school places and population trends then this should be reflected in Fig.4. The population increase until 1851 would place those children leaving school in 1861 and marrying around 1875. Thus a downward trend in illiteracy figures would not be expected until the 1870s if schooling provision had been either just adequate or less than adequate. In fact, the downward trend in illiteracy figures for Rutland begins in the marriage period 1841-1850 (schooling period 1826-1835). Therefore, broadly speaking, Rutland's school provision can be seen to be coping with its population expansion from 1840 onwards and making inroads into the problem of illiteracy thereafter.

Comparable work in Northampton has shown that: '... founding of schools and bursts of literacy ten to fifteen years later can be related and this can be broken down into districts so that a comparison between parishes and districts to show how literacy and school provision are related within the borough, is possible.'¹⁵ The illiteracy figures for Northampton, which had to cope with a four hundred per cent reverse in population from 1800 to 1900, follow a similar pattern to that of Rutland with a downward trend from 1840 onwards. But with the large increase in population there was the possibility, as in Northampton of a simultaneous decrease in the percentage proportion of illiterates within the community but with an increase in their absolute numbers.

Fig. 5 Northampton and Rutland's Mean Illiteracy Figures expressed as Gross Figures of their Total Population

Years	Northampton ¹⁶		Rutland	
	Mean % Illiteracy	Mean % Illiteracy as absolute numbers in the total population	Mean % Illiteracy	Mean % Illiteracy as absolute numbers in the total population
1801-1810	41.0	2878	41.9	6829
1811-1820	43.0	3623	40.6	6640
1821-1830	37.0	3993	33.7	6230
1831-1840	35.5	5449	34.7	6726
1841-1850	30.3	6478	32.9	7008
1851-1860	25.0	6664	26.1	5998
1861-1870	18.5	6071	15.8	3454
1871-1880	13.5	5557	10.7	2361
1881-1890	8.5	4411	5.4	1157
1891-1900	8.5	4411	1.9	392

Thus, Rutland's early level of school provision based upon pre-1800 educational endowments and a very active Rutland society from 1817 onwards, could be said to have been coping with an expanding population. However, due to factors such as irregular school attendance, early work opportunities in an agricultural area, a simple occupation structure, and parental attitudes towards schooling balanced against the ability of children to earn money at an early age; the school provision could not eradicate illiteracy until centralised government began to intervene with more forms of child control after the 1870 Education Act. This centralised intervention, mediated through the local power structures within Rutland, saw the virtual eradication of illiteracy by the end of the century amongst those marrying.

Male and Female Illiteracy Rates in Rutland.

The male illiteracy figures follow closely the male illiteracy figures for England with those for Rutland being a few percentage points lower. The school-leaving period 1816 to 1835 was the only period when Rutland's male illiteracy figures showed an upward trend. This is no doubt linked to the increasing population and agricultural difficulties experienced in Rutland after 1815 when there was a fall in agricultural prices. This latter factor was contributory because children were expected to help at an early age with the family finances by finding work.

The female illiteracy figures are consistently well below the female illiteracy figures for England. As for boys, the school-leaving period 1816 to 1825 was difficult because this was the only decade when there was an upward trend.

If a comparison is made between the Rutland male and female illiteracy figures then two main trends are revealed. The female rates are higher than the male rates for the school-leaving period 1786 to 1835. Thereafter the reverse is true. These trends correlate with the proportions of males and females on the roll of Rutland schools. The proportion of male children on roll of Rutland schools is six to eight percentage points higher than that of females until 1850. Therefore, it was more likely in the period 1800 to 1850 for boys to be on roll than girls, and this is reflected in the illiteracy rates.

These illiteracy figures for Rutland were broken down into further categories which could perhaps provide useful and illuminating comparisons which cannot be extracted from the county figures as they have been presented. Taking Schofield's list of factors which may affect illiteracy rates, an analysis was carried out under the following headings:—

1. Small Parishes — those parishes with a population of around 100.
2. Middle Sized Parishes — those parishes with a population of 200 to 500.
3. Large Sized Parishes — those parishes with a population of over 500.
4. The Market Towns — Oakham and Uppingham.
5. Parishes with Educational Endowments pre-1800 (a total of 13).
6. Parishes contiguous with the Market Towns.
7. Parishes with Dissenting Sunday Schools.
8. Marriage Statistics from the Oakham and Uppingham Register Offices.
9. Parishes with a Railway Station.
10. Land Use Parishes for main areas:—
 - A) Eastern Arable Region.
 - B) Western Grass Region.
 - C) Ridge and Vale Region.
 - D) Marlstone and Clay Vale Grass Region.
11. Parishes with a Concentration of Freeholders.

This paper is too short to be able to illustrate the findings with statistics and graphs.¹⁷ However, a set of conclusions based upon the above categories of analysis produced the following picture:—

1. The smaller parishes had a better 'mean' illiteracy rate than that of Rutland for the whole of the century. The male illiteracy rate was lower throughout the century than the Rutland male illiteracy rate. The female illiteracy rate was also lower than the Rutland female illiteracy rate except for the schooling period 1866 to 1875.
2. The middle sized parishes had strong correlations with Rutland's *mean* illiteracy rate. The male illiteracy rate in these parishes was higher than the Rutland male illiteracy rate until the end of the schooling period in 1825. The female illiteracy rate was higher than the Rutland male illiteracy rate until the end of the schooling period in 1835.
3. The large sized parishes had their *mean* male and female illiteracy rates higher than those for Rutland, except in the case of females for the schooling period 1786 to 1795.
4. The market towns had in general a *mean* illiteracy rate lower than the *mean* rate for Rutland. The male illiteracy rate was lower than that for Rutland males except for the schooling period 1846 to 1865. The female illiteracy rate was lower than that for Rutland females except for the schooling periods

Illiteracy in Nineteenth Century Rutland

1806 to 1815, and 1836 to 1855. Therefore, for males in Rutland not to be illiterate it would appear that it would have been better to live in a small parish throughout the nineteenth century; or in a middle-sized parish after 1825; or in either of the market towns except for the schooling period 1846 to 1865; rather than in a large-sized parish throughout the century. Similarly, for females in Rutland not to be illiterate, it would appear that it would have been better to live in a small parish throughout the century; or a middle-sized parish of the schooling period ending 1835; or in the market towns during schooling periods 1786 to 1805, 1816 to 1835 or post 1856; rather than a large-sized parish throughout the century.

5. Females found the schooling period 1786 to 1835 a difficult time to be enrolled at school and allowed to stay there as compared to males. The illiteracy rate for females declines much more rapidly than the rate for males after the schooling period in 1835.

6. The middle-sized and large-sized parishes contiguous with either of the market towns had a lower illiteracy rate than those parishes further distant in Rutland.

7. The difference in illiteracy rates between those parishes with a Dissenting Sunday School as compared to those without was minimal.

8. The difference in illiteracy rates between Dissenters and Anglicans appears to lie in favour of the Anglicans.

9. The illiteracy rate in those parishes which had a pre-1800 educational endowment was poorer than the illiteracy rate in those parishes without such an endowment.

10. There were only marginal differences between those parishes which had a railway station as opposed

to those which did not. However, the two market towns, which had railway stations, had a better illiteracy rate than the remainder.

11. The Marlstone, the Ridge and Vale parishes had a lower illiteracy rate than those parishes in the Western Grass or Eastern Arable region.

12. The parishes in the central and northern zones of Rutland had a lower illiteracy rate than those in the southern zone.

Therefore, the combination of factors which tended towards high illiteracy rates in Rutland were, a large parish, having an educational endowment, being a Dissenter, living in the Eastern Arable region, a Freeholder parish, and distant from either of the market towns.

The combination of factors which tended towards low illiteracy rates would therefore be, small or middle-sized parishes, in the Marlstone or Ridge and Vale regions, a parish with one or two large land-owners owning the majority of the parish, and in the central or northern zone of the County.

Lastly, the two market towns deserve special consideration because they experienced the largest population expansion in Rutland during this period. However, they also experienced increases in job opportunities because of a more complex occupation structure than that of the surrounding area; the impact of professional groups; and became the social, economic and political centres of Rutland. Thus, they coped well with the problem of illiteracy and support Stephens' view regarding low illiteracy rates with increasing population in prosperous urban areas, as well as in smaller towns which had experienced stimulation in trades in which the keeping of accounts and records, and the ability to communicate by letter were useful.¹⁸

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6. *Census 1851*, Division VII, pp.26-29.
7. Compiled from the *Registrar General's Annual Reports, 1841-1900*, St.Cathrine's House, London.
8. Compiled from an analysis of Marriage Registers in forty-seven of fifty-one parishes in Rutland for the period 1800-1915. Registers were unavailable for Teigh, Pickworth, Tixover and Langham. Oakham and Uppingham Registrar's Office Marriage Registers for the same period were also analysed and their statistics are included in the Geographical County Mean Illiteracy Rate.
9. Nancy Bell, 'Elementary School Attendance and Voluntary Effort before 1870', *History of Education*, p.22.
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11. W.B.Stephens, *Illiteracy and Schooling in the Provincial Towns 1640-1870: a comparative approach*, in D.Reeder, ed., *Urban Education in the Nineteenth Century*, p.46.
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13. Statistics compiled from aggregation of parish figures from Rutland Marriage Registers and *Registrar General's Annual Reports, 1839-1900 for England*.
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15. J.Lawes, *Elementary Education in a County Town in the Nineteenth Century*, M.A. (Ed). Thesis, 1974/5, University of Leicester, p.20.
16. J.Lawes, *op.cit.*, pp.21 and 71.
17. G. Young, *Educational Development in a Rural Society: a study of the provision and control of schooling in Rutland in the nineteenth century*. M.Ed., University of Leicester (forthcoming).
18. W.B.Stephens, *Provincial Towns, op.cit.*, p.31.

The section which now follows gives a conspectus of the historical records relating to Rutland which are available in repositories within easy distance. Many of the records stem from public activity at a local level but there are of course also all the records of the public activity of the central government, the superior courts of law and so forth which are stored at the Public Record Office in London. It is hoped, as the issues of *Rutland Record* proceed, to give some idea of the extent of those too.

Although it is not legal for many of these records to be stored in Rutland now, photo and micro copying techniques exist which can ease the position and it is hoped that the Society will be able to institute a programme for getting the most widely used and needed reports copied and copies freely available in the area. Of course this depends on money being available and will take time.

RUTLAND RECORDS IN THE LEICESTERSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

The Leicestershire Record Office is the official repository for public records and certain other documents in both Leicestershire and Rutland, and as such is the only place in the county where certain classes of records — local government, diocesan, manorial, etc. — can legally be deposited. However, it also houses many private collections whose owners are pleased to know that their records are being kept under proper storage conditions (conforming to British Standard 5454: the storage and exhibition of archival documents), and are repaired if necessary; they are willing on their part to allow them to be used by bona fide researchers under supervision. Rutland records, both official and private, are not so numerous as we would wish. Many of the latter may still be in private hands, and the Record Office would be pleased to learn about these. Although we are primarily concerned with the collection in our care, and ensuring that valuable historical material is not destroyed, we are, nevertheless, willing to give advice on archival matters generally. We naturally urge local people to deposit their records with us, so not only will they be safer, they will also reach a potentially wider 'audience'. Over 7,000 people a year use the searchroom.

There are two major family collections on deposit — Finch of Burley-on-the-Hill (DG 7) and Conant (including Whiston and Barker) of Lyndon (DG 11). Both contain some very fine material. In addition, there is a small collection of Noel family papers transferred from the Cambridgeshire Record Office (DE 1797). Among other private deposits are two of especial interest: the Hospital of St. John and

St. Anne, Oakham (DE 1782) which includes the licence of foundation, 1399, and Oakham Court Rolls 1743-1814 and Manor bye-laws 1748 (DE 1204). This last collection was transferred from the Rutland County Museum in 1971; since then a number of deposits have regularly been transferred.

Since 1st April 1974 the Leicestershire Record Office has been the Diocesan Record Office for Rutland parish records. Under the Parochial Registers and Records Measure 1979 all parish records over 100 years old must be transferred to a Diocesan Record Office, unless the parish can provide equivalent storage conditions. To date the following parish collections have been deposited: Ashwell, Ayston, Barrowden, Belton, Braunston, Brooke, Burley, Cottesmore, Edith Weston, Ketton, Lyddington, Lyndon, Manton, Morcott, Normanton, North Luffenham, Seaton, South Luffenham, Stoke Dry, Uppingham, Wardley, Whissendine and Wing. Unfortunately, and rather surprisingly, parish records in Rutland appear to be at risk, especially where livings have been amalgamated. Two examples have come to light recently where material has disappeared since 1975 when it was listed by the former County Archivist, and all attempts to track it down have so far failed. The provision in the new Measure for regular surveys of parish records should help combat this problem.

In addition to these major private collections, there are a number of small, but nevertheless interesting collections.

1. Official Records

The main collection of official records was deposited by the former Rutland County Council in March 1974 (DE 1381). Since then a number of small groups of District Council records have also been deposited. DE 1381 contains records of Quarter Sessions, the County Council, Oakham and Uppingham Poor Law Unions, enclosure and tithe awards and maps, miscellaneous maps, estate papers and other documents.

In the interests in rationalisation, the small amount of *Quarter Sessions* material was amalgamated with DE 1231, deposited in 1972. The collection includes minute books 1802-1971 (with a gap 1809-15), case papers and depositions 1940-42, 1953-71, coroner's reports 1954-63. Sadly, there are none of the major classes of administrative records which are found in other counties — for example there are only two highway stopping up and diversion orders, compared with 329 in the Leicestershire Quarter Sessions records. A note at the front of the list suggests that a lot of material was sent for salvage during the last war. Quarter Sessions records are closed for thirty years.

2. Rutland County Council

DE 1381 consists mainly of County Council records, including minutes 1889-1974, Committee reports 1903-74, Committee minutes 1893-1974, and treasurer's records 1890-1965. There are nearly 400 separate volumes, of which the bulk are financial records of one sort or another.

3. Rutland District Councils

There are three collections of former Rural District Council and Urban District Council records — DE 1519, 1561 and 1562. They cover Oakham U.D.C. 1911-59, Ketton R.D.C. 1894-1959, Uppingham R.D.C. 1831-1956 and Oakham R.D.C. 1879-1973. They include some volumes relating to other bodies superseded by the District Councils such as the Oakham Rural Sanitary Authority. Building plans for these four Councils cover the years 1880-1958.

4. Poor Law Unions

The records for the two Unions covering Rutland — Oakham and Uppingham — also form part of DE 1381. Like so many of the other collections they are not as complete as one would wish; the Oakham Union only consists of minutes 1836-1930 (with gaps) and Assessment Committee minutes 1862-1917; Uppingham has minutes 1836-1930, Assessment Committee minutes 1862-1906. letter books 1913-21, ledgers 1894-1933 and two miscellaneous items. The lack of any Workhouse admission and discharge registers is particularly disappointing. There are minutes of the Rutland Public Assistance Committee, the successor to the Boards of Guardians for 1934-39.

5. Maps and Plans

DE 1381 contains a number of records relating to enclosure and tithe, including some maps, for Barrowden, Empingham, Gunthorpe, Hambleton, Langham, North and South Luffenham, Market Overton, Morcott, Oakham, Pilton, Seaton, Thorpe by Water, Tinwell and Wing. There is a complete set of 1st edition Ordnance Survey maps at the 25" scale (1880s), together with miscellaneous maps and plans. Of particular interest is a bound volume of a Rutland Field Map compiled by R. Sterndale Bennett and presented by him to the County Council in 1945.

6. Estate and other papers

The last section of DE 1381 is a miscellaneous collection of documents whose connection with the County Council is difficult to determine. There are three Court Rolls for Oakham 1713-61 (with gaps) as well as copies from the Uppingham Court Rolls relating to specific property. There are also a number of title deeds, bonds and wills; the families concerned include Allen, Onslow, Hill and Brown.

Most of the collections referred to are fully listed and available for consultation at the Record Office, 57 New Walk, Leicester. There is a car park next door to the office. Although many collections are not completely listed, the various finding aids will lead researchers to most of the material. There is a parish index which is continually up-dated, as well as specific indices — for example for maps and enclosure documents. Simple enquiries can be dealt with over the telephone (Leicester 554100, ext.238). The searchroom can be very busy, especially on Saturday mornings, but the staff will help anyone in difficulty as far as they can. The opening hours are 9.15-5.00 Monday to Thursday, 9.15-4.45 on Friday and 9.15-12.15 on Saturday. Documents are produced up to 15 minutes before closing. Some collections are stored elsewhere and need to be ordered in advance.

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RUTLAND RECORDS AT NORTHAMPTON

It is always likely that there will be records relating to a particular county in the archives of neighbouring counties. In the case of Rutland there is a special reason why there is one class of records in the Northamptonshire Record Office at Delapre Abbey, Northampton, which is particularly important for Rutland research. This is that the Diocese of Peterborough founded by Henry VIII in 1541 included all Northamptonshire and Rutland as they then were (with the exception for certain purposes of a few peculiar jurisdictions). Northamptonshire in this context included the Soke of Peterborough. The records, therefore, of diocesan administration in Rutland are part of the Peterborough Diocesan archives. The classes of records generated by diocesan administration are much the same in any diocese and have been described in Mrs. Owen's 'The Records of the Established Church in England' (British Records Association, 1970). The most important classes are the Bishops' Act Books (from 1770), institution books (from 1541), faculty registers (from c.1700) and papers (only from 1906), glebe terriers (from c.1631 and/or 1684), parish register transcripts (from 1701 or 1707), marriage licence bonds and registers (from 1598), visitation books (from 1561) and returns (from 1846), church court books (from 1533), and proceedings (from c.1621), church survey books (1619, 1640, 1681 and 1718/9), and the tithe rent charge apportionments and maps (from 1838). There is a Meeting Houses register

and certificates (1813-52) with earlier certificates entered in the visitation books. A collection of photographs was made between 1940 and 1944, some of which are of Rutland churches. Additionally, there is a Little Casterton inclosure act bound with a map of 1796, a volume of the Rev. Mordaunt Barton's notes on Tickencote church and a collection of North Luffenham documents and copies of documents formed by the Rev. E.A. Irons. The original registers of Caldecott (not united with Rockingham) are also held at Delapre Abbey (C 1605-1908 M 1605-1836, B 1605-1812) whereas it has been agreed that those of all other parishes should be deposited in the Leicestershire Record Office.

It is also important to remember that probate and administration of goods were before 1858 an ecclesiastical matter and that therefore the wills of Rutland people (except those of the wealthier classes with property in more than one diocese), Rutland grants of administration, probate inventories and various probate act books and registers are also at Northampton. These records are described in my Guide to Northamptonshire and Rutland Probate Records (1964). Briefly, original wills have been preserved from 1604 to 1858, registered copies of wills for the years 1541-75, 1585-90, 1597-1646, 1660-62 and 1820-58, administrations and inventories from 1683, act books 1547-82 and 1682-1819 and for administrations only, each volume with an index, 1598-1652, 1661-4 and 1669-84. The indexes of wills available cover 1541-1646 (registered copies) and 1604-1858 (original wills); obviously of most wills of 1604-46 both an original and registered copy exist.

Other records relating to Rutland at Northampton result from the ownership by Northamptonshire landed families of estates in Rutland. The chief families with such estates whose records have been deposited and include Rutland documents are the Brudenells of Deene, the Moncktons of Fineshade and the Tryons of Bulwick.

The Brudenell estates lay mainly in Ayston, Thistleton and Wardley and the records, mainly of 16th and 17th century date, include some manor court rolls, rentals and maps, the latter drawn to about 1635. The Tryon property in Rutland was mainly at Seaton where they were succeeded about 1770 by the Moncktons. The most interesting of the Tryon records are the series of 50 manor court files surviving from 1518 to 1682, and there are some estate accounts of 1698-1703. Other documents of interest are papers relating to Glaston tithes (18th century) and county election poll books of 1722 and 1761. The Monckton records are chiefly title deeds but there is a map of Seaton dated 1727

and some 19th century tenancy agreements and estate records. The Monckton estates stretched into Lyddington, Glaston and other parishes. There is a plan of Glaston manor of 1796 and inclosure documents concerning Tixover (1723) and Bisbrooke (1794-8).

There are other families whose records are not deposited in the county record office but to which the office has some degree of access, notably the Cecils of Burghley. A summary catalogue of the Burghley records is gradually being made, further details of individual documents being available at Delapre. So far nine parts of this summary have been compiled, and copies of them reproduced and distributed by the National Register of Archives. The estates of the Earls and Marquesses of Exeter were considerable, mostly in the neighbourhood of Stamford where the family had manors in Belmesthorpe, Bridge Casterton, Pickworth, Ryhall and Tinwell. Other manors were those of Barrowden, together with the hundred of Wrangdike, Wing, Lyddington and Caldecott. At one time Stoke Dry also belonged to the Burghley estate.

There is also a collection, part of which was deposited many years ago and which has not been fully listed: Wingfield of Tickencote. The estates lay apart from Tickencote in Market Overton and in the Lincolnshire fens.

Since the inclusion of Rutland in Leicestershire for administrative purposes since 1974, it has been the practice of the Northamptonshire Record Office to direct Rutland records into the Leicestershire Record Office and some small collections were in fact transferred. Nevertheless, in some large collections deposited by solicitors there may be Rutland deeds for which permission to transfer to Leicestershire has not yet been negotiated.

The Northamptonshire Record Office naturally has some printed books and pamphlets relating to Rutland, notably a copy of James Wright's History of Rutland of 1684, and a microfilm of T. Blore's unfinished history of 1811, whilst the Northamptonshire Record Society (also at Delapre Abbey) possesses a run of the Rutland Magazine and County Historical Record, vols. 1-5, 1903-12, of Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries, vols. 1-3, 1889-95, and copies of some of the reports and papers of the Rutland Archaeological and Natural History Society. A copy of Pearl Finch's History of Burley on the Hill (2 vols. 1901) is also available for consultation.

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RUTLAND RECORDS AT LINCOLN

In a short article it is only possible to give a brief outline of the wealth of Rutland material which exists at Lincoln; enough, I hope, to whet the appetite of a few Rutland historians, for most of these archives have scarcely been looked at.

One should first of all point out that there has never been a conscious policy of collecting Rutland records at the Lincolnshire Archives Office. That we have them is due mainly to three historical accidents: the extent of the medieval diocese of Lincoln; the endowment of a number of Rutland prebends in Lincoln Cathedral; and the marriage alliance between the Heathcotes of Normanton and the Willoughbys of Grimsthorpe.

1. The Diocesan Records

The medieval diocese of Lincoln was of enormous extent, stretching from the Humber to the Thames. It was divided into eight archdeaconries. Rutland, which formed part of the archdeaconry of Northampton, remained under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Lincoln until the re-organisation of dioceses in the reign of Henry VIII. The main episcopal records remaining from the middle ages are the great series of bishops' registers which start in the early thirteenth century. Up to the year 1300 almost everything is in print among the publications of the Lincoln Record Society. The earliest registers consist mainly of the institutions of clergy to parishes and fairly complete lists of clergy can be compiled for most parishes. From the time of Bishop Oliver Sutton, however, who ruled over the see from 1280 to 1299, a much more varied series of entries begins to appear. These bishops' *memoranda* include excommunications, grants of indulgences, licenses for non-residence, copies of royal writs and enrolments of instructions of many kinds from the bishop to his officials relating to all parts of the diocese. Unfortunately they are almost completely unindexed and the information in them is still largely inaccessible to the historian of an individual parish.

Other important series in the diocesan records begin too late for there to be much Rutland material, though there is a small amount in the earliest visitation records and the earliest registers of wills.

2. The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln and the Prebendal Peculiars

Among the canonries founded in Lincoln Cathedral were several Rutland ones such as Empingham, Ketton and Lyddington. Each cathedral canon was supported by the endowments of his prebend which normally consisted of the major tithes in his prebendal parish, together with lands and other proper-

ties. Within his parish he had a 'peculiar' jurisdiction which put him almost in the position of a miniature bishop, with rights of proving wills and holding ecclesiastical courts. Most of the wills proved in these courts which survive at Lincoln (mainly for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) are indexed in British Record Society Volume 57 published in 1930. Others are to be found in the main series of Dean and Chapter wills, also indexed in the same volume. As well as wills, transcripts of parish registers have also survived together with visitation and court papers, such as those for the prebend of Empingham from 1745 to 1833. Documents relating to the prebendal estates include a number of medieval title deeds, rentals and surveys from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries and counterpart leases for roughly the same period.

3. The Heathcote Estates

The bulkiest accumulation of Rutland material at Lincoln is to be found among the archives deposited by the Earl of Ancaster. In 1827 Gilbert John Heathcote married Clementina Elizabeth Drummond, who later became Baroness Willoughby de Eresby in her own right; the ultimate result of this marriage was the descent to the heir of the whole of the Willoughby estates in Lincolnshire, Wales and Scotland as well as the Heathcote estates in Lincolnshire and Rutland. The Rutland estates alone amounted to some 13,600 acres in 1883.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote, the founder of the Heathcote family fortune was the son of a Chesterfield gentleman; after prospering early in the City of London around the turn of the eighteenth century he set out to build a great estate for himself and his heirs, with such success that within a few years his landed wealth was a byword to Alexander Pope ('Heathcote himself and such broad-acred men'). His purchases and those of his son John, who continued to add to his father's estate, were almost entirely situated in Rutland and South Lincolnshire.

To describe in a few words the records of the Heathcotes and their estates is a daunting task; the main categories are: records of the actual purchases (correspondence with lawyers, agents and prospective vendors); earlier title deeds and other records handed over with the estates that were bought; estate management records; and personal records of the Heathcote family. The main centres of Heathcote ownership were Normanton (700 acres and the family seat), Stretton (1,700 acres), Empingham (4,500 acres), North and South Luffenham (2,750 acres) and Leighfield (750 acres), together with properties ranging from a few acres to a few hundred in over fifteen other parishes.

Rutland Records

The enormous quantity of title deeds make it possible to trace back the history of many of the properties which were purchased for several generations, even several centuries, before the Heathcotes actually came on the scene. There is much information to be gleaned on the affairs of the Mackworths and Tryons who owned Empingham in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Digby family properties at Luffenham and Leighfield and the rise and decline of many other estates, large and small. It is particularly interesting to observe Sir Gilbert and Sir John Heathcote, with their network of informants, ever ready to make a bid for the encumbered estate which might be coming on the market.

From the mid-eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries an almost unbroken series of some five hundred account books and rentals form only a part of a very fine series of estate records. Other material which survives in considerable quantity includes plans of estates in various parishes, surveys and valuations, estate correspondence and manorial records. The personal papers of the Heathcote family are not so extensive but there is still enough to give an insight into family life, involvement in Rutland politics and the organisation of the Normanton household.

These, briefly, are the main sources for Rutland history to be found at Lincoln. There are others: Edith Weston title deeds of the Lucas family in the Hotchkin deposit, Bisbrooke and Glaston deeds are among the Whichcote of Aswarby records for instance. Reasonably detailed lists exist of most of the collections mentioned above and many, though unfortunately not all, Rutland references, have found their way on to parish index cards in the search room of the Lincolnshire Archives Office. Anyone who is interested in pursuing researches at Lincoln will be very welcome but a letter or a phone call before arriving will help you make the best use of your time when you are here.

C.M. Lloyd
County Archivist for Lincolnshire

RUTLAND COUNTY MUSEUM: LIBRARY AND COLLECTIONS

As the Leicestershire Record Office which, like the Rutland County Museum, is a part of the Leicestershire Museums organisation, is the proper repository for archive material relating to Rutland, there is only a small amount of such material in the collections of the museum itself.

There are, however, certain aspects of the collections which are of use to the historian, and amongst them are the following:

1. *Parish Files*: Photographs, newspaper cuttings, archaeological and historical notes, archaeological drawings and plans.
2. *Maps*: A selection of printed maps of Rutland; complete county and national grid O.S. 6" maps of Rutland.
3. *Ephemera*: Modest collection of printed programmes, auction sale catalogues, society material, mostly deriving from Matkins (Oakham) printers, c.1900 and later.
4. *Photographs*: General negative and print collections, late 19th century and later; and lists of certain material held by Leicestershire Museums.
5. *Working Library*: Printed books, including antiquarian works, relating to Rutland. Originals or photocopies of 19th century directories. Matkins *Oakham Almanack* from 1892-1941 (except 1901, missing, and 1919, not published). Holdings of certain periodicals, e.g. *Trans. Leics. Archaeol. and Hist. Soc., Assoc. Architectural Socs. Reports and Papers, Rutland Magazine*, etc.
6. *Lists and Indexes*: Lists of parish registers and certain other relevant collections held by the Leicestershire Record Office, as they become available. Card indexes forming the Rutland Index (initiated by the Rutland Field Research Group), ultimately aiming to cover archaeology, history, biography, bibliography, photography and the written word, but still in their infancy.
7. *Transcripts*: Only a few transcripts are held at present, but it is hoped to add to these in future.

The museum is particularly anxious to add to its records of this nature, and to gain information concerning the whereabouts of any Rutland archives in other parts of the country. Members of the Record Society are in a position to make significant contributions to the indexes and transcripts in particular, and any such assistance will be gratefully received.

Most of the material listed above can be consulted on weekdays by prior arrangement with the Keeper, at the Rutland County Museum, Catmos Street, Oakham, Rutland, LE15 6HW, telephone Oakham 3654.

T.H.McK. Clough
Keeper, Rutland County Museum

Reference:

Clough, T.H.McK., 'Sources for the Local History of Rutland', *Bulletin of Local History, East Midland Region XIII* (1978), 28-32.

TRAVELLERS ON THE GREAT NORTH ROAD, 1795-1820

June, 1795. Another accident, the Sheffield stage being overturned at Bridge Casterton owing to the temerity of a woman who rode on the box with the coachman. The pole of the coach broke and the horses becoming unruly, the woman snatched the reins out of the driver's hands, resulting in the coach being overturned. At the time there were nine passengers, one of them a woman, near her time of lying in, but they escaped without being hurt. Two of the outside passengers had their arms broken, and several others were terribly bruised. A lady, an inside passenger, had two of her fingers torn off, and the coachman was very much hurt.

June, 1799. One who did not reach his home was Mr. Welsh of Clipsham who, travelling by the Cambridge coach to visit his sister at Barleythorpe, died at the Swan & Talbot in Stamford before he could reach his relative.

A young man in sailor's dress was walking by the side of the stage waggon on the North Road when he fell down in a fit and was immediately killed by the wheels of the waggon running over his head.

September, 1800 heralded the most tremendous storms in the annals of the County of Rutland, rain falling in torrents from 11 o'clock until half-past-two, solidly. At Casterton Magna the flood ensuing was so high as to impede the passing of carriages for several hours. The Rev. Lucas's house was inundated near a yard high and the Mill House four feet. The water was so rapid in its progress that in half-an-hour it was at its greatest height. Several yards of the wall next to Mr. Lucas's paddock were forced across the turnpike road, which relieved the bridge from a heavy press of water that every instant threatened its demolition. As if this was not enough in November one of the northern coaches was overturned by a heap of dung.

During the early part of 1801 lines of French prisoners could be seen marching from Yaxley Barracks for the East Coast ports for repatriation. One thousand left in two weeks in October, and the last prisoners marched through in April 1802.

In May, 1803, a runaway pair on their route to the hymenial forge at Gretna passed through Casterton, the anxious agitation and extraordinary liberty of the gentleman leads people to augur favourably of the weight of her guardian's purse. According to the courier who procured relays of horses they were

just 12 hours in reaching Grantham from London, 110 miles.

In July, Charles Pindar, driver of the Hatfields stage waggon was found dead on the North Road near Casterton. He had called at a public house in Scotgate, Stamford, in a state of intoxication and it is presumed he died of a fit.

In September, the York Stage Waggon was overturned from off the bridge to the river at Casterton. The accident was caused by the proper driver entrusting his waggon to a cadace while he loitered behind. Fortunately, several passengers had previously stopped at the public house in Casterton. The horses sustained little injury, although they fell a considerable depth; the bridge wall was beaten down to the extent of several yards.

In March, 1806, it is announced that coaches will now travel on the North Road at 12 m.p.h. In March the horse belonging to Jackson's Leeds Waggon took fright at the lamps of a gentleman's carriage near Horn Lane bar and the driver, John, alias 'Long Chin', in attempting to stop them was thrown down and the wheels passed over his body killing him.

In October, Their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and Duke of Clarence passed through Casterton having taken post horses at the George in Stamford. Whilst stopped a postboy drove hastily up, struck the pole of the chaise through a panel of the Prince's carriage. His Royal Highness, without waiting for its being repaired, proceeded on his route remarking with his usual goodness of heart that the inconvenience was trifling compared with the pleasure he felt that a postboy's life was preserved. Their Royal Highnesses had been on a two day stay with Sir Gilbert Heathcote at Normanton Park.

In 1809 Milton, a horse dealer, wagered £300 against £500 that he would ride from Piccadilly to Stamford (90 miles) in five hours, whereas he completed it in four and a half hours. Mr. Milton weighed 14 stone and in consequence of one of his horses being misplaced he was obliged to ride one horse for 15 miles. One of his unfortunate steeds was completely exhausted after four miles such was the riding. In March, George Cooper, guard of the Highflyer, had his thigh and collar bone broken by a fall from the coach on the North Road, and a week later the coachman of the Eclipse Stage, John Gillings of Leeds, was crushed by the coach falling on him. It had been going at a very furious rate and overturned in crossing the ruts on the road.

Rose, a corporal in the South Lincoln Militia accidentally fell from the roof of the Newcastle Coach as it approached Stretton, his arm being broken in two places.

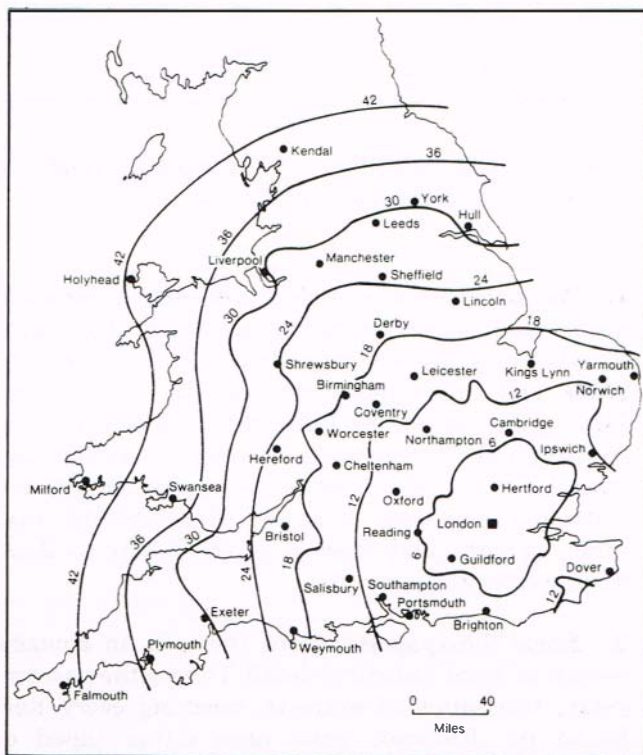
In a dying March evening 1813, Mr. Franey, a farmer of Pickworth, was returning from Uppingham market when a man jumped out of the pit at Boland's Gibbet and seized the bridle of Mr. Franey's horse. The animal being very spirited reared up and breaking the rein which the man held, Mr. Franey was able to gallop off. In June the driver of the Leeds waggon was accosted by a woman near Horn Lane, who begged he would give her some hay. On refusing a man came up and struck him. A scuffle then ensued in which the waggoner nearly got the better of his opponent, but two more made their appearance. They soon overpowered him, rifled his pocket of £1 and threw him into a ditch. During this time the horses wandered on with the waggon some six miles to Casterton Bridge and St. Mary's Hill, passing the Newcastle Coach and another waggon and only stopping at the Ram public house, where they usually stopped. The waggoner having recovered walked to the Ram and the waggon proceeded on its way.

Rules were strict. It was found in 1815 that luggage had been placed on the roof of the 'Old Stamford' above the height of 2ft 14in. The penalty was £5 for every inch of height that the luggage exceeds what is allowed in law, and the owners were fined £17-10s.

In 1816 some young gentlemen who passed through Casterton in the York Mail bought a guinea's worth of eggs in Stamford and amused themselves by throwing them at persons as they passed. Mr. Downing of Casterton had a pane broken in a window by an egg, and several persons were injured by the projectiles. A warrant was issued against the gentlemen.

In October the Horn Lane Toll Keeper was convicted in the penalty of 20s. and costs for refusing to take a sixpence of the current coin of the realm. This is a conviction calculated to ensure a recirculation of mint sixpences.

January, 1817, saw 24 artillery waggons laden with new silver coin from the Royal Mint passing through Casterton en route to Edinburgh and Glasgow, each waggon drawn by six horses of the artillery establishment and guarded by two well-armed soldiers besides the drivers. There were 15 boxes in each waggon, each box containing £600. On the following Monday the exchange of old coins for new would commence throughout England and Scotland. In July four field pieces (light six pounders), two ammunition waggons, 84 men and 82 horses passed through Casterton from Woolwich en route to Pontefract. It was noted that nearly all the men wore Waterloo



Accessibility by stage-coach from London, drawn from Cary's New Itinerary, 1821 (reproduced by courtesy of the Royal Geographical Society).

Medals. The Great North Road has been filled of late with Scotch cattle driven for the south country markets. This trade, which the war had nearly reduced to a standstill is now coming forward in great abundance.

May, 1818, ushered in a great storm of thunder, lightning, hail and rain and as the Edinburgh Mail approached Stretton the horses were so alarmed and stricken to the spot that the coachman was unable to proceed forward for several minutes.

In the summer of 1820 local toll keepers report the influx of Irish labourers in numbers which far exceed that of any former years. The Great North Road literally swarms with these poor fellows in search of harvest work. In October the church of Casterton Magna was sacrilegiously broken into and robbed of the Communion Plate, cloth and napkins, two surplices, ten of the best prayer books and a bible. A week later, by mail coach, the Communion Plate was returned to the Rev. Lucas, Rector of Casterton, it having been found under Gonerby Bridge by some men working there.

RUTLAND
LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

The principal activities of the society relate to the following categories of material:

1. **Photographs:** The society possesses a library of negatives, now numbering several thousand, covering almost every aspect of Rutland life from 1860 to 1939, and intended as material for the society's future publications. In 1979, the Year of the Child, school group photographs of every Rutland village from 1890 and later have been collected, and names appended wherever possible. This material may prove of particular interest in the future to those tracing their families.

2. **Local Newspapers:** Here there is an amazing wealth of local historical detail. During the past two years, thousands of extracts, covering every item found on Rutland, have been either taped or photographed for transposition to the society's files. At the moment, the *Stamford Mercury* has been covered up to 1896, and work is starting in parallel on *Drakard's News* and other local publications.

3. **Oral Work:** This is a continuing process. Visits to copy photographs or documents in the possession of old Rutlanders lead to the gathering of snippets of information ensuing from general conversation.

4. **Indexing:** Time has not allowed the compiling of detailed indexes. Instead, all snippets and photographs are filed by subject. The resulting subject files, which are to form the basis of future publications, are presently as follows:

Railways (at the printers); Airfields (at the printers); Turnpikes and Post; Maps; Early Motoring; Oakham; Uppingham; Farming; Great Houses; Festivals and Traditions; Schools; Ketton Portland Cement Company (by request of the company); Famous People; More Villages; Soldiers, part 2; Churches.

*Information supplied by A.R. Traylen,
Chairman, RLHS.*

RUTLAND FIELD RESEARCH GROUP
FOR ARCHAEOLOGY & HISTORY

Activity Reports and Documentary Research
Requirements:

1. **Nether Hambleton R.M.V. (Reduced Medieval Village)**

Following the formation of the Research Group in 1970 a study of aerial photographs and subsequent field walking revealed the layout of medieval buildings, crofts and roads at Nether Hambleton. A field survey of the area was followed by the beginning of an exploratory excavation in 1973 under the guidance of Miss Christine Mahaney.

The area chosen alongside the green 'street' of the village revealed a medieval 'long house' with three main rooms and indications of other extensions to the building. The room at the northern end contained a well defined paved 'hearth' and a circular corner oven approximately one metre in diameter. The location of the many nails and iron pegs (in rough lines) suggested destruction by fire. Other ferrous and slag waste material found suggested working of ironstone rubble after the building's collapse or destruction.

The potsherds recovered ranged from early fine Stamford cream ware to Midland Purple and other 15th/16th century wares. The finding of ten silver coins, ranging from short cross pennies to a coin of Erik VII/XIII of Pomerania, dating from c.1180AD to 1450AD, gave a reasonably accurate occupation range from the 12th to 15th/16th centuries. It is likely that the village contained some twenty crofts and houses at this time and was vacated or destroyed within the field area about 1450AD. Later thatched cottages were built alongside roads and farm buildings and seven of these were removed with the associated three farm houses during the construction of the reservoir (Rutland Water) in 1973-1976.

Preliminary documentary research reveals evidence of an early church and later (17th century) 'a chapel with one bell'. However, some confusion exists with LITTLE HAMBLETON as Lincoln Diocesan maps show the latter area to be on the main Hambleton spur opposite Normanton. Translations of the Domesday book only refer to the 'seven Berewicks of Upper (Great) Hambledune'. A full excavation report is in preparation.

2. **Whitwell (Re-orientated Village)**

Following the excavation of an Iron Age/Romano

Museum & Project Report

British farm (villa) site, near the Rutland Water fishing lodge car park area, by the Trent Valley Archaeological Group (assisted by members of RFRGAH) in 1976, further construction work revealed evidence of medieval buildings within the Water Authority boundary near WHITWELL OLD HALL. The Research Group members have been excavating this area over the past three seasons and have produced a large quantity of medieval potsherds and related small finds including one silver coin dated c.1300AD. A comprehensive range of walls and drains suggests farming occupation over a period from 900AD to c.1650AD. The layout of associated house platforms suggests reorientation of the village from north/south to east/west in the medieval period.

Limited documentary evidence confirms the existence of Whitwell and its mill in the 11th and 12th centuries. It also suggest that the church of the White Well provided holy water and sacrificial bread to many other churches in the area. It is also known to have had an early chantry. The stonework of the mill dam still existed in 1977 in the Whitwell stream, before it was destroyed and flooded by the reservoir, some three hundred yards south of the OLD HALL. Excavation of building walls and floors is expected to continue for several more seasons but documentary research should start as soon as possible to

facilitate early publication of an archaeological and/or historical report.

3. References to Whitwell and Nether Hambleton are found in Wright's *History of Rutland* and *V.C.H.* Translations of the Domesday Book give several details of Whitwell but Nether Hambleton is only inferred in the seven Berewicks of (Great) Hamble-dune. Document sources include Leicestershire Record Office, Lincoln Archives Office and probably also Peterborough and Northampton. The Lincoln Diocesan documents so far investigated have produced scarce reference to Nether Hambleton but associated maps indicate church ownership of land. They also confirm land ownership by the Heathcote family.

Further documentary research work is required at Lincoln, Leicester and elsewhere as well as possible estate records for Exton and Normanton.

Information supplied by Mr.A.W.A.Adams, Chairman, RFRGAH.

Please contact Mr.T.Clough, Keeper Rutland County Museum in connection with ideas for projects, etc.

Notes and Queries

Preston-in-Rutland History Society held a successful Village Exhibition in the Church and Village Hall between 3rd and 5th May 1980. It was entitled; *Preston 1871-1980* and included the Church Silver (including a Pre-Reformation Paten) and exhibitions of old drinking mugs, costume, documents, photographs, etc.

The Editor would like to hear from anyone who has information about Thomas Barker of Lyndon Hall, especially the whereabouts of his meteorological journals, 1733-98. Any further information about other early meteorologists would be most welcome relating not only to Rutland but also to surrounding areas.

Please let the Editor or a member of the Council know if you hold important documents or if you know where such documents are to be found. Ideas for publications, articles, projects, etc. would be most gladly received.

In 1763 an anonymous pamphleteer imagined himself looking forward to the reign of George VI. He prophesied the setting up of a new capital in the heart of Rutland. Its major buildings were to include a royal palace which outshone all the libraries and art galleries of Europe: 'this glorious building was not only the residence of royalty, but might properly be called the Temple of the Muses'.

Prince Yuri Galitzine

The Editor would like to receive your letters, notes and queries for publication in the next issue of *Rutland Record*. Please keep him informed about local developments, publications, etc. Books and materials for review are particularly wanted.

There are two interesting series coming out just now. One is 'Discovering Rutland', monthly in the *Stamford Mercury*, the other is 'A Rutland Alphabet' also monthly in *The Squire Magazine*.

It is a truism that archaeology, now a much more exact science than even twenty years ago, takes over where history has failed. Sometimes the two are mutually complementary, and such may be the case with an old footpath across the parish churchyard at Oakham. As late as 1880 the only classroom at Oakham School was the Old School (now known as the Shakespeare Centre), that Elizabethan building, which stands at the extreme north-east corner of the churchyard. It was connected to the main buildings of the school in the Market Place by a cobbled path, which ran due south from the door at the south-western corner of the building, passed within a few feet of the east end of the chancel, and then debouched into Church Passage about thirty yards from the red brick house now known as 'Choir Close'. If you know where to look, it can be traced with no great difficulty; there are several clues. Traces of the cobbling can still be seen just inside the churchyard wall (where there is a narrow flower-bed), and where it cannot be seen it can be felt by prodding the turf to the depth of an inch or two. Moreover along the line of the path there are neither trees nor gravestones, and the conformation of the ground immediately south of the Old School door carries the eye in the direction that the path once took. Finally the blocking of the churchyard wall in Church Passage is not hard to discover.

All this I learnt as a result of a chat with some men working in the churchyard, who had felt the cobbles beneath the turf, and it prompted me to make some enquiries amongst the written records. It would appear to have been the path between the Old School and the Market Street premises from the very earliest days of the school, and it was superceded by that path to the east of the churchyard, which connects Church Passage to Cutts Close in the early eighteen eighties; that is to say the new path roughly along the line of the Castle moat, which at this point formed the dividing line between Lord's Hold and Dean's Hold.

The earlier path had been the cause of some trouble in the past, no doubt because of the high spirits of the boys themselves and because of its proximity to the east wall of the chancel. On one occasion, it is said, Rev.Heneage Finch, Vicar of Oakham 1815-65, and Dr.Doncaster, the then Headmaster of Oakham School, met on this disputed right of way. Finch said to Dr.Doncaster: 'Are you aware, Dr.Doncaster, that this churchyard is my freehold?' 'Then the sooner you take possession of it the better', retorted the irate Doctor. On another occasion Heneage Finch actually caused the path to be obstructed, and the School had to take steps to have the obstacles removed. *J.L.Barber*

All of our readers will, at one time or another, have walked or ridden over the Swooning Bridge at the foot of Mount Pleasant on the road, which leads south from Oakham to Uppingham. It was at the top of Mount Pleasant that in centuries gone by the gallows stood, and as the wretched prisoner reached the bridge, he had his first view of them, and swooned; hence the name. As late as the first half of the last century Dr.Doncaster, who was Headmaster of Oakham School from 1808 to 1846, is said to have released the boys from school to witness an execution.

But how many have paused at the bridge and wondered about the names carved, often most skilfully, on the outer edge of the ashlar masonry which comprises the parapet walls? These names are all the names of Oakham School boys in the nineteenth century, the earliest being about 1826. They were mostly done between that time and the middle of the century. Those names, which are carved on the western parapet, would have been easily inscribed from the secure foothold of the tall banks at this point; but those on the eastern wall must have called for considerable dexterity, as beneath the bridge looms a deep chasm. Nowadays a small pedestrian bridge has been built alongside the original structure, and the names may be read with ease, apart from the encroaching ivy. At one point one can read the name 'J.Atlay' — James Atlay, D.D., who was Bishop of Hereford between 1868-94. He was the son of Rev.Henry Atlay, Rector of Great Casterton and a Governor of the School. *J.L.Barber*

Rutland 2000 is a group promoting environmental education in Rutland consisting of teachers, planners and other local people. Meetings are held once a month in Rutland County Library. New members are welcome and the Group aims to help the development of new materials, ideas, activities for primary and secondary schools in the area. Rutland 2000 is associated with the Schools' Council and would be especially useful to teachers new to the area. Contact the Secretary, 6 Chater Road, Oakham, Rutland LE15 6RY for further details.

Advertisers in the *Rutland Record* are welcomed and for details of terms, etc., please contact the Secretary, Colley Hill, Lyddington, Uppingham, Rutland LE15 9LS.

Bibliography

An Annotated Bibliography of Recent Books, Pamphlets and Journals relating to Rutland and the surrounding area.

MARGARET HARPER

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A BIBLIOGRAPHY of Leicestershire Churches. Part 1: The periodical sources; edited by David Parsons. (Univ. of Leicester Dept. of Ed. and Leicestershire Libraries and Information Service, 1978) The first part of an intended 3-part compilation of sources for the architectural history and archaeology of parish churches in Leicestershire and Rutland. For each church it lists articles, notes and passing references in periodical literature from the middle of the nineteenth century.

A REGISTER of Rutland resources; 2nd edition, compiled by the Rutland Strategy Education Committee. (Published for Rutland 2000 by Leicestershire County Council Education Dept. Melton Mowbray and Rutland Teachers' Centre, £1.20, 1978) Gives an indication of the holdings of archive and other material relating to Rutland in Record Offices, Libraries and other collections. A bibliography is appended.

RELIGION

SHEILS, W J, *The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1558-1610.* (Northamptonshire Record Society, £7.50, 1979) The diocese was coterminous with the Counties of Northampton and Rutland.

SOCIAL HISTORY

DOMESDAY book 22; Leicestershire, edited by Philip Morgan, from a draft translation prepared by Michael Griffin. (Phillimore, £5.00, 1979) This edition is based on Abraham Farley's 1783 printed text and provides a parallel, uniform, modern English translation, with maps, indices and translations of technical terms. Domesday book 29: Rutland, is due for publication in 1980.

The RECORDS of the Commissioners of Sewers in the Parts of Holland 1547-1603. Vol.III, edited by A E Owen (Lincoln Record Society, 1977) Vol. 71 of the publications of the Lincoln Record Society. This volume completes the edition of early Holland Sewer records begun by Miss Mary Kirkus.

The SERVICES of Rutland. (In Rutland series Vol.II compiled by A R Traylen) (Rutland Local History Society and Spigel Press, £4.95, 1978) Includes the Police of Rutland to 1951; the Firemen to 1941; the Hospitals and Ambulance to 1939 and the Regiments to 1881.

TRANSPORT

The KETTERING—Manton Line, 1878-1978. (W Mawdsley, Corby, 50p, 1978) A booklet based on D W Barrett's 'Life and work among the Navvies' 1879, describing the building of the railway between Kettering and Manton and the line as it is today. At the end, there is a reprint, from a pamphlet by Major Markham, reporting an attack on the railway near Corby by a German Zeppelin in 1916.

DIALECT

DIALECT in Rutland, compiled by A R Traylen. (Rutland Local History Society, 50p, 1977) An alphabetical list of dialect words used in Rutland, with definitions and, in many cases, examples of use.

NATURAL HISTORY

HICKLING, Ronald, *Birds in Leicestershire and Rutland.* (Leics. and Rutland Ornithological Soc., £6.50, 1978) Includes chapters on the shape of the landscape and birds in the landscape, special articles reprinted from annual reports and mean arrival dates of migrants. Over 100 pages are devoted to a list of the birds in Leics. and Rutland.

INDUSTRIAL HISTORY

HEWLETT, H B, *The quarries, ironstone, limestone and sand.* (Market Overton Industrial Railway Association, £2.75, 1979 reprint) Reprinted from 'The Stantonian': the magazine of the Stanton Ironworks Co., Ltd, 1935. Includes quarries in Leics., Lincs., Northants., Derbys and Notts.

PLANNING

LEICESTERSHIRE (COUNTY) PLANNING DEPARTMENT Structure plan for Rutland. (Leics. County Council, 1977) Published in 3 parts: Written statement, Report of publicity and Report of Survey.

RUTLAND DISTRICT COUNCIL Empingham District plan: the local planning issues affecting Rutland Water, the surrounding villages and countryside; preliminary discussion document. (Rutland District Council, 1978) Prepared by Rutland District and Leicestershire County Planning Departments.

RUTLAND DISTRICT COUNCIL Oakham District Plan: Westgate Area redevelopment proposals; report to a Special meeting of the Rutland District Council on 12th March 1979. (Rutland District Council, 1979)

RUTLAND DISTRICT COUNCIL Oakham District Plan: Westgate area redevelopment proposals for public consultation. (Rutland District Council, 1979)

RUTLAND DISTRICT COUNCIL Opportunities and Choices: a discussion booklet on the future of Oakham (Rutland District Council, September 1977)

RUTLAND DISTRICT COUNCIL Opportunities and choices: report of publicity; Oakham District Plan. (Rutland District Council, December 1977)

RUTLAND 2000 Rutland Social Survey. (Rutland 2000, £1.50) Research relating to population carried out prior to the compilation of the Rutland Structure plan by selected local schools. Leicester College of Education Geography Department and Leicestershire County Planning Department.

RUTLAND 2000 Slide packs (Colour, plastic mounts, with notes) 1) Rutland — a changing environment (general pack of 20 slides £2.50). 2) People, homes and jobs (for use with Unit 4) (20 slides £2.50) Rutland Enclosure maps are also available as slides (black and white £2.00) or as photocopies (black and white 80p)

RUTLAND 2000 Teaching units. Unit 1 — Setting the scene. Unit 2 — Voice of the people. Unit 3 — Landscape and land use. Unit 4 — Peoples homes and jobs. Unit 7 — Rutland heritage. Further units on 'Water in Rutland' and 'The planning process' are in preparation.

OAKHAM CASTLE

CLOUGH, T H McK, *The horseshoes of Oakham Castle.* (Leics. Museums, Art Galleries and Records Service, for the Friends of the Rutland County Museum, 40p, 1978) The Keeper of the Rutland County Museum gives a detailed explanation of the origins of the custom of presenting a horseshoe to the Lord of the Manor of Oakham and a list of the horseshoes in chronological order. The 800th anniversary of the Castle will be celebrated in 1981.

POSTAL HAND-STAMPS

The BRITISH County catalogue. Vol.1; edited by R M Willcocks and B Jay. (R M Willcocks, £6.00, 1979) Lists and indicates the rarity of all known postal hand-stamps of every town and village in 12 Counties of England up to 1840/43. The Leicestershire section is edited by G T Mansell and the Rutland section by J F Hine.

HUNTING

HUNTING the Cottesmore in Rutland; compiled by A R Traylen. (Rutland Local History Society, 65p, 1977) Includes a brief history of the Cottesmore Hunt, a roll call of some of the members of the Hunt in the first part of the twentieth century and over fifty photographs.

RUTLAND WATER

RUTLAND Water: a visitor's practical guide; enlarged and revised edition compiled by Bryan Waites. (Midland Counties Publications, 90p 1978) Booklet containing historical, environmental and practical

information about Rutland Water.

RUTLAND Water Leaflet no. 7: History and archaeology. (Anglian Water Authority, 10p 1977) One in a series of illustrated leaflets published by the Anglian Water Authority on various aspects of Rutland Water.

TOURING RUTLAND

DISCOVER Norman Britain. (English Tourist Board, 65p, 1978) The booklet contains nine trails which can be followed in whole or part. The Midlands Trail includes Leicester, Oakham, Tickencote and Essendine.

DISCOVER Roman Britain. (English Tourist Board, 50p, 1977) The booklet contains a brief description of nine Roman Heritage Trails in England, Scotland and Wales. The Tourist Boards also publish a series of 10p leaflets describing the individual trails in more detail. The 'Corinthian Trail' leaflet includes Great Casterton, Stamford, Oakham and Melton Mowbray.

ENNIS, Philip, *Rutland rides.* Two volumes. (Spigel Press, 65p each, 1979) Based on short articles published in the 'Lincolnshire, Rutland and Stamford Mercury' and described as 'a cyclist's first look at fifty or so villages in Rutland'.

RUTLAND 2000 Ketton trail; compiled by G Stoneman, map by R Bentley. (Rutland 2000, 30p, 1979) Trail will take about 1¼ hours.

THOMAS, Roger and WAITES, Bryan; *Uppingham Town Trail* (Midland Counties Publications, 36p, 1980)

GENEALOGY

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Margaret Harper

The Editor requests local and national publishers to send copies for review especially relating to Rutland, the Midlands, archives, sources and history methodology.

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Simon Swaffield	1538	E.241	Braunston
Thomas Burton	1559	Q.136	Braunston
William Uffington	1559	Q.137	Seaton
Joanna Butler	1538	E.242	Whissendine
Thomas Tampon	1609	B.126	Braunston
Richard Atton	1609	A.4	Braunston
Symon Atton	1613	A.131	Braunston
Augustine Burton,	1614	H.280	Braunston
gent			
Augustine Tampon	1617	A.236	Braunston
John Atton	1625	C.110	Braunston
Giles Atton	1628	L.301	Braunston
Bartin Atton	1664	H.253	Braunston
Bartin Atton	1674	R.87	Braunston
John Atton	1698	T.178	Braunston
John Atton	1707/8	V.224	Braunston
Bartin Atton	1714	V.29	Braunston
William Atton	1712	X.197	Braunston

Rutland Probate Inventories. Photocopies from originals in Northamptonshire Record Office.
Simon Merriman 1686 Braunston Pet 40

Christopher Wright	1680	Braunston	Pet G.35
Christopher Wright	1688	Braunston	Pet G.37
Thomas Dracord	1688	Braunston	Pet 165
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From: Bryan Waites, Oakham
Census Enumerators' Returns, Oakham 1841, 51, 61, 71 (microfilm — two reels); *Religious Census, Rutland, 1851* (photocopy) *Map of lands in Lubbenham, Leics., 1852* (photocopy); *Agricultural Census by Parish, Rutland, 1870* (photocopy); *Computer Agricultural Returns by Parish, Rutland, 1969*; *Hand-drawn copies of the following Enclosure and Tithe-maps from the Leicestershire Record Office and Northamptonshire Record Office: Barrowden, Braunston, Empingham, Gunthorpe, Morcott, Normanton (estate map), Oakham Parish, Oakham Town, Pilton, Seaton, Thorpe-by-Water, Whitwell* (including recent planning proposals), Wing. A roll of base maps accompanies the above. There are four large photo-prints of the maps for Gunthorpe, Morcott, Pilton and Wing. A folder containing twelve of these maps at A4 size can be purchased from Rutland 2000, c/o Oakham Library for £1.

A final word from the caption to the 'Kitchin and Jeffreys' front-cover map:

Rutlandshire is the least County in England yet includes more Seats of the Nobility and Gentry than any other Tract of Ground of the same Extant. It contains 2 Market Towns and sends only two Members to Parliament which are the Knights of the Shire.

RUTLAND

We are grateful to Charles C. Dickson, Esq., who prepared this map to assist those readers who are less familiar with the whereabouts of the main settlement areas.



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